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It's In Your Hands 100,000 Co-Conspirators NOW



For the third week in a row 100,000 copies of the *Revolutionary Worker* are now off the presses. The final, decisive battle of a major

campaign—"Wanted 100,000 Co-Conspirators" is here. Over the next week or so, the task we aim to accomplish is to build off the ad-

vances already made and make a culminating, sharp leap in sales to the 100,000 level. Once accomplished, this leap will be nothing less

than a major step in preparation for proletarian revolution.

The groundwork for this leap has
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"Our Dogs Won't Be Muzzled"

Federal Verdict: Last Straw in McDuffie Murder

On December 17, 1980, exactly one year to the day after Black businessman Arthur McDuffie was brutally beaten to death by cops on the streets of Miami, Florida, Officer Charles Veverka was acquitted of any guilt in this slaying in a San Antonio, Texas courtroom. As is well known, four of the other murdering Dade County cops were acquitted in Tampa last May. Also well known is the reaction of the masses of people to the Tampa verdict; the Miami rebellion.

But Veverka's trial was a little different than that of the other four. Originally he had confessed, turned state's witness and testified against the

other murderers in the Tampa trial. The United States Justice Department later indicted Veverka. Its official charges were "falsifying reports" which covered up the killing and "violating the civil rights of Arthur McDuffie." Tampa had put up a pretense of innocence, transparent as it was. Veverka was different. He pleaded that he should have never been indicted by the feds on the grounds that he had admitted his guilt and helped the prosecutor in the Tampa trial. In other words: *Veverka's guilt was his defense!* Before the San Antonio trial, one potential juror stated, "I don't understand why

they're going after Mr. Veverka. After all, he turned state's evidence." She obviously missed the point. It was exactly *because* Veverka was *on record* as a murdering pig, exactly because this dog had admitted the fact that he had helped at least 14 other cops smear McDuffie's brains all over the pavement, that this trial—and acquittal—even took place. Every move was directed by the United States Justice Department. Directing the Justice Department was the bourgeoisie. Can it be any clearer that by cutting Veverka loose, our rulers are not simply condoning police murder of Black people and

other oppressed nationalities, but blatantly and forcefully advocating it?! Is there any message from our rulers here besides the following: "Our dogs will not be muzzled!"

On December 17, 1979, Arthur McDuffie was riding his motorcycle home at around 1 a.m. in the morning. A Miami squad car moved in to stop him, the usual harassment of Blacks that occurs daily in the area the pigs call the "Combat Zone." McDuffie did not have a license; well aware of the habits of the Miami pigs, he decided to try and outrun them. As McDuffie paced
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100,000 Co-Conspirators NOW —It's In Your Hands

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been laid. Most important has been the "100 Flowers" debate in the pages of this paper, political struggle among revolutionaries, over our Party's central task and our battle plan for revolution. And based on this important initial practice, advances have been made in broadening and deepening the influence of the paper and in revolutionizing and professionalizing its methods of distribution. Now, however, the final leap has to be made and so a leap is required in taking this task of distributing 100,000 RW's to the masses. It is, literally, in your hands. Since the beginning of this campaign we have stressed that its success depends entirely on the conscious activism of the masses, taking up this battle as their own and waging it with a sense of urgency. Now we believe these conditions are ripe for taking it over the top.

In "mini-rallies" at factory gates, in neighborhoods of the oppressed and exploited, and other potential key political "base areas" for revolution, agitators will be appearing calling on people to step forward and begin selling this paper now as

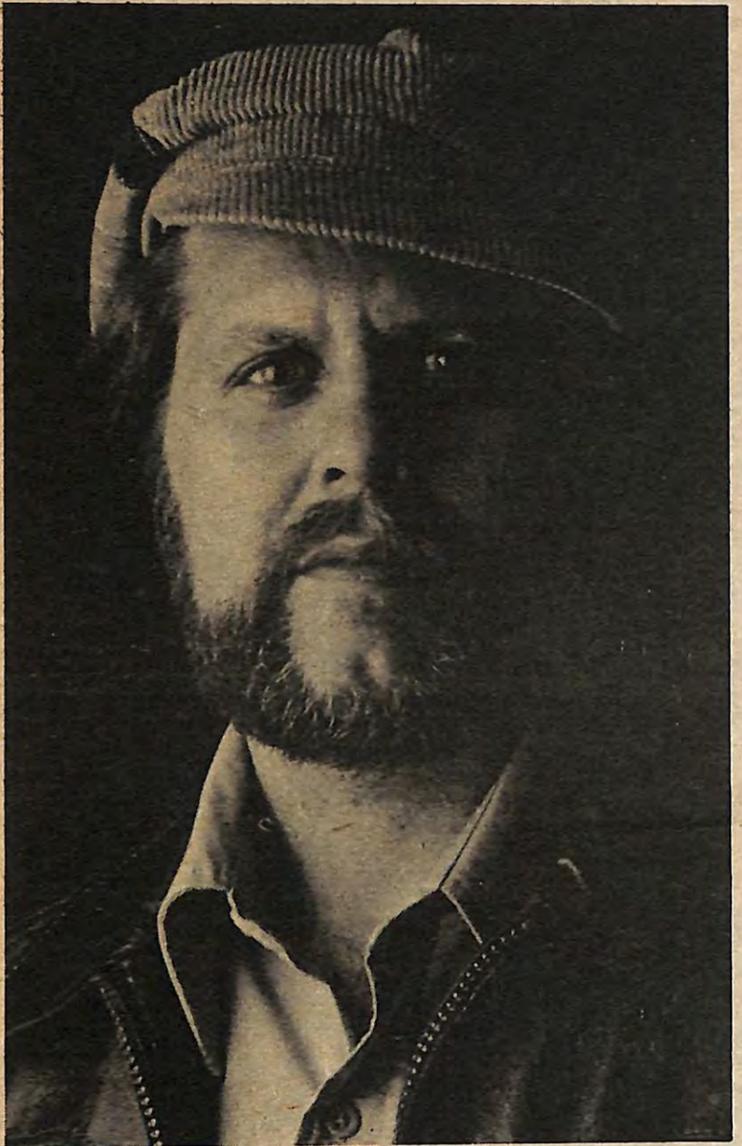
the key weapon today in preparing for revolution. Organizers will be following up to firm up the networks, the basic revolutionary organization that develops around the paper. We call on people to step into every aspect of this work, to contribute in their own ways to spreading and deepening the roots of this conspiracy. And not only must the existing English, Spanish, and Chinese language editions of the RW be expanded in their distribution and correspondence, but new efforts must be made to get out the *Revolutionary Worker* in other languages as well, so as to reach and mobilize still more immigrant workers whose experience with "all sides" of this imperialist system is a great potential source of strength for the proletarian revolution. This, too, requires people to step forward now. For all who really wish to fight, who wish to get on with the business of doing away with this world-oppressive system, the challenge is here: take up the task of wielding our main weapon now—contribute to distributing 100,000 *Revolutionary Workers*.

Attention Co-Conspirators!

The *Revolutionary Worker* will not publish the week of December 26. The next issue will be the January 2, 1981 edition.

CONTACT THE *Revolutionary Worker* Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654 IN YOUR AREA CALL OR WRITE:

- Atlanta: Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 10743, Atlanta, GA 30310 (404) 767-6784
- Baltimore: Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 1992, Baltimore, MD 21203
- Birmingham: P.O. Box 2334, Birmingham, ALA 35201 (205) 787-0202
- Boston: Revolution Books 233 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-9016
- Buffalo: Box 121, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, NY 14205 (716) 895-6561
- Chicago: 542 S. Dearborn, Room 906, Chicago, Illinois (312) 922-1140
- Cincinnati: P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 542-6024
- Cleveland: P.O. Box 09190, Cleveland, OH 44109 (216) 431-6910
- Dayton: P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 274-8048
- Detroit: Revolution Books 5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48212 (313) 872-2286
- El Paso: P.O. Box 2357, El Paso, TX 79952 (915) 566-3377
- Hawaii: Revolution Books 923 North King St., Honolulu, HI 96817 (808) 845-2733
- Houston: P.O. Box 18112, Houston, TX 77023 (713) 641-3904
- Los Angeles Area: Revolution Books 2597 W. Pico Blvd., L.A., Calif. 90006 (213) 384-3856
- Louisville: P.O. Box 633, Louisville, KY 40201
- New York-New Jersey: Revolution Books 16 East 18th St., New York, NY 10003 (212) 243-8638
- North Carolina: P.O. Box 5712, Greensboro, NC 27403 (919) 275-1079
- Philadelphia: P.O. Box 11789, Philadelphia, PA 19104 (215) 849-3574
- Portland: Revolutionary Workers Center 4728 N.E. Union, Portland, OR 97211 (503) 282-5034
- St. Louis: P.O. Box 6013, St. Louis, MO 63139 (314) 721-6159
- Salinas: P.O. Box 101, Salinas, CA 93902
- San Diego: P.O. Box 16033, San Diego, CA 92116
- San Francisco Bay Area: Revolutionary Workers Center 5929 MacArthur Blvd., Oakland, CA 94605 (415) 638-9700
- Seattle Area: Revolution Books 1828 Broadway, Seattle, WA 98122 (206) 323-9222
- Tampa: P.O. Box 24983, Tampa, FL 33623
- Washington, D.C.: Revolution Books 2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20009 (202) 265-1969
- West Virginia: P.O. Box 617, Beckley, WV 25801



"Create Public Opinion... Seize Power," the central task of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is no literary task. Bob Avakian, the Chairman of our Party's Central Committee, recently pointed out:

**“ To underscore the significance of this advance in our understanding of central task—and of the newspaper as our main weapon, in its various aspects—it can be truly said that it is only with these advances that we have really arrived at and begun to develop an actual plan for how to make revolution, for how to make all our work concretely build toward the goal of an eventual armed uprising and civil war. This is not to say that previously we did not carry out revolutionary work (with whatever weaknesses and errors there may have been in our line and actions), nor that we did not have a basic strategy—the united front—for revolution (for the necessary approach to the question of the alignment of class forces). But it is to say that it is only with the forging of the line on central task, as represented by ‘create public opinion... seize power,’ and the wielding of the newspaper as the main weapon, that we could really begin to forge the links between our work in this period and the actual mass armed struggle for power in the future...
... Not only does the objective situation and its developments hold greatly heightened possibilities, and not only have we made real leaps in our analysis of this, but with the forging of our central task and the central role of the newspaper we have actually laid the foundation for concretely building for the revolutionary prospects ahead, for actually being able to seize upon and direct toward the revolutionary aim the many diverse strands or streams in which the class struggle breaks out—the many different ways that ‘communism springs from every pore’ of society—and it is up to us to strain to make further leaps to carry this forward and finally carry it through... ”**

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Gang of Four Trial Temporarily Postponed

Chinese Rulers Slug It Out: Crude Capitalist Roader vs. Wishy-Washy Revisionist

Intense infighting raging within China's revisionist ruling clique is being highlighted dramatically by what the *New York Times* called "its first serious political crisis since Mao's death four years ago"—the recent no-holds-barred attack on nominal Party Chairman Hua Guofeng by forces led by Chinese real top-dog Deng Xiaoping. Several reports had slightly different versions of the story. Hua had been forced out as party chairman, or will be forced to resign in the near future; some even claim Hua already has been placed under arrest. In any case, Hua has not been seen in public since November 27. At a December 14 reception for the visiting Greek Communist Party delegation, a Foreign Ministry spokesman did not deny rumors about Hua, saying simply, "I don't know." Meanwhile Deng told some visitors that party General Secretary Hu Yaobang was in for a "big promotion." Real subtle. An article in the most recent issue of the party's theoretical journal, *Red Flag*, written by a high-level party official, contained blasts widely regarded as being aimed at Hua. "Poor leadership" and "unsavory styles of work" should be corrected, the article declared, "no matter what persons are involved," and that "Quite a number of party leaders are not up to standard." Quite obviously, the way is being prepared for Hua's slide into oblivion, or oblivion with bars.

When the "gang of Four" was arrested in the reactionary coup four years ago, they were charged with bringing "anarchy," "disruption," "chaos" and "disorder" to China. There would be "no peace" with these revolutionaries around, it was said. Instead it was to be time for "great order across the land," "unity and stability" and a "stable group of leaders" who would take care of business. Well, so much for that! Once again, capitalism has brought with it its constant companions—dislocation, crisis and anarchy.

An Associated Press report reveals that Hua was brought before the Party Discipline Inspection Committee in late November, right before the start of the trial of the "Gang of Four," and confessed to making political and economic errors. There probably were very careful negotiations at this point over how to construct the case against the Four—especially over how far to go in making explicit what everyone already knows: that Mao is really on trial as the head of a "Gang of 5." An open attack on Mao would have a direct bearing on whether Hua would be implicated in the trials. In the period immediately after the revisionist coup, Hua derived his power from his bogus claim of being Mao's "true successor." The final indictments against the Four do not include Hua among the revisionist merit roll of those "persecuted" by the Four, like Deng, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, and others. But neither do the charges directly implicate Hua. This, according to some reports, is the favor Hua received in return for agreeing to resign as Chairman.

However, the flaring up of Deng's power play against Hua right in the midst of the trial of the Four, a trial around which the whole party and the whole country was supposed to be united, can only mean that contradictions of all kinds are sharpening and the compromise reached before the trial has broken down. Originally scheduled to reconvene on December 15 after a two-day recess, the trial has been postponed for several days. The delay is due in great part to Chiang Ching's (Jiang Qing's) heroic and dramatic revolutionary stand on the 12th, when she

turned the trial upside down, denouncing the revisionists, and ending up being dragged out of the courtroom. The stunned revisionists needed a few days to recover and try to control the situation. But the confusion about Hua's status no doubt played no small part in the delay.

Actually, by bringing out clearly (for example, by the use of the Chinese proverb, "If you are going to strike a dog, think first of its master") that the only "crimes" she and the others are really being accused of is following Mao's revolutionary line, Chiang Ching has sharpened the contradictions between Hua and Deng. Although some of this has shown through despite the revisionist censorship and the revisionists' hypocritical attempts to pretend they are upholding Mao, Deng has also deliberately let some of Chiang Ching's statements out to step up attacks on Mao. This, of course, can only lead to a very dangerous situation for Hua.

There have been unconfirmed rumors that Hua has not been taking these sneak blows from Deng quietly, but in fact tried to organize some kind of support, especially in the army. This, in

turn, prompted Deng to open up attacks against Hua in the middle of the "Gang of Four" trial. Although this is still unconfirmed, it is known that back in April of this year at a conference on political work in the military, Hua had raised the slogan, "Political work is the lifeline of economic work." Of course, Hua was merely camouflaging his opposition to revolutionary politics with his bluster about political work as the lifeline. The real question is what do you mean by "politics"—and Hua definitely means *revisionist* (capitalist), not revolutionary, politics. However, this was quite a bold move on Hua's part—a different revisionist formula than Deng's slogan of economic work according to "economic laws" (i.e., laws of capitalism). Hua's speech is said to have received a favorable response from some quarters in the army. In response to this, there was a series of articles in the press criticizing Hua's slogan as a leftover of the Cultural Revolution period.

Marriage of Convenience on the Rocks

Actually, Hua has been on the defen-

sive for some time, and his eventual fate was unmistakable. He had already been stripped of his post as Premier at the latest session of the People's Congress two months ago. At the same congress, Chen Yongqui, the former peasant leader from the model agricultural commune Dazhai (Tachai), who rose to the post of Vice-Premier, was ousted and accused of "falsifying figures" and of sponsoring frame-ups and even deaths while he was in charge of local work. This was an ominous sign for Hua, who rose to national prominence at the First National Learn from Dazhai Conference a year before the coup and also led the second conference right after the coup. (In both of these, Hua perverted the revolutionary lessons of Dazhai into a model for capitalist development of agriculture.)

The conflict between Hua and Deng may be intense and vicious, but then factional struggles within any bourgeoisie do get extremely volatile sometimes (witness Watergate). Still, they are both revisionists, and the common bond between them is opposition

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Everybody's Bookstore, San Francisco's Chinatown.

Native American Activist Hung in Prison

"On Saturday, December 13, 1980, at approximately 5:35 a.m., inmate Bobby Gene Garcia, register number 02002-135, was discovered hanging in his cell at the U.S. Penitentiary, Terre Haute, Indiana." So opened the warden's press release as the authorities attempted to hide their blood-stained hands behind lies that this revolutionary fighter "committed suicide." Almost exactly one year ago, Bobby Garcia was convicted with co-defendant, American Indian Movement leader, Leonard Peltier, for the 1979 escape from Lompoc Federal Prison in California, which, for the time being, helped thwart the U.S. government's plot to murder Peltier. Now Bobby Gene Garcia is dead—executed by the government.

The government had long been out to silence Leonard Peltier. Before the escape, the government thought they had him locked away for good. They had sentenced him to two consecutive life terms in connection with the Native American armed defense against an FBI attack on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota in 1975.

This reservation was the scene of the Wounded Knee struggle in 1973. In the wake of Wounded Knee, the FBI and the Bureau of Indian Affairs had terrorized the Indian people, especially singling out activists from the American Indian Movement. On June 26, 1975, SWAT teams, Bureau of Indian Affairs goon squads, U.S. marshalls, and about 20 FBI agents converged on a spiritual camp and opened fire. The security team, which included Peltier, defended the camp. The shoot-out left one Indian, Joe Stuntz, dead, as well as two FBI agents.

Peltier was railroaded, as our rulers attempted to crush the struggle of Native Americans. The FBI lies at

Peltier's trial went hand in hand with the FBI murder of Anna Mae Aquash, a Native American woman who was to testify on behalf of Peltier.

None of this broke Peltier's spirit. From behind bars in 1978, he issued a statement to all Native Americans: "As warriors of our nation, we must show our people the spirit of Crazy Horse so they may rise off their knees... rise up with me and resist the terrorist attacks of genocide against our nation!"

Learning of the government's plan to murder Peltier in prison in 1979, Bobby Garcia and others vowed to do whatever necessary to get Peltier out. On July 20, 1979, Leonard Peltier, Bobby Garcia, and Dallas Thunder Shield busted out of Lompoc. Thunder Shield was shot in the back and killed as he attempted to surrender, Garcia was arrested just outside the fence, and Peltier was caught a few days later. (For more on this see *RW* No. 13, 30 and others.) For this, and the bold, revolutionary stand he has taken since, the authorities murdered Bobby Garcia.

Prison authorities cry, "Suicide, suicide!" Yet they can't explain how Garcia was hung with a sheet in a hospital cell block of "strip cells" where no sheets were allowed. And why didn't the TV cameras which monitor the cells 24 hours a day detect this "suicide"? Supposedly, because Bobby Garcia avoided the hourly inspections of each cell by waking up just after the 5:00 a.m. check (the last time the guards say they saw him asleep in bed) and hung himself before the next check 55 minutes later. And what of the fact that the day before he was killed, he told several people his life had been threatened? Garcia, a devoted poet, left no "suicide note." If this is just a simple suicide, why were all 13 other prisoners from his cell block transferred

to other prisons all over the country immediately after his death! Garcia was never even told why he had been put in the hospital cell block one year earlier, nor why his medication (which he took for asthma) had been changed three days before he was killed. When asked by the *RW* why Garcia was in a hospital cell, Warden Littman replied chuckling, "I don't know. (heh, heh) Maybe he was sick. (heh, heh)!" Shortly after this, Littman began talking about Leonard Peltier, though Peltier had not been raised in the discussion by the *RW*. The warden demonstrated a clear knowledge of Peltier, as if having recently discussed Peltier elsewhere.

Two days after Garcia was killed, the Terre Haute prison authorities and the FBI turned their fire on Standing Deer, also known as Robert Wilson. Standing Deer is the man the government originally coerced into setting up an attempted assassination of Peltier. But instead, he told Peltier of the plot, and later he was barred by the judge from testifying in Peltier's defense. In 1978, a prison authority and "a well dressed stranger in a light brown suit and diagonal-striped tie... (with) very erect posture," told Standing Deer, "It is Peltier's life or yours. If you betray us, you will die, if you perform honorably, you will be rewarded." (See *RW* No. 21) According to a lawyer involved in this matter, on December 15, 1980, the FBI "questioned" Standing Deer at Terre Haute. This quickly led to a heated argument, "The FBI man got up and left, saying, 'What you need is a good lobotomy!'" Three hours later, Standing Deer was notified that he was being transferred to the Springfield Federal Medical Facility for surgery. While the warden at Springfield insists he's there for "medical evaluation," he's been on the surgical wing since

Wednesday, December 17. Standing Deer has made it clear he will refuse any surgery. The warden at Springfield pointed out that they have "complete mental health facilities." No doubt these include the latest techniques in mind-numbing drugs and psychosurgery.

The blatant, outrageous murder of Bobby Garcia and attack on Standing Deer means authorities are clearly stepping up their moves against Leonard Peltier, who is presently behind the walls in Marion, Illinois and is active in a strike at this federal prison. (In recent weeks, incidentally, the FBI has turned over to Peltier's lawyers over 12,000 pages of documents from their files on Peltier alone. The release of these documents is intended to intimidate struggle against the government by admitting that the FBI and other agencies are capable of the lowest and most murderous activity imaginable. Much is revealed in the documents. More on this in future issues.)

Just a year ago, U.S. attorneys asked the judge for the maximum sentences against Garcia and Peltier for their escape attempt. The reason: "This will act as an example... a deterrent to thousands... across the country." In fact, the government is desperate to "deter" the powerful example set to thousands—and more—by Leonard Peltier and Bobby Garcia.

As he faced the court, Bobby Gene Garcia said, "It is not easy to accept your sterile word called 'justice,' when my heart, my spirit is the same with Emiliano Zapata and Chief Crazy Horse... My only crime is to possess the irrepressible free will to keep resisting the government in their design to repress and destroy the Indian native and our way of life."

FALN Suspects Defy Court at Arraignment

Chicago. Ten alleged members of the FALN were arraigned in federal court on December 15 in a hearing that set the stage for yet another vicious kangaroo court trial scheduled to begin on February 3. These ten Puerto Rican independence fighters have already been convicted of so-called weapons and armed robbery charges receiving sentences varying from 8 to 30 years after being arrested in a government raid in Evanston, Ill. In these "trials," they were not even allowed to be present in the courtroom after they refused to acknowledge the authority of the court and instead denounced the proceedings and exposed the U.S. domination of Puerto Rico and their determination to free it from the clutches of the U.S. imperialists. Not satisfied with these convictions and out for the maximum blood, the rulers of this country have since dredged up the notorious "seditious conspiracy" law and indicted these fighters and one other on this openly political charge and 12 other counts (see *RW* No. 84). And with this charge they are saying straight up, "Puerto Rico is U.S. property, and anyone who challenges our right to plunder and bleed it dry or who challenges our right to rule *period* will be dealt with to the max." The dredging up of these "seditious conspiracy" charges is a significant development and underscores the real desperation of the U.S. ruling class to hold on to its rule in the face of a growing political and economic crisis and great potential upheaval up ahead.

In order to make their point perfectly clear, security for this latest arraignment was "extremely tight." The ten were brought in in leg irons and waist chains. U.S. marshalls flooded the courtroom and each spectator was required to show identification and sign their names in an attempt to discourage

supporters from attending the proceedings. In addition, the number of spectators and news reporters was limited and each had to go through an elaborate metal detector in order to gain entrance. Despite this open intimidation a number of supporters entered the courtroom anyway to applaud the defendants. And 100 people demonstrated outside the court in support of the defendants.

The ten defendants were as steadfast as ever in denouncing and exposing the court and U.S. imperialism in general. Carlos Alberto Torres, the first to be brought before the judge, threw the "seditious conspiracy" charge right back in the judge's face saying, "Your government overthrew the government of Puerto Rico, why don't you mention that?" Dickie Jimenez, who appeared next, tore his copy of the charges to pieces. "This is what I think of your indictment," he said defiantly. "I am not the criminal. U.S. imperialism is the criminal." In the face of this stinging exposure the judge continued to make feeble attempts at going through the motions of a "fair trial" entering "not guilty" pleas for all defendants. In a last-ditch effort to lend some legitimacy to the kangaroo court, the judge even started pleading with Elizam Escobar to participate in the trial. "Don't you know you're facing up to 80 years in prison?" he asked solicitously. "Man, if you think this country is going to last 80 years, you're crazy!" Escobar shot back. "You are an accomplice to genocide against my people."

Every aspect of this hearing, from the security measures down to the judge's tender concern, is straight out of the federal government's handbook on *Disorders and Terrorism*. The guidelines stress the importance of "the appearance and reality of a fair trial"—with the emphasis on appear-



100 people demonstrate at the Federal Building in Chicago in support of the 11 Puerto Rican liberation fighters being arraigned on seditious conspiracy charges.

ances. Judge McMillen is an ex-military intelligence officer who maintains close contact with the same agencies charged with suppressing and destroying the Puerto Rican independence movement—the FBI and CIA. He maintains his membership in an organization of ex-intelligence operatives, the Chicago Counter-Intelligence Corps Association. There is no question that with

these seditious conspiracy charges the U.S. imperialists are feverishly trying to suppress the demand for the independence of Puerto Rico. As Carmen Valentin told the judge, "It is not just the eleven of us you are afraid of. We are behind bars already. It is the people out there who will pick up arms to overthrow you and you know it. This is inevitable."

McDUFFIE MURDER

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through an intersection, squeals went out across police bands. The boys were rallying for a little fun.

As ex-Miami cop, Mark Meier testified at the Veverka trial, this was such good sport that he dropped the rape call he was investigating and joined in the chase. In fact, Meier was the first car on the scene. McDuffie had heard three shots fired and stopped to give himself up. Veverka had just arrived and immediately yanked McDuffie from the motorcycle and punched him as hard as he could. Within seconds, a whole phalanx of Miami pigs moved in to get their licks. Meier further testified that the cops were so intent on beating McDuffie that they swung wildly, hitting each other in their frenzy. "They kept clubbing him until they were tired," Meier told the court. But one cop shouted "don't stop now!" Then he stepped up and delivered the most forceful blow to McDuffie's skull. Coroners would later conclude that the blows that cracked McDuffie's skull from between the eyes to the back of his head, were wielded with 90 times the force of gravity. Arthur McDuffie lay in a coma for the next four days, until the injuries to his head forced his brain to swell up inside his skull to such a size that it cut off its own blood supply. Even drilling holes into his head could not relieve the pressure or reverse the process. Arthur McDuffie died on December 21.

Instantly the cover-up began. "Accident victim," the reports read. Veverka was in charge of filing the police reports, which he did for the next week, embellishing the story as new pieces were discovered—but always claiming "accident." Elements of this charade continued into Veverka's trial. He even testified that after "being forced and ordered" to file the false reports, he confessed. His "conscience" began to "trouble him." He turned state's witness because, "I thought about McDuffie's children sitting home at Christmas without their father." What was revealed in court though, was that Veverka got wind of his imminent suspension pending investigation on Christmas night and unsure of the future, moved quickly the next day to save his ass. He should have had more faith in the system!

Veverka's trial revealed that it was he who called for a police tow-truck to get rid of McDuffie's motorcycle—long before any of his superior officers even arrived. Veverka's initiative was a product of the years of experience of beating and killing Blacks in Miami collected by the Miami police force. Cover-up and silence go right along with the nightly sport in the "Combat Zone," and is a matter of habit. Meier put it straight out how, "cops routinely beat up Blacks to teach them a lesson." But this time there were just too many jagged edges—the condition of the motorcycle showed that it had been intentionally wrecked and had not crashed; two cops (Meier and Veverka) turned on their fellow vermin; and most of all, there was the mangled body of Arthur McDuffie.

Five of the club and flashlight wielding cops were indicted—four on charges of manslaughter and tampering with evidence, one with tampering and being an accessory after the fact. Their trial was set for Tampa, because, as Dade County's chief deputy medical examiner, Ronald Wright, indicated: "I don't think they'll get a conviction in Tampa. Tampa has a Midwest, pro-police mentality... Jurors tend to believe cops." The entire thing was a whitewash—ruled an acquittal.

That was on May 17; on May 18 all hell broke loose as the streets of Miami's Liberty City area were rocked with open rebellion. In the flames of Miami, had issued forth a manifesto. The rebellion was not simply a response to the decaying conditions (as many a liberal would have us believe) that are part and parcel of national oppression; it was a political response to the verdict in Tampa, and to the government in general. It went right up in the face of

the ruling class, powerfully slapping imperialist cries for "national unity." The rebellion jolted awake and stimulated the consciousness of millions.

The bourgeoisie immediately dispatched a military plane to Miami. Aboard it were U.S. Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti and Gilbert Pompa from the Justice Department's Community Relations Division. They solemnly promised that Washington, D.C. would investigate.

Said Civiletti: "It's our goal to eliminate whatever injustices may have occurred here, and bring some sense of peace back to this community. I pledge that in that investigation, everyone, all members of the community, will get a fair shake, fair play." The local press editorialized: "The U.S. Justice Department is preparing to go to a grand jury tomorrow for possible indictments under the Civil Rights Act. Acquittal on the state court charges, federal officials say, does not prevent prosecution for violations of McDuffie's civil rights." The headlines proclaimed: "U.S. Opens New Probe of McDuffie Case."

Months later the news went out; Charles Veverka was brought under federal indictment for "falsifying evidence," and "violating McDuffie's civil rights." But the trial would follow a long and winding road before it landed in San Antonio.

As the Feds steered the trial across the country, trying to find the best place for the acquittal to be delivered, "We found that the incidents going on in those cities compromised the climate for a trial free of external influences such as race," stated Gilbert Pompa.

With the Miami Rebellion still sending shivers down the backs of the ruling class, it was deemed out of the question that Veverka be tried in Miami. Atlanta, the next proposed site, was eventually rejected. The authorities already had their hands full, trying to contain the anger growing in the wake of the day care center explosion which killed four Black children. At the same time, the blatant racist slayings of other Black children was continuing. The Justice Department Community Relations Division summed up: "The atmosphere would not be good for a trial with such strong racial overtones."

In New Orleans, the next site proposed, the pigs had just gone on a rampage in a Black section of the city—shooting down four Black people in 24 hours. The Justice Department reported: "The racial climate in New Orleans would not be enhanced by the Veverka trial." And then Feds ruled out Houston "because of the longstanding tensions between minorities and the police department," (no doubt, a particular reference to the police murder of Joe Torres, the Houston Rebellion and the struggle to free the Moody Park 3).

But even San Antonio—the site finally picked because it seemed so secure with its 5 air force bases, its large army base, its record of humanitarian service to the Shah of Iran, and its ideological icon, the Alamo—was not a walkover. Justice Department representatives spent four entire days meeting with city officials, community leaders, and members of the press to ensure that this whole trial would come off without a hitch. With a nervous glance cast over their shoulders to Miami, the Feds began their trial.

Inside the courtroom, the Feds' charade was carried out in an almost matter-of-fact way. It was a rehash of past testimony, limited only to Veverka, who took center stage. The federal judge was the original judge selected from Miami. Testimony was relatively insignificant, given the broader purpose for this "trial." The prosecutor said Veverka violated McDuffie's civil rights, Veverka said he didn't. The prosecutor said Veverka falsified reports. Veverka said he didn't mean to. The jury retired. A clarification from the judge on a legal point "broke an 11-1 deadlock" on the third day of deliberation. "Not Guilty."

The press implicitly affixed blame for this verdict on the jury, which, it

gloated, consisted of five Chicanos. You didn't have to look too far to get their point: "Chicanos acquitted a cop who killed a Black man." This clever tactic—aimed at fanning national antagonisms—was undoubtedly worked out in a meeting between the Justice Department and the press. *RW* sellers in San Antonio reported angry denunciation by Chicanos at this attempt to pit people against each other. In fact,

the jury's role in all this was negligible, at least in terms of what was planned for Veverka. If the acquittal hadn't come from this jury—the case would have been appealed, moved again or simply dropped.

Our rulers now want to close the book on this case, their message delivered. But for the masses of people, freeing Veverka is the last straw in the murder of Arthur McDuffie.

RW Sellers Beaten, Arrested

LIBERTY CITY, MIAMI AFTER THE VERDICT

Miami—The "not guilty" verdict came down from the San Antonio trial of cop Charles Veverka last Wednesday evening. Within several hours, Miami police were forced to barricade one neighborhood to try to contain rock and bottle-throwing youth who roamed the streets looking for one target—the cops. The next night, the same area went up again, as more youth, 250 at times, took *their* verdict to the streets. A 1-year memorial march for McDuffie was scheduled for Sunday. The authorities were literally begging people to stay away!

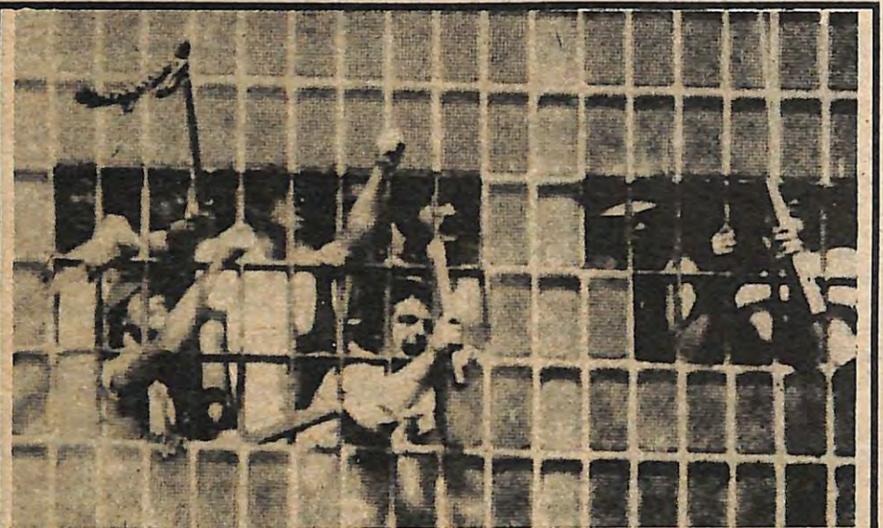
The Dade County (Miami) Police Department had bragged all week before the verdict about being "in a state of readiness" as they bolstered their forces for the imminent decision in the trial of their fellow cop. On December 12, as Veverka was about to be sprung, a Florida State Circuit Judge slapped a 15-year maximum sentence on an 18-year-old Black youth, who was one of the many *randomly* arrested and charged in the death of a white youth during the May rebellion. He promptly denied the youth bond during appeal.

The *RW* distributors hit the Liberty City area last week. Soon, they were confronted and followed by a roving band of uniformed and undercover police. Street corner debates were raging, with small groups of people taking

extra copies to sell and then coming back for more. When the cops finally cornered two sellers for arrest, a person in the crowd stepped forward to get their names and was still struggling with the police for the names as the squad car drove off.

The cops went wild at the response to the *RW* they had seen. They threatened the revolutionaries with their guns. Once at the station, one revolutionary was beaten while his hands were cuffed. Police held the two in jail for four days until a full bond of \$1000, plus 10% of that full bond, was raised. The word was out from the authorities—no bondsmen would take the bond.

People from among the basic masses as well as progressive people from the middle class—many of whom had been active in the movement since the 1960s—were infuriated by this attack. An ACLU lawyer suggested calling a press conference, and others canceled meetings to help make the arrangements for bail and lawyers. The *RW* sellers are back on the streets. One Black worker from Liberty City told them, "People don't use the term 'revolution' lightly. But that is what I'm calling the rebellion. I'm still gonna call what happened in May a revolution with a little 'r.' But I agree that what we have to be doing is preparing for revolution with a big 'R.'"



Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* is establishing a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

In early November, a number of government policy analysts released a "dissent memo" to various government officials opposing current and projected U.S. policy regarding the situation in El Salvador. Since that time the memo has been made public. The document is very revealing to say the least and the fact that it came out at all is a very real reflection of the desperation in the ruling class around how to deal with the rapidly sharpening economic and political crisis in El Salvador and Central America more generally. They are finding themselves between a rock and a hard place in this region, which is right in their own backyard so to speak. The dissenters (current and former analysts for the State Dept., Dept. of Defense, National Security Council, and the CIA) are extremely worried about the consequences of clear U.S. intentions to play an increasingly more direct military role in the area either with U.S. troops or troops from pro-U.S. regimes in the area. But unfortunately the U.S. really has little choice but to follow this course, as they find themselves and their frontmen increasingly isolated and with less and less room to maneuver politically. The dissenters warn of the dangers of such a course in strengthening opposition to U.S. imperialism and they are especially uptight about allowing the Soviet social-imperialists and their Cuban pointmen in the area along with pro-Soviet revisionist forces, such as the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS), to strengthen their influence. Unfortunately for these "dissenters" and the rest of their imperialist buddies, U.S. options in the region are diminishing. While there will be twists and turns overall, the only course of action open to them is more overt military intervention which they have been feverishly preparing for. But we do indeed thank these "dissenters" for revealing some of the truth about the extent and depth of U.S. covert operations in El Salvador and neighboring countries in the course of their pleadings. What follows are a few highlights.

The authors make clear that the extent of U.S. "activities" in El Salvador represent "an allocation of bureaucratic and financial resources exceeding those made to any other hemispheric crisis since 1965." Here they are referring to the 1965 U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic. And they come out and admit what is by now patently obvious, that all the U.S. media coverage around El Salvador is nothing but State Dept. and CIA lies. Here's how they put it in typical officialese:

"Media coverage of El Salvador has been responsive to official government policies: greater emphasis on U.S. interests in the region, continuous reference to Cuban involvement, understatement of the 'human rights' dimension, effective use of the 'extremists of the right and left' formula." And they point out, "Informal signals (sic!—RW) to foreign desk editors during the electoral campaign discouraged their interest in the region."

Speaking of the current U.S. role in El Salvador they say: "We have ascertained that the activities... are being implemented by no less than twelve agencies of the government and supported by numerous NGO's (non-governmental organizations—RW)."

Here is a sampling of some of these "activities" pieced together from various parts of the extensive memo. All headings are theirs and all descriptions are their own except where otherwise noted:

● ● **STRENGTHENING COUNTER-INSURGENCY CAPABILITIES OF ARMED FORCES**

● **Increased training for middle and low ranking officers.**

— The most solid bloc of support for the current government and its counter-insurgency efforts comes from the southern cone military regimes. Among these, Argentina, Chile and Uruguay provide training and advisors on intelligence, urban and rural counter-insurgency, and logistics. Argentina has become



the second largest trainer of Salvadorean officers after the U.S.

— The U.S. is making extensive use of its remaining military facilities in Panama in the expanded training program for Salvadorean personnel. This training program is the largest ever sponsored by the U.S. for any Latin American country in a single year.

- **Improving military infrastructure for more effective urban and rural combat communications and rapid troop deployment.**
- **Setting up adequate supply lines and stockpiling material in cooperation with regional and extra-hemispheric allies.**

— The Latin American press has carried accusations suggesting that DOD (Dept. of Defense) may be using our facilities in Panama for stockpiling military supplies intended to play a key role in an eventual logistical supply air-lift to Salvadorean armed forces. We have obtained some evidence support these allegations.

The critical importance of Panama for the U.S. in the current scenario would be sharply increased should we become more heavily involved in the escalating conflict in El Salvador.

- **Providing strategic and tactical command advisory assistance.**
- **Increasing cohesion and coordination among various command structures within Salvadorean armed forces.**
- **Seeking to bring under unified command the paramilitary units operating in the country.**
- **Establishing and/or improving communications and cooperation among armed forces and paramilitary organizations in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras.**

— A paramilitary strike force made up of former members of the Nicaraguan National Guard, anti-Castro Cubans, Guatemalan military personnel and mercenaries has been formed in the past year. Spokesmen for this contingent have expressed their intention to intervene in El Salvador "when the situation requires it." (read: when the U.S. orders it—RW)

...It should be noted that U.S. intelligence has kept informed of the plans and capabilities of the paramilitary strike force in Guatemala. U.S. intelligence has been in contact with Nicaraguan exile groups in Guatemala and in Miami and it is aware of their relationship with Cuban exile terrorist groups operating in the U.S.

— During 1980 DOD has devoted considerable resources to expanding communications and improving relations with the Honduran armed forces. DOD's stated objective has been "to create a new balance in the region" after the fall of Somoza's National Guard. The discussions with Honduran officers have been characterized as "encouraging", "fruitful", and "successful" at different stages of the process. These discussions included the

following topics:

The need for increased cooperation between Honduras and El Salvador armed forces to reassert government control over disputed border areas currently held by Salvadorean guerrillas.

U.S. and Honduran cooperation in resupply efforts to El Salvador's armed forces in the event of a large scale insurrectional offensive.

U.S. willingness to assist Hon-

duras in case of outbreak of open hostilities with Nicaragua.

Earlier this year there was widely circulated allegations in Ecuador to the effect that DOD and ARA (American Republics Area, a bureau of the State Dept.—RW) envoys had visited the country seeking to enlist government and armed forces support for the set up of an Andean Pact "peace keeping force" that could move into El Salvador in coordination with Venezuelan, U.S. and Costa Rican contingents.

- ● **Improving and protecting the international legitimacy and prestige of the (El Salvadorean) regime through:**
 - **Providing logistical support and orientation through U.S. embassies and missions.**
 - **Discouraging resolutions and other diplomatic initiatives critical of the current government or possibly contributing to the legitimization of opposition forces.**
 - **Activating mechanisms to disrupt opposition efforts to obtain international support and**

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Hunger Strike Protests El Salvador Murders

The Chicago Church Task Force on El Salvador began a hunger strike on December 17 to call attention to the 10,000 people, including 3 American nuns and a lay worker earlier this month, who have been murdered under that country's ruling military junta since January, 1980. Without the official blessing of the Catholic Church, a core of twenty people, including priests and nuns, Salvadorans and American supporters, planted themselves in the downtown Holy Name Cathedral. Signs marked "Hunger Strike" indicate they have reserved the last three pews of the church for their action. A banner saying, "We Condemn Genocide in El Salvador" hangs on the last pew, and picket signs are posted in the entryway with "Stop Intervention in El Salvador" and other demands.

Because they have gone to Latin America as missionaries, a number of American nuns and priests have become aware that not only does vicious repression flourish in countries like El Salvador, but it is fully supported by the U.S. and its loyal servant, the Catholic Church. When the church refused to condemn continued U.S. support for the Salvadoran junta even after the recent rape and murder by Salvadoran government forces, of three American Maryknoll nuns and a lay worker, who took part in the opposition to the junta, this was too much for many among the Catholic rank and file to swallow. The Church Task Force drafted a letter on December 8 to Cardinal Cody, head of the Chicago Archdiocese, demanding "a public statement from the leadership of our church in Chicago requesting that the United States withdraw indefinitely all aid and support to the repressive military junta in El Salvador." But Cody ignored these mere mortals, keeping in mind the higher authority he serves—U.S. imperialism. After nothing but official silence emanated from the cardinal's office for a week, the hunger strikers gathered in the cathedral, vowing to continue their protest on the steps outside if forced to leave.

Father Roy Bourgeois (who, we are happy to add with all due respect to Father Roy, is not acting in accordance with the class interests his name might imply) spoke to the *Revolutionary Worker* about the situation in El Salvador: "There is a struggle between the oligarchy who control the land, the wealth and the power and the majority of people condemned to poverty and

oppression. Of course, the U.S. has taken the side of the rich to protect its own system... Cody is standing silent because he is allied with the rich and powerful of this country." The cardinal has never made much attempt to hide this fact. Unlike some others of his stature who keep up the appearance of being "lowly and humble servants of God," Cody makes no pretenses and is widely known for hobnobbing with wealthy socialites and entertaining important guests, like the Pope, at his fabulous mansion in the heart of Chicago's Gold Coast. Cody's initial response to the Church Task Force was predictable. His only action was to complain to Father Bourgeois' superiors about the "bad publicity" from the hunger strike. Finally, in the face of growing public exposure, Cody partially gave in. While still refusing to issue a public statement as do the rest of the Cardinals in the U.S., he had the Ministry for Peace and Justice send a letter to all Catholic ministries in the Chicago area calling for a halt to U.S. aid and political support to the government of El Salvador.

Another indication of the growing outrage within many religious organizations over U.S. support to fascist dictatorships is the statement issued December 18 by Clergy and Laity Concerned, a liberal group of religious officials. This statement, signed by 71 upper-echelon religious leaders of many denominations, urges Ronald Reagan to denounce the use of torture and political oppression and affirm "this nation's historic commitment to peace with justice, democracy and human rights." The statement explicitly lists El Salvador, South Korea and Haiti—places where the U.S. has become increasingly exposed for installing bloody regimes—as cause for "concern." This was the most significant action by Clergy and Laity Concerned since the days of Vietnam, when the organization first formed in opposition to the war.

The fact that such a group of high-level church officials has come out and made such a statement around the international situation is an indication of the growing worldwide exposure of the ugly face of U.S. imperialism and the impact of the struggle of the masses of people in countries like El Salvador. Much as the rulers of this country would like to put an end to what they call the "Vietnam Syndrome," public opinion in the U.S. is running high against U.S. imperialist exploits around the world. 11

IT'S IN YOUR HANDS

"It's in *your* hands!" This was not only the spirit but the *reality*, as new co-conspirators stepped forward in a scene which unfolded at two "turn-around" locations for city bus drivers in one major city, last Friday afternoon. Two *RW* sellers went out to the drivers, armed with piles of papers tied in bundles, and in a couple of hours distributed 200 papers, almost all of them in bundles of 10 to 20 papers. A significant number among the drivers citywide have been regular readers of the *RW*, *RW* networks exist among the drivers, and in the week before advances had been made in developing new networks, not only among the drivers themselves but in the drivers distributing *RW*s to their passengers and in their neighborhoods. But on Friday, things took a leap. At one of the two locations, where newspaper sellers had not been since before May 1st, virtually everyone who took bundles had never taken up the paper before. Several drivers also took stacks of leaflets announcing an upcoming meeting to uphold Mao Tsetung's revolutionary comrades, to distribute to their passengers.

A number of drivers immediately opened the newspapers and started reading the article about Chiang Ching at the trial, and the excerpts from Chiang Ching's speech, "On the Revolution of Peking Opera." One guy said, "They're afraid of her because she reminds them of Mao." This story is only one example but it is by no means a "special case" or a mystery. It is a very good example of revolutionary new things being born when the call for 100,000 Co-conspirators Now is taken out to the masses in a bold way; and how, when the revolutionaries stop lagging behind the spontaneous awakening

of the masses, which as we pointed out in *RW* No. 83 has been the problem, then the revolutionary initiative of the masses can be truly unleashed in amazing new ways. These advances also pose new contradictions for the Party, new responsibilities to meet the requirements of the advanced workers and not tail behind them. Of course this particular leap in distribution was not accomplished without struggle. More than one guy took a bundle, and then hesitated for a moment, saying, "I'm not like you guys, I don't know how to talk about these articles and sell papers." They were won to distributing the bundles after further struggle on the spot over the significance of the exposure in the newspaper itself on the trial of Mao Tsetung's revolutionary comrades, how the imperialists are trying to bury revolution when the actual possibility of a revolutionary situation developing is opening up on a world scale, and how the *RW* is the key link in building the bridge to the future for the seizure of power. Of course, it is not necessary to be an agitator to distribute *RW*s, and in fact it is the newspaper itself, principally through exposure which trains people politically to carry out revolutionary work. But what the questions of these workers further point out is the need to follow up and consolidate the advances made in broadly taking out the paper, and further develop the networks among the masses, not as an end in themselves, but to spread the conspiracy more broadly and deeply among the oppressed and exploited; and the importance of giving full play to the initiative of the masses, calling on people to step forward into every aspect

of this work.

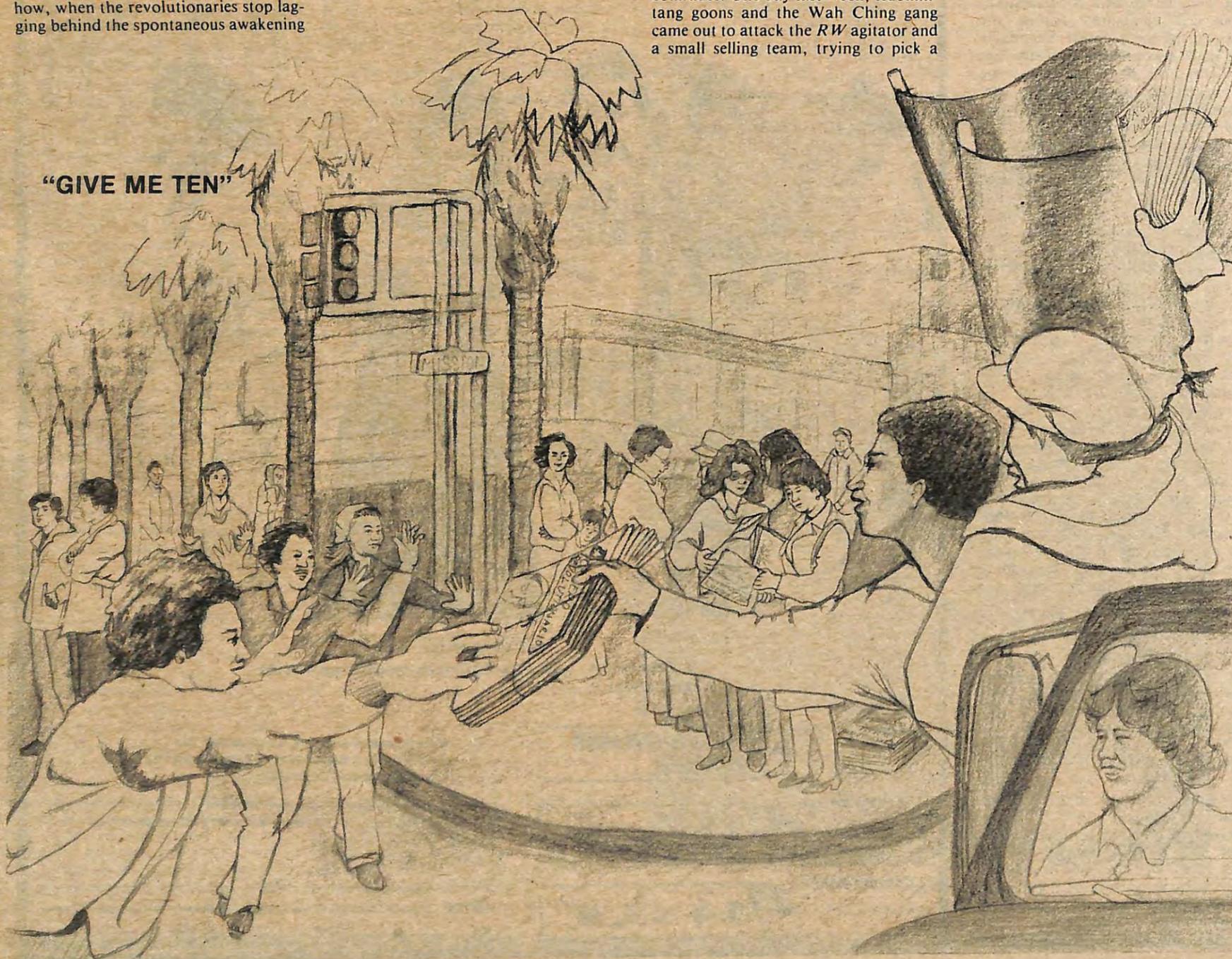
From reports we have received, one thing which stands out very starkly is the role of exposures in unleashing the masses, particularly on the major political questions of the day: the trial of the Gang of Four, Poland, El Salvador, Iran, the Klan and others. The trial of the Gang of Four and the heroic stand of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao has become a mass question. In San Francisco's Mission district, which is largely immigrant workers from Central America and Mexico, open street debate erupted over the question of Mao Tsetung as a dividing line question in the international communist movement with agitators from the BPR of El Salvador. People from the neighborhood bought bundles of *RW*s as the debate got hotter, and the BPR agitator made some very crass remarks like, "Mao didn't eat tacos, what does he know about our struggle." Clearly the broad interest in Mao Tsetung as a dividing line question among revolutionary minded immigrant workers and others was an indication that indeed we have much work to do and have been lagging behind the sentiments of the masses. There have also been examples in the Mission and in other areas of Spanish-speaking people (in situations where there was someone agitating in English), pointing to the *RW* and the picture of Chiang Ching on the front and holding up ten fingers to indicate they wanted a bundle of ten *Obrero Revolucionario*'s to distribute.

In San Francisco Chinatown a battle has been raging over the *RW* and the meeting to uphold Mao's revolutionary comrades. One day last week, Kuomintang goons and the Wah Ching gang came out to attack the *RW* agitator and a small selling team, trying to pick a

fight. A crowd of about 200 people gathered, and right in front of the goons' faces, people began taking bundles of *RW*s in significant numbers for the first time. The next day a sound truck loaded with *RW*s and portraits of Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao and Mao Tsetung went into Chinatown. This time two young white guys and a Black guy, probably police agents, jumped up and attacked the sound truck, ripping up the picture of Chiang Ching. The revolutionaries defended the sound truck from the attack, holding up Mao's portrait, as a crowd of about 800 or more people gathered. Within moments every news station in town was there and the police arrived, arresting some of the *RW* sellers. The whole scene was played on the news that night, right after film clips of the trial in China, and the newsmedia tried to portray the scene as though the masses had attacked. Many of the masses saw through this blatant attempt to turn things on their head, and as one woman reported at a circle meeting that night, "They said the people were spitting on the paper, I only saw pigs spitting on the paper, the people were buying it and taking bundles." This response by the authorities is only further indication of the depth of the question of this trial among the masses and why the imperialists fear the exposure of the trial in the *Revolutionary Worker*, and the meeting planned in Chinatown this week.

Another example of the tremendous potential for spreading this conspiracy in neighborhoods of the oppressed and exploited, and other key political "base areas" for revolution, occurred in the

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Gov't. Clears Way for Improved Spying, Hounding

The conviction in early November and sentencing last week of two former top officials of the FBI has been loudly hailed in the bourgeois press as a great victory for civil liberties and justice. But one has to smell a rat when these same mouthpieces of the ruling class, who so regularly cover up with fine words the foulest crimes and murders committed by the police, now suddenly hail the conviction of two top police officials. "The verdict is a ringing warning to officials everywhere," the *New York Times* piously proclaimed. "A landmark that should deter future policemen from overreaching their legal authority," added the *Washington Post*. Many liberals were taken in wholly by this explanation of the events, and called for even further "reforms" of police powers. Other progressives and even some who call themselves revolutionaries pointed to the fact that agents Felt and Miller were given only token fines and the prosecution of former FBI director L. Patrick Gray was dropped entirely, and condemned the trial for not going far enough in prosecuting more vigorously. Both views share a common failure to grasp the actual content and significance of this highly political trial.

The seven and one half week trial of W. Mark Felt and Edward Miller, the former associate director and the former intelligence chief of the FBI, followed their indictment on one count of "conspiracy to deprive citizens of their civil rights" based on their direction of a series of burglaries in 1972 and 1973 of the apartments of friends, relatives and acquaintances of the Weather Underground. (The Weatherman organization, which formed during the mass upsurge of the '60s, despaired of the possibility of proletarian revolution in the U.S. and, outraged by the crimes of U.S. imperialism, advocated a strategy of excitatory terror in support of the national liberation struggles.)

But far from seeking to punish, even in token form, those agents of the U.S. ruling class responsible for thousands of outrages committed against the masses during the high tide of struggle of the Black masses against national oppression and the movement against the war in Vietnam, the Felt-Miller trial was aimed at breaking new ground and laying both the political and legal basis for sweeping new waves of prosecution against the masses. It was a trial in which not only former president Richard Nixon but five former Attorneys-General appeared as witnesses. It was a trial marked by rabid calls to bolster state power—particularly in time of war. And it was a trial directed squarely at reversing the verdict of public opinion against police outrages committed in the '60s and early seventies, in preparation for even stronger police measures expected to be necessary in this decade as the worldwide imperialist crisis deepens and they lurch toward world war—and the real possibility of a revolutionary situation looms before them. Not surprisingly in such a context, the name of Bob Avakian was dropped into the testimony along with repeated assertions that the Revolutionary Union (the organization which led in forming the RCP) was the creation of a "Chinese Communist espionage agent" and was linked with international terrorism.

Secret Trials in Open Court

Also a main objective of the ruling class in the trial was the development of whole new legal mechanisms for the obtaining of convictions on the basis of secret documents which are never introduced in evidence. The essence of this new "reform" is nothing less than the conduct of secret trials in open court. To do this the government began first raising a hue and cry about the threat of so-called "grey-mail." In a few well-publicized cases, such as the trial of former CIA director Richard Helms, the defendant was dismissed or allowed to plea bargain because of his alleged "threat" to subpoena classified documents that would endanger vital national security, so the story went. A

way had to be found, they said, to conduct these trials without jeopardizing "classified information." The fact that the defendants were well-known agents of imperialism had produced a certain and calculated disarming effect. Many thought the new methods might be a good thing if they would bring these criminals to justice.

But in contrast to previous trials which dealt with "past indiscretions" of government agents, the Felt-Miller trial was very definitely geared to the current and immediate problems of the ruling class in a period of feverish preparation for war. Soon after the indictments were announced in 1978, the *New York Times* in a February, 1979 analysis of the case pointed out that Felt and Miller might be let off because of the "sensitive national security information" involved. "Sources also warned that current counterintelligence efforts against the Communist Party in the United States and domestic Maoist groups could also be exposed in the case," the *Times* went on. And the trial itself was punctuated with countless references to on-going programs of burglaries, wire taps and mail covers.

To deal with this "problem," a new system was created for the trial whereby classified documents (which most of the so-called evidence was) were reviewed in secret by the judge before the trial to determine which would be introduced and which would not be. In order to make reference to on-going intelligence programs, a code language was set up between the judge, the prosecution and the defense where 22 different government programs were assigned code letters by which they were referred to in open court. Thus the testimony was in terms like "program C" or "program Y," the meanings of which were known

only to the trial participants.

Next a system of "dual evidence" was worked out where witnesses, for the most part former FBI agents, were shown two different copies of documents about which they testified. One was censored with names and whole sections blacked out. The other was the original. The witnesses were then allowed to "refresh their memories" by reading the original document, but only the edited versions were officially introduced in evidence and made a part of the public record. The normal procedure where a lawyer is forbidden to "lead the witness," that is, suggest the desired answer to the question asked, was waived as attorneys in the trial asked and received permission from the judge to lead the witness in order that "security not be compromised" by an unexpected answer.

A great deal of other material was presented in the trial not in the form of the original documents, but rather in the form of "stipulations," statements of purported fact agreed to in advance by both the prosecution and the defense. Most of the political summations of individuals and political organizations used in the trial were in this form—filled with lies and distortions—presented as undisputed fact.

Finally, hours and hours of the trial were conducted with the participants huddled in whispered conversation around the judge's bench, so-called "bench conferences" whose transcripts were sealed by the judge's order. In short the Felt-Miller trial, under the guise of prosecuting lawless police officials, was actually being used to perfect a new trial form, the secret trial in open court, a technique intended for use against any opposition to the state, not against the police enforcers of

capitalist state power.

(It is rather ironic in this light that the U.S. press has been forced to comment on the "primitive" techniques of bourgeois democracy in the trial of the Gang of Four, as the uneasiness of their own social base grows over the blatant railroad being conducted in Peking, commenting on carefully screened courtroom audiences and the use of teleprompters for witnesses. By contrast this trial of the FBI agents was open to the public—only more than half the time nobody could hear what was going on!)

To develop such an elaborate scheme obviously required a good working relationship between the prosecution, the defense and the judge. Here again the significance of the defendants being former key FBI officials reveals itself. Such splendid cooperation was available precisely because all the players were playing on the same team. The prosecution was the Justice Department. The judge was the Chief Judge of the District Court for the District of Columbia, who assigned this politically sensitive case to himself. The defendants were the former administrative heads of the FBI. And to top it all off, the same Justice Department which prosecuted Felt and Miller in Washington is defending them in New York in a \$100 million civil suit brought by the victims of the FBI burglaries!

War Preparations

If the legal manipulations in the trial were blatant, the political content was even more brazen. In an obvious attempt to create public opinion in favor of strengthening state security agencies, witness after witness was called to testify about the nature of the "threat." Precisely to avoid the central question of who holds state power and how that power is employed, the prosecution and defense alike in the Felt-

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Statements Demand:

Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants

On Thursday, December 4, attorneys for Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and the Mao Tsetung Defendants presented a petition to the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. A three-judge panel of the nine-judge appellate court handed down a decision on October 21 which reinstated the 25 felony count indictment against the defendants dismissed last year in a lower court. The December 4 petition demanded that the entire court hear the case. No decision has yet been made by the court.

The Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants issued a call for a swift and decisive response to the October 21 decision, and the Revolutionary Communist Party has broadly taken out the struggle, mainly through the Revolutionary Worker. By December 4, a literal tidal wave of telegrams had engulfed the court. Thousands of people had signed hundreds of statements condemning the railroad. This was a clear expression of militancy and anger in the face of the latest government plotting. A sampling of these statements was printed in last week's issue of the

RW.

In the past week statements have continued to pour in from around the country. A small number of these appear below. In another development in the Mao Defendants' case, the American Civil Liberties Union has filed an amicus (friend of the court) brief with the appeals court in support of the defendants.

The thousands of people who have directly joined the battle to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants have made a powerful statement to the ruling class over the past few weeks and this support continues to grow. This can be seen by the statements below. But the struggle is by no means over. Messages of support should continue to pour in—the battle to overturn this railroad must spread and intensify.

Send statements to:
D.C. Court of Appeals
500 Indiana Ave. NW
Washington, D.C. 20001

Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants
Box 6422 "T" Station
Washington, D.C. 20009

WALLA WALLA SUPPORTS BOB AVAKIAN

The railroad of the Mao Tsetung Defendants is a matter that should be of concern to every revolutionary-minded person. The case is blatantly political and the U.S. government is obviously punishing revolutionaries for interfering in its international affairs with China.

The retrial represents a serious threat to revolutionary activists because it signals a determination to silence its opponents at all costs on the government's part. Ordinarily the government pays little heed to normal demonstrations and the fact that so much cover was being devoted to railroading the defendants is a serious message to revolutionaries.

The judicial machine was constructed by the ruling class and is clearly being used to satisfy their interests in this case. It should be remembered that the capitalists will stop at nothing to prevent revolution and using the prisons they own is a good way to proceed in doing so.

The Mao Tsetung Defendants are guilty of being nothing but revolutionaries and doing their duty as such. Yet for this they are accused of many crimes.

No matter how hard they try however the judicial flunkies will never be able to railroad the struggle of the revolutionary people. Our cause is just and historically destined.

If there has been a crime committed it was committed by the police to cover up capitalism's crimes against our international comrades. The defendants stand for truth and freedom and it is for that reason that they face any charges at all.

As revolutionaries we support the overthrow of the U.S. laws and their repressive character. So long as our comrades are victimized by those same laws we will always support their cause.
Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

Mark LaRue
Walla Walla Brothers

To the judges in the D.C. Court of Appeals and all the ruling class:

We residents of Ellicott Mall demand that you drop all the charges against Revolutionary Communist Party Chairman Bob Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants.

You call us weak and hopeless minorities, but how you trembled when we

rose up in the late 1960s. We can see that in the 1980s all the oppressed will be in the same fire, and the opportunity may well arise for us to unite and bring the force of tens of millions on you and your imperialist system and bring it down. That is what you have in mind when you go after Bob Avakian and the RCP. But don't think you can snatch away revolutionary leaders quietly and without exposing your rule to millions.

Stop the railroad of Bob Avakian!
Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!
25 from Ellicott Mall Housing Project

The rich man dances
He escapes only momentarily in song
played by alienated fingers
Made like Coca-Cola to nourish the
nothingness of his soul
The song is loud—to hear nothing
else

Yet the floor pulsates beneath him
It frightens him
The rhythm is not syncopated to
the song he listens to
It is a heart beat that does not
come from his stereo
It is a symphony of many players
united
It is a love song from those who
resist the hatred he bestows on them
It is a war song
Bob Avakian sings this song
He must be freed

J.S.
San Francisco

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

All of Dracula's desperate neck-biting couldn't stop the sunrise. Nor will your attempts to railroad Bob Avakian be allowed to succeed by those who struggle to hurry the dawn of a new day. Free the Mao Defendants, stop the railroad of Bob Avakian.

Thunder Road, Chicago

To the D.C. Court and Your Masters!

This attack on Bob Avakian and the RCP has not gone unnoticed by those of us looking for a way out of this hell of imperialist Amerika and the war these superpowers are driving to. Bob Avakian has revealed the reality of this world and kept alive the revolutionary understanding that was born in the Paris Commune, that traveled thru this country in the '60s and is now forging throughout the world a force that will destroy this system and emancipate all of humanity—Keep Your Hands Off Bob Avakian.

J.M.
San Francisco

Like the CLASH says

"You can crush us, you can bruise us, but you'll have to answer to the guns of Brixton"

Like the Specials say, "This is the dawning of a new era."

Like Chiang Ching knows—the oppressed will decide who are the real criminals and murderers.

You don't listen but you hear it all and are afraid and act in desperation like a cancer case doing a terminal countdown.

So—stop—this frame up. Stop this goddamned attack. Follow your own advice—start praying . . . desperately.

The millions will decide!

"This is the dawning of a new era."

Laura Osono, Berkeley

Stop the railroad of Bob Avakian!
Long live the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought!

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THE NOSE OF THE POLITICAL POLICE BEHIND THE COURT OF APPEALS

Our readers would certainly be tempted by the offer to be a "fly on the wall" at the D.C. Court of Appeals, where the petition filed on December 4th, demanding that the entire court rehear the government's appeal of the lower court ruling dismissing the 25 felony count indictment against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, is now before the court. Failing that, we can offer a glimpse behind the impenetrable shroud surrounding the high court, which focuses on some enlightening information on the nature of the backroom mulling and maneuvering of the justices on this case.

The D.C. Court of Appeals is the legal equivalent of a state supreme

court, and as such has a roster of nine active judges who, due to the peculiarities of the District of Columbia, are all federal judges appointed by various Presidents. In addition to the nine current judges, there are often a few retired judges hanging around the court performing certain special court functions. Which brings us to the case of one J. Walter Yeagley, who is not a case before the court but a "case" behind the court, so to speak.

J. Walter Yeagley—now retired—was appointed to the court by Nixon when the court was established in 1970, but according to the Clerk of the Court's office, "Judge Yeagley is still very active. He's got his nose in a good number

of cases." Yeagley performs a very special function for the court, acting as a sort of consigliere in charge of "pre-settlement screening." When pressed about just what this means, the executive office of the D.C. court system stated that it means, "Judge Yeagley reviews cases after they've been heard by the court, but before they're settled, and offers his recommendations and opinions." A brief look into the career of J. Walter Yeagley gives a good idea of just what kind of cases the counselor has a special interest in and what is the character of his legal—or let us say his political—recommendations and opinions. Needless to say—bourgeois, lest anyone accuse us of the slightest illu-

sion as to the nature of the court as a part of the imperialists' state apparatus which, as Lenin pointed out, is an organ of class rule and an organ of the suppression of one class by another. But just in case the naive petty-bourgeois democrats would argue that the particular qualifications of J. Walter Yeagley are more the exception than the rule, it is necessary to make clear that while his story certainly defies any eighth grade civics textbook ever published and the common notion of a "judge" who divides his time between musty law books and warehouses to prepare for court, J. Walter Yeagley is really a fine example of American jus-

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Statements Demand:

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I have no Illusions about this
"great land of ours"
... I see harlem
I have no illusions about the
god "chosen America"
... I see the Indians
I have no illusions about the
"equality of men"
... I see 1/4 of a person
I have no illusions about the
"land of opportunity"
... I see Manzanar
I have no illusions about the
"land of the free"
... I see slaves
And in this great land of
ours, this god chosen America,
where equality and opportunity
have been its long, free history,
in this land...
There is a trial of a
non-illusionist who sees Harlem and
the Indians, the quarter person
and Manzanar—
... the slaves. This non-illusionist
is Bob Avakian and with him, the slaves.
So—as one fellow non-illusionist
to the "land of illusion"—
Get your Fuckin' hands off Avakian!!
(A non-illusionist)

F.P.

To: D.C. Court of Appeals:

In the year since the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants was forced off the tracks, the situation worldwide in which the imperialists are trapped has become more desperate and their necessity to act more urgent. Revolutionary upheavals burst forth or threaten to ignite in every corner of the planet, from Iran to Korea, Poland to Central America. The rival imperialists scramble for the most advantageous position before their predatory contention erupts into world war. The seeds of revolt are germinating in the soil of their heartlands, Miami, Warsaw, Chattanooga... and especially significant is the emergence of a class-conscious section of the oppressed led by their own party and armed with the science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. Within this brewing storm the ruling scum are desperately lashing out at the leaders of those defiant slaves who refuse to bend beneath the whip.

It is no mere "coincidence" that the renewed attack on Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants has been launched at the same time as the highly publicized "trial" of the Gang of Four. The imperialist U.S. gangsters and their capitulating revisionist henchmen in Peking vainly try to suffocate the vision of revolution and a society built on the rubble of their capitalist prison. And soon they will be calling on the prisoners to fight and die to preserve their rotting empire. It is in this tumultuous context that the imperialists must slander the line of Mao Tsetung and try to smash the revolutionary leaders of the proletariat who point out the growing weakness of the imperialists and grasp the tremendous possibility to wrench the reins of power from their leprous claws. STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN AND THE MAO DEFENDANTS UPHOLD THE REVOLUTIONARY LINE OF MAO TSETUNG AND THE GANG OF FOUR

from Incite!
(a Revolutionary Artists Group)

Listen you
Big men in sleek black suits
Sombre white faced judges
morticians and undertakers for a dying system

Listen you
mummified relics of history
Beneath the pounding of your gavels
the roar of REVOLUTION
will rock your hallowed tomb of "justice"...

Listen you
frightened fossils
who wither in terror as you lash out in fear
You've failed once
And you'll fail again...

Bob Avakian will lead the advancing tide
of history
We'll see to that.

And when the waves of millions
crash upon the beach
the sands of time will bury you
in your marbled mausoleums
Remember that.

A San Francisco Artist

To whom it may concern:

In reference to the thoroughly disgusting treatment of Bob Avakian. The charges against him are false and untrue, which incidentally is exactly what the government is today. I know that this man scares you just as Malcolm X, Martin Luther King and countless others have in the past. These men all represented change, a change that did not exhort capitalism but showed it a mirror instead; the reflection is horrible and justifiably so. The powers that be have made a mockery of words like justice and democracy. I spell these words with *little* letters because it has so *little* meaning in this country. You've caused your own country to fall.

A Concerned Person

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

The decision to reinstitute the government's charges against Bob Avakian

and the Mao Tsetung Defendants only confirms that this is a political attack. This is obvious to all by the blatant attempt at "overkill" with the 25 felony charges and also by the fact that even the former trial judge indicated the vindictiveness of the government's prosecution.

Do you really think the broad masses of people cannot see what's behind this case? A whisper here... a whisper there. People are quietly starting to ask *why* the government is so desperate to silence Bob Avakian. Doesn't the "learned" court realize what every worker knows deep in his bones—that *inevitably* oppression brings forth resistance!

Michael Nutter
Chicago Resident

Gentlemen:

The reversal of Judge Pratt's ruling by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, bringing the defendants back to square one in the case, represents an action seemingly revengeful on the part of the Court. Judge Mack's dissention, along with her subsequent supporting remarks, manifests to me the real message of the ruling.

I am apprehensive of the connotations of this action by the Court, and feel that I must oppose what would seem to be an obvious "railroading" of the defendants, and certainly would question the validity of utilizing a minority opinion as a precedent in reaching this decision.

Sincerely,
Sam L. Pritchard
Atlanta

Gentlemen:

I wish to register in protest against the decision to reinstate the 25 felony charges against Bob Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants. It is clearly, even nakedly, a vindictive move, perfectly in tune with other recent events such as the vindication of the KKK in the Greensboro murders.

It appears to be a desperate act on the part of a government on the verge of fascism.

Despite the apparent media black-out of this issue, many people are aware of, disturbed by, and angry at this blatant railroading.

Sincerely,
Del McCargo
Atlanta

TO: D.C. COURT OF APPEALS

Students everywhere call on the Court of Appeals to drop the charges of Bob Avakian.

Member Black Student Alliance
UCLA, Los Angeles, CA

STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN!
FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS!

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Signing a telegram in support of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, in the garment center in New York.

Alexei Kosygin

Chief Engineer of Capitalist Restoration Croaks

Last week, former Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin dropped dead from a heart attack at the age of 76 and the international proletariat shed no tears. In fact, class-conscious workers everywhere would just as soon spit on the grave of this notorious revisionist and counter-revolutionary traitor to the cause of socialism and communism. Referred to by his subordinates as "the chief engineer," Kosygin indeed played a major role in engineering the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, a country that once stood as a bright beacon of socialism to the working class and the oppressed internationally, helping to transform it into one of the two biggest predatory imperialist powers, sucking the blood of the world's people.

Born to a poor family in St. Petersburg, at the age of 13 Kosygin witnessed the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution and two years later joined the Red Army and took part in the civil war, which ended in the victory of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. Eight years later, in 1927, he joined the Communist Party. Even this early, he was noted for his avoidance of revolutionary politics, preferring to pursue a career in textile manufacturing and rapidly rising to become the director of a large factory. Through the '30s, Kosygin mainly played the role of an "able administrator." He was appointed Peoples Commissar in charge of the textile industry in 1939 and eventually rose to become an alternate member of the Politburo after the war in 1946.

Kosygin had become a high party official before the death of Stalin in 1953, while the Soviet Union was still a socialist country and a proletarian line still held sway. As his actions in the years to come would show, he was living proof that under socialism, the soil still exists which engenders new bourgeois elements, and a new bourgeoisie emerges within the communist party itself. (It was only later that Mao Tsetung, in part based on the experience in the Soviet Union, advanced the Marxist-Leninist understanding that under socialism it is necessary to mobilize the masses to make revolution and continually overthrow the bourgeoisie in the party and take back the portions of power it has usurped.)

After Stalin died, the bourgeois headquarters that had been developing in the CPSU and led by Khrushchev launched a vicious attack on Stalin—which was, in essence, an attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat—at the 20th Party Congress and was able to mobilize its social base to seize state power in 1956-57. Political power passed back from the hands of the proletariat and into the hands of the bourgeoisie. In a few short years, Khrushchev had purged every genuine proletarian leader from the ranks of the party, while Kosygin's impeccable revisionist credentials won him an appointment to full membership in the now capitalist ruling Presidium.

These events were a sharp blow to the proletariat internationally as the once mighty bulwark of socialism was being transformed into its opposite. This attack however, did not go unanswered. Fierce struggle broke out within the international communist movement. Mao Tsetung and the revolutionary leadership within the Chinese Communist Party led the struggle internationally, blasting the Soviet revisionists, most especially in "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement."

But while Khrushchev led the actual overthrow of proletarian rule by the Soviet revisionist bourgeoisie and led the ideological attack on Marxism-Leninism that paved the way for the resurgence of capitalism, he only began the process of wrecking socialism and was unable to establish a functioning capitalist economy. For example, having set about destroying the system of

collective farming, Khrushchev later placed the direction of the economy in the hands of competing regional Economic Councils who hoarded raw materials and industrial goods for the benefit of their own particular enterprises. But his policies introduced complete chaos into the Soviet economy and provoked riots and strikes by the Soviet people in a number of major cities.

As Red Papers 7 (*How Capitalism Has Been Restored In The Soviet Union And What This Means For The World Struggle*, originally published by the Revolutionary Union and adopted by the RCP upon its formation in 1975) points out concerning these Economic Councils: "...while this was a clear triumph of the bourgeois principle of 'Me First,' and was a reflection of the fact that capitalist forces had been 'let loose,' Khrushchev's 'reform' had not gone far enough! While proletarian ideology and centralized socialist planning had been thrown out the window, the capitalist principle of *production for exchange at a profit* had not been firmly established in the revamped Soviet economy." In October 1964 Kosygin and Leonid Brezhnev gave Khrushchev the ax in a bloodless coup which had the full approval of the new revisionist bourgeoisie who were anxious to get on with the business of fully restoring capitalism. Brezhnev took over as the General Secretary of the CPSU and Kosygin assumed the premiership as his second in command, a position that Kosygin slavishly made clear by making a practice of always walking a step or two behind Brezhnev whenever they appeared together in public.

A stark contrast to the shoe-banging flamboyance of Khrushchev who rampaged like an enraged brute stomping aimlessly over the socialist economy, Kosygin has been described as "colorless, reserved, self-controlled and a model of quiet, clerk-like competence"—just the sort of attache-type to get down to the business of efficiently restoring capitalism. Indeed, it was only under the tutelage of Brezhnev and his "able administrator" that the rebuilding of the capitalist system in the Soviet Union really began in earnest, a process that is worth briefly characterizing here.

As Red Papers 7 sums up, where Khrushchev's destruction of socialism brought only chaos to the economy, Brezhnev and Kosygin's systematic 'reform' succeeded—as much as is possible under the capitalist system—in stabilizing and restructuring the economy according to consistent monopoly capitalist principles. With the coming to power of Brezhnev and Kosygin (though there was certainly no brick wall politically dividing their reign from that of Khrushchev), Khrushchev and Khrushchevism came under attack. "Discipline" and "control" reemerged as watchwords of the day and the economy was systematically restored to working capitalist order.

Under Brezhnev and Kosygin, centralized state planning and management were re-established—only this time on the basis of state monopoly capitalism. In agriculture, the collective and state farms were transformed into profit-oriented agricultural firms linked to the state by capitalist relations of bank financing and the farm managers and technicians were incorporated as part of the social base of the revisionist rulers. But after decades of proletarian rule and socialized production, the Soviet Union was primarily an industrial country. For this reason the reorganization and consolidation of industrial production along fully capitalist lines was even more crucial to the new exploiters.

In this Kosygin played a major role. In 1965, he went before a plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU to announce a "sweeping reform" designed to restore the profit motive as the new guiding force in the Soviet economy,

opening up a new period of the conscious construction of a state capitalist economy. "The economic initiative and the rights of enterprises are too narrow..." he cried. "The existing system of material encouragement to industrial personnel does little to interest them in improving the overall results of the work of their enterprises..." Prices, he added, "...must secure a profit for each normally functioning enterprise." Little wonder that the obituary in the *Chicago Tribune* aptly described Kosygin as "the Kremlin's equivalent of the corporation man."

All the evils of capitalism were being brought back—profit was now clearly in command. And the foundation of all this was the return to the capitalist exploitation of the working class, the extraction of surplus value from the worker's labor.

Once capitalism had been completely restored, it was inevitable that the Soviet Union would develop rapidly into a full-blown imperialist nation: "The drive for the highest profit forces the competing Soviet capitalists to invest increasing amounts of surplus wherever it will bring the highest return (rate of profit). In other words, the social-imperialists, like imperialists everywhere, must *export capital* to other countries—and along with this they must station armies abroad and do other things to 'guarantee' a profitable return on these investments. They are forced to enter into competition with rival imperialists, to fight for a redivision of the world and of the markets of

capital." (Red Papers 7, p. 58)

Eastern Europe was organized into an imperialist bloc led by the Soviets. When Czechoslovakia showed signs of stepping out of line in 1968, Kosygin was instrumental in organizing the Soviet invasion that outraged the world and forced the Dubcek government to heel. Kosygin should also be remembered for representing Soviet imperialism throughout the period of rapid expansion of the plunder of underdeveloped countries—occasionally replacing the U.S. as the direct neo-colonialist, as in Cuba, for instance.

As Premier, in the late '60s and early '70s, Kosygin carried on Khrushchev's policy of "peaceful co-existence"—working to sabotage struggles against U.S. domination (as the Soviets did most notoriously in Vietnam) to serve the USSR's imperialist interests. And he continued to help "engineer" things as the USSR increasingly contended more and more directly and fiercely with their U.S. rivals to the point where they are both leading respective war blocs and preparing to throw millions into yet another world war to settle the question of which of them will have the privilege of lording it over the major portion of the globe. Alexei Kosygin, and others like him, came forward as leading spokesmen for capitalist restoration. And today, the Soviet Union has become one of the two greatest imperialist oppressors of the world's people. Kosygin's passing will be mourned by no one except a minuscule handful of murderers and exploiters.

El Salvador

Continued from page 6

legitimacy and to limit the impact of such efforts.

- Closely monitoring and feeding U.S. and world media coverage of the region and publicizing widely U.S. confidence in and support for current process in El Salvador.

- The government of President Herrera Campins (of Venezuela) has become an indispensable ally in our current policy in Central America. Venezuelan policy towards El Salvador and indeed on most regional and global issues—largely coincides with our own.

- COPEI's Social Christians identify with and support in many valuable ways their Christian Democratic colleagues in the Salvadorean Junta. Venezuela's official economic and security assistance to El Salvador complements and provides needed legitimation to our own efforts.

- Updating detailed contingency plans for U.S. alternative responses to deterioration of the conditions in the region to include:

- Political and diplomatic initiatives to be taken in the event that military engagement of U.S. forces is required to preserve the current regime.
- Operational plans for multilateral and unilateral deployment of military forces in El Salvador and Guatemala.
- Cost, casualty and time estimates under favorable and unfavorable conflict scenarios.
- Evaluation of readiness status and recommendations on preparatory exercises to be undertaken.
- Assessment of the need and preparation of contingency plans for actions intended to disrupt support and supply lines of

Salvadorean guerrilla forces in Cuba and Nicaragua.

- Improving political and economic conditions to increase viability of current governing coalition through:

- Accelerating disbursement of bilateral economic aid and providing administrative and technical assistance.
- Setting up of U.S./Salvadorean technical and managerial team to assist in government planning and administration to prevent economic collapse.
- Expanding resource flow and tightening administration of agrarian reform program to reduce its impact on traditional elite and to increase short term benefits to target population.

- Assuring continued Congressional and public opinion support for current policies through liaison and press relations efforts that emphasize:

- A moderate and reformist image of the current government.
- U.S. support for extensive but moderate reforms in the region as a means to contain extremist and communist expansion.
- Linkages between opposition guerrilla groups in El Salvador and Guatemala with Cuba.
- Discrediting centrist spokesmen of opposition as puppets of headline guerrilla leaders.
- Careful monitoring of U.S. press coverage of developments in El Salvador to avoid Nicaraguan-style publicity for opposition insurgents.

No doubt this is all still just a partial picture, but certainly the general features of U.S. military preparation in El Salvador and Central America as a whole come through loud and clear. The picture that emerges here is one of a desperate and vicious ruling class frantically preparing on all possible fronts to defend a key part of its empire as it gets ready to duke it out with its Soviet imperialist rivals on a world scale. It is hardly the picture that is parroted by the likes of Walter Cronkite, but "that's the way it is."

HUNGER STRIKE AT WALLA WALLA

For over two weeks, the prisoners confined in the Segregation Unit at the Washington State Penitentiary have been on a hunger strike. Once again the resistance of prisoners at Walla Walla is focused up in Seg, with the entire prison population being drawn into the struggle in this latest round. In fact, the entire statewide prison system has been ripped by protest and rebellion in the past few months, with the prisoners at Seg being in the forefront.

Recently a petition was circulated among the general prison population at Walla Walla and at the State Reformatory at Monroe, Washington. The petition supported the demands of the prisoners in Seg—demanding among other things, that inmate leaders who have been transferred from Walla Walla to other parts of the country be returned, and that these involuntary transfers be abolished. Despite the fact that the petition could only be passed from hand to hand, under the very noses and behind the backs of the guards, over 700 prisoners (over 1/3 of the prisoners at Walla Walla and Monroe) signed their names to the demands.

The prison administration has spent the past several months trying to prevent the receipt and spread of revolutionary and political literature, including the

prisoners' subscriptions to the *RW*. Clearly some of the events in the world have exerted a powerful influence on the prisoners in Seg, and their statements linking their hunger strike with the strike being waged at the federal prison in Marion, Illinois and the struggle of prisoners in Northern Ireland, has certainly affected the political consciousness of other inmates.

Prisoners at Walla Walla Seg Unit have long been in the forefront of the prison struggle across the state. Over the past few years, they have waged sharp struggle—striking, flooding the cell block, bombarding the jailers with bags of feces and urine, etc. In retaliation, the prison administration has vowed to break them. Beatings, no food, no clothing, no mail, no calls, no exercise and no showers—but like a chicken bone wedged in the administration's craw, the prisoners in Seg have refused to budge.

Prison authorities singled out the Native American prisoners in Seg for special treatment. The response has been the organizing of two rallies involving prisoners from the general population in support of the Seg inmates. It was in the wake of another beating of a Native American prisoner by 15 guards that Native Americans initiated and led the current hunger

strike. (See statement by these brothers, this page.) Despite the work of supporters outside the walls in contacting the press about the hunger strike and petition, a virtual news blackout has been erected by the press. But while the authorities think they can smother this recent round in the struggle at Walla Walla in a blanket of silence, they are being run ragged trying to stamp out the brushfires of protest that have flared across the state.

Prisoners at the State Correction Center in Shelton, Washington, recently declared that they would strike—refusing to come out of their cells in protest of the overcrowding which forces inmates to sleep on the floors. This outbreak comes on the heels of a similar protest against overcrowding last month at the Monroe Reformatory. Last September a major rebellion erupted at Monroe; the explosion was a clear indication of the crisis that is intensifying and spreading throughout the Washington prison system.

In the center of all this has been the prisoners at Walla Walla, where in the summer of 1979, the struggle reached a high point with prisoners challenging the authorities in back to back rebellions. In May of this year, 3 inmates seized a building, while others in

the prison yard went up against clubs and tear gas to stage a support rally for the seizure. And this past July, when the prison officials declared a state of deadlock—locking prisoners up for 24 hours a day—inmates systematically destroyed the cells of one whole wing.

Around the same time, due to the widespread public outcry about the reality behind the ramparts of Walla Walla, the federal government was compelled to agree to hold hearings on a lawsuit filed against the State of Washington by prisoners. While the judge ruled that the prisoners at Walla Walla were being subjected to "cruel and unusual punishment," this court ruling signaled, more than anything, the unleashing of a new wave of repression against the prisoners. A calculated campaign has been initiated to fan antagonisms between prisoners along racial and national lines. Also, a green light has been given to reactionary groups among the prisoners: three murders have been carried out in the last year by these forces. Beatings, harassment and intimidation by thug guards and prison officials have stepped up across the board.

The current hunger strike at Walla Walla takes place in the midst of these attacks. It is likely that the hunger strike is just the beginning of a new high tide of struggle. □

Brotherhood of American Indians—Walla Walla

"Heed Our Call to Resist Repression of Native People"

The following is the text of a statement by Native American brothers who initiated the hunger strike in the Segregation Unit at Walla Walla. (See this page.)

As members of the Brotherhood of American Indians organization, we greet our people from the inhumane confines of U.S. prisons with all our love, and appeal to our brothers and sisters to hear our voice and heed our call to resist the repression of native people in Washington's prisons.

Before the arrival of the settlers and the advent of the barbarous prison systems across our lands, native people knew nothing of, and had no need for, the institutions they call prisons. Our people lived and hunted on these lands, a free people, willing to share our resources with those in need. However, the settlers were not satisfied and undertook to rob our land.

In the process of doing so, our beloved fathers and mothers were massacred, brutalized, raped, and burned out of their homes. And in the end, our people were herded like so many animals onto the government reservations.

Today it is the 1980s and our people are still being killed, beaten, raped, and forced to leave their native lands. Little has changed, and the oppression our people suffer under the capitalist system is very great. Having taken most of our lands and broken its treaty promises, the U.S. government has done nothing for our people's welfare.

Our women are sterilized, and our people are taken from their poor families. Our culture is not taught in U.S. schools, and our people are taught to believe in standards of life that are alien to our traditions.

Our leaders are hunted by the FBI for standing up for their people's rights, and our warriors are jailed and imprisoned for defending our lands. Even so, our people fight on and we have made it quite clear to the U.S. government that our struggle continues to burn fiercely in the minds and hearts of our people.

So long as the idea of freedom lives, the people will fight to be free. As freedom fighters, our bodies have been

imprisoned, but the spiritual love we have for our people will always be free from the dingy and dirty prisons of the U.S. government.

We may be caged as if we were animals and criminals for breaking the white man's laws, but we are proud of our people and we will never quit our struggle to be a free people. The U.S. government must never be allowed to forget our people and their rights as natives of this land.

In Washington state, the government acts as though it can forget about native people's rights by simply locking Indian people into its prison system. However, we have also fought to keep them from doing that.

Within the last month, 30 brothers staged a rally in support of native Indians who were locked in Walla Walla penitentiary's infamous Segregation Unit. Gathering for the event, the brothers stood in a half-moon pattern and played sacred drums for those locked in segregation.

As is their custom, the authorities called in their riot police and tried to intimidate the Indians who dared to oppose the administrative policies. The Indian brothers were surrounded, and tower guards kept their rifles trained on the protestors. Even so, the cause was just, and the brothers stood firm and strong as the sacred drums beat in solidarity for those locked in segregation.

This was the second rally native Indians held in support of their brothers to reinforce their demands concerning treatment and living conditions inside the prisons. At present, native Indians and other political prisoners are on a hunger strike to protest longstanding brutality by the police against Indian and oppressed peoples within the prison walls.

The most recent incidents of brutality were perpetrated on Tommy Lawyer. The Indian brother was being brought into segregation for a petty reason. Yet once he was in the building, he was thrown to the floor and beaten by 15 police. Tommy's hands were handcuffed behind his back during the beating.

Indian people have suffered from the violent force of the U.S. government's armies, police and prison guards for

decades. It is not anything new to us, although it is still a serious violation of our native rights.

It has been a week since we began our hunger strike. We will continue to strike until the government stops beating our people and denying us other basic rights.

Considering the repressive character of the U.S. government, we have very little doubt that we could very well starve to death before officials would make the smallest concession to our

demands. This we know from our experience with this government in the past and even in the present. Many of our people are poor, and the great white father offers us only broken treaties and false promises.

In view of this, we call on our native people to lend us their support. Only the power of the people as a united nation can give us the strength to succeed in our struggle.

—Walla Walla brothers

New Pamphlet, Soon to be Available!

"Bob Avakian Speaks on the Mao Tsetung Defendants Railroad and the Historic Battles Ahead"

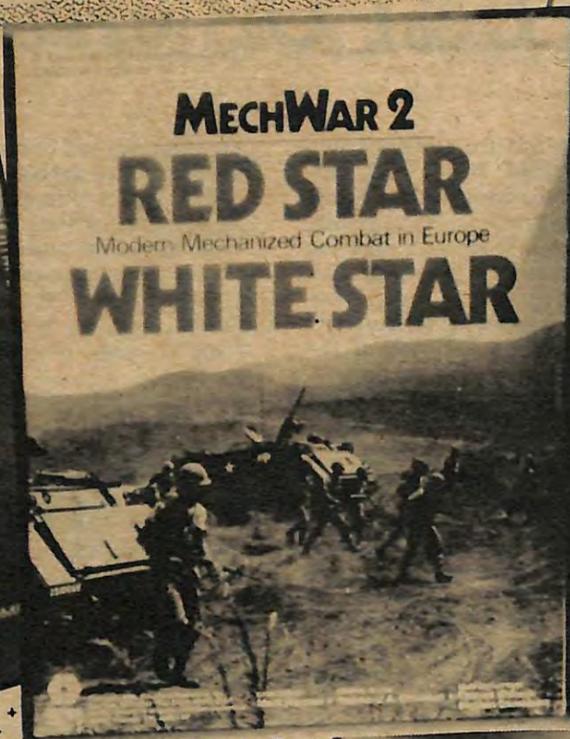
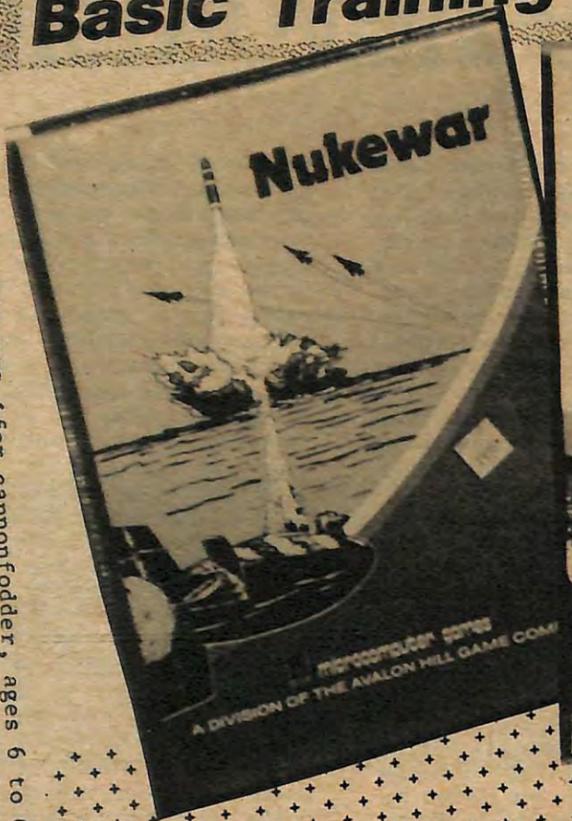
"Bob Avakian Speaks on the Mao Tsetung Defendants Railroad and the Historic Battles Ahead" is the text of a speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA delivered on November 18, 1979 in Washington D.C. at a rally of over 800 people at an important juncture in the battle to free Comrade Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants, arrested on charges totaling 241 years each. The government had been forced to retreat and maneuver, temporarily dropping all charges in the case in the face of broad and very active support for the defendants all across the country. Since that time the decision to drop the charges has been overturned in federal appeals court and the government's railroad is back on track.

Comrade Avakian's speech sums up what the government was up to at that particular point in the case and goes deeply into why they are going after the RCP and why they came down so viciously on the January 29, 1979 demonstration against Teng Hsiao-ping's visit to Washington D.C., which the charges against the Mao Tsetung Defendants stem from. Even more significant is Comrade Avakian's profound and sweeping presentation on the objective situation today facing revolutionaries and the masses of people, the real necessity and possibility for making revolution in the period ahead and urgently preparing to do so today. Finally, he speaks powerfully for an uncompromisingly Internationalist and revolutionary stand in support of the struggle of the people of Iran, who had just delivered a body blow to U.S. imperialism with the taking of the U.S. Embassy and hostages in Tehran.

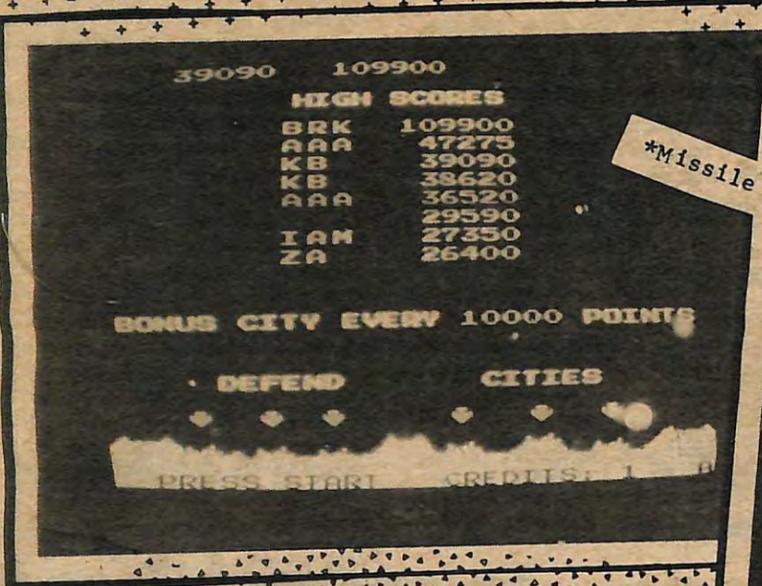
WWIII STOCKING STUFFERS

OR Basic Training—For Cannonfodder, 6 to 60

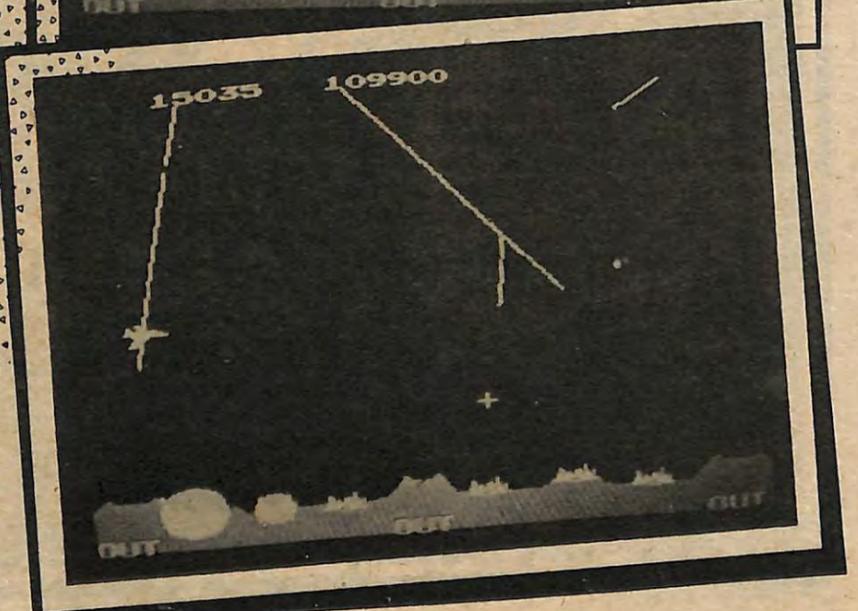
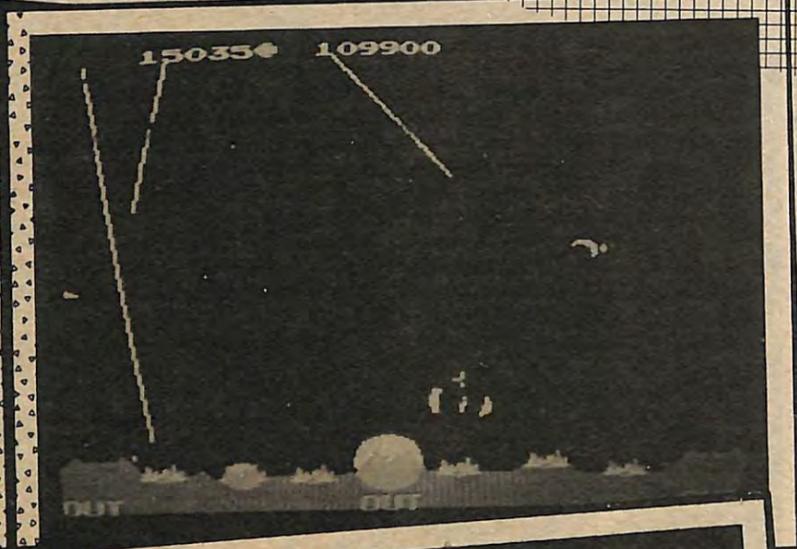
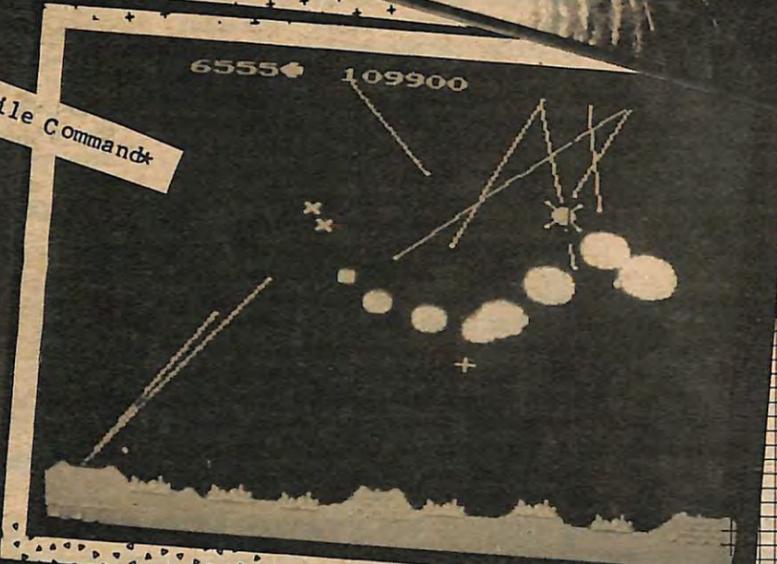
PASIC TRAINING (for cannonfodder, ages 6 to 60)



PASIC TRAINING (for cannonfodder, ages 6 to 60)



Missile Command



With the true spirit of Christmas in pre-war America come the latest in gifts for under the tree. Why not a thoughtful gift of "Nukewar," one of the latest Avalon Hill Microcomputer Games. Or maybe you'll like the more "conventional" type, a board game featuring "modern mechanized combat in Europe" (aptly titled "Red Star, White Star"). If your taste is futuristic, check out "Shooting Stars" (even here, the players remain the same, as revealed by the space ship insignias). All come complete with very clear instructions on who will be the "right side" and the "wrong side" among the warring imperialists in the coming war. Many others that aren't pictured here are being offered on the shelves. For those who own Apple computer there is a \$60 program called "Computer Ambush" that promises "combat so complex and realistic that actual military NCO experience has proven to be a substantial advantage to the player."

And finally there's "Warsaw Pact." It's promotional literature is blunt and direct: "The Third World War is about to begin. The Russians and their Warsaw Pact allies have amassed troops and supplies

for an all-out push to conquer Europe. The NATO troops must trade valuable troops and precious terrain for time for the British, French and American units to arrive and amass for a counter-attack."

But if you don't get one of these for Christmas you can still get a dose of "defend our country against Russian attack" propaganda at your local pinball parlor. A new entry in the video-game field is Missile Command, "the ultimate in battle action experience." Defend "your" cities from flaming Red MIRVs, test your skill as bright blue killer satellites (armed with cruise missiles) and fluorescent yellow bombers are added to the attack. Knock out a "SMART bomb" (a bomb that "sees" and avoids your missiles) and win the city back!

Of course, this game is programmed only according to American imperialist logic: the enemy is the aggressor, your moves (representing the U.S.) are purely defensive—in fact, your arsenal consists totally of defensive ABMs.

PASIC TRAINING (for cannonfodder, ages 6 to 60)

The Reversal of the Revolution

In 1978, at Mao Tsetung Memorial meetings held in New York and the San Francisco Bay Area, Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, gave a major speech analyzing the struggle in China and the reactionary, capitalist coup in 1976. The speech, reprinted in the book "The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung," traced the development of the class struggle in China over the years, particularly through the years of the Cultural Revolution. It also spoke to some of the lessons of all this for the international proletariat. The section excerpted below speaks both to the causes of the reversal in China, and to the crucial necessity of upholding and defending Mao's great revolutionary contributions.

Causes of the Reversal

Finally I would like to speak to the causes of the reversal in China and to its lessons. Here, at this time, it is not possible to make any kind of thorough analysis of this, but some basic points can and should be touched on.

First, as a foundation, there is the question of the nature of socialist society itself and the contradictions that characterize it and determine its development. This—and in particular those remnants of the old society that still exist under socialism and determine that there will be classes, class struggle and the danger of capitalist restoration—is what Mao drew sharp attention to, especially through the Cultural Revolution and most specifically in the last few years of his life, in his last great battle.

Here it would be useful to very briefly review some history of the commu-

nist movement and the socialist countries in this regard. In the past, particularly in the experience of the Soviet Union, even under Stalin's leadership, there was a certain tendency to view the nature of socialist society metaphysically—that is, one-sidedly, in a static way and without recognizing or correctly analyzing the nature and role of the basic contradictions in socialist society.

This expressed itself in the view that once the old ruling class is overthrown, the problem is relatively simple: the task is to develop the productive forces, which, given that you have public ownership, will, according to this view, always take place on a socialist basis so long as this ownership is safeguarded and obvious capitalist forms and principles are suppressed. In line with this, Stalin applied such things as one-man management, reliance on technicians and experts, and other methods of management, and wage policies, not that much different than capitalism. It was not sufficiently realized that continual transformation of the actual relations between people in production—for example between mental and manual workers—and restriction of differences in income, were crucial within any given stage of ownership in order to continue advancing on the socialist road and resist capitalist restoration.

Stalin certainly upheld the dictatorship of the proletariat, but here again there was some metaphysics: after socialist transformation of ownership was carried out, Stalin erroneously said that there were no longer any antagonistic classes in the Soviet Union. Yes, there were counter-revolutionaries, but they could be relatively easily identified and dealt with at the top—they will be people openly attacking socialism and the Soviet Union, sabotaging production and planning,

etc. And they will be readily identifiable as remnants of the old exploiting classes and/or agents of foreign capital. In fact at this time, while upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat, Stalin said it was only necessary in the Soviet Union because of the existence of capitalism and the bourgeoisie *internationally*. This was a very serious mistake.

In short, the problem of capitalism in the collective form, of the bourgeoisie arising from *within* the contradictions of socialist society itself, was not really realized. For example, Stalin ridiculed people who raised the problem that even intellectuals, technicians, etc., trained out of the ranks of the working class tended to become divorced from the workers and to adopt bureaucratic ways and a bourgeois style of life. And while Stalin ruthlessly fought against bureaucratism, he did not sufficiently make a class analysis of this problem and mobilize the masses to struggle against it, tending to use instead bureaucratic methods himself to combat bureaucratism.

Mao summed up this error and the negative experience of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union after Stalin died, as well as the positive experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction under Stalin. On this basis, and by analyzing the struggle in China itself, Mao developed the great theory and basic line of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Let's briefly examine this.

In all socialist countries so far, ownership has not reached the stage of being completely socialized—that is, ownership by all of society. Instead there are both state forms and, especially in the countryside, collective forms of ownership. Even in regard to the

state-owned enterprises (and farms) there is some independent accounting at the enterprise level and commodity relations between them, as well as on an extensive scale between the collective farms and the state. "Bourgeois right"—that is, aspects of bourgeois and commodity relations—is not even completely eliminated in ownership.

This has real consequences, especially in the countryside, and provides the basis for polarization to develop. Different land is more or less fertile, different people have different skill and ability in labor, and so on. In a country like China all this remained very pronounced. Thus, restricting "bourgeois right" in exchange and the sphere of operation of commodity relations is an extremely important question; otherwise, even on the basis of collective ownership, adherence to the plan, etc., polarization will take place, with the richer collectives tending to get richer, the poor poorer. This is why calls for all-out competition, raising productivity and output, etc., without taking all this into consideration, can stimulate capitalist development, polarization and the emergence of rich peasant elements, linked with technicians, farm managers and so on as a rural bourgeoisie.

It is necessary to consciously go against the spontaneous pull of the small producer mentality. The masses of peasants certainly can be led to take the socialist road, but an incorrect line that promotes bourgeois competition can also have appeal in the short run and certainly can find a strong base of support among more well-off peasants as well as among some specialists, managers, etc. This happened in the USSR after Khrushchev rose to power. And the same kind of thing can happen in regard to relations within and between

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The Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung

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state-owned enterprises.

Mao analyzed how these contradictions constantly give rise to the bourgeoisie and how the main danger comes from bourgeois headquarters that will repeatedly form in the Party itself to defend and expand these differences and inequalities and to protect and unleash a social base of more privileged strata. Building socialism and going on to communism, Mao showed, requires and depends on

unceasing class struggle against the bourgeoisie, especially the capitalist-roaders within the Party, and every few years there will be a major struggle for power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, with the main target of the proletariat being the bourgeoisie within the Party that is attempting to seize power to carry out capitalist restoration. The revolutionaries can only succeed in this struggle by politically arming, mobilizing and relying on the

masses. The dictatorship of the proletariat is and can only be dictatorship by the masses, led by the Party; it is not and cannot be dictatorship by the Party, and still less by a handful of leaders alone.

In formulating and emphasizing all this and leading the masses on this path, Mao went up against not only convention and the force of habit in general, but, so to speak, "conventional wisdom" and "force of habit" within the

communist movement itself. To break with convention, to break down differences, to unleash the masses and rely on them, to increase their conscious mastery over society, is not always—and often is not—the most "efficient" way to do things, and certainly not the most "orderly." The Great Leap Forward in China was an outstanding example of this.

Mao got many of his old comrades

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On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie

In early 1975, in the heat of the last great battle with the revisionists headquartered by Deng Xiaoping, Mao led the revolutionaries in China in a counter-attack. They hit back at the attempts to reverse the gains of the Cultural Revolution and to advance a program of "production first" in order to deny the key link of class struggle under socialism, while they themselves waged fierce class struggle against the revolutionaries. A key part of the revolutionary battle plan was the following major article written by one of the "Gang of Four," Chang Chun-chiao (Zhang Chunqiao). This appeared hot on the heels of another article, "On the Social Basis of the Lin Biao Anti-Party Clique," which was written by Yao Wen-yuan. Whatever Yao's stand today in the trial of the "Gang of Four," at the time he was definitely part of the revolutionary headquarters, and both these articles not only upheld the advances of the Cultural Revolution but represented a further elaboration of Mao's line on the nature of the class struggle under socialism. As such, they are extremely valuable treasures for the international proletariat today, as we strive to stand on the towering shoulders of the accomplishments of Mao and the Chinese revolution and to reach to the future toward even greater advances for the world revolution.

This week, in the last round of reports from the trial, all the sources indicate that Chang Chun-chiao is persisting in his fierce, defiant stand of total non-cooperation with the revisionists' trial farce. Chang Chun-chiao's defiant silence today, just like his revolutionary words from before the coup, speak loud and clear indeed to the revolutionaries in China and worldwide who are pushing forward, armed—in no small part—by the contributions of Chang and his comrade Chiang Ching.

Quotations from Chairman Mao

"Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation."

"Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Biao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works."

"Lenin said that 'small production engenders capitalism and the

bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' They are also engendered among a part of the working class and of the Party membership. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state and other organs there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life."

The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat has long been the focus of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism. Lenin said, "Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat." And it is precisely to enable us to go by Marxism and not revisionism in both theory and practice that Chairman Mao calls on the whole nation to get clear on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our country is in an important period of its historical development. As a result of more than two decades of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and particularly of the liquidation of the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shaoqi and of Lin Biao in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our proletarian dictatorship is more consolidated than ever, and our socialist cause is thriving. Full of militancy, all our people are determined to build China into a powerful socialist country before the end of the century. In the course of this effort and in the entire historical period of socialism, whether we can persevere all the way in the dictatorship of the proletariat is a cardinal issue for China's future development. Current class struggles, too, require that we should get clear on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao says, "Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism." It won't do if only a few people grasp the point; it must "be made known to the whole nation." The present and long-range importance of success in this study cannot be overestimated.

As early as 1920, Lenin, basing himself on practical experience in leading the Great October Socialist Revolution and directing the first state of proletarian dictatorship, pointed out sharply, "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small produc-

tion. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential." Lenin pointed out that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society, that it means all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Lenin stressed time and again that it is impossible to triumph over the bourgeoisie without exercising a protracted, all-round dictatorship over it. These words of Lenin's, especially those he underscored, have been confirmed by practice in subsequent years. Sure enough, new bourgeois elements have been engendered batch after batch, and it is precisely the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique that is their representative. These people generally have a good class background; almost all of them were brought up under the red flag; they have joined the Communist Party organizationally, received college training and become so-called red experts. However, they are new poisonous weeds engendered by the old soil of capitalism. They have betrayed their own class, usurped Party and state power, restored capitalism, become chieftains of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat, and accomplished what Hitler had tried to do but failed. Never should we forget this experience of history in which "the satellites went up to the sky while the red flag fell to the ground," especially not at this time when we are determined to build a powerful country.

We must be soberly aware that there is still a danger of China turning revisionist. This is not only because imperialism and social-imperialism will never give up aggression and subversion against us, not only because China's old landlords and capitalists are still around and unreconciled to their defeat, but also because new bourgeois elements are being engendered daily and hourly, as Lenin put it. Some comrades argue that Lenin was referring to the situation before collectivization. This is obviously incorrect. Lenin's remarks are not out of date at all. These comrades may look up Chairman Mao's *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* published in 1957. There Chairman Mao shows by concrete analysis that after the basic victory in the socialist transformation of the system of ownership, which includes the achievement of agricultural cooperation, there still exist in China classes, class contradictions and class

struggle, and there still exist both harmony and contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base. Having summed up the new experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat after Lenin, Chairman Mao gave systematic answers to various questions arising after the change in the system of ownership, set forth the tasks and policies of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and laid the theoretical basis for the Party's basic line and for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Practice in the past 18 years, particularly in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has proved that the theory, line and policies advanced by Chairman Mao are entirely correct.

Chairman Mao pointed out recently, "In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practises an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." In order to gain a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's instruction, let us look at the changes in the system of ownership in China and the proportions of the various economic sectors in China's industry, agriculture and commerce in 1973.

First, industry. Industry under ownership by the whole people covered 97 per cent of the fixed assets of industry as a whole, 63 per cent of the people engaged in industry, and 86 per cent of the value of total industrial output. Industry under collective ownership covered 3 per cent of the fixed assets, 36.2 per cent of the people engaged in industry, and 14 per cent of the total output value. Besides these, individual handicraftsmen made up 0.8 per cent of the people engaged in industry.

Next, agriculture. Among the agricultural means of production, about 90 per cent of the farmland and of the irrigation-drainage machinery and about 80 per cent of the tractors and draught animals were under collective ownership. Here ownership by the whole people made up a very small proportion. Hence, over 90 per cent of the nation's grain and various industrial crops came from the collective economy. The state farms accounted for only a small proportion. Apart from these, there still remained the small plots farmed by commune members for their personal needs, and a limited amount of household side-line production.

Then commerce. State commerce accounted for 92.5 per cent of the total volume of retail sales, collectively owned commercial enterprises for 7.3 per

Continued on page 18

Improved Spying

Continued from page 8

Miller trial sought desperately to cast the issue as one of "spies" and "foreign agents." Yet in doing so, the bourgeoisie succeeded only in exposing more of its own fear of the historically demonstrated ability of the masses to "stand with the enemy" when the bourgeoisie conducts imperialist wars. It was the prosecution in fact which called Richard Nixon, who had offered publicly to testify for the defense, to the stand to "recreate" the atmosphere of the Vietnam period and describe the "problems" faced by the ruling class. Preceded by Secret Service agents and dogs who sniffed out the courtroom for bombs, Nixon was questioned by the prosecuting attorney in what was described by the *Washington Post* as a "colloquy between gentlemen, not an interrogation." Nixon used this platform to deliver a speech on the need for tough government powers in time of war. He constantly repeated that the country was at war at the time of the apartment burglaries, and that the resistance of the American people "directly affected the president and those who advised him from bringing an end to a very difficult war" by "encouraging the enemy."

Ignoring the fact that the ruling class dragged the Vietnam war out for eleven years seeking every possible avenue, no matter how remote, of somehow snatching victory from the jaws of certain defeat, Nixon went on to cry crocodile tears about having to write letters to parents of those whom he sent to be killed in Vietnam. Ignoring also the fact that the U.S. dropped more tons of bombs on Vietnam than were dropped in all of World War II, Nixon instead complained that 23 people had been killed by bombs in the U.S. during the same period! Several spectators who jeered the former president as a liar and war criminal were ejected from the courtroom.

Pursuing this point that the political opposition of the masses to imperialism can only be the work of spies and foreign agents, day after day of testimony, much of it outright fabrication, was dragged in to support the contention. Yet the "evidence" itself was a profound testament to popular opposition to imperialism and the desire to reach out in solidarity to the oppressed peoples of the world. There were detailed reports of international conferences with the representatives of the Vietnamese, the Palestinians, and the Cubans in the days shortly after the infamous Bay of Pigs invasion. At one point one witness was even asked: "What does 'solidarity' mean? Is this a frequently used word in communist jargon?" The answer: "Yes, it is. It means unity, common purpose."

The sinister purpose in even raising this question of international unity was to promote the bourgeoisie's contention that there are "normal criminal cases" and then there are "foreign intelligence cases" in which all pretense of legal restrictions should be waived and "no holds barred" attacks unleashed. This, mind you, from the same gang of hypocrites and imperialists who in fact operate the biggest gang of secret agents, spies, terrorists, assassins, and mad bombers the world has ever seen. The same criminal conspiracy that engineered the fascist coup in Chile, that installed the Shah on the throne in Iran, that carried out the Phoenix assassination program in Vietnam, that bribes government officials, opens international mail, and has conducted countless "covert actions" at home and abroad, and which never fails to howl its complaints of injustice when its own agents are unmasked and its own secret documents get published, and its own dictatorships get overthrown.

Looking at the world as they do through James Bond "magic glasses" the high tide of mass struggle in the sixties and early seventies becomes for the bourgeoisie the intrigues of master agents, descriptions of which might be quite humorous if their purpose were

not deadly serious. Apparently lacking agents of sufficient literary ability the Felt-Miller trial even called to the stand as an "expert witness on foreign intelligence" an editor of *Readers Digest*! This "expert," John Barron, was introduced as the author of "The KGB: the Secret Work of Soviet Agents", published by Readers Digest Press. Barron went on with lurid tales of Weathermen being trained to build bombs by KGB agents, and then testified that the RU was the creation of a "Chicom" (Chinese Communist) intelligence agent whose "contact" in China was supposed to be "in charge of Red Chinese intelligence activities directed against the Western Hemisphere." The person referred to as a "Chicom" agent is Leibel Bergman, who was expelled from the RCP in 1978 as a leader of the revisionist clique of Mensheviks.

In the period of the late sixties the Cultural Revolution in China served as a beacon worldwide to those who dared to swim against the tide and dream of transforming all of society. Mao Tsetung's little Red Book, sold to the revolutionary minded among the masses in this country during that period, by the tens of thousands, was certainly more popular than the bible or *Readers Digest*. Out of this period a revolutionary vanguard party emerged. Yet in the testimony of John Barron, this vibrant living period becomes reduced to quotes like: "Leibel Bergman, a Chinese communist intelligence agent, returned to the United States from China in September 1967 to carry out a mission for the Red Chinese... Leibel's mission was to advance the cause of revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism. To accomplish this mission he wanted to form a coalition of communist groups which would follow the Maoist line, to recruit a core of youth who could be sent to China for clandestine training to return to the U.S. and operate illegally on behalf of the People's Republic of China."

Everywhere the "foreign agent" theme is stressed. As an example, another stipulation introduced in evidence reads: "It was also in April, 1970, that the Revolutionary Union received an invitation from the Black Panther Party to send four to six individuals as part of a group led by Cleaver, who had previously been in contact with Robert Avakian, to North Korea for training." Here the obviously gratuitous reference to Bob Avakian—one of many such "references" to various individuals—is intended to build step by step the basis for justifying past government surveillance on revolutionaries and increased hounding in the future. Summing up this point, in fact, one witness was asked point blank: "Is there any question in your mind that Leibel Bergman, the U.S.-China Friendship Association and the Revolutionary Union were the proper subjects of a foreign counterintelligence investigation?" The answer: "Absolutely no question."

However, to the gentlemen of the bourgeoisie we would make this point in reply. Proletarian internationalism is not a moral question nor a flourish of rhetoric but rather a real and material force in the world. A force which, if we can judge by your anguished howls, has bitten you more than once. Unlike your mad struggles for worldwide domination based on the clash of competing capitals, the international proletariat has truly common cause which lies precisely in joining hands and marching in lockstep toward that final conflict which will spell your doom, and toward the emancipation of all mankind. It is precisely this truth which you are forced to conceal behind all lying fabrications about spies and foreign agents. It would be fine indeed if there were in fact one, or better yet many, socialist countries in the world at this time which could serve as mighty base areas of support for the international struggle against imperialism. And if there were, the proletariat worldwide would seek to develop the highest political and organizational unity with them. Your hypocritical concern for spies and foreign agents is but a shoddy mask which conceals your real fear that the coming storms will present great oppor-

tunities for the masses and great difficulties for you; that this current spiral of imperialism presents the possibility of a revolutionary situation arising as you and your bloc lurch toward world war with your Soviet rivals and their bloc, and the opportunity for the international proletariat in one or a number of countries to seize power, before or during such a war. It is the contradictions of your own system which drive you to plot and scheme in secret trials such as this one.

Paving the Way for Further "Reforms"

This use of the Felt-Miller trial to further develop the legal mechanisms for the repression of the masses, and their revolutionary leadership and to build public opinion for "spy trials" and "anti-terrorist" measures is in fact just one in a series of actions all designed to strengthen the power of the capitalist state under the guise of reform and "correcting abuses." A classic case in point is the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA). While wiretapping by the government has been in wide scale use by every administration since Franklin D. Roosevelt, its "extralegal" nature left it open to political exposure. The use of court ordered warrants meant a trail of public records and defeated the purpose of secrecy. To meet this problem Congress passed the FISA in October of 1978. The act created a special Foreign Intelligence Security Court composed of seven judges with special security clearance. The judges meet in secret in Washington and their records are secret. They have the authority to grant a secret warrant for the government to tap phones anywhere in the U.S. for the purpose of "foreign counterintelligence." This "reform" was widely hailed by the bourgeoisie as correcting former "abuses" because now a court order is required, as though courts were somehow independent of the ruling class! The possible stigma of surveillance without a warrant is now removed, while the secrecy of the taps is preserved.

The 1978 act expands the power of the ruling class in yet another way. Formerly when the government wanted to tap a phone they had to rely on the "patriotic cooperation" of the landlord and the phone company. In the Felt-Miller trial it was revealed that entry to the apartments burglarized was gained in most cases by paying the landlord a \$50 bribe! Even this "technique" failed in some cases, and at one point in the testimony a memo by Felt was read in which he complained, "Office has experienced difficulty in assuring complete security with respect to a regular microphone installed directly in his (Leibel Bergman's—RW) residence in view of the nature of the neighborhood, i.e. occupied by quote 'hippie' and other unreliable types." Under the new law, a warrant to install a tap has the power of a court order, and the landlord must cooperate and the phone company must even install the tap or else face being held in contempt of court.

Pursuing this tactic of expanded authorization in the guise of legal limitations, a new FBI charter was introduced in Congress last year. A *New York Times* editorial aptly described it as follows: "Much of the charter consists of enumerations of FBI powers that are now scattered or not clearly codified. Their very specification may, to some people, seem to legitimize practices they dislike, such as the use of informants or surveillance of mail deliveries and trash cans. The ultimate effect, however, seems to us more likely to be beneficial. Some authority to employ these techniques exists already; the charter would put strict limitations on their use." (our emphasis—RW)

Here it is important to see that all these measures represent not a "rise of the right" but rather a reaffirmation of the same dictatorial powers that have consistently been exercised on behalf of the ruling class by every president in modern times, Democrats, Republicans, liberals and conservatives alike. The only thing that has changed has been the development of slicker explanations and disarming niceties. To drive this point home, among the Attorneys-General called to testify was

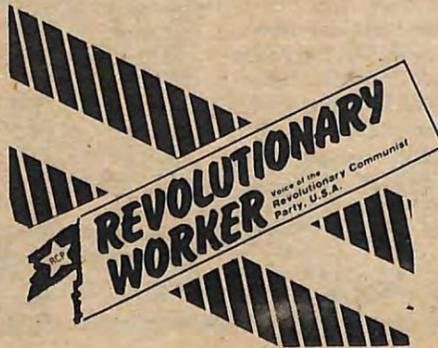
Ramsey Clark, "Mr. Civil Liberties" himself. Clark testified as to his ready authorization of wire-taps, including specifically those directed at the Revolutionary Union.

On the morning of the sentencing of Felt and Miller, the *Washington Post* ran a lead editorial calling for no jail sentence for them. There was of course no danger of this! The purpose of the editorial was to prepare public opinion to accept letting off Felt and Miller with only the most token of fines. "Felt and Miller have been punished enough," said the *Post*. "The system of which they were a part has been dismantled. The atmosphere that approved the wrong-doing in which they participated has been dispelled. There is nothing to be gained by sending them to prison." And following their release from court, they were surrounded by a crowd of fellow FBI agents all grinning and patting them on the back. A small army of retired FBI agents had in fact been mobilized to research and prepare the defense. The government even granted 14 retired agents special security clearances to comb through the documents to prepare the defense, and the Association of Retired FBI Agents raised \$1.2 million to defend Felt and Miller and assist 68 other agents who had previously been threatened with administrative action. As a little show of support; on the day Felt and Miller were arraigned there was a demonstration outside the federal district courthouse by 700 FBI agents in their support.

Even the conviction itself laid the groundwork for further reactionary moves. In his instructions to the jury, the judge told the jurors that searches of the homes of individuals who themselves were not targets of the investigation would have been illegal. Since all the searches were of the homes of acquaintances of the Weathermen and not the Weathermen themselves, the jury found the defendants guilty. Jurors interviewed after the trial cited this point—the search of the homes of innocent people without a warrant—as the main reason for their decision.

This now sets the stage for a doubly reactionary appeals court decision overturning the verdict, an outcome which most observers predict as likely. The higher court, ruling the trial judge in error on this point of law, would both overturn the conviction of Felt and Miller and sanction the use of warrantless searches and break-ins against persons not directly suspect. The appeal could also sustain the judge's instruction which upheld the legal right of the President and the Attorney General to authorize warrantless searches and the instruction which directed that the defendants should be found innocent if the jury found that the defendants "reasonably believed" that they had obtained the proper authorization from the President or the Attorney General.

Thus "reforms" are not always what they appear to be. Even in the little real evidence which leaked out in the course of this trial we saw the widest range of increased government spying ranging from "black bag jobs" on the offices of broad mass organizations like the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association, to the break-ins of the apartments of just about anyone who the government thought might have been in social contact with the Weather Underground fugitives. The strengthening of the government's legal mechanisms designed to conduct secret trials in open courtrooms, reverse the popular verdict against the police actions of the last period of mass upsurge, and paint those who represent the revolutionary future as "terrorists" are all the symptoms of a rat being driven into a corner who lashes out more viciously as his desperation increases.



Seattle Police Murder

“So Where’s Shelly Tonight?”

Seattle. On Wednesday, November 19th, Shelly B. Johnson—charged with a misdemeanor of “menacing”—received his sentence: death by strangulation at the hands of the hired enforcers of the bourgeoisie’s law and order. Shelly had been in jail 3 days. Before his arrest he told friends that he was afraid that he would be killed if he went back to the County Jail, where guards had beaten him twice before. Three guards came to Johnson’s cell and told him they were moving him to another cell. In the hallway between cells guards knocked him to the floor, jumped on his back, beating and choking him. Soon 8 guards had joined in the attack. Johnson’s hands were handcuffed behind his back and, with one guard’s arm locked around his neck still choking him, he was carried into a cell. There the guards worked him over some more. His windpipe crushed, Johnson was left, dying or already dead, on the cell bunk.

Within 48 hours after the news of the murder hit the streets over 150 people jammed the sidewalk outside the “Public Safety” building in downtown Seattle which houses the jail’s misdemeanor unit. “People are tired of the way this system is treating them,” said one woman in the picketline. “We’re not going to take it anymore. We have to educate people, we have to raise people’s consciousness. They’re tired of it and I think people are ready.” Some in the picketline started their own chant: “Stop the shit! Let it rip!” Others took up the chant, “Revolution is the only

solution!” Glaring at the cops who were nervously watching from the windows above, demonstrators shouted, “Smile, pigs! Smile!”

The brutal murder of Shelly B. Johnson tapped a reservoir of pinned up rage. One man had been in jail just after Shelly was killed. This brother was grabbed and beaten by four cops, and harassed and taunted for hours in the police station before being sent up to the jail. Inside the jail he was given no blanket or bedding and told to sleep on the floor of a cold cell. He was refused medical treatment for the injuries he received from the cops’ beating. For food he was given rotting meat and “bread stale enough to choke a rat.”

Just before the picket line began, the police chief and the county prosecutor called a press conference to announce that investigating Johnson’s death was their “top priority.” The U.S. Attorney, too, rushed to announce that he was having the FBI investigate. It doesn’t take much to see what kind of “investigation” they have planned. In the face of this vicious, pre-meditated murder, not one of the guards has even temporarily been suspended from his job, only one has been transferred to a desk job. Meanwhile, Seattle police detectives—who are the ones supposedly doing the “investigation”—and prison guards are busy threatening and intimidating the prisoners who witnessed the murder.

On December 15th, almost a month

after Johnson’s murder, the county began the official inquest, a blatantly cynical attempt to pin the blame for this murder on its victim. The inquest is stuck away in the smallest courtroom in the building. The door is protected by a band of police and prison guards to protest the carefully orchestrated coverup.

The entire proceeding is based on answering one question: didn’t Johnson have emotional problems? According to authorities, “mental unbalance” killed him, not a hammerlock crushing his windpipe. All this is standard operating procedure for inquests into police murders. Two years ago, when police shot John Rodney in the back, similar attempts were made to brand him “mentally deficient.” But in Shelly Johnson’s case the prosecutors and judge are using the fact that Johnson did have some emotional problems to make this the focus of the entire inquest.

Most of the witnesses have been testifying as to his mental state—forget about the fact he was murdered. A psychiatrist was brought in to testify that all the beds were full at the mental hospital 40 miles away, which is the reason they couldn’t take Johnson. As for the actual witnesses of the murder, some of those prisoners have been intimidated by a threat from guards and police; many others have been released since the murder and “cannot be located.”

Both Seattle daily papers printed front page interviews with guards sup-

posedly distraught over the jail conditions while justifying the murder. The press has also paid a lot of attention to painting Johnson as “deranged” and “psychotic.” In a *Seattle Times* article on December 17th, exactly *one sentence* was devoted to the testimony of an inmate who witnessed the guards actually beating Johnson. Testimony by other inmates was not mentioned at all, while 15 paragraphs were devoted to testimony by psychiatrists, probation officers and others who witnessed none of this.

At one point, however, the coverup did not go as planned. When the jury and press were taken into the jail to be shown the area where Johnson was murdered, prisoners exploded with rage, demanding justice for Johnson’s murder. “So where’s Shelly tonight? What are you going to do about it,” shouted one prisoner.

It is almost guaranteed that the inquest jury will find the murderers “justified.” Though that does not really matter much; only one time in recent history did an inquest jury find a murder by cops “not justified” and that time the prosecutor refused to file charges against the murderer anyway. But as the reception given by prisoners to the inquest jury and the press shows, there are plenty of people who see through this entire con game. The anger that was expressed on the streets the first few days after Shelly Johnson’s murder still burns in tens of thousands of hearts. ||

Squatters Battle West German Cops

3,000 demonstrators, joining with squatters resisting eviction, surged through the streets of downtown West Berlin, one of the showcases of Western imperialism, on Monday night, December 15. Demonstrators smashed Christmas decorations and shop windows, chanted and demanded that authorities release those arrested in another protest action two nights before. Earlier that evening, squatters and supporters had fought a pitched battle with police in the Kreuzberg section of West Berlin, an area slated for “restoration”—that is, the imminent demolition of some 22 buildings containing more than 100 apartments where families are still living. Scores of riot-equipped police tangled with the demonstrators and arrested at least 60, while others are being sought with warrants this week. Reportedly, more than 70 police were injured, and 35 police vans were thoroughly trashed.

The Monday action was the largest in a series of protests which began last week after police, who entered the squatter-occupied area, found themselves the targets of rock throwing. Since then, 1500 riot cops have been put on street duty by the West Berlin government.

The government finds itself in a difficult position. On the one hand, it faces growing and militant resistance to the ugly crisis and decay of imperialism in West Germany—such as the severe housing shortage in West Berlin—and must react by calling out club wielding pigs. On the other hand, pointing toward the Soviet imperialist bloc and East Germany in particular, it needs to prove that “western capitalism is better,” in fact, worth fighting and dying for in a war against countries where the people are oppressed and can’t even find a decent place to live. ||

NEWSMAKERS

For the Gang of 400, it was a fitting soiree: an exhibit of 150 antique Chinese robes at New York’s Metropolitan Museum of Art. Hosted by former Vogue editor **Diana Vreeland**, the annual exhibit by the Costume Institute featured Chinese fireworks, Chinese acrobats—and even mannequins with bound feet. Vreeland appeared to be appropriately attired in a Manchu Dynasty robe, but it turned out to be a creation by designer Yves Saint Laurent. “I wouldn’t want to compete with the Chinese,” she said. “They’re such a fascinating civilization.”



Vreeland: The mannequins had bound feet
Sonia Moskowitz

We reprint this vivid self-exposure of both the U.S. and Chinese bourgeoisies just as it appeared in the December 22 issue of Newsweek magazine. For sheer reactionary longing to turn the wheel of history back centuries, this is tops.

“Coming from Behind to Make Revolution”

by Bob Avakian

(This major analysis originally appeared in *RW* issue No. 49 under the title of “Is Revolution Really Possible this Decade and What does May First Have to do with it?”)

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On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie

Continued from page 15

cent, and individual pedlars for 0.2 per cent. Apart from these, there still remained the sizable amount of trade conducted at rural fairs.

The above figures show that socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people have indeed won a great victory in China. The dominant position of ownership by the whole people has been greatly enhanced and there have also been some changes in the economy of the people's communes as regards the proportions of ownership at the three levels—commune, production brigade and production team. On Shanghai's outskirts, for example, income at the commune level in proportion to total income rose from 28.1 per cent in 1973 to 30.5 per cent in 1974, that of the brigades rose from 15.2 per cent to 17.2 per cent, while the proportion going to the teams dropped from 56.7 per cent to 52.3 per cent. The people's commune has demonstrated ever more clearly its superiority, consisting in its larger size and higher degree of public ownership. In so far as we have, step by step in the past 25 years, eliminated ownership by imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism and feudalism, transformed ownership by national capitalism and by individual labourers and replaced these five kinds of private ownership with the two kinds of socialist public ownership, we can proudly declare that the system of ownership in China has changed, that the proletariat and other working people in China have in the main freed themselves from the shackles of private ownership, and that China's socialist economic base has been gradually consolidated and developed. The Constitution adopted by the Fourth National People's Congress specifically records these great victories of ours.

nor in practice should we overlook the very arduous tasks that lie ahead for the dictatorship of the proletariat in this respect.

Moreover, we must see that both ownership by the whole people and collective ownership involve the question of leadership, that is, the question of which class holds the ownership in fact and not just in name.

Speaking at the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party on April 28, 1969, Chairman Mao said, "Apparently, we couldn't do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our base was not solid. From my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories—I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority—leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people in the leadership of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among the Party branch secretaries. But they followed that line of Liu Shaoqi's, just resorting to material incentive, putting profit in command, and instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth." "But there are indeed bad people in the factories." "This shows that the revolution is still unfinished." Chairman Mao's remarks not only explain the necessity for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution but also help us be more aware that in the problem of the system of ownership, as in all others, we should pay attention not only to its form but also to its actual content. It is perfectly correct for people to give full weight to the decisive role of the system of ownership in the relations of production. But it is incorrect to give no weight to whether the issue of ownership has been resolved merely in

slavery by the feudal system or of feudalism by capitalism, was invariably preceded by the seizure of political power, which was then used to effect large-scale change in the system of ownership and consolidate and develop the new system. Even more is this the case with socialist public ownership which cannot be born under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Bureaucrat capital, which controlled 80 per cent of the industry in old China, could be transformed and placed under ownership by the whole people only after the People's Liberation Army had defeated Chiang Kai-shek. Similarly, a capitalist restoration is inevitably preceded by the seizure of leadership and a change in the line and policies of the Party. Wasn't this the way Khrushchov and Brezhnev changed the system of ownership in the Soviet Union? Wasn't this the way Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao

ownership, and that it still exists to a serious extent in the relations among people and holds a dominant position in distribution. In the various spheres of the superstructure, some areas are in fact still controlled by the bourgeoisie which has the upper hand there; some are being transformed but the results are not yet consolidated, and old ideas and the old force of habit are still stubbornly obstructing the growth of socialist new things. New bourgeois elements are engendered, batch after batch, in the wake of the development of capitalist factors in town and country. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. Even when all the

... new bourgeois elements have been engendered batch after batch, and it is precisely the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique that is their representative... Never should we forget this experience of history in which 'the satellites went up to the sky while the red flag fell to the ground'.

changed the nature of a number of our factories and other enterprises to varying degrees?

Also, we must see that what we are practising today is a commodity system. Chairman Mao says, "Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Biao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." This state of affairs which Chairman Mao pinpointed cannot be changed in a short period. For instance in the rural people's communes on the outskirts of Shanghai where the economy at the commune and production brigade levels has developed at a rather fast pace, commune ownership accounts for 34.2 per cent of the fixed assets owned at all three levels, and brigade ownership accounts for only 15.1 per cent, while ownership by the production teams still occupies 50.7 per cent of the whole. Therefore, even if we take economic conditions in the communes alone, it will require a fairly long time to effect the transition from the team as the basic accounting unit to the brigade and then to the commune. Moreover, even when the commune becomes the basic accounting unit, the ownership will still be collective. Thus, in the short term, there will be no basic change in the situation in which ownership by the whole people and collective ownership co-exist. So long as we still have these two kinds of ownership, commodity production, exchange through money and distribution according to work are inevitable. And since "under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted," the growth of capitalist factors in town and country and the emergence of new bourgeois elements are likewise inevitable. If such things are not restricted, capitalism and the bourgeoisie will grow more rapidly. Therefore, on no account should we relax our vigilance just because we have won a great victory in the transformation of the system of ownership and carried out one Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We must realize that our economic base is not yet solid, that bourgeois right has not yet been abolished entirely in the system of

landlords and capitalists of the old generation have died, such class struggles will by no means come to a stop, and a bourgeois restoration may still occur if people like Lin Biao come to power. In his speech *The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan*, Chairman Mao described how in 1936, near the site of the Party Central Committee in Pao-an, there was a fortified village held by a handful of armed counter-revolutionaries who obstinately refused to surrender until the Red Army stormed into it to settle the problem. This story has a universal significance, for it tells us: "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. It is like sweeping the floor; where the broom does not reach, the dust never vanishes of itself." Today there are still many "fortified villages" held by the bourgeoisie; when one is destroyed, another will spring up, and even if all have been destroyed except one, it will not vanish of itself if the iron broom of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not reach it. Lenin was entirely correct in saying, "For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential."

Historical experience shows us that whether the proletariat can triumph over the bourgeoisie and whether China will turn revisionist hinges on whether we can persevere in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all spheres and at all stages of development of the revolution. What is all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? The most succinct generalization is found in a passage from a letter Marx wrote in 1852 to J. Weydemeyer, which we are all studying. Marx said, "...no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle of the classes, and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production; 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society." In

Chairman Mao described how in 1936, near the site of the Party Central Committee in Pao-an, there was a fortified village held by a handful of armed counter-revolutionaries who obstinately refused to surrender until the Red Army stormed into it to settle the problem. This story has a universal significance, for it tells us: "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. It is like sweeping the floor; where the broom does not reach, the dust never vanishes of itself." Today there are still many 'fortified villages' held by the bourgeoisie; when one is destroyed, another will spring up, and even if all have been destroyed except one, it will not vanish of itself if the iron broom of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not reach it. Lenin was entirely correct in saying, 'For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential.'

However, we must see that with respect to the system of ownership the issue is not yet fully settled. We often say that the issue of ownership "has in the main been settled"; this means that it has not been settled entirely, and also that bourgeois right has not been totally abolished in this realm. The statistics cited above show that private ownership still exists partially in industry, agriculture and commerce, that socialist public ownership does not consist entirely of ownership by the whole people but includes two kinds of ownership, and that ownership by the whole people is still rather weak in agriculture, which is the foundation of the national economy. The disappearance of bourgeois right in the realm of the system of ownership in a socialist society, as conceived by Marx and Lenin, implies the conversion of all the means of production into the common property of the whole of society. Clearly we have not yet reached that stage. Neither in theory

form or in actual fact, to the reaction upon the system of ownership exerted by the two other aspects of the relations of production—the relations among people and the form of distribution—and to the reaction upon the economic base exerted by the superstructure; these two aspects and the superstructure may play a decisive role under given conditions. Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. Whether the ideological and political line is correct or incorrect, and which class holds the leadership, decides which class owns those factories in actual fact. Comrades may recall how we turned any enterprise owned by bureaucrat capital or national capital into a socialist enterprise. Didn't we do the job by sending a military-control representative or a state representative there to transform it according to the Party's line and policies? Historically, every major change in the system of ownership, be it the replacement of

In *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*, Marx deals in more specific terms with this dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of **class distinctions generally**, to the abolition of **all the relations of production** on which they rest, to the abolition of **all the social relations** that correspond to these relations of production, and to the revolutionizing of **all the ideas** that result from these social relations. In all the four cases, Marx means **all**. Not a part, a greater part, or even the greatest part, but **all**! This is nothing surprising, for only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation!

this splendid observation, Lenin said, Marx succeeded in expressing with striking clarity the chief and radical difference between his theory on the state and that of the bourgeoisie, and the essence of his teaching on the state. Here it should be noted that Marx divided the sentence on the dictatorship of the proletariat into three points, which are interrelated and cannot be cut apart. It is impermissible to accept only one of the three points while rejecting the other two. For the sentence gives complete expression to the entire process of the inception, development and withering away of the dictatorship of the proletariat and covers the whole task of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its actual content. In *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*, Marx deals in more specific terms with this dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of **class distinctions generally**, to the abolition of **all the relations of production** on which they rest, to the abolition of **all the social relations** that correspond to these relations of production, and to the revolutionizing of **all the ideas** that result from these social relations. In all the four cases, Marx means **all**. Not a part, a greater part, or even the greatest part, but **all**! This is nothing surprising, for only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation. The only way to attain this goal is to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end, until the above-mentioned four **alls** are banished from the earth so that it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to exist or for new ones to arise; we definitely must not call a halt along the path of the **transition**. In our view, only those who understand the matter this way can be deemed to have grasped the essence of Marx's teaching on the state. Comrades, please think it over: If the matter is not understood in this way, if Marxism is limited, curtailed and distorted in theory and practice, if the dictatorship of the proletariat is turned into an empty phrase, or all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie is crippled by amputation and exercised only in some spheres but not in all, or only at a certain stage (for instance, before the transformation of the system of ownership) but not at all stages, or in other words, if not all of the "fortified villages" of the bourgeoisie are destroyed but some are left, allowing the bourgeoisie to expand again, doesn't this mean preparing the conditions for bourgeois restoration? Doesn't it mean turning the dictatorship of the proletariat into a thing that protects the bourgeoisie, particularly the newly engendered bourgeoisie? All workers, all poor and lower-middle peasants and other working people who refuse to be plunged back into suffering and woe, all Communists who have dedicated their lives to the struggle for communism, and all comrades who do not want China to turn revisionist, must firmly bear in mind this basic principle of Marxism: It is imperative to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and absolutely impermissible to give it up half-way. There are undeniably some comrades among us who have

joined the Communist Party organizationally but not ideologically. In their world outlook they have not yet overstepped the bounds of small production and of the bourgeoisie. They do approve of the dictatorship of the proletariat at a certain stage and within a certain sphere and are pleased with certain victories of the proletariat, because they will bring them some gains; once they have secured their gains, they feel it's time to settle down and feather their cosy nests. As for exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, as for going on after the first step on the 10,000-li long march, sorry, let others do the job; here is my stop and I must get off the bus. We would like to offer a piece of advice to these comrades: It's dangerous to stop half-way! The bourgeoisie is beckoning to you. Catch up with the ranks and continue to advance!

Historical experience also teaches us that, as the dictatorship of the proletariat wins one victory after another, the bourgeoisie may pretend on the surface to accept this dictatorship while in reality it continues to work to restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is exactly what Khrushchov and Brezhnev have done. They changed neither the name "Soviet," nor the name of the party of Lenin, nor the name "socialist republics." But, accepting these names and using them as a cover, they have gutted the dictatorship of the proletariat of its actual content and turned it into a dictatorship of the monopoly capitalist class that is anti-Soviet, opposed to the party of Lenin and opposed to the socialist republics. They put forward the revisionist programme of "the state of the whole people" and "party of the entire people," which is an open betrayal of Marxism. But when the Soviet people stand up against their fascist dictatorship, they hoist the flag of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to suppress the masses. Similar things have happened in China. Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao did not limit themselves to spreading the theory of the dying out of class struggle; they, too, flaunted the flag of the dictatorship of the proletariat while suppressing the revolution. Didn't Lin Biao preach his four "never forgets"? One of them was "never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat." Indeed that was something he "never forgot," only the words "to overthrow" need inserting to make it into "never forget to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat," or as confessed by his own gang, "wave Chairman Mao's banner to strike at Chairman Mao's forces." At times they trimmed their sails to the proletariat and even pretended to be more revolutionary than anyone else, raising "Left" slogans to create confusion and carry out sabotage, but they were usually waging a direct counter-struggle against the proletariat. You wanted to carry out socialist transformation? They said the new democratic order had to be consolidated. You wanted to organize co-operatives and communes? They said it was too early to do that. When you said literature and art should be revolutionized, they said it would do no harm to stage a few plays about ghosts. You wanted to restrict bourgeois right? They said it was an excellent thing indeed and should be extended. They are a bunch of past masters at defending old things and,

like a swarm of flies, buzz all day long over the "birth marks" and "defects" of the old society referred to by Marx. They are particularly keen on taking advantage of the inexperience of our young people to boost material incentive to them, saying that like strong bean-curd cheese, it stinks but tastes fine. And they invariably wave the banner of socialism while carrying on these dirty tricks. Aren't there some scoundrels who, engaging in speculation, graft and theft, say that they are promoting socialist co-operation? Don't some instigators of crime who poison the minds of young people hoist the banner of "care and love for the successors to the cause of communism"? We must study their tactics and sum up our experience so as to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie more effectively.

"Are you out to stir up a wind of 'communization'?" To fabricate rumours by posing such a question is a tactic which some persons have resorted to recently. We can give a definite answer: The wind of "communization" as stirred up by Liu Shaoqi and Chen Boda shall never be allowed to blow again. We have always held that, instead of having too much in the way of commodities, our country has not yet a sufficient abundance of them. So long as the communes cannot yet offer much to be "communized" along with what the production brigades and teams would bring in, and enterprises under ownership by the whole people cannot offer a great abundance of products for distribution to each according to his needs among our 800 million people, we will have to continue practising commodity production, exchange through money and distribution according to work. We have taken and will continue to take proper measures to curb the

have got their heads full of bourgeois ideas; they scramble for position and gain and feel proud of this, instead of being ashamed. Some have sunk to the point of looking at everything as a commodity, themselves included. They join the Communist Party and go to work for the proletariat merely for the sake of upgrading themselves as commodities and asking the proletariat for a higher price. Those who are Communists in name but new bourgeois elements in reality exhibit the features of the decadent and moribund bourgeoisie as a whole. Historically, when the slave-owning, landlord and capitalist classes were in the ascendancy, they did some things of benefit to mankind. But today's new bourgeois elements are heading in the opposite direction to their forefathers. They are nothing but a heap of "new" garbage that can only harm mankind. Among the rumour-mongers about a wind of "communization" being stirred up, some are new bourgeois elements who have taken public property into their private possession and fear that the people will "communize" it again; others want to use the chance to grab something for themselves. These people have a better nose than many of our comrades. Some of our comrades say that study is an "elastic" task that can yield precedence to others, whereas these people have sensed by instinct that the present study is an "in elastic" matter gravely confronting both classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Indeed they themselves may deliberately stir up some wind of "communization," or take over one of our own slogans in order to confuse the two different types of contradictions and play some unexpected trick. This is worth watching.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chair-

You wanted to carry out socialist transformation? They said the new democratic order had to be consolidated. You wanted to organize co-operatives and communes? They said it was too early to do that. When you said literature and art should be revolutionized, they said it would do no harm to stage a few plays about ghosts. You wanted to restrict bourgeois right? They said it was an excellent thing indeed and should be extended. They are a bunch of past masters at defending old things and, like a swarm of flies, buzz all day long over the 'birth marks' and 'defects' of the old society referred to by Marx.

harm caused by these things. The dictatorship of the proletariat is dictatorship by the masses. We are confident that under the leadership of the Party, the broad masses have the strength and the ability to fight against the bourgeoisie and finally vanquish it. Old China was a vast sea of small production. Conducting socialist education among several hundred million peasants is a serious question at all times and requires the endeavor of several generations. But among the several hundred million peasants, the poor and lower-middle peasants form the majority, and they know from practice that the only path to the bright future for them is to follow the Communist Party and keep on along the socialist road. Our Party has relied upon them to forge unity with the middle peasants for the step-by-step advance from mutual-aid teams to the elementary and advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives and then to the people's communes, and we can surely lead them in further advance.

We would rather call the attention of comrades to the fact that it is another kind of wind that is now blowing—the "bourgeois wind." This is the bourgeois style of life Chairman Mao has pointed to, an evil wind stirred up by those "parts" of the people who have degenerated into bourgeois elements. The "bourgeois wind" blowing from among those Communists, particularly leading cadres, who belong to these "parts," does us the greatest of harm. Poisoned by this evil wind, some people

man Mao, the mighty army of the proletarian revolution formed by China's masses in their hundreds of millions is striding vigorously forward. We have 25 years of practical experience in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as all the international experience since the Paris Commune, and so long as the few hundred members of our Party Central Committee and the several thousand senior cadres take the lead and join the vast numbers of other cadres and the masses in reading and studying assiduously, carrying on investigation and analysis and summing up experience, we can certainly translate Chairman Mao's call into reality, gain clarity on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and ensure our country's triumphant advance along the course charted by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. **"The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."** This infinitely bright prospect will surely continue to inspire growing numbers of awakened workers and other working people and their vanguard, the Communists, to keep to the Party's basic line, persevere in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end! The extinction of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and the victory of communism are inevitable, certain and independent of man's will.

(A translation of an article in "Hongqi," [Red Flag], No. 4, 1975)

The Reversal of the Revolution in China: Causes and Lessons

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and other leading people to go along with some of the pathbreaking policies and movements, including the Great Leap Forward. But as these ran into inevitable difficulties and involved inevitable excesses, and especially as these changes dug at the foundations of privilege, many turned against them and turned on Mao for leading them. This came to a sharp point at the start of the Cultural Revolution, when Mao was only able through sharp struggle to get barely a majority of the Central Committee to go along. This problem is generally linked to the conservative tendencies that arise when people are in positions of power—Mao often commented, for example, that after the winning of nationwide political power in 1949 all kinds of conservative and bourgeois tendencies were fostered among leading cadre. And this was further complicated and intensified by the particularities of China—where the remaining backwardness increases the pull to put short-term results in developing the economy above revolution.

To take this approach, however, can only lead back to capitalism, because spontaneity is not with you; as Marx and Engels said in the *Communist Manifesto*, the communist revolution requires the radical rupture not only with traditional property relations but with traditional ideas as well, and one is not possible without the other. Socialism can only be built, and the advance to communism achieved, by developing, unleashing and relying on the *conscious activism* of the masses. Socialism cannot be built by relying on computers to plan, as the Chinese revisionists, like their Soviet counterparts before them, are now advocating.

Bourgeois-Democrats

In China there was the further particularity that the struggle passed through a long stage of bourgeois-democratic revolution, though of a new type, led by the proletariat and the Communist Party. Inevitably there was a tendency to identify the bourgeois-democratic program at that stage with the ideology of the Party—though this was combated by Mao and others. Thus, as noted before, the phenomenon of people, in particular leading Party members, who were revolutionaries in the new-democratic stage but did not make a radical rupture with bourgeois ideology, and went from being bourgeois-democrats to capitalist-roads—this was a big phenomenon in the Chinese revolution, as Mao stressed many times.

Again, all this came to a head with the Cultural Revolution. Mao kept trying to win over his old comrades. He got some to go along, and more than a few to go along for a while. But, especially with the Lin Biao affair, the growing Soviet threat and certain economic difficulties, most of these people turned against the Cultural Revolution and its achievements. Especially recognizing this problem, Mao put a lot of stress on training revolutionary successors, both at the highest level of the Party—with the Four as the leading core—and on all levels, especially among the masses on the basic level. And despite the temporary reversal in China, this effort will bear fruit in the future, because, especially through the Cultural Revolution, literally tens of millions of people had their class consciousness raised to a degree unprecedented in the history of socialism.

The Cultural Revolution was a leap forward for the international working class, it was not a gimmick. But it was itself a completely "new thing" in the history of socialism and therefore was bound to encounter difficulties, incur new problems and engender new contradictions—and meet stiff resistance. Mao insisted, even after the Lin Biao

affair and in the face of the Soviet danger, that the Cultural Revolution and its gains must be upheld and carried forward, though not through the form of mass upheaval characteristic of its first years. More and more old leaders and some new upstarts who had risen to positions of authority and taken to the bourgeois style of life, as Mao said, sharply opposed this. They raised its problems, shortcomings and even the resistance they were whipping up to it, in an attempt to kill it and reverse the whole direction of society. In the last few years the focal point of the struggle was exactly how to evaluate and what stand to take toward the Cultural Revolution and the breakthroughs and transformations it had brought about. To uphold and build on these achievements, to continue the revolution, or to "return to the beaten track," which experience has shown is the well-worn path leading back to capitalism?

Not only the Lin Biao affair and the Soviet threat to China but certain setbacks in the international struggle and some successes by the Soviets in infiltrating, subverting and turning to their own ends revolutionary struggles in certain areas—this too strengthened the Right in China. They seized on it as an excuse not to support revolutionary struggles and to rely instead on U.S. imperialism and its bloc, which in turn actually strengthened the Soviets with regard to revolutionary movements—and so a kind of vicious circle effect operated. The Right would again seize on this in a circular argument to say—see, we can't rely on the masses in other countries—nor in China itself—we have to rely on imperialists and reactionary heads of state in the "Third World" and bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements in our own country to stand up to the Soviet danger. All this has much to do with why the Right was so strong and why it won the last round.

Immediate Causes

But, as far as can be determined now, what were the immediate causes of this defeat?

First, in answering this, I want to speak to what we regard as a seriously erroneous approach: to say that, since they lost, the Four, and Mao, must have made serious mistakes and that's the main thing to look for. Of course, we should investigate and sum up what errors the revolutionaries may have made, but the attitude that "if they lost they must have made serious mistakes" is in fact just pragmatism and assumes that if they had done everything right, they could not have possibly lost. As opposed to this, Mao himself pointed out that in social struggles often the forces of the advanced class suffer defeat not because their ideas are incorrect but because in the balance of forces at the time they are not as powerful as the reactionaries and so they are temporarily defeated, though they are bound to triumph in the long run.

In other words, continuing the revolution means just that, it means a class struggle. The Cultural Revolution was exactly that—a class struggle against tremendously powerful forces of reactionary opposition, most importantly a powerful bourgeois headquarters in the Party. In a class struggle, there is and can be no guarantee that you will win every battle, even every major battle—or else it's not really a struggle, it's all settled.

It is quite interesting that some people seize on this defeat to say that Mao's line and the Cultural Revolution must be basically flawed—this amounts to saying that because Mao is proven correct and farsighted, in saying the danger of capitalist restoration is real and will be for a long time, then this proves that he was wrong and must have made serious errors! No, the Cultural Revolution was indeed absolutely necessary and most timely as

Mao said, but as he also said there is still the danger of defeat and there will be for some time. One victory, even a monumental one, does not change that or lessen the danger.

On the other hand, there is legitimately the question of why the proletariat lost power and the bourgeoisie triumphed in China.

It is important to grasp that, essentially from the time that Lin Biao completely turned traitor, the Left was on the defensive and though it fought back and gained some initiative, especially as things came to a head toward the end, it was still largely fighting uphill. Why? There are several factors we can identify now.

One is that the whole Lin Biao affair and its traumatic effects made it much more difficult to carry out political movements and revolutionization in the military. There were hardly any 3 in 1 combinations—leading bodies of rank and file soldiers, officers and Party members—actually implemented in the armed forces, for example. And, especially in recent years, the practice—which Mao insisted on as of great importance—of officers operating for periods of time as regular rank and file soldiers, was not widely applied or was made a meaningless formality. These are obviously decisive points, for the army still exists as something of a "special armed body" even in socialist countries, and if it becomes divorced from the masses and under the command of an incorrect line and revisionist leadership then, in effect, its guns are in the hands of the bourgeoisie and not the proletariat. And this will be true regardless of whether the army is called the "People's Liberation Army," the "Red Army" or what have you. This is exactly what ended up happening in the People's Liberation Army in China.

This was linked to the question of the growing Soviet threat, which also greatly increased the difficulty of carrying out revolutionization in the military. It strengthened the tendencies toward "professionalism," toward making weapons, not people, decisive, and toward stiff resistance to any "disruptions" within the armed forces which politics would cause.

Struggle Over International Line

Here we must talk again about the international situation and the struggle within the Chinese Party around this. The position of the Right was and is clear: it is the same as we see being implemented now in all its glory. The single task is to defend China and develop it into a modernized power. The danger to China comes from the Soviet Union, so for that reason—and because it has the most advanced technology—we must ally with and depend upon U.S. imperialism and its bloc, including every imperialist and reactionary force in the world that is opposed for any reason whatsoever to the Soviet Union. (As noted before, there are some within the general camp of the Right who want to "patch things up" with the Soviet Union, and the tendency to capitulate to the Soviets will grow, but at present at least that is not the dominant tendency.)

Along with this general line goes the attempt to make China the "superpower of the Third World," an economic and military power able to push its weight around among the less developed countries. In this view, of course, support for revolutionary struggles of the people is not only not necessary, but dangerous and harmful, unless such struggles are directed at and tend to weaken the Soviets and/or unless this Chinese bourgeoisie can gain influence in a particular movement and use it for its own ends. Otherwise, support for revolutionary struggles will only do harm, messing up relations and upsetting the moves to collaborate with the reactionary forces and governments

against which these movements are directed.

Since the time of the fall of Lin Biao and the ascendancy of Zhou Enlai, this increasingly became the dominant line overall and, as I said, is in full force now that Mao and the Four cannot offer opposition to it—note in this regard that Hua Guofeng's report to the 11th Party Congress in 1977 makes a special point of saying that "revolution cannot be exported" and that China will not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, which is obviously aimed at reassuring the imperialists and the reactionaries in the "Third World" that, despite certain unavoidable revolutionary rhetoric at times, the Chinese rulers will do nothing to aid the people in rising up against these imperialists and other reactionaries.

But what was the opposition of Mao and the Four to this, what was their line on this question? As stated earlier, they agreed to the "opening to the West," but not with the same outlook and objectives as Zhou Enlai. Especially with the growing Soviet threat, a realistic assessment did have to be made of the factors in the world influencing developments toward both world war and revolution. It was a plain fact that revolution in the imperialist countries could not be counted on as an immediate prospect, and therefore certain tactical adjustments were necessary. It was correct to identify the Soviet Union as the main danger to China and to make use of contradictions on that basis, to put the Soviets in a more difficult position to attack China. But at the same time, support must still be given to revolutionary struggles—this is why, apparently in early 1974, Mao again emphasized that not to support the people in such struggles would be to betray Marxism and why, later that year, a major article by the Left included an attack on the revisionist line of reducing aid to revolutionary struggles.

What was the position of the Left specifically with regard to the "Three Worlds" line and the analysis of the Soviet Union as the "main enemy" of the people of the world? First, on the "Three Worlds," it seems that Mao did make certain statements about "three worlds," to describe general groupings of countries, but it was only after Mao died that this was elevated to the level of a great strategic theory and line for the international proletariat. And it is also not insignificant that the state Constitution adopted in 1975, while Mao and the Four were around, in discussing China's role internationally stresses proletarian internationalism and support for the struggles of oppressed nations and peoples and does not mention the "Three Worlds," while the recent Constitution, adopted after Mao and the Four are out of the picture, makes the "Three Worlds" line the *basis* for "proletarian internationalism" and relations with others in the world.

Further, we are told by the rulers in China today that the Four "cursed" the "Three Worlds" theory. What all this means, it seems, is that the Four, and Mao, saw this "Three Worlds" analysis as having some tactical value in the immediate period but certainly did not see it as a substitute for class analysis and revolutionary struggle and did not agree that the ruling classes of the "third world" and "second world" and the U.S. should be supported against the people's struggles.

As for the question of the Soviet Union, Mao and the Four did present the Soviet Union as the "most dangerous source of war" as well as the main danger to China itself. Their analysis of the Soviet Union was similar to that made by Stalin and the Comintern of the fascist imperialist states in the mid-1930s, which were then declared the main enemy. Our Party has criticisms of this line of Stalin and the Com-

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intern, and similarly we do not agree with this kind of analysis that Mao and the Four seemed to be making of the Soviet Union today, but we do not regard either of these positions as revisionist like that of the current rulers in China today.

Hua, Deng, et al. tell us that the Four, "hoisting a most 'revolutionary' banner, . . . opposed China's support to the third world, opposed China's effort to unite with all forces that can be united, and opposed our dealing blows at the most dangerous enemy." This can only be taken to mean that the Four—and Mao—fought against the line that in the name of the "Three Worlds" and opposition to Soviet social-imperialism no support should be given to people in the "third world" and "second world" who were struggling against governments that opposed the Soviet Union.

Mao and the Four also waged sharp struggle against the line that everything, including the class struggle in China, should be subordinated to China's military preparation and defense against the Soviet Union. It is only since Mao's death and the coup that statements like that in *Peking Review* No. 28 of this year could be broadcast: "To achieve China's modernization at top speed and to continuously strengthen its national defence are the most important and most reliable guarantees that the revolutionary movement of the masses in all countries will in the long run defeat the main enemies of the people throughout the world—the two superpowers." (This is from a statement by a Paraguayan group, quoted in the *Peking Review*.)

In particular, as touched on before, Mao and the Four sharply struggled against the line that the way to deal with the Soviet threat was to "cool out"—that is, suppress—the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie at home and to bank everything on "modernization" carried out in a "tranquil" atmosphere. Instead, they pointed out, carrying forward the internal class struggle was the key link with regard to the defense of the country as well, because only a mass mobilization of the people on the basis of a revolutionary line could lead to ultimate victory in a war of resistance, and this could never happen with revisionism in command and the bourgeoisie in power. In line with this, they pointed out that those who preached the dying out of class struggle at home would actually attack the revolution and would also capitulate to imperialism—this was a major point made in connection with the criticism of the novel *Water Margin* mentioned earlier.

Here Mao had summed up some negative experience from the Soviet Union, leading up to and during World War 2. In the years just before the war Stalin subordinated everything to building up the economic basis for defeating a German invasion. And while crucial victories were won in smashing Nazi agents in the Soviet Union, the class struggle was one-sidedly centered on this. During the war itself the Soviet army was reconstituted along essentially bourgeois lines. Thus, although the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership wrote a glorious chapter in history in defeating Germany and in so doing contributed greatly to the international struggle, to a certain extent some of the policies of Stalin in preparing for and carrying out the war unnecessarily weakened the Soviet proletariat in the decisive class struggle within the Soviet Union that followed the war.

Determined to learn from this, Mao insisted that the all-around class struggle against the bourgeoisie in China must continue to take precedence over economic development, even—and especially—in the face of the Soviet threat. And further he recognized that for China, which has a much weaker industrial base than the Soviet Union in the early 1930s, to attempt to base defense on the kind of industrialization policies applied by Stalin in the '30s would actually make China more vul-

nerable to subjugation.

On the whole, then, the line that Mao—and the Four—fought for in regard to the question of handling the contradiction between defending China on the one hand, and carrying forward the revolution at home and supporting revolutionary struggle worldwide on the other, was correct. But in dealing with this extremely complex and difficult question, they did make certain errors, in particular that of adopting an analysis of the Soviet Union as the most dangerous source of war, on a basis similar to that on which Stalin declared the fascist states the main enemy during the late 1930s. This error to a certain extent strengthened the revisionists in China, who were—and are—arguing that the Soviet danger to China justifies and requires writing off revolution at home and abroad. This sort of error by revolutionaries has, as pointed out, existed in the international communist movement, going back to the 1930s, and there is a real need to more thoroughly sum it up and criticize it in order to avoid it in the future.

In general, the principal thing with regard to the international situation and its reaction upon the class struggle in China was the fact that the objective situation internationally strengthened the revisionists. Secondly, errors by the revolutionaries added to the strength of the revisionists.

One of the main ways in which the international situation restricted the freedom of the revolutionaries and the masses, and gave a certain advantage to the Right, was the fact that the increasing danger of world war and of a Soviet attack on China made it impossible to carry out the class struggle in the last few years through the same kind of mass upheaval that characterized the start of the Cultural Revolution. Thus, although major mass mobilization was required to defeat the revisionists, it had to be somewhat restricted. The revisionists not only seized on the need for relative stability to argue for putting a lid on the class struggle of the proletariat altogether, they also stirred up disruptions themselves and then pointed to these as further proof of the need to impose bourgeois order, cracking down and blaming the Left for the problems.

The Bureaucracy, Intellectuals, etc.

In addition to the immediate international situation, there was a long-term contradiction that asserted itself very sharply in the context of the immediate situation. That is the existence in socialist society of whole strata of bureaucrats, intellectuals, technicians, managerial personnel, etc., whose *spontaneous tendency* is very strongly to become conservative and to want to protect their relatively privileged positions. These forces, especially, fear upheaval and mass struggle, both because it upsets their "regular routine" and "best laid plans" and because they often come in for sharp criticism—and have some of their privileges undermined—when the masses go into motion politically and hit back at bureaucratic practices and abuses and bourgeois tendencies generally. Thus, among these strata, under certain conditions, many can be mobilized by the revisionists as a social base against the proletariat.

To handle this contradiction and win over the large part of these people, it is necessary to make a class analysis of socialist society in order to clearly distinguish the bourgeoisie under socialism from these essentially petty bourgeois strata. And it is necessary on the basis of such an analysis to adopt concrete policies that enable the proletariat to unite with, utilize and transform these strata.

This is a long-term problem under socialism. You cannot simply overthrow the whole bureaucracy and send every intellectual full time to the factories and fields. And even if you did that, you would just have to put new people in the same positions—and face the same problem once again. The existence of such strata in socialist society is rooted in the material conditions and contradictions of socialism, including

remnants of the old division of labor, the difference between mental and manual labor and so on.

In both theory and practice Mao and the Left in China had made important strides in dealing with this problem. They had seriously undertaken the question of analyzing the classes in socialist society—and China in particular. And in practice they had broken new ground in dealing with these contradictions, in narrowing differences and restricting inequalities to the greatest degree possible in accordance with both the material and ideological conditions, and in transforming the world outlook of many intellectuals.

The Cultural Revolution itself and the "new things" forged through it represented a great stride in dealing with this problem. It had the effect of administering a massive political "shock" to cadre, intellectuals and others who were tending to follow the revisionist line. It made further breakthroughs in narrowing differences, as workers who remained workers were trained as technicians and the masses of workers took part in supervising management, in movements for

technical innovation, in study of theory and criticism of revisionism, while "full time" managers, technicians, intellectuals, etc., took part in productive labor as well as political struggle and study together with the masses.

But, of course, this contradiction cannot be overcome in a short time and the Cultural Revolution could not resolve it completely. And, with the zigzag struggles of the last few years, especially following the fall of Lin Biao, with the growing Soviet threat, and with the revisionists "protecting them" and whipping up resentment against the mass movement, a number among these strata tired of all the struggle and turmoil and turned against the revolutionary forces. This also happened among some of the less conscious masses, but it was a marked phenomenon among the intellectuals and especially pronounced among many cadre who, as Chang Chun-chiao said in a speech in the midst of the anti-Deng struggle, feared that the mass movement "might fall on their own heads" and they might "have their official hats revolutionized away"—that is, they

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The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung

by Bob Avakian

Text of the speech given by Bob Avakian at the historic Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings which were held in New York City and in the San Francisco Bay Area in September, 1978. These programs were held on the second anniversary of the death of Mao Tsetung at which time the RCP made public for the first time its analysis of the reactionary October 1976 coup in China. *The Loss In China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung* gives a blow-by-blow account of the class struggle in China leading up to the coup and analyzes why the reactionaries were able to gain the upper hand after Mao's death. It also goes into the effects of the coup on the international situation, and its implications and lessons for the revolutionary movement worldwide. 1978. 151p.



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Statement on the Trial of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao by the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants

The following statement was sent to all the meetings being held to honor Mao's revolutionary comrades, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, now on trial in China.

The National Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants is proud to make the following statement:

The current trial in China has raised profound and soul-stirring questions to millions of people. What does it mean to truly stand for revolution, to refuse to knuckle under not only to jail but to the threat of death itself and instead to cling fast to principle?

What does it mean, facing a mountain of accusations, when one insists on bringing out the political essence hidden behind not only the charges but the very accusers themselves?

What is the true significance of the Cultural Revolution led by Mao Tsetung for both China and the world's peoples?

What is the nature of this regime in China that carries out such a trial? And what too is the nature of the alliance that finds its senior partner, the U.S., not only applauding that railroad but shifting one of its own into high gear against those making a similar stand?

This reminds us of January 29th, 1979, when those same questions were posed and highlighted by a demonstration called by the Revolutionary Communist Party against the visit by Deng Xiaoping—a demonstration which firmly upheld the revolutionary legacy of Mao Tsetung and opposed the dismantling of revolutionary China, the betrayal of that legacy, and the enlistment of China in the U.S. war bloc carried out by Deng.

The principles and stand of this demonstration were beamed around the world—just as the heroic defiance of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, defending that same line and legacy and likewise looking to the future, today inspire countless millions.

In China, here in the U.S., and elsewhere, those who have stood fast on and applied this vision have evoked wounded fury and lashing panic from the ruling classes. In the wake of the January 29th demonstration,

the U.S. government at its highest levels has orchestrated its most vicious and significant attack on a revolutionary organization since the 1960s—an attack marked by an ever-increasing focus on Revolutionary Communist Party Chairman Bob Avakian. Through the increasingly blatant political nature of their attack, the government has made clear that it is going after Bob Avakian because of his revolutionary leadership in persevering and applying today the very principles now on trial in Peking. But these attacks are backfiring, for those who hear about them are increasingly moved to find out more about the nature of the two sides and the stakes involved, and moreover are making clear, in one way or another, that they see aspirations and dreams of their own on trial here, that something very important about their future is being determined in these battles, and that they will not stand by passively in the face of such political persecution.

This support in the case of Bob Avakian and the railroad of the Mao Tsetung Defendants last year forced a temporary retreat by the government, but one that has now been followed by a return of the charges and a re-escalation of the attacks. We are confident that this current escalation will have no other effect but to activate still tens of thousands more in this battle.

But beyond that our confidence flows from the course of world events. Not only have the trial in China and the railroad going on here made the intentions, politics, and desperation of those in power all the more clear—they have also helped many thousands upon thousands to clarify much more deeply where they stand in these historic conflicts, and that is and will most definitely be on the side of those coming under attack.

Especially today, in the midst of a period of upheaval and struggle, the scale and outlines of which are only now taking shape, those who come under attack because they dare to lead the way forward to a different and brighter future not only *must* be defended, but *will* be defended. STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN! FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS!

Statements from Residents of S.F. Chinatown on the Trial of the "Gang of Four"

Following are two statements from a press conference in San Francisco announcing the Dec. 21 meeting to uphold Mao's revolutionary comrades:

I am a retired worker in Chinatown. Deng and Hua & Co. spent four years to investigate and prepare, now finally they got this so-called "trial of the Four" going on. It's a show only. No matter what the outcome of the trial is, it doesn't affect a bit what Mao Tsetung and the Cultural Revolution have accomplished. On the contrary, the revisionists have lifted a stone to drop it on their feet. Because the firm and heroic stand, the revolutionary spirit and action taken by Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao in the trial have greatly inspired and propelled all revolutionary-minded people around the world to step forward.

I firmly uphold Mao's revolutionary comrades and the Cultural Revolution. And I think that the reversal in China is only a temporary setback for the international proletariat. Like Mao said, "The future is bright, the road tortuous." In this coming period where war and revolution will arise on a world scale, by taking up Mao's line, I think that revolution will win out, and liberation of all oppressed and exploited will be accomplished.

LONG LIVE MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!

A retired worker in Chinatown

The trial of the so-called Gang of Four has been going on for almost a month. Personally I am outraged about the crimes the Chinese revisionists have committed against Mao's revolutionary comrades and the Chinese people. I have talked about this trial with many friends and they express similar anger. Today I have to work in the restaurant, so I can't participate in the press conference. But I want to express my opinion to the whole society by submitting this statement. Since the revisionist coup instigated by Deng & Co. in 1976, they have locked up

the Four and used all kinds of tricks and schemes to suppress the Chinese masses. Even finally they've got the so-called trial going. But who's in it? All those 800 people in the courtroom, including their judge, witnesses, etc., they are all revisionists directly led and planned by Deng Xiaoping.

On December 12, Chiang Ching accused Liao, denounced the judge, calling them for what they really are—revisionist dogs. And they were so scared that they had to drag her out of the court. Chiang Ching's heroic act and firm and brave stand inspire all of us and contributed a lot to the proletariat around the world. It also exposed the trial as nothing but a kangaroo court. It's a trial of Mao Tsetung's line and the Cultural Revolution.

Around the question of whether they could send Mao's revolutionary comrades to their death sentence. I don't think they can, because there are lots of revolutionary masses in China that uphold Mao's line, and they won't stand for this crime. In fact I firmly believe that in the coming period, the Chinese revolutionaries will rise up again and throw off the revisionists. Then, the ones who will be tried and sentenced will be Deng and his likes.

Comrade Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao have stood firm and contributed greatly to the cause of revolution, to the future of the international proletariat. I call on every revolutionary-minded Chinese who loves Mao and the Cultural Revolution, who is inspired by the courageous act of Mao's revolutionary comrades, and who longs for applying Mao's line here and around the world, to advance the revolution, to step forward, to come to the meeting on December 21st, strike a blow to the imperialists and revisionists and shatter the lies that the rulers in this country spread about "how Chinatown people like Deng and the revisionists," and pick up the red flag of Mao Tsetung to march into our bright future.

A restaurant worker in Chinatown

Wishy-Washy

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to Mao's revolutionary line. Hua's apparently imminent political death puts an end to a certain phase in the development of the revisionist regime. This phase has been marked by the marriage of convenience between Deng, the crudely up-front capitalist-roader, and Hua, the wishy-washy revisionist. Now faced with the necessity to take even further steps in open capitalist restoration, Deng is set to unload this excess baggage. But far from bringing the loudly advertised "great order to the land," this is only the start of a lot more of the anarchy and dislocation, politically and economically characteristic of capitalism.

The roots of the marriage of convenience between these forces represented by Hua and Deng, and their inevitable break-up, go back to the period before

the October 1976 coup, when the different forces among the right were coalescing to form a powerful bloc against the revolutionary Left led by Mao and the Four.

Zhou the Rallying Center of Revisionists

During the upsurges of the Cultural Revolution, Mao was able to exploit with the utmost skill the different contradictions among the revisionists in order to aim the mass movement against the main and most powerful target, Liu Shaoqi. But the exposure of Lin Biao, who had been closely associated with Mao and the Cultural Revolution, as a traitor, gave an opening for the revisionists to regroup their forces and counterattack. In the name of attacking Lin Biao's "ultra-leftism" (which was merely a thin cover for his thoroughly revisionist line), the revisionists began hammering away at the achievements and the correct verdicts of the Cultural Revolution. At the head of

this emerging revisionist camp was the powerful figure of Premier Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai).

Zhou was the rallying point for several different forces. First were those like Zhou himself, and Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian, then others of the "old guard" in the State Council under Zhou's protection. These people hated the turmoil and the mass upsurges of the Cultural Revolution. Mao nevertheless struggled with them, partly out of hope they would change, but more because they were a powerful force that Mao needed to partly win over or at least neutralize in order to hit at the main bourgeois forces under Liu. While Zhou and others were struggled with not to engage in all out and open opposition to the Cultural Revolution, and even to take certain positive positions during this period, still, they tried to stall, short-circuit or reverse the Cultural Revolution whenever the opportunity came up.

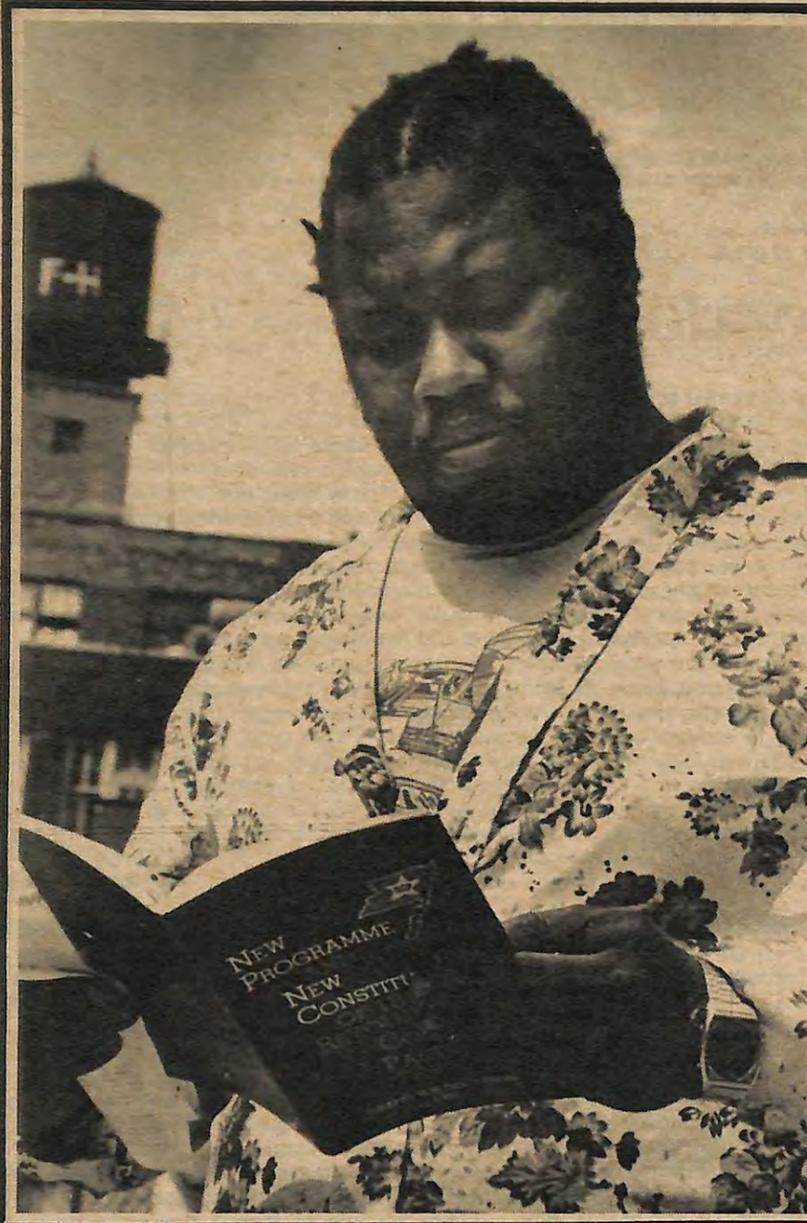
Another force consisted of die-hard

capitalist-roaders like Deng who were knocked down during the Cultural Revolution, then brought back after the Lin Biao affair under Zhou's sponsorship. Because of the strength of the revisionists as well as the necessity to deal with Lin Biao's influence, Mao was forced to agree to the return of some of these counterrevolutionaries, although certainly not to the extent pushed for by Zhou.

Then there were those like Hua, part of a new generation of bureaucrats that rose to high ranks during the Cultural Revolution. Hua himself was knocked down early in the Cultural Revolution but came back rather quickly. He was like many opportunists who went along with the Cultural Revolution to the extent that they were able to step into the shoes of the high-ranking officials toppled by the masses. These people, therefore, even in the period leading up to the coup when the revisionist camp was coalescing, as well as after the coup,

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LETTERS ON THE DRAFT PROGRAMME & DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE RCP, USA



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

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

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

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

Science/Education

RW:

In the Education section of the draft Programme, the summary paragraph emphasizes that the "most important subject" to be taught under socialist education will be "the class struggle—proletarian revolution." Elaborating on this it says, "While students will be led to grasp and develop knowledge and bring forth creations and innovations in all fields, from technical and scientific to artistic and cultural, a continual battle must be waged for this to be under the guidance of Marxism and in the interests of the proletariat."

This is our basic principle of education—to train successive generations of class-conscious activists. My proposal is not in opposition to this, but rather concerns how we should describe the proletariat's struggle to guide scientific inquiry. I think we need to explain more specifically how on the scientific battlefield too, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, the dialectical materialist world outlook, will develop mankind's understanding and mastery over nature and society like never before in history.

An article in No. 11 of the RW ("Search for an End to the Infinite") agitates powerfully on how the outlook of the bourgeoisie (which vacillates between the mechanical materialist view of the 18th and 19th centuries and the positivist view of Mach, et. al.) leads these scientists to "ridiculous theories... (and) closes the book on penetrating deeper into the essence of matter." The article summarizes: "Such is the pitiful state of science under capitalism, especially in its imperialist stage that we are in today."

Shouldn't the Programme give people some sense of how the proletariat—once it makes revolution and starts busting loose from the shackles of the capitalist profit system and the accompanying slave ideology—how it will lead on this front of scientific inquiry too, breaking new ground? It seems to me that in a brief way the Programme should offer a glimpse of what mankind is capable of and will accomplish in the future in the same spirit as the Chairman does when he jolts people awake by suggesting that in the future we will be able (for instance) to separate the bringing of children into the world from the bearing of them by the mother, or how eventually we probably won't have to spend time planting, harvesting, killing and eating food, but will be beamed the necessary nutriment once a year (or some similar arrangement). His point is not to propel people into some kind of sci-fi or unscientific vision of the future, but rather to show what's possible once we make revolution and move on to socialism with the proletariat running society, and later to classless society. Always, he makes clear that this will be possible only when we mobilize the masses to take political charge of society (even "the wins out there on the street, you don't believe it, wait and see!..."—Chairman's D.C. Speech).

The basis for making these scientific advances lies in the outlook which is characteristic of the proletariat as a class, and the fact that at this moment in history the proletariat is on the threshold of liberating itself and all mankind, by battling and annihilating the bourgeoisie and later all classes. As the Chairman put it, "... the outlook characteristic of the proletariat (as a class) is thoroughly revolutionary and thoroughly scientific, for it has nothing to fortify against discovery and change, no reason to attempt to suppress the new and preserve the old..." (Communists Are Rebels, p. 19).

*This comment is made in the context of explaining that not every individual member of the proletariat and society as a whole will reflect this outlook at any given time even under socialism—including and especially some of the highest party leaders—but the summation of the overall proletarian outlook based on its fundamental class interests still holds and will eventually and inevitably shape the new society built under its leadership (which is the point at the very top of p. 19 of Communists Are Rebels).

The Programme does speak to this point of the proletarian outlook and historic task in the terms I'm speaking of on page 14. (D.P.) "(The proletariat) must continue to transform society in every sphere, material and ideological, and must transform itself... proletarian revolution involves the most radical rupture with all traditional property relations and with all traditional ideas as well." My suggestion would be to outline more specifically how the masses will advance in science and technology, by battering down the social organization and bourgeois theories which cripple us now—and why the proletariat is in the position to do

this like no other class in history.

The masses will be led to tackle scientific problems first by waging the class struggle to break down the division between mental and manual labor. "We are going to develop people to where people are both administrators and thinkers and philosophers and workers at the same time, where people are both politically conscious and also productive members of society." (Chairman's Speech RW No. 61) This will pave the way for giving the body slam to such barbaric and antiquated bourgeois theories such as matter being finite, or "intelligence" being a static entity measurable by tests and transmitted through genes, or the neo-Malthusian theory of the "population bomb" being the root of the world's problems. These "theories" which chain people to a backward state, under the wing of reactionary or confused "experts," will be exposed and dumped.

It seems to me that providing a somewhat more developed picture of this than is already written in the Draft Programme would be important especially in light of the disgusting promotion of the lie that capitalism (and the American variety in particular) produces like no other system on earth, "like it or not." Many retain illusions about the unprecedented "miracles" produced in science and technology under this dog-eat-dog system—in part because capitalism did at one time challenge tradition and make advances scientifically on a then-unseen scale, as mentioned on page 12 of the Draft Programme. Of course this period of vigorous rising capitalism is dead and gone, but patriotic bile about how this system and the "competitive spirit" are the key to advancement is alive and growing like a cancer out of the bourgeois mouthpieces. This campaign can only intensify as the preparations for war step up.

The Programme should take on explicitly though briefly this ideological line—that people produce only through competition, the stomach equals the source of all motivation—in connection with this backward political summation of the "attributes" of the capitalist economic system. In addition, it might offer a picture of what could be accomplished when the working class internationally struggles to master the problems of food and energy production, medicare, pollution, etc.—instead of the current situation where the top imperialists fight like dogs on raw meat for the world's resources, stealing from the masses, and particularly starving out and distorting the economies of the neo-colonized countries.

What needs to be clear is that the bourgeoisie's bankrupt system and ideology holds things back in all ways, including in the scientific sphere. This of course does not mean promising the "good life" à la William Z. Foster on the USSR, but what was mainly missing there was any notion of how the working class must and will wage continual struggle against the bourgeoisie after the revolution to break down divisions and inequalities and revolutionize all society. On the basis of this struggle the proletariat will scale new heights on scientific discoveries and applications—as in all spheres.

Comments along this line would probably best go in the section on Education.

L.F.

On Homosexuality

When I first read the letter in No. 82 on Homosexuality, I went back to the section in the programme and double checked the quotes. The letter speaks to 2 points that I'd like to respond to: 1) the nature of homosexuality and 2) why that section is in there. To answer the 2nd question first, because it seems simpler, I think this paragraph needs to be because it is a major question in our society. To avoid it, or to equivocate, because it might seem more popular at the moment with this or that section of the people would be opportunist and would fail to carry out the responsibility of true communists. I know this question is a very major one for some people, and a very emotional one too. But a communist must take on every major social question and give a scientific viewpoint.

Which brings me to the first question and the paragraph itself. I think the first sentence is wrong or at least gives the wrong impression of the nature of homosexuality. The rest of the paragraph is good. But in that first sentence it states "homosexuality is a product of the decay of capitalism." It seems to me, we should say "Homosexuality is a product of class society, which decaying

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DRAFT PROGRAMME

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capitalism has made more severe" or something like that. I think Lenin made the point that imperialism sharpened all existing contradictions in society. And homosexuality is not something that appeared with capitalism, nor, for that matter did oppressive male-female relationships appear with capitalism. I think we have to show the development of this phenomenon and how our overall goal is the elimination of all class society—communism.

Women/The Proletariat/Etc.

J.B.

Dear Friends,

I would like to deal with several points of general interest.

1) *The proposed rewrite of draft programme section on women.* I thought it rather an improvement on the draft. I especially liked "women exploited under capitalism... displayed... used to sell capitalists' wares," and further on, "children will never be unwelcome." These are healthy suggestions which speak to/from the essence of woman. As for "proletariat, 1000 chains of oppression, unleash the mighty forces," why do we need these clichés?

We need to work on the family and the state. At its best the family can be a cozy retreat from the state. I think of the state as imposing hateful school dress codes (incidentally inspired by social class distinctions).

2) *How does the prol. become class conscious?* We are surely not going to see Ralph and Fred become class conscious while they continue to enjoy cabin cruisers and college tuition. To expect it to happen would demand an illogical belief in the occurrence of the improbable, (which brings us to metaphysics or faith).

Let's be serious. The U.S. government suffered a crushing defeat with the Vietnam War. The U.S. government will again and again suffer humiliations. And the tide will turn.

A few raggedy-ass Brigades do not command world events. But they can polish, perfect and cherish the Line and teach it to those who are receptive.

Also we need innovators and creative thinkers. Didn't Mao Tse Tung have to fill the cadres with bourgeoisie?

3) For me the Super Patriot Gung Ho American is the biggest headache. In 1918 Lenin spoke of the lynching of internationalists in America. He may have had Frank Little in mind. Frank was an IWW martyr who was lynched in Butte, Montana in 1917.

The RW can best be appreciated if we stop to think what it would be like if we didn't have an RW.

Adios and Buenos Noches,
A.R.

On Youth

RW:

I unite fully with the letter in the RW about the role of youth in further revolutionizing society under socialism. I think this point also needs to be brought out more, and made central, in the section on education. At present there are 2 problems with this section. One is that it really makes the point about "educating" each generation "with the spirit and method of Marxism—including its scientific, critical struggle for the truth... its daring to rebel against any power of authority, even those claiming the mantle of Marxism itself, that seeks to enforce the old and reactionary..." only one point among many, when in reality this is the central task of the socialist education system, around which everything else unfolds. Right now the matter of "rebellion" is not even mention-

ed in the first 2 pages. There it gets a paragraph, and another paragraph at the end, both of which are good, but this should be our starting point. (I'm not knocking all the other stuff in the DP about how the proletariat will transform the educational system, which I think is pretty inspiring, but teaching that the masses make history is not the same as, or equal to teaching the masses to make history.)

The other problem is that the DP speaks as if the youth had no qualities of their own—they're just blank pieces of paper we can transmit anything we want onto. This is not at all the case, they are extremely rebellious, desire to challenge all traditions and authority, inside and outside the classroom. The bourgeoisie understands this—in fact their whole educational system is built up for the purpose of *breaking* this spirit (by the way, that, and not the fact that many kids don't learn to read, is the dividing line between socialist and bourgeois education. Starting this section with this stuff on "Why Johnny can't read" misses the point). Our goal is not even so much to "teach" this spirit, as to unleash it (rather than suppressing it) and to temper and strengthen it by arming people with Marxism.

What comes across in this section is more like a new curriculum (a very progressive one) rather than a revolution in education, and a revolution coming out of the schools. It all sounds very "pat"—"the whole notion of blind obedience to authority will be criticised."—I can almost imagine some teacher standing in front of a class full of 16 year olds saying: "Today class, turn to page 244, so we can criticize blind obedience to authority. And don't forget, tomorrow we are plunging into class struggle, so be sure and tell your parents you'll be home late." You don't at all get the sense of these schools being storm centers of revolutionary upheaval, with teachers and students struggling ferociously amongst and against each other, "regular" subjects getting left in the dust for periods of time, students marching out of the classroom to take part in demonstrations, handing in blank test papers to protest revisionist educational principles (as happened in China), even progressive teachers going through real turmoil in breaking with the old view that they have everything to teach and nothing to learn (or unlearn). Certainly the other stuff gone into in the DP (and even basic educational skills) are extremely important, but if teachers, students, and the masses as a whole do not firmly grasp that revolutionary struggle is the main purpose of the schools, it will strengthen revisionist lines that all this class struggle interferes with "socialist education." (One other point in relation to this: I think calling the class struggle—proletarian revolution—the most important *subject* tends to strengthen the view that this is something taught, not yet acted on.)

Here is a suggestion for how this section should begin. "Youth in every society are extremely rebellious, questioning and challenging every form of tradition and authority. Understanding this, the bourgeoisie has built up its entire educational system to break this rebellious spirit, preparing the youth to fit unquestioningly into whatever niche in society they manage to scramble into, giving them only enough 'education' to be able to carry out the tasks assigned them by the capitalists and generally poisoning their minds with the whole upside down, racist, chauvinist and elitist outlook of the rulers themselves. The proletariat, on setting up its educational system, will unite with the rebelliousness of youth to undo all of that, revolutionizing not only the educational system itself, but unleashing the daring and initiative of youth as a powerful force to transform all of society. Arming the youth with the critical and scientific outlook and method of Marxism, we will enable them to play a key role in breaking down and overthrowing all the old and established rot and tradition of capitalism, including that which is embraced and defended by leading Party members and others in authority. The schools will be centers not only of education that will be a thousand times richer and 'truer' than anything under capitalism, but also of tumultuous class struggle to further transform society as a whole."

R.T.

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The Reversal of the Revolution in China:

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feared the criticism of the masses.

Role of Disasters

Had the last battle continued longer, perhaps had the earthquakes not hit then, and especially had Mao lived longer, the mass movement would have gathered more momentum and gained more strength, not only drawing in and solidifying more of the basic masses but, on the strength of this, winning over more of the intellectuals, cadre, etc. But with the Right very strong and immediately strengthened and emboldened by these natural and political disasters—the earthquakes and the death of Mao—they were able to pull off their coup and mobilize a base of support for it. In the final analysis, of course, the class struggle does not hinge on such things as natural disasters and the death of one individual, no matter how great a role he or she may play, but in the short run any particular battle, even a major one, may actually come to hinge on such things.

In particular, Mao's death was obviously an event long-awaited by the revisionists and was immediately a big blow for them and against the Left. This last round of struggle was another major showdown between the proletariat in power and the bourgeoisie seeking to restore capitalism, and in particular between the masses and the proletarian headquarters in the Party on the one hand and the bourgeois headquarters in the Party and the social base it mobilized on the other. Since it was a real class struggle and not a mere academic exercise or bureaucratic shuffling, it was life and death and could be won or lost. Losing its great helmsman in the midst of this struggle was bound to seriously cripple the proletariat, and the revisionists did not hesitate to strike the finishing blow at that point.

The Class Struggle and Mao's Methods

Some have raised the question: especially since Mao knew he was dying, why didn't he prepare better for this, and in particular why didn't he just throw Deng Xiaoping out of the Party, cut off a few heads and settle the question? This completely fails to recognize what was just stressed—that this was a real class struggle, with real and powerful social forces involved, on both sides. First of all, Mao did not have the freedom to just throw Teng out and knock off a few heads; as emphasized several times before, the real freedom of the revolutionaries lies in the conscious struggle of the masses. Without that, revisionism is indeed bound to triumph.

And, related to this, even if Mao could have utilized his personal prestige to get rid of Deng Xiaoping or even several Deng Xiaopings, it would be very dangerous to depend on that. What happens then after Mao is gone and new Deng Xiaopings arise, as they inevitably will—who then will have the prestige and authority to get rid of them? And how will the masses be able to determine if the good guys are getting rid of the bad guys or *vice versa*—after all Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and a number of other top leaders of the Right have great prestige among certain sections of society and even among sections of the basic masses.

Mao was by no means "lenient" toward counter-revolutionaries, he was ruthless toward them, but he was also ruthlessly scientific. As he had summed up as early as 1967, only by arousing the masses to deal with this problem in an all-around way and from below could the means be developed to solve it, and if battles might be lost and a temporary setback suffered, then at least, as compared to the Soviet Union,

the masses will be in a far stronger position politically to grasp what has happened and why, to sum it up and develop the methods of struggle and the new leadership necessary to fight against and finally overturn this defeat.

Some people say, in essence: What's the problem, you have state power, why should it be so difficult, just smash the enemy and keep moving on. But who is "you" who has state power? "You" divides into two: there are two classes inside the Party and inevitably bourgeois headquarters will repeatedly gather their forces and jump out for a trial of strength with the proletariat.

Mao was wrong to allow this, some say. But he did not "allow" it—or "disallow" it. It is an objective law, independent of Mao's will—or anyone else's, for that matter. It stems from the contradictions of socialist society and of the Party as the leading force in that society. It is rooted in the material (and ideological) conditions of socialism and will remain in force throughout the socialist period, until the material and ideological conditions for communism have been achieved. This does not mean that the proletariat simply "accepts" the existence and actions of the bourgeoisie in the Party. Revolutionaries must identify and fight against the capitalist-roaders and fight to maintain the proletarian character and leading role of the Party. But this cannot change the fact that the capitalist-roaders will constantly emerge and repeatedly form bourgeois headquarters in the Party, particularly at its top levels. This kind of struggle has gone on and will continue to go on in every Marxist-Leninist party; the great thing about the experience of the Chinese Communist Party is that, exactly because of Mao's line and leadership, the terms of these struggles can be grasped broadly and

the appropriate lessons drawn from them.

Mao summed up this law and developed the basic means for dealing with it. The result was the basic line of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution was indeed absolutely necessary and most timely, and it has universal significance. But it was also the first time that something like this had been done, and it is not surprising and should not be demoralizing or disorienting to revolutionaries if, after initial great victories, it was reversed. The experience of the Cultural Revolution, like everything else, must be summed up, but this can only be correctly done by upholding it and drawing lessons from the struggle on this basis. And it can only be correctly done by upholding and applying Marxism-Leninism, *Mao Tsetung Thought*, and never by denying or downgrading Mao's immortal contributions.

The Cultural Revolution was the highest pinnacle yet achieved by the proletariat. The proletarian movement, like everything else in the world, develops in spirals, and since the proletariat is the rising class, it is bound to advance, through this spiral, from the lower to the higher level. The material conditions and the laws of society dictate that socialism and ultimately communism are inevitable, and no setbacks can change that historical inevitability. In the last 100 years or so, from the Paris Commune to the Soviet Union to socialist China and the Cultural Revolution, the proletariat has continued to ascend to still greater heights and win still greater victories, despite temporary setbacks and reversals. As Mao Tsetung said: "The future is bright; the road is tortuous."

Wishy-Washy

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had a certain stake in preserving some aspects of the Cultural Revolution, particularly some of the organizational changes. But in essence, they had a revisionist line, opposed the real achievements of the Cultural Revolution, and when push came to shove, fell right in line with the revisionist camp.

Mao was acutely aware that these forces were coming together, as he launched a series of mass political campaigns after the Lin Biao affair to spread and deepen an understanding of revisionism and the danger of capitalist restoration. The first of these, the Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius movement, exposed the reactionary, rightist roots of Lin Biao's political and ideological line and program. The movement also used historical analogies to expose the counterrevolutionary activities being carried on right at that time by the top revisionists in the party. One main Confucian slogan held up for analysis and criticism was, "Restrain oneself and restore the rites." This was Confucius's admonition to the old declining slave-owning class—don't fight each other ("restrain oneself") but act in unity for the common reactionary program ("restore the rites," i.e., the rites of the Western Zhou dynasty, an ancient slave society). This very aptly describes the efforts of the revisionist camp to smooth over their differences in order to bring back the modern-day "rites of Zhou," in this case, Zhou Enlai. This was a program of reversing the correct verdict of the Cultural Revolution, in direct opposition to Mao, and of subordinating everything to economic development with specialists and experts in command. As the revisionists' indictment against the Four is forced to reveal, the revisionists were precisely "restraining oneself and restoring the rites," when Zhou held late night meetings with Deng, Ye, Li Xiannian and others as he lay ill on the hospital bed in 1974.

Deng Knocked Down

The campaign against Lin Biao and Confucius was followed by others in which Mao and the Four led the masses in grasping deeply the questions involved, distinguishing the revolutionary from the revisionist line and thereby unleashing their strength and initiative. When Zhou died in January 1976, the revisionists were not able to get Deng, who was then the First Vice-Premier, to replace him, because the movement to criticize the "right deviationist wind" was exposing this program and Deng in particular. The revisionists were not willing to risk an open confrontation yet with Mao and the forces of the Left. At the same time, Mao and the Four were not strong enough themselves to get Chang Chun-chiao (Zhang Chunqiao), one of the Four, named to the post. Hua Guofeng therefore became the compromise choice as acting premier. The revisionists backed Hua because he was politically in their camp but was a bland character not saddled with a well known history of brazen revisionism, like Deng.

Actually, Mao's tactics here were quite masterful. Mao knew that organizationally the Left could not hope to directly confront all the revisionists at that time. The best they could do right then was to block Deng's rise. But Mao had no illusions about where Hua stood politically, and therefore put him in the position where he had to go against the right deviationist wind that he was, in fact, a part of and denounce Deng as a counter-revolutionary. This created the split within the revisionist camp. Meanwhile Mao counted on the political campaign against Deng and his line to take deep hold among the masses so they could clearly distinguish the two basic sides, proletarian revolutionary and revisionist and rise up against the capitalist-roaders.

Of course, like all class struggle, this was a real battle and the revisionists had powerful forces aligned on their side. In April, 1976, the revisionists organized a counterrevolutionary riot at Peking's

Tien Anmen Square. While this incident was justly put down by force, the revisionists managed to make considerable advances through it. First of all, the incident hoisted the banner of counterrevolution and served as a rallying call for the revisionist forces. Secondly, it forced the revolutionaries to resort prematurely to organizational measures, to officially dismiss Deng from his post. This actually had the effect of cutting short the political campaign against Deng before it could develop fully among the masses and expose his line through intense ideological struggle. Organizationally, the revisionists were still able to get one of their people, Hua, named as Premier and First Vice Chairman, while Deng retained his party membership and a chance to bounce back.

The revisionists' grip on various levels of the state and party apparatus became stronger as more and more bureaucrats knocked down during the Cultural Revolution were brought back to life. Another powerful stronghold of the Right was the army. The Cultural Revolution did not penetrate deeply into the army, and the Lin Biao affair, as well as certain particularities about conducting political movements in the military, were used as excuses to put further limits on line struggle among soldiers.

Mediocre Man Put to Use

Mao's death on September 9 was a signal for the revisionists to move. On October 6, the Four and their close supporters were arrested, putting a temporary stop to proletarian rule in China. The coup was mainly planned by Ye, who had deep ties in the military and the bureaucracy, with Deng playing a powerful role behind the scenes. Hua was characteristically sensitive to which way the wind was blowing, and willingly and actively participated in the coup. As the introduction to the book *And Mao Makes 5* puts it, "One of (Hua's) biographers has cited a statement by Marx that certain historical moments turn the most mediocre of men into heroes. Actually a man of enormous mediocrity has emerged as one of history's most despicable scoundrels and traitors."

One of (Hua's) biographers has cited a statement by Marx that certain historical moments turn the most mediocre of men into heroes. Actually a man of enormous mediocrity has emerged as one of history's most despicable scoundrels and traitors.

Hua's mediocrity was put to good use by the revisionists in carrying out the coup! The revisionists would have met much stiffer resistance if the coup had been carried out under the direct and open guidance of the unrepentant capitalist-roader, Deng. As it was, with Hua on their side, Ye and Deng were able to preserve a semblance of continuity from Mao and carry out a relatively smooth takeover. Right after the coup, Hua announced plans to build a memorial hall containing Mao's body and to publish Vol. 5 of Mao's *Selected Works*. So while destroying Mao's line, they preserved his body. Besides carrying out this feudal practice, denounced by Mao, the revisionists reportedly even did a lousy job preserving the body. (How convenient.) And as for Volume 5, it has since been recalled for "re-editing." But at the time, with his posture as successor to Mao, Hua was able to confuse and cause some wavering among the intermediate, even among supporters of the Four, enabling the revisionists to consolidate in the crucial weeks after the coup. For example, in Shanghai, some leaders were called into Peking right after the coup, where Hua assured them that things were not so serious. Apparently divisions and delays resulted. The planned armed uprising in Shanghai was stalled while leaders struggled to sort out what was going on in Peking, until finally the initiative was lost and the massive uprising was averted.

While Deng had some conflicts with other coup leaders, including Ye and Hua, he also realized that his own interests were best served by a back stage role at the time. At the time of the coup Hua called for keeping up the criticism

of the "revisionist, counterrevolutionary line of Deng Xiaoping." A few months later, Deng was seen in a Peking restaurant. When some of the crowd applauded him he laughed and said, sarcastically, "Keep on criticizing Deng Xiaoping." This was not only bitter sarcasm directed at those who had been doing so, and were now shifting with the wind. It was also a form of tactical advice for his fellow revisionists. Keep up the show for a while, and we'll harvest the full crop later, he was saying. Hua reportedly shuttled back and forth to southern China several times in the heat of the struggle of 1976 to consult with Deng, even while he was "criticizing" him.

Promised Unity

Hua's mediocrity and the image of him consciously created by the revisionists as a moderate, stable bureaucrat, also appealed to a section of the masses and a large percentage of the cadres and intellectuals who had a tendency to tire of the tumultuous twists and turns of two-line struggle in China and wanted an end to it.

One of the pieces of bait that the revisionists used to hook and reel in a significant portion of the intermediate masses—even as they stirred up trouble—was their promise of "stability and unity" as opposed to turmoil of class struggle under Mao and the Four. But once the proletarian line is thrown out the window, all kinds of conflicting interests come to the fore—differences between regional military commanders, between different ministries, between different sectors of the economy, etc. On top of this is the dislocation and anarchy caused by the capitalist economy, domestically and internationally. Differences in living standards among the people, which Mao and the Four had fought to restrict, are becoming wider, sharpening up the contradictions among the people (the revisionist attack that the Four turned contradictions among the people into contradictions between the people and the enemy, is an outright lie to cover this up). The infighting that has culminated to a certain point with the attack on Hua shatters any remaining semblance of revisionist "stability and unity."

While the conflict over Hua's chairmanship is the most dramatic, there are other deep contradictions causing widening cracks in the revisionist bloc. According to a Dec. 8 *People's Daily* editorial, moves by the revisionists to decontrol prices and let market forces regulate the economy have resulted in "some enterprises not working to raise quality, increase variety of goods, or decrease waste, but instead raising prices as a shortcut to acquire profit, bonuses, and benefits in extra accumulation." Earlier this year, there was a purge of the so-called "Oil Kingdom," a group of officials within the Oil Ministry and the oil industry accused of following a "left" line and held responsible for the death of over 50 workers in an oil rig accident. In fact, the dispute was based on bourgeois struggles over how much capital to invest where and how, as well as on overall influence within the revisionist state.

There is also increasing discontent with the revisionist regime among the army. According to the *New York Times*, one general wrote a letter to Deng this fall laying out the military's dissatisfaction. Deng was reportedly infuriated, and burst out that a third of the army's commanders opposed his programs, a third just didn't care, and only a third supported him. Deng was planning to purge up to two-thirds of the officers at the regimental level and up in the next two years. The army was the key element in the revisionist coup, but, as the *NY Times* points out, "In the top levels of the Communist Party and the government, however, the generals now find themselves outvoted by economists, technocrats, and the new leaders such as Premier Zhao Ziyang, who are close associates of Mr. Deng." The inclusion of the Lin Biao military men in the trial of the Four, while mainly a maneuver to attack the whole Cultural Revolution and confuse the revolutionaries with the proven counterrevolutionaries of Lin's clique, is also an effort to diminish the prestige of the old core of the leadership in the military. Some top army men are reportedly offended by this and some, applying consistent revisionist logic, have even asked what was so bad about Lin, since he at least tried to stop the Cultural Revolution and kill Mao. Knowing full well that this trial is going to cause some ripples, the Deng forces ran several articles right before the trial in the *People's Daily* and the *Liberation Daily*, the army newspaper, urging the

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Meetings This Week to Uphold Mao's Revolutionary Comrades

In a number of cities across the country, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA has joined with others to sponsor meetings to uphold the revolutionary stand being taken by Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, to go deeply into Mao's revolutionary line and the significance of events in China to the world proletarian revolution.

More of these meetings will be held in the next week and a half:

Atlanta—Tues., Dec. 30, 7:30 p.m.

First Existentialist Church, 470 Candler Park Dr. N.E. (across from Candler Park in Little 5 Points).

Los Angeles—Sunday, Dec. 28. Time and place to be announced

For information about the meeting nearest you, contact the Revolutionary Worker (see address box on page 2).

Statements Demand:

Continued from page 10

TO: D.C. COURT OF APPEALS

Your repression of political activist Bob Avakian is contrary to the Constitution and violates basic political freedom. Why should anyone defend the United States if we are not free?

**STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN!
FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS!**

Susan Chacin
Writer
West L.A.

I am shocked by the continued harassment of the 16 supporters and the Chairman of the RCP. It is clear that the federal prosecutor is vindictive in violating the constitutional rights of the 17. It is apparent that the constitutional rights of these citizens have been abridged by the government. I urge the dropping of all charges against the 17 Mao Tsetung Defendants immediately.

Larry Schwartz, Professor of History
San Diego City College

Vietnam Veterans Against the War (Anti-Imperialist) demand: **OVERTURN THE APPEALS COURT DECISION—STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN!**

The escalation by the government to jail Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants is a desperate move, and reminds us very much of the strategy the U.S. imperialists used in the vain attempt to defeat the Vietnamese. Every time the Vietnamese people scored a victory, the U.S. would retreat, maneuver and escalate its newest attacks. Their actions only serve to further expose the savage nature of imperialism and bring millions into political activity in opposition to

them. From the villages of Vietnam, to the ranks of U.S. GI's, to the States, and internationally—millions stepped forward. So too will be the case of this latest attack on Bob Avakian and the 16 other Mao Defendants. Already thousands have rallied to their support, with letters from as far away as Australia, and this escalation of the "war" against Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants will certainly bring forward more.

In Vietnam, the U.S. was defeated by the heroic and conscious activity of people around the world. As the great revolutionary leader Mao Tsetung once said, "Make trouble fail, make trouble again, fail again... till their doom... This is the logic of the imperialists." The heroic and conscious activism of people around the world is the force that is coming into play in the efforts to overturn the railroad. This force, when unleashed, is irresistible and unbeatable in the final analysis. VVAW (A-I) stands together with people around the world in demanding, "STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN—NOW!"

Vietnam Veterans Against the War (A-I)

D.C. Court of Appeals:

The court's actions in reversing the dismissal of charges against the 17 Mao Tsetung Defendants is nothing but a political attack on those who believe in and work actively for a revolution against the capitalist system in the United States. These people and many supporters see the devastating effects of capitalism and the gross oppression and exploitation of the workers that it feeds on. These people stood up for Mao Tsetung's political line against the capitalist-roader Deng Xiaoping and his efforts to ruin the whole social and economic structure of China that was built up under Mao.

The courts have no business in persecuting people with political beliefs that point out the wrongs of this system and work for a better one. If this vindictiveness stands, I will see it as an example of the ruling class of the U.S. employing the courts as a tool in protecting their interests and an attempt to stamp out dissent.

Mildred Ledbetter
Kalamazoo, Michigan

Major Events in the Mao Tsetung Defendants Case

In October, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals reversed a lower court ruling and reinstated a 25 felony count indictment against Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. This latest move is a serious escalation in the government's attempt to cripple the RCP. From its beginning, the case has represented a sharp political attack:

- * The charges stem from a police assault on a January 1979 demonstration protesting the U.S. visit of Chinese revisionist leader, Deng Xiaoping. Initiated by the RCP, the demonstration upheld the revolutionary banner of Mao Tsetung, denounced the revisionist coup d'etat which had taken place after Mao's death, and protested the enlistment of China into the U.S. war bloc.

- * Originally, 78 people were arrested. Six months later, 17 were indicted, then shortly after, reindicted, the charges mushrooming to 25 felonies and possible jail time of 241

years. The government tried to hide the political nature of its attack behind blatantly fabricated criminal charges.

- * On November 14, 1979, the charges were dropped before the case had gone to trial. "Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian—Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants" had become a battle cry in the months prior. The political support of thousands and thousands of people had been mobilized, and in the face of this, the bourgeoisie was forced to temporarily retreat. But events that followed showed that the enemy was also maneuvering.

- * Immediately following the dismissal, government prosecutors filed an appeal. This appeal was actually an escalation of the political attack. It admitted what they had been denying all along, that they were prosecuting the case on the basis of political conspiracy.

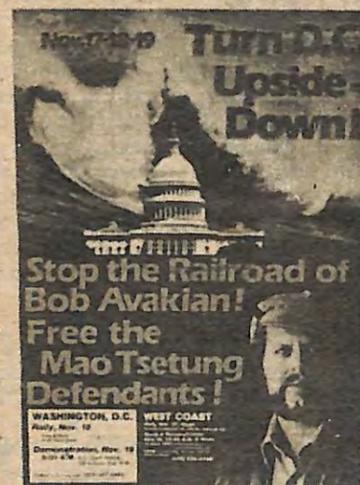
- * Throughout the year that the case hung in the appeals court, the bourgeoisie stepped up attacks on the

RCP on other fronts. The Secret Service was unleashed on Bob Avakian, over 800 RCP members and supporters were arrested, especially in connection with Revolutionary May Day, 1980, and RCP member Damian Garcia was murdered by police agents.

- * On October 21, 1980, the charges were reinstated.

With the reinstatement of the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, the stakes have again been raised. A major counter-offensive is called for, and ever broader forces must be mobilized in the battle. Join the struggle to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants! Contact the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants or the RCP in your area.

Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants
Box 6422 "T" Station
Washington, D.C. 20009



Washington, D.C., November 1979.



Friday, Dec. 19—Chinatown, San Francisco, CA

Your Hands

Continued from page 7

Black community in yet another city. A network organizer took a new co-conspirator with her to discuss the article in issue No. 83, "100,000 Co-conspirators Now," with some people who run a restaurant where they normally sell about 200 *RW*'s. They took about 300 copies of the paper, sold out in four days, and called the distributor

for more. This had a big snowball effect on the whole neighborhood. One co-conspirator, a former member of the Black Panther Party was encouraged to take a lot more papers off of what he saw in the restaurant. Another regular reader came to a circle meeting and bought a copy of *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions* which he took back to the restaurant to study. Last heard, he was at a planning meeting to make plans for the next issue.

At another tavern, the distributor left

50 papers and immediately several people came up to the counter to get their copies. One hour later, someone went back to the tavern and there was a big argument between two guys over the role of the paper, one guy arguing that the other should help distribute the paper and the other one saying he didn't have time because he had to think about his family. The argument got very heated and others in the tavern who had been listening broke up the two guys and then more people got back into the discussion on the role of the paper. Plans are underway to set up circles in these places.

In many housing projects and concentrated communities of proletarians and oppressed nationalities where the masses are seething with discontent and many are open to and gravitate toward revolutionary politics, there is great potential to develop political "base areas" for revolution, drawing the masses broadly into the political conspiracy, organizing circles around the Party's line and unleashing the energy and creativeness of the youth. A report from one city where a big leap was made in sales the first week, pointed out that there was a tendency to have a defensive line on these "base areas" and to see them as an end in themselves and not a base area for revolution, broadly spreading the conspiracy to other sections of the masses. With this

in mind they made plans to unleash the masses in certain areas where *RW* sales were concentrated to take up the battle for 100,000 co-conspirators, and to make forays into new territory, waging a "battle of annihilation" over several days of broad sales and calling meetings hot on the heels of that. In the course of the first day in one area where various Black revolutionary nationalist organizations had a considerable base in the '60s and '70s and where a successful red flag march was held before May 1st, *RW* sellers found that overwhelmingly people knew about May Day, Bob Avakian, the *RW*, or all three. In the course of the first day, they discovered various revolutionary circles and individuals; several people in defense groups against the Klan, a student circle that discusses the *RW*, an African cab driver who periodically discusses the *RW* with other African cabbies, and several workers from a huge plant outside of town who said that May 1st had been a hot item of debate in the plant!

These are only a few examples from reports of the first week but clearly the time is at hand to build on advances, break with economism and the "defense of lagging," and take this decisive battle in the campaign for 100,000 co-conspirators out to the masses and over the top. "It's in your hands!"

Wishy-Washy

Continued from page 25

army to "study and resolutely support the correct line, principles and policies laid down by the party."

Favorable to Revolutionaries

These contradictions among the revisionists are further intensified by the lingering legacy of Mao that still haunts them, four years after they have mummified his body and locked up his closest comrades. Hua has been perched on a precarious spot at the edge of a cliff, because of the fact Mao had placed him in the position before the coup where he was forced to come out openly against Deng and support the Cultural Revolution, at least in words. Chiang Ching is fully aware of these contradictions and has exposed them to rattle the revisionists and widen the split among them, opening new opportunities for revolutionaries. At one point during the pre-trial hearings when she was pressed about her part in suppressing the Tien Anmen riot, Chiang Ching shot back with biting sarcasm, "I was not responsible for suppressing the Tien Anmen incident. You can go ask the Minister of Public Security at that time to come act as my witness." That "former Public Security Minister" is none other than Hua himself.

Deng, for his part, has had to travel a tortuous path to get to a point where he can more or less openly attack Mao. But even now, he still cannot do to Mao what Khrushchev did to Stalin, and has to keep up an utterly hypocritical mask of supporting Mao's Thought. However, in order to clear away any opposition to more open steps in capitalist restoration, he must get rid of forces like

Hua who still have some stake in moderating attacks against Mao.

But in doing this, Deng is taking a great risk. The *NY Times* cites a European diplomat who points out that Deng and his backers must be conscious of the damage they are doing by permitting so much absurdity in the party leadership. "They are allowing a terrible erosion of authority, making a joke of the party chairman," the diplomat is quoted as saying. "They must have weighed the risk very carefully. It must be a deliberate strategy to increase the pressure on Hua and those people who support him." Although the revisionists have turned the Communist Party from a proletarian vanguard into a headquarters of the bourgeoisie, it is indeed dangerous for their rule to have serious erosion of the prestige of the party. In what might be a feeble attempt to get around this problem, a recent Politburo meeting decided, according to the Japanese Kyodo News Agency, that the posts of Chairman and party Vice-Chairman will be abolished, and the General-Secretary will head the party, in the style of East European revisionist communist parties.

Deng's attack on Hua also involves not just one or a few persons but opens up a floodgate of attacks on a very significant force at all levels of the party. Half of the present 38 million members of the party were recruited during the Cultural Revolution. Many of these millions, growing up during the Cultural Revolution, are in Deng's eyes lacking the necessary technical and professional skills to be good revisionist party members. And although many of

the conscious revolutionaries and close supporters of the Four have already been driven out of the party, many more party members still cannot go along wholeheartedly with Deng's blatant revisionism and attacks on Mao. In order to get rid of these elements, the revisionists have announced the two-year rectification of all levels of the party, to start next year.

Deng must also challenge the "old guard" in the top leadership associated with Zhou Enlai. There have been unconfirmed reports of a widespread campaign to criticize Zhou Enlai for being too close to Mao and for going along with the Cultural Revolution and the criticism of Liu Shaoqi. Many articles in the press urging an end to the automatic lifetime tenure system for officials are not only an attack on Mao but are also aimed especially at Ye, the "elder statesman" in the State Council, and a big power in the army. Ye has been backing Hua and is apparently still pushing the line of "restrain oneself," calling for the revisionists to unite and go slow in the moves to dump Mao which are causing such deep conflicts among the revisionists. Deng's forces, in turn, are calling on Ye to step down—or to die *quick*.

A further source of the conflict within the revisionist clique that is rapidly increasing in importance as the contradictions leading toward world war sharpen up, is the question of how to look at the Soviet Union. This is obviously a very sensitive question, and little is known of how different individual revisionist leaders actually stand on this question. The dominant line still seems to be to get as much technology and capital from the West as possible, and develop political ties with them at this time, in order to accumulate bargaining chips for a possible shift over to the Soviets at some later date.

But there are powerful forces within the regime, including in the military, which has traditionally been a bastion of pro-Soviet forces like Peng Dehuai and Lin Biao, that point to China's vulnerability to the Russian military threat, as well as the West's unreliability, as reasons for making more concessions right now to the Soviet Union.

What all this adds up to is that the revisionists are trapped in a deep crisis. Deng is like a Mafia boss making a move to expand his territory and muscle out all rivals in one fell swoop. But he is bound to meet stiff resistance from his rivals, who are no pushovers. But, as these revisionists fight it out among themselves, it is going to open up some opportunities for the people, they prey upon. As Bob Avakian pointed out two years ago, before the contradictions among the revisionists had flared up to such an extent, "It will be more and more difficult for the revisionists to 'restrain themselves' and remain united around one common program—the rites of Zhou—especially since the Four and Mao are gone, and more so as the grandiose plans for 'modernization' bear bitter fruit and they meet more resistance. Such conflicts among the ruling bourgeoisie are, on the whole, a good thing, providing some turmoil for the revolutionaries to make use of." Of course, the conflicts among the revisionists are not going to automatically give rise to revolutionary struggle by the masses. But the point is that as these internal contradictions in the revisionist regime come to the surface, and as this takes place in the context of the increasing pace towards world war, there is the potential for very rapid and dramatic changes all around the world, including the rise of revolutionary struggle among the Chinese people against their ruling class.

BEHIND THE COURT OF APPEALS

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Justice. Indeed, Yeagley's appointment to the D.C. Court of Appeals was merely the last stop of a long and dedicated career in service to U.S. imperialism, during which time Yeagley spent 30 years involved in intelligence work for the U.S. imperialists and almost 25 of those years in the upper echelons of the U.S. secret political police.

In 1942, Yeagley joined the FBI as a member of the Special Intelligence Service (SIS), the branch of the FBI assigned to furnish the State Department, the military and other government agencies with intelligence about "financial, economic, political and subversive activities detrimental to the security of the United States" throughout the Western hemisphere. Yeagley served in Latin America for 18 months, where the SIS was especially active in organizing secret police forces. After 18 months, he was given a special commendation by the State Department and returned to the U.S. to serve three years as a high official in the FBI intelligence division.

By 1948, Yeagley had been appointed the Director of the Security and Investigation Division of the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA). The ECA was a post-World War 2 agency created by the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948 and aimed at promoting "worldwide cultural information." The authors of the act that created the ECA, Smith and Mundt, were also the authors and co-authors of a number of anti-communist laws like the Smith Act, helped establish the "Attorney General's list" of subversive people and organizations, and also worked on plans for internment camps for subversives. The ECA's dissemination of "worldwide cultural information" was first aimed at Europe, and coordinated from Marshall Plan headquarters in Paris, in order to create support for the Marshall Plan. The cultural information of the ECA consisted of planting inflammatory anti-communist news stories in the European press. Some of Yeagley's better known colleagues connected with the ECA were

Benjamin Bradlee, currently the executive editor of the *Washington Post*; Alfred Friendly, the former managing editor of the *Washington Post*; and the infamous millionaire E. Howard Hunt.

Next stop, Yeagley is appointed by the newly elected president, Eisenhower, as Chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee on Internal Security (ICIS). This committee, along with the Interdepartmental Intelligence Conference, was the security and intelligence arm of the National Security Council. As Chairman of the ICIS, Yeagley's job was to keep the National Security Council informed about the activities of communists and other revolutionaries, especially in regard to espionage, sabotage, subversion and domestic violence.

In 1953, Yeagley joined the Justice Department as a Deputy Assistant Attorney General of the criminal division, where he had supervisory authority over literally every federal criminal case in the United States. In 1954, he became a Deputy Assistant Attorney General of the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department. But it wasn't until 1958 that Yeagley started up the path toward the pinnacle of his career. At this time he was appointed to the post of Assistant Attorney General of the Internal Security Division, a position he held until late 1970. As the man in charge of internal security affairs, Yeagley was mainly concerned with revitalizing the various lists of subversives, mapping out plans for the emergency detention of subversives in the event of a national emergency, keeping the Smith Act updated and alive, and working closely with J. Edgar Hoover & Co. in their attempts to railroad people for treason, sabotage, trading with the enemy, and violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. In addition, Yeagley was responsible for all civil litigations in defense of the U.S. and its officials in cases involving federal security programs, and the defense of special government programs, such as nuclear testing.

In the mid and late '60s, as the country rocked with revolutionary upsurge, the U.S. imperialists mustered everything at their disposal in their state apparatus, particularly their police and intelligence networks, to attempt to crush the struggle of the masses. In this context, J. Walter Yeagley's career bloomed full flower. As one of the heads of the Intelligence Evaluation Committee and the Interdivisional Intelligence Unit, Yeagley was at the heart of the most massive domestic intelligence apparatus ever set up. In addition to serving as a coordinating center for this apparatus, Yeagley was also responsible for analyzing the information and recommending a course of action to other government officials. Yeagley received special praise from former Attorney General Ramsey Clark for his work in dealing with the urban rebellions during the years 1964-68. Also, as one of the top U.S. security officials, Yeagley played a big part in developing and approving the infamous COINTELPRO program directed against revolutionaries in the '60s and '70s. In

1969, as one of his final acts in office, Yeagley sent a memo to J. Edgar Hoover, urging him to begin rounding up subversives and prosecuting them for advocating the violent overthrow of the government.

In 1970, J. Walter Yeagley was appointed to the D.C. Court of Appeals. The Senate Committee on the District of Columbia unanimously confirmed his appointment, citing his "outstanding credentials and experience in service to the U.S. government." His most recent public act was as witness for the defense in the FBI "black bag job" trials of agents W. Mark Felt and Edward Miller.

The career and credentials of J. Walter Yeagley stand as one more bit of proof of why we have consistently pointed out that the battle to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants will not be won on the delicate balance of the scales of justice, inside the hallowed marble halls of the legal system, but through the class struggle.

DRAFT PROGRAMME

Continued from page 24

On Homosexuality

1) Imperialism warps sexuality. Most heterosexual relations are a "product of the decay of capitalism. . . . In particular it (these relationships) stem from the distorted, oppressive, man-woman relations under capitalist conditions"; as are homosexual relations. What makes women loving women more inherently bourgeois than women loving men? What is the purpose of sex love? Is it just a way of reproducing that, since it is essential for the present survival of the species, has had a whole ideological trip built around it? If that's all it is why does the party make a point of promoting monogamous relations? What about when we don't need sex to reproduce? Will sex just be abolished? Isn't there something wonderfully human about physical love that gives sex a purpose far beyond procreation? Why are these feelings not possible between people of the same sex?

2) Since the birth of private property and the beginnings of women's enslavement one thing that has terrified the ruling classes is women loving women. It is hard to say for sure how many of the "witches" or scorned spinsters etc. were lesbians. In ancient Greece, where there was much acceptance and popularizing of men loving men, the same is most definitely not extended to women loving women. There is a difference between male and female homosexuality.

3) The question of homosexuality and pornography are included in "The Crisis of the Cities and Social Decay" section. It would seem more appropriate to include both these points in the section on women.

4) Putting aside differences on the gay question the sentence "in particular it stems from the distorted oppressive man-woman relations *capitalism promotes*" should be examined. Since when does this system merely promote women's oppression, like it's a good idea? Women's oppression is a cornerstone of the whole structure!

Break all the Chains,
B.C.

TRANSLATE THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKER INTO MANY LANGUAGES

FOREIGN BORN WORKERS, A GREAT STRENGTH FOR REVOLUTION



العامل الثوري



L'OUVRIER
REVOLUTIONNAIRE



REVOLUTIONARY
WORKER



OBRERO
REVOLUCIONARIO



ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΤΙΚΟΣ
ΕΡΓΑΤΗΣ



革命工人报

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is calling on you, the foreign born, to translate, write for, produce and distribute the *Revolutionary Worker* in more languages. There is a conspiracy growing. It's taking place right here in the heart of the imperialist United States as part of and in unison with the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat. Its aim is revolution in the U.S.; an act that will be greeted by an outpouring of great joy by hundreds of millions in every corner of the earth. It's a conspiracy around the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper, the main weapon that the working class has today to prepare to carry out this task. Right now it reaches out to many tens of thousands of people, creating broad public opinion for revolution, sinking deep political roots among the oppressed, roots that will powerfully resist being pulled up by the attacks of the bourgeoisie. Each week, as major events in the world explode, as revolutionary possibilities heighten, its pages are read, discussed, debated and acted upon. Sometimes being debated by hundreds in the streets—other times being discussed in whispers on assembly lines, apartments and in storefronts.

Ask yourself where are things heading? Events are moving quickly—not only to deepening crisis and world war between the two top imperialist gangsters—the U.S. and Soviet Union—but also along with it to momentous opportunities for revolution in the world, including the real possibility of a revolutionary situation here. The growing restlessness and turmoil and millions seeking a way out of this madness... the powerful outbreaks of rebellions like Miami... thousands of proletarians marching down the streets of the U.S. on the First of May, 1980, International Workers Day... does this indicate a contented and slavish future for the proletariat here? The possibility for revolution is real, but when the situation becomes ripe, when all of society is thrown up for grabs there must already be a class-conscious force capable of leading revolution to victory. And the work and struggle we carry out *now* will play a crucial part in determining the outcome of the struggle for power when it does finally become the order of the day. Without this newspaper there can be no way to build the organization capable of raising the consciousness of the masses who, together with the ripening situation will be able to seize power from the capitalists. As the great revolutionary Mao Tsetung put it: "First and foremost, create public opinion and seize power."

Today this paper reaches those who read English, Spanish and Chinese. But this is far behind what today's situation demands. In each of these languages it needs further contributions—in correspondence and in distribution. And it must appear in more languages. You, the foreign born, have an important role to play in transforming the world. You have rich experience fighting imperialism, driven here by the criminal acts of imperialism in countries all over the world. Yet the capitalists point to you as examples of those "who yearn for the liberty and freedom of the U.S." It is time—long past time—that this be turned into its opposite; that the victims of capitalism use their knowledge and experience and the fact that they have been driven *here* to become a force for imperialism's destruction, right here, in its belly. And a newspaper in many languages will link this force with others. You who understand the murderous and criminal nature of U.S. imperialism, must act on that understanding and join

with others in this country in arousing and shaking awake the broader numbers who still have illusions about this system and who have been kept ignorant of imperialism's role. Dare to take History into your hands!

THE RCP HAS CALLED FOR A BOLD AND DETERMINED STEP. TO MAKE A LEAP IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RW TO 100,000 COPIES WEEKLY. BEYOND THAT, WE ARE CALLING ON YOU TO STEP FORWARD NOW AND BECOME A CO-CONSPIRATOR BY BECOMING A CO-CONSPIRATOR BY TRANSLATING, WRITING AND DISTRIBUTING THE RW IN MORE LANGUAGES, TO BRING TOGETHER OTHERS WHO KNOW THE LANGUAGE OF REVOLUTION, NOT JUST TO REACH THEM, BUT ALSO TO ASSIST THEM IN INFLUENCING BROAD MASSES OF NATIVE BORN WORKERS, AS PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL ARMY OF THE WORKING CLASS. BECOME A CO-CONSPIRATOR.

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.....



BECOME A CO-CONSPIRATOR

GET YOUR HANDS ON THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

If you want to understand what's going on in Iran, to rip through the lies from the White House press room... If you want to know what's behind the KKK, that if you rip off the sheets you'll find a dog on the U.S. imperialists' leash... If you want to know what's going on in the world then you've got to read the Revolutionary Worker, newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A. And more than that...

"The Revolutionary Worker is our main weapon. This is a conspiracy spreading and deepening, spreading out like the cells of a beehive among broader and broader ranks of the working class and oppressed people. And it's got to spread consciously and actively much more broadly and much more deeply. Whether you're in Chicago, Cleveland, Atlanta, Florida, New York or wherever, every week, you and thousands of other people like you already are getting armed and educated with the line of our Party. At the same time that you are taking this paper, reading and spreading it among others, thousands and tens of thousands of people are also doing so throughout

the country. Spreading this conspiracy, broadening and deepening it, laying the basis for revolution.

"You know some people say, 'Listen, I don't dig it when this is the main weapon we got. I want to deal with the real deal. I want to get on with the real weapons. When you get to the point of a gun then come and let me know. I can't deal with a weapon that's made out of paper.' Well I can understand and sympathize with that sentiment, but if you really feel that way and if you're serious about it, if you really want to see things develop to the point where we can not only take up guns and go down like martyrs, but where we can actually lead masses of people to rise up and win, then you've got to wield this weapon now. Otherwise we're not going to get to the point where we're going to be able to seize the opportunity even if it does arise to rise up and lead masses to make revolution."

Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A.

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