



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 86 (Vol. 2, No. 34) Published weekly January 2, 1981 Editions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French ISSN 0193-3485 50¢

To The Marxist-Leninists, The Workers, And The Oppressed Of All Countries

Today the world is on the threshold of momentous events. The crisis of the imperialist system is rapidly bringing about the danger of the outbreak of a new, third, world war as well as the real perspective for revolution in countries throughout the world. During the last few years revolutionary struggles have erupted, including in certain areas of strategic importance. All the imperialist powers are preparing to lead the workers and the oppressed people to an unprecedented mutual slaughter to protect and expand their empires of profit and exploitation throughout the world. The imperialist powers and reactionary ruling classes are joined in two rival bands of cutthroats and slavemasters, two blocs which are led one by the U.S. imperialists, the other by the equally imperialist USSR. This war is looming on the horizon and will break out unless the revolutionary struggle of the masses, the seizure of power by the working class and oppressed people, is able to prevent it. Still if this does break out, it will represent an extreme concentration of the crisis of the imperialist system and will heighten the objective basis for revolutionary struggle that must be seized by the Marxist-Leninists.

But at the very time when such great dangers, challenges and opportunities are placed before the workers and oppressed of all countries, a great crisis exists within the ranks of the Marxist-Leninists who have the responsibility of leading the working class and peoples in making revolution. After revisionism had clearly come to power in the USSR with Khrushchev, the international pro-

letariat suffered a further grievous loss after the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung in 1976 with the seizure of power in socialist China by a new, counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie dragging one fourth of humanity back down the capitalist road. This great loss was further compounded by the attacks on the great contributions Mao Tsetung made to the revolutionary science of the working class, Marxism-Leninism. These attacks were not only launched by the new reactionary rulers of China, but have been joined

by deserters from the revolutionary ranks, and clearly the Soviet revisionists themselves are mixed up in these attacks.

In the face of this sharpening situation, and recognizing the critical need to rise to the great challenge that this situation represents, delegates from a number of Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations have held a meeting to discuss how to emerge and advance from this crisis on the basis of forging and uniting around a correct ideological and

political line for the international communist movement. Through the course of the meeting unity was achieved on the following points, which the undersigned Parties and organizations consider important elements for the development of this line:

I. THE CURRENT SITUATION

—Imperialism means war. This basic truth analyzed by Lenin holds particular meaning for today as another world war shapes up on the horizon. This is not a result of the

Joint Communique of

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Grupo para la Defensa del Marxismo-Leninismo (Spain)
Mao Tsetung-Kredsen (Denmark)
Marxist-Leninist Collective (Britain)
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Nottingham Communist Group (Britain)
Organizzazione Comunista Proletaria Marxista-Leninista (Italy)
Partido Comunista Revolucionario de Chile
Pour l'Internationale Prolétarienne (France)
Reorganization Committee, Communist Party of India
(Marxist-Leninist)
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
Unión Comunista Revolucionaria (Dominican Republic)

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Announcing: Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement

A draft document from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA for discussion in the international communist movement and within their respective Parties. The document was submitted to the autumn 1980 international conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, which held that, "on the whole, the text is a positive contribution toward the elaboration of a correct general line for the international communist movement. With this perspective, the text should be circulated and discussed not only in the ranks of those organizations who have signed this communique, but throughout the ranks of the international communist movement."

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Hostage Negotiations

U.S. Jerks Yuletide Tears, Escalates Moves Against Iran

The bourgeoisie's Christmas extravaganza this year was "the hostage show." Featured were touching performances from the likes of such darlings as hostage Kathryn Koob. Wearing a yellow (hope for the hostages) ribbon in her hair, Koob blinked back tears as she asked her nieces and nephews in Iowa to join her in singing "Away in a Manger." A few commentators noted that she was one of the two women hostages left in Iran due to her "high rank." Indeed, Kathryn Koob was one of the ranking CIA officers in the U.S. embassy in Tehran; for many years she had been director of the Iran-American Society, a major outlet for the U.S. Information Agency's imperialist news and cultural attractions, as well as a front for various types of covert CIA activity in Iran such as intelligence gathering and maintaining contact with Iranian agents on the CIA payroll.

Or take hostage Robert Ode, who appeared on TV appropriately reading from a Bible. A good Christian gentleman, 64-year-old Mr. Ode was a veteran State Department "diplomat" (and quite likely on the CIA roster as well) who had come out of retirement in mid-1979 to take on a post as a "temporary consular officer" in Tehran. In the turbulence and upheaval in the months after the overthrow of the U.S. puppet Shah in February, you can be sure that Ode, like the other political, economic, cultural and military specialists who were carefully picked for the Iran post, was not in Tehran to help stranded American tourists with their passports and American Express cards.

As this host of CIA agents, State Department diplomats, military attachés and the young Marine guards (who were peripheral to the counter-revolutionary political operation run out of the embassy) appeared on TV, the U.S. press broadcast and rebroadcast, analyzed and re-analyzed their

greetings to their families. Almost all of them profusely thanked the "American people" for "sticking by them for so long." Steve Lauerbach capped it all when his Christmas message ended with a patriotic "God bless all of you, and God bless America." Even as the administration and media were accusing the Iranians of "cruelly using the hostages for propaganda," the whole presentation of the hostages on American TV—along with the reactionary utterances of handpicked hostage wives such as Penny Laingen, Louisa Kennedy and Dorothea Morefield (whose husbands are the No. 1, 2 and 3 ranking diplomats in Tehran)—was set up to present the hostages as just "average Americans" who we can all identify with, and who are "innocent of all wrongdoing."

According to the U.S. ruling class, it's those nasty Iranians who are the real criminals. President-elect Reagan went one step further last Monday, calling the Iranian people "barbarians"—which can be likened to Attila the Hun calling his latest prey "uncivilized." And to make it abundantly clear that these were not simply the ravings of one neanderthal, Reagan's remarks were endorsed on the editorial page of one of the bourgeoisie's main mouthpieces, the *New York Times*.

In Iran, even the speaker of the Parliament, Hojatolislam Rafsanjani, who the U.S. was quick to point out is a "moderate" (read: capitulator to the U.S.), was obliged to hit back sharply at Reagan's crass display of chauvinism U.S. imperialist-style. "You can find few people in history as barbarous as U.S. leaders," he was quoted at a news conference in Tehran. "If tyranny, swindling, military occupation and exploiting others is called civilization, then we are not used to such a thing. For 30 years you have taken all our resources and sucked our blood. . . Every day, somewhere in the world, the blood of struggling people drips from the

fangs and claws of the United States." Indeed, that Rafsanjani had to make such remarks is testimony to the omnipresent and deep hatred for imperialism that burns in the hearts of the masses of people in Iran.

And while the bourgeoisie and its bullhorns in the media have seen fit to accuse the Iranians of being "cruel" and "barbaric" this Christmas, a bit of not-too-distant history should be noted here. Just eight years ago, the U.S. government, including many people prominent in both the Carter and incoming Reagan administrations, launched the "Christmas bombings" of North Vietnam. For 12 straight days, B-52

bombers laid down the most tons of explosives in military history on Hanoi and Haiphong, killing tens of thousands and injuring many more, in a savage and vain attempt to beat the Vietnamese people into submission. Or take the 27-year reign of the "American Shah," in which the U.S. imperialists were directly responsible for maintaining the fascist dungeons that the Iranian people were held in. U.S.-supplied military equipment and torture racks, expertly applied by U.S.-trained soldiers and SAVAK agents took the lives of tens of thousands of Iranians during these years of imperialist domination.

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New French Edition of Revolutionary Worker

Beginning this week an important advance will be made in wielding the *Revolutionary Worker* as the main weapon to create public opinion to seize power. For the first time the *Revolutionary Worker* will publish in French (including some translations in Creole). This advance has been won in the course of the campaign to enlist 100,000 co-conspirators. French speaking activists, especially those from Haiti, have stepped into this battle spreading the conspiracy among French speaking immigrants. With this French language edition the *RW* will spread far and wide a revolutionary lifeline among French-speaking workers in the U.S. reaching out and mobilizing these foreign-born workers whose experiences in fighting "all sides" of imperialism are a great reservoir of strength for proletarian revolution. □

Major Success in Battle for 100,000 Co-Conspirators

Big Leap Made— Intense Effort To Come

A leap is being successfully made—a major step in the preparation for proletarian revolution in this country. As we go to press, the final figures and final sales money for last week's *Revolutionary Worker* distribution are not yet in, but from the reports so far, it is already clear that when they are in around 70,000 or more will have been distributed. This represents a basic victory and an excellent position from which to move ahead and conquer the full goal called for of 100,000 co-conspirators nationwide in the immediate period ahead. Even at this writing, a few areas have run out of papers and others are mounting toward that goal.

Yet as big a victory as this is, it is clear that the battle must be kept up, the efforts intensified, not only to get back to all the new forces that have freshly entered the battle, to consolidate, but also to expand anew, to reach new forces, new places, and in that context to sustain sales at the 100,000 level and prepare to advance from here.

As one important part of this, new advances are happening in the foreign language editions of the *Revolutionary Worker*. In addition to the English, Spanish and Chinese weeklies, a new French edition of the *RW* is at the printer, awaiting only the donation of

some final funds to launch it. New forces have come forward in the course of this battle to take this up and make the French *RW* possible. In addition, through this campaign, some areas have reported a significant increase in people who take copies not only in their own language, but in others as well to distribute to workers of other nationalities.

This leap has been a constant process of breaking old "limits" and pushing against new ones, and then again the same process. In one district of small factories, sales multiplied more than tenfold this week, with 500 in bundles going out in a single day. The restaurant mentioned in last week's article which began with 50 *RW*'s increased to 200, then 300, has now taken 500 of this past issue. In addition, in this restaurant, a public political question is now being made, with posters and all, of collecting the money for the papers that went out on consignment, as well as donations.

In another example, two sellers in one city thought they had discovered their limit—but then decided to push further. After selling 50 papers downtown, they had to leave for work. They went to a bus stop across the street from where they had been selling, and the agitator began calling on people there to step forward and take bundles.

After a bit of this, the sellers split, having to leave a stack of bundles on a bench. All of a sudden a man caught up with them and asked, "Am I supposed to take them and sell them?" They told him, yes, he was, and he went back and took a bundle. At the same time, others came forward and soon enough 90 more papers had been gotten out—all in 20 minutes time. "It's in your hands!" is becoming a reality—and producing leaps in distribution.

After a struggle among some regular distributors over whether bundles of papers should be put in the masses' hands, or whether that was just "wasting time and papers," a high school age distributor left a bundle at a friend's house. The friend recruited a partner and the two of them went to sell in front of a major department store. The cops came and threatened them and these youth put it right back in their faces as a crowd gathered around. The cops arrested these two youth and took them to juvenile hall. As soon as they got out, they were back in the housing project where they live selling the *RW*. A circle they've become a part of plans to put out a leaflet about the incident in the high school.

Sustained Sales

Sustained sales, it is becoming clear,

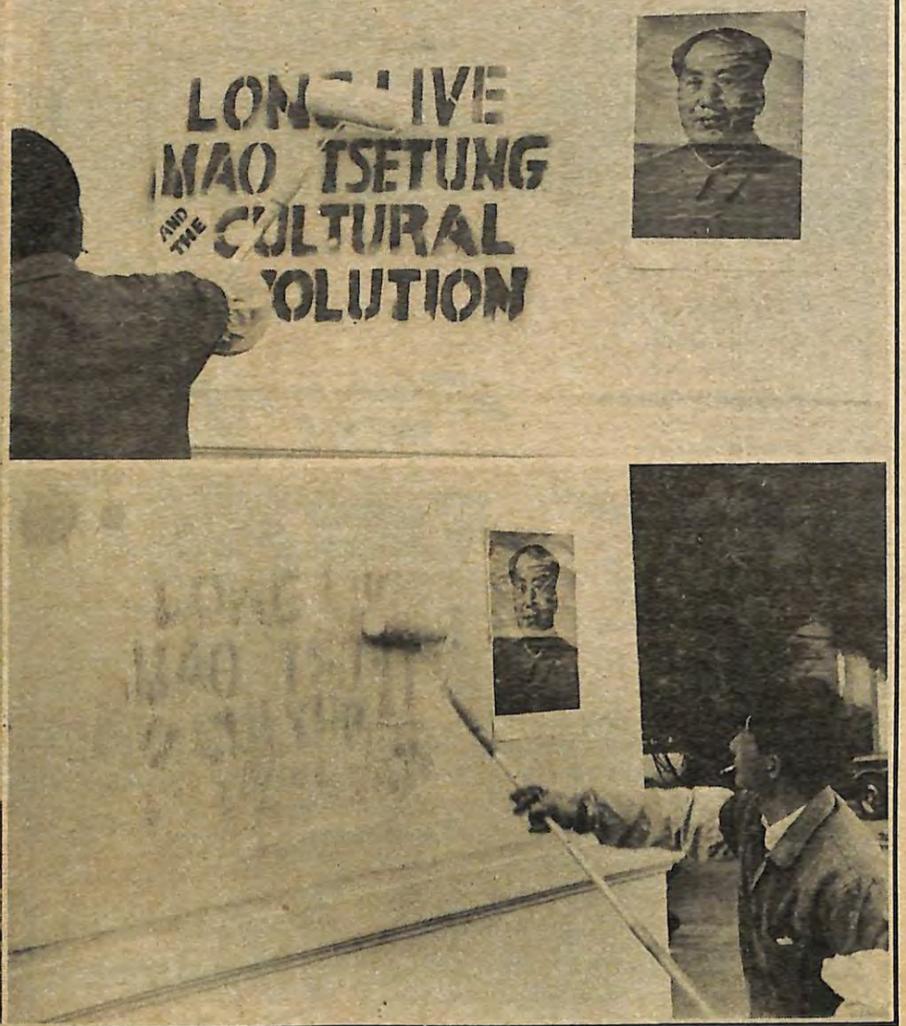
is not a static thing. The networks of co-conspirators is something living, breathing, developing with new forces constantly coming forward, while others drop back—some just for a time to become active again. To sustain sales can only mean a constant interaction between consolidating and expanding. It is necessary to keep going broader and broader, while straining to keep up with and meet the special interests and requirements of the advanced forces who have already come forward.

There has proven to be very broad interest in the paper, and desire to distribute it, even among those who do not agree with everything in it. An African professor took 50 to distribute to his class. A bartender in the same city took 30 to put on his counter because he felt strongly about events in China. Another African man some sellers ran into said he read the paper all the time, "I have some differences with it, but I wouldn't read it if I didn't, it would be boring." Again in the same city, some people were gathering in a restaurant to go out for a day's selling. Soon the waitress came over and said, "you've just been sponsored for a free round of coffee by the guy who owns the store next door." (He ended up buying everyone food, too.) When the sellers

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San Francisco, Calif.—The revisionists at the Chinese consulate here recently walked out their front door and discovered a pool of red paint on their front steps and revolutionary graffiti on the walls. Workmen quickly brought straw to cover up the pool of red paint (below left) and whitewash (below right) to cover up the slogans—slogans upholding Mao Tsetung, his revolutionary comrades now on trial in China, and the Cultural Revolution. Spectators report that the slogans proved remarkably resistant, although thoroughly covered up they reappeared through the white paint and had to be painted over again.

**FOR COVERAGE OF THE TRIAL OF MAO'S
REVOLUTIONARY COMRADES SEE PAGE 14**



Charlotte County, Virginia

Barbaric Verdict Approves Racist Murder

Charlotte County, Virginia. On Tuesday, December 17, as Virginia state troopers and Charlotte County sheriff's deputies surrounded the County courthouse, the verdict in the murder trial of Woodson Smith, a local white store owner, was read, "Not guilty on the basis of self defense." The verdict legally exonerated Smith for the cold-blooded murder of his daughter's boyfriend Chuck Staten, an 18-year-old Black youth. In reality, this disgusting "self defense" verdict was in defense (and perpetuation) of the brutal oppression of Black people and all the reactionary racist poison accompanying this oppression.

On a Friday night last February, Chuck had been invited by his girlfriend, Pamela Smith, into her home. When her father, Woodson Smith, came home the two youths became frightened. Chuck hid behind the bedroom door and Pamela went out to the hallway to see what her father was doing. Pamela confronted her father in the hall and saw that he was carrying his

.25 caliber pistol. Woodson Smith rushed past his daughter into her bedroom, looked under the bed, turned and saw Chuck behind the door. Chuck ran and Smith fired a shot, hitting Chuck in the back. Although wounded Chuck continued to run for the front door while Pamela screamed at her father, "Don't shoot him. If you have to shoot somebody, shoot me." Smith chased Chuck out to the front yard and fired again. Within minutes, 18-year-old Chuck Staten lay dead in a neighbor's yard, two blocks from his own home, shot twice in the back for the "crime" of dating a white girl.

After delaying for eleven months, hoping that the anger and outrage among Black people in Charlotte County would dissipate, county officials put Woodson Smith on trial. And, predictably, every step in the trial was a total farce and a further slap in the face for

Blacks in Charlotte County.

According to Smith at the "trial," he was alerted to the presence of an "intruder" in his home by his two sons. Obviously suspecting that the "intruder" was Staten, Smith grabbed his gun and began his search under his daughter's bed. Later he fabricated a story about how someone had been periodically pilfering coins from his "collection of Bicentennial quarters and half dollars" and that he thought that the "intruder was the thief." Of course he never got around to explaining why he'd be searching for a thief under his daughter's bed. And, of course, Smith denied that he had even the slightest inkling that his daughter had been dating a Black youth for at least 8 months. (Every other person in the county knew about it, including his two sons and in fact, both Chuck and Pamela were very open about the fact that they were going together, yet somehow good ol' Woodson was kept in the dark.) On top of this, Smith had the audacity to originally claim that Staten was "unknown to him," and that Staten had attacked him. Never mind that Chuck had grown up and lived for over 10 years less than 2 blocks down the road and had hung out in Smith's grocery store and pool hall for years. Never mind Smith's own daughter's testimony that far from attacking her father, Chuck was desperately trying to escape when Smith shot him in the back.

Actually though, it didn't really matter what Smith did or said in court. As Chuck's stepfather said, "We knew what was going to happen the minute we walked into the courtroom. If it had been a Black man on trial for the same thing, he'd have been lucky if they'd have just locked him up and threw away the key. That's the way it is in Charlotte-town." From the get-go, machinery was set in motion to exonerate Smith and put the seal of approval on his crime. Throughout the trial the judge—J.R. Snoddy—sat in his bench laughing and grinning, obviously amused about what had gone on. This same judge recently laughingly sentenced a Black man who had been framed for the rape of an elderly white woman to life plus 10 years in prison. Smith's defense attorney just happened to be a prosecutor from Mecklenburg County, the next county over from Charlotte County, and had been responsible for the recent prosecution of a white gas station attendant who had shot and killed an unarmed Black man in an argument over a malfunctioning gas pump. Needless to say, the gas station attendant received a 12 month suspended sentence—the equivalent of being convicted for drunk driving. In Smith's trial, the judge's instructions to the jury repeatedly emphasized the minimum option open to the jurors. And, he conveniently overlooked the fact that Smith's attorney's closing argument contained open threats to the jury, particularly the four Black members of the jury. Looking at each of the Black jurors, Frank Harris (Smith's attorney) stated, "When you make your decision, remember, Woodson Smith knows each and every one of you, where you work, where you live, what you do, who your kids are and where they go to school." This was obviously a signal to all the other "Woodson Smiths" in Charlotte County that if anything went wrong with the vote, they knew what to do. In spite of this, the first vote ended with the four Blacks voting to convict Smith. Then one hour and twenty five minutes later the four Blacks inexplicably changed their vote and the jury returned with the unanimous "not guilty" verdict.

But there's far more than the maneuverings of racists or the vote of a jury behind the acquittal of Woodson Smith. Behind this acquittal is the capitalist system and a force of hundreds of years of brutal national op-

pression that it's unleashed against the masses of Black people, a legacy which in Charlotte County includes many semi-feudal remnants which exist side by side with the super exploitation of modern day capitalism. Charlotte County is a collection of small towns, most of them no bigger than a few houses and trailers built around a post office and a grocery store. Each town sits in the midst of a maze of miles and miles of small winding roads and thick woods. Every so often one of the roads winds past a restored plantation house complete with ramshackled slave quarters in the backyard. There's very little industry in Charlotte County—if you're lucky you can get a job in the candy factory, a branch of Burlington Mills or in the small lumber industry. If you're Black, you've got to be very lucky—and even then you'll end up with the dirtiest, lowest paying and most dangerous jobs. Of course if you can't get a job, there are other "options." Just about the entire Black population of Wyliesburg (a small town in the county) consists of "tenant farmers," who for the "privilege" of living on large farms owned by wealthy whites, work in the tobacco fields outside day in and day out. Rooted in these conditions and in fact helping to justify, perpetuate and intensify them is a whole set of reactionary racist ideas—from unwritten "Jim Crow" laws, to a rigidly enforced caste system, to the most petty harassment aimed solely at degrading Blacks and "keeping them in their place." (One example of this petty harassment, pointed out to the *RW*, concerned a pool tournament where a Black man was competing against a white man. As soon as the Black man began to win, the judges changed the rules in order to insure that the white man would win!) The issues involved in the murder of Chuck Staten struck right at the key element of this reactionary ideological structure—the barbaric condemnation of sexual relationships between Black men and white women. Freeing Smith was nothing less than an attempt to protect and defend this reactionary garbage and an approval of any means necessary to do so.

However, every move like this is nothing more than the wild thrashing of a dying beast. Even in "isolated and quiet" Charlotte County the grounds are beginning to fall out from under this system and all the sickness it breeds. Many people in the county, particularly the youth, "just don't buy that crap anymore." According to a number of youth, interracial dating is a fairly common occurrence in the local high school. A white family who recently moved into the county was, according to local neanderthals, "too friendly with the Black people." Apparently a number of these "respected elders" invited the family in question to a dinner party and warned them of the "dangers of getting too friendly with the Blacks." Within a few minutes the white family had informed their hosts of where they could shove their warning and were on their way home.

Although the Smith verdict was aimed at defending and perpetuating the oppression of Black people and all its ideological trappings (and in fact was picked up on and pushed by a number of "big time"—and northern—newspapers including the *Washington Post* and the *Chicago Sun Times*, in a very important sense the verdict itself sparked further outrage and hatred among the people. In Charlotte County the verdict has unleashed a torrent of questioning and searching for the causes of and the ways to end this madness. To some of the Black youth in the area, this has found expression in a sharp interest in learning about the experience and the lessons of the revolutionary struggles of the '60s and early '70s, particularly with regard to the Black Panther Party. The question among these youths and others prevails: What can be done today? As one long time county resident stated, "In a small way, in a beginning way it was an awakening, an awakening that we damn sure need!"



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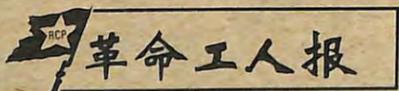
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Squatters Revolt Rocks Imperialist Showcase

Behind the Barricades in West Berlin

Last issue we reported briefly on the "squatters movement" in West Berlin and the upheavals in which people occupying abandoned housing and their supporters resisted evictions by the police and fought back in a series of street battles that shook the city to its foundations. The following is a more detailed report from a correspondent in West Germany.

West Berlin. It was shortly before 6 p.m. on the evening of Friday, December 12th. A large squad of West Berlin's helmeted police had just arrested 10 people, squatters who only an hour earlier had attempted to move into an abandoned building on Fraenkelufer 48 in the heart of the downtown district of Kreuzberg. The arrests had been deceptively peaceful, especially considering the growing number of people that were gathering outside of the building yelling and jeering at the cops as the ten were led off. As the paddy wagons rolled down to the local precinct with their catch, the authorities no doubt were heaving a sigh of relief that they had pulled off a rather tricky maneuver in light of the recent squatters riots in Amsterdam—and with a minimum of trouble. Little did they know that within

minutes after the 10 squatters had been taken away, telephones all over the city were buzzing as news of the arrests spread via the pre-arranged telephone chain that had been set up for just such an eviction attempt by the police.

Suddenly, demonstrators were moving out into the street around the Fraenkelufer, beginning to build barricades out of any loose materials that could be found. The police moved quickly, wading into the crowd with clubs and firing off tear gas in a desperate effort to smash the protestors and put the lid on the whole affair. No such luck—the cops had ignited a powderkeg as all hell broke loose. The police radio bands began to crackle in a tone of high pitched hysteria: "18:05 (6:05 p.m.)—On the Fraenkelufer there are squatters running around with helmets and clubs! Automobiles that look like police cars are being stoned!... 18:18 (6:18 p.m.)—Barricades are going up—at the moment about 100 people present... 19:23—a patrol car has just been turned over... 19:40 Mariannenstrasse—a construction trailer has just been capsized, traffic is held up... 19:55—Gunshots heard at the capsized trailer on the Mariannenstrasse..."

The demonstrators had quickly regrouped in front of a newly built

massive cement and glass shopping mall in a city district known as Kottbusser Tor. The mall—a sharp reminder to the demonstrators of the profit hungry city barons—now became a target. Within minutes, the glass-panelled windows of the big department stores in the mall and around the Kottbusser Tor were shattered. The street fighting was spreading with increasing intensity as the night went on, the flaming remains of police motorcycles lighting up the sky like brilliant torches. One of the young demonstrators said later, "We cleaned house—everything is 'kaputt.' The pigs can now see what happens if they want to try to clean up here."

One correspondent from an independent, leftist daily newspaper described the action as follows: "In this night the normal conditions in Kreuzberg have been turned upside down from head to toe. The streets are filled with people, barricades are being built and everywhere there are groups of people in discussion... then suddenly they (the police) move in, push the first obstacles in the street aside, and are greeted with a hail of stones. What then comes is something like a small guerrilla war. The pigs, who are accustomed to the normal routine of dispersing demonstrations by simply clubbing the masses into submis-

sion, are panicky. Whenever 5 or 6 of their riot vans drive into the middle of a confrontation, there is suddenly no one to be taken. The people disappear into bars, the front doors of houses, back alleys, etc., etc., and then reappear in the rear of the pigs, grabbing any bricks and stones available to bombard the plexiglass paddy wagons... Again and again the riot squads of the pigs try to disperse the demonstration, destroying the barricades as they come, only to see them erected again in other places... In the dawn of early morning, the first round of the battle ends, more because of the exhaustion on both sides, rather than, as the police would claim, that law and order has been restored again."

For the next three days, the battle was to rage on. Despite attempts of authorities to try to divide the various forces, a large demonstration of about a thousand was spontaneously organized in the center of the city on Saturday night to demand the release of those arrested in the battle the night before. When the police attacked the demonstrators again the fighting continued on into early Sunday morning with a smaller demonstration and street battles organized spontaneously by residents in other sections of the city,

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West Berlin, week of December 12th.



Prisoner Leader Held in Seg Unit

More Government Plotting Against Leonard Peltier

As Leonard Peltier continues to be held in segregation at the Federal Penitentiary in Marion, Illinois, recent developments have revealed that the U.S. government is desperately stepping up its attempts to "neutralize" this Native American fighter who remains defiant and is refusing to bow down to them. Most recently (and as part of generally setting the stage for more attacks on Leonard), the government has been pressing hard on trumped up charges against Peltier for a 1975 bust for "possession of illegal firearms and explosives." On Dec. 22, District Judge

Redden in Portland, Oregon (where Peltier was indicted along with Dennis Banks, Kenneth Moses Loudhawk and Russ Redner) denied a motion by Peltier's lawyer for dismissal. The only "evidence" the prosecution has in this case is a photograph of a cloud of smoke rising from what the Feds say is the explosives (which they themselves set off) that Peltier and the others allegedly had. After the original arrest 5 years ago, Peltier has yet to receive a copy of the indictment in this bogus case and has never even been arraigned on the charges. Yet the judge still gave

the prosecution a further continuance to drag out the proceedings in this transparent frame-up while they continue their attempts to manufacture some kind of "case" against him.

Meanwhile, some real evidence has been uncovered in the Dec. 13th government execution of Bobby Garcia in the federal penitentiary at Terre Haute (see *RW* No. 85). Garcia, found hung in his jail cell, had been instrumental in helping Peltier escape from Lompoc prison in 1979 after learning of the government's plan to murder him. The murder of Garcia,

outrageous in its own right, is clearly linked to government plotting against Peltier.

A Native American spiritual leader, who saw Garcia's body, has photographs showing several bruise marks as well as severe marks around his wrists and ankles, apparently caused by handcuffs and leg irons during the struggle before he died. There's also an apparent stab wound which the coroner claims was from the autopsy. The coroner is now saying the final report (read: coverup) on Garcia's death may

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Revolt Greeted Repression at Walla Walla Prison

The simmering struggle of prisoners at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla once again exploded on the morning of Monday, December 29th. One hundred prisoners participated in delivering a defiant reply to 17 months of the state and federal government's savage repression and lying promises of reform. Prisoners set a number of fires and wrecked general prison buildings in the first major rebellion among the general prison population since July, 1979. The information we have received so far remains somewhat sketchy, but the main outlines of events leading up to the rebellion are clear.

On Sunday, December 28, as prisoners were visiting family and friends, four or five guards reportedly came into the visiting room and ordered 11 inmates into another room to be searched. Harassment of visitors and arbitrary cutoff or denial of visits are some of the prison officials' favorite methods of abusing prisoners. But in this case, the guards got more than they bargained for. As guards jumped Joseph Bulduck, one of the 11 prisoners they had singled out, other prisoners began to come to his defense. Two guards then pulled guns on the inmates. The prisoner who guards jumped was sent to the prison's infamous segregation unit. Later Sunday night another prisoner who was in the visiting room, Julius Gillespie, the chairman of the Inmate Advisory Council, who reportedly

took the lead in calling on other prisoners to come to Bulduck's aid, was sent to segregation as well.

By the next morning word of the incident had spread throughout the prison, and 5 representatives of the prisoners, including the vice-president of the Inmate Advisory Council, went to the prison superintendent to demand that Gillespie and Bulduck be released. Spalding, the prison superintendent, tried to stall, saying he would reach a decision by the afternoon. But the Walla Walla prisoners had no more patience for the administration's promises. The superintendent was given an uncompromising answer: 100 inmates in the prison yard confronted guards and told them they had 1 hour to release Gillespie and Bulduck from segregation. An hour later inmates began tearing the place apart. It took the prison riot squad an hour-and-a-half to regain control.

Behind these events are the months of steadily mounting tension and, in particular, the continuing struggle of prisoners in the segregation unit. As reported in the last issue of the *RW* prisoners in the segregation unit recently staged a hunger strike. A report sent to the *RW* from a Walla Walla prisoner details how the strike intensified in the days preceding the latest uprising: "The hunger strike ended after 7 days, and the authorities conceded to several demands with the promise of implementing other progressive changes in

due time. Still skeptical of these 'promises,' the strikers watched the situation for gradual improvement as the days passed.

"Soon it became obvious that there wasn't going to be any and that the few tokens gained were only being provided on a hit and miss basis each day. The prisoners thus launched a work stoppage, and shortly afterwards began vandalizing the building itself as a sign of protest.

"The reaction of the officials was swift and predictable. Within three days police had already decided that radical troublemakers were to blame and had abused the 'privileges' they'd won during the hunger strike."

On December 17th the segregation building was locked down, and in retaliation for the prisoner's protest, the prison riot squad (known as the "goon squad") stormed into protesting prisoners cells, viciously beating some. Others were slammed against the walls, while guards ransacked their cells, stealing and destroying personal property. This was only the latest in a string of

brutal rampages the prison goon squad had conducted in seg in vain attempts to intimidate the prisoners.

But events have shown that the actions of the authorities have only stiffened the prisoners' determination. Publicly, Prison Superintendent Spalding is arrogantly blustering that Gillespie and Bulduck will be locked up in seg "a pretty good length of time." He said, "I'm certainly not going to release them based on any demonstration." The administration has also put 12 more prisoners into segregation in an attempt to cut off the leadership of the rebellion from the rest of the prisoners.

In May of 1979 three prisoners seized the prison's Counseling and Parole building. "I am not a slave," proclaimed one of those prisoners defiantly. "I am not an animal. I am not subhuman." Today the walls of this same building are blackened, the windows broken—a stark reminder that the authorities have failed in their attempts to silence the angry voice of Walla Walla prisoners. []

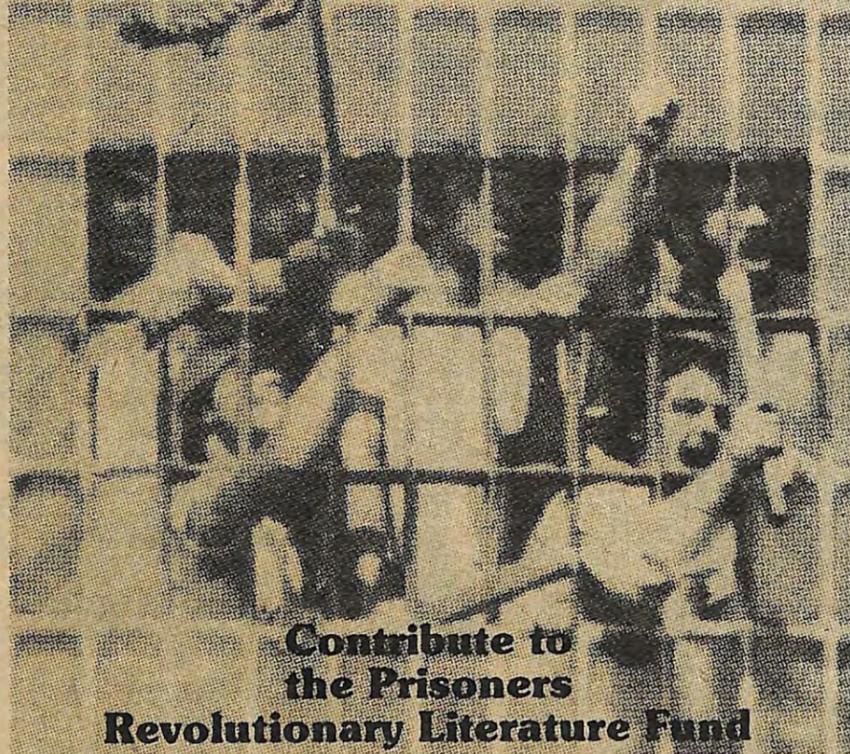
New Year's Revolt at Shelton Prison

Flash! As we go to press, we have learned that prisoners at the Washington State Correction Center in Shelton, launched a major rebellion on New Year's eve night, seizing control of much of the prison compound and setting fires which totally gutted one major prison building. This rebellion is on the heels of the latest uprising at the State Penitentiary in Walla Walla. While the immediate causes of the Shelton uprising are still unclear, the revolt follows weeks of protests and strikes by prison inmates who were among other things demanding an end to the tremendous overcrowding in the prison. Dozens of prisoners have been forced to sleep on the floor in the prison. And this has sparked protests and one major strike where prisoners refused to go to work at prison jobs or leave their cells until the overcrowding was ended. Also there have been a series of protests of the brutal treatment of prisoners in the prison segregation unit, which has been used to hold not only prisoners who took the lead in resisting prison officials at Shelton, but also prisoners that have been transferred out of Walla Walla's infamous segregation unit in an effort to break up resistance there.

The uprising apparently began as prisoners at the prison dining hall began throwing rocks at a guard booth in the middle of the prison yard and windows in the dining hall. Guards were quickly forced to retreat through the prison compound to a surrounding fence, while prisoners set fire to the buildings. Only when the Washington State Patrol and county sheriffs had reinforced the guards were they able to attempt to regain control of the prison yard. The prison riot squad then fired one shot from a cannon which fires wooden pellets, forcing the prisoners to disperse.

The uprising is the largest in the sixteen-year history of the Correction Center, the newest prison in the state. With this revolt each major prison in Washington—Walla Walla, Shelton, and the State Reformatory in Monroe—have all had major rebellions in 1980, and coming within days of each other, rebellions at Shelton and Walla Walla symbolized the protest and rebellion which has engulfed the entire state prison system over the past year. Now the prisoners at Shelton have ushered in 1981 with the flames of revolt and the promise that the new year will be one of even greater struggle in the crisis of Washington prisons. []

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls



Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Tombs, New York City, 1970.

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

Statements Demand:

Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants

The government's decision is still pending on the Mao Tsetung Defendants' petition to the D.C. Court of Appeals for a rehearing in front of the full 9-judge panel of a 3-judge panel's reinstatement of previously dismissed charges against the Mao Defendants. It was on October 21 that the court granted an appeal of a November 1979 lower court decision in which all charges against the Mao Defendants were dropped on the grounds of "prosecutorial vindictiveness." In the past week letters and telegrams to the D.C. Court of Appeals opposing this escalation and sharpening of the government's attack have continued to come in. Below is a small sampling.

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is clearly a revolutionary Party that has thrown down the gauntlet to the US Imperialist ruling circles. We admire you for your courage and the faith in the future that comes through in your actions and articles.

We are looking forward to studying your material further, such as the development of your Party over the last 12 years, and your detailed analysis of the decline of US Imperialism (*America in Decline—Imperialism's Greatest Crisis*). From what we have read so far we are impressed by your ability to consistently deliver a very high standard of Marxist-Leninist analysis of the American and world situation.

In our experience a revolutionary Communist Party in the Western world is a rare event and we are sure this is the central reason why your Chairman and other members and supporters have come under such a vicious attack.

We are a small group in Australia. We feel the most effective way we can assist you at the moment is to distribute your material as widely as possible here. In addition we enclose US \$50 donation to your campaign.

From: The Executive of 'Adelaide anti-imperialist study action group' Cowandilla South Australia

Dear members of the Court:

As a writer and editor concerned about freedom of expression, I am distressed at your decision to reinstate criminal charges in the case of U.S. vs. Schiller that the trial court dismissed on the basis of prosecutorial vindictiveness.

The essence of democracy, it seems to me, is that government must bend over backwards to defend the rights of those who's views are unconventional. The Establishment needs no protection from the courts; it is those who defy the Establishment who should be given the most meticulous defense and all benefits of doubt. What your panel has done in this instance, however, is to reverse democratic practice. It replaced measured judgment with vindictiveness, impartiality with gross hostility.

If you should uphold that panel you can only have a chilling effect on democratic expression. I strongly urge that in the interest of defending the First Amendment you throw out this case entirely—it is tainted beyond redemption—and free the defendants from further prosecution.

**Sincerely,
Sidney Lens**

To the Justices:

Your October 21 decision to reopen the Government prosecution of Bob Avakian and the other "Mao Tsetung Defendants" can only be seen as politically tainted, because the trial judge in the original case found the prosecution to have been vindictive. The reinstatement of these charges, based on efforts by the defendants to exercise their First Amendment rights, can only confirm the Revolutionary Communist Party's conviction that they are being persecuted for political reasons.

I urge the full court to rehear the appeal and throw this case out for good.

**Joe Conason
Staff Writer
Village Voice**

To: District of Columbia Court of Appeals:

We have learned of the U.S. Government's renewed attempt to railroad RCP Chairman Bob Avakian and 16 other defendants to jail for as long as 241 years.

This is outrageous! As government workers ourselves, we know that there are political trials and political prisoners in this country. We consider Bob Avakian to be a political prisoner.

**We demand:
DROP THE CHARGES AGAINST AVAKIAN
AND THE OTHER DEFENDANTS NOW!
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!**

**One Division Manager
One Section Head**

**and 14 staff policy planners, program coordinators and program assistants
from the following city departments:
Mayor's Office of Policy and Evaluation
Office of Cable Communications
Department of Community Development
Department of Human Resources
City of Seattle, Washington**

D.C. Court of Appeals:

If justice is to be done in the case of Bob Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants, charges must be dismissed. It is punitive and clearly harassment to charge the defendants with felony charges and it sets a dangerous legal precedent to charge people with "aiding and abetting" the actions of others for simply being in the same place.

**Rita Silk-nauni Defense Committee
Los Angeles, California**

To the Court of Appeals:

I am astonished that you have granted reinstatement of the fabricated and inflated government charges against Robert Avakian and the 16 so-called Mao Defendants. It is very plain to see, throughout the history of this case, that the intent of government prosecution is bald political intimidation of an annoying opposition organization.

It is equally plain that this attempt to erode the rights of the RCP is a grave threat to the rights of all of us as American citizens. You would be well advised to recognize your duty as an independent judiciary and, like Judge Pratt, to dismiss at once these transparently vague and fraudulent charges.

**A concerned and watchful citizen
Norman K. Gottwald**

D.C. Court of Appeals:

I am an unemployed worker from Pullman, Washington. My family has long participated in "democracy" in the U.S.A. But we, the numbers of countless families, are beginning to understand the con game of this phony "democracy" of the money bag, for the money bag, and of the moneybags! I will not support this phony political con game no more.

I support Bob Avakian and think his leadership is central to the liberation of the broad masses from the yoke of bourgeois tyranny and the con game it runs upon the world's people. Free Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants! Your courts are a disgrace! So is your system.

**In struggle,
Rick Meerdink, Unemployed Bus Driver
Maria T. Sierra, Student at Washington State Univ.**

Continued on page 23

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.

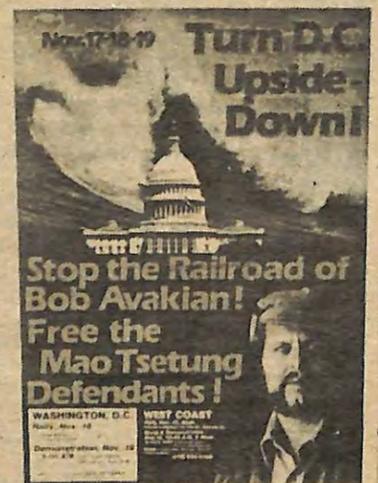
- * Throughout the year that the case hung in the appeals court, the bourgeoisie stepped up attacks on the

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.

Neo-Colonialist Clampdown in Senegal

The government of the West African country of Senegal has recently unleashed a wave of repression once again which is quickly unravelling the fragile democratic veil covering the French neo-colonial regime of Leopold Senghor. The series of events over the past couple of months has included among others, the arrest, interrogation and torture of a number of peasants belonging to a cultural group which performed a political play in the village of Fissel, depicting rural living conditions. On the basis of the skit's exposure of a prominent village local, the actors since then have been slapped with a number of political charges, including "discrediting state political institutions, attempting to incite people to revolt, and threatening state security."

At the end of October, there was a massive lay-off when a state-owned enterprise called ONCAD was turned over to the private sector. On November 17, 150 of the laid-off workers occupied the administrative offices, barricading themselves inside to confront management and to be able to organize discussion with the other workers. This action represented a militant leap in weeks of struggle to get jobs back. Workers had also demanded benefits, missing pay, and the rehousing of their families. When police finally busted in through upper-story windows on ladders, they beat the workers with a ruthless frenzy, injuring more than 70 and arresting over 100.

In mid-November, the government also announced that it was officially prohibiting "the introduction of, distribution and sale of the journal *Le*

Communiste... throughout the territory of Senegal." The first issue of the new magazine, published by Marxist-Leninists in Senegal, was seized, and the government order made clear, that the journal will be banned altogether.

The imperialist crisis has taken its toll on neo-colonies like Senegal. Senegal is completely dominated by French imperialism—France continues to provide 80% of Senegal's capital investment and to economically and politically rule the country since "independence" was granted 20 years ago. France has a loyal servant in Leopold Senghor, Senegal's long time president. The main foothold in the French empire in Africa, and historically a funnel for export of products expropriated from France's various colonies, Senegal is today still of strategic importance for French imperialism. It is an important political and geographical outpost on the coast of West Africa and is not something that the French—nor their imperialist allies—will let go of easily. Thus in 1974, in an effort to help preserve this rather unpopular neo-colonial arrangement, a little reshuffling went on to loosen things up slightly. The Senghor regime announced an "opening-up," a "democratic overture," to allow more than one political party to operate. This was a gesture designed to both resurrect the fast-waning illusions in Senghor's "democracy" and to improve the image of his own "socialist" party that was fond of rhetoric about "African socialism" and nationalization, but in fact had not brought about any fundamental change from days of French colonial rule, particularly in alleviating the pro-

blems of Senegal's severely dependent economy.

By 1975, Senghor had again tightened the noose politically, changing the constitution again to an arbitrary limit on legal parties, and unleashing vicious repression against a group of Marxists called *And Jéf-Xarebi*. A host of repressive laws followed, regulating the press, parameters of strikes, opposition political organizations, etc. This clampdown as well as the deepening crisis hitting Senegal's basically one-crop economy—where over 70% of the people are tied to agriculture and where a bad harvest year for peanuts had sharp and immediate effects on the masses—gave rise to a number of outbreaks among peasants, students and workers.

Recent ferment in Senegal—particularly evident in the upsurge in struggle among teachers and students in the secondary schools, as well as growing resistance to massive lay-offs, a result among other things of the collapse of state-owned agricultural concerns such as the ONCAD, has taken on a more militant character. This is no doubt why the nervous neo-colonialists running Senegal are so concerned about stopping politically exposing cultural work and publications such as *Le Communiste* seeking to spread revolutionary propaganda.

The government's reinforcing its repressive apparatus and seeking refuge behind the clubs and bullets of its police, according to the Marxist-Leninist monthly paper, *Jay Doole Bi*, *Le Proletaire* has been in the making for some time and reflects the actual

fragility of the Senegalese regime. The newspaper calls on people to step up their struggle in response to this escalation of repression.

As for the banning of the communist journal, *Jay Doole Bi* commented: "It is somewhat inconsistent that in a country where culture seems to be of decisive importance and where the president of the Republic likes to quote Marx so much and to show off his 'Marxist culture,' that there is so much fear of Marxist ideas that they have to ban a Marxist journal. It's true that there's Marxism and then there's 'Marxism.'" But the paper says it is willing to bet that the bourgeoisie is in fact helping to fuel a situation in which before long people will be avidly seeking out communist literature.

As we go to press, President Senghor resigned his long-time post on January 1. We hope to have more information about the significance of this soon. □

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Pick up the pen

Correspondence from readers is literally crucial for the *Revolutionary Worker*; it's key in building the newspaper as the lifeblood of the revolutionary movement. The newspaper needs active, all-round political contributions from Party members, revolutionary-minded workers and all others who support the cause. All such people should correspond with the *RW* and work to develop this paper, the Party's voice, as their own revolutionary voice.

We need to hear from you. Reader correspondence is absolutely indispensable for the *RW*. The importance of such correspondence to the revolutionary press was spoken to by Lenin in 1899. In the midst of the struggle to create a nationwide newspaper, Lenin wrote:

"... Let us take one of the conditions for the success of this plan—that the newspaper be assured a regular supply of correspondence and other material from everywhere. Has not history shown that at all times when there has been a resurgence of our revolutionary movement such a purpose has proved possible of achievement even in respect of papers published abroad? If Social-Democrats (communists—*RW*) working in various localities come to regard the Party newspaper as *their own* and consider the maintenance of regular contact with it, the discussion of their problems and the reflection of the whole movement in it to be their main task, it will be quite possible to ensure the supply to the paper of full information about the movement...."

Only through active correspondence can we forge a truly powerful, truly conscious revolutionary Party with its finger on the pulse of the objective situation in its development. There is a burning need for information on the pulse of the movement. Pick up the pen!



One Year After Invasion of Afghanistan

Anti-Soviet Outbreaks in Kabul

On the first anniversary of the Soviet imperialist invasion of Afghanistan, the Afghan capital city of Kabul, seat of the puppet government of Babrak Karmal and garrison for thousands of Soviet troops, exploded into violence as political demonstrations against the occupation quickly turned into street battles with Soviet troops and the police of the Karmal regime.

The rioting in Kabul, supposedly the "stronghold" of the Soviet military occupation, clearly reveals the depth and growing intensity of the mass struggle of the Afghan people against Soviet imperialist aggression. Meanwhile, the U.S. imperialists are stepping up their efforts to portray themselves as "the friends of Afghan liberation"—cynically striving to limit the struggle to the status of a pawn in their imperialist rivalry with the Soviets, while striving to promote "pro-Western" forces within the resistance movement and prevent the further development of a genuine revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle in Afghanistan—something which both the U.S. and the Soviet Union dread and increasingly fear.

Street demonstrations began in Kabul on December 27, the exact anniversary of the 1979 Soviet invasion. News reports from New Delhi, India, said that several Afghan resistance groups active in the guerrilla war against the Soviets in Afghanistan's mountainous areas had put out a call appealing for residents of Kabul to "wear black arm-bands and fly black flags over their houses as signs of protest," and "urg-

ing Afghans to intensify their struggle.

On December 29, large crowds of Afghans gathered in the downtown sector of the capital at noon and began hurling rocks and bottles at passing Soviet and government vehicles. Then the crowd, growing in numbers, marched to the Ministry of Information and Culture, smashing the windows and battling police. Police of the Karmal regime fired into the crowd, killing at least three persons, but were unable to suppress the demonstrations or disperse the crowds. Meanwhile, Soviet tanks and troops, according to wire service reports, "took over the streets and surrounded the presidential palace." The demonstrations continued to spread, however, and according to the Tress Trust news agency of New Delhi, Soviet troops also opened fire, killing or wounding "10 to 15 other people." One target of the demonstrators was a Soviet bookstore near the Spinoza Hotel, which houses high-ranking Soviet occupation officials.

At the same time as the eruptions in Kabul, and while demonstrations of Afghan exiles took place in many other cities around the world, including an all-out siege of the Soviet embassy in Tehran by both Afghans and Iranian people (see box this page)—the Karmal regime announced that "Afghan and Soviet troops had killed an American military advisor in southern Afghanistan near the Iranian border." Unnamed U.S. diplomats quoted by United Press International denied the

charge. According to UPI, "They said he could have been one of the reporters who have accompanied Moslem rebels into Afghanistan from Pakistan." Whatever the truth of the matter, what is revealing about this incident is the way that both the U.S. and the Soviets are at pains to portray the resistance struggle of the Afghan people—which has been of a broad mass character for many years, and the strength of which forced the Soviets to send massive numbers of troops into Afghanistan in the first place—as totally dependent on U.S. imperialism and "the West," for its existence, support and survival.

It is well known, of course, that there are reactionary elements and groups dependent on the Western imperialists who pose as "Afghan rebels" who try to turn the struggle to the advantage of the U.S., and provide copy for Western news agencies about "the glorious fight against communism." Most certainly, the U.S. is working on many fronts for its interests in the area. But the fact of the matter is that the masses of people of Afghanistan are struggling today—as they have been for many years—against imperialist enslavement and domination. It was as a result of the huge uprisings of students and workers that the pro-U.S. regime of Mohammad Zahir Shah was overthrown in 1973, for example. Zahir Shah, who has been lolling at a villa in Rome, Italy since his overthrow, has just recently been pulled out of mothballs by the Western imperialists, "breaking a long silence," according to the *New York Times* to issue a statement deploring the Soviet invasion, an obvious attempt to float him out as a "symbol of national resistance."

Following the fall of Zahir Shah, the Soviet imperialists began to intensify their own efforts to bring Afghanistan under their boot heel. The Soviets got their foot in the door during the regime of the Zahir Shah's cousin, Mohammed Daoud. Daoud tried to play the Soviet Union and the U.S. off against each other, lining his pockets with gold from two coffers. But in 1978, as popular hatred of the regime approached a new peak and Daoud moved towards the

U.S. bloc by signing a number of economic and military agreements with Iran and Egypt—the Russians engineered Daoud's assassination and installed their own puppet, Mohammed Taraki. While the Taraki regime attempted to carry out its plunder and fascist oppression on behalf of its Soviet masters under a "socialist" banner, the regime was rocked by the most intense wave of popular armed struggle ever seen in Afghanistan. This struggle threatened not only the Taraki government, but the whole structure of Soviet control of Afghanistan.

For example, in mid-1979, tens of thousands of people from the city of Herat and the surrounding countryside rose up, attacking Soviet tanks with their bare hands and killing many Russian officers, seizing government buildings and forcing the surrender of the city's military barracks. The masses took over the guns and ammunition stores and distributed the guns among the people. The Soviet air force responded with a genocidal series of bombing sorties over Herat that left over 15,000 men, women and children dead. Yet even this did not crush the uprising. Coal miners and peasants elsewhere in the country also confronted the Taraki regime's Soviet-led military forces. It was this heroic resistance on the part of the broad masses of Afghan people that finally forced the Soviet imperialists to launch the massive direct military intervention—and today they are sinking even deeper into the Afghanistan quicksand.

U.S. imperialism's own bloody hand is certainly still active in Afghanistan and they have not given up hope of gaining control of the country again. It is, however, very interesting to note that even as the rival imperialist gangsters clutch at each others' throats, neither will admit to the existence of the revolutionary struggle of the Afghan people, which has dealt both the U.S. and the Soviets many stunning defeats in the past and—as the courageous actions of the masses in Kabul demonstrate—will continue to grow and develop even further.

Cuba: The Evaporation of a Myth

Cuba, home of the first successful revolution against Yankee imperialism in Latin America, a country which as a result became a symbol for revolution for a great many people opposing imperialism around the world.

Cuba, which despite all this has become a pawn of Soviet social-imperialism, a breeding farm for cannon fodder for the expansionist ambitions of the revisionist superpower.

This pamphlet contains a critical analysis of the development of the Cuban revolution and the nature of its phony "socialism." Drawing the lessons of this negative experience is necessary to make clear the real road to liberation and socialism.

Second printing.
Please make all orders payable in advance to

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Chicago, IL. 60654



SOVIET EMBASSY STORMED IN TEHRAN

The propaganda machine was cranked up—the imperialist presses began to roll. "An outrage has been committed against our embassy in Tehran!" the pundits bellowed. "In a piratical attack... the sovereignty of the embassy was grossly violated by a large group of raging elements and thugs armed with clubs, stones, and knives..."

This is no flashback to Ted Koppel on "Day 1" of the occupation of the U.S. imperialist embassy in Tehran on November 4, 1979. The above are quotes from Tass news agency in Moscow, sputtering in "aristocratic" importance at the assault on the Soviet embassy in Tehran by thousands of Afghan exiles and Iranians in protests marking the first anniversary of the Soviet imperialists' invasion of Afghanistan.

On December 27, more than 5000 Afghans stormed the Soviet embassy compound. Some demonstrators scaled the walls of the embassy, which is situated only about half a mile from the U.S. embassy grounds. They tore down and burned the Soviet flag and trashed the embassy, shouting, "Criminal Russians Go Home!" Inside the Soviet compound, according to the Iranian PARS news agency, a resolution was read condemning the occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet troops.

The livid Tass dispatch (which failed to mention the reason for the protest or the fact that those involved were Afghans) called the demonstrators "hooligan-type elements, whose actions have obviously been inspired by reactionary forces." Throughout Tehran and elsewhere in Iran, meanwhile, the large Afghan community in Iran—most of them day laborers and street vendors—burned pictures of Soviet president Leonid Brezhnev and the Soviet-backed Afghan puppet, "President" Babrak Karmal.

While the Soviet press rails against such "reactionary hooligans" and speaks with disdain of the "rabble" storming their embassy walls, they speak in the identical language and rhetoric of their U.S. imperialist opposite numbers. The U.S. and the Soviets are bitter imperialist rivals, each bent on destroying the other; but what they share in common is their desire to enslave and exploit the people of the world—and their deep fear and hatred of the resistance of these "raging elements" to their plans for world imperialist conquest. The striking resemblance of the response by both superpowers when stung by the struggle of the masses of people is indeed revealing. Truly the squeal of one stuck pig sounds pretty much like the next.

Big Leap Made— Intense Effort To Come

Continued from page 3

checked into why he had done this, it was clear it was because the *Revolutionary Worker* had become a big social question in this area, and people were taking sides. This store owner was not willing to take a bundle of papers for his store (he bought one) but said he would donate money. Former Black Panther Party members, lawyers, actors and more have been taking bunches of papers. All are not in full agreement with the Party's line, but see a need for this paper and the basis is being laid through this process and the content of the paper itself for more struggle and more unity.

New Forces, New Demands

In last week's article, "It's In Your Hands!" the point was made that "These advances also pose new contradictions for the Party, new responsibilities to meet the requirements of the advanced workers and not tail behind them." The more experience we accumulate, the more this proves true.

In one mainly Spanish speaking neighborhood about 1200 papers were distributed the weekend after Christmas. Organizers have managed since then to get back to about 2/3 of the people there who had taken bundles of papers. They found that everyone who had taken a bundle had tried to sell them. Some (a minority) had sold out and many had run into new political questions. Some centered on the content of particular articles. Others had questions like, "Only half of the people I talked to would buy it." "How do you take these papers out?" This led to many political discussions, and the basis for more. Comrade Bob Avakian's pamphlet on "Coming From Behind to Make Revolution" was very important in answer many of these questions, including speaking to the fact that at any time the masses are divided into advanced, intermediate

and backward and that the advanced at any time have a critical role to play in influencing others and preparing for the future.

In other areas where similar experiences were accumulated, organizers found that, in the main, people who had had some political experience before—in the international movement or in the movements of the 1960s, had had more experience and better success in selling. They had particular questions about the Party's line on how to advance from where things had been at before in the revolutionary movement. People who were newer to political activity often had more difficulties in selling, but their attitude was not generally, "I give up," but "teach me."

In this context the question of the division of labor or specialization of revolutionary work comes up. How is this to be looked at? Simply as a "more efficient" way of getting work done, or as a lever to unleash the further activity of the masses, to draw them into some aspect of revolutionary work? This kind of revolutionary organization, the *RW* conspiracy with the Party as its leadership, is the key to changing the situation of a "lack of revolutionary forces"—or, more accurately put, the situation where the existing revolutionary forces are lagging behind the potential for unleashing the initiative of far broader forces. Lenin's words from *What Is To Be Done?* ring true here:

"The fact of the matter is that society advances very many persons fit for 'work', but we are unable to make use of them all. The critical, transitional state of our movement in this respect may be formulated as follows: *there are no people—yet there is a mass of people.*"

It is already becoming difficult for the existing organized revolutionary forces to reach all the people that come forward each week to take bundles of

Continued on page 25



Revolutionary Worker

PROTESTS IN WAKE OF COP ACQUITTAL

ANGER SEETHES IN MIAMI

Miami. On Sunday, December 21st, a powerful political statement was made here in a one year memorial march for slain Black businessman Arthur McDuffie. Only days earlier, Charles Veverka, one of McDuffie's murderers, had been acquitted of federal charges in a government orchestrated trial in San Antonio. He had been a state's witness in the trial which vindicated four other murdering Miami cops last May, and had admitted his role in the killing. Veverka's acquittal fueled anger in Miami. The demonstration on the 21st followed two days of youth rebellions in one neighborhood where the cops patrolled the streets hanging shotguns and rifles out the windows. With every mouthpiece for the system begging people to stay home, 250 people marched defiantly through Liberty City, flanked and protected by a caravan of 20 cars and 15 motorcycles. As the march wound through the area, hundreds of people came out of their homes in support, many joining in. Chants of "McDuffie dead, cops go free—that's what the rich call democracy!", rang out in the streets, as Haitian refugees, Iranian students, and a few Cuban immigrants, joined the many Black people from Liberty City and a large number of whites who had been active in the struggle of the '60s. By the time the march reached the rally site, its numbers had doubled.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Citizens Coalition for Racial Justice (CCRJ), a coalition of groups and individuals formed in the heat of the May 17th rebellion. A Black Vietnam vet spoke for the coalition and put a challenge out to the rally, "Let's leave this place in a pledge of struggle until this oppression is ended!" "This system does not deserve the respect of anyone in Miami," fired another speaker who went on to talk about the Houston police murder of Jose Torres, as well as the "blood of martyrs" in the struggles of the '60s. A leader of the Haitian refugee movement talked of the proud ancestry of Black people worldwide in fighting for freedom, and pointed to the future, "we can bust out and make the world livable for everybody." There were, of course, contradictory forces represented at this demonstration—with some advocating such ideas as community control of the police as the solution. Masses of people at the demonstration were drawn into struggle over important questions. While some led the group in singing songs from the Civil Rights Movement like "We Shall Not Be Moved" and "We Shall Overcome", others hit hard at this as speakers continued to step forward even after the official rally was ended. One woman from a nearby housing project stepped forward to agitate, "Hell, I'm gonna be moved! I'm moving forward!" And another, "It is time to stop saying we shall overcome. We have to start overcoming!" The last agitator was an RCP supporter who called for the need now to prepare for revolution and challenged people to take up the key weapon, the *Revolutionary Worker* that is "Pulling the vampire into the light of day. We have to be able to see who the enemy is, so we can drive that stake in his heart." Several took papers to sell, others had already done so on the march route. One man responded, "There are other people down here talking about revolution, but you guys are the only ones talking about it this way."

Even before the demonstration, there had been discussion and struggle among many people in the area over the central task of the RCP—and in particular, over the call to increase *RW* distribution to 100,000 sustained readers. All this threatened the authorities, who launched an attack against the *RW* and the CCRJ, hoping to win the Coalition to keeping the *RW* out of the march. When security teams from the CCRJ met with police to plan the march, one of the cops was reading an *RW* and another the RCP *Draft Programme and Constitution* that had been confiscated from *RW* sellers

arrested the week before the demonstration. These cops started the meeting off with a discussion about the arrest and how these "outside agitators" made it necessary for increased security. The CCRJ reps didn't buy this line and as one told the *RW* at the demonstration, "It was just redbaiting."

Failing on that tactic, the police did everything they could to keep leafleters and paper sellers (*RW* and others) from crossing the streets to the hundreds of people watching the demonstration. They stood at every corner in a show of force. However, they were unable to provoke an incident as an excuse for attack. (Police continued their provocative actions after the demonstration ended, landing on a local disco. This was hit back with another night of rock and bottle throwing by youth who were in a very rebellious mood.)

The first CCRJ newsletter that was widely distributed at the demonstration had exposed the fact that at least four of the Blacks killed in the rebellion were shot down in cold blood by Miami and Dade County cops, including a Haitian minister killed in his own van, and a man shot as he rode his bicycle past a police barricade. In one murder, eyewitnesses

have even identified the murdering cops' names. Four other Blacks were killed by a group of whites in a blue pickup truck and another by a grocery store security guard. No indictments for these killings have been brought by the Dade County States Attorney, a woman who was frequently seen patrolling the streets in cop cars right after her election. As she said, "I feel the vast majority of police are fine people with the most difficult jobs in the community and those people I'm going to support."

On the other hand, the State's Attorney's office is rapidly proceeding in prosecuting people who were rebelling last May. The trial of an 18-year-old Black youth who'd been randomly arrested and charged in the murder of a white youth during the rebellion concluded on December 12. He was sentenced to a maximum 15 year sentence and had bail (during appeal) promptly denied. This frameup was applauded by the Florida State Circuit Court judge as he sneered, "I think this case merits the full penalty. I listened to the trial testimony. I saw the pictures of the victims." This so-called evidence against the youth was graphically described in the trial by a key witness who "saw" the

attack—a witness who is listed as "legally blind" by the state! This was only days before admitted killer Veverka was cut loose in San Antonio. The contradiction had not escaped the notice of thousands of people in Miami.

On top of all this, the police have let it out that at least one of the cops who murdered McDuffie and who had been supposedly "fired," is still receiving his \$22,000 plus yearly salary and will continue to do so until he is convicted, an unlikely prospect in that he is not presently facing charges to be convicted of! This reward is going to a cop who admitted choking McDuffie with his nightstick while dragging him by the neck and then instructing another cop on how to break McDuffie's legs.

Miami is seething with anger following these recent developments. The McDuffie murder continues to be the focus of the struggle against national oppression. But things are already going beyond even this; revolutionary sentiments are being tapped and brought forward. Every new outrage in the McDuffie murder has served to deepen these sentiments. □

Shelly Johnson Inquest: Murder by "Necessary Force"

Seattle—On Monday, Dec. 23, an inquest into the murder of Shelly Johnson, who was beaten and strangled to death by 8 guards at the King County Jail in mid-November, delivered its verdict. As foreseen in the last issue of the *RW*, the inquest finding was that the guards were only using "necessary force" when they savagely murdered Johnson. The inquest verdict was accompanied by a thick layer of hypocritical "concern" for jail conditions which was used as a sugar coating for the State's reaffirmation of their hired thugs' license to murder.

Reaction was swift among the prisoners at the County Jail. The day after the verdict was announced, about 75 trustees who work in the jail's kitchen

and laundry staged a 24-hour strike. At the same time, other prisoners staged what jail officials called a "group demonstration" in protest of the verdict. The following day 350 prisoners boycotted the Christmas lunch at the jail in protest. Prisoners' actions had already ripped through the deceit of the carefully orchestrated inquest even before the verdict was announced. When the inquest jury and the 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.

For the ruling class, the prisoners' defiant actions in the wake of the inquest verdict stand as a vivid reminder of the rage the murder of Shelly Johnson has

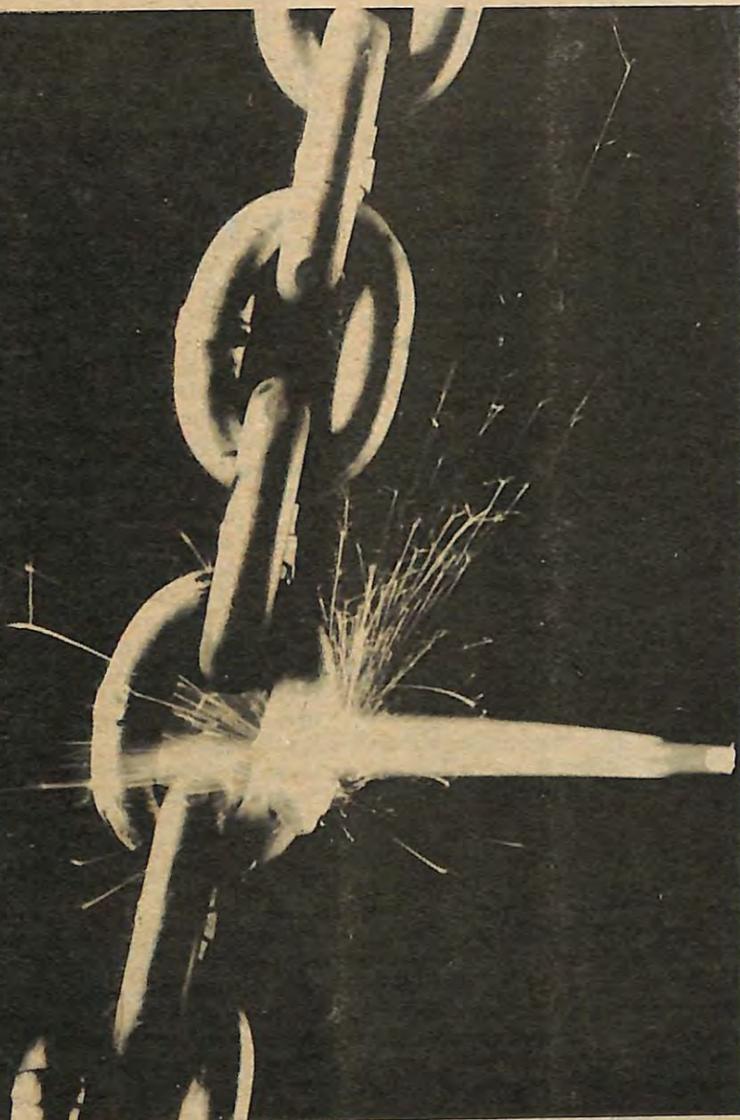
generally sparked. In the days immediately after Johnson's murder, hundreds turned out in picket lines and meetings to express their anger at this killing. Significantly, about half of those at these actions were regular readers of the *RW*.

The bourgeois press has tried to hide the outrage this murder has triggered, making, for example, a big deal about how "cooperative" the prisoners have been—and this in the midst of the prisoners' protests. But now with this white-wash, the chant that rang out at the time of the murder itself still shatters the lies of the authorities: We will never forgive and never forget the brutal murder of Shelly Johnson. □

The Science of Revolution

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

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U.S. Plays Musical Puppets in El Salvador

The U.S. State Department announcement in mid-December that \$20 million in aid to prop up the fascist junta in El Salvador would be resumed abruptly ending a little melodrama that had about as much suspense as a "Fantasy Island" rerun. The funds, along with \$5 million in military aid, also undoubtedly soon to be resumed, were "officially" cut off when the December 2 rape and murder of four Catholic missionaries by the junta's military forces was met with a loud outpouring of protest, especially from U.S. Catholics. Amid a great deal of handwringing and crocodile tears, the state Department announced at the time that, in addition to holding up the blood money, it was also sending a top-level team to "investigate" the murders. But the real purpose of their trip was revealed the day after they returned to Washington. The junta announced that it had suddenly "decided" to form a new government with Jose Napoleon Duarte and Colonel Jaime Abdul Gutierrez as Vice President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. Both were already members of the old junta that has been ruling all along, presiding over the murder of 10,000 Salvadorans in 1980 alone.

This new junta is the fourth version of musical puppets that U.S. imperialism has been forced to play in El Salvador since October of 1979, with each one being more isolated and exposed than the last—a reflection of the U.S.'s diminishing options for political maneuvering in the country. It's this reality which is forcing it to rely more and more on open armed suppression, and discarding any talk of "reforms" while making feverish preparations for more full-scale military actions in El Salvador. The U.S. has already plotted out a number of different scenarios for military invasion including the use of troops from other U.S. regimes in Central America such as Guatemala and Honduras, as well as U.S. troops either in tandem with them or alone, for just such an invasion should it become necessary. In the context of a sharpening world situation heading towards world war between the two superpowers, the U.S. is scrambling all the more desperately to hold on to El Salvador, a key link to all of Central America. And the U.S. imperialists find themselves rapidly losing their grip right in this area long considered the backyard of its empire. On their part, the Soviet Union and its Cuban junior partners are trying to step in and capitalize on the growing U.S. weakness in El Salvador and the area as a whole. Trying to take advantage of the tremendous upsurge of the masses of people in El Salvador, the social-imperialists and their agents are maneuvering also through the pro-Soviet revisionist Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS) and other forces to increase their influence among the broad opposition forces represented by the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR).

With the announcement of the new government, the "Military Youth," a section of lackey Salvadoran army officers headed up by former junta member Colonel Adolfo Arnoldo Majano, finds itself iced out of current U.S. plans for El Salvador. While Majano was trained in the U.S. and participated in the U.S.-planned coup of October 1979, he has apparently favored some type of negotiations with elements of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), the coalition of opposition forces in El Salvador, as a solution to the junta's increased isolation. He has also repeatedly been approached by some leaders of the FDR, including both former pro-U.S. bourgeois forces and the revisionist Salvadoran Commu-

nist Party (PCS), to abandon the junta and come over to the opposition. Majano's removal from the junta is the culmination of a year-long political decline for his section of the military which, despite its long years of loyal service to imperialism including its avid participation in the junta's brutal blood-letting over the past year, now finds itself cut out of any significant piece of the action. Once again, the U.S. has been forced to reaffirm its commitment to protect the rule of the most bloated and decadent sections of the Salvadoran comprador bourgeoisie, alternatively known as the oligarchy and the "14 families," as the worldwide situation heats up.

A recent study by economists at the Central American University has revealed the depths of the economic crisis in El Salvador. A massive foreign debt and the lack of growth and investments both intertwined with the current political crisis have resulted in an inflation rate well over 20%—even higher for the food staples most people depend on to survive—and an unemployment rate estimated to be over half the economically active population. This is added to the already wretched conditions of life in a typical U.S. neo-colony—over 70% of the children under 5 suffer from malnutrition, half die before the age of 5, 2% of the population owns 60% of the land, while almost 60% of the population has less than \$10/month to live on. The warped economy is ruled by a combination of latifundista coffee growers (big landlords) and exporters who merged with imperialist capital, principally U.S. but also including Japanese and West German, to develop a dependent industrial and financial apparatus in El Salvador. The entire productive apparatus, from coffee to textiles and electronics is geared almost totally for export.

For the peasants, who make up 60% of the population, life under the rule of the compradors has been especially bitter; 90% of them do not have enough land to subsist on. Mass starvation has repeatedly forced them off the land into tugerios, or shantytowns, in San Salvador and other cities, where the conditions are abominable—no electricity, no running water, no plumbing and no jobs. As they are continually rising up in rebellion, they have also been the main targets of the junta's butchery, making up the clear majority of those murdered by the junta.

The results of this neo-colonial hell is that the U.S. and its front men have become more and more politically exposed for the imperialist gangsters they are throughout the broad ranks of the Salvadoran people. Rebellions by the masses and calls for the armed overthrow of the junta by broader and broader sections of the population have reverberated throughout Salvadoran society. The country is seething with turmoil and rebellion. Long-time loyalists have proposed various "solutions" to the crisis to no avail, and have been forced into the ranks of the more open opposition. And the Soviet Union has maneuvered to take advantage of these conditions mainly through its front men in leadership of the PCS. But the U.S. has been unable to stem this "instability," and has been forced to back its old reliables in the oligarchy to the hilt, rather than admit any new combination to portions of political power which might end up seriously limiting its ability to call the shots. Thus, only those who have agreed to uphold both the absolute rule of the oligarchy and its trusted senior military officers, and the continuing repression against its opposition have been allowed to continue in their present position. Since

Majano had long favored an increased role for his senior officers as well as a certain broadening of the junta's base, neither of which the U.S. was able to pull off much as it would like to, the colonel has become the most recent casualty of the U.S.'s desperate situation.

Meanwhile the new president, Jose Napoleon Duarte, has become a new darling of the U.S. media, with interviews on "60 Minutes," NBC News, etc. In fact, he is really a tired old—and exposed—hack that has long been known for populist demagoguery in the service of U.S. interests. A graduate of Notre Dame University in the U.S. and the subsequent founder, and still head of the pro-U.S. Christian Democratic Party in El Salvador, Duarte has made a career out of holding out the hope of U.S.-inspired "reforms" as the answer to El Salvador's plight. He was the mayor of San Salvador in the '60s and the leading candidate for president in 1972; although he won that vote, he lost the count, as the U.S., along with the majority of the Salvadoran oligarchy and its military, decided the other candidate, a colonel in the Army, was better trained at that time to rule the repressive apparatus against the masses that a severe economic crisis demanded. He belatedly decided to support a coup attempt which failed, and was allowed—through pressure from the U.S. State Department—to go into exile in Venezuela to await further orders.

Duarte returned to El Salvador following the October 1979 coup that replaced military dictator General Carlos Humberto Romero. He was being groomed as an eventual candidate for president in the much-touted elections that the new junta claimed would soon come about, just as soon as they had the situation in El Salvador "stabilized." Unfortunately for the U.S., the growing "destabilization" meant that Duarte had to be pressed into immediate service last March, to try to take up the slack caused by massive resignations from his party and the government. But by this point, a significant part of the upper echelon sections of the urban population, the national bourgeoisie and various professionals and technocrats, elements that Duarte had traditionally cultivated for support, were joining the opposition in droves.

Duarte's continuing service on the junta has only resulted in his becoming even more thoroughly exposed as an out-and-out lackey of the U.S. His main value to the U.S., at the present time, appears to be that he is virtually the only political figure of any note that doesn't wear a uniform and can therefore be trotted before American TV cameras as a "moderate" who opposes the "violence of the left and right"—a formula the imperialists are still cynically using to try and generate support within the U.S. for their more overt military operations in El Salvador as was pointed out in a recent "dissent paper" by government bureaucrats (see *RW* No. 85). Duarte has devoted much effort toward convincing the U.S. and the Salvadoran ruling class that he really is the best possible political representative of their interests at this time, especially through widely publicized speeches denouncing the "growing Cuban influence over guerrilla operations" in the country.

Duarte's utter lack of political support, outside of the U.S. government and its oligarchy, can be seen by the fact that nearly all of his old internal political allies—including Majano—are in some way part of the forces opposed to the junta. When Majano was ousted, he refused to accept a diplomatic post and went underground instead, calling

for the removal of the government "by whatever means are necessary." While he has thus far refused to join the Democratic Revolutionary Front, preferring for the moment to remain "independent," especially to try and pull more of the military out with him, his statements have been embraced by a leading spokesman for the FDR, Hector Oqueli, who is himself a former leading member of Duarte's Christian Democrats, having previously served in the junta as Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs. Oqueli told the Mexico City newspaper *Excelsior* that Majano "is important, especially if you keep in mind that he knew those who head the regime very well...in many aspects, Majano coincides fully with the proposals that the FDR has made." At the present time, only a small number of Christian Democrats—some opposition estimates say less than 100—still support the junta, and the FDR has escalated its calls to them to resign and come over to the opposition.

Of course, all this portends grave difficulties for the U.S., which, much as it would like to, has been unable to rally any significant support among the Salvadoran national bourgeoisie and urban petty bourgeoisie for its plans. The U.S. has followed a policy of all-out repression against the rebellious masses, combined with a more selective repression against former allies and other symbols of its recent opposition (such as some Catholic Church elements), while it builds up and prepares for a more direct military role. Opposition to the U.S. domination of El Salvador and plans for outright invasion is widespread and growing in the U.S. and around the world. And the U.S. appointment of Duarte as president and its increased military posturing has only brought forth more opposition to its plans. While the U.S. press initially hailed Duarte's accession to the presidency as providing the stability necessary to "negotiate" a solution to the crisis, it had to quickly discard such obvious fantasies. Furthermore, one of Duarte's first official acts has been to "militarize" virtually the entire country, from the province of Santa Ana to the province of La Union, which apparently means sending in heavy artillery and regular infantry in addition to the already extensive military and paramilitary operations that constantly comb the countryside. And there have been reports in both the U.S. and Latin American press of stepped up fighting between government and opposition forces with the heaviest fighting reported in Chaletenango Province which borders Honduras. "Stability" is nowhere in the picture for U.S. imperialism in El Salvador.

While the U.S. press has been flooded with speculation about Ronald Reagan's "hard line" position on El Salvador and while it will be under his administration that these new and frantic military moves will be taken, these blatant imperialist actions represent nothing new at all for the U.S. in El Salvador, Central America, or anywhere else throughout its empire. Its rule has always and continuously rested on armed force and brutal suppression of the masses of people. As even the recent "dissent paper" referred to earlier pointed out, "...should President Reagan choose to use military force in El Salvador, (sic)—*RW* historians will be able to show that the setting for such actions had been prepared in the last year of the Carter administration." This statement, of course, doesn't go back nearly far enough. For "the setting for such actions" goes back to the moment the U.S. became an imperialist power over 80 years ago. □

“The Amateurishness of the Economists and the Organization of Revolutionaries”

What is this “conspiracy” we are building? Why is the newspaper its main weapon? Why must there be a revolutionary party at its center? All of these organizational questions are very political—that is they have everything to do with a revolutionary plan for the overthrow of bourgeois political power.

The following are some excerpts from the great Marxist-Leninist work *What Is To Be Done?* by V.I. Lenin, the leader of the proletarian revolution of 1917 in Russia. In Chapter 4, “The Amateurishness of the Economists and the Organization of Revolutionaries” he addresses these organizational questions and contrasts the revolutionary line on them to various opportunist lines. Lenin deals not only with the question of the Party itself, but also how through its professional revolutionary specialization, its division of labor, the revolutionary Party is able to build its own ranks and give leadership to ever broader sections of the people who come into motion against the system, even in relatively limited or temporary ways. It is more than just a question of how can each person play a part, it is a question of how can we really raise our ability to tap and direct in a revolutionary way all the potential that exists today and will exist even more so in the future.

To indicate even more clearly Lenin’s thinking on the central role of the revolutionary newspaper in all this, we have also included at the end a brief quotation on this question from Chapter 5 of the same work.

Lenin’s conditions were somewhat different from our own today. This book was written before a revolutionary party was actually founded in Russia. Today there is such a party in this country, the RCP, USA. It is also important to note that in Russia at that time all open communist work was illegal. While we must have no illusions about the nature of our enemy either, we must also take advantage of the somewhat different opportunities that are open to us by our somewhat different conditions, even as we prepare for the future. While these are differences with Lenin’s time, still what stands out is the great applicability of the principles he stresses. Because this is so, and especially in the midst of our new leap to 100,000 copies of the *Revolutionary Worker* a week, we are reprinting these sections here—most of which were printed a few months ago (in *RWs* No. 60 and 61). We encourage readers not only to read these excerpts, but the whole chapter and, in fact, the whole book.

IV THE AMATEURISHNESS OF THE ECONOMISTS AND AN ORGANIZATION OF REVOLUTIONARIES

The *Rabocheye Dyelo*’s assertions—which we have analyzed above—that the economic struggle is the most widely applicable means of political agitation and that our task now is to lend the economic struggle itself a political character, etc., express a narrow view not only of our political, but also of our organizational tasks. The “economic struggle against the employers and the government” does not in the least require—and therefore such a struggle can never give rise to—an all-Russian centralized organization that will combine, in one general onslaught, all and every manifestation of political opposition, protest and indignation, an organization that will consist of professional revolutionaries and be led by the real political leaders of the whole people. This is but natural. The character of any organization is naturally and inevitably determined by the content of its activity. Consequently, the *Rabocheye Dyelo*, by the assertions analyzed above, sanctifies and legitimizes not only the narrowness of political activity, but also the narrowness of organizational work. In this case too, as always, it is an organ whose consciousness yields to spontaneity. And yet the worship of spontaneously developing forms of organization, failure to realize how narrow and primitive is our organizational work, what amateurs we still are in this most important sphere, failure to realize this, I say, is a veritable disorder from which our movement suffers. It is not a disorder that comes with decline, it is, of course, a disorder that comes with growth. But it is precisely at the present time, when the wave of spontaneous indignation, as it were, sweeps over us, leaders and organizers of the movement, that a most irreconcilable struggle must be waged against all defense of backwardness, against any legitimization of narrowness in this matter, and it is particularly necessary to rouse in all who take part in practical work, in all who are preparing to take up their work, discontent with the amateurishness that prevails among us and an unshakable determination to get rid of it.

...Lack of practical training, lack of ability to carry on organizational work is certainly common to us all, including those who have from the very outset unswervingly stood for revolutionary Marxism. And, of course, were it only lack of practical training, no one could blame the practical workers. But the term “amateurishness” embraces something else: it denotes a narrow scope of revolutionary work generally, failure to understand that a good organization of revolutionaries cannot

be built up on the basis of such narrow activity, and lastly—and most important—it denotes attempts to justify this

narrowness and to elevate it to a special “theory,” i.e., bowing in worship to spontaneity on this question too. Once



V.I. Lenin, May Day 1919.

such attempts were observed, it became certain that amateurishness is connected with Economism and that we shall never eliminate this narrowness of our organizational activity until we eliminate Economism generally (i.e., the narrow conception of Marxist theory, of the role of Social-Democracy and of its political tasks). And these attempts were revealed in a twofold direction: Some began to say: the mass of workers themselves have not yet advanced the broad and militant political tasks that the revolutionaries are attempting to “impose” upon them; they must continue, for the time being, to fight for immediate political demands, to conduct “the economic struggle against the employers and the government” (and, naturally, corresponding to this struggle which is “easily understood” by the mass movement must be an organization that will be “easily understood” by the most untrained youth). Others, far removed from any kind of “gradualness,” began to say: it is possible and necessary to “bring about a political revolution,” but that does not require building a strong organization of revolutionaries to train the proletariat in the steadfast and stubborn struggle. All we need do is to snatch up our old friend, the “handy” wooden club. Speaking without metaphor it means—we must organize a general strike, or we must stimulate the “spiritless” progress of the working-class movement by means of “excitative terror.” Both these trends, the opportunists and the “revolutionists,” bow to the prevailing amateurishness; neither believes that it can be eliminated, neither understands our primary and most imperative practical task, namely, to establish an organization of revolutionaries capable of maintaining the energy, stability and continuity of the political struggle.

We have just quoted the words of B—v: “The growth of the working-class movement is outstripping the growth and development of the revolutionary organizations.” This “valuable remark of a close observer” (the *Rabocheye Dyelo*’s comment on B—v’s article) has a twofold value for us. It shows that we were right in our opinion that the principal cause of the present crisis in Russian Social-Democracy is that the leaders (“ideologists,” revolutionaries, Social-Democrats) lag behind the spontaneous upsurge of the masses. It shows that all the arguments advanced by the authors of the Economic letter (in the *Iskra*, No. 12), by B. Krichevsky and by Martynov, about the danger of belittling the significance of the spontaneous element, about the drab everyday struggle, about tactics-as-a-process, etc., are nothing more than a glorification and defence of amateurishness. These people who cannot pronounce the word “theoretician” without a contemptuous grimace, who describe their

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"It's Right to Rebel! Making Revolution is No Crime! Bombard the Headquarters!"

On December 29th, in what was supposed to be her last appearance in court before the sentence is handed down, Chiang Ching (Jiang Qing) shouted out these slogans from the Cultural Revolution and once again created a grand revolutionary disruption in the revisionists' trial of Mao's comrades.

The presiding judge, once again taken aback, warned that she was straying from the issues and slandering the Chinese leaders and the court, and then ordered "Take her away." The television footage shown to the public went blank at this point. What the film did not show was Chiang Ching being dragged out of the court by three armed bailiffs, for the second time (at least) since her outburst on December 12th (see *RW* No. 84).

This latest court session began with the prosecutor listing all the charges against Chiang Ching and then calling for the death penalty because of her particularly "flagrant offenses". Following the prepared script, the judge chimed in by stating that "The facts are clear, and the evidence is conclusive. The special court will pursue her criminal liability in accordance with law."

The judge's statement, according to the *L.A. Times*, "brought a sardonic smile to Chiang Ching's face." The *Chicago Sun-Times* reported that "with a cold laugh" she said, "You just want my head," and also shouted "I am prepared to die!" During the course of the hearing, the *Times* said, she "repeatedly mocked both the judges and the prosecutors interrupting their speeches with contemptuous comments, making faces and once simply taking off her earphones and closing her eyes to ignore the prosecutor's attack." Chiang Ching attacked the current rulers as "reactionaries, counterrevolutionaries and fascists" and mocked the judges and prosecutors, calling them a "bunch of vampires," and "dirty vultures."

Given a chance to make a last statement, Chiang Ching made the attempt by the revisionists to bully her into submission through threats of execution look very feeble by declaring sarcastically "Let the monkey king give me more heads for you to chop off," referring to a character in Chinese mythology with magical powers. Chiang Ching was not only saying that she was unafraid to die for the international proletarian revolutionary cause, but she was also warning the revisionists: If you want to wipe out revolution, you will have to chop off more than my head—there are millions more you will have to deal with.

(It must be noted in passing that there is a telling contrast even between the styles of the stuffed revisionists—pontificating in bureaucrat-ese as they sit intimidated in their own courtroom—and the revolutionary flair and style of these fighters for the international proletariat—Chiang Ching in particular. It, too, stems from the contrast between the far-seeing communist political line and world view of these proletarian leaders, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, and the outlook of bourgeois mummies.)

The revisionists wanted Chiang Ching to get bogged down in trying to refute every single cooked-up charge that they had thrown at her. But she refused to step into this trap, dismissing the charges as an attempt to "pick the bones from an egg"—in other words, there is nothing to it. Instead, she got right to the heart of the matter by insisting, as she has done throughout the trial, that "all my basic actions were in line with the decisions of the Party Central Committee headed at that time by Chairman Mao." This is a truth that the revisionists, with all their rantings about her "crimes," have not been able to wipe out. She even dared the revisionists to "go and check materials still locked in my personal safe. If you can find anything that shows I violated any policies of the former Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, then I

will be guilty of plotting."

According to one news report, Chiang Ching also read a poem accusing the revisionists of trying to "steal the sky and change the sun." It could very well be that she was referring in part to the song "The East is Red" which begins, "Red is the East, rises the sun," and goes on to sing the praises of Mao and the Communist Party. This song, formerly China's national anthem, was banned right around the time the trial started as part of the revisionists' campaign to downgrade Mao.

Mao Attacked Openly

The revisionists were hoping that this trial will be a smooth, neat affair. They thought that they could nail the coffin on Mao's comrades, in effect attacking Mao, while still keeping up the hypocritical and cowardly pretense of upholding Mao. This, they hoped, would in turn be a basis to launch more open attacks on Mao. But the defiant stand of the revolutionaries, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, and especially her constant and clear statements that she acted only according to Mao's revolutionary line and instructions, are all forcing the revisionists to quicken the pace of attacks on Mao. Representing the views of the highest levels of the revisionist leadership, the prosecutor declared in a statement that, "Chairman Mao was responsible, so far as his leadership was concerned, for (the people's) plight during the Cultural Revolution and he is also responsible for failing to see through the Lin Biao and Chiang Ching counter-revolutionary cliques." While Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang, the party general secretary, have made similar statements before, this one, coming in the midst of this trial, is a big step toward linking Mao and the Four more closely. Originally, after the coup, these political cowards had tried to paint themselves as "Mao's true heirs" and claimed he had been struggling against the Four.

But even at this point, four years later, the revisionists are still not willing to go all the way and lay out the whole truth—that far from "failing to see through" the so-called Gang of Four, Mao in fact was the head of the "Gang of Five"! The prosecutor qualified his blast at Mao by saying, "However, the party, the army and the people of all our nationalities will never for this reason forget or obliterate Chairman Mao's great contributions to overthrowing the 'Three Great Mountains' (of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism), founding the People's Republic of China, and pioneering the socialist cause in China...Chairman Mao's great achievements are primary; his mistakes are secondary." This hypocrisy, covering their hatred for Mao, is apparent to all, including the revisionists who are making these statements.

Dealing with Chiang Ching's defiant stand has been very difficult, not only for the Chinese revisionists, but for reactionary ruling classes all over the world, including the U.S. imperialists. Confronted with the fact that Chiang Ching has been exposing that it is precisely Mao's revolutionary line that is on trial in China, the U.S. press has scraped around for some new crap to spread in a rather desperate effort to cover over the truth. So they have resorted to characterizing her stand as "blaming Mao"—as if she were trying to evade the punishment by blaming someone else. Come on, imperialists, surely you could cook up something better than *this*. "Blaming Mao" as she stands up and shouts "It's right to rebel!" "Blaming Mao" as she calls her accusers "counter-revolutionaries" and "revisionists"! "Blaming Mao" as she says "I am prepared to die"! Come on, now. While their tricks are rather transparent, the fact that they have to resort to them is revealing. It shows that the proletarian revolutionary stand that comes beaming out of Mao's comrades on trial in China today has real international significance. That the U.S. imperialists would be driven to

Chiang Ching's Defiant Declaration:

**"It's Right to Rebel!
Making Revolution is No Crime!"**



such a desperate—and silly—cover-up shows that they, too, have a sense of this. A sense that this heroic revolutionary stand and Mao's Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line it is based on are quite infectious and that many in their worldwide empire, including here in the U.S., are quite capable of "catching" it.

Along with Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao has remained completely defiant all along. His last court appearance was on December 20. In all his days on the docket, the revisionists have never been able to squeeze a single word out of him. His only utterance was earlier, when the revisionists attempted to serve him with the indictment and he said "I refuse to accept it." The prosecution on December 20 cited Chang Chun-chiao's "defiant attitude and his refusal to acknowledge his crimes" and asked the court to "mete out severe punishment."

By comparison to Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, the others being tried seem puny and pitiful. In his final statement, Wang Hung-wen said, according to the revisionists' *Peking Review*, that he "sincerely pleads guilty" and hopes "that the court will give him a chance to repent and reform himself"—no doubt "reform" into the revisionists' mold. The prosecutor asked the court to hand "due punishment" (as opposed to the death sentence for Chiang Ching and "severe punishment" for Chang Chun-chiao). The prosecutor also asked for "due punishment" for Yao Wen-yuan, who, according to the *Peking Review* and some other sources, admitted committing "mistakes" and pleaded that his position and role were different from that of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao.

Chang Chun-chiao, who is reported to be suffering from cancer, and is likely to have been tortured, and Chiang Ching have fully grasped the international and historic significance of their actions and are rising to the occasion. With the worldwide crisis of imperialism deepening, the opportunities

for the proletarian revolutionaries of the whole world to respond to their clear example and call and move ahead on the basis of the great contributions of Mao and the Chinese revolutionary comrades are greater than ever. This, undoubtedly, has given Mao's comrades strength. Chiang Ching appears to have even gotten physically stronger and sharper as the trial has progressed and the attacks intensified. In fact, she revealed in a two-and-a-half-hour long statement she made on December 24th that while in prison, she woke every morning at the crack of dawn to train her body so that she could do her best in court to defend the Cultural Revolution.

Chiang Ching's Major Statement

This major statement was apparently a real blockbuster. The regularly scheduled TV program on the progress of the trial was cancelled without notice that night, and the December 25th edition of the official *People's Daily* did not mention her speech at all. Very little of the details of the statement has been allowed to leak out. According to *Ta Kung Pao*, a Hong Kong pro-revisionist mouthpiece, "Chiang Ching completely evaded the facts about the crimes of frameup, persecution and interrogation to death contained in the indictment, shamelessly playing the part of 'upholder of Mao Tsetung Thought'."

Before she began her statement, Chiang Ching demanded to know "Are you going to interrupt while I speak? This could be my last chance to speak in my life, and it is also the first time in the four years I have been locked up that I am able to speak before an audience." While having no illusions about the nature of this railroad, Chiang Ching has used every opportunity, including the revisionists' facade of bourgeois legality, to stir things up.

Again according to *Ta Kung Pao*, the central part of her statement was "singing the praises of the 10-year turmoil of the Cultural Revolution." She re-

Cultural Revolution from the May 16th Circular of 1966 to the campaign against the right-deviationist wind to reverse the correct verdicts of the Cultural Revolution that took place in 1975. She stated that all she carried out were the decisions and instructions of the Central Committee led by Mao. The January Storm (the overthrowing of revisionist leadership in Shanghai in January of 1967, led by the Four), she stressed, had Mao's approval. She stressed, had Mao's approval.

She said she was the only woman comrade to follow Mao to the frontlines when the Kuomintang reactionaries were advancing on Yenan. "Where were you then?" she asked. "You are trying Chairman Mao's wife," she stated. "You are trying to destroy me because you know you can never destroy Chairman Mao."

Finally, Chiang Ching stood up to read a written declaration which was full of Mao's quotations and slogans from the Cultural Revolution, such as "The bourgeoisie is in the Communist Party," "As for bourgeois right, it must be restricted under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat," and "Take class struggle as the key link, when the key link is grasped, everything will follow, continue making revolution." At the end, she dared the revisionists to sentence her to death in front of a million people in Tienamen Square in Peking and proclaimed "It is more glorious to have my head chopped off" than to yield to the revisionists.

Groundwork for Sentencing

From all signs the revisionists are preparing the groundwork to sentence Chiang Ching to death. December 25th *People's Daily* published a letter from a son of Chen Yi, a former vice-premier and one of the so-called "victims" of persecution by the Four, calling for Chiang Ching's death. Besides its role in creating opinion for Chiang Ching's execution, what is interesting about the letter is that it reveals some more details

about Chiang Ching's statements in court. "Revolution is not a dinner party," the letter quotes Chiang Ching. "I am lawless. What are you going to do about it?" Chiang pledged that she would conduct an "investigation," but promised she "would not investigate you, the minor persons on stage"—meaning the judges, prosecutors, clerks, bailiffs and witnesses. The letter goes on to argue that people should not be lulled by Chiang Ching's pledge not to investigate "minor persons." "How can the people let this devil escape the net of the law, and once again carry on her crazed revenge?" Of course neither the revisionists nor Chiang Ching herself seriously believed that she would "escape the net of the law" and be allowed to carry on an investigation. Chiang Ching, in her characteristically sharp and sarcastic way, was calling the judges and others for what they are—puppets in the hands of the top revisionists. The real purpose in this call for execution is revealed at the end, where "the most serious punishment" is demanded for Chiang Ching "In order to prevent the reappearance of Chiang Ching-like evils who will bring hardship to the people again." The call for Chiang Ching's blood is a warning to not follow in her revolutionary footsteps.

The statement by Chiang Ching's prosecutor that "Chairman Mao's great achievements are primary; his mistakes are secondary" can in no way be taken to mean that the revisionists still uphold Mao's line at all. What the revisionists are referring to by Mao's achievements are his contributions in the period before liberation. While Mao did make very significant contributions in this period, both in theoretically analyzing the Chinese revolution from a Marxist standpoint and concretely leading the revolution through its many twists and turns, his most significant contributions came in the last years of his life. It is Mao's development of the understanding that class struggle con-

Continued on page 27

It to Rebel! tion is No Crime!"



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”

“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, delivered at a crucial turning point in the battle 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 Deng Xiaoping’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.

BOB AVAKIAN SPEAKS

ON THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS RAILROAD AND THE HISTORIC BATTLES AHEAD

Peltier

Continued from page 6

not be available for as long as two more months.

Two days after Garcia was murdered, Standing Deer, also known as Robert Wilson, was transferred from Terre Haute to the Federal Medical Facility in Springfield, Missouri for surgery immediately after an argument with an FBI agent who told him, “What you need is a good lobotomy.” Standing Deer was the key defense witness in Peltier’s escape trial. He was barred by the judge from testifying that government agents coerced him into setting up Peltier for assassination. Instead, Standing Deer told Peltier of the government plot which resulted in the escape attempt. Prison officials in Springfield continued to give conflicting explanations for why he is there, at one point saying it is for treatment of his bad back and then later saying he may be “diabetic.” Standing Deer continues to make clear he will refuse any surgery.

These events indicate an intensification in the government’s plan to get rid

of Leonard Peltier for good. That these attempts are nothing new is also being sharply exposed as the over 12,000 pages of FBI documents recently turned over to Peltier’s attorneys are being further studied. While there has only been an initial review of this mountain of material, certain things have become clear. The documents focus on the armed defense of a Native American spiritual camp on the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975, against an FBI-led assault for which Peltier was railroaded to two life terms, allegedly for the deaths of two FBI agents in the shootout (one Indian—Joe Stuntz—was also killed). The FBI documents show that in typical COINTELPRO style the FBI developed a nationwide web of lie compounded upon lie to “prove” that Peltier was a “terrorist.” The documents also include a call put out to all FBI officers to compile extensive information on all Native American activists with military training. These reports on some 200 activists show both the government’s fear of the American Indian movement (in particular, of those activists who are Vietnam vets) and their plan to paint the movement as “terrorist.”

While all this has been going on, the prisoners work stoppage (see *RW* No.

80) at Marion Federal Penitentiary (where Peltier is being held in isolation) continues. Already the longest federal prison strike in U.S. history, it is now in its fifteenth week and the prison authorities are desperately climbing their own walls. Peltier has been singled out by authorities in an attempt to break the prisoner’s resistance. Two weeks after the strike started, Peltier and 19 others were put in segregation, a month later Peltier was sentenced to another 30 days in segregation on the bogus charge of “inciting a riot.” According to a reporter for an Illinois newspaper, 6 prisoners singled out as strike leaders have also been further disciplined. Details of the nature of this discipline are not known except that at least one of the 6 is Native American and one is white.

In the face of all this and more, the resistance of the 320 prisoners who have jobs (and are striking) and the support of the 120 held in the notorious control unit has not wavered. Reserved for “troublemakers” and prisoners with a history of resistance both inside and outside the prison system, the control unit is a prison within a prison. It contains 10 “boxcar” cells, uses psychological deprivation methods and drug induced stupors to “control”

prisoners—it has been the backdrop against which steady and determined resistance of the prisoners has unfolded. Among the demands of the prisoners is an end to the denial of religious rights, more and better food (since the food ration was cut back to 20% in early 1980) and an end to demeaning and degrading practices concerning visitors.

Prison authorities have also been shaken by support for the strike outside the prison. The Marion Prisoner’s Rights Project has been barred from the prison and denied access to the prisoners they work with. Prison officials have notified them that all correspondence between the group and prisoners will be opened and read. Two lawyers from the group have been barred from the prison for “perpetuating a strike” and recently their attempts to seek an injunction in court against this have been denied. The project has filed 10 lawsuits on conditions at Marion, including one against the boxcar cells.

On January 9th Peltier’s attorneys will be in Pasadena, California arguing before the U.S. Court of Appeals for dismissal of Peltier’s convictions for the escape attempt from Lompoc. The *RW* will continue to report on this and other events as they develop.

Broad Support Reopens N.Y. Revolution Books

On Dec. 23, the padlocks were removed and Revolution Books in New York City reopened, a significant victory in the continuing battle against the attempts of the ruling class to harass and close down Revolution Books around the country, or as one supporter termed it, "a battle between the bourgeoisie and the books." (See article in *RW* No. 84 on the political eviction in New York and ongoing attacks on Revolution Books in many cities.)

In the course of the battle to keep the New York store open, the reactionary nature of the landlord's eviction attempts was exposed very clearly. As his representatives at one court appearance last summer stated, "These people are communists, they're not trustworthy... the manager's in jail, how can we collect rent from people like that." (They were referring here to one of the UN 2 who used to work on the store's staff!) After returning September and October rent checks as "unacceptable" and then having the store padlocked shut for "non-payment," the landlord responded to a phone call from the bookstore's lawyer with, "I don't like these people. I don't have to tell you why. You know what's going on there."

Yeah, we know what's going on. As the leaflet issued by Revolution Books and distributed in its thousands by the store's staff and supporters said, "This is no simple landlord/tenant dispute. Here the ruling class is trying to knock out one of our bridges to the future. There are a thousand everyday abominations of life under imperialism that turn millions against this system... The revolutionary literature and progressive books in this store play a key role in... creating revolutionary public opinion for the seizure of power." The indispensable weapon of revolutionary propaganda and theory that arms people with the understanding necessary to overthrow this monstrous system is poison to the bourgeoisie. It is the active and bold dissemination of this theory and exposures of imperialism that is drawing fire from this landlord and the class that stands behind him.

The best way to meet this attack was to do exactly what it was designed to stop—step up the distribution of revolutionary literature. A booktable was set up on the sidewalk outside the store in front of a big poster painted on the store's gate exposing the eviction. On the first day following the eviction more books were sold than normally with the store open! Booktables were also taken out across town, including to several campuses and to the Chinese revisionists' "China Exhibition" currently on display in New York, where agitation linked the Peking trial of the "Gang of Four" and that attempt to trample on Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line with the increased attacks all across this country on revolutionaries and revolutionary ideas, particularly on the RCP and Revolution Books. Leaflets about the eviction were

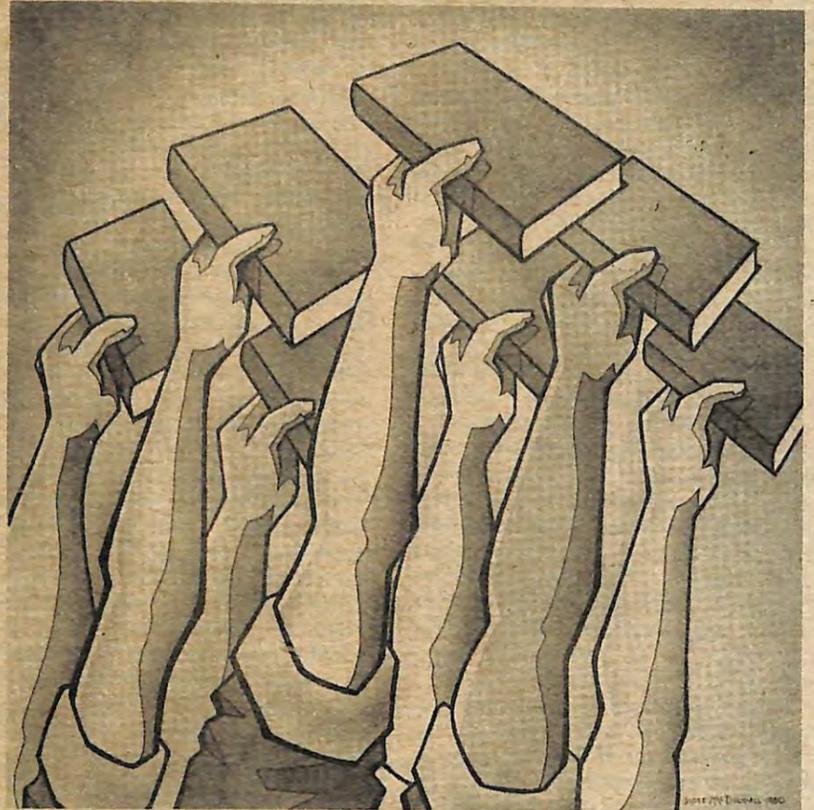
distributed from booktables, by *RW* sellers and stacks were taken by the city's many progressive bookstores. A campaign was launched to bombard the landlord with telegrams and messages of protest—sent by professors, bookstore managers and many individual supporters of the store. Calls went out to people on mailing lists, drawing forward all kinds of ideas and offers of support—leads for fundraising, donations, and volunteers to help sell books. Many who heard of the eviction began stopping by the booktable in front of the store to find out what was going on—and to buy books.

Meanwhile, legal papers to overturn the eviction were filed in city court. On the day the hearing was to be held, one of the landlord's flunkies paraded around the courtroom waving pictures of the painting on the front of the store. As soon as the judge appeared, the landlord's lawyer made a bee line for the bench even though the case had not yet been called by the court clerk, and began running out lies about how the bookstore had never paid rent and never shown up for court appearances. Trying to suppress his flunkie-friend's anti-communist ravings, the judge sought to make the case appear like a straight "non-payment" case. As the bookstore's lawyer and one staff member tried to counter this garbage with the real story, the judge waved his arms wildly and shouted, "I don't want to hear this case. They either have the money or they don't." With that, he walked out of court.

After some of the smoke had cleared, it was determined that, without the case ever actually being called, the judge had ruled that if Revolution Books paid the three month's back rent previously refused by the landlord plus the current month's rent and a ransom of \$250 in court fees within 3 days (!) the eviction order would be vacated.

The court no doubt felt it was unlikely that the staff could raise this much money in so short a time, giving them a convenient cover for upholding the eviction. But more fundamentally than that, the extent to which word about this political eviction had gotten out around town and tapped tremendous interest and support clearly had them worried. The potential for continued wide exposure of the reality behind all the bourgeoisie's talk of "democracy," and the potential for mobilizing resistance amongst thousands is what backed them down from this particular attack. Instead of successfully capping a source of insurrectionary ideas, they were unleashing a torrent, as their attack was met head-on.

When, much to their surprise, the staff showed up in court 3 days later with the full amount in hand (\$1500 raised in a single weekend, in large part from among the store's many supporters) the padlocks were ordered removed within 24 hours. The next day, just minutes before the deadline, the landlord's flunkie showed up to unlock the doors. More incensed than ever, the landlord



REVOLUTION BOOKS FESTIVAL

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HELP STOP THE EVICTION OF REVOLUTION BOOKS.

One of the many forms of support that have emerged in the fight against the eviction of Revolution Books in Seattle is this poster advertising a festival held in December where a number of local artists and musicians performed. The designer, layout artist, typesetter and printer of the poster all donated their services in producing it.

issued a new threat that very same day: "The judge told me if you're late (with the rent) again, he'll issue a warrant, it won't be a dispossession (eviction order—*RW*) like this time. Do you understand this? I've been nice (!) to you guys up till now and I'm not going to do it anymore."

With this, he made clear his and the government's intention to pursue the harassment and eviction of Revolution Books—a fact which should come as no surprise. As reported in past issues of the *RW* in articles on the eviction of the Berkeley store, eviction battles in Seattle and Boston, and harassment of all

10 Revolution Books stores, the ruling class is intensifying its efforts to shut down these stores and ban these books from the masses of people.

The victory won in New York in reopening this store is extremely important and shows that the basis exists to back these bastards down and expand the distribution of revolutionary literature. At a victory celebration/open house held January 1st in the bookstore, plans were laid to heighten vigilance against renewed attacks and for enlisting broader and broader support in taking out revolutionary propaganda and theory to the masses. []

**"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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West Berlin

Continued from page 5

such as Standau, Buchow, and in Wilmersdorf.

* * *

"Modell Deutschland" (model Germany) is the way the West German bourgeoisie likes to peddle their so-called "socially-oriented" capitalist system to the people of the world. Compared to other crisis-ridden imperialist countries of both the East and the West, West Germany has been hailed as the country where capitalism still works. Unemployment and inflation are relatively low and the overall living conditions of the majority of working people are said to be "envied" by workers around the world. West Berlin, in particular, located as it is in the middle of East Germany, has been especially promoted as a "symbol of freedom," "an oasis of western free-enterprise capitalism" flourishing right in the belly of the "socialist" (that is, *state capitalist*) East. Today, the rival blocs headed up by the U.S. and the Soviet Union are gearing themselves up for world war as the world-imperialist crisis tears away at the economic and social structures of their respective societies. In this context, this island of western "affluence" has taken on great importance in the propagandist overtures of the Western rulers.

Tens of millions of German marks are pumped into West Berlin yearly by the federal government of Germany to prop this city up and keep it alive. Industries receive various benefits and subsidies for investing there and much is spent keeping the cultural and educational facilities afloat to maintain Berlin's reputation as a student mecca and one of the hot spots of Europe. But the millions funneled into West Berlin to polish it up as a bright symbol of the "wonders" of western imperialism cannot erase the basic contradictions that are propelling the masses into struggle—even in the heart of their showcase of capitalism. A contradiction that has grown increasingly sharp—particularly with the influx of youth and German, as well as foreign, workers seeking work—is the lack of affordable housing for the basic masses, something which has begun to stand out like a festering sore.

In the mid-'60s, the West Berlin government instituted a number of so-called "city modernization" programs. Among other things, this was an opportunity for landlords, speculators and construction firms to make a bundle by manipulating the housing market. Hundreds of millions of marks have been paid out to the landlords of old housing tenements to force renters out and then leave the neighborhoods to fall apart. In many sections of the city, large open spaces sit barren and empty for years until it is profitable to come in and "develop" them. Then the speculators and construction firms come in to "modernize" the destroyed areas, raking in massive state subsidies to construct government-approved "low rent" housing.

The result of all this is that over 80,000 households are calculated to be in need of their own apartments in West Berlin. 54,000 are officially registered on a waiting list for low-rent housing, with 16,000 of these classified as immediate. At the same time an estimated 40,000 apartments are torn down each year and as of today, *over 7,000 livable apartments are empty*, left to rot until the various banks and private speculators who have bought them up decide to obtain a permit and rip them down.

What this has meant for the workers, students and old people on pensions is the "privilege" of being systematically thrown out of their old dwellings and then waiting in line to move in to new "social" housing projects, often on the outskirts of the city, where they end up paying 2 to 3 times the rent they were paying previously. Those who aren't fortunate enough to get a new place (which includes the hundreds of thousands of foreign workers who live in the city) are forced into run-down, rat-infested ghettos like Kreuzberg where the majority of apartments are without any decent

sanitary accommodations.

Winds of resistance began to blow in West Berlin over a year ago when a group of people occupied an old run-down (but still livable) apartment house and renovated it for themselves. This set the example for many more, and soon over 20 buildings were occupied by squatters in the Kreuzberg ghetto. Local support for the squatters was very broad. Those occupying the buildings—students, unemployed youth and some professionals—formed a local house committee to coordinate the activities of taking over new houses. The committee also represented the squatters in dealing with the city government, which immediately attempted to isolate the squatters from the "legal" residents of the ghetto. For the authorities, who at first allowed a few occupations, the growing movement was going too far. It had to be stopped.

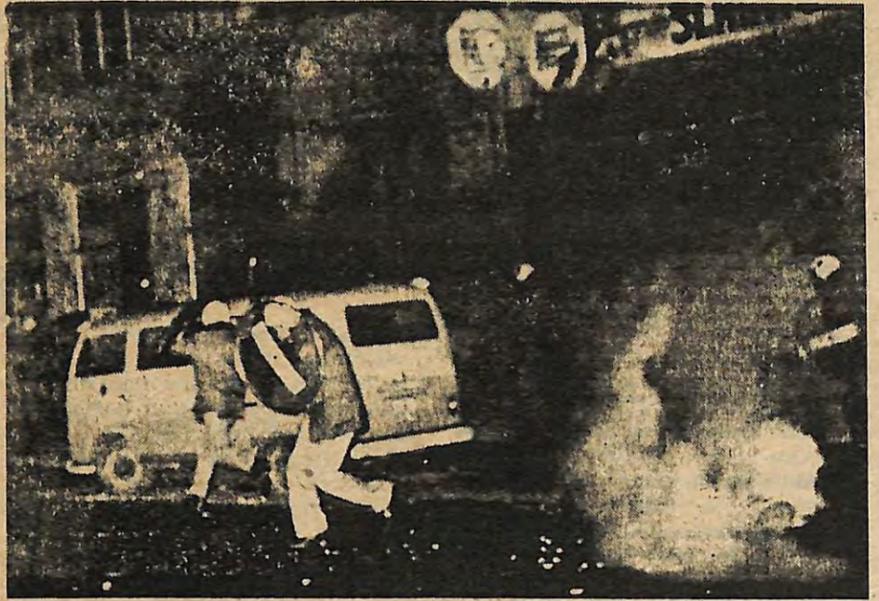
As of June last year, police squads began to throw new squatters out of occupied houses. But the numbers of squatters has only increased; 300 people are now occupying and renovating old buildings. It has been difficult for the authorities to openly evict the squatters because of the broad support that they received from the masses. Tension mounted and it became quite clear on both sides that an eventual showdown was imminent. As of late September the local police precinct in Kreuzberg has been reinforced and kept on alert. On the other side, however, the squatters began organizing themselves, setting up a telephone alarm system that extended into other sections of the city in case of attack by the pigs. In November, when the first house outside the Kreuzberg area was successfully occupied by squatters, it was quite clear that the city barons would soon strike back. The arrests and subsequent police attack on December 12, as one demonstrator commented, were "the torch put to the fuse of the powderkeg."

* * *

On Monday, December 15 another demonstration was called in the center of the city to demand the release of all those arrested in the battles in days prior. At 7 p.m. a throng of about 1500 people gathered in the center of the city and began their illegal march through downtown Berlin. The demonstration built momentum and the number of participants grew to 3,000. As people chanted for the release of those arrested, over 2,000 riot-equipped police arrived to stop the demonstrations. Around 9 p.m. the police attacked and again the district exploded back at them, as small groups of demonstrators moved onto side streets. Demonstrators turned over cars, and dug up cobblestones which were immediately used against the advancing police, windows of banks, hotels and department stores were destroyed. This battle also continued late into the night as 600 demonstrators defiantly marched back to Kreuzberg, turning over three construction trailers, erecting a barricade to stop the police at their rear.

As dawn broke on Tuesday an intense calm settled in over the city. The four days of battle had left an indelible mark on this Western oasis of free enterprise: over 200 demonstrators injured, 109 people arrested (1/2 of whom are under the age of 21) and hundreds of thousands of dollars done in damage. Fifty police cars had been wrecked, 17 of these destroyed completely. Despite the effort of the West German bourgeoisie to try to portray the rebellion as "insignificant," or as the result of a small minority of "criminal elements" out to provoke fights with the police, the significance of the outburst could not be hidden. As one major national newspaper commented in an editorial immediately after the revolts: "Years ago as a continual war of plunder raged in the streets of Harlem, we thought that this was typical for New York, something that could never happen here... now the plague of large outbreaks of plunder are spreading here. Can we contain it? Or is it too late?" Herr journalist's frantic tone is underscored by the context in which the rebellion has broken out: a coming "outbreak of plunder" in which the imperialists must attempt to enlist the services of the rebels, not against the West German state, but in *alliance* with it.

Mainly for this reason, the squatters'



More scenes from West Berlin.



rebellion has rocked the bourgeoisie well beyond the city perimeters of West Berlin. Interior Minister Ulrich noted after the demonstration that the aggressiveness of many of the demonstrators cannot be compared to the student protests of the '60s—this was much worse. And what bothers the authorities the most is the very broad range of forces involved—from political veterans of the '60s to students, working class youth, punks, and many professionals such as teachers, lawyers, nurses and even doctors. And signs that the outburst may well spread into sections of the working class (including the many foreign workers) hang like a nightmare over the bourgeoisie. There were reports of residents in the area where most of the battles took place encouraging the demonstrators on and warning them of advancing riot squads. This included many workers from Turkey, who coached the demonstrators from windows and tavern doors, and it was admitted in the press that many foreign-born youth participated in the battles against the pigs.

The intensity to which the demonstrations grew within such a short span of time has confounded the plans of authorities to crush the movement by brute force.

After Monday's battle, the police chief was quoted in the press as moaning: "When I club down 500 today, there are about 5,000 out in the streets tomorrow." This could especially be seen on Saturday, December 20, one week after the revolt began, when 15,000

people marched in a peaceful demonstration (since the police did not dare provoke anything) from Moabit prison, where various political prisoners are held, to the center of the city. This powerful action demanded the release of all those arrested the week before. Also frightening the authorities is the fact that the struggle is not confined to Berlin. Delegations from the Amsterdam Kraaker (squatters movement in Amsterdam) came to Berlin in the week following the upheaval with a film documenting their own battle last spring. In about every other major city there are squatters in working class districts. In Freiburg, last summer when the police attempted to throw out squatters, there was a demonstration of 10,000. People renamed the city "polizeiburg" because so many cops were called out to deal with the upheaval.

For all these reasons the Berlin authorities have been working with different tactics in attempts to stop this fight. On the one hand they are offering to meet and negotiate with the representatives of the squatters committees (who have refused negotiations until all prisoners are freed). On the other hand they are unleashing brutal police attacks on the squatter demonstrators. But the various forces that have spontaneously gone out into the streets in this struggle have held together and have successfully resisted these attacks. Clearly, the battle has just begun, and at a most inopportune time for West Germany's imperialist rulers.

To The Marxist-Leninists, The Workers, And The Oppressed Of All Countries

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desire of any particular bourgeois leader but stems from the very laws of the imperialist system.

—In the current historical conjuncture it is only the two most powerful imperialist powers, the U.S. and the USSR, who are capable of heading up imperialist blocs to go to world war. These two imperialist powers are also the most powerful bastions of reaction in the world today.

—All the other imperialist powers are also driven by their nature toward war—they are also big exploiters, thoroughly reactionary, aggressive and enemies of the proletariat and the peoples of the world.

—In the face of the growing danger of world war the proletariat and the oppressed people must develop their revolutionary struggle against imperialism and all reaction. If such a war breaks out they must strive to turn inter-imperialist war into a revolutionary war aimed at the overthrow of the reactionary ruling classes.

—In the last few years powerful revolutionary movements have developed in a number of countries, which have greatly battered or even toppled the reactionary regimes and shaken the imperialist system. While none of these revolutionary movements has yet led to the dictatorship of the proletariat, they are another clear indication of the possibility of doing so. The objective conditions for revolution are ripening throughout the world and in some countries these conditions are already mature. But the subjective conditions, especially the development of the Marxist-Leninist movement, are lagging seriously behind the objective conditions.

II. TASKS OF MARXIST-LENINISTS

It is necessary to rescue and build upon basic principles of Marxism-Leninism which revisionists and opportunists have done their best to obscure and bury.

—The dictatorship of the proletariat has been and remains a cardinal point of Marxism-Leninism. This principle too has been trampled on by revisionism. From the time of Karl Marx down to the present, fighting to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and to defend and strengthen it where it is established, have remained touchstone questions for Marxist-Leninists.

However, it is not correct and is especially harmful today, to fail to take into account the important experience, positive and negative, the proletariat has acquired in this respect since the time of the October Revolution. In particular the great teachings of Mao Tsetung on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the experience of the Cultural Revolution he led are of vital importance. Comrade Mao Tsetung correctly pointed out that during the entire period of socialism, that is in the period of the transition to communism, classes and class struggle still exist. He pointed out the continued existence and constant regeneration of the bourgeoisie under socialism, its material and ideological base, and the means for combatting it. Mao clearly indicated, for the first time in the history of the science of Marxism-Leninism, that the ringleaders and most important section of the bourgeoisie during the socialist period (after the socialist transformation of ownership has in the main been completed) are those leading people in the Party and the state ap-

paratus taking the capitalist road. Mao made clear that it would be necessary to wage repeated mass revolutionary struggles, such as the Cultural Revolution, against the new bourgeoisie during the entire socialist transition.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was an unprecedented mass revolutionary movement which succeeded for ten years in blocking capitalist restoration, training revolutionary successors who are fighting today against the new capitalist rulers in China, and helped to spread Marxism-Leninism throughout the world. The fact that the Cultural Revolution did not succeed in the final analysis in preventing the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat in no way lessens its historic importance nor its important lessons for the world proletariat.

—“The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution.” This is universally true for all countries. The “peaceful road to socialism” is littered with the corpses of countless masses who were pointed down this road by revisionist betrayers.

The principle of armed struggle of the masses has also been abandoned by revisionists who replace it with putschist theses and practices or empty phrases which renounce all types of political and organizational preparations. No matter what stages the revolution may go through, the need to seize political power by the force of arms must be propagated broadly among the masses of people, the Marxist-Leninists must carry out the necessary ideological, political and organizational preparations with this goal in mind and must strive to launch the armed struggle for power as soon as the conditions are ripe. In short, communists are advocates of revolutionary warfare.

The armed struggle must be carried out as a war of the masses and through it the masses must be prepared ideologically, politically and organizationally to exercise political power.

Whatever the necessary forms and stages of the revolutionary process the principal reliance must be based on building up the armed forces of the masses led by the party, while it is also necessary to carry out political work among the armed forces of the enemy to help disintegrate these armed forces and win over as many of their soldiers as possible in the course of the revolutionary struggle.

—The existence and the leading role of the party of the proletariat is another cardinal principle. This is expressed in an organization of the vanguard of the proletariat which must be based on a Marxist-Leninist ideological, political and organizational line on the principal problems of the revolution; which at every moment, inside and outside its ranks, combats all bourgeois and revisionist influences; which permanently practises criticism and self-criticism and centralism based on democracy; which has a conscious iron discipline, all in order to link closely with the masses, to raise, generalise and coordinate their struggles, particularly political struggles, leading them to seize power from the ruling classes. With this aim, the party must attach great importance to formulating and spreading, according to principles, a concrete strategy, line and policy in accordance with the concrete conditions of the country and the interests of the masses and their wish to liberate themselves. The party must give great attention to the illegal forms of struggle and organization, in order to

preserve its independence and to educate the masses in the struggle against their enemies. From a strategic point of view, illegal forms of work are fundamental. At the same time the party must make use of legal opportunities in order to broaden its influence without falling into or promoting bourgeois democratic illusions and while preparing for the inevitable repression by the reactionaries.

The party must gain the leadership of the struggle of the masses and the revolution in practice, by correctly applying the mass line. The party must continually strengthen its leading role by ensuring that the masses and the working class continually raise their ideological, political and organizational level and that they take over an increasingly important part of the tasks of the revolution. In this way, the party will create the conditions for an authentic dictatorship of the proletariat and likewise the final withering away of the party with the withering away of social classes, communism.

Capitalism has long ago reached its final stage of imperialism, one of the most important features of which is the pillaging of the dominated countries and the exploitation of the oppressed peoples. In doing so, imperialism also greatly expands and strengthens the gravediggers destined to overthrow it.

As Lenin analysed, the world proletarian revolution, in the era of imperialism, consists of two great currents allied against the imperialist system—the proletarian socialist revolution in the capitalist countries and the new democratic revolution in the semi-feudal, colonial, semi-(or neo-) colonial countries subjected to imperialist enslavement. There are many features in common between the revolution in these two types of countries: above all that in both instances the revolution must be led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, through whatever stages, and to the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism. But there are also some important distinctions in the path of the revolution in the two types of countries.

COLONIAL AND DEPENDENT COUNTRIES

In the semi-feudal, colonial, semi-(or neo-) colonial countries the revolution must in general pass through two stages—first that of the new democratic revolution led by the proletariat which leads to the socialist stage. Those who insist on making a principle of skipping this stage or eclectically combining the democratic and the socialist revolution do great harm to the revolution.

While the exact course of the revolution in any given country is dependent on the concrete conditions found there, the teachings of Mao Tsetung concerning protracted people's war are of great relevance in these types of countries. Those revisionists who attack Mao's theory of surrounding the city by the countryside as having failed to insure the hegemony of the proletariat or dogmatically insist that insurrection in the city is the sole form of seizing power in these types of countries are in fact attacking the revolutionary struggle there.

Experience has shown that without the leadership of the proletariat and a genuine Marxist-Leninist line it is impossible to free these types of countries from imperialist enslavement, still less to advance on the socialist road. While in general it is possible and necessary to build a very broad united

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front in such countries, even at times involving sections of the exploiting classes, experience has underscored the importance of the Marxist-Leninists maintaining leadership and political and organizational independence, of conducting widespread education on the need to advance to socialism and ultimately communism, to combat narrow nationalist tendencies even while waging a struggle for national liberation, and exposing and combatting in the appropriate ways the bourgeoisie, even the sections with which it may be allied in this struggle against foreign imperialism and the reactionary ruling classes in power.

There is an undeniable tendency for imperialism to introduce significant elements of capitalist relations in the countries it dominates. In certain dependent countries capitalist development has gone so far that it is not correct to characterize them as semi-feudal, it is better to call them predominantly capitalist even while important elements or remnants of feudal or semi-feudal production relations and their reflection in the superstructure may still exist.

In such countries a concrete analysis must be made of these conditions and appropriate conclusions concerning the path, tasks, character and alignment of class forces must be drawn. In all events, foreign imperialism remains a target of the revolution.

IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES

In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels pointed out that the "workers have no fatherland". Lenin stressed that this is particularly applicable in the imperialist countries. This, too, is not only a cardinal principle of Marxism-Leninism that must be rescued from decades of revisionist distortion but takes on special importance in the current conjuncture with the approach of a third world war. Communists combat every form of national chauvinism within the working class and other sections of the oppressed people. This means fighting against every tendency which identifies the interests of the proletariat with the interests of its "own" imperialist ruling class either in plundering people of the colonial and dependent countries or, especially in today's situation, in going to war to protect the interests of the bourgeoisie. If a third world war breaks out the proletariat must work actively for the defeat of its own bourgeoisie in the war, attempting to transform the war into revolutionary civil war and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

While the road of the October Revolution is universally applicable in the sense of the need for the armed revolution, the leadership of a proletarian vanguard party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the establishment of socialism, etc., in all countries; in addition in the capitalist and imperialist countries the October Revolution remains the basic point of reference for Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics. The Marxist-Leninists recognize that in each country the revolution will take specific forms and must analyse the concrete conditions and sum up the experience of the masses in struggle while upholding the basic Leninist line concerning the political and organizational measures necessary for the preparation for and the seizure of power by the proletariat. Again, the distortion and negation by the revisionists of basic Leninist principles in this regard is not only an historical fact but continues to be a current problem. While paying attention to

concrete analysis of concrete conditions in each country, it is necessary to study and apply correctly Lenin's theses on the importance of raising the political consciousness of the working class to its historic mission and developing its political and revolutionary struggle, on the importance of the communist press, and of combatting the influence of economism while paying attention to the needs and conditions of the life of the masses. It's also necessary to study and apply Mao's teachings of the need to base oneself on the profound sentiments of the masses to liberate themselves.

III. ON THE UNITY OF THE MARXIST-LENINISTS

The proletariat is a single class worldwide with a single historic class interest in liberating humanity from all exploitation and oppression and in ushering in the era of communism throughout the globe. For this reason proletarian internationalism is something inseparable from Marxism-Leninism and a constant need of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard in all countries. In addition to this obvious, but often forgotten, truth, the current conjuncture also demands vigorous efforts to establish the unity of Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionaries in all countries if we are to meet the tests and opportunities facing us. In fact, the need for the unity of the Marxist-Leninists is not only objectively necessary but is increasingly demanded by revolutionaries and the masses throughout the world. In this process, as in all things, ideological and political line is decisive.

As Lenin emphasized, "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is the *unity of Marxists*, not unity between Marxists and opponents and distorters of Marxism".

In our view unity can only be achieved on the basis of drawing firm and clear lines of demarcation with revisionism and opportunism of all forms. These lines of demarcation are not something which have dropped from the sky or been concocted by sectarians nor can they be treated as mere topics for sterile, academic debates—they reflect the main and decisive forms in which revisionism confronts the revolutionary proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist movement in the world today.

Upholding the contribution of Mao Tsetung to the science of Marxism-Leninism represents a particularly important and pressing question in the international communist movement and among the class conscious workers today. The principle involved is nothing less than whether or not to uphold and build on decisive contributions to the proletarian revolution and the science of Marxism-Leninism made by Mao. Mao Tsetung made important developments of Marxism-Leninism in the area of the anti-imperialist democratic revolution leading to socialism, people's war and military strategy generally, philosophy (where he made important contributions on the analysis of contradictions, which is the essence of dialectics, and on the theory of knowledge and its links with practice and the mass line), revolutionizing the superstructure and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as in the struggle against revisionism on the practical and theoretical fronts. It is therefore nothing less than the question of whether to uphold Marxism-Leninism itself. Mao's theoretical and practical leadership

represent a quantitative and qualitative development of Marxism-Leninism on many fronts and the theoretical concentration of the historical experience of the proletarian revolution over the last several decades.

We are still living in the era of Leninism, of imperialism and the proletarian revolution; at the same time we affirm that Mao Tsetung Thought is a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism. Without upholding and building on Mao's contributions it is not possible to defeat revisionism, imperialism and reaction in general.

Closely linked to the above is the need to vigorously oppose the new revisionist rulers in China who have overthrown the dictatorship of the proletariat and are restoring capitalism. They have utterly capitulated to imperialism, and have demanded that others follow suit, at the present time under the signboard of their reactionary "strategic theory of the three worlds" which they have fraudulently tried to pass off to the ignorant as the work of Mao himself.

The Soviet revisionists and those revisionist parties historically linked to them remain bitter enemies of the international proletariat. In recent years the Soviet revisionists have adopted a more militant posture vis à vis the Western imperialist powers. This is consistent with their own requirements as a great imperialist power heading up a rival imperialist bloc. They have on several occasions intervened directly by military means or made use of the Vietnamese and Cuban revisionists who are part of their bloc, to seek to expand their imperialist domination. This is often masked as "internationalism". In some cases revisionist parties historically tied to the USSR have promoted such counterrevolutionary lines as "peaceful roads" and "historic compromise" with the bourgeoisie; in other cases these revisionist parties prepare military coups and armed actions divorced from the masses. The role and nature of the revisionist parties today must be further analyzed and studied, both in particular cases and in general, but in any event it is completely clear that they stand as bitter enemies of the proletarian revolution and must be unmasked and defeated as a crucial part of developing the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and mobilizing the masses in revolutionary struggle.

The Albanian Party of Labor and its leadership have fallen completely into the revisionist swamp. Shortly after the counter-revolutionary coup in China the PLA attracted a number of genuine revolutionaries because they opposed some of the more hideous features of the Hua-Teng clique in China, especially regarding international line. Very quickly, however, they outdid even Hua and Teng in the virulence of their attack on Mao and Mao Tsetung Thought. The PLA leaders have adopted classic Trotskyite positions on a number of questions, including the nature of the revolution in semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries, e.g. excluding people's war as a form of revolutionary struggle. More significantly their position grows daily closer to the made-in-Moscow revisionist line on a number of cardinal questions and world events, as already shown by their stand on Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia, the workers' upheaval in Poland, and their attacks on Mao, which are similar to the Soviets' attacks.

The influence of Trotskyism has been strengthened by revisionism in general and has

been especially strengthened recently by the coming to power of the revisionists in China and by the revisionist stands of the PLA. The organizations and Parties which endorse this communique are calling for the struggle against revisionism to be linked to the struggle against the positions of the Trotskyites, which are left in form but deeply rightist in essence, and are especially calling for opposition to the following points: their "purist", "workerist" line of negating the alliance with the peasantry or other non-proletarian forces, negating in particular the policy of a united front against the reactionary classes in power; the negation of the possibility of seizing power and embarking on the socialist transition period in a single country; and their economist conception of the mass struggles and with regard to the way in which they see the transition to communism as consisting basically of a development of the productive forces.

The signatory organizations and Parties underline the increased danger posed by social democracy which holds power in a number of countries and which continues to serve as a Trojan horse for the interests of the Western imperialists. In addition to its usual conciliatory tactics, in some countries social democracy is attempting to form or influence armed groups in order to play a role in a situation of changing conditions. Marxist-Leninists must steadfastly combat their influence among the masses and must denounce all their tactics.

While it is not only possible but vitally necessary to take important steps now to unify genuine Marxist-Leninists on the basis of clear lines of demarcation that have emerged and in the face of the urgent tasks of the international movement, it is also necessary to carry out collective study, discussion and struggle over many important questions. This is particularly evident in relation to the necessity of developing a much fuller and deeper understanding of the history of the international communist movement. As the Chinese Communist Party pointed out in 1963 when it was a genuine communist party, in its polemics with the Soviet revisionists, with regard to the history of the international communist (and national liberation) movement there are "many experiences and many lessons. There are experiences which people should praise and there are experiences which make people grieve. Communists and revolutionaries in all countries should ponder and seriously study these experiences of success and failure, so as to draw correct conclusions and useful lessons from them". Today, in light of further momentous experiences, positive and negative, since that time, and with the present situation and the looming possibilities in mind, this orientation assumes all the more profound significance. The need to dare to ponder and analyze more deeply and penetratingly in order to act more boldly is all the more decisive.

Before modern revisionism revealed itself openly in the USSR and various other countries, there already existed within the international communist movement different erroneous conceptions which facilitated its development.

While recognizing the undeniable contributions made by the Third International to the unity of the international proletariat, to the founding of communist parties and to their struggles; and while recognizing the tremendous role played by the October Revolution, which initiated the epoch of proletarian revolutions and opened the way for the construction of socialism in the USSR, communists must endeavor to critically sum up these experiences, making it possible to explain in the light of Marxism-Leninism the seizure of power by the bourgeoisie in that country and in other socialist nations, and also making it possible to learn from the errors and deviations which were committed and to evaluate to what extent they had bearing on the degeneration into opportunism of the majority of the international communist movement. In the face of the demoralization caused by these facts among broad sectors of the masses, and given that the bourgeois sectors are taking advantage of these facts, claiming that they prove the "failure" of Marxism, it falls on us communists to show that it is not scientific socialism which has failed, and that, on the contrary, scientific socialism makes it possible for us to grasp what objective and subjective factors gave rise to these events. Among other things, we must investigate and struggle over the experiences of the Third In-

ternational and the reasons which led to its self-dissolution; the way in which the relationship between the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie and imperialism and the policy of forming an anti-fascist united front was handled during the last world war, and also the very reasoning behind this policy; the origin of the revisionist tendencies, such as Browderism, which spread faith in the idea that it would be possible to establish a lasting peace and improve the living conditions of the masses on the basis of agreements between the USSR and the imperialist powers who were fighting against the fascist states, and of the tendencies to conciliation which these gave rise to; the deep roots that led to the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and other socialist countries, paying particular attention to the way in which the development of the class struggle was handled and the question of how the need to consistently apply the dictatorship of the proletariat was treated in those countries, to the handling of the relationship between politics and ideology, between politics and economic and technical questions, the question of the mass line, the question of the correct handling of contradictions among the people and with the enemy on the basis of mobilizing the masses, the relationship of centralism and democracy within the party and the relationship of the party to the masses. By throwing light on these questions, while staying clear of the slander of the Trotskyites and other enemies of the revolution, we will be able to draw important lessons for the development of the revolution.

In sum, in order to achieve the unity of the Marxist-Leninists, it is essential to deepen the study so as to make an evaluation of the theoretical and practical activity of the communists during the period of the Third International, the Second World War and especially the causes of the coming to power of the revisionists in the countries in which the proletariat held power, particularly in the USSR and in China.

The undersigned Parties and organizations received and discussed a major draft text prepared

jointly by the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. They hold that, on the whole, the text is a positive contribution toward the elaboration of a correct general line for the international communist movement. With this perspective, the text should be circulated and discussed not only in the ranks of those organizations who have signed this communique, but throughout the ranks of the international communist movement.

To carry out the struggle against revisionism and to aid the process of developing and struggling for a correct general line in the international communist movement, the undersigned Parties and organizations are launching an international journal. This journal can and will be a crucial weapon which can help unite, ideologically, politically and organizationally, the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world.

These Parties and organizations signing this communique stress the need not only to maintain contact and carry out discussion and struggle with each other but actively to seek out and develop relations with other genuine Marxist-Leninists around the globe and carry out an ideological struggle and political work to win still broader forces of the international movement and the masses to consolidate the revolutionary position and reinforce the revolutionary struggles.

The current conjuncture in the world and in the international movement presents the revolutionary proletariat, the oppressed peoples and the Marxist-Leninists with great tasks, trials and, above all, great opportunities. Marxism-Leninism, the science of the revolutionary proletariat, has always been forged and tempered in the furnace of class struggle. Today we must rise to meet the challenges before us, race to catch up with the rapid developments of the objective conditions, reconstruct the unity of Marxist-Leninists on the basis of a correct line and summing up the experience of the past, fight for proletarian internationalism—and in so doing push ahead the advance toward communism throughout the world.

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Iran

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So just who are real barbarians?

As for the hostages, the overwhelming majority of them deserve to be put on trial for their truly hideous crimes while their counter-revolutionary activities in the service of U.S. imperialism are fully exposed to people around the world. But for all the tears being shed for the "freedom" and "safety" of the hostages, they are really not the issue for the U.S. ruling class, nor have they ever been. Ever since the overthrow of the Shah, the issue for the U.S. government has been regaining control of Iran, by any means necessary. Maybe some have forgotten that it was the direct U.S. provocation of bringing in the butcher Shah to the U.S. that led to the righteous seizure of the hostages by the Iranian people in the first place. In the course of the hostage negotiations, the U.S. has employed a succession of strong-arm tactics with the goal of bringing about a major change in Iran—either through forcing the bourgeois forces in the government to fully capitulate to the West or to spring a pro-U.S. coup that would eliminate the forces in the government who have continued to put up opposition to the imperialists' drive to recapture Iran.

As the secret documents released from the embassy by Iranian students have proved (the first batch of which were brought back to the U.S. by the People's Delegation to Iran last Christmas and were first published in the U.S. by the *RW* in No. 33) throughout 1979 the U.S. government was conspiring on many fronts to rally and strengthen the pro-U.S. forces left in the country, and to work towards crushing the continuing revolutionary struggle in Iran. Since the embassy takeover itself, the great upholders of Western civilization who are now bellowing so loudly about "blackmail" and "barbarians" have attempted to strangle Iran economically; have continued to foment right-wing political activity inside Iran (including several aborted coup attempts last summer from inside the Iranian military); have launched a direct military attack on Iran with U.S. forces (the so-called "hostage rescue mission" last April); and have most recently set in motion their most ambitious blackmail operation to date—the Iraqi invasion of Iran, supplied and directly backed by U.S. client-states in the Middle East. This was directed at knocking out and holding hostage Iran's oil facilities in Khuzestan and in general placing intense economic and military pressure on the Iranian bourgeoisie to come to terms with the Western imperialists. So who's blackmailing who?

New U.S. Threats

At the same time that the U.S. bourgeoisie has been trying to get all the patriotic mileage it could out of the hostages, the U.S. government has been reacting with well-practiced outrage at the latest Iranian proposal that the U.S. deposit \$24 billion (\$14 in Iranian assets frozen by the U.S. and \$10 billion to cover the Shah's stolen wealth) in Algeria's Central Bank in exchange for the hostages. This set off a new round of charges about "Iranian blackmail" and "paying the ransom to kidnapers," and was the signal for spewing out all sorts of reactionary nonsense. TV commentators informed us that this meant paying \$440 million "ransom" per hostage. *Time* magazine calculated that this \$24 billion could buy 20 Trident nuclear submarines or 1,714 F-15 jet fighters.

Of course this money is not the U.S.'s to begin with! This is a prime example of the imperialists' attempts to turn reality upside down—for it is *they* who have plundered the wealth of Iran like they have dozens of other countries around the world for decades. And it is *they* who are using Iran's financial assets to blackmail the Iranian government into caving in to the U.S. As for the ex-Shah's fortune (estimated to be over \$25 billion) it is probably true that his family—with the help of key figures in the U.S. bourgeoisie such as David Rockefeller and the U.S. government itself—have already moved most

of it out of the country to bank vaults, real estate investments, etc. in other U.S.-bloc countries, but this does not change the fact that the U.S. imperialists and their Iranian frontmen owe the Iranian people a blood debt that the billions upon billions of dollars they have plundered would not even begin to repay.

This hue and cry about Iran's "ransom demands" has also been the signal for new threats of military action and for generally stepping up U.S. economic and military pressure against Iran. A member of the Reagan transition team, in a carefully worded statement, made it clear that "military options weren't being ruled out," and that the mining of Iran's ports is being actively considered. In a recent column run in both the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, William Safire tacked on several more suggestions to the harbor mining: declare "economic war" against Iran by warning U.S. allies to cut off their continuing trade, and ordering the Rapid Deployment Force to the Persian Gulf for "whatever military action turns out to be necessary."

More than ever, U.S. imperialism needs to crush the Iranian revolution and reestablish a pro-U.S. regime in Iran in order to fortify its position in the Persian Gulf region for waging war against its imperialist rivals in the USSR. As the maneuvers and war preparations of these two imperialist blocs grow more heated and intense (in Poland, Central America and the Middle East, to name just the most recent hot spots), the U.S. is being driven to take more desperate and aggressive actions in Iran. It is exactly such actions, including the possibility of more direct U.S. military force, that the imperialists are trying to pave the way for with their mounting and increasingly hysterical propaganda campaign against Iran.

Iran's so-called "Ransom Demands"

As for the cynical big stink by the U.S. about how "unreasonable" Iran's demands are for \$24 billion in cash guarantees to be deposited in Algeria while court proceedings go ahead on U.S. claims against Iran and while the Iranian government attempts to locate and retrieve the Shah's wealth, a couple

of things need to be said. First, this demand is really a pittance and comes after the Iranian bourgeoisie has shamelessly given in on virtually every one of the political demands originally set forth when the hostages were seized. Secondly, the main reason a hostage deal has not been struck yet is not due to the capitulationist position of the Iranian government, but rather due to the U.S. imperialists' characteristic ruthlessness in going for the maximum blood even from those who have knelt down before them.

Over the past several months, the Iranian government has made concession after concession to the U.S. bourgeoisie, starting with the four points offered by Khomeini himself in September. But these haven't been enough for the imperialists; they have only demanded further capitulation, backed up by the threat of new attacks.

As a result of such gangster tactics, the two sides are not that far apart on the actual terms of the hostages' release—a fact that has given rise to renewed speculation this week that there is still a chance that a deal will be struck before January 20. For instance, the Iranian government has already agreed to set up a multi-billion dollar escrow account in Algeria and to "honor binding arbitration in an international court" to handle the claims of U.S. companies such as GM, Westinghouse, Xerox, Sedco (oil drilling equipment) whose holdings were expropriated after the revolution. Likewise, the U.S. has already agreed to immediately release \$3-4 billion in Iranian assets held in U.S. banks' overseas branches in exchange for the Iranian government's commitment to bring their interest payments on loans from these banks up to date and reestablish a "normal relationship" with them. This process is actually part of the plans of the Western imperialists to bring Iran once more into the imperialist network of loans and "aid."

Thus, on the main substance of the hostage negotiations—leaving aside the absurd U.S. pledge not to intervene in Iran's internal affairs—the U.S. and Iranian government are not too far apart. Until recently a major difference was that the U.S. was not going to release any of Iran's frozen assets when

the hostages were released, instead offering notes signed by Carter. Not surprisingly, the Iranian government wasn't about to accept these pieces of paper.

The other major wrench in the works has been Iran's demand for the U.S. to deposit \$10 billion in Algeria to back up their claim to the wealth of the Shah's family of royal parasites in the U.S. The U.S. government has responded to this with great outrage and is now hiding behind its mask of "legality" by claiming all it can do is to help identify and freeze whatever wealth of the Shah's it manages to find (don't knock yourself out, now) and then let U.S. courts decide what to do with it. On this question, the Iranian government is acting chiefly out of domestic political necessity—the original demand of the embassy seizure was to return the Shah and his plundered wealth to Iran. But on this, too, Iran's rulers are ready to haggle and bargain while trying to get some face-saving concessions that will divert the Iranian people's attention from the other concessions they've made and their general moves towards the West.

Similarly, the occasional huffing and puffing of the Islamic leaders about putting the hostages on trial is part of the "militant" facade they must erect to cover up their capitulationist actions. They know very well that among the Iranian masses there continues to be very strong sentiment for putting the U.S. embassy personnel, and through them, the crimes of U.S. imperialism in Iran, on trial. As an article titled "Why Don't You Try the American Spies?" in *Truth*, the newspaper of the Union of Iranian Communists (UIC) commented:

"The peoples' popular demand is to try the hostages in an open court. It would be treachery to the Iranian people to ignore this demand or to compensate for them with the 'Shah's money' or to get some deal because the imperialists are freezing Iran's assets. Trying the hostages has nothing to do with Iran's assets or the money the Shah has stolen, and to set the record straight one should not be attached to the other. We cannot make a deal with the blood of hundreds of thousands of martyrs as a result of 27 years of the Shah's bloody rule and imperialist domination. The activities of the U.S. spies are part of these crimes and shouldn't and couldn't be compensated with the very same money which belongs to the destitute masses of Iranian people."

Exactly because the Iranian government has bent over so far already and the U.S. is demanding still more, it is all the more clear that the U.S. ruling class could care less about the hostages. They are but 52 bargaining chips. As for the Iranian bourgeoisie, it is trying to use them to get the best possible terms for nestling up to the Western imperialists it thinks it can get.

Deepening Crisis Within Iran

In Iran itself, the mounting U.S. pressure is further intensifying the economic and political crisis in the country. With the war with Iraq pretty much stalemated along a 300-mile front, much of Iran's oil industry has been shut down or destroyed. This has cut off nearly all of Iran's oil export revenues. In addition to severe shortages of gasoline and home heating oil throughout Iran, scores of factories are beginning to close down due to shortages of imported spare parts. Daily life is becoming steadily more difficult for the Iranian masses, as even many food items are beginning to be rationed.

There is widespread willingness to sacrifice to beat back the U.S.-orchestrated Iraqi invasion, but it has become clearer to many over the past few months of the war that the Iranian government is neither willing nor able to mobilize the masses to decisively defeat the Iraqis. In fact, while conducting a minimal amount of fighting along the front—mainly in the form of long-range artillery duels and occasional bombing raids—the government has been devoting increasing attention to building up the strength of the regular armed forces for future use against the Iranian people.

In recent weeks, there has been a mounting clampdown on the Iranian

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Economists

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geneflections to common lack of training and backwardness as a "sense for the realities of life," reveal in practice a failure to understand our most imperative *practical* tasks. To laggards they shout: Keep in step! Don't run ahead! To people suffering from a lack of energy and initiative in organizational work, from lack of "plans" for wide and bold activity, they shout about "tactics-as-a-process"! The principal sin we commit is that we *degrade* our political and organizational tasks to the level of the immediate, "palpable," "concrete" interests of the everyday economic struggle; and yet they keep singing to us the old song: lend the economic struggle itself a political character. We say again: this kind of thing displays as much "sense for the realities of life" as was displayed by the hero in the popular fable who shouted to a passing funeral procession: many happy returns of the day!...

There are circles and circles, gentlemen! Circles of "amateurs" are, of course, not capable of coping with political tasks so long as they have not become aware of their amateurishness and do not abandon it. If, besides this, these amateurs are enamoured of their primitive methods, and insist on writing the word "practical" in italics, and imagine that being practical demands that one's tasks be reduced to the level of understanding of the most backward strata of the masses, then they are hopeless, of course, and certainly cannot cope with any political tasks in general. But a circle of heroes like Alexeyev and Myshkin, Khalturin and Zhelyabov is capable of coping with political tasks in the genuine and most practical sense of the term, and it is capable of coping with them precisely because and to the extent that their passionate preaching meets with response among the spontaneously awakening masses, and their seething energy is answered and supported by the energy of the revolutionary class. Plekhanov was a thousand times right when he not only pointed to this revolutionary class, not only proved that its spontaneous awakening was inevitable, and unavoidable, but also when he set even "workers' circles" a great and lofty political task. But you refer to the mass

“...The fact of the matter is that society advances very many persons fit for “work,” but we are unable to make use of them all. The critical, transitional state of our movement in this respect may be formulated as follows: there are no people—yet there is a mass of people. ”

movement that has sprung up since that time in order to *degrade* this task, in order to *narrow down* the energy and scope of activity of the "workers' circles." If you are not amateurs enamoured of your primitive methods, what are you then? You boast that you are practical, but you fail to see what every Russian practical worker knows, namely, the miracles that the energy, not only of circles, but even of individual persons is able to perform in the revolutionary cause. Or do you think that our movement cannot produce heroes like those of the 'seventies? But why? Because we lack training? But we are training ourselves, will go on training and acquire the training! Unfortunately it is true that mould has formed on the surface of the stagnant waters of the "economic struggle against the employers and the government"; people have appeared among us who kneel in prayer to spontaneity, gazing with awe (as Pelkhanov expresses it) upon the "posteriors" of the Russian proletariat. But we will get rid of this mould. The time has come when Russian revolutionaries, guided by a genuinely revolutionary theory, relying upon the genuinely revolutionary and spontaneously awakening class, can at last—at last!—rise to full stature in all their giant strength. All that is required is that the masses of our practical workers, and the still larger masses of those who long for practical work even while still at school, shall meet with scorn and ridicule any suggestion that may be made to degrade our political tasks and to restrict the scope of our organizational work. And we shall achieve that, rest assured, gentlemen!...

I have asserted and assert now, that the *limits* of what is "possible" for you to do are restricted by the narrowness of your outlook. It is ridiculous even to talk about a "militant organization" to fight for "immediate political demands," or conduct "the economic

struggle against the employers and the government."... a strike may remain (and in the majority of cases does remain) a "secret" to the masses of the Russian workers, because the government takes care to cut all communication between strikers, takes care to prevent all news of strikes from spreading. Here indeed is where a special "fight against the political police" is required, a fight that can never be conducted by such large masses as take part in strikes. This struggle must be organized, according to "all the rules of the art," by people who are professionally engaged in revolutionary activity. The fact that the masses are spontaneously being drawn into the movement does not make the organization of this struggle *less necessary*. On the contrary, it makes it *more necessary*; for we Socialists would be failing in our direct duty to the masses if we did not prevent the police from making a secret of (and if we did not ourselves sometimes secretly prepare) every strike and every demonstration. And we shall *succeed* in doing this, precisely because the spontaneously awakening masses will *advance also from their own ranks* increasing numbers of "professional revolutionaries" (that is, if we do not take it into our heads to advise the workers to keep on marking time).

Yes, this appreciation has become incredibly dim. Our chief sin with regard to organization is that *by our amateurishness we have lowered the prestige of revolutionaries in Russia*. A person who is flabby and shaky in questions of theory, who has a narrow outlook, who pleads the spontaneity of the masses as an excuse for his own sluggishness, who resembles a trade union secretary more than a people's tribune, who is unable to conceive of a broad and bold plan that would command the respect even of opponents, and who is inexperienced and clumsy in his own professional art—the art of combating the political police—why,

such a man is not a revolutionary but a wretched amateur!

Let no active worker take offence at these frank remarks, for as far as insufficient training is concerned, I apply them first and foremost to myself. I used to work in a circle that set itself very wide, all-embracing tasks; and all of us, members of that circle, suffered painfully, acutely from the realization that we were proving ourselves to be amateurs at a moment in history when we might have been able to say, paraphrasing a well-known epigram: "Give us an organization of revolutionaries, and we shall overturn Russia!" And the more I recall the burning sense of shame I then experienced, the more bitter are my feelings towards those pseudo Social-Democrats whose teachings "bring disgrace on the calling of a revolutionary," who fail to understand that our task is not to champion the degrading of the revolutionary to the level of an amateur, but to *raise* the amateurs to the level of revolutionaries.

D. The Scope of Organizational Work

...The fact of the matter is that society advances very many persons fit for "work," but we are unable to make use of them all. The critical, transitional state of our movement in this respect may be formulated as follows: *there are no people—yet there is a mass of people*. There is a mass of people, because the working class and ever more diverse strata of society, year after year, advance from their ranks an increasing number of discontented people who desire to protest, who are ready to render all the assistance they can in the fight against absolutism, the intolerableness of which is not yet recognized by all, but is nevertheless more and more acutely sensed by increasing masses of the people. At the same time we have no people, because we have no leaders, no political leaders, no talented organizers capable of arranging extensive and at the same time uniform and harmonious work that would employ all forces, even the most inconsiderable. "The growth and development of the revolutionary organizations," not only lag behind the growth of the working-class movement, which even B—v admits, but also behind that of the general democratic movement among all strata of the people. (In passing, probably B—v would now regard this as supplementing his conclusion.) The scope of revolutionary work is too narrow compared with the

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WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Burning Questions of Our Movement

(Below) Scene from the October Revolution

"The whole art of politics lies in finding and gripping as strong as we can the link that is least likely to be torn out of our hands, the one that is most important at the given moment, the one that guarantees the possessor of a link the possession of the whole chain."

"...In a word, the 'plan for an all-Russian political newspaper,' far from representing the fruits of the labour of armchair workers, infected with dogmatism and literariness (as it seemed to those who gave but little thought to it), is a most practical plan for immediate and all-round preparations for the uprising, while at the same time never for a moment forgetting our ordinary, everyday work."

Quotes from "What Is To Be Done?," a pathbreaking work by V.I. Lenin.

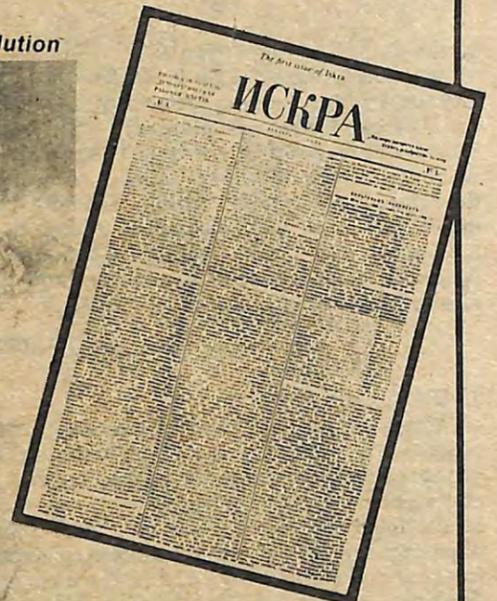
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The first issue of the Bolshevik newspaper Iskra, "The Spark."

Leap

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papers in order to collect the money and to help them expand their work. New people from among the masses have to be trained as organizers for this work. One area made plans this week for a be trained as organizers for this work, as well as other tasks.

One area made plans this week for a study group among some new people around *What Is To Be Done?* so as not to only draw them into the revolutionary division of labor as "doers" of some particular task, but to give them more of an overall picture of the central task of "Create Public Opinion... Seize Power" and of how the division of labor question fits into this.

Even beyond this, the general question of more deep-going revolutionary education and propaganda has arisen for those who have begun to get more deeply committed. Questions like, "How is your line really an advance

over the Panthers?" and "How does your Party propose to move ahead off Mao's great contributions?" One area reported that more systematic study has become a mass demand among some of the more advanced forces, "When are you people going to give me a class in Marxism?" While broad agitation among the masses is the central activity in this battle, for the advanced deeper training—propaganda—is a key link at a certain point for those who want to continue and intensify their activity.

All in all a great leap has been made in preparing for the opportunity to do this system in once and for all. In this intense struggle, experience is being accumulated by the revolutionary forces in carrying out the task of "Create public opinion... Seize power" and new things are being learned literally every hour. The basis for continued advances, based on ever-broader, ever more scientific and revolutionary work is clearly here. It is, still, in your hands!

On December 31, a team of *RW* sellers hit the Watts unemployment office with bundles of newspapers, the first stop in their efforts to reach a goal of 2,000 that day in Watts. While an agitator stepped out to call on people to take up and distribute the *RW*, a supervisor told one of his workers, "Tell them to shut up and get out of here!" The worker answered: "You tell them—I'm not saying anything!" Visibly uptight, some state cops moved on the agitator and dragged him out, but another jumped up to take his place. A few of the people waiting in the office began to grab newspapers, and the cops moved on the second agitator. Suddenly, a 30-year-old Black man who'd been explaining it all to an 8-year-old Chicano kid in one of the lines ("These pigs murder people for the rich—I don't know if you understand this, but they might grab your dad and send him off to war, all for the rich, and these people here are talking about revolution to put

a stop to all that"), yelled out, "I've got a jeep at home. We can load up all these newspapers in the back and go out *right now*."

By this time the state pigs were freaking. Trying to drive a wedge between the team and the masses in the unemployment office, they shoved the whole selling team outside and lined them up against the wall. But it was too late. One woman yelled out, "Give me a bundle"—and gave her name and address to the team. Some others walked up to the stack of *RW*'s that had been left on a chair and grabbed them up, walking down the aisle selling them to their fellow unemployed workers. *RW*'s started disappearing under shirts, in purses, behind backs. In 15 minutes 300 *RW*'s were distributed among the 75 people in that office. The pigs arrested one group of *RW* sellers that day and kept them in jail for over 8 hours. But for all their efforts, there are a few new groups of *RW* sellers today in Watts. □

"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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Economists

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breadth of the spontaneous basis of the movement. It is too hemmed in by the wretched theory of "economic struggle against the employers and the government." And yet, at the present time, not only Social-Democratic political agitators, but also Social-Democratic organizers must "go among all classes of the population."** There is hardly a single practical worker who will doubt that the Social-Democrats could distribute the thousand and one minute functions of their organizational work among the different representatives of the most varied classes. Lack of specialization is one of the most serious defects of our technique, about which B—v justly and bitterly complains. The smaller each separate "operation" in our common cause, the more people can we find capable of carrying out such operations (people who, in the majority of cases, are absolutely not capable of becoming professional revolutionaries), the more difficult will it be for the police to "net" all these "detail workers," and the more difficult will it be for them to frame up, out of an arrest for some petty affair, a "case" that would justify the government's expenditure on the "secret service." As for the number ready to help us, we have already referred in the previous chapter to the gigantic change that has taken place in this respect in the last five years or so. On the other hand, in order to unite all these tiny fractions into one whole, in order not to break up the movement while breaking up its functions, and in order to imbue the people who carry out the minute functions with the conviction that their work is necessary and important, without which conviction they will never do the work,** it is necessary to have a strong organization of tried revolutionaries. The more secret such an organization is, the stronger and more widespread will be the confidence in the Party, and, as we know, in time of war, it is of the utmost importance to imbue not only one's own army with confidence in its strength but it is important also to convince the enemy and all *neutral* elements of this strength; friendly

* For example, an undoubted revival of the democratic spirit has recently been observed among persons in military service, partly as a consequence of the more frequent street fights against "enemies" like workers and students. And as soon as our available forces permit, we must without fail devote the most serious attention to propaganda and agitation among soldiers and officers, and to the creation of "military organizations" affiliated to our Party.

** I recall what a comrade related to me of a factory inspector, who desiring to help, and while in fact helping, the Social-Democrats, bitterly complained that he did not know whether his "information" reached the proper revolutionary centre, how much his help was really required, and what possibilities there were for utilizing his small and petty services. Every practical worker can, of course, cite many similar cases of our amateurishness depriving us of allies. And these services, each "small" in itself, but invaluable when taken in the mass, could and would be rendered to us by office employees and officials not only in factories, but in the postal service, on the railways, in the Customs, among the nobility, the clergy and in every other walk of life, including even the police and the Court! Had we a real party, a real militant organization of revolutionaries, we would not make undue demands on every one of these "assistants," we would not hasten always and invariably to bring them right into the very heart of our "illegality," but, on the contrary, we would husband them very carefully and would even train people especially for such functions, bearing in mind the fact that many students could be of much greater service to the Party as "assistants" holding some official post than as "short-term" revolutionaries. But, I repeat again, only an organization that is already established and has no lack of active forces would have the right to apply such tactics.

neutrality may sometimes decide the issue. If such an organization existed, one built up on a firm theoretical foundation and possessing a Social-Democratic journal, we would have no reason to fear that the movement might be diverted from its path by the numerous "outside" elements that are attracted to it. (On the contrary, it is precisely at the present time, with amateurishness prevalent, that we see many Social-Democrats leaning towards the (Economist—RW) *Credo*, and only imagining that they are Social-Democrats.) In a word, specialization necessarily presupposes centralization, and in its turn imperatively calls for it.

But B—v himself, who so excellently described the necessity for specialization, underestimates its importance, in our opinion, in the second part of the argument that we have quoted. The number of working-class revolutionaries is inadequate, he says. This is perfectly true, and once again we stress that the "valuable communication of a close observer" fully confirms our view of the causes of the present crisis in Social-Democracy, and consequently, of the means required for overcoming it. Not only are revolutionaries in general lagging behind the spontaneous awakening of the masses, but even working-class revolutionaries are lagging behind the spontaneous awakening of the working-class masses. And this fact most strikingly confirms, even from the "practical" point of view, not only the absurdity but even the *political reactionariness* of the "pedagogics" to which we are so often treated when discussing our duties to our workers. This fact proves that our very first and most imperative duty is to help to train working-class revolutionaries who will be on the same level in regard to Party activity as the revolutionaries from amongst the intellectuals (we emphasize the words "in regard to Party activity," because although necessary, it is neither so easy nor so imperative to bring the workers up to the level of intellectuals in other respects). Therefore, attention must be devoted *principally* to raising the workers to the level of revolutionaries; it is not at all our task to descend to the level of the "working masses" as the Economists wish to do, or to the level of the "average worker," as the *Svoboda* desires to do (which thus ascends to the second grade of Economist "pedagogics"). I am far from denying the necessity for popular literature for the workers, and especially popular (but, of course, not vulgar) literature for the especially backward workers. But what annoys me is this constant confusion of pedagogics with questions of politics and organization. You, gentlemen, who are so much concerned about the "average worker," as a matter of fact, rather insult the workers by your desire to talk down to them when discussing working-class politics and working-class organization. Talk about serious things in a serious manner; leave pedagogics to the pedagogues, and not to politicians, nor to organizers!... You must realize that these questions about "politics" and "organization" are so serious in themselves that they cannot be discussed in any other but a very serious way. We can and must educate workers (and university and high-school students) so as to be able to discuss these questions with them; but once you do bring up these questions, you must give real replies to them, do not fall back on the "average," or on the "masses"; do not try to get off by resorting to empty phrasemongering.*

* *Svoboda*, No. 1, p. 66, in the article "Organization": "The heavy tread of the army of workers will reinforce all the demands that will be advanced on behalf of Russian Labour"—Labour with a capital L, of course. And this very author exclaims: "I am not in the least hostile towards the intelligentsia, but" (this is the very word, but, that Shchedrin translated as meaning: the ears never grow higher than the forehead, never!) "but it always frightfully annoys me when a man comes to me, utters beautiful and charming words and demands that they be accepted for their (his?) beauty and other virtues." (P. 62) Yes. This "always frightfully annoys" me too.

from Chapter 5 "The Plan for an All-Russian Newspaper"

Those who make nation-wide political agitation the cornerstone of their program, *their tactics and their organizational work* as the *Iskra* does, stand in least risk of missing the revolution. The people who were engaged over the whole of Russia in spinning the network of organizations linked up with an all-Russian newspaper not only did not miss the spring events, but, on the contrary, enabled us to foretell them. Nor did they miss the demonstrations that were described in the *Iskra*, Nos. 13 and 14; on the contrary, they took part in those demonstrations, clearly appreciating their duty of coming to the aid of the spontaneously rising crowd and, at the same time, through the medium of the newspaper, helping all the comrades in Russia to become more closely acquainted with the demonstrations and to utilize their experience. And if they live they will not miss the revolution which first and foremost will demand of us experience in agitation, ability to support (in a Social-Democratic manner) every protest, ability to direct the spontaneous movement, while safeguarding it from the mistakes of friends and the traps of enemies!

We have thus come to the last reason that compels us so strongly to insist upon a plan of organization centered around an all-Russian newspaper, by means of joint work for a common newspaper. Only such organization will ensure the flexibility required of a militant Social-Democratic organization, i.e., the ability to adapt itself immediately to the most diverse and rapidly changing conditions of struggle, the ability, "on the one hand, to avoid open battle with an enemy of overwhelming strength when he has concentrated all his forces at one spot and, on the other, to be able to take advantage

* *Iskra*, No. 4, "Where To Begin?" "Revolutionary culturists, who do not accept the eve-of-the-revolution point of view, are not in the least perturbed by the prospect of working for a long period of time," writes Nadezhdin. (P. 62.) To this we shall remark: unless we are able to devise political tactics and an organizational plan designed for work over a very long period and at the same time, by the very process of this work, ensure our Party's readiness to be at its post

of the awkwardness of this enemy and attack him whenever and wherever he least expects."* It would be a grievous error indeed to build up the Party organization in anticipation only of outbreaks and street fighting, or only upon the "forward march of the drab everyday struggle." We must *always* conduct our everyday work and always be prepared for everything, because very frequently it is almost impossible to foresee when periods of outbreaks will give way to periods of calm. And in those cases when it is possible to do so, it will not be possible to utilize this foresight for the purpose of reconstructing our organization, because in an autocratic country these changes take place with astonishing rapidity, being sometimes connected with a single night raid by the tsarist janizaries. And the revolution itself must not by any means be regarded as a single act (as the Nadezhdins apparently imagine) but as a series of more or less powerful outbreaks rapidly alternating with periods of more or less intense calm. For that reason, the principal content of the activity of our Party organization, the focus of this activity, should be work that is possible and necessary in the period of the most powerful outbreaks as well as in the period of complete calm, namely, work of political agitation, linked up over the whole of Russia, illuminating all aspects of life and conducted among the broadest possible strata of the masses. But this work is *unthinkable* in contemporary Russia without an all-Russian newspaper, issued very frequently. The organization which will form around this newspaper, an organization of its *collaborators* (in the broad sense of the word, i.e., all those working for it), will be ready for *everything*, from upholding the honour, the prestige and continuity of the Party in periods of acute revolutionary "depression," to preparing for, fixing the time for and carrying out the *nation-wide armed insurrection*.

and fulfil its duty in every contingency whenever the march of events is accelerated, we shall prove to be but miserable political adventurers. Only Nadezhdin, who began to describe himself as a Social-Democrat but yesterday, can forget that the aim of Social-Democracy is radically to transform the conditions of life of the whole of humanity and that for that reason it is not permissible for a Social-Democrat to be "perturbed" by the question of the duration of the work. | |

Iran

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people by the government—a necessary accompaniment to their moves towards accommodation with the Western imperialists. In mid-December, armed street fighting broke out in the northern city of Rasht after Pasdaran ("revolutionary guards") had attacked a number of houses of members of the People's Mojahadeen, the major revolutionary Moslem group in Iran. In Tehran, the government announced it had broken a strike of city bus drivers and on December 24, right-wing Islamic forces opened fire on the headquarters of the Moslem Employees Union (closely linked with the Mojahadeen), killing one worker and wounding at least 30 more. These incidents were followed by a ban on all strikes and "unauthorized demonstrations" issued by Interior Minister Mahdavi-Kani. These attacks centering on the Mojahadeen are clearly only the beginning of even more vicious attacks on the Left in Iran in general. And on the military front, in the southern city of Abadan the government recently demanded that all the independent fighting units (clearly referring to several leftist forces) leave the city. These orders were backed up by "shoot to kill" threats issued by reactionary local officials of the Islamic Republic Party (IRP).

Towards the end of December, the reactionary Iraqi regime—no doubt after their customary private consultation with the U.S.—escalated the war a notch by opening up a new front in Kurdistan, north of the area where the fighting has taken place to date. The

Iraqis are clearly hoping to make use of the continuing national oppression of the Kurdish people in Iran and the reactionary war of suppression that the Iranian government has waged against them since March, 1979 in order to make some headway here. Also for the past few months, the reactionary bourgeois nationalist leaders of the Kurdish Democrat Party (KDP) have cooperated with the Iraqis and are now trying to take advantage of the war situation to set up their own administration in some areas such as Mahabad. Though the KDP's leaders are pro-Soviet revisionists, they have been known to opportunistically flirt with U.S.-backed reactionary forces in the area if they think it will help advance their reactionary goal.

In this complex situation, the Iranian government has used the excuse of combatting the KDP and various pro-U.S. forces that are also operating in Kurdistan in alliance with the Iraqis to continue to attack the Kurdish masses. All this poses the question more sharply than ever for the Kurdish people of how to beat back both the Iraqi invasion and the Iranian government's continuing attacks, as well as to deal with opportunist forces such as the KDP, in such a way so as to strengthen their ability to continue and advance their struggle as a component part of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Iran.

Finally, the growing pressure from the U.S. imperialists, as well as the powerful anti-imperialist sentiments among millions of Iranians, has led to new outbreaks of infighting between the two main bourgeois forces in the Islamic government. In recent weeks,

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“It’s Right to Rebel! Making Revolution is No Crime!”

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tinues throughout the whole period under socialism with the main target being the bourgeoisie in the highest levels of the Communist Party, and his leading role in applying this understanding to practice, especially in the Cultural Revolution that the revisionists want to file under the heading “Mistakes.” Negating all this means negating all of Mao. For, as a proletarian revolutionary, to Mao the national-democratic revolution necessary in China was only a transition to socialism, and ultimately, to communism.

If they could the revisionists would like to openly and overwhelmingly tip the scales of summation of Mao toward his mistakes. However, this will be extremely dangerous for them, since to do so would mean casting doubt on Mao and the Communist Party’s leadership of China’s national liberation, and in turn damage the credibility of their own rule. Although the revisionists have turned the Communist Party into its

opposite, they still need to operate under its signboard.

Still, the revisionists are trying to downplay Mao’s role even in the period before liberation. On December 27th, all the national newspapers announced with much fanfare the publication of Zhou Enlai’s (Chou En-lai) Selected Works. This is part of an effort by the revisionists to make Mao only “one among the many” leaders of the Chinese Revolution. Mao Tsetung Thought has already been “redefined” to include the thought of those he bitterly fought, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. Of course the later developments in Mao’s thinking can be explained away very simply—Mao violated “his own” thought! While playing a useful role in “diluting”—actually opposing Mao Tsetung Thought, Zhou Enlai is himself coming under attack from powerful sections of his fellow revisionists. Since Zhou found it necessary and expedient to go along with Mao in certain parts of the Cultu-

ral Revolution (even while trying to sabotage it) Liu Shaoqi’s supporters (and supporters of the Soviet imperialists, as opposed to the U.S. imperialists) are bringing Zhou under fire for this during the trial.

On December 26th, Mao’s birthday, the *People’s Daily* published an obscure letter written by Mao to his cousin in 1937 while in Yen-an. In the letter, Mao expresses concern for the welfare of his family and those back in his home village, and describes conditions in Yen-an, where everybody sacrifices their self interest and nobody receives wages because they are all working for the country and the people. It seems the intent of publishing this letter, a few days before the prosecutor’s statement that Mao was responsible for “the people’s plight during the Cultural Revolution,” is to say that Mao in his later years deviated from their image of a benevolent and hard-working guardian of the people’s material well-being—precisely the image created around Zhou by the

revisionists.

The deepening of the attack on Mao can only mean more trouble also for Hua Guofeng who is rapidly outliving his usefulness in giving the revisionist rule a semblance of continuity from Mao’s era. As the revisionists move into a whole new level of attacks on Mao, Hua and those he represents have become the obstacle that needs to be removed. Hua has not been seen in public for over a month now—not even at a big New Years’ affair. On December 29th the Peking *Workers Daily* went after Hua with a vengeance, attacking “those people that continued to underestimate the power of the people two years after the fall of the Gang of Four clearly denying the decisive role of the masses in their struggle to smash the Gang of Four, people who regard the Tienamen incident as a counter-revolutionary political incident and create a new cult of the individual.”

“It’s Right to Rebel! Making Revolution is No Crime! Bombard the Headquarters!” These slogans that rang out in the revisionists’ courtroom describe well the stand that Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao have been taking throughout this trial—a stand that rings out and serves as an example, a call, the world over.

The Iron House

“Imagine an iron house without windows, absolutely indestructible, with many people fast asleep inside who will soon die of suffocation. But you know since they will die in their sleep, they will not feel the pain of death. Now if you cry aloud to wake a few of the lighter sleepers, making those unfortunate few suffer the agony of irrevocable death, do you think you are doing them a good turn?”

“But if a few awake, you can’t say there is no hope of destroying the iron house.”

True, in spite of my own conviction, I could not blot out hope, for hope lies in the future. I could not use my own evidence to refute his assertion that it might exist.

Lu Hsun

INCITE!
P.O. Box 63 12
Oakland, CA 94603

Graphic sent to the Revolutionary Worker by INCITE!, revolutionary artists from Oakland, Calif. (Lu Hsun was a revolutionary writer during the new-democratic revolution in China, who used his pen as a searing weapon in the struggle until his death in 1936. Mao Tsetung called him, “the greatest and most courageous standard-bearer” of the new, revolutionary cultural force that had emerged at that time.)

Iran

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there have been repeated demonstrations and counter-demonstrations called by the forces grouped around President Bani-Sadr and by those of the Islamic Republic Party. Basically each of them is trying to shore up its own position by pinning the blame for the country’s economic and military difficulties on their rivals. This infighting has heated up so much that Khomeini has been forced to step in on at least

two different occasions in the last month to cool things out. In a demonstration in Isfahan called by the Bani-Sadr forces to protest the attempts of the clerical leaders of the IRP to monopolize power, a number of pro-U.S. reactionaries burned pictures of Khomeini. These incidents were broadcast widely and loudly by the U.S. press, a clear signal that the U.S. government is working overtime trying to rally and unleash reliable pro-imperialist forces in Iran and that it wants Khomeini out of the way.

From the crescendo of U.S. threats of military action to its covert operations inside Iran, the U.S. bourgeoisie is working from all sides towards its goal

of strangling the Iranian revolution. This is a goal which has eluded them for nearly two years and which they are more desperate than ever to achieve. By sanctimoniously broadcasting film clips of innocent-looking hostages singing Christmas carols, and by screaming about “paying ransom to Iranian terrorists,” they are hoping to build support for getting “tougher.” Clearly the U.S. ruling class barbarians are frantically preparing for stepped-up imperialist moves in Iran and the whole Persian Gulf. This makes it all the more important for everyone in this country who supports the struggle of the people of Iran and everyone who wants to put an end to the reign of imperialism in the

world to actively oppose every move by the U.S. against Iran whether in the form of Christmas hostage melodramas or direct military attacks.

CORRECTION

In the article entitled “So Where’s Shelly Tonight?” on page 17 of last week’s *RW* (No. 85) there was an error in the paragraph at the top of the third column. The last sentence of that paragraph should read: The door is protected by a band of police and prison guards to protect the carefully orchestrated coverup.



**Long Live
the
Revolution
Worldwide**



**Long Live
Mao Tsetung's
Revolutionary
Comrades**

**WEAR THIS
ARMBAND WHEN
THE REVISIONISTS
SENTENCE MAO'S
REVOLUTIONARY
COMRADES**

Cut out armband and paste onto
cloth or heavy paper strip.