

Excerpts from Bob Avakian,  
Chairman of the RCP,USA

# On the US after 11 September

As the US imperialist ruling class intensifies its onslaught against the people of the world, what they call "the homeland front" has also become a sharp arena of struggle. Throughout the world, revolutionary and progressive-minded people are eagerly following these developments and drawing hope from the rapid growth of opposition to imperialism within what US revolutionaries often refer to as "the belly of the beast". The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, a participating party in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, has been vigorously working to build this new movement as part of the Party's overall revolutionary work. The following excerpts are drawn from writings and talks by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP,USA, entitled "The New Situation and the Great Challenges" and "Grasp Revolution, Promote Production" and from an interview with Comrade Avakian by Carl Dix, National Spokesperson of the RCP,USA, which have been published in the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper, the voice of the RCP,USA. The interview is also available in audio on CD format. These excerpts have been edited for publication here. — AWTW

I want to speak first of all to the strategic dimension involved in the current and developing situation since September 11, 2001. I think we have to look at it in terms of a very wide range of possibilities connected with what the imperialists are up to



Los Angeles rebellion, April 1992.

and the whole cauldron of contradictions that are involved. To put it in stark terms, the range of possibilities involves everything from, on the one hand, on the negative side, devastating defeats for the proletariat and the proletarian revolution internationally, of a character that would set us back for decades. It could even lead to devastation organizationally, if not politically, for the international communist movement and its vanguard forces, and at the same time to very great advances and consolidations by the imperialists, the US imperialists in particular.

Or, on the other extreme, on the positive side — and this too is possible — the whole course that the imperialists are embarking on could

turn into its opposite for them in a profound, and perhaps even an unprecedented, way — it could lead to tremendous advances for the revolutionary struggle of the people all over the globe, for the world proletarian revolution — it could even lead to the possibility of a revolutionary situation and a successful revolution coming into being within what's now the United States. That's how we have to view the range of possibilities and the depth of the contradictions that are at play here and are being further unleashed and accentuated by what the imperialists are doing. One of those two extremes or the other, and everything in between, is possible as a resolution of — as what results or



Washington, D.C. 20 April 2002.

comes to the fore through — this whole cauldron of contradictions.

As can be seen in many ways, including in the major speeches by Bush since September 11, 2001, these imperialists — the US imperialists in particular — certainly have wild ambitions. But they also have a great deal of necessity they're facing. And we need to look at both.

They have ambitions of essentially reshuffling the whole deck, reordering the whole situation - beginning with the strategic areas of Central and South Asia and the Middle East that are more immediately involved now — but, even beyond that, on a world scale. This is "New World Order Revisited" or New World Order 2 that they're trying to carry out on a deeper and more sweeping level than what they set out to do with their war against Iraq a decade ago. They've set themselves a very far-reaching agenda with gigantic implications.

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Occasionally you see some expressions of "pious doubts and petty amendments" coming from the State Department or from other representatives of the powers-that-be — warnings or worries that "if we get too aggressive, or take on too many adversaries all at once, it's going to alienate some of our allies." But the answer comes back from the "hard core" imperialist strategists: "Never mind about that — we can't let these 'coalition partners' set the terms of what we are going to do." (This has been explicitly said by Donald Rumsfeld, who said in a speech (in late 2001) that the mission must determine the coalition, and not the other way around, or else "the mission will get dumbed down to the lowest common denominator.")....

And this "mission," once again, is essentially to reshuffle the whole

deck, reorder the whole world more in line with how they are perceiving their strategic interests....

But there is inherent in what they're doing the great possibility for them of overreaching and overstepping themselves, or unleashing forces that they can't control. And even the use of nuclear weapons by the US imperialists, which is a real possibility through the course of this whole thing, is not any guarantee that they're going to be able to resolve everything in a way that's favorable to them — it could just unleash a whole other level of forces wildly out of control. And within all this, to whatever perverse and monstrous extent the imperialists' unleashing of destruction is carried and whatever forms it takes, the forces of the people, worldwide — and in particular the revolutionary forces of the international proletariat and the international communist movement — will have to be working to wrench



Both photos: Anti-police brutality march in Los Angeles, 22 October 2002.

something radically different and better out of all this.

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One thing that is becoming more and more clear and is standing out more and more acutely as events have unfolded since September 11th is the fact that the objectives of the US imperialists relate only secondarily and decreasingly to the events of September 11th themselves....

Take, for example, the situation with Iraq and Saddam Hussein. Political leaders and representatives of the US imperialists are openly saying, "Saddam Hussein was a problem before September 11th, and he's a problem after September 11th." And while there will undoubtedly be further attempts on their part to concoct certain connections between Iraq/Saddam Hussein and the September 11th events, in the main that's not what they're going to do — not only because it's very likely not true, which wouldn't bother them, but also because even their own objectives don't necessarily lie in the direction of linking it that closely.

They've declared an open-ended war and their right to make war on anybody, basically for any reason, at any time, anywhere, by any means — including nuclear weapons. So, even though they may concoct some connection with September 11th, it also serves their purposes to at least have another track going where they are basically saying: it's not because of September 11th; it's because he's a problem for us. For public consumption, they try to relate this to his alleged development of weapons of mass destruction, even though, during the many years that the UN in-

spectors were there, it was clear that they had overseen the destruction of most of the facility and ability to produce those weapons, and it's certainly credible when the Iraqis say that the conflict with the inspectors reached the breaking point in 1998 because these inspectors were being used as spies for a heightened attack on Iraq — which, it now becomes all the more clear, the US has been wanting to do all along....

The point is that, on the one hand, they are attempting to seize on the freedom they see in the situation, to reorder things in the Middle East, and in fact worldwide, more firmly under their domination; but, because there are many other forces that are "at play" in that part of the world, and in the world at large, which could undermine, further "destabilize" and even unravel important parts of the structure of power relations, threatening and perhaps even toppling regimes that are part of the present imperialist world order, the US imperialists also have real necessity to act to recast things in this way. (Besides Palestine, think of places like Saudi Arabia, or Egypt, or Pakistan, for example.) And, while this juggernaut will have an aspect in which the US imperialists will be aggressively seeking to bludgeon things into an order even more firmly under their hegemony, this will also set into motion, or intensify, forces and conflicts, in many parts of the world, which could get out of the control of these imperialists, even wildly out of their control.

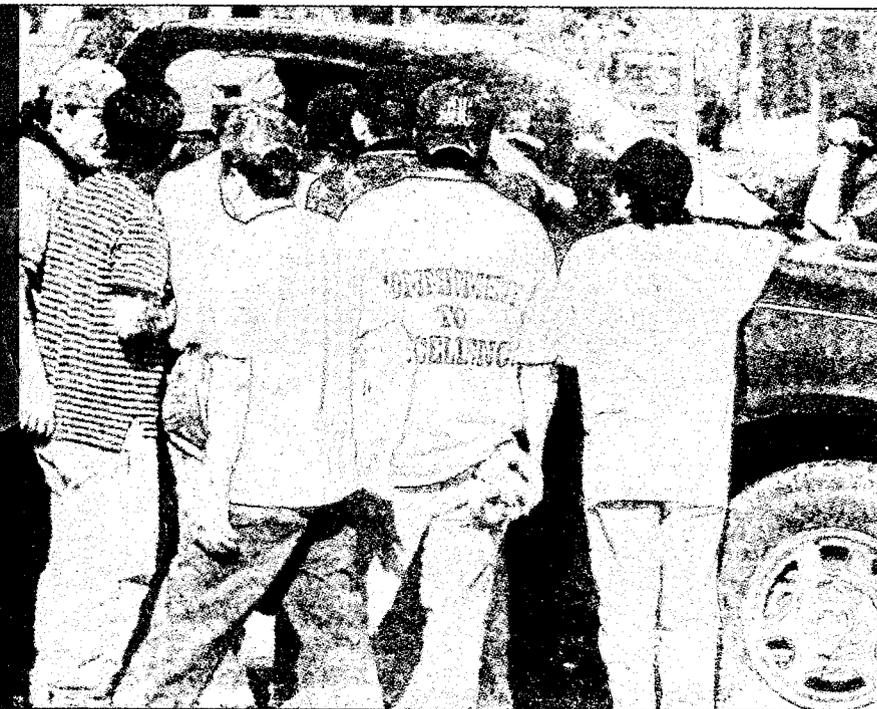



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**THE ROOT OF THIS —  
THE NATURE OF THEIR SYSTEM**

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It is also important to stress that this is rooted in their nature as imperialists and in the nature of the imperialist system. It's not just a matter that you've got madmen in there ....it's not just that you have these gleeful butchers like Rumsfeld, who seems to be most happy, as do Bush and the rest of them, when they're talking about how they're destroying and killing people. It's not just that there is a certain group like that in power, or even just that they are drunk with power in a certain way and gleefully going about these horrendous objectives they have. More fundamentally, this is rooted in the very nature of the system. And, while we shouldn't be insisting, as a basis of unity, that everyone unite with this viewpoint on the nature of the system, we should be striving to bring people this understanding through all the work that we're doing....



Mexican day labor queuing up in Dallas, Texas

This whole juggernaut and its unfolding precisely illustrates the actual nature of the imperialist system, in contrast to a number of mistaken and illusory notions about the nature of the beast that people are up against....What's clearly being demonstrated is that these imperialists have interests as a class and that they are driven by the dynamics of their own system and the ways this assumes concentrated form through the state and the contention among imperialist states. This is also in the nature of their system. It's not one undifferentiated imperialist system. There's a great divide in the world between the imperialist countries and the oppressed nations of the world (or what's broadly referred to as the Third World); and there is also very sharp division and contention between the different imperialist countries, even when the US has, at this point, a dominating position in relation to the rest of them (or a clearly superior position)....

Even these international institutions like the IMF (International Monetary Fund), the World Bank, the WTO (World Trade Organisation), etc., are not supranational in the sense that they've done

away with the influence or role of the nation state—nor are they tending toward doing so, certainly not in any immediate or short-term sense, or even looking quite a ways into the future. To the contrary, all these institutions are, at one and the same time, instruments of imperialist domination and arenas of imperialist contention. Generally speaking, in all these international forums and vehicles and instrumentalities, the US imperialists have the upper hand and play the dominant role, but there is contention among the imperialists over this—they contend in and through these things for their particular interests as imperialists while they also collude in another sense to carry out their general interests vis a vis particularly the oppressed nations of the world. And these two things obviously interpenetrate, that is, the way in which they are instruments of imperialist domination exists in dialectical relation with the ways in which they are arenas of inter-imperialist contention.

This is the way we have to understand things, this is the reality of what these particular institutions are and the way that they function,

but also the reality in general of the nature of the beast that we're actually up against.

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Something that has been pointed to, something whose relevance and importance has stood out, in relation to this whole crisis and war and the developing accentuation of all these contradictions, is the statement in the *Draft Programme* of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, in the Appendix on Central Task, where it emphasises that: "The Party does not overall determine the political challenges it faces, but how it meets those challenges can have a huge effect on the political terrain itself." In other words, we don't get to choose the necessity that we're confronted with — the objective situation at any given time is generally determined largely by factors other than our own efforts — but we do have some choice in how we respond to that situation, we can take initiative and seize freedom out of that necessity, transforming to the greatest degree possible the objective conditions that we're confronted with.

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**BEING PUT TO THE TEST—  
MAINTAINING OUR  
STRATEGIC ORIENTATION**

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This is an extremely important point of strategic orientation because, after all, what is it that we communists are all about and what is it we live for? We live for — and our whole orientation is geared toward — situations in which the contradictions of imperialism *do* reach their most acute expressions. And one of the things that is being driven home to us — this is something we have always known theoretically and have lived through on a certain level, certainly in the period, particularly during the 1980s, when world war was a very real possibility — is that the increasingly acute and explosive expression of

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## Bob Avakian on New Situation

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these profound major contradictions of the imperialist epoch is not going to come to the fore without tremendous upheaval, without tremendous destruction, without tremendous volatility throughout the world, without there being many factors that are unfavorable for the proletarian revolution as well as factors that are strategically favorable. But, on the other hand, as I said, this is what we live for; this is what our whole orientation is geared toward. Otherwise, what are we doing? We are not going to slide neatly into the proletarian revolution. We're not going to oust from power these most monstrous and powerful exploiters and oppressors and mass murderers on a world scale and think that somehow it's all going to be easy, neat, clean, and without much sacrifice, without much upheaval, without much volatility, without much volcanic eruption all over the world, including in the US itself.

So this is putting us to the test, and in fact people all over the world as well as within the US are going to be put to the test in one way or another — we are going to be confronted with the consequences of what these contradictions give rise to, and in particular the horrors that these imperialists unleash. Where are you going to stand in relation to this? Are you going to stand with the great majority of people in the world who have been going through great horrors every day for decades and centuries, as a result of the workings of this system; or, in the hope that you can somehow escape these horrors, are you going to stand with the imperialists who have been inflicting this on masses of people, right within the US itself, and on an even greater scale throughout other parts of the world — and are preparing to inflict this on a much more monstrous scale?....

A crucial point to emphasize here again is the imperialists have set things in motion that can't be easily reversed, and may not be easily

controlled. And we can say with a great deal of certainty that at the end of all this — whenever and however what has been set in motion is finally resolved — things are bound to be and will be vastly different, not only internationally, but also within what has been the United States. Whether in a very terrible way, or in a very positive way in terms of the advance of the proletarian revolution worldwide, and perhaps even getting to the point where power is seized by the masses of the people in the US itself — things will be radically different and the America we have known will **not** exist in the same way anymore.



Within all the countries and all these regions of the world, there are different class forces, with different and conflicting class interests — there is not one large, amorphous bunch of people who, while they may be divided into classes, have this overriding commonality with people of the same Islamic or Hindu or Christian civilisation, etc. There are very acute class contradictions within all these countries and regions (and "civilisations"); and, as I've pointed to in my writings, even before 11 September, some of the ways in which these underlying material and social factors are finding expression right now are not actually in line with the real objective class and social interests of the people involved.

Masses of people, particularly those who have been uprooted from the peasant countryside and thrown into the urban shantytowns, for example, have sought out many different solutions — some of which do, but some of which do not, correspond to their real interests. In some cases, they've sought out, or been attracted to, MLM (Marxism-Leninism-Maoism). But in other situations, especially where the MLM forces have been weak and other forces such as religious fundamentalists, have been stronger, masses of people have, in the short term, gravitated toward religious fundamentalist movements in

various places. In Iran, even in Turkey (which is regarded as and has a certain history as one of the more secular of the "Islamic countries") and certainly in countries like Egypt and other places, there has been this phenomenon of masses being drawn to Islamic fundamentalism. But, in the more profound and ultimate sense, this doesn't override, nor certainly eliminate, the actual material situation and actual objective interests of these masses.

Obviously, the challenge for the MLM vanguards in these areas, and throughout the world, is to transform this situation — which means we do need to dig into it more fully. We need to do more than just go back to the basics of MLM, or even just to go back to the basics and then try to creatively apply them in all these different places. While we must remain firm in certain bedrock principles of MLM — and apply them creatively, not dogmatically — at the same time we actually need to do some work theoretically and in terms of analysis (and synthesis) to more deeply grasp what's going on with this whole massive "demographic upheaval" in these countries, with the uprooting of masses of the peasantry, with the transformation of much of the peasantry into a sort of shantytown semi-proletariat. There is a lot of work to be done. This challenge is being taken up by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), including our Party, and other communist forces, but there is much more that needs to be done. While maintaining our fundamental orientation with regard to the different revolutionary roads in the two different types of countries (imperialist countries and the oppressed countries of the Third World), and while continuing to recognize the fundamental importance of the road of protracted people's war to surround the cities from the countryside in the Third World generally (as discussed in our Party's *Draft Programme*), we need to understand the tactical and even in certain aspects the strategic implications of these major transformations going on in many countries, particularly countries of the Third World.

We need to confront and "engage" reality. What is driving masses of people in many countries into the arms of these religious fundamentalists? What are the underlying material as well as the political and ideological factors? What failures or shortcomings of secular forces, including Marxist forces, have contributed to this in what ways, and how do we learn to overcome this? How do we address the material but also the political and ideological concerns of the people? What are the factors that are favorable and must be built on in dealing with this? These are tremendous challenges confronting our movement internationally to which we all, including our Party, have to contribute as much as we possibly can and in the various ways that we can.

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It's wrong to look at what line-up the ruling class, with all of its organs of power and public opinion and influence, is able to create at any given time and look at that as if that's the limits of what you can do. The point I'm making is that our objective has to be to transform the political terrain and transform the outlook of many, many people on it and therefore the way they act in relation to it. The Vietnam War didn't start out as sometimes people think, with massive opposition to that war. It started out with smaller scale opposition mainly based on the campuses, (although not only), and then it developed partly as the war itself ran into the difficulties that the US imperialists had in their inability to defeat the Vietnamese in that war, but also as people carried forward work to build opposition to that war.

So the question is not "What's the political terrain like at a given time and what is the alignment, so to speak, and what people think about this war and are doing about it now," but "What's the potential?" What are the ways in which that can be — the current terrain and the climate and the political alignment and the forces who are active can be—radically changed? And that begins with

people who have an understanding of the need to resist rallying together as forcefully as possible, bringing forward open manifestations of opposition as some are already doing, but also bringing that together on an even more powerful level and putting it out openly, and openly taking a stance, as we've said, "No, Not In Our Name" — we're going to stand up and oppose this [imperialist juggernaut of war and repression]. We're going to draw a line and say that this cannot be done in our name and in fact we don't accept it being done at all, and we're going to rally forth the opposition to it and we're going to change people's minds through education but also through mobilising people openly to oppose this so that people can see that there are other people out there who are opposing it.

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**Carl Dix:** So, what kind of movement is it going to take to take on and beat back this juggernaut of war and repression that's been unleashed on the people of the world?

**Bob Avakian:** Well, I think we've been talking about elements of that, and you've been talking about some of your experience in building that movement. It's got to be one that unites...people as broadly as possible and brings forward all the many people who are even just questioning or have concerns now and brings them forward to active opposition, and it has to be one that makes room and gives rise to many diverse forms of struggle and mobilisation in opposition to this juggernaut around many different aspects of it — obviously the war, but also the attacks within the US on immigrants, the profiling of people from Arab and Islamic countries, the attacks on people's rights within the US, the heightening repression. It has to include all those fronts and it has to unite people of a broad diversity...in opposition to all this, and into the various fronts of it. And it has to include unity-struggle-unity among its ranks about what are the key things to be taking up at any given time and

how to mobilise people around them, but it also has to have a very clear basis of unity that draws the lines correctly so that the greatest number of people can be potentially mobilised — not so that it appeals to the greatest number right now, but so that it provides the basis to mobilise and win over and activate the broadest number of people to...actually direct their spearhead of struggle against the US government and the US imperialists — or however people conceive of it and call it, but the US government in its whole warfare, open-ended warfare, and its whole juggernaut of war and repression....

And this movement will contain many diverse streams, many different kinds of activities, many different opinions and points of view about many questions, including the ultimate solution to all this, as well as obviously healthy contention and struggle and debate and engagement and dialogue about all these questions and also about how to build this movement most effectively and how to deal with different questions that arise in the course of building this movement. But it's got to be a vibrant movement that has this potential to unite people very broadly and call forth people. At the same time, it has to have a clear-cut stand and particularly this is important for people in the US. The September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center were not done in the name of the American people. What the US government has done in response is being done in the name of the American people, so that emphasises all the more where the people in the US have to direct their energy and their struggle in terms of who has to be the target politically of that struggle...as I said, where the spearhead of that struggle has to be directed against — along with the fact that the US government is in reality the major perpetrator of oppression and devastation and destruction of the environment and of people throughout the world.

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## STOPPING THE JUGGERNAUT AND MAKING REVOLUTION

Another question I want to touch on relatively briefly here, although obviously it's a decisive question, is the relation between stopping or derailing this juggernaut and actually making revolution to overthrow imperialism, in particular in the US itself. Here again, we have to grasp and handle this contradiction in a dialectical, as opposed to a mechanical, way.

A fundamental and essential question poses itself: Is it actually possible to stop this whole juggernaut without carrying out proletarian revolution? Well, we'll learn that in the event, as things actually develop, but certainly we can't say at this point that it would be impossible to stop this juggernaut without achieving the actual overthrow of the whole system — that only through revolution, to put it simply, could this juggernaut be derailed. Now, that may turn out to be the case, but that's not something we can determine at this point. So when we put forward the objective of actually stopping this juggernaut, it's not a gimmick; it's not a way to get people on a train, an express train with no local stops that goes only to revolution. It's an orientation toward actually uniting with people with a real objective in mind. We're not promising people that this is going to happen one way or the other, or pretending that we know the whole outcome of this. What we *are* saying is that we must have this as an objective — to stop this juggernaut — and we're serious in seeking to stop it, even if it means that it gets derailed short of revolution, because that will contribute greatly to revolution in any case, besides the fact that...in terms of the interests of the people of the world and their revolutionary struggles, it's important to stop this juggernaut.

But, at the same time, if we're not bringing forward, through the course of all this, the need for proletarian revolution, if we're not showing in a living way how this juggernaut is rooted in the very nature of this sys-

tem — that it's one particular, concentrated expression of the nature of the beast and why we need to do in this beast — then we're not meeting what we need to be meeting in terms of the needs of the people and in terms of our revolutionary objectives. So this is another contradiction we're going to have to handle, once again, not in a linear or mechanical way but in a dialectical way, in accordance with the complexity of how these contradictions play out.

I also want to speak to...the relation between building opposition to this juggernaut and developing all around struggles against the system — and, in turn, the relation of all this to strategic revolutionary objectives....In a very real sense, we do have a whole new situation. That's why we titled the [Revolutionary Worker] Supplement "The New Situation and the Great Challenges".... The terms of things have been recast by what's been unleashed — not so much by the September 11th events themselves, but by the imperialist juggernaut and all the wild ambitions and objectives they have, but also all the craziness and volcanic character of everything that they have already unleashed and even more what will be unleashed through the course of this open-ended war that they're declaring. So everything has changed in *that* sense. The terms of things have been recast, and even ongoing events and struggles take place in a new context.

But here again it's important to correctly handle this, to handle it dialectically and not in a linear or mechanical way. This doesn't mean that all the other struggles should either be abandoned, because everything should be concentrated in the struggle against the juggernaut, or they should all be mechanically linked to, or reduced to, how they directly, one-to-one, relate to this juggernaut and to the struggle against it. These other struggles still have their own life and dynamic in a relative (not in an absolute) sense. This applies to the anti-globalisation struggle, for example. The struggle against capitalist globalisation is important to continue and deepen and broaden in its own right, and it's

heartening to see that this struggle is continuing, but obviously this closely interpenetrates with the question of war — and this is being broadly recognised by people, which is a very powerful positive factor to be fully mobilising and building on. But there's a need, even while that's true, to also continue with the struggle against capitalist globalisation "in its own right," to develop that even while we win more and more people within that movement and its broadening ranks to take up, and even to take up centrally, the struggle against the imperialist juggernaut. So this is another relation we're going to have to handle correctly.

The same thing is true with regard to many other movements and fronts of resistance, whether you're talking about the struggle around the environment or, for example, the battle around abortion or more broadly around the oppression of women, or the struggle against national oppression and certain acute manifestations of that, like police brutality. And the line from the bourgeoisie that "everything is different"...doesn't seem to have stopped the police from continuing to brutalise and murder people. So things have not changed — everything is not different — in that sense.... We should, on the one hand, recognize the new context in which [these struggles are] taking place but at the same time grasp the importance of building them in their own right and according to their own dynamic and the forces they call into motion and unleash, even while we continue to make the struggle against the juggernaut the main thing, and even while we work to *correctly* link these other struggles with the resistance to the juggernaut — *and*, in turn, to link all this to our strategic revolutionary objectives.

Another dimension to this which is very important is work among the proletarians and other basic masses. The Party has been carrying out concentrated work to build revolutionary strongholds (what we refer to as political base areas) among these masses and to bring forward especially the advanced among them

as a class-conscious force....There are various forms of the exploitation and oppression of different sections of the proletariat and basic masses, and the oppression and exploitation they suffer calls forth different kinds of struggles. It is extremely important for us to continue to work in relation to this, to apply the mass line, to bring forward all positive factors out of all this, and above all to bring forward a class-conscious revolutionary force among these masses....We need to bring forward a class-conscious force of proletarians and other basic masses to add strength and vitality and a driving force to the different struggles and in particular the struggle against the juggernaut now; but we also need to be bringing it forward in order to advance toward our strategic revolutionary objectives.

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**Carl Dix:** How could a situation come down within which you could really make a try for revolution [in the US]? I wonder if you could speak to that some?

**Bob Avakian:** .... If you sit here and look at things now when there's still relative stability...if you just look at it right now and judge things only by this standard, and don't or can't envision any other set of conditions, well then it would seem that revolution would be impossible.

But if you see bringing those objective conditions and the conflicts and eruptions and revolts and protests that they call forth together with the work of revolutionary forces — then [you envision] a whole change where then the question of the whole direction of society and the resolution of acute conflicts and contradictions is posed sharply — then you can envision how a revolutionary struggle could in fact come forth and actually succeed in seizing power from these imperialists. And the key element, or certainly one of the key elements, within that is the bringing forward of what we call a revolutionary people, masses of people, millions of people, in upheaval and determined struggle against the powers-that-be, and in a

revolutionary mood — willing and determined to make radical change, even at the cost of great sacrifice.

So all these different sections of people or movements and struggles that are called forth, with the Party working among all of them — working among all the different strata while basing itself fundamentally among the proletarians and people who have the most fundamental interests in overturning and transforming all of society — this enables the party to both know when things are approaching a revolutionary situation, or know it more clearly, have a more clear sense of that, and also to rally the people to the revolutionary position when these kind of volatile conditions come together to constitute a revolutionary situation.

No one can say exactly when that's going to happen, but we can say that the possibility of it lies within the very nature of the system itself and also even within the things that are being unleashed now. We can't say the revolutionary situation will definitely emerge out of the things being unleashed now, but we also can't say that it won't, and there is the potential, as I said, for things to get wildly out of their control, to give rise to all kinds of factors and forces in motion that is difficult for these imperialists to stay on top of and to suppress or channel into the directions that they want to....There are a lot of wild cards in the situation, and from the point of view of the ruling class — and also in a certain sense from our standpoint — the masses of people are the big wild card. They're the big force that can change the whole direction of things as these objective contradictions are accentuated and made more acute, including by the things that the imperialists themselves do and pursue.

And this is a very important point that we go back to — the basic point that Mao made — wherever there's oppression, there's resistance. This is the history of any country, any society, including the US. Long before 11 September there was all kinds of resistance to different things....There are all these forms of oppression, and the program of the imperialists to

develop a whole juggernaut, to ram through and intensify a lot of this repression, is going to call forth resistance in various forms — that's always been the way it is and it's always the way it will be.

Now, they may stifle or suppress dissent, rebellion, resistance, upheaval for a short time, but eventually it will burst forth, and eventually will burst forth all the more powerfully, and all this creates the basis for the work of the vanguard party such as our Party and for revolutionary forces in general to mobilise people and win them increasingly to the revolutionary banner. And when this does come together with the development of these acute objective contradictions, then a revolutionary people emerges on the scene, and if there's a vanguard working among all these different expressions of a revolutionary people, then you have a real chance at revolution.

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In conclusion, then, we are called on to rise to the challenges that are posed with both a sense of real urgency and with a broad overview. To approach this not just in terms of the crucial tasks more immediately before us but to put this in an even larger strategic perspective. To see this not only in its very real negative dimension, but also in its positive potential, to recognise not only the increased horrors that the imperialists are moving to bring about, but also the possibilities for qualitative advance that can be wrenched out of this, for the emancipation of the masses of people all over the globe — for the world proletarian revolution and perhaps even the sweeping aside of this monstrous imperialist system in its most powerful bastion itself. ■