



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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## BOB AVAKIAN RXR BACK IN COURT

March 27, 1980—The moving of the case of the United States of America vs. Bob Avakian from the courtroom on the first floor, where legal proceedings took place last summer and fall, up to the 6th floor Court of Appeals in the Superior Courthouse in Washington, D.C., is symbolic of the escalation of attack represented by the government's appeal in this case. And most recently, of the further sharpening of this government offensive concentrated in the hearing of oral arguments held before that court last Thursday, March 27th.

The scene itself revealed the stakes wrapped up in this battle. At 9:30 a.m., the hushed atmosphere of the tomblike chamber on the top floor of this mausoleum of bourgeois justice was broken by a sepulchral voice intoning, "All rise..." Three pairs of 20 foot high curtains slid open on electronic tracks, the hum of the hidden modern machinery barely audible in the room. As if on another set of electronic tracks and pulled by another hidden machine, black robed figures seemed to float through the giant opening into the chamber and up to the judges' bench high above the rest of the courtroom. Like ghostly ghouls returned from the dead, the judges took their places to preside on what was to come.

On behalf of the dying, stood top U.S. prosecutor Farrell, pledging his allegiance to the already dead and demanding that the dead stand with, defend and expand the attacks launched by

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When you say May Day 1980... Earlier this week the Budweiser billboard stopped going along with the program. Instead of flashing out the usual advertising messages, revolutionary slogans greeted passing motorists.

### Button Day

## CLASS CONSCIOUS FORCE EMERGING

As we go to press, the reports of the intense battle to sell 30,000 May Day buttons are still coming in to the National May Day '80 Committee. But even now, some things are clear. In open defiance of the re-opening of the railroad of Bob Avakian on Thursday, March 27, thousands and thousands wore the May Day button. Like a signal of the revolutionary future, many proudly wore it. This symbol of the powerful fist of the working class, holding firmly the red flag of revolution, displayed on the shirts and collars of thousands, marked an advance for May 1st, 1980. The buttons gave a visible voice to the determination of the revolutionary-minded workers to protect their revolutionary leadership.

From the first call for 30,000 May Day buttons to be worn, this battle has been marked by great turmoil. March 27 was an advance because it mobilized a part of that revolutionary section of the working class, a section that is beginning to be tapped, drawn forward and welded into a class-conscious force at the forefront of the revolutionary movement. At the same time, the ad-

vances were only realized through intense, often wrenching struggle, not just against the ruling class, but even more critically, within the ranks of the revolutionary forces building May Day themselves.

Of course all this was bound to be so. In the coming years we are approaching one of those rare moments in history when the possibility of revolution may

emerge. Against this backdrop, with new forces beginning to swirl into motion, those who step forward are bound to face struggle, though ultimately this still small number represents the decisive force.

The battle became sharply focused in major plants around the country. At the Ford Rouge complex in Detroit,

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### New Book Analyzes Imperialism's Greatest Crisis *America in Decline*

Chapter serialized in the Revolutionary Worker.

# Newark Prisoners Rebel

Sixty prisoners seized the 11th floor of the Essex County Jail, rocking Newark, New Jersey and the surrounding New York area, March 25th. These prisoners, awaiting trial for 6 months, a year, two years, tried to break out, shooting one guard to get the keys and taking ten others hostage. They demanded shotguns, rifles and a helicopter.

While the authorities went through the motions of negotiation led by a Harvard-trained liberal, they attempted to crush the rebellion by force. Their early moves and trickery were countered by the prisoners. When the authorities turned off the water on the tenth and eleventh floors, a guard found himself dangling out the window. And when the prisoners heard a SWAT team sneaking up the stairs, a guard with a gun up against his head was held out the window.

This decisive act of inspired tens of thousands. Hundreds poured out of the prison-like projects just blocks away from the jail to stand with the rebellion. Many were veterans of the Newark rebellion of 1967 when the Black masses rose up in this city and from one end of the country to the other. One man who walked miles to get there said, "Newark's on fire again." People wanted to be there. You got the feeling they'd been waiting a long time for something like this to break. For hours the people on the street and the prisoners yelled back and forth to each other, "Keep it up. Hold out till morning. We're going to the projects to mobilize more brothers. Keep it up. Right on!"

Street corners, restaurants and bars raged with debate. The pigs were on the defensive for a change. Even with SWAT teams and trucks from New York City and helicopters buzzing over-

head, they were well aware that the masses surrounding the jail and in the area generally were for the prisoners, that they were tasting liberation and that this was potentially very dangerous.

When most people had left the sidewalk surrounding the jail, at 3:00 in the morning, the state struck and crushed the rebellion. A "settlement" was reached.

But far from settling the matter, the rebellion pushed out into the forefront sentiments and feelings that had been lingering in people's hearts and minds for a long time. Far from settling the matter, the rebellion and even more revolution is now being debated on the streets, intently in the homes and projects in every corner of Newark.

A banner reading "To the Essex County Prisoners: It is right to rebel. Forward to Revolutionary May Day" was brought into the heart of downtown Newark by the RCP and the Revolutionary May Day Committee. The call for Button Day was grabbed up by thousands of outstretched hands, and the necessity of conscious revolutionary struggle and in particular the revolutionary leadership, line and Party of Bob Avakian were discussed.

The '80s are here. Rebellions like that of the Essex County prisoners will be increasingly frequent. Inevitably, most if not all of these will be put down, exactly because the bourgeoisie has state power. But the oppressed will inevitably rise up against the oppressors and every rebellion of the masses will bring forward many resisters even beyond the actual participants—those rebels, those hungry for revolutionary action and leadership, exactly those whom the Party and the class-conscious proletariat have to forge together and lead to consciously take history into their hands. [ ]



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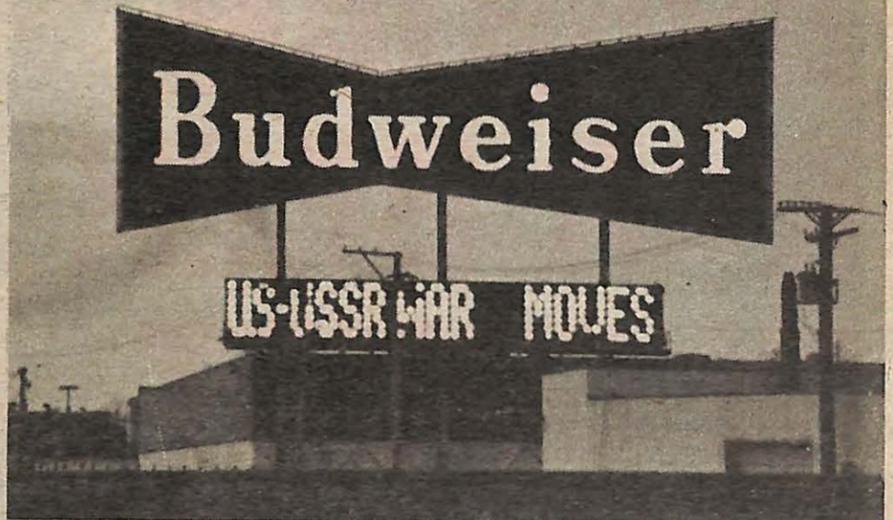
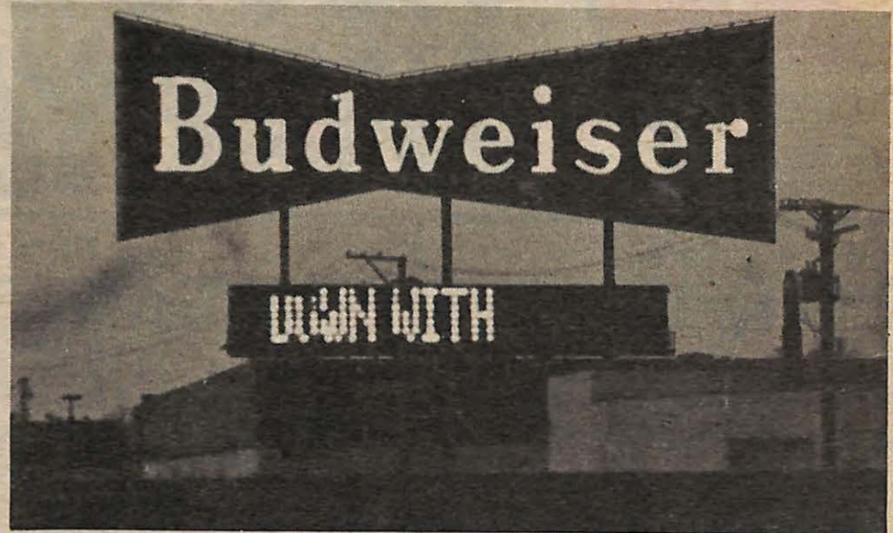
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# The Shah Shuttle: U.S. Colony to U.S. Colony

On Monday morning, March 24, one of the "most wanted" men in the world today, the ex-Shah of Iran, left Panama to find a new rock to hide under. Flanked by two former Iranian colonels, two plainclothes U.S. "advisers" and a host of bodyguards, the Shah flew off to Egypt where his close friend, President Anwar Sadat has offered him a new home. Within a day, the first protests against the Shah's arrival in Egypt started at Cairo University. And in Tehran, a massive demonstration of more than 250,000 people was held in front of the U.S. embassy on Tuesday, demanding the Shah be returned and that the spies inside the embassy be put on trial.

As daily demonstrations have continued all week, the students holding the embassy released a statement describing his latest move supposedly for medical treatment as "a game which the U.S.A. is playing. Just like before, when he went to the U.S.A. because of being ill, now he's ill again—a political illness." A spokesman continued, "Our demands have not changed. We want the extradition of the Shah and the return of his wealth from the United States."

Only three months ago, the U.S. government flew the Shah into Panama when it became clear that their hopes of destabilizing the situation in Iran and provoking a pro-U.S. coup attempt by admitting the Shah into the U.S. for "medical treatment" had grossly backfired. In December, a month after 1500 militant students, supported by the overwhelming majority of the Iran-

ian masses, had seized the U.S. embassy, it had become necessary for the U.S. to ship the Shah to a U.S. neocolony such as Panama, where he could be kept on ice.

## An Increasing Liability

Throughout this period, the Shah has become an increasing political liability for the U.S. imperialists. Yes, he had served them loyally for more than 25 years, and they still had hopes that he could be a rallying point for the remaining counter-revolutionary forces in Iran to make a comeback, as well as to bolster pro-U.S. regimes around the world whose rule is getting shaky.

But increasingly, the seizure of the U.S. embassy and the Iranian people's demand for the return of the Shah has exposed to tens of millions worldwide—including to increasing numbers of people here in the U.S.—the U.S. ruling class' support for this hated dictator and its continuing attempts to reverse the Iranian revolution. Inside Iran itself, the continuing "crisis" has greatly strengthened the position of the democratic, anti-imperialist forces in opposition to the hardcore pro-U.S. reactionaries, as well as in relation to

the vacillating middle forces grouped around Khomeini and Bani-Sadr who are overall trying to stabilize the situation and consolidate their position as a new "Islamic" bourgeoisie.

Over the last month or two, as the U.S. was counting on Bani-Sadr and the Revolutionary Council to force the students to release the embassy personnel, they were able to keep the Shah on a tight leash, keeping him in Panama (where he apparently did not want to live to begin with). But with the collapse of the UN Commission's mission in Iran (which never released the results of its "investigation" into the Shah's crimes) and with the decision in Iran—forced by the continuing struggle of the masses of people—to delay any discussion of releasing the hostages until after elections are held and the new parliament is seated, the U.S. government was apparently no longer able to prevail upon him to stay put.

As usual, the U.S. media is claiming that the Shah flew to Egypt because of "medical problems," including disagreements between U.S. and Panamanian doctors over how to proceed with his next operation. This, however, is a naked attempt to obscure the fact that his fate is a *political*—and not a medical question.

Clearly one important factor in the Shah's leaving Panama is the rising tide of revolution in El Salvador and

throughout Central America, including in Panama itself. The regime of Gen. Omar Torrijos, as much as it is a loyal lackey regime of the U.S., is clearly more worried about saving its own neck than in protecting the Shah, who has already been the focus of repeated demonstrations by opposition forces in Panama City. Furthermore, part of the original deal worked out by the U.S. was for the Shah to make sizable investments in Panama in order to remain a "guest of honor," and these billions never materialized.

The Shah himself was beginning to get the jitters, possibly noticing some similarities between his Central American "paradise" and Iran. This week the Panamanian government was to receive formal extradition papers drawn up by the Iranian government, and though there is no real possibility that they would have been acted on, the Shah was not about to take any chances. As his chief press agent said in Egypt, "Some Panamanians were very uncooperative."

When the U.S. learned of the Shah's planned move, several heavies were immediately dispatched to Panama at the end of last week, including White House chief of staff Hamilton Jordan and President Carter's chief counsel. They argued that for the Shah to move again would further set back the U.S. plans to work out the hostages' release and would also risk more mass upheaval in Egypt and throughout the Middle East. But to no avail. National security adviser Brzezinski indicated the consternation of the imperialists at not being able to control the Shah's every move, announcing that the U.S. no longer has "any obligations or commitment" to the Shah.

What this really means is that this ex-"King of Kings" is no longer a cen-

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## 30,000 Blast the Draft



Revolutionary Worker

Saturday, March 27, Washington, D.C.—It was 10:00 a.m., and only a few thousand people had shown at the ellipse just south of the White House. Less than two hours later, about 30,000 students and youth had gathered in the park, anxiously waiting to take the march against the draft and war into the streets. People came with all kinds of political ideas. "Anderson for President" buttons were displayed by a good number. This was the first demonstration some had attended. Others had been active for years. Anarchists, libertarians, democrats, social democrats, fuck-it-all rebellious youth, old '60s movement people, religious people, people who "look to some form of socialism"—many political ideas were present. Most could sense that the '80s would be a time of some kind of turmoil and change in the world, but what kind of turmoil and what kind of change?

All these questions demanded answers. And among a significant number of people, the old reliable answers couldn't cut it any more. A hilarious example of this came when one of the march organizers tried to rally people around the chant, "We'll go when Amy goes!" Within seconds large sections of the crowd started shouting, "Fuck Amy, they can have her, we're never gonna go!" A high school student from Boston whose coat was jammed with political buttons said, "War, that's part of why I'm here. I don't want to die in a war... yeah, I got more on my mind than that, though. I go to high school in Boston. We got a group, a political group, we know the whole world's screwed up today. Our whole group came down here. I wanted to speak—I thought that would be important, you know, a high school student speaking at the rally. I told them what I wanted to say and why, and they said no, there's no room on the agenda. Fuck that—make room on the agenda. They wouldn't let me speak because they're afraid.... I hate this shit, but it's not the '60s any more, it's different. Yeah, we want change, but we got to figure out what we're gonna do... that's what I wanted to say."

The rally and march was, in the main, organized by the Mobilization Against the Draft (MAD), a collection of congressional lobbyists, labor

hacks, a couple of congressmen and various political groups ranging from the right-wing Student Libertarian Society and the United States Student Association (formerly the National Student Association, a CIA-funded student group in the '60s), to the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and others. MAD wanted people to stick around for a couple of days after the march to go lobby Congress. And far from ignoring questions like those of the young brother from Boston, the MAD organizers were actively striving to expand their influence and put out *their* answers to these questions. And their answers were as insane as they were backward.

There was one answer these clowns didn't want anybody to hear—revolution. But it was too late, because the Revolutionary May Day contingent arrived. Led by a giant red flag, with dozens of other red flags and mounted posters of Bob Avakian, the May Day contingent marched into the park. Immediately, thousands of eyes were riveted on the column of red.

Black, white, Latin—all together. This alone was something new. But more, these people were clearly workers—workers with red flags. "Screw the Draft," read some flags, "Register for May Day." A banner read, "Down

with U.S. and Soviet War Moves—Our Flag is Red, Not Red, White and Blue!"

From the MAD leaders and some others came the expected shouts of "Disrupters! You're ruining everything!" MAD was getting madder. Others were blown away, shocked, electrified—discussion raged as people fired off their questions. And for a significant number of people (from those like the one youth who shouted, "You're the crazy ones, I'm with you!" to others who clearly had something a hell of a lot bigger on their minds than a MAD lobbying effort), this contingent was right on target.

After a 20-block march through downtown D.C., 30,000 people gathered at the Capitol building for a rally. While any number of political pimps for U.S. imperialism circulated through the crowd, plying their wares, a much more significant swill was being tossed from the stage. For example, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee leader Michael Harrington stated straight up, "We are not here to burn the American flag but to cleanse it." Mr. Clean's message was developed by a couple of "dissident" congressmen, namely, Kastenmeier of Wisconsin and Weiss of New York. Weiss stated that "We don't really need registration today. In World

War 1 we registered one million people in one day, in World War 2 we registered one million people in one day, so why have registration today? We can get enough people when it's necessary." Kastenmeier followed Weiss and babbled about how "the draft brings about war. There's never been a draft without a war." Following up on this absurdity, he offered this solution: "Plead with Congress not to divide the country by re-instating the draft."

While this got over with a few people, higher attempts to pacify the crowd were left up to the bulk of the speakers' list—the "official radicals." Speaker after speaker called on the demonstrators to "build a stronger, more unified peace movement in the U.S." in order to deal with "a new Vietnam in the Mideast."

The rulers of this country exactly intend to "get enough people when it's necessary," and it won't be for a "new Vietnam in the Mideast" either. Their system is driving them to war all right—but world war with their imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union. As we said in the last issue of the *RW*, it's not hard to see where the "opposition" to the draft represented on the speakers' platform on March 22 will lead when *that kind of war* breaks out.

The March 22 demonstration revealed three important things. First, that there is important motion, particularly among the youth, in opposition to the U.S. rulers' plans for the draft and war. Second, that we have far from seen the end of the Weisses or the "official radicals," and that as the movement develops, we should expect more, not less, of this straight-up populist reaction.

Third, and most important, the Washington demonstration revealed something about the possibility and necessity of May Day 1980. A real political movement is developing here; thousands thrown into activity by forces beyond their control. The need of the influence of conscious workers is obvious. The literal support of significant numbers at the demonstration for genuine proletarian revolutionary politics and, in turn, the punch that the May Day contingent added to the march stands as a portent to the hallowed halls of Capitol Hill. □

# "Bob Avakian and Mao Defendants Must Stay Free" International Meeting in Paris

The struggle to keep Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants free continues to broaden overseas as well as in the U.S. A very important development took place on March 15 when a public meeting was held in Paris, home of the Paris Commune, the first proletarian revolution in 1871, to support the revolutionary movement in the U.S. and oppose attacks on the RCP, USA.

Well over 300 people jammed into an undersized room to hear a speech delivered by Pat Richards, one of the Mao Tsetung Defendants, Banners reading "Bob Avakian and the Mao

Defendants Must Remain Free," "Long Live the Revolutionary Movement in the U.S.," and "Workers of All Countries and Oppressed Nations, Unite" decorated the hall. In asking for support from comrades in other countries, Richards pointed out that "the revolutionary movement in the U.S. is not the private property of the RCP, USA nor even of the masses of people in the U.S.; it belongs to the international working class and oppressed masses throughout the world." In this spirit, she reported to the meeting on the development of the class struggle in the

U.S. and the line of the RCP, emphasizing especially the RCP's analysis of the deepening of the crisis of imperialism, the quick acceleration of moves toward world war, and the real possibility of a revolutionary situation developing in the 1980s in the U.S. Together with this analysis was an explanation of how the RCP is preparing today, through the use of the *Revolutionary Worker* and building Revolutionary May Day 1980, so that the opportunity will not be lost when a revolutionary situation arises.

The speech was warmly received by the participants at the meeting and provoked quite a bit of interest in understanding better and struggling over the line of the RCP, USA.

Following the main speech, short speeches were given by seven organizations which had helped organize the meetings. These included: For the Proletarian International; Union of Communists of France, Marxist-Leninist; Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile; Union of Iranian Students in France (For Proletarian Democracy); Union of Students from Turkey in France and Association of Workers from Turkey in France; Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee Proletarian Way; and the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada *In Struggle*. Support messages were read from: the Red Flag Party of Venezuela; "Echoola," a Marxist-Leninist organization in Tunisia; and Progressive and Anti-Fascist Greek Students in France.

After the support statements were made, the meeting sent the following message to the District Attorney who is in charge of the inquisition against the Mao

Defendants. It read: "Over 300 people, including representatives of 11 Marxist-Leninist and progressive organizations from 8 countries, met in Paris to condemn U.S. political repression against the RCP, USA. Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants must stay free! Persist in your reactionary plans and you will be met by worldwide opposition."

During the meeting there was a discussion period in which many people asked questions or made comments regarding the speech and the line of the RCP. For example, there were questions regarding the RCP's activity among the masses, its view of revolutionary agitation as the most important means of preparing for revolution, and so on. The discussion, while not able to go thoroughly into all this, indicated that these are some of the same questions being struggled over in other countries as well as the U.S.

The RCP, USA's stand on the international situation and the international communist movement was also discussed. The questions of the "strategy of the three worlds," how the revolution in China was reversed, and the attacks on Mao Tsetung by Enver Hoxha, as well as how to understand the current international situation, are all of great interest to Marxist-Leninists in France and other countries. All copies in Paris of the French translation of the RCP's reply to Hoxha (*Beat Back the Dogmatic-Revisionist Attack on Mao Tsetung Thought*) were sold out.

The meeting was an important step forward. The turnout was considered very successful by revolutionaries in France. And although there were differences on some important questions, all were united on the need to defend the RCP, USA against the attacks from the U.S. bourgeoisie. The meeting also underscored the need and the possibility

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## A Call to Battle A Challenge to Dare

In a situation which is developing as rapidly as today's, the actions taken by the advanced section of the proletariat are of decisive importance. They will in no small part determine how far along we are and whether we are able to break through all the way when the conditions fully ripen and the opportunity for revolution is there to seize. These moments, particularly in a country such as this, are rare in history and their outcome has a profound influence on history for years, even decades, to come. Those who do understand what is going on and choose not to act are contributing to the prolonging of this destructive and decadent rule of imperialism. This program is a declaration of war, and at the same time a call to action and a battle plan for destroying the old and creating the new. It must be taken up.

Today the words of Mao Tsetung ring out with full force:

"Seize the Day, Seize the Hour."



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## Strike at Federal Torture Chamber

Marion, IL., March 28—As we go to press, a work stoppage involving all 400 inmates at the Marion Federal Penitentiary, the heaviest maximum security prison in the U.S., has entered its 11th day. This is their third work stoppage in six months. They remain locked in their cells for refusing the "privilege" of working in the prison's kitchen, its furniture factory and printing plant where pay ranges from \$10-\$75/month. The immediate demands of this work stoppage are not clear yet as communication from within the prison is very limited. But what has been reported so far is that the prisoners are protesting prison conditions, including a 20% cutback in the food ration, and are resisting the prison administration's attempts to force them to construct more boxcar cells for the infamous "Control Unit" (CU) of the prison. The ten boxcar cells already in use are no more than torture chambers, the most glaring expression of what this prison is really all about. These cells were supposedly ruled illegal by a federal judge 2 years ago.

A total of 120 inmates are walled up in the Control Unit, almost one-third of the entire prison population at Marion. The inmates in the CU are not chosen by the warden but by the regional directors of the Bureau of Prisons in Kansas City and Washington, D.C. from inmates throughout the U.S. According to the glib public relations man at Marion, the CU is for people who "have demonstrated a need for close supervision." More to the point, the CU is a special hell reserved not merely for "rule breakers," but for those inmates with a history of rebellion, a refusal to have their spirit broken, and particularly those who have been political activists on the outside and at other prisons. Leonard Peltier, Native American freedom fighter, was jailed here following his arrest by the FBI for his participation in the armed uprising at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. Two participants in the Walla Walla Prison rebellion last year were held here, as are 21 inmates transferred

from New Mexico State Prison after the recent uprising there.

Any prisoner labelled "dangerous" or "aggressive" can be held indefinitely in the Control Unit. Prisoners have spent up to three years here locked up 23-1/2 hours a day in cells that are only two square feet larger than the standard dog kennels shown in the Sears Roebuck catalog. They contain one steel slab with a thin mattress, a toilet and a basin. Beatings, macings, racial taunts by guards and inadequate medical care are routine. Most reading material is denied. Although all visiting is done through a clear plexiglass shield via wall telephone, inmates are still strip-searched before and after each visit.

For those who can't be broken in other parts of the Control Unit, there are the boxcars, the most modern and up-to-date torture equipment designed not only to crush a person psychologically, but literally to drive him insane. They were originally small, plain cells with a solid steel, soundproof door with a slit in it. Psychologists call them "sensory deprivation" units because it is almost completely dark and noiseless inside. The effect is one of being nailed into a coffin. In order to make these boxcars legal again after they had been "outlawed," the slit in the door was replaced by a slightly larger plexiglass panel. The rest of the cell remained identical to the original. Officials now deny the existence of any such thing as a boxcar cell at the prison.

According to a press release from the warden's office, "Few indications have surfaced as to the underlying cause of the stoppage." According to the prison's P.R. man, "Warden Miller makes it a point to talk to most of the prisoners each day and they like him." He brushed aside reports from prisoners that the food ration has been cut back 20%, saying, "You'll always have concern for issues like food, laundry and health care in—what's the sociological term?—oh yeah, 'closed societies' like prisons, the military or schools." □

**Kennedy New York Win Makes it a Race!**

# Setting Up the Sucker Game

Teddy Kennedy's "shattering upset" twin wins over President Carter in the New York and Connecticut presidential primaries, which came at a time when most press coverage of his campaign seemed more suited for the obituary page, would at first glance seem to reinforce the impression that election 1980 is a chaotic crazy quilt of the unexpected and the inexplicable, in which a "volatile electorate" continually befuddles pollsters and pundits and no clear pattern can be discerned. This perception contains a partial truth—it is clear that the question of who to install as the next president, which is a critical issue for the ruling class as America jolts and lurches into the coming whirlwind of crisis, rebellion and war, has not been clearly settled within the ranks of the bourgeoisie itself.

The electoral process does serve as a proving ground to "test the mettle" of various candidates, to determine which of them can most effectively serve as their representative and most effectively unite the masses in defense of their rule. In addition, the rapid development in world events and the deepening economic mess at home rule out a completely orchestrated "advance script" for the course and outcome of the election. But it is precisely these maneuvers and shifts on the part of the bourgeoisie as they struggle to gear up for the coming life-and-death struggle that determine the pattern of the campaign.

In addition, the ruling class is trying to do its best to make a horserace out of this election in order to suck people into their whole election con game. They are trying the tried and true methods of turning the masses of people into participants in their "democratic process" farce—chumps who take a keen interest in which particular representatives of the class of people who are stomping all over them will get the nod this time around. The old "underdog coming from behind to win victory" trick is one of their commonly employed methods to accomplish this and clearly they played this to the hilt in the New York and Connecticut primaries.

In the last months of 1979, prior to Senator Kennedy's formal declaration of candidacy, it was quite clear that the bourgeoisie was looking for a replacement for Jimmy Carter, and that the majority view was that Kennedy was an extremely attractive, if not the only logical choice to serve as its chief spokesman. Kennedy was being widely hailed in the press, and favored daily with intense and adulatory media coverage. His stock demurrals, during his "coy" period—"I would expect President Carter to be the nominee, and I would expect to support him"—only brought forth fresh appeals, new "draft Kennedy" committees, new polls demonstrating that he would crush Carter in the primaries and roll over any Republican in the general election, new specials on his life, new reminiscences of the glorious Camelot, new hype about the once and future King. Kennedy has in fact been groomed for the presidency for a long time, and it was clear that if there was any time the rulers of this country needed to pull out their charismatic "ace in the hole", 1980 was the time to do it.

With the great turmoil and upheaval ahead, especially with world war looming, the bourgeoisie has "got to sell hell," and get people to believe they're fighting for a wonderful and glorious cause. While Teddy Kennedy will not be able to revive the same "glory" of the Camelot created by his brothers and their legions of bourgeois publicists, he has worked hard to maintain this legend, to hold himself out as the promised savior who can lead the masses in a reactionary cause while appealing to their higher aspirations.

But the very same crisis which caused the bourgeoisie to tap Teddy Kennedy on the shoulder in the first place has intensified so rapidly that it has made it impossible to have any smooth and painless transition in leadership and even raised the question of whether it is

desirable to have someone like Kennedy as President in the first place. Perhaps a more straight out "it's going to be hell, but take it or leave it" type is what's needed. The seizure of the American hostages by the Iranian revolutionary masses, with their righteous demand that the U.S. should return the deposed Shah to face justice at the hands of the people, meant that the American people had to be quickly rallied behind President Carter, whose image was quickly brushed up. Kennedy blasted Carter for ever having allowed the Shah to come to the United States, and piously observed that the Shah "ran one of the most violent regimes in the history of mankind."

Kennedy was articulating the line that bringing the Shah here was a disastrous blunder—not, of course, because the U.S. didn't soil its hands with dictators, but that deposed and exposed butchers are merely a liability, and that the move to bring them into the U.S. blew "promising opportunities" for pro-U.S. forces within Iran to gain power and crush the advance of the revolutionary struggle. This reflected real policy differences within the ruling class.

But the ruling class as a whole, including those sections who privately shared Kennedy's assessment, felt compelled to publicly denounce his "breaking ranks" at a time when they had the propaganda machine straining every nerve to whip up a frenzy of jingoistic hysteria among the masses. And political commentators described Kennedy's statements—which he did not repeat—as a "major campaign blunder."

All of a sudden big Chappaquiddick stories began appearing by the score in the press. Kennedy was portrayed as lackluster and lame. Now the dashing knight of the living dead seemed more like a turkey, stumbling through speeches and gobbling unconvincingly and sometimes incoherently. The word was spread around, "After all, it's easy to hang around the Senate basking in the magic of the Kennedy name, playing the role of plaster saint—now he's falling flat on his face." Kennedy's poll ratings quickly plunged. He was soundly thrashed by Carter in the Iowa caucuses—and there went the myth of Kennedy invincibility.

This turn of events led to a major campaign reassessment within the Kennedy camp. Because of earlier expectations that Kennedy would be ushered into office on a velvet carpet, his campaign line in general has reflected a shift towards the "center" retreating somewhat from his "extreme liberal" posture—a tactic designed to make him appear the broad consensus candidate. However, this tactic was a failure, as Carter had at least temporarily regained the mantle of "national leader," and it merely demoralized Kennedy's hardcore liberal boosters.

Throughout these trials and tribulations, the Kennedy camp was looking toward Illinois where they expected Kennedy's so-called "natural constituency" of Blacks and blue collar workers in a heavily industrialized state would hand him a decisive victory. Kennedy also had the support of Mayor Byrne, and therefore the Chicago Democratic machine as well as the support of the bulk of the trade union bureaucracy.

Instead, Kennedy got his ass blown away. There were a number of reasons pointed out by bourgeois commentators: Mayor Byrne is unpopular; the machine she ostensibly controls was sharply divided on Kennedy and dragged its feet in Chicago; the machine ain't what it used to be anyway; the Chappaquiddick scandal hurt Kennedy among Catholics who would normally be expected to turn out in droves for him, etc. One result of this was a large cross over vote of Democrats into the Republican race to vote for John Anderson, who is trying to steal some of Kennedy's "liberal" thunder while also portraying the image of a man of iron character and unimpeachable

chastity—qualities which Kennedy is quite justifiably perceived as lacking.

Following the Illinois defeat, most commentators pronounced Kennedy finished. Jody Powell, Carter's press secretary, subtly suggested that the Senator retire from the field. Polls taken in the looming primary states of New York and Connecticut showed Carter with a vast lead. With Ronald Reagan's commanding lead in delegates on the Republican side, it appeared that a Carter vs. Reagan race was almost inevitable.

However it is not by any means a given that the ruling class wants to see a Carter/Reagan race. Reagan is a 69-year-old proto-fascist; and Carter, who has to do all the bourgeoisie's dirty work, and who is now rapidly losing the aura of resolute leader of our nation in crisis, is pretty damaged goods. It is true that if they decide that they have no choice but to stick with Carter, which is possible, Reagan is the logical man to set up against him. What would be hoped for then would be a repeat of the 1964 Johnson/Goldwater farce, where Johnson posed as a "peace candidate" during the election while Goldwater said things like "lets lob one into the men's room of the Kremlin" and advocated dismantling the social security system. Once elected, by the largest landslide in America in electoral history, Johnson piled 500,000 troops into Vietnam. So, if anybody could make Carter look like the lesser of two evils, Reagan can—although obviously the situation today is not 1964, and Carter will not be posing as a "dove" in 1980.

But the 1980 campaign is far from over and the results of the New York and Connecticut primaries attest to it. The bourgeoisie is intent on making the campaign a horserace as mentioned earlier and they have not as yet reached a consensus on who would best suit their purposes as president. Kennedy has to be kept solidly in the running. While the *New York Post* blared, "Carter vs. Reagan!" on the morning following the Illinois primary—and virtually all polls and commentators predicted a Carter victory would definitely spell the final death to the Kennedy campaign, this

very fact was utilized to sway people towards Kennedy for the voting in New York.

A number of editorialists cranked out tear-stained prose about Kennedy in his twilight hours: how calm, how resolute he seemed, not what one would expect from an embittered candidate deserted by many who had called for him to run; without funds, reduced to flying tourist class and taking public transportation, he plugs along. One writer observed that Joe Kennedy, the father of the Kennedy Klan, had always taught his sons how to win; both he and his brothers would be proud if they could see that Teddy knew how to lose with honor—with dignity. Teddy has taken to helping his campaign aides on with their coats (so touching, they work without pay you know, so loyal and he's so kind to them) and it was sad, you know, that it would be the voters of New York, once thought to be Kennedy's staunchest supporters, who would drive the final nail into the coffin. And what character the man showed, fighting for his ideals, which he considers truly important; perhaps an impossible dream, yes, but...

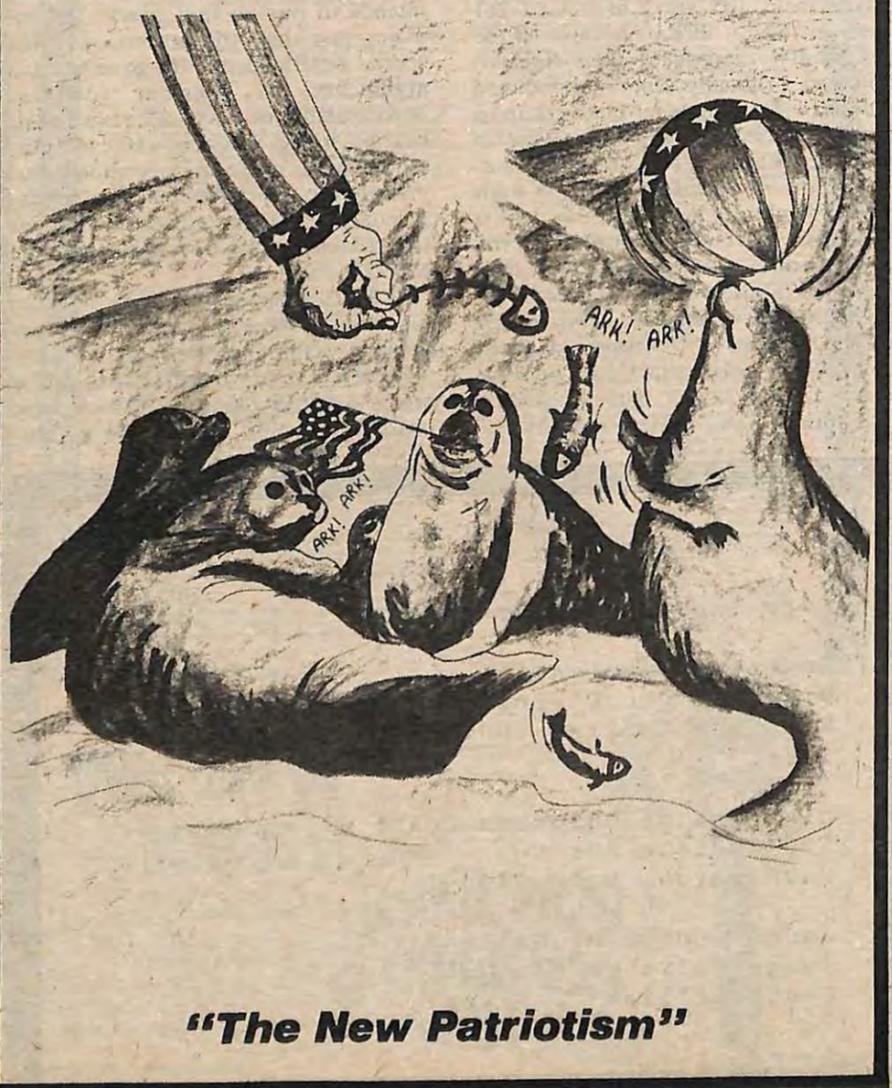
The obvious purpose of all this was to negate the Chappaquiddick affair and questions about Kennedy's "staunchness and character" by striving to show that he had proved himself a man of noble character and in a time of great adversity. At the same time, other things were breaking Kennedy's way. Both New York and Connecticut had heavy concentrations of Jewish voters. Historically tending to vote liberal, in recent years, their vote has grown more conservative. Among the more conservative Jewish voters, the U.S. vote in the UN Security Council in favor of the resolution calling for Palestinian autonomy—a vote quickly retracted by Carter but which became a major "embarrassment"—led to a huge protest vote against Carter.

In addition, in mid-week, Carter announced new massive cuts in aid to cities, with New York hard hit on the list; a visit by Vice President Mondale to Mayor Koch, a key Carter supporter, in which he assured Koch that

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Revolutionary Worker

**NEWS ITEM: Pro-America rally held in Juneau, Alaska last week.**



# R x R

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the dying. But something else rose in the room as well. At the defense table and throughout the audience were red shirts and scores of May Day buttons worn that day sparkled in the gloom, the newly born rose to do battle for the future. And the battle was joined.

The prosecutor began his argument with an "explanation" of what, in the government's view, this case is all about to the panel of appellate court judges who apparently "knew little about the case" before them, in spite of the fact that hundreds of pages of legal documents have been in their hands for weeks (to say nothing of the fact that the ruling class is clearly quite aware of its own conspiracy to railroad Bob Avakian to jail). Where the prosecutor's jumbled distortion of the "facts" hit two obvious roadblocks of unclarity, the "neutral" judges were happy to prompt him with neutral questions, such as: "Is the government's motive important in this case?" Response: "I don't think so, your honor. Actually the motive of the government is irrelevant here." "Are there any issues of credibility in this case?" "I don't think so. Judge Pratt (the lower court judge who dismissed the charges giving rise to the appeal—RW) never questioned our credibility."

What seemed a brazen and almost incredible attempt to turn the world on its head to some in the courtroom, was a routine question and answer session to the prosecutor/judge team. The facts of the actual legal issue before the Court of Appeals—the dismissal of the 25 felony count indictment against Bob Avakian and the 16 other defendants on the legal grounds of "prosecutorial vindictiveness" and the additional fact that Judge Pratt's November ruling actually cited "vindictiveness in fact" and not merely the appearance of vindictiveness—are suddenly "irrelevant here."

These "questions" and "answers" set the scene for the thirty minute dialogue between prosecution and judges. With the issue of vindictiveness disposed of, Farrell went on to remind the Appeals Court that this case is "laden with policy decisions." He stated, "It was a fear of serious prejudice to our theory of liability which forced us to seek indictment on all charges. The stake we had in seeking reindictment was the danger to our theory of joint liability. That's not vindictive."

The ridiculously obvious fact that the U.S. attorney had brought the reindictment, which more than doubled the stakes from 105 years in jail to 241 years in jail, in direct response to the defendants' exercise of their right to join two originally separated indicted groups of defendants into one group to present a common political defense in this case (providing a clearcut legal basis for the dismissal order), was even more ridiculously and obviously denied by Farrell. "We only found out at the arraignment (in early July) that they wanted a political trial," claimed Farrell. Come on, bourgeoisie, who the hell are you trying to fool? After you launched a fullscale police attack on a political demonstration which got worldwide recognition, and after months of

political demonstrations at your court houses and federal buildings across the country, piles of telegrams expressing outrage at this political attack adorning your desk, fat files of the surveillance reports of your political police against the RCP and its political campaign around this case passed back and forth between your top representatives—why do you bother to vomit up this vile lie now?

But this see-thru argument only serves to underline and expose the real arguments of the prosecution for their reindictment of the 17 defendants. "We felt that we would have difficulty in convincing a jury of the theory of joint liability. (If the two separate 12 and 15 count indictments were brought together as the basis of prosecution for all 17 defendants.) Defense counsel would have had a field day. He would have ridiculed the prosecution. 'If the prosecution had the courage of their convictions, why didn't they charge everybody with everything', he could have argued before the jury." And no one's going to say that the U.S. imperialists don't have the "courage of their convictions"—having been vindictive all along and faced with the exposure of this fact, they found the obvious solution—an escalation of vindictiveness.

But Farrell didn't rest here. He went on to openly bare the bloody fangs which the U.S. imperialists have been trying to sink into the neck of Bob Avakian with this case all along. "We were concerned about serious prejudice to us in what is essentially a conspiracy case." Now the U.S. attorney has finally come out in the open and admitted what defense attorneys have charged all along—that the government's case is not (and never has been) a criminal case at all, but is a political conspiracy case.

The government also expanded on and deepened the argument made in its appeal brief. This was amply demonstrated by the fact that Farrell openly stated that vindictiveness or lack of vindictiveness should not even enter in here at all in the court's decision, as well as by the fact that the prosecution is still clinging to its now-exposed dual tactics of claiming that on the one hand, "this case arose from an episode where 27 officers were assaulted, some of them injured," crimes for which the government claims to be able to make "specific identifications" of a number of the defendants—and on the other hand, claiming that their "theory is that all are jointly liable," that they "have evidence which they will present at trial that this was a planned assault" or as referred to above, even more sharply, "a conspiracy." But all of this, while more than ever flaunted as the actual means by which the U.S. government intends to pursue this attack, still remains just that—the means. And the special significance of the government's arguments on Thursday goes far beyond that. For what came out in this hearing, in fact what not only came out, but what the prosecution's whole argument to the appellate court was fundamentally based on, was the reason for this attack on Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants.

U.S. attorney Farrell bluntly stated in his closing rebuttal to the argument made by defense attorneys to the court, "There is a policy question here. If the courts are too ready to dismiss these charges, it would hamper the govern-

ment's ability to make selective prosecutions." And here it stands in all its glory: the case of the United States of America vs. Bob Avakian is not and never has been a routine criminal case. The charges against the defendants have never "described what they did," as U.S. prosecutor Mary Ellen Abrecht once attempted to claim. There is in fact an important question of "policy" for the U.S. imperialist class here. What policy is clear—their policy towards the revolutionary leadership that stands as the greatest threat to their rule today. Their "policy" towards pursuing attacks against this man and this Party by means of their legal apparatus, their "democratic justice" system which in fact is here openly revealed to be one important means by which they carry out their dictatorship.

There is, as Farrell admitted and repeatedly reminded the court on March 27th, something special about "these charges". They stand today as the foremost test of the government's "ability to make selective prosecutions"—to single out the greatest threat to their political rule and under the cover of "prosecution" attempt to crush it into the dust.

But the stand of those they are so afraid of was also made clear. Right inside the courthouse, the spectre of the future that haunts them and is preparing to hunt them down arose and boldly declared its intentions. A sea of red flags, crested by a single giant scarlet banner, roared its challenge falling not only on the marble walls but on the ears of the hundreds of people who saw it there. The routine "workings" of the justice system were jolted by the revolutionary fighters from the May Day brigades who had united with the Com-

mittee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants to mobilize a show of opposition to the greasing of this railroad of Bob Avakian. Dozens of pigs, including their riot squads, turned out in the courthouse area which became a hotseat of debate. "What's going on?" "Why the red flags?" "What's this case all about?" A "Protest of the Appeal" appeared in *The Washington Post* that same morning, hitting the newsstand and getting into the hands of hundreds of thousands across D.C. at the very moment when the two sides in this battle faced off in the courtroom. The breadth of opposition to this attack which the protest represented, when linked to the open challenge being hurled at them and their rule by thousands who answered the call of the RCP for button day, freaked out the enemy so much that they refused to allow supporters who came to the courtroom to even bring copies of *The Washington Post* into the hearing.

On March 27th, the lines were drawn still more sharply in the battle to keep Bob Avakian on the street and defeat this and every other attack unleashed against revolutionary leadership. This happened in D.C. inside the courtroom and in the demonstration in front of the courthouse. And it was concentrated in the stand of thousands who wore May Day buttons across the country that day. Now the legal battle is lodged in the appeals court. And the court's deliberations leading to its verdict will take place while the battle for May Day 1980 continues and moves into high gear towards victory on May 1st. The stakes involved here were made clear in the courtroom itself on March 27th, and the enemy knows it and fears it: The

Continued on page 14

"The students all over the world are the ones who bring about a change; old people don't bring about a change. I mean I'm not saying this against anybody that's old—because if you're ready for some action you're not old, I don't care how old you are. But if you're not ready for some action, I don't care how young you are, you're old... Some of us get too old while we're still in our teens."

Malcolm X



High school students struggle over who will hold up the red flag.

Bury Them With Telegrams!

Defeat the Appeal!  
Drop All the Charges Once And For All!  
Keep Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants  
Free!

District of Columbia Court of Appeals  
500 Indiana Ave NW  
Washington, D.C. 20001

Judge George R. Gallagher  
Judge Julia Cooper Mack  
Judge William C. Pryor

# BREAK OUT IN BENTON!



Jerry Lower 1980



Jerry Lower 1980

**"We saw the Iranian people do it on TV"—"We heard about how people revolted against the war in Vietnam—we figured 'this is our chance',"** several students told the *Revolutionary Worker*.

**Benton, Illinois.** Population 6800. A coal mining town 300 miles south of Chicago. Every morning the youth gather in bunches across from the high school. These are the ones the administration calls "delinquents," "truants" and "rowdies"—the working class youth who break the rules, who haven't yet learned "their place." There is nowhere to go, nothing to do. A cloud of smoke rises over the parking lots as the students light up. The kids brace themselves for another day at Benton High, designed to mold them into "young adults", obedient slaves to be fed into the profit machine.

The mine rescue station located right next to the high school stands as a constant reminder of exactly what kind of future these youth are being educated for—a future of being blown up in a coal mine, or dying a slow death from years of backbreaking, mind-numbing toil. "My grandfather and uncle died in the mines," said one student, a common story here not far from the site of the infamous Franklin Mine Disaster of 1951 in which 119 died. And many of these kids will be snatched up by the Ar-

my before they even get a chance at a job in the mines. The Army goes right into the high school to do recruiting.

But on Wednesday, March 19, things were different. At 1:20 p.m. the school doors exploded open with a bang, unable to contain the pent-up anger and frustration any longer. Sunlight pierced the gloom of Benton High as 400 students, more than half the school—came flying out, shouting, laughing, running, throwing their fists in the air. The walkout had begun, sparked by the firing of two sympathetic teachers who the administration said "were not able to maintain discipline" because they committed such heinous crimes as allowing the kids to talk for the last four minutes of class. "School sucks!" "The administration sucks!" they shouted. It was a jailbreak. The joy of the oppressed rising up was written all over their faces—the joy of busting loose, of spitting in the face of the deadly, suffocating future symbolized by Benton High School.

A demonstration formed up and started moving toward the town square. **Continued on page 15**

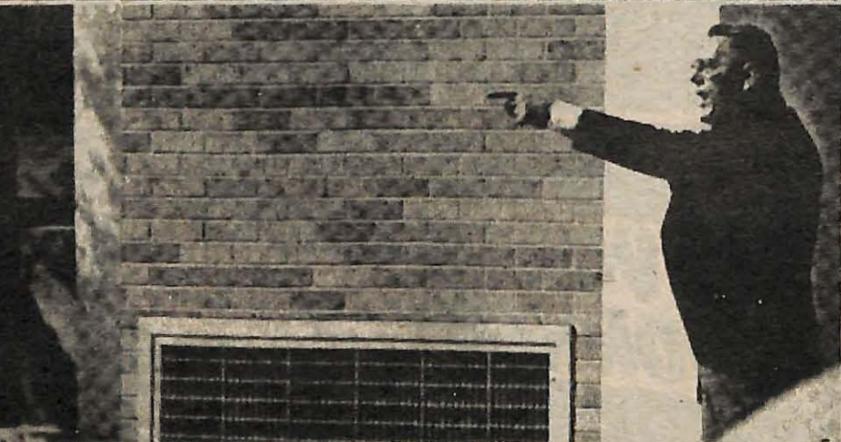
**Below: The front page of the Benton Evening News reflected the impact of the students' actions on the small town.**

## Benton Evening News

\$1.00 PER WEEK

BENTON, ILLINOIS, THURSDAY, MARCH 20, 1980

Volume 61—Number 68



**FAR APART WEDNESDAY** were students and administrators at Benton high school after what appeared to be more than half of the student body walked out of classes in what some said was a protest at school board action in not renewing the contracts of two teachers. The confrontation above between a student and principal Charles Oyster came after the demonstrating

students returned to the school grounds after parading to and from the Benton public square. Administrators asked them to leave the grounds because "you have made your choice." Other students were still in class. More photographs will be found on page 9. (Evening News photos)

## Communist Book Shakes Iran Government

# SAVAK Exposed

A political storm has been created in Iran by the recent publication of a book giving the names and identifications of almost 8,000 SAVAK agents and employees. The book has become a best seller in Iran while leading government officials like Ayatollah Behesti, head of Iran's Supreme Court and Secretary of the Revolutionary Council, have denounced the publication as a SAVAK-like action.

The reason for the furor is that officials of Iran's new government have steadfastly refused to make public the files of the Shah's Secret Police, the SAVAK. Instead, the SAVAK's files, particularly those on working-class organizations, and many SAVAK

agents themselves, have been incorporated into the government's new intelligence organization, the SAVAMA.

The new book, entitled "8,000 SAVAK Agents and Plotters," was published by the Union of Iranian Communists (UIC). For most of the agents the book gives the first and last name, father's name and government identification number which all Iranians have. The UIC stated that the files were obtained by attacking the house of a certain spy. Armed with this new information the masses immediately began attacking and exposing Savakis (former SAVAK agents) who had wormed their way back into jobs in factories, schools and government agencies.

Screaming like stuck pigs, Behesti, Rafsanjani, Tabatabaee (the latter two are close associates of Khomeini) went on TV and radio to denounce the book as "inaccurate and irresponsible." Behesti, a red, white and blue Iranian featured in a recent issue of *Time* magazine, has initiated legal proceedings against the UIC.

The UIC has replied to the government by challenging them to release their files since they claim the book is in error.

The book has been welcomed by the masses and is being read everywhere in spite of the government's attempts to confiscate it. Attacks by the masses on the hated Savakis have increased so

much that on March 18 Ayatollah Khomeini exposed his stand by publicly proclaiming a general amnesty. This amnesty order explicitly applied to all former SAVAK agents except those accused of specific crimes of murder, torture and "misusing the people's wealth." The result has been the release from jail of many SAVAK agents.

The government's harboring of the former secret police has enraged the masses. In Washington, for example, one group of Moslem students has publicly demanded that the Iranian Embassy in Washington purge itself of agents of the old regime. The sharpness of the struggle shows once again that, far from seeking to destroy the state apparatus of the Shah's regime, the bourgeois government of Bani Sadr seeks to harness and utilize that machinery to continue the repression of the masses of Iranian people in the interests of a new set of home-grown exploiters.

## Mother Arrested

# Contributing to the Revolutionization of a Minor

East St. Louis, IL.—Last week, three comrades from the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade were brightening up the boarded-up shells and bus stops in this predominantly Black community which sits across the Mississippi River from St. Louis, Mo. News of the May Day Brigade hit this city that has only one plant left working—Hunter Packing—a plant that's about to close down.

Up went the paste. Up went the poster. And up rolled an unmarked pig car. Two plainclothes cops with guns drawn jumped out. Witnesses thought it was a holdup, which is not far off. They called the police station. Meanwhile, Rick tried to slide off to safer ter-

ritory. The cops captured him and forced all three to lie face down on the sidewalk. Anthony was beaten.

Shortly, Anthony's mother, Coralie, got a phone call from a screaming pig who said, "We have your son down here and he's in serious trouble!" So Coralie, her husband and a friend went to the police station. The cops then arrested Coralie for contributing to the delinquency of a minor, namely, Eric—the third youth. The summons stated that Coralie "knowingly let Eric X, a child under the age 17, join the Communist Party at her home without his mother's consent."

Meanwhile, a pig yelled at the friend, "You ain't related to them!" "I'm in-

terested in Rick." "Well, go down the hall and stand."

"What's the charge?" asked the friend. "About a hundred things," said the cop. "I ain't gotta tell you. Get the hell out of here before I throw you out!"

Anthony had his T-shirt confiscated which says "Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade" on one side, and on the other "I Was Born In The Sewer Called Capitalism But Now I'm Living for Revolution." He was taken along with Eric to Juvenile Detention Center without any shirt.

While Coralie's fellow workers were getting bail together, the mayor of East St. Louis, Carl Officer, strolled into the

station with four bodyguards to lay down the line to Rick. "You can come to City Hall Monday and get a permit to demonstrate any time. But if we catch you putting up posters again, I can't guarantee you'll make it back across the river. And we'll just consider it an unfortunate accident."

Rick was held in jail for eight days before his \$4,000 bond was reduced. An ACLU lawyer, outraged by the arrest, had taken up the case. Charges on 23-year-old Rick are two counts of contributing to the delinquency of a juvenile, one count of criminal damage to property and, of course, resisting arrest.

## Paris

Continued from page 4

to forge unity between genuine Marxist-Leninists in the coming period.

The Paris meeting, as well as other activities that have taken place overseas and the many messages the RCP, USA has received from Marxist-Leninist groups, have a very significant effect on the struggle to defend Bob Avakian and defeat the attacks on the Party. Making the case known to broader circles of people around the world puts the enemy on notice that they will not be able to carry

through the attacks on Comrade Avakian and the Party generally without stirring up a storm of opposition—not only in the U.S. but around the world.

The fact that Marxist-Leninists in many countries have come to the aid of the RCP, USA at a critical time in the development of the U.S. revolutionary movement also makes it clearer to the Party and the revolutionary workers in the U.S. that we are indeed part of a single worldwide class with a common objective of achieving communism throughout the world.

The meeting ended with the singing of the *Internationale*, the anthem of the international proletariat born out of the Paris Commune. □

## Sucker Game

Continued from page 5

"New York would be taken care of" had failed to get over. Mayor Koch's main base of support is among Jewish voters and the conservative petty bourgeoisie generally—he is an openly racist arrogant strutting runt, intensely hated by the oppressed nationalities. On the morning the polls opened, the new inflation figures came out—up another 1.4%. Also on the morning of the election, Jimmy Breslin, the Irish beer-swilling columnist who writes for the *Daily News*, the largest circulation paper in New York, wrote an impassioned appeal for a strong Kennedy vote that had racist overtones. His basic message was that unless we keep the Blacks and Hispanics on welfare, and find them some kind of minimum wage jobs, our city will be destroyed by them, and Kennedy is the only candidate who understands this.

The effect of the media barrage, and the clear attempts to piece back together, by hook or crook, old-style Black-Jewish-working class liberal democratic formula for victory, had unexpectedly gotten successful results, voter turnout overall was not heavy except among Jewish voters. But they voted for Kennedy 3 to 1. Turnout among Black and Hispanic voters has always in recent years and for obvious reasons, not been heavy, but those who did go went to vote for Kennedy by a strong margin. (It should be noted however, that the Kennedy victory cannot be attributed to his "message" suddenly catching fire among the poor and minority people. It did not.) And the Irish and Italian Catholics decided to do the Christian thing and vote for Kennedy in the spirit of forgiveness. The result overall was a strong Kennedy victory in New York. The pattern in Connecticut was fundamentally similar.

The effect of Kennedy's turn around in these important states is not clear in all respects. It does mean that he continues to be a viable option for the ruling class, and it is now possible to pro-

ject him as a gutsy guy who laughed in the face of adversity and snatched victory from the jaws of defeat—perhaps a useful analogy to the type of guy we need to lead us against the big, bad Soviet Union. His period of defeat will be portrayed as redemption for the sins of Chappaquiddick. It is obvious that Kennedy intends to stay in the fight all the way to the convention; should the right people give the nod even if Carter goes into the convention with a majority of delegates, this won't save him from a well-orchestrated "spontaneous" convention rush to Kennedy.

A lot of illusions have been flushed down the toilets since John Kennedy took a slug in the brain in 1963 and since Bobby followed in his brother's footsteps on primary night in California 1968. What remains of these illusions, however, is still best concentrated in the last of the Kennedy brothers, and he remains, in all probability, the only alternative to limping along with Carter as best as can be done.

The final decision on who will be president will be made on the basis of the freedom and necessity confronting the ruling class as they desperately prepare for the coming upheavals, the first rumblings of which already have them shaking in their boots. Either they will go with trying to put a thin coat of paint on the rusty hulk of their "ship of state"—with the more silver-tongued warmonger who carries out the bourgeoisie's crusade in the name of the cause of the working class and oppressed people in the United States. Or they will go with a more outright figure who puts it out more straight up, "You will go to war, you will sacrifice, and we aren't making any promises, that's it." But regardless of which way the situation the ruling class faces dictates them to go, they have the same basic program for the masses of people, and we have the same basic task—to overthrow them at the soonest possible time.



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# America in Decline

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Imperialism's  
Greatest Crisis  
Part 2**

The following is the second of three articles serializing a chapter from an extraordinary new book, AMERICA IN DECLINE—Imperialism's Greatest Crisis: An Analysis of the Developments Toward War and Revolution in the U.S. and Worldwide in the 1980s—to be published soon by Banner Press. This is a pathbreaking effort, written by a writing group under the leadership of the RCP Central Committee and its Chairman, Bob Avakian.

Do you want to really understand why Bob Avakian said "the imperialists are in a lot of trouble... you may not think that revolution is a serious possibility, but the rulers of this country think that it is a real possibility."? ("Opening Remarks" at the recent RCP Central Committee meeting) This book analyzes why this is so. When you read it, including this chapter, the possibility of revolution, the urgent necessity—and basis—for preparation now like May Day 1980 jumps off the pages at you.

This particular chapter deals with the present condition of the masses in the U.S., its relation to their political mood, and how this objective situation will develop in the future. It is being serialized in the RW and appears in its entirety in the current issue of the Party's magazine, Revolution. Subheads are ours.

## Watershed Times

Overall in the U.S. 1974-75 was a watershed. It was possible to discern the outlines of a major social crisis in the massive layoffs and the shocks felt throughout society. For a brief period, routine and convention in the masses' lives, especially the more strategically situated in the working class, was no longer so certain or desirable. To many it became more dangerous not to act than to sit back and let things take their own course. That no real upsurge materialized does not detract from the significance of what was happening to people and how they began to perceive things differently. No doubt many within the working class felt, and feel that they have a lot of things, more than their parents, certainly more than people in other countries. But people also realized just how wobbly and fragile it all was.

Which brings us back to the question of impoverishment. People have not in their tens of millions been crushed and ground down. What really exists are ropes around people's necks, like credit, and if there is a real collapse—which, as explained in this book, is a distinct possibility—then the effect on people's lives could be more devastating than the Depression, since living standards in this country are anchored in credit, fringe benefits, government programs and assistance. Everything that has enabled people to hang on can become the hangman's rope. It becomes apparent how precarious it all is whenever workers go on strike and in a few months' time face the prospect of losing their homes. It becomes apparent when a job is lost and with it health insurance. It becomes a vicious cycle: a person may be overextended due to easy credit only to find himself or herself without any income to retire these debts, due to illness or loss of job. Or, reversing the situation, a person may begin to over-depend on easy credit after suffering a real hardship. One account of a typical bankruptcy in this period is worth reproducing:

"She hung her head and spoke so softly that her voice was barely audible in the dingy bankruptcy courtroom... Yes she was still working as a telephone operator and earned \$13,000 a year. No, she had nothing of value aside from a few articles of clothing. The plumbing backup that flooded her apartment with sewage had left all her possessions unfit for use. Even before the accident, Estelle was living perilously beyond her means. Despite her modest salary, she owed a total of \$10,352 to 12 creditors, mostly department store and bank credit card accounts... She owed more than \$4500 on just one of her Visa cards... and was behind on her rent and telephone bill. Nonetheless, Estelle had managed to stay one step ahead of the collection agency by nimbly juggling her meager resources. But her house of credit cards collapsed after the apartment flood. Her salary was attached by a creditor and—as have hundreds of thousands of other over-burdened consumers—Estelle filed for bankruptcy."<sup>19</sup>

By no means exceptional. This is New York. In Youngstown, a parking lot attendant says that before the mill shutdowns, the lot was always filled up.

Now this is the case only on Mondays—when bankruptcy court is in session. It should be pointed out that new bankruptcy statutes allow for repayment over time as opposed to outright liquidation. This is the product of the continuing pyramiding of credit. But with consumers unable to pay their debts and lending institutions impaled between delinquent accounts and very thin profit margins (the difference between what they pay for money and charge for its use), this can only go on for so long. While there has been and will continue to be a gradual erosion of the living standards of the U.S. working class, it is the prospect of a collapse that will send things reeling. The various means by which the masses have been able to "hold on" are being pressed to the limit. As of 1977, more than 40% of all homebuyers were families in which a second wage owner contributed anywhere from 20% to 50% of total family income.<sup>20</sup> The ability of wives, however, to supplement the incomes of two-spouse families has more or less reached a plateau: earnings are not rising and these jobs, themselves, are quite insecure. Teen-age children can be sent into the work force, but that is another story in itself, what with unemployment rates among youth at extraordinary levels.

The rising volume of credit obligations (bank credit card volume was triple what it was in 1974 by late 1979) puts tremendous pressures on consumers whose wage and salary increments are less than the credit they have taken on. The result has not only been a rise in delinquencies, the sort of thing described in the account of the young woman, but a tightening up: financial subsidiaries have begun to pare down the number of stores and purchases they finance, many department stores have raised minimum monthly payments, and savings banks and

credit unions have periodically experienced disturbances such as big withdrawals, new cash-reserve requirements, and an outflow of funds to other markets, all of which limits their lending capacity. The point is that already the debt which has propped up consumer spending is stretched thin, and tighter money supply policies and attempts by lending institutions to minimize losses have put a crimp on such spending and resulted in a tremendous increase in personal bankruptcies. But this, again, is nothing compared to what will happen when there is another precipitous downturn—with more thrown out of work than in 1974-75. There is an increasing vulnerability and sensitivity of the masses of people in this country to any radical change in the conditions in which they get by—tenuous as they are. Millions will be pushed into bankruptcy—and, yes, impoverishment.

Take the case of housing, again. If some international event, political or otherwise, touches off a round of banking failures and a massive scramble on the part of banks for cash and liquid assets, what will the average homeowner be faced with? With a demand to pay a higher rate of interest? Not likely. Rather, homeowners who default on payments (which is bound to become more frequent) will be confronted with demands for repayment of their entire mortgages. But housing prices will probably decline, and quite violently at that. So people who have been making \$400 monthly payments for years will find their home investment wiped out. It is a situation which has been prepared exactly by the artificial stimulation of home purchases through the extension of government-backed credit.

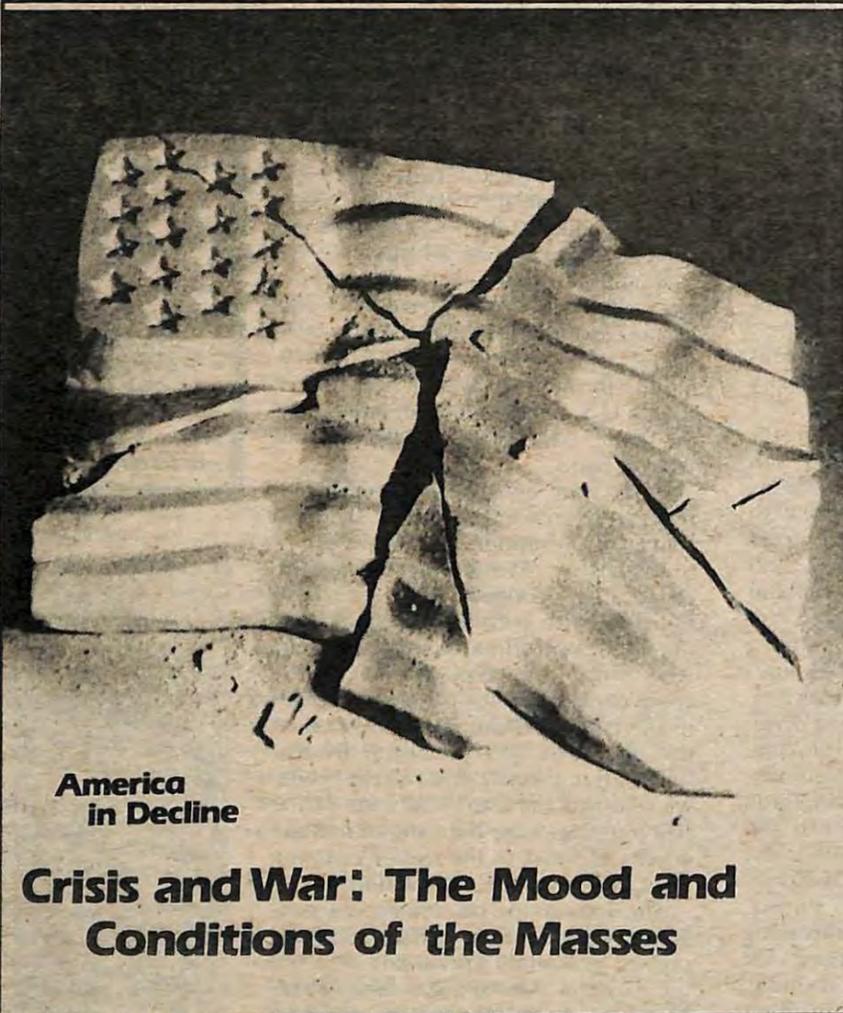
The very things that have enabled people to hold on and which were in some respects expanded dur-

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## REVOLUTION

Organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Vol. 5, No. 2-3  
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America  
in Decline

## Crisis and War: The Mood and Conditions of the Masses

Revolution is the organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party. It is published as a monthly magazine, featuring articles that give a deep and many-sided analysis of major social questions and problems facing the revolutionary movement.

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### A Call to Battle, A Challenge to Dare

The RCP has published drafts for discussion for a new Party programme and new constitution. A statement from the RCP Central Committee.

### Notes on the Movement Against Nuclear Madness

### America in Decline—Crisis and War: the Mood and Conditions of the Masses

The majority of the working class is living on the precipice: able to get by, but only by the skin of their teeth. This article analyzes why, given this condition (brought on by the recent downturn in the economy, especially the 1974-75 recession), the mood of the working class is decidedly non-revolutionary and its consciousness backward. Further, it paints a dramatic view of the future—political and economic crisis on a scale unseen in this country before—that along with or immediately preceding the outbreak of world war, could well give rise to a revolutionary storm led by the working class.

### Slipping Into Darkness: "Left" Economism, the CP and the Trade Union Unity League.

The Depression which hit the capitalist world in 1929 moved through the U.S. like a hurricane, tearing up the economy and ripping the very fabric of society, shaking this country more deeply than anything had shaken it since the Civil War. Never had the illusions of the "American dream" seemed so deceitful, so mocking. The CPUSA threw itself into the work of preparing the workers for a revolutionary upsurge.

Yet a decade later there was not a trace of a mass revolutionary movement!

What happened? This article examines the particular role of "left" economism in laying the basis for later moves and open revisionism, by analyzing the Communist Party's trade union work, especially the Trade Union Unity League (1929-1935).

### Court Sentences 2 for Flag Theft

# Red, White and Blue Kangaroo

Federal Courthouse, E. St. Louis, March 26th. "I find no remorse in these men," said the judge. Then he sentenced Richard Bangert, a nine-year member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, to 18 months in prison and a \$2,000 fine for two misdemeanor counts of stealing and destroying government property—a U.S. flag. Alan Kandel, who is with the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, was sentenced to one-year and \$1,000 for one count of "knowingly and willingly destroying government property"—the same U.S. flag. The cases are now being appealed.

The government went to outrageous lengths to get these convictions. During the three-day trial two weeks prior to the sentencing the following scene unfolded:

Defense Attorney Harris: "Mr. Reeves, you stated to the FBI that you saw a white male, with a full beard running from the flag pole carrying a black trash bag that was full."

Government witness Reeves: "That's right."

Harris: "I'm going to hand you 10 photos. Are these the photos shown to you by Agent Spackhaus after you reported seeing a bearded white male?"

Reeves: "Yes."

Harris: "How many Black people were in that line up?"

Reeves: "Two."

Harris: "How many women?"

Reeves: "Two."

Harris: "Out of the 6 remaining photos, how many are white males?"

Reeves: "Six."

Harris: "How many have full beards?"

Reeves: "One."

Harris: "Do you see the person in court today?"

Reeves: "Yes."

Harris: "Could you point him out?"

And so it went with two more government witnesses who claimed they saw Rick Bangert steal the American flag from the Federal Building in St. Louis on November 27th; a monstrous 17 foot by 8 foot flag that was burned at a pro-Iran demonstration later in the day sponsored by Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade.

Coming just three weeks after the U.S. Embassy seizure in Iran, this demonstration sided with the Iranian people in their struggle against the U.S.

The sight of "the flag" going up in flames, especially at this moment, was undoubtedly the most outrageous political act in St. Louis against the government since the ROTC building on the Washington University campus was burned to the ground 10 years ago.

The flag burning had become a dividing line question, polarizing thinking. In St. Louis, some like April Nauman, Editor of *Student Life* at Washington University, decided to call the FBI and offer to identify the participants in the action. Chancellor William Danforth, whose family controls Ralston Purina, sent a letter to all alumni condemning the flag burning. He was worried that the endowment fund would dwindle. One daily paper editorialized in favor of maximum punishment; the St. Louis Board of Aldermen passed a resolution condemning the flag burning. The bourgeoisie debated. Should we arrest them? No, it will only get more people excited. The prosecution got permission from the U.S. Attorney General to prosecute on destroying the flag charges, but then decided against it.

Is this a political case? According to a

local FBI spokesman, "we have no quarrel with someone burning their own flag. This is just a simple case of theft and destruction of government property." Right. For a \$59 piece of property, they flew in the flag manufacturer from Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, the CSA employee from Boston who ordered the flag, the FBI lab man from D.C. who performed the autopsy on the flag remains, and the license bureau man from Jefferson City, Missouri.

And what evidence did they have against Kandel? Prior to burning the flag he read to himself a news release from VVAW which opened by saying "This morning a small contingent of Vietnam Veterans lowered the U.S. flag at the Federal Building and replaced it with a banner reading 'U.S. Imperialism Keep Your Bloody Hands Off Iran!'" That was the evidence. Period.

The prosecutor bolstered his case against both men by leading the jury to believe that a flag that size can only be found on government property, and therefore the defendants must have realized that they had a government flag in their hands. The defense was caught off guard and only later discovered that 20-foot U.S. flags are available commercially. As to how the molten, charred remains of a flag with no markings can be identified as government property, the flag company president stepped up to the prosecutor's table. With all the drama of a TV special, he picked through the heap and picked up a section with a star on it. He raised part of this crackling mess up to the light and said, "Yes, this is our flag. On the blue background behind the star is a hole used to line up the stars. It's a trade secret, and we make these flags exclusively for the U.S. government."

On the opening day of the trial the feeling of many was reflected in a comment by a reporter for the CBS-owned KMOX radio, "I can't believe they are actually holding this trial." After one hour of deliberation, the jury found the defendants guilty on all counts. The trial and the outrageous sentences—especially considering that neither one has any record—has made "believers" out of a lot of people in St. Louis. A motion for appeal has been filed for the Eighth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals of St. Louis. Bangert and Kandel are still free on bond.

In the four short weeks from the arrest to the trial many people signed a statement of support and wrote letters to the District Attorney demanding the charges be dropped. Many of those disagreed with burning the flag but saw the clear political nature of the attack. And since the flag burning itself countless numbers of people, especially in the Black communities have shaken the hands of *Revolutionary Worker* sellers after asking "Are you the people who burned the flag?" Re-runs of the flag burnings have been shown literally dozens of times in the local TV station since the November 27th action.

The feelings of the more class-conscious workers were perhaps best expressed by a white worker laid off from the General Motors Assembly Plant here in St. Louis. He had just bought a *Revolutionary Worker* at an unemployment office and told the seller, "Yeah, everytime they show that flag burning—we have a color TV—I set my son right up by the screen and we watch it. That was the most beautiful thing I've ever seen. I'm glad you reminded me about the trial. I'll make sure I watch the news tonight. They'll show the flag burning again."



Давно настала пора для открытого и сильного восстания рабов против своих хозяев. Пора спомнить и уничтожить образ американского рабочего класса как довольных и невежественных дураков.

Мы -- не пасивные гири в машине. Это хотели бы наши правители. Их постоянный показ представителей рабочих и народных политиков вполне доказывает их настоящие желания. Они знают и боятся, что среди нас есть люди, которые умеют смотреть на их дело открытыми глазами, которые видят и банкротство и лицемерие этого так называемого "лучшего из всех миров" -- мир, в котором насильственное существование делает убийство и самоубийство такими обыкновенными явлениями жизни как рождение детей. Но это сумасшедшее блудит на фоне мшатаба их возмниного варварства. Они знают и боятся, что по мере того, как крошки ими расбросанные и клзвзны ими напнтанные будут исчезать, наши кадры будут расти.

Все, что видит историк и умряемее и то, что уже давно было покорить, должны сделать шаг вперед, как собравшая сила, чтобы поднять революционные знамя нашего класса. Мы можем разбудить свои распренные рыды, чтобы они видели, что происходит в этом мире, освободить чувства давно затупевшие и заперенные сжухой зведненности, и показать им ясное будущее вперед.

Сегодня мы можем сделать решающий шаг в этом направлении.

Сделаем этот шаг своими ногами. Откажемся от ежедневной рутины, не пойдём ни на работу, ни в школу, ни на поиск работы. Сделаем этот шаг с демонстрацией на улицах Первого мая 1980 года. И таким образом скажем, как в этой стране раньше никогда не говорили: "Капиталисты! Рабочий класс -- не твердая спина вашего общества, а ваш громогласник -- приехали!"

Нет времени тратить. Мировой кризис, наступившая война, жесткие отны мира, империалистические руководители этой страны и им подобные в СССР, положили весь банк на стол. Они уже безнадежно рассчитывают на то, сколько народа может гибнуть за их зло, чтобы еще осталось достаточно народа и земли, которых они могут эксплуатировать, когда расцветет трибональные облака. Но их жестокие преступления вызывают сильное сопротивление. Они уже были ранены: в Иране и в Никарагуэ начались стрельба из оружия революции. Их кризис -- наша возможность, если сумеем ее использовать.

В гетто и баррио, где миллионы заключены на две обрета, слышат пламя. Нападают на то, что там убивают полицейских. Хаос кипит по всей стране, но с ним возникает вопрос -- будет ли потребовано только два дня справедливости или начата борьба за реформу, которые исчезают, как только они вытравы? Или хватит сил, чтобы дело провести до конца?

Пожары 60-х годов только добавили горючего к нашей уже горючей ненависти в то время, как хозяева иши называли рабочий класс "молчаливым большинством", вырсывали нам копелки и представляли как пример Арча Бушера, все время

работая в две смены, чтобы укротить нашу силу. К нашему стыду они выставили на показ рабочих "в твердых шалках", которые, даже американский флаг в одной руке, были тех самых студентов, за которыми мы должны были стоять. Их злое нападение на наше революционное руководство, их попытки осудить Зо'а Авакна и 16 других маунство-подсудимых показывает насколько хорошо они понимают свое дело.

Мы должны догнать, причисляясь к собравшему движению, шагнуть вперед, и таким образом позволить революционному движению и сознательному пониманию миллионов людей идти вперед в одном отрог с быстро изменяющимися временами. И мы должны это сделать сейчас потому, что иначе потеряем огромную возможность будущего.

Не случайно, что наша цель -- Первое мая. Первое мая -- международный день рабочих. По всему миру уже существует сила без нас, которая каждый год встречает Первое мая как свой праздник. Наши братья и сестры всех народов, при- знавая только красное знамя революции. Капиталисты хорошо это знают и боятся каждого Первого мая потому, что они ограбленные и растоптанные в каждом углу мира в этот день сигнализуют их колене. Затуманились наши телевизионные экраны от их показов русских танков, задавала нашу историю лжами и говора: "Вот, смотрите, чем кончится ваша борьба."

Но только подумайте, что это будет значить! Гигантское сердце международного пролетариата перепрыгнет в то время, как тысячи своих будут громить в улицах Америки, введя новое десятилетие.

Они постараются нас остановить любым способом. Но Первого мая нас не остановят. Мы все будем отвечать, зная, что наши сопот- ренные будут влететь на насчетку техок которые ненавидят эту систему, но ждут подходящего момента, чтобы действовать. Они увидят, что собралась оппозиционная сила и многие узнают свои настоящие интересы, поддержат наше движение, защитят ее и сами возьмут наши подбитые знамя.

Первого мая мы покажем, что рабочий класс США растет и развивает свою революционную часть, которая имеет объявить свои цели!

Стоять, объединившись, белое, черное, индейцы, азиаты, латино-американцы, мужчины и женщины, разделение здесь или за границей, как один, чтобы бороться с капиталистской системой и опрессией, дискриминацией и неравенством, которые ей пытаются!

Стоять плечо к плечу с рабочими и угнетенными мира, приветствуя и вдохновляясь угнетенными других стран, когда они нанесут удар нашим козлам, империализмом США или другим им подобным угнетателями!

Отбросить на всегда окравленное красное, белое и синее, неустанно разоблачая то, что стоит за их военными действиями и готовясь к войне не за них а против них!

Наша демонстрация -- Первое мая. Возьмем историю в свои руки, сплыв высочайшим интересам нашего класса. Где вы будете? Что вы будете делать? Кому вы будете служить?

**The May 1st 1980 Manifesto has now been published in Russian! Along with 40 thousand copies in English, many in Spanish and Chinese, this Manifesto has been printed altogether in 14 languages—many translated by people from these countries living here, who have volunteered, inspired by International Workers Day and the prospect of U.S. revolution.**

**Nowhere is this more significant than in Russia—that former homeland of socialism and the international working class, now transformed by Khrushchev's counterrevolution into a full-blown capitalist power, rivalling our own rulers in every corner of the world for domination. By sailors, by seamen, even by soldiers this Manifesto must and will find its way to Russia itself. Its message, "Capitalists, the working class—not your stable backbone of society, but your GRAVEDIGGERS—have arrived", is not only meant to inspire the wage slaves of the U.S., but their fellow workers in the capitalist Soviet Union.**

**These are workers, who, like us, face one of the two top dog exploiting classes in the world. These are workers, who, like us, face a difficult task of crashing thru their rulers' lies with the truth of class conscious struggle and revolution. These are workers who, like us, will win revolutionary victory over their superpower masters and thus strike a mighty blow for liberation of all humanity.**

**This Manifesto—subversive to the capitalist class everywhere it goes—is just a beginning. Since we face a common task, that of overthrowing our own rulers who seek to drag us off into a blind orgy of mutual slaughter, class conscious workers here will learn to speak a common language of struggle to our Russian brothers and sisters. This Manifesto becomes another kind of declaration—we will fraternize now, and fraternize a lot more later.**

*This letter appeared on the letters page of the Detroit News shortly after the May Day Brigade raised the red flag over the Alamo in San Antonio, Texas. Its appearance indicates how broadly May Day has gotten out.*

*The Chicano view of the incident described in the March 21st article "Three Activists Take Alamo—Texans Take It Back" is this: The Alamo is indeed "the most revered shrine in Texas." It is revered by every white citizen in San Antonio who believes in white superiority and white domination of a city that is over 50% Mexican-American. Elaborate ceremonies are held in the Alamo every year by the elite, white citizens of San Antonio. They select a white "king" who's crowned and driven through the streets in a carriage. He rules the city until his successor is chosen. No Mexican need apply. This so-called symbol of Texas independence is in fact symbolic of the ever-present racial discrimination against Mexican-Americans in Texas. "Remember the Alamo" is code for "remember to keep the Alamo in the future, and restore it to what it was intended to be—a Spanish mission, constructed by the Spaniards and the Indians, for all the people."*

**ON TO MAY 1ST**

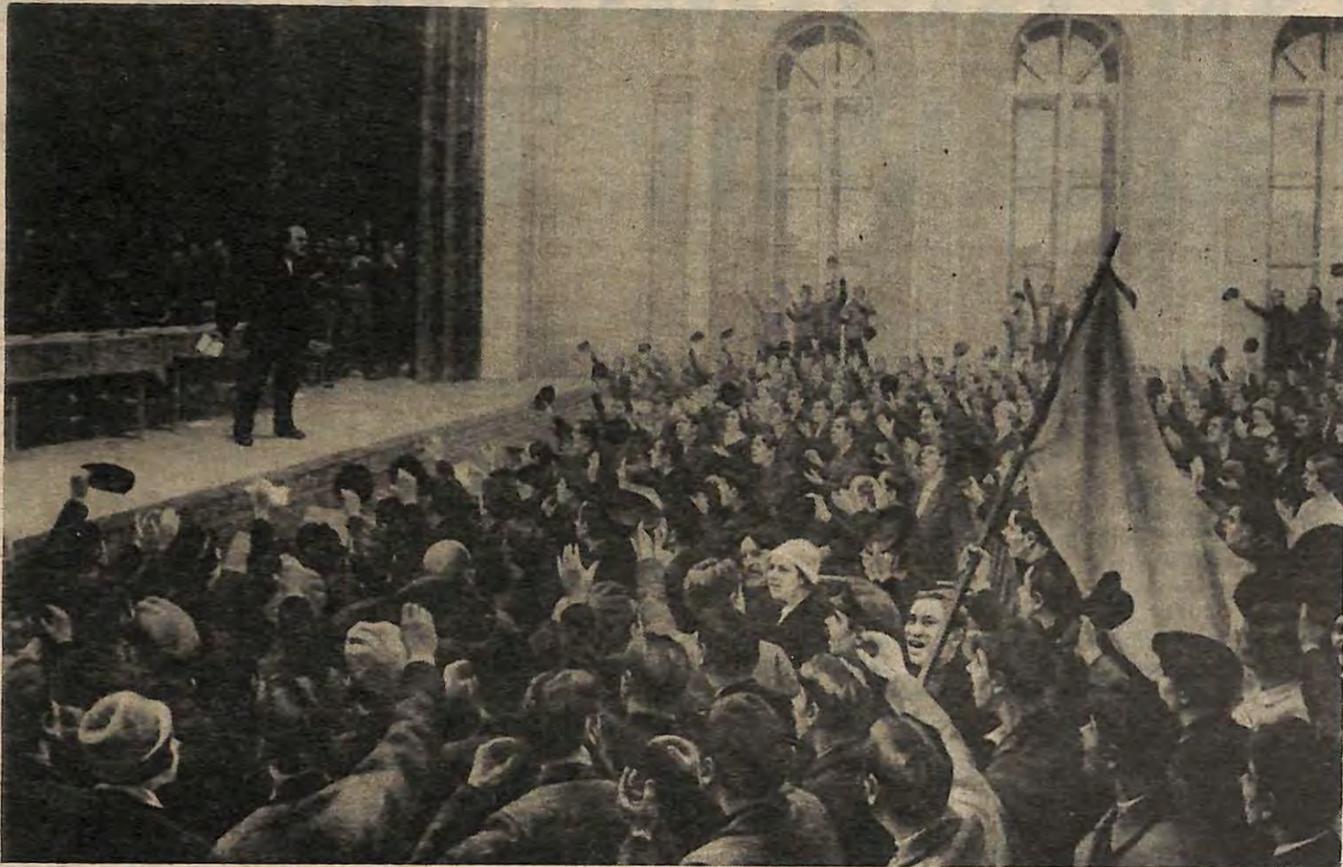
# LENIN ON THE PARTY OF THE CLASS-CONSCIOUS WORKERS

How important is political struggle and political agitation in relation to economic struggle? What about the needs and role of the advanced, class conscious workers as opposed to the mass of "ordinary" workers? These are crucial questions today as they were in 1899 when the Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin wrote *Apropos of the "Profession du Foi"*. Lenin was criticizing this document (the "statement of Belief") written by a group called the "Kiev Committee". Below are some excerpts from Lenin's article, taken from Volume 4 of the *Collected Works of Lenin*.

The very first sentence of the *Profession de foi* gives rise to the most serious bewilderment: "While admitting that the struggle for the political rights of the proletariat is the immediate general task of the working-class movement in Russia, the Kiev Committee nevertheless does not believe it possible at the present time to turn to the mass of the workers and call on them to take political action, in other words, it does not believe it possible to carry on political agitation, because the Russian workers have not, in the mass, attained the maturity for political struggle."...

"The Russian workers have not, in the mass, attained the maturity for political struggle"! If this is true, it is tantamount to a death sentence for Social-Democracy (Communism—RW) as a whole; for it means that the Russian workers have not, in the mass, reached the maturity necessary for Social-Democracy. In actual fact, there is not and never has been a Social Democracy anywhere in the world that is not inseparably and indivisibly bound up with the political struggle. Social-Democracy without the political struggle is a river without water, it is a howling contradiction, it is either something in the nature of a return to the utopian socialism of our forefathers who despised "politics," or to anarchism, or to trade-unionism.

Indeed, how can one speak of the "political education" of the workers, if one does not recognise the possibility of conducting political agitation and political struggle? Surely there is no need to prove to Social-Democrats that there can be no political education except through political struggle and political action. Surely it cannot be imagined that any sort of study circles or books, etc., can politically educate the masses of workers if they are kept away from political activity and political struggle. Surely Russian Social-Democracy does not have to go back to the viewpoint of the serf-owners who declared that it was first necessary to educate the peasants and then to emancipate them, or to the viewpoint of those ink-slingers who grovel before the government and say that the people must first be educated and then granted political rights. How can one undertake to bring the workers to recognition of the need to struggle for political rights and at the same time not believe in the possibility of calling on them to take political action, in the possibility of conducting political agitation? Arouse the consciousness of the need for political struggle and at the same time not call for political struggle?! What faldral is this? What does it mean? This kind of tangle is not the result of something left unsaid or of the unfinished nature of a rough draft; it is the natural, inevitable result of the dualism and equivocation that permeate all the views of the Kiev Committee. The Committee wants, on the one hand, to remain true to the basic principles long established in international and Russian Social-Democracy and, on the other, is infatuated with the fashionable Bernsteinian catchwords, "necessity," "gradualness" (end of Section I of the Kiev Committee's *Profession de foi*), "the directly economic character of the movement," the impossibility of political agitation and struggle, the



Lenin denounces Mensheviks and other reformists at 1906 meeting of workers and others in St. Petersburg.

necessity of adhering to the solid ground of real demands and needs (as though the struggle for political liberty is not called forth by the most real demand and need!); in a word, it is infatuated with the fashionable catchwords out of which such writings *à la mode* as the *Credo* (a reactionary economist manifesto—RW) and the *Separate Supplement to "Rabochaya Mysl"* are spun. Let us examine in its essence the thesis in which all the weak aspects of the *Profession de foi* now under discussion are focused, the thesis that it is "impossible at the present time to turn to the mass of the workers with the call to take political action"; that it is impossible, in other words, to conduct political agitation, because the Russian workers have not yet attained the maturity for political struggle. This last assertion is, fortunately, untrue (we say "fortunately," for were it true, it would inevitably lead Russian Marxists and Russian Social-Democrats into the quagmire of trade-unionist and bourgeois-liberal vulgarisation into which the authors of *Credo*, *Rabochaya Mysl*, and their numerous hangers-on in our legal literature are trying to push them). The Russian workers have, in the mass, not only attained maturity for political struggle, but they have on many occasions demonstrated it by engaging in acts of political struggle, often even spontaneously.

Is not the mass distribution of manifestos in which the government is condemned and castigated really an act of political struggle? Have not the Russian workers in the mass "used their own means" to deal with the police and the soldiery when these became excessively arrogant; have they not liberated arrested comrades by force? Have they not in many places fought in real street battles against troops and police? Have not the Russian workers in the mass, for more than twenty years, sent the best, most developed, most honest, and most courageous of their comrades into the revolutionary circles and organisations? But for the sake of a fashionable doctrine of bourgeois vulgarisation we, representatives of the revolutionary Social-Democratic Party, are supposed to forget all that and admit the impossibility of calling on the working masses to take political action! The objection will probably be raised that the cited instances are more often spontaneous outbursts rather than political struggles. To which we answer: Were

not our strikes mere spontaneous outbursts until the revolutionary circles of socialists undertook extensive agitation and summoned the working masses to the class struggle, to the conscious struggle against their oppressors? Can one find in history a single case of a popular movement, of a class movement, that did not begin with spontaneous, unorganised outbursts, that would have assumed an organised form and created political parties without the conscious intervention of enlightened representatives of the given class? If the working-class urge, spontaneous and indomitable, to engage in political struggle has so far taken mainly the form of unorganised outbursts, only *Moskovskiy Vedomosti* and *Grazhdanin* can draw from this the conclusion that the Russian workers have not yet, in the mass, attained the maturity for political agitation. A socialist, on the contrary, will draw from it the conclusion that the time has long been ripe for political agitation, for the broadest possible appeal to the working masses to engage in political action and political struggle. If we do not make this appeal, we fail in our duty and, in actual fact, cease to be Social-Democrats, since economic and trade-union organisations without political struggle have always and everywhere been advocated by zealous champions of the bourgeoisie. For this reason the persistent ignoring of the political struggle and the political tasks of the Russian working class, such as we see, for instance, in *Rabochaya Mysl*, cannot be called anything but criminal and disgraceful. This hushing-up is tantamount to demoralising the political consciousness of the workers, who see and feel political oppression, who revolt spontaneously against it, but who meet with indifference on the part of their socialist leaders or even with polemics against the ideas of political struggle. When we are told that the ideas of political liberty must be brought "gradually" to the masses, what can we call this but indifference and extreme narrowness? One might think that hitherto we have been too hasty in bringing these ideas to the masses, so that we need to curb and moderate ourselves!!! Or, when we are told that "a political clarification of the condition of the working class" is necessary only "to the extent that there is reason for it in each individual case," as though "reasons" for political agitation are not furnished by a multitude of

the most widespread, day-to-day facts of working-class life!

The effort to limit political agitation to the existence of reasons in each individual case is either senseless or it reflects a desire to take a step backwards in the direction of *Credo* and *Rabochaya Mysl*, a desire to narrow the scope of our already far-too-narrow propaganda and agitation. The objection will also probably be raised that the working-class masses are not yet able to understand the idea of the political struggle, an idea that is comprehensible only to certain, more developed workers. To this objection, which we hear so frequently from "young" Russian Social-Democrats, our answer is that, firstly, Social-Democracy has everywhere and always been, and cannot but be the representative of the class-conscious, and not of the non-class-conscious, workers and that there cannot be anything more dangerous and more criminal than the demagogic speculation on the underdevelopment of the workers. If the criterion of activity were that which is immediately, directly, and to the greatest degree accessible to the broadest masses, we should have to preach anti-Semitism or to agitate, let us say, on the basis of an appeal to Father Johann of Kronstadt (a priest who incited Great Russian pogroms against non-Russian nationalities—RW).

It is the task of Social-Democracy to develop the political consciousness of the masses and not to drag along at the tail-end of the masses that have no political rights; secondly, and this is most important, it is untrue that the masses will not understand the idea of political struggle. Even the most backward worker will understand the idea, provided, of course, the agitator or propagandist is able to approach him in such a way as to communicate the idea to him, to explain it in understandable language on the basis of facts the worker knows from everyday experience. But this condition is just as indispensable for clarifying the economic struggle: in this field, too, the backward worker from the lower or middle strata of the masses will not be able to assimilate the general idea of economic struggle; it is an idea that can be absorbed by a few educated workers whom the masses will follow, guided by their instincts and their direct, immediate interests.

This is likewise true of the political

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# Why There Was No Revolution in the '60s and Why There May Be in the '80s

Bob Avakian Speech in Cleveland

Following are excerpts from a speech given by Chairman Bob Avakian in Cleveland, Ohio during his national speaking tour last summer. See RW, March 21, 1980 for Part One.

I want to address, in the time we have left, one basic question that many people raise when we expose and bring to light what people feel, and concentrate their experience that this capitalist system is rotten through and through and can only bring more suffering and destruction on people, and needs to be overthrown; that revolution is the only possible way and the only road forward. Many people raise the question that I want to spend the rest of the time addressing, and that's the question of not only is it possible in general to make revolution, but what many people raise specifically: "Listen, I agree with you, this system is rotten, it needs to be scrapped, it needs to be swept out of the way, it needs to be buried; but listen, a lot of people have talked about and struggled and strived for revolution in this country before—I've heard this same talk before, this is the same shit I heard back in the 1960s. People were talking about revolution then, people tried to make revolution then, people went to jail for revolution then, people were killed for revolution then. So, since revolution didn't come about then, since all that effort didn't actually bring about a revolution, and in fact capitalism is still ruling over us, why then should we think that now, or in the future even, revolution is a real prospect? That revolution could actually come about? If it couldn't be made then, why do we think, or do we even dare to hope, that revolution can actually be made in the future?"

Now this is a big question, obviously. I can't and we can't go into it thoroughly in one meeting, but I think it needs to be addressed in a couple of aspects and we need to get down on some of the basic points on this. First of all, when we're talking about the movement of the 1960s and the revolutionary developments of that time, the revolutionary organizations, the revolutionary sentiments—the hopes and the dreams that were in the hearts of thousands, perhaps even millions of people, that a fundamental change could be brought about in this society—when we're talking about that, and then we look at what's here today and see that in fact that did not happen, we have to look deeply at it and we have to analyze, what was the character of the movement at that time? What gave rise to it? Why did it take the form that it did? And why ultimately was that particular movement not able to be carried all the way through to the goal of revolution?

And we have to understand this from two sides, in two aspects. First of all, from the standpoint of the enemy, from the strengths as well as the weaknesses of their system, from the ability that they had to maneuver and the moves that they made, the steps they took to prevent revolution from occurring; how and why they were able to do that, has that changed and if so how? And second of all, we have to look at it in terms of the revolutionary forces at that time, the people who stood to the forefront, called on others to take up the goal of revolution and fought for that goal: What were their achievements? What were their accomplishments? And what, on the other hand, were their mistakes, their shortcomings and their limitations? Why in fact did many of those forces fall by the wayside, why were they either destroyed or disintegrated as revolutionary organizations? And what can we learn from the positive and negative aspects of their experience?

In order to understand this, we have to look at and understand that we've been living in a rather unusual period in history in this country, and also how and why it is coming to an end. We have been living in a situation where those who rule over this country and who make our lives miserable every day have until recently been undisputed kingpins among all the imperialists, holding sway over vast parts of the world. They have had an unparalleled ability to plunder and rob and loot hundreds of millions of people and large parts of the areas and resources of the whole world. This is a period that existed coming off of and as a result of World War 2, and it is now coming to an end. And the capitalists in this country are trying to regain their "undisputed kingpin" position by going to war

once again and grabbing more of the world and beating out their Russian rivals at the cost of millions of lives.

But let's go back to what happened at the end of World War 2. Why was great struggle unleashed right within the U.S., along with rebellion against U.S. imperialism all over the world and especially in the colonial countries, in that period? Why did it erupt to tremendous dimensions in the 1960s and why did it take the shape that it did? You see, coming off World War 2, certain far-reaching changes came about in this society, not out of any concern on the part of the ruling class for the well-being or the needs or the conditions of the oppressed people in this country, but out of their own capitalistic drive, their dog-eat-dog necessity, their law of "gobble up or be gobbled up by others" (just like Chrysler has faced: even though it's a billion-dollar corporation, it's still on the verge of bankruptcy). And this never ending dog-eat-dog, eat or be eaten, swallow up or be swallowed, drive that these capitalists all have pushes them on and on to expand and gobble up more and to push workers out of the way and to replace them with machines, only to see this in turn cause more ruin and bring about more chaos and bring a greater threat to their system. And coming off World War 2, it's important to look first at the millions and millions of Black people who, even after the slave system was ended, formally abolished, at the end of the Civil War, still for many generations lived in virtual slavery, with the physical chains removed but the chains of debt strangulation, of being owned—if not outright, then still belonging almost body and soul to the man who still lived in the big house and owned the land and forced you to sharecrop from "can't see in the morning till can't see at night"—not much different from the old slave days, a system of sharecropping on the same plantation reinforced by KKK night riders, by the police, by all the laws and codes and conventions of segregation and all the rest of it. And this went on for decades, for nearly a hundred years, from the end of the Civil War until the beginning of World War 2. Millions and millions of Black people (along with several million poor white people, who had some privileges denied to Blacks and were often incited against them on this basis, but were poor and powerless themselves)—forced to live on plantations, working with only a mule and perhaps a little seed and having to turn over the greatest part of what they produced to the master, the owner of the land—not much different from in many of these countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America that still have widespread feudal conditions.

And what happened through and at the end of World War 2? First off, out of their need for war production, when millions were in the armed forces and the so-called defense plants and other industry had to be (and was temporarily able to be) cranked up almost to full gear, the capitalists needed and lured many Black people off the plantations of the South to the cities of the North—where many were promptly laid off once the war came to an end. But also, after the war, again out of their own drive for more profit, out of their need to compete with other capitalists in this country and even around the world—in Pakistan, for example, or in Egypt where the British still had control—out of all that, the capitalists in this country finally decided that it was more profitable and necessary for their survival as capitalists to introduce machines massively onto the plantations. And so they brought in tractors in a big way, they brought in picking machines, they brought in planting machines and they pushed millions and millions of people who had been sharecroppers off the very land they had for generations held them on, chained by debt and terrorized by the KKK, the police, and other night-riding scum. Now they unleashed the same terror to drive them off the land, forcing them onto the road. In this great land of opportunity—where everybody, of course, lives and works exactly where they've always dreamed of living and working!—millions of people were forced to leave the land that they'd worked and poured their sweat and toil into and were driven into the cities, some in the South but more and more into the North, into the Cleverlands, Chicagos, Detroit, the New Yorks, the Pittsburghs, driven by the anarchy and the dog-eat-

dog ways of this system.

But something new also happened. A very important change took place along with this. Because before, while people had been chained in backward and isolated conditions, each or only a few on separate plots of land with backward conditions, often not seeing each other, now all of a sudden millions were thrown together in the miserable, teeming and sweating slums of the cities. The system could not assimilate them on any basis even approaching equality, it had long since become parasitic and declining; it gave a few jobs to the Black people driven into the cities, but the great majority it kept in the most menial positions, always last hired and first fired, barely able to survive if they had a job at all, forced at more than twice the rate of whites into unemployment and in large numbers even into the degradation of welfare. But at the same time, millions were being crowded more and more in this hellhole and rat-infested housing of the city slums, hundreds of thousands strong in many different cities. And this actually provided a stronger basis for them to fight back.

It is a fundamental law that wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Wherever you look in history or whatever country you look at, the oppressed have never passively accepted their oppression. They have always found one way or another to resist, to rise up, to revolt, to rebel. The history of this country is no different and the history of Black people in this country is certainly no different. If you look back to the slave years, there were over two hundred recorded—actually recorded—slave revolts, to say nothing of the others they wrote out of history to keep the slaves, along with those who sympathized and stood with them, from learning about them. And when the Civil War came along, and finally the slaves saw their chance to be free of slavery—much against all the lies of *Gone With the Wind* and all the rest of this reactionary Robert E. Lee bullshit—hundreds of thousands of slaves enlisted in the Union Army and went to the front ranks and fought the most decisive battles, despite the fact that even in that war and that Union Army they were paid *half the wages* of the white soldiers. The history of all the oppressed people in the world, including this country, has always been that wherever they're oppressed, they seek and strive and struggle to rise up and find a way out of it.

But, again, something new had developed. Millions of people were no longer isolated and kept largely apart from each other, but were thrown together—yes, in miserable, wretched conditions—but nevertheless able to recognize and realize a potential strength—for the first time, perhaps, even if in the most menial, dirtiest jobs, working together with others in industry, crowded into the same slums and ghettos. And particularly the youth who were not born in these backward conditions but were born (the first generation perhaps) on the streets of the city slums, particularly they marched to the forefront, struck out first, rose up and burned this country down from one end to the other and brought forth many of the older people. And I remember seeing at that time on the television news old people hobbling out with a cane in one hand and a shotgun in the other to take part in these rebellions. And I remember myself and thousands of others feeling a pulse of joy leap up from our hearts at seeing the oppressed rising up and setting an inspiring example for people all over this country and indeed the whole world.

This is what was happening all across the country. And at the same time, throughout the world, because the rulers of this country were the biggest world-wide looters and plunderers, because wherever England had to pull back at the end of World War 2, wherever France had to pull back at the end of World War 2, wherever Germany and Japan or Italy or Holland or Belgium was no longer able to hold on to their colonies, wherever they were forced to pull back and try to liquidate their losses, in came the rulers of this country, letting a bunch of puppets run up a phony national flag and squeezing the life blood out of the people of the country even more viciously. And because of that position all over the world, from Asia to Africa to Latin America, and throughout the world, "Yankee

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**Black youths face off against National Guardsmen in Pittsburgh, Pa. at the height of the urban rebellions of 1968.**

Go Home!" became a rallying cry of the people rising up, and from one end of the world to the other people rose up, unarmed and then armed to battle against this colonial domination and imperialist oppression.

And at the same time something was also going on in this country that affected a whole generation of people. Because, again, not out of any concern for the needs of the people, not out of any desire to see their conditions improve, not out of any sharing of the dreams of people to make a better life for themselves and their families, but out of their *own need*, out of the laws of their capitalist system and because of the panic that was created among their ranks. After the Russians put their space satellite "Sputnik" into orbit, the rulers of this country in the '50s and '60s opened the college doors a little wider than they had before, built some new colleges and expanded admissions to colleges, more than they had in previous periods. They let some of the lower middle classes in more, let even some of the working class in, and in the face of tremendous struggle, some of the very poorest and even the oppressed minorities got into college a little bit more; tens, maybe even hundreds of thousands of students went to school, perhaps the first one in the history of their family that ever went to college. Why? Because as I said, it is the constant tendency of capitalism to replace workers by machines and to introduce new technology which requires a handful of people to have a little bit more technological understanding, engineering understanding and so on to be able to run it. And along with this was the fact that while Khrushchev brought back capitalism in the Soviet Union in the mid-'50s, at the same time as he sent the red flag crashing into the ground he sent the satellites into the sky. Sputnik was the first signal that capitalism restored in Russia was going to be a potential challenge and danger to the rule of the U.S. imperialists and their undisputed position as kingpins on top of the whole imperialist dung heap. When Sputnik went up in 1957 the rulers of this country panicked, and this added to their need to train a few more engineers and technicians and scientists.

And for all these reasons, a generation of youth was affected. More went to college. For the first time, perhaps, in the history of their families they were let into the college doors. And what did they find? They found another example of the lie of the American Dream. They found that you can go to four years of college and join the ranks of 100,000-plus unemployed teachers. They found that the best that you can hope for after being pushed around, after being treated like a faceless number, given an IBM punch card and shuffled around from one place to another and lied to and bullshitted by a bunch of drunken fools or fossilized idiots who call themselves professors (not all are like this, but many are)—that after going through all that, and being told to stick your nose in a book and mildew away, body and mind in some ivory tower—after going through all that, the most that you could hope for and the highest that you would achieve would be to become a minor cog in the machinery and the gears of oppression, and more likely still, be directly ground down under that machinery. And this is what thousands and ultimately millions of youth rebelled against. They rebelled against a whole shitpile of the "American way." They looked out at the life that had been cut out for them. And they also looked out at the world as it was changing and being turned upside down, and they wanted to be part of that. And let's face it—many, many parents were shocked and outraged by what their kids did. "We scraped, we hustled, we worked two jobs, we suffered, we sacrificed, to send you to college—and what did you do? Damn if you didn't burn the goddam thing down?" Well, right on!

'Cause that was the best thing that those students could have done. What else could or should they have

done? With military-murder training centers, so-called ROTC, what else could they have done with CIA recruiters that came in to recruit hired killers who enforced imperialist plunder throughout the world? What else could they have done when executives from Dow Chemical who came into the campuses and said they were gonna recruit people to work for them and make jelly gasoline napalm to drop on old women, old people, pregnant women and little kids in Indochina? When they said that the students there had the right, had the First Amendment right to enlist in this blood-soaked cause—what else could or should the students have done but run them and chase them off the campus and knock them to the ground if they could catch them?

Many of the parents were shocked and outraged. They said, "We sent you to college to become zombies, what are you doing waking up?" And the kids, their feelings were very much like those expressed in a song I heard recently. There is this dude out here who sings some good songs, his name is Bruce Springsteen, he's got a song called "Independence Day" and it's got a heavy line in it from son to father. It says "Poppa go to bed now"—and he just don't mean it's 11 o'clock at night. He means you and I don't see eye to eye, and if you can't help out, get out of the way. "Poppa go to bed now, it's getting late. . . They ain't gonna do to me what I watched them do to you." And this is the bitter truth and a lot of youth took that stand: "My life is not gonna be over at age 25, living this lie and just waiting 40 years to be officially declared dead and buried. To hell with this red, white and blue murdering madness. Fuck this goddamned so-called best of all worlds. I'm not standing with the rulers of this country and their murder and plunder and oppression of people here and around the world. Everything they hate I love. Everything they want to crush I cherish and uphold. Everything that they say is wrong and sinful I say is right and should be supported. The oppressed people, the very people you are trying to crush and degrade here and around the world, are my friends, my allies, I stand with them in rising up against you! To hell with the whole future that's no future that you've carved out for me!"

And it was a bitter experience, but many of the parents, many of the old people were forced to and did learn from this. They got an education the hard way—which in fact is the only way you can get it out here in the real world. Things don't come cheap and easy, and casting off illusions and giving up the idea that by going along with this system somehow you can make things better for yourself and the next generation—that's hard, it's a bitter pill to swallow, but many of the youth forced the older people to face up to reality and begin to deal with it for the first time in their lives and shatter the lie of Howdy-Doody and Leave It to Beaver.

People said, "We're not going along with this any more." This was a tremendously important lesson, not only for the youth but for many of the older people. And it went against everything established. You go and check out this movie, "The Buddy Holly Story." Again some of the truth comes through. Just to sing a little bit of rock-'n'-roll, especially some of these white working-class youth, to sing some rock-'n'-roll, was declared to be sinful, un-American, everything else, and in a certain way it was. 'Cause what they were doing was learning from and, in fact, taking up the music that was created from among a lot of the Black people. From pious sermons on Sunday to civil leaders, this was declared to be subversive, sinful, un-American, and in a certain way it was, because a whole generation of youth was subverted out here, and it was the best thing that ever happened in this country! The very best thing that ever happened in this country! Because for the first time people began to wake up thoroughly and say, "We're not gonna be whores, praising our pimps

any longer out here. We're not gonna be slaves, having our lives mangled and telling our kids that there's nothing you can do about it, look at me, live like me, be like I was and give up your life before it's even begun." Now I'm telling some hard truths, but people who've been through this know that it's true. And it's time we recognized the truth and quit being afraid of it. We don't *have* to be zombies. We don't *have* to be walking around in a daze. We don't *have* to go along with this system. But we've got to make a conscious choice to look at the truth squarely in the eye, take it in our hands and use it and join with people all over the world to use it to change the world. And that's what a whole generation of youth were rising up to do in that period.

Do you remember this country at that time? People who were running up these filthy little red, white and blue blood-soaked rags were forced to be defensive! It was a tremendous thing. And that's gonna come again and even more deeply and profoundly. People who wanted to wave that blood-soaked rag of plunder were put more and more on the defensive, afraid to do it, afraid to step out and talk any longer about the madness that "this country is the greatest country in the world, and where else but in this country could you have so many good things?" Yes, well, where else but in an imperialist country like this could a whole generation of youth be sent off to drop napalm and burn down whole villages and murder people in another country—and then the next generation have a goddam model held up of the fucking Village People standing up singing about "join the navy"? Where else but in a country like this could such madness go on, and people have the nerve to call it the greatest thing on earth! The youth at that time, they saw through those lies, and they were striking back against them. Even among the middle classes, millions of people, especially the youth, were standing with the uprisings of Black people and other oppressed people in this country and hundreds of millions around the world fighting this same imperialist system.

But what happened? Why didn't it go all the way? Why didn't revolution get carried all the way through? What we have to recognize is that because of their position of plunder and looting in the world, the ruling class of this country had the ability and, seeing the necessity, took the steps to hold back that one force in society that could transform that movement from protest and rebellion into revolution, the one force which when it became radicalized and jolted awake could not only shake this country to its foundations, as was done in the '60s, but could lead a movement to carry the fight all the way through and uproot it and overthrow it—that one force that is and must be and will be central and decisive in revolution—the working class in this country, Black, white, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American, Asian, all nationalities, men and women. But this force did not come to the fore and unite as a class, conscious of its interests, and lead all the oppressed toward the goal and struggle to carry things through to revolution. Why?

Let's face up to it. Now I go around and talk to these reporters, and a lot of them say, "You'll never make revolution in this country—people are too fat and happy—everybody's got a color TV." Well I wonder, how many people here got a color TV? Let's be honest. I do. Now how many people in this country right now—how many people in this room at least, right now—wouldn't take that color TV and bash it over a pig's head to make revolution—I want to know that! See, there you are, just about everybody. But nevertheless, it is true that the working class did not step forward to take the lead, even in the face of a tremendous upsurge and rebellion that engulfed millions of people in this society and shook this country to its foundations, that panicked the rulers of this country and caused them to drop much of their tattered cloak of democracy and come out openly as the murderers that they were, in Fred Hampton's apartment, at Kent State and many other places. They panicked, but they also saw what they had to do, and in the short run they were able to do it and they did it. They had thrown and consciously continued to throw out crumbs to the workers, especially the basic industrial workers. Coming from their plunder and looting in the world—and even though threatened and battered in many parts of the world, they still held on to much of their ability to plunder, and they gave out a few crumbs, especially to the better organized, better unionized workers. They gave a few more benefits in exchange for a lifetime of slavery and oppression, they gave a dental plan and took back a health plan, they gave with one hand and took away with another, but they kept people, millions of workers in factories with their heads down, chasing the same piece of cheese through the same rat maze, ending up nowhere but with a broken dream and a burning gut.

They were able to do this, and they paid careful attention to pacifying crucial sections of the working class. Because they understand its potential role in rising up against this system. And we should understand, we should learn from our enemy. They understand very well and acted upon the understanding that when the working class becomes radicalized, when it becomes revolutionary, when it becomes politically conscious and steps out onto the stage of history, it has the potential strength to move along millions and millions of oppressed people, and not only shake this whole country to its foundations, but more than that, uproot and overthrow the whole rule of capitalism.

But they not only move to pass out a few crumbs as

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# Button Day

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almost 200 workers bought "the badge." Workers responded to the sharp challenge posed by the revolutionaries—to those who do understand what's going on, who burn with desire for revolution, to step forward and play their role TODAY—knock the backward fools out of the spotlight. All day, March 27, the back and forth continued around wearing the button. At a cafeteria table, a revolutionary approached to sell some more buttons. While a debate kicked off, he noticed May Day buttons coming out of pockets and being pinned on, to make it clear where these workers stood.

In small factories where for many workers things are intolerable—revolution and May Day spread like wildfire. In several cases, 50 out of 100 workers or 20 out of 40 workers wore this symbol of the future. The international character of the proletariat struck a special chord in these sweatshops, the only place of employment for many foreign-born workers. As an Italian woman said, pointing to the red flag, "I did the same thing in my country when I was a young girl."

This day spoke to the future. What would be the fate of our revolutionary leadership that is capable of leading us out of this shit? Would the future be red, white and blue? Is this the "greatest of all countries" or is it like Bob Avakian put it in last week's RW—"a bitter farce."

May Day organizers began agitating to the 40 people at a bus stop. A backward fool started screeching, "Why don't you leave if you don't like it? I defend my country." The revolutionaries immediately shut her down—"She's standing with what this country's done all over the world." Calling especially on the foreign-born in the crowd, they said, "You know the truth about U.S. imperialism. You tell it: We've let these flag-waving fools set the terms too long. Let your voices be heard—buy a button and a Revolutionary Worker." One by one (22 in all), they walked in front of the prim patriot, now standing with her fingers stuck in her ears, to buy newspapers and buttons.

## Attacks on Button Day

The very thought of thousands of May Day buttons proudly displayed—encouraging fellow slaves to defend our revolutionary leadership and get ready for May Day—freaked authorities in cities across the country. In St. Louis, six to eight police cars followed half a dozen May Day organizers from site to site. At three different points, they got out of their cars, lined up at "parade rest" with their billy clubs ready for action. It was a blatant attempt to intimidate the masses. At the high school, it appeared they had succeeded—students quietly filed by, but four different students paused a half step and whispered for just the revolutionaries to hear—"Come back at noon—I'm ditching school to go with you." In Los Angeles on the eve of March 27, eight May Day Brigaders were stopped in their vehicle, held at gun point on the ground and then charged with burglary—of their own CB radio! The police confiscated hundreds of buttons and a sound system, and impounded the vehicle. "Sweep up the Reds—stop these revolutionary weapons from getting into the hands of the people" was clearly the message. To anyone who thinks for a minute, all this has the opposite of the pigs' intended effect. If revolution is so out of the question, if revolutionary leadership is so isolated, if May 1st is a silly dream—then why attack it so viciously? In fact, these attacks often sharpened up these big political questions for the advanced workers.

But it appears overall that what really made the difference building for Button Day, what accounts for uneven experiences, was not repression, but more whether or not those revolutionaries organizing button day really grasped what all this is all about. Is Bob Avakian's revolutionary leadership urgent for revolution, or is it not? Is May 1st itself bound to be a crucial test, a stepping stone to revolution, or something far tamer and well short of that? This is all what makes it decisive whether or not the advanced forces are challenged and begin to be welded into a class-conscious force. This understanding pushes things forward. It does not rest content.

Satisfied with the fact that a man

bought a button for himself, one May Day organizer moved on to the next person. Another revolutionary hurried over to the man. "Look, if you understand what's going on and are taking a stand, don't you think you have a responsibility to get others to see the revolutionary possibilities ahead, and that we have to get prepared to seize them?" Thinking it over, he agreed and took 15 more buttons to sell. At one plant, most workers who had already signed a public statement issued to their fellow workers that they wouldn't work on May 1st were not even approached to sell buttons to their fellow workers or friends. Rightist pessimism was overshadowed by new troops boldly stepping forward, full of the revolutionary spirit that we have absolutely nothing to lose but our chains, determined to keep Bob Avakian on the streets and turn the world upside down with his revolutionary line. One youth at a high school, the son of a longshoreman, joined the local May Day Brigade, saying, "Today, I have to make a decision. Either I go to college or I go with you. I'm going with you." Late that night, he was still out, studying the Party's Programme with the revolutionaries he'd met that day.

As the results of the battle for the 30,000 buttons continue to come in, there is a wide variation in the number sold. But through all this, those who hate this shit are today being forged into a class-conscious force, and they were wearing the button on March 27—getting set for May 1st. This in itself clearly demonstrates the basis for thousands to be in the streets on May 1st—to step into the future. As Bob Avakian put it in his New Year's article in the RW, "To move thousands (and to strongly and directly influence tens and sometimes hundreds of thousands) now is very significant." Thousands today become leaders of millions tomorrow, as conditions sharpen. And sharpen they will.

Just as the button day advances were made in the midst of great turmoil and struggle, including in the revolutionary

ranks, new advances toward May 1st will be made by building and strengthening these and rolling over all obstacles to a section of the workers taking history into their hands on May 1st, 1980.



As two Revolutionary Worker reporters were leaving a prison administration building, they met a man walking in about to begin serving a four year term. The reporters introduced themselves and the brother said, "Hey, I picked up your newspaper in Youngstown, but I left it on the bus. I heard how the May Day Brigade got busted out there." He then produced from his small case one of the few possessions he had chosen to bring with him into the prison—a leaflet reading "Take a Stand on March 27. Wear a May Day Button!"

# Shah

Continued from page 3

tral part of the U.S.' plans to reassert its control in Iran and that they are actually looking for ways to get him out of the way. Even Henry Kissinger, one of the Shah's closest "friends" in the U.S., recently commented that it was time to let this "poor, sick man die in peace." The Shah himself seems to have gotten the message—according to the Egyptian newspaper *Al-Ahram*, he now believes that the CIA has been hatching a plot to murder him. Having worked hand-in-glove with these sophisticated imperialist assassins for years, this may have given him added reason to move to Egypt in the hope of surviving his next "operation."

Thus, the Shah's latest move is a new embarrassment for the imperialists, underscoring the extent to which the situation in Iran has backfired on them. A particularly telling turn of events was the response of most of the families of the hostages, who went on record publicly as protesting the possibility of bringing him back into the U.S. How different things are now, than four months ago, when nearly all of these families "courageously and solemnly united" behind every move of the U.S. government.

## New Struggle, Turmoil in Iran

In Iran itself, this week's massive demonstrations has further strengthened the hand of the progressive, anti-imperialist forces, dealing the U.S. hopes for a "turnover" of the hostages to the government's Revolutionary Council a powerful blow. The compromising foreign minister, Ghotzbadah, tried (and failed) to pick up points by claiming that the Shah's move was triggered by his brilliantly engineered extradition case prepared by his team of French lawyers. Attempting to take advantage of the collapse of

Bani-Sadr and Ghotzbadah's wheeling and dealing with the U.S., the reactionary Ayatollah Beheshti and Khalkhali of the Islamic Republican Party have taken to threatening to place the hostages on trial and to cut ties with the U.S. in an effort to hide their own recent compromising behavior.

In a further indication of the increasing difficulties the bourgeois forces in the Revolutionary Council are having in taking the initiative out of the hands of the masses of people, as well as a sign of the increased infighting among their own ranks, the second round of the much-heralded parliamentary elections have now been postponed pending an investigation of widespread fraud and ballot tampering that chiefly benefitted the Islamic Republican Party forces. These maneuvers may also be aimed at the Left, including revolutionary Moslem forces such as the Mojahadeen, who won a number of seats in the election. With all this turmoil, the first possible seating of the new parliament is now being put back to June.

Quoted in the *Washington Post* recently, one bourgeois Iranian politician complained that in addition to being unable to get the embassy seizure over, "they've done nothing about housing, land reform, public hygiene, factories that are closed, unemployment, and if they don't, the second revolution is coming."

Once again, the masses of people are calling the shots in Iran, leaving the imperialists and those who would compromise with them falling all over each other. The Shah can't return to the U.S. because he's widely becoming more hated everyday, he's a liability to the stability of any of the U.S. puppet countries because he's a provocative symbol of U.S. domination, and in Iran itself any move he makes only serves to focus and intensify the anger and determination of the people. With this in mind, it would be no surprise if the Shah's cancer, which seems to be becoming increasingly contagious, did turn out to be fatal.

# RxR

Continued from page 6

possibility of millions, led by Bob Avakian and the RCP, rising in revolution to overthrow their system in the decade ahead. In the immediate period ahead while gathering strength to make a great leap on to history's stage May 1st, class-conscious workers and others must continue forward, thousands more, to defend Bob Avakian and the RCP from all attacks now concentrated most in the case before the Court of Appeals in D.C. The stand of thousands must be continued to be made known, especially now while this legal case lies in the hands of the Appellate Court and the battle for May

Day rages in the streets of the country. The National Office of the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants is calling for a new wave of telegrams to engulf the appeals court in D.C. The objective of this show of opposition and the continuing battle around this case is clear: to state boldly and clearly that the working class and the masses of people in this country will fight and win the battle to keep the leadership of Bob Avakian and the RCP, so that on May 1st 1980, a tremendous leap can be made toward the future, where the threat that so worried the U.S. prosecutor on March 27th will become a reality and this system will be laid in its grave.

1/2 page ad run in the Washington Post signed by hundreds.

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

To: The District of Columbia Court of Appeals, U.S. Attorney Carl Rauch, and Asst. U.S. Attorney Mary Ellen Albrecht

We, the undersigned, condemn the U.S. Government's continuing efforts to harass, intimidate and jail Revolutionary Communist Party Chairman Bob Avakian and 16 others for 241 years. Through the judge presiding in their case, thousands of people from all over the U.S. Government failed to take any account of the thousands of people from all over the U.S. Government with the judge's full cooperation, filed notices of intention to appeal this decision with the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. Clearly this attempted railroad of the Mao Tsetung Defendants is not yet over.

DEFEAT THE APPEAL! DROP ALL THE CHARGES ONCE AND FOR ALL!  
KEEP BOB AVAKIAN AND THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS FREE!  
National Office of the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants  
1108 18th St. N.W. D.C. 20039  
Phone: (202) 367-2963

The judge's demand order cited a defense motion which charged "prosecutorial vindictiveness" by the U.S. Government against the Revolutionary Communist Party, its members and supporters. This motion cites the history of the mistreatment of criminal charges and top level government involvement against Bob Avakian and 16 other defendants in this case.

- First arrested on January 29, 1979 at a demonstration in front of the White House against the visit of Chinese Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping to the U.S., 78 persons were charged with misdemeanor riot.
- Within 12 hours, charges were initiated by fabricated affidavits on police officers when former U.S. Attorney Earl Silbert, of Washington fame, personally appeared in court to state that the U.S. Government had "good cause" against all 78.
- In late June, 17 were notified of their indictment on 5 to 7 felony charges. Bob Avakian was among those indicted although up to the present time no government witness at a police lineup has identified him— even as having been present at the scene of the crime.
- In early July one group of 3 defendants were arraigned on 12 felony charges and a second group of 9 defendants on 13 felony charges; all 17 were charged with misdemeanor riot.
- In mid-August, subsequent defense motions to consolidate the two groups into one common trial, the U.S. Attorney re-indicted all 17 defendants and all were re-arrested on 25 felony charges and one misdemeanor.

So long as this case is pending in the Court of Appeals, Bob Avakian and the other 16 defendants can, at any time in the next 21 to 33 months or so, again face these same charges. They may still be forced to go on trial for their political views in a case which cannot be allowed to set the political climate for the 1980s.

When plans for this major trial of political repression targeting Bob Avakian and the 16 others were made, the U.S. Government failed to take any account of the thousands of people from all over the U.S. who would and have begun to step forward to stand against this vicious attack. It was in the face of this overwhelming opposition to their attack on the U.S. Government that the U.S. Attorney's plan to appeal the decision was forced to back off. But the U.S. Attorney's plan to appeal the decision was forced to back off. But the U.S. Attorney's plan to appeal the decision was forced to back off.

We will not allow the opposition of thousands to the U.S. Government's attack on the Mao Tsetung Defendants to be sidetracked by the transfer of this case to the Court of Appeals. Most importantly, we will never stand by silently and allow the U.S. Government to work out new tactics to prevent this outrageous attack. We demand:

The undersigned have the honor of certifying that the following persons are:

1. [Name]	2. [Name]	3. [Name]	4. [Name]
5. [Name]	6. [Name]	7. [Name]	8. [Name]
9. [Name]	10. [Name]	11. [Name]	12. [Name]
13. [Name]	14. [Name]	15. [Name]	16. [Name]
17. [Name]	18. [Name]	19. [Name]	20. [Name]
21. [Name]	22. [Name]	23. [Name]	24. [Name]
25. [Name]	26. [Name]	27. [Name]	28. [Name]
29. [Name]	30. [Name]	31. [Name]	32. [Name]
33. [Name]	34. [Name]	35. [Name]	36. [Name]
37. [Name]	38. [Name]	39. [Name]	40. [Name]
41. [Name]	42. [Name]	43. [Name]	44. [Name]
45. [Name]	46. [Name]	47. [Name]	48. [Name]
49. [Name]	50. [Name]	51. [Name]	52. [Name]
53. [Name]	54. [Name]	55. [Name]	56. [Name]
57. [Name]	58. [Name]	59. [Name]	60. [Name]
61. [Name]	62. [Name]	63. [Name]	64. [Name]
65. [Name]	66. [Name]	67. [Name]	68. [Name]
69. [Name]	70. [Name]	71. [Name]	72. [Name]
73. [Name]	74. [Name]	75. [Name]	76. [Name]
77. [Name]	78. [Name]	79. [Name]	80. [Name]
81. [Name]	82. [Name]	83. [Name]	84. [Name]
85. [Name]	86. [Name]	87. [Name]	88. [Name]
89. [Name]	90. [Name]	91. [Name]	92. [Name]
93. [Name]	94. [Name]	95. [Name]	96. [Name]
97. [Name]	98. [Name]	99. [Name]	100. [Name]

Over 200 May Day Busts

# They're Not Playing— And Neither Are We!

In a speech given in Cleveland on his national speaking tour, Comrade Bob Avakian said, "Now they can't stand for us to be out here telling the truth to the people and not backing off of it. And each time they attack us, we go further, we go deeper, we go broader and we take that question to more people—and that's why they keep coming down harder and harder. 'Cause they're not playing a game. And we're not playing a game either." (This speech was excerpted in the last issue of the *RW* and continues elsewhere in this issue.)

The last seven weeks alone have proven this. In this short period, as the word of May Day has shot from coast to coast, and particularly as the Revolutionary May Day Brigades have torn apart the illusory calm in city after city. There have been 207 arrests. Bail demands totalling *hundreds of thousands of dollars* have been levied as judges and magistrates pound their gavels. People have been beaten, their lives threatened.

Incident after incident testifies to the seriousness with which the bourgeoisie is taking May Day 1980. In Atlanta, shortly after a Brigader was kidnapped by reactionaries and her life threatened, a man was arrested and charged with spray-painting a federal building. He was held on \$35,000 bail. At Lockheed Aircraft in Los Angeles, the cops waited in ambush until leafleters had finished. The police followed the revolutionaries, pulled them from their car, and shoved shotguns in their faces as the car was searched for "dangerous weapons." In Houston, 7 stopped at gunpoint. In West Virginia, Brigaders arrested for carrying the red flag. In Chicago... in Cincinnati... in Cleveland... in Honolulu....

It would be a sad and foolish mistake to think that these arrests, beatings and death threats represent simply the whims of local police and courts. While the activity of the Brigade and others has certainly invoked reaction—in all senses of the word—on every level, there is certainly something bigger happening here than the vengeful rage of some hog-jowled, pig-faced West Virginia (or New York) cop (or judge). Remember in Youngstown, there was clear direction given to the local authorities by no less than the State Attorney General.

He played a direct role in raising the bail of the Brigaders from a few hundred to over \$4,000 each. And more recently, Secret Service agents in Chicago made it clear that this score was being orchestrated from above. "We broke a lot of these (red flags—*RW*) in Beckley," said the goon-in-a-suit to a brother who had been detained for disrupting a John Anderson rally. Upon busting people in Los Angeles, the police remarked, "We've got some of Bob's boys here." Common from the pigs has been, "You won't be marching on May First." And in D.C., the cops told people, in so many words, that they intended to finish the job on the RCP they had started on January 29, 1979.

No, what these facts indicate is far more than local knee-jerk recoiling to the color red; it is, in fact, the top rulers of this country that are seeing red.

The Chairman has shown on many occasions, and said in the speech quoted above, that "Many people say they don't believe that revolution is possible in this country, they don't believe the question of making revolution is real. I'll tell you something, the people who run this country do. The people who run this country know this shit is serious, they know that the question of millions of people coming into motion against them is real...."

They are worried about crisis. They are worried about upheavals. They know how many people hate this shit, hate this stinking government and in general hate what our rulers have the balls to call "the greatest country on earth." But more, than this, they know that this whole country will soon be a powderkeg and they are deadly worried about the fuse that will be lit on May First. Our enemy is well aware of the potential social impact that even 10,000 workers and others, welded together as an *organized contingent* by a revolutionary political line and under revolutionary leadership, will have. So the point is this: they are moving now to stop May Day dead in its tracks in an attempt to break up the advanced section of the working class which has begun to coalesce around the leadership of the Revolutionary Communist Party. After all, if there was no threat represented here, if the enemy didn't see the potential of May Day 1980—often

times, frankly, more clearly than even some Party members do—then tell us, why in the hell have activists been the object of arrests, beatings and death threats?

Some have asked: isn't all this activity focused up around May Day too great a risk? Aren't there better, safer tactics? Isn't there some other way? In a word—no, there is no other way. And this is because "they're not playing a game, and we're not playing a game either." Most people should know by now that when you slap your enemy, your enemy slaps you back. And there are obviously *greater* risks ahead than those encountered to date. But first of all, the Chairman has stated what our response is to all this: "And each time they attack us, we go further, we go deeper, we go broader and we take that question to more people." Can anyone deny that advanced experience has *proven* in practice that when May Day 1980, and with it the general line of the RCP concentrated especially in the *Revolutionary Worker*, is correctly taken out to the masses of people, that many who "hate this shit" are willing, in fact demanding, to step forward to take history into their hands *despite the goddam risks*?

Moreover, we've got higher interests than saving our own skins. What was it,



for example, that compelled a Black comrade in a Beckley, West Virginia courthouse to wave the fragment of a red flag he had salvaged right in the faces of the pigs who had torn it up a day earlier? What is it that is drawing many like him to come forward and fill the ranks of the May Day Brigades? It is this: a refusal to live any longer under the boot of the oppressor, and more, the understanding, the *conscientiousness*, of the stakes involved in the battle over May Day 1980.

And what are the stakes? They are nothing less than seizing—or throwing away—the opportunities before us. And fundamental to this is the question of our ability to make revolution in the period ahead, an achievement which will do the world's people an historic service by eliminating a scourge which has plagued the earth for far too long. □

## Benton

Continued from page 7

with an old car piled with kids right in the midst of it. Squad cars pulled up on the scene. "Hey you can't do that! I'm gonna give you a ticket!" "Oh yeah? FUCK YOU!" two girls yelled, and the car kept on going. The demonstration spilled into the streets, creating perhaps Benton's first traffic jam of the year. The chants rang louder, "School sucks," "the administration sucks!"

But the youth were out for more than just letting off a little steam. They wanted to confront "the enforcer," Principal Charles Oyler and the big chief, School Superintendent Albert Gulley. Over 200 youth headed back to the high school for a sit-down demonstration. Oyler was waiting, arms folded over his ex-Marine officer chest, paunchy gut sucked in, crewcut almost bristling with rage. "You've made your decision to stay out for the day. You can't come back on school property," he barked.

Undaunted, the kids went right up in his face and gave him the finger. A hit-and-run type battle ensued. One youth, fist held high, shouted defiantly "we'll get him!" as the cops forced him to leave school property after he refused to obey Gulley's orders. Crash! A rock shattered the window of Benton High as the last students were hauled off in squad cars at 3:30.

"We saw the Iranian people do it on TV"—"We heard about how people revolted against the war in Vietnam—we figured this is our chance," several students told the *Revolutionary Worker*. "We walked out because the teachers, they rule over us. They try to tell us what to do, what to think. Principal Oyler, he thinks he's the commander and we're the privates," said one girl in disgust. "They try to give us their values—make us calm and cooperative," said another student. Yet another joined in, "You're not allowed to express your opinion." "It's a prison, not a school. Next year they'll put bars over the windows."

Five minutes late? You are counted absent but must sit in class without participating, or go to study hall. After 14 tardies/absences during the semester, you are expelled until the following semester. You have three minutes in the bathroom.

The town authorities flew into a wild rage at the walkout. The town newspaper, the *Benton Evening News*, ran a banner headline saying—"STUDENTS MUST MAKE UP LOST TIME." In his editorial the

paper's editor whined, "I hope they (the students—*RW*) can appreciate that school officials will have to devise some form of punishment." The school board in classic form issued a statement, "We are very sorry that the reputation of the school has been damaged because of the unwise action of a few students. We hope this action will not be repeated." And the snooty student government types (some of whom had initially called for some form of protest of the teacher firings) got into the act also. The student representative to the school board wrote in a letter, that read in part, "The purpose of the student walkout was to prove a point, not to promote violence and hard feelings. Our complaints were not against Mr. Oyler, but the decision of the School Board not to rehire Mr. Hunt and Mr. Garrett. We don't want the actions of a few troublemakers to interfere with the original purpose of the demonstration... We are sorry that this demonstration ended the way it did because of the actions of a few immature students." As for these ass-kissers, one student described their role in the walkout like this: "We all walked out," he gestured to his friends, "but the high-society types, you know, when we looked back they were still in the building."

It was the working class youth who pulled off this walkout in a simple and small-scale, but nonetheless extremely powerful, demonstration of the bold and uncompromising role of the working class in fighting those who rule over the masses of people, and of the daring and explosive role of youth in smashing through the walls of madness and filth that many have grown used to being surrounded by.

This did not go unnoticed by the parents of these rebels. An informal poll at Jean's Country Kitchen restaurant indicated that the overwhelming majority of parents supported and were inspired by the actions of their children. "Why did the kids walkout? Because they was getting shit on," said one mother, "I wish we'd done it when we were kids."

While the working class youth of Benton do not consider themselves revolutionaries (yet!) or their walkout a revolutionary act, they have been driven to take this very rebellious action by a powerful force—the very force of this crushing and degrading system that is daily and hourly impelling people into motion smack up against it. This one day walk-out is a sign of the times and a very positive one at that. It is a glimpse of the future that is being brought into being.

Five West Virginia police arrest one May Day Brigade member.



Revolutionary Worker

# May 1st 1943: The War

May 1, 1943, Warsaw, Poland. The sound of pistols and the smell of kerosene from molotov cocktails filled the narrow streets of the Jewish ghetto. It was the 12th day of the Warsaw uprising; thousands had turned their doorways into fortresses, taking on the mighty German imperialist army—routing German patrols, destroying tanks, battering the Nazi chauvinist propaganda about the “passive, inferior race” with homemade weapons and even bare hands. Now, from the barricades and the bunkers, hundreds of fighters made their way through tunnels, across rooftops, to 18 Mila Street, the headquarters of the Jewish Fighters Organization (JFO), which had called for and organized the uprising. Many literally fought their way through. There were no big parades or demonstrations this day, but here in the largest of the 631 underground bunkers of the ghetto, May Day, International Workers Day, was celebrated in the midst of the battle. In the Mila Street bunker, the class-conscious workers of the Warsaw Ghetto pinned badges of red linen to their shirts and listened to a broadcast from Radio Moscow which told them of Stalin’s May Day speech. Then, in the first action of the uprising carried out in broad daylight, the fighters donned German uniforms they had stolen, goose-stepped through the streets right up to the German patrols, and suddenly opened fire. Just as suddenly they retreated, fighting their way past other patrols to get back to the Mila Street headquarters to sing the anthem of the worldwide working class—*The Internationale*. One fighter later wrote, “Holding our weapons, we softly sang

the *Internationale* amongst the charred ruins, bearing witness to youth battling in the ghetto who do not forget its meaning...and the words and the meaning of the singing reverberated....”

Almost from the beginning of the German takeover of Poland, with its accompanying unleashing of terror against the Polish people and the Jews in particular, the Jewish working class in Warsaw had resisted. In April 1940, when the Nazi occupiers stirred up Polish lumpen (petty criminal) elements to begin a pogrom (mob attack and killing) on the Warsaw Jews, they were met by “defense groups made up of slaughterhouse workers, truck drivers, carpenters, and stone masons, (who) drove off the attackers with clubs, fists, iron pipes and brass knuckles. The pogrom ended abruptly....”

But right from the beginning, the Nazis relied on a force of murderous traitors who not only opposed resistance against the German occupation by the Jewish workers, but literally carried out the political rule for the Germans in the ghetto. Half a million Jews had been forcibly herded into the walled ghetto of Warsaw. The Nazis appointed Zionist elements—proprietary Jews from the upper and middle classes—to Jewish councils (called Judenrat); their task was to administer the ghetto for the Germans.

When the Nazis began their “liquidation campaign,” the Judenrat compiled lists of all Jews and their property, registered all births, maintained police forces whose main job was to round up Jews to be sent to the extermination camp at Treblinka, and even collected

taxes from those being shipped to their death to pay for the expenses. Meanwhile, the leaders of the Judenrat opposed all resistance to the imperialists, claiming, “It may be assumed in Warsaw, in the heart of Europe, the Germans would not dare exterminate the Jews.” They turned in 6000 Jews a day in exchange for which they and their families were exempt. By the time of the uprising, of the original half million people in the ghetto, there were only 60,000 left alive.

The head of the Judenrat said that resistance to the Germans was wrong, that it angered them and “endangered the ghetto.” He brought out some religious figures to call the resistance fighters “provocateurs” for refusing to go peacefully to the slaughter the imperialists had in store for them. The activity of these Jewish “leaders” is a telling exposure of the whole Zionist philosophy. (This was an idea which came to full flower only after the war when the state of Israel, the so-called “Jewish homeland,” was set up by Britain and the U.S. Zionist gangs drove countless Palestinians and other Arabs off their land at gun point. Thousands and thousands were murdered.)

But also telling was the role played in Warsaw by the Jewish Workers Bund. This organization claimed to represent the working class, it claimed to be socialist. But actually the Bund was a nationalist group guided by the idea of “my people first.” It made up the majority of the ghetto trade unions and included some professionals. The Bund’s main social base was among the more skilled workers of the ghetto and the relatively privileged position of these workers effected the attitude of the Bund toward struggle against the Germans: *the Bund opposed the call for the uprising*. Bund leaders used the cowardly excuse that *everybody* in Poland wasn’t ready to rise up against the Germans, so the Warsaw ghetto workers should wait and wait some more until “conditions were ripe.” This was, of course, a flimsy cover—and here the Bund fared no better than the Zionists. The masses were condemned to a peaceful walk to the extermination camps by these so-called leaders.

But the workers, particularly the more politically advanced workers, along with the youth of the Warsaw Ghetto especially, had other plans. Led by the Polish Workers Party (a Communist Party which had been reconstituted in 1942), the JFO began to form combat teams in the factory districts to carry out sabotage, organize slowdowns in the workhouses and on the labor gangs, and collect German uniforms for



later use. They also published illegal literature which, among other things, called for preparations for a mass uprising and linked the struggle in Warsaw to the international struggle of the working class.

These workers saw what the real situation was and refused to let themselves get dragged down by the backward sentiments the Zionists and Bundists had promoted among many in the ghetto. They had been inspired by reports from Stalingrad, where the masses of the then-socialist Soviet Union had sent the supposedly invincible German army on the run. By seizing the time, they knew they could galvanize the hatred of the broad masses for their oppression and turn it into all-out struggle against the oppressor.

On April 19, 1943, outnumbered, surrounded by heavily armed German troops that eventually would number



**MAY 1st —  
WELD THOSE WHO  
HATE THIS SHIT  
INTO A  
CLASS CONSCIOUS  
FORCE!**

# Warsaw Ghetto Uprising



Resistance fighters.



Warsaw in flames.

5,000 while they had only 7 rifles and 50 revolvers, suffering from starvation and disease due to four years of Nazi occupation, they issued the call—"Resist! Make the ghetto another Stalingrad! Every threshold a fortress!" Against strong opposition from the Zionists and Bundist leaders, many youth of those organizations answered the call and joined the JFO.

Organized into three main districts based on the main factory areas, the JFO planned for people to make their stand in the factories. Jurgenstroop, the German SS General called in to try to prevent the uprising, complained, "The managers knew so little of their own shops that the Jews were in a position to produce any kind of arms inside these shops, especially hand grenades, molotov cocktails, and the like."

On the first night of the Jewish holiday, Passover, when the German patrols marched into the ghetto, the workers and youth began crossfiring from factories on opposite sides of the narrow ghetto streets. The main body of the German patrols was wiped out that night. There was later found a young ghetto girl's diary with this entry for April 19: "The ghetto has arisen! The ghetto has arisen! The great and glorious hour of the future has struck because the survivors of misfortune, degradation and gruesome torture... have dared to straighten their spines!"

The next morning there were three flags flying from the walls of the ghetto, to let the rest of Warsaw know that the ghetto was rising up. The German soldiers were able to tear down the Polish national flag and the Zionist flag, but the workers rescued the third flag before the imperialists could get to it. It was the bright red flag of proletarian revolution.

Fearful that the revolt would spread beyond the ghetto to Warsaw itself, the German high command instituted a siege of the ghetto, beginning to burn buildings to the ground in an attempt to force the fighters to surrender. But it was too late. The underground tunnels and bunkers that had been built in

preparation for this battle were alive with the spirit of the uprising, as combat groups continued to crisscross the ghetto, striking at night and hiding in the day. Half of the groups were made up of women, causing Jurgenstroop to complain bitterly, "We never know which girl might have a hand grenade up her bloomers, so many of them did." While most of the fighters knew that there was no possibility at all for their survival, surrender was out of the question. There was truly nothing to lose, and a whole world to win.

This is the spirit of the Warsaw uprising that the May Day celebration that year concentrated and pushed forward. Jurgenstroop had thought that the resistance had finally been put down because things had been quiet for two nights prior to May 1. But the reports he ended up turning in that day were the gloomiest of the battle, partly because the German casualties were higher than on any other day except the opening of the uprising, and partly because his aides reported widespread dismay and unrest among his troops during the battles of May Day.

May Day also marked the formation of "wild detachments" (as they were called in the diaries of the people who fought in the ghetto). These were groups of workers who would leap out of doorways in broad daylight and attack the German troops, calling on people to come out of their houses and join the fight. In one neighborhood, where the imperialists had used flamethrowers to set the houses on fire, old women stormed out into the streets during a wild detachment attack and clawed out the eyes of several German soldiers.

On May 16 the Warsaw uprising ended. To wipe out the resistance, the German army had to raze all but eight buildings in the entire ghetto, and kill all but 100 of the residents, many of whom escaped to the forests and swamps in the Polish countryside to join other resistance fighters. The heroic struggle had destroyed numerous German tanks, killed 300 Nazi soldiers, and wounded 1,000 more. At a time

when the German imperialists' military machine had been forced to go on the defensive and was badly in need of time to reorganize, the uprising inspired millions throughout Europe to step up the struggle. At least six more armed uprisings in ghettos and even in death camps broke out in the following three months.

In order to wage the Warsaw uprising, the Warsaw Ghetto workers had to overcome the obstacle presented by backward forces who sneveled that "oppression isn't so bad" or "let's wait un-

til later to fight." But *later* would have been *too late*. The heroic and selfless struggle of the workers of the Warsaw Ghetto stands today as an inspiring example—one which not only dealt a severe blow to their immediate enemy, but moreover, an example which pointed the way for people the world over to free themselves from the yoke of the imperialist beast.

"Without question," said a JFO leader to his comrades on May Day 1943, "our struggle will have great historical meaning..." □

## Pick Up the Red Flag

A May Day argument with myself.

Pick it up, pick it up.

*A whisper.*

Pick it up.

*A demand.*

People shot before you in the street!

*Pick it up*

You loved him dearly

*Pick it up*

You never knew him

*Pick it up*

Will you ever have the chance again?

*Pick it up*

It is your blood running in the streets

*Pick it up*

It is your living, flaming heart

*Pick it up*

**PICK IT UP**

Yes.

*Into the future.*

*Carry it, carry it.*

# LENIN

Continued from page 11

sphere; of course, only the developed worker will comprehend the general idea of the political struggle, and the masses will follow him because they have a very good sense of their lack of political rights (as the Kiev Committee's *Profession de foi* admits in one place), and because their most immediate, everyday interests regularly bring them into contact with every kind of manifestation of political oppression. In no political or social movement, in no country has there ever been, or could there ever have been, any other relation between the mass of the given class or people and its numerically few educated representatives than the following: everywhere and at all times the leaders of a certain class have always been its advanced, most cultivated representatives. Nor can there be any other situation in the Russian working-class movement. The ignoring of the interests and requirements of this advanced section of the workers, and the desire to descend to the level of understanding of the lower strata (instead of constantly raising the level of the workers' class-consciousness) must, therefore, necessarily have a profoundly harmful effect and prepare the ground for the infiltration of all sorts of non-socialist and non-revolutionary ideas into the workers' midst.

To conclude the analysis of the Kiev Committee's views on the political struggle (I add the following). The Committee, in a manner that is highly strange and, at the same time, highly typical of the entire *Profession de foi*, not considering it possible at the present time to call on the masses of the workers to take political action, recognises the desirability of organising partial demonstrations for purely agita-

tional purposes (and not for the purpose of bringing pressure upon the government) on issues that are comprehensible to the broad masses. Socialists calling on the workers not to bring pressure to bear on the government!!! That is about the limit... Only it is beyond our ken how demonstrations that do not bring pressure to bear on the government are possible. Should we perhaps recommend to the workers that they demonstrate within the four walls of their hovels and lock the doors before they begin? Or perhaps they should demonstrate by making the gesture of the fig with their hands in their pockets? That would probably not bring such harmful and ruinous "pressure upon the government"! And we also despair of understanding what is meant by a "partial demonstration." Does it, perhaps, mean of one trade, on issues of that trade alone (again: what has this to do with socialism?), or, perhaps, on partial political issues and not against the entire political system, the autocracy in its entirety? But if this is so, are these not purely and simply the ideas of *Credo* and of the sheerest opportunism, ideas that extremely lower and obscure the political consciousness and the political tasks of the working class? If this is so, hadn't we better repeat the "winged phrase" of a "young" metropolitan Social-Democrat: "It is premature to discredit the autocracy among the workers"?

The *Profession de foi* displays an extreme narrowness of views not only in regard to the question of "politics." "At the present time," we read, "agitational influence brought to bear on the masses can only take the form of, firstly, assistance in the economic struggle of the proletariat. The Committee, therefore, takes advantage of every clash between the workers and the employers, or every important fact of abuse on the part of the employers, to address a manifesto to the workers ex-

plaining to them their situation and calling on them to protest; it takes a leading part in strikes, formulates the workers' demands, shows the best way to win the demands, and by all these means develops class-consciousness in the workers." That is all; nothing more is told us on the economic struggle. And this is a *profession de foi*! Read these passages over again carefully: Again we have here the language of the *Credo* and the ideas of the *Credo* (which illustrates once more the abysmal blundering of the *Rabocheye Dyelo* editors who stubbornly desire to conceal the views of the "young economists" and to see in them nothing but the deviations of individuals).

For the socialist, the economic struggle serves as a basis for the organisation of the workers into a revolutionary party, for the strengthening and development of their class struggle against the whole capitalist system. If the economic struggle is taken as something complete in itself there will be nothing socialist in it; the experience of all European countries shows us many examples, not only of socialist, but also of anti-socialist trade unions.

It is the task of the bourgeois politician "to assist the economic struggle of the proletariat"; the task of the socialists is to bring the economic struggle to further the socialist movement and the successes of the revolutionary working-class party. The task of the socialist is to further the indissoluble fusion of the economic and the political struggle into the single class struggle of the socialist working-class masses. The diffuse expressions of the Kiev Committee's *Profession de foi*, therefore, open wide the doors to Bernsteinian ideas and legalise an impermissibly narrow attitude to the economic struggle.

Lastly, the narrowness and specific character of the Kiev Committee's views are reflected in its organisational

plans. It is true we agree fully with the Kiev Committee that this is not the time to announce the re-establishment of the Party and to elect a new Central Committee; but we view as utterly erroneous the opinion concerning the "directly economic character of the movement," the opinion that the Russian proletariat "is not prepared for political agitation." It would also be an error to wait until "local groups grow stronger, increase their membership, and strengthen their connections with the working-class milieu"—such reinforcement often leads to immediate collapse.

On the contrary, we must immediately set about the work of unification and begin it with literary unity, with the establishment of a common Russian newspaper that must make an effort to prepare for the re-establishment of the Party by serving as an organ for the whole of Russia; by gathering correspondence and news items from the circles in all localities; by providing space for the discussion of disputed questions; by extending the scope of our agitation and propaganda; by devoting special attention to organisational questions, to tactical and technical methods of conducting the work; by satisfying all the demands of the most developed workers, and by constantly raising the level of the lower strata of the proletariat (attracted by workers' correspondence, etc.) to an ever greater conscious participation in the socialist movement and in the political struggle.

Only in this way, we are convinced, can real conditions be provided for the unification and re-establishment of the Party, and only a direct and frank polemic against narrow "economism" and the growing spread of Bernsteinian ideas can ensure the correct development of the Russian working-class movement and Russian Social-Democracy.

## Why There Was No Revolution In the '60s and Why There May Be in the '80s

Continued from page 13

long as they can, they also move to shackle people's minds—and they didn't do this by accident, so, again let's learn from them—they made a very deliberate attempt to say to people in this country, especially people rebelling against this system, "the working class in this country is not only not revolutionary now, it never will be. It is reactionary and it always will be." And why do you think, other than to say that, they put Archie Bunker on TV? Now first of all, he's just a goddam foreman (just like the foreman in *The Deerhunter*—the guy they had in *The Deerhunter*, who's supposed to be a "Joe Dumb Worker," was in reality a goddam foreman in a steel mill in Gary that they got to act in the movie to say "this is your typical worker"). They know what they're doing! They hold up as examples and models of the working class the most hide-bound, idiotic, sour-bellied, narrow-minded backward fools! And they say to the masses of people, workers and others in this country who are looking for people to unite with to make revolution, "Give it up, forget about it, here is your working class—people who don't give a damn about oppression in this country and this world, who don't know about it, don't care about it, and don't want to know about it—they just love this system and they even love Richard Nixon when millions of other people hate him." They didn't put that on TV by accident, they put it on there on purpose. And we know there are Archie Bunkers and there are Edith Bunkers out there in this working class of ours. But even they—like the people in Levittown I spoke of earlier (see last week's *RW*, March 21, 1980—Ed.) are being banged on the head and forced to question, and millions more people will be in the period ahead as things sharpen up.

But in the short run, in the late '60s and early '70s, the capitalists still had enough strength, economically and therefore politically and ideologically, to keep the majority of the working class divided, fighting among itself, and playing a backward, not an advanced, not a revolutionary role—not a role at the forefront but a role of largely standing aside from this struggle. Though thousands of workers, young and old, Black, white and others, joined in the various movements of the time, nevertheless, as an organized united force, conscious of its interests as a class, our class did not step to center stage and rally the oppressed forward. We have to face up to this, but more than that we have to analyze why. And what we have to understand most basically is this: that it stemmed from the position and the temporary strength, the top-dog imperialist in the world position and strength that our ruling class still maintained at that time—and to a certain degree still

maintains, though it finds it challenged more and more, at home and abroad, through the very workings of its system, through the struggle of people oppressed by it throughout the world and through the growing rivalry of yet another powerful imperialist force, the Soviet Union.

This temporary strength, the remaining reserves, of the imperialist rulers of this country, stemming from their top-dog position and enabling them to pass along crumbs to pacify crucial sections of the working class—this is the basic reason why that movement at that time did not get carried all the way through. In the face of it, serious questions and problems and obstacles posed themselves for revolutionaries at the time, questions they came up against and attempted to deal with. What to do in the face of that? How, in fact, could the revolutionary movement be maintained, what direction did it have to take, how did it have to move in the face of the fact that this upsurge of the '60s and early '70s was ebbing, how did it have to and how could it prepare for the next upsurge, and prepare in such a way as to make it decisively and qualitatively different, get ready for the future possibility of bringing the working class to the forefront when crisis deepened and conditions sharpened up in the period ahead?

Most of the revolutionary forces at that time broke their heads against these obstacles and were not able to find the way forward. But a tremendous achievement, and the most lasting and most important product of the movement of that time was the formation of a genuine Marxist-Leninist vanguard party, that because it went deeply into the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, because it fought for a correct political program and ideological understanding and outlook, was able not only to survive but to become strengthened and tempered as a revolutionary force. This is our Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, which was formed in 1975 but whose roots lie in the revolutionary upsurges of the 1960s and early '70s, not only in this country but world-wide, and which was able, for the reasons I've just stated, to advance beyond the limitations of that movement, especially in this country, to build on its real achievements but to learn from its shortcomings and make the leap to a revolutionary organization on a level that in truth has never existed before in this country. This does not mean we can stand still and sleep on our achievements—just the opposite, we have to keep on advancing and prepare for much heavier struggle than anything that has come before. And to do this, and more than that to arm and bring forward many, many more people to join in this process, it is extremely necessary for us to deeply sum up the experiences and lessons, positive and negative, of the movement of the 1960s, through which many thousands of people turned toward revolution and out of which our Party, the

vanguard party of revolution in this country, developed.

And in particular, it is important for us, in the time that we do have left tonight, to look at what was in fact the most advanced revolutionary organization at that time, the organization that more than any other in the upsurge of the late '60s up to the early 1970s stood as the most militant, most serious organization calling for and leading people toward revolution and stood in the most fundamental way at the forefront of the upsurge at that time. What were its strengths, what were its accomplishments, what were its achievements, and what on the other hand were its shortcomings, weaknesses and limitations that led to its ultimate destruction as a revolutionary organization? And I think you know that I'm talking about the Black Panther Party.

(To be continued next week)

### The Loss in China and The Revolutionary Legacy Of Mao Tsetung



Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA at the MAO TSETUNG MEMORIAL MEETINGS 1978

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# President: Cure Inflation by Raising Prices

In the past several months, news of inflation and the U.S. economic situation has been pushed off the U.S. imperialists' front page by events in Iran and Afghanistan. But, in the background, this economic situation continues to worsen. In fact the challenges thrown at U.S. imperialism by their equally imperialist Soviet rivals in Afghanistan, and by the masses of people in Iran, are related to the deteriorating economic situation: all are factors impelling the imperialists towards war.

The rate of inflation from January 1979 to January 1980 was 14%, while the rate for both January and February 1980, extrapolated to the annual rate, has been 18%. This is the worst inflation rate since wartime wage and price controls were removed in 1946.

When they found out about the January rate, the rulers of this country huddled. Carter consulted with various capitalists, congressmen and "civic leaders" amid signs of fear and nervousness in the stock and bond markets. Finally on March 14, carefully waiting until after the stock market had closed for the weekend, Carter unveiled his fourth major anti-inflation program since he took office. It promises to be about as effective as the previous efforts. And these very anti-inflation measures carry the constant danger of triggering an economic crash and depression.

The measures recently announced by Carter illustrate the way the bourgeoisie is trying, for the time being, to deal with the wounds of inflation through a combination of band-aids and quack medicine. The balanced federal budget, for example, which is supposed to be a keystone of the program, is rather obviously a fraud. Various federal agencies recently estimated the budget deficit for the fiscal 1981 budget at \$25-30 billion. But Carter's "balancing" program called for only \$13 billion in budget cuts. Then the President's Council of Economic Advisors (which had previously given a \$30 billion deficit estimate) came up with an estimate of a \$14 billion deficit. And now, Carter says he will try to trim \$15.5 billion.

Then there is the oil import tax, part of the announced anti-inflation program, which is projected to raise the price of gasoline by at least 10¢ a gallon. How, it might be asked, does raising the price of gas curb inflation? It doesn't. It does, however, have something to do with the strength of the dollar and the U.S. bourgeoisie's political relations with the other countries in its bloc and it fits in with the general rhetoric of "austerity" and consumer "discipline" in which the program is shrouded.

This chicanery and quackery of the measures Carter outlined is bound to be a feature of anything the ruling class comes up with on the inflation front these days. For they are unable to deal with the economic crisis of their system in any comprehensive way.

## Their Real Anti-Inflation Program: War

Imperialism is vulturistic and decadent, living by plunder—and this is why it is in crisis. The only way the imperialists can get out is by opening up new fields of plunder and beating off rival imperialists—in other words through inter-imperialist world war. It is only in this light that many of the specific measures "to fight inflation" can be understood. Thus the budget has been not so much cut as re-structured—more for "defense" (preparing for war militarily) and less for social programs (preparing for war through belt-tightening). This has been a feature of the past two years and will undoubtedly continue.

Likewise, the bourgeoisie's whole effort to achieve greater energy self-sufficiency for the U.S., of which the oil tax is the latest part (the tax will have the effect of cutting gasoline consumption), is related to war preparations, striving to get away from being dependent on a "thin line of tankers" stretching across the ocean. Also, moves to cut back on oil consumption have the purpose of trying to rectify the huge

U.S. balance of trade deficit somewhat. However, this mainly has a political purpose and is aimed at reassuring the other countries in the U.S. bloc somewhat, most notably western Europe and Japan, rather than having any significant economic effect. These countries are uptight about the balance of trade deficit since it fuels inflation which makes the billions of U.S. dollars they have worth less and less. Taking steps to cut oil consumption is an attempt to keep the U.S. bloc together, once again in preparation for war with the Soviet bloc. Carter emphasized these connections when speaking of this proposal to officials of the National League of Cities: "It will mean our first real belt-tightening since World War II, when we fought against fascism."

The projection of belt tightening is quite real. Although Carter, concerned with renomination and re-election, has not announced just where the cuts in the federal budget will come from, it appears that they will mainly involve revenue sharing for states and cities (mainly spent on social programs), job-training programs, food-stamp benefits, child-health assistance, and possibly eliminating Saturday mail deliveries.

Credit card restriction makes up the final aspect of the program Carter announced. The banks and retail outlets that run credit card operations will have to deposit funds, interest-free, in the federal reserve system if they increase the amount of credit they have outstanding. Since this amounts to paying a tax, these banks and companies will tighten things up by making use of their cards more expensive or more difficult.

But let us go back a few years. The main way in which the capitalists were able to get out of the 1974-75 recession was through a tremendous expansion of credit and debt. Production was stimulated by allowing—in fact encouraging—consumers and businesses to make purchases by going deeper into debt. Since then, credit card debt owed by consumers has increased from just over \$12 billion in 1975 to almost \$30 billion at the end of 1979—a 13% increase. This was a deliberate program on the part of the bourgeoisie; in many cases, credit cards were simply mailed to people, and every encouragement was given for their use. Now many users will have the rug pulled out from under them.

And credit card debt was only a part of consumer credit debt, which stood at \$335 billion by the middle of 1979. Further, this does not count the debt owed on home mortgages, which totaled \$882 billion at the end of 1978. Nor does this include business debt, which has increased by at least the same rate. Finally, this whole "debt economy," as it has been called, has been propelled by government debt. On the one hand the state has stood behind and encouraged the great growth of private debt, and on the other it has increased its own indebtedness. It has been estimated that the overall level of debt increased by 50% between 1975 and 1978. And this does not include 1979, which was a "banner year" for increase in credit and debt.

## Inflation and Parasitism

The fact that the economic recovery since 1975 has been to a great degree based on this rapidly expanding bubble of debt has insured that the recovery has been weak and fragile, accompanied by virulent inflation. For inflation is a matter of more money being in circulation than is required by the actual value of the commodities in circulation. In other words, more money is printed up by the government and put into circulation without a corresponding increase in the total value of commodities in the country. Therefore, the value of each dollar goes down. An expansion of credit and debt is just like an increase in the money supply, for getting things on credit and going into debt means being able to get a commodity as if there were money to cover the purchase.

Furthermore, the purposes to which much of this credit has been applied have been, to a greater and greater extent, unproductive and parasitic ac-

tivities—that is, economic activities and investments which basically do not advance the productive forces of society but are designed to gain wealth through such things as speculation or interest on loans. Further, loans themselves may be for either productive or basically parasitic purposes.

For example, look at the loans and investments of U.S. commercial banks in 1975. About 50% went for speculative and unproductive investment, in the form of real estate loans, securities loans and investment in government securities.

The increasing parasitism of the imperialist economy is shown by the general growth of real estate, sales, banking and government sectors relative to the productive base of the economy. The state sector, in particular, has expanded tremendously, especially in the U.S. since World War 2, and has spawned a huge bureaucratic apparatus in response to the administrative, financial and repressive needs of the U.S. empire. Linked to this is also the immense growth of that sector of the economy directly linked to the military, which is parasitic not only in the sense that production for the military generally does not increase social wealth, but also (and more importantly) in that the whole purpose of the burgeoning military is to enforce the position of the U.S. imperialists as international parasites.

Finally, this whole imperialist structure is parasitic in the most basic sense in that it lives and grows by sucking off the wealth created not only by workers in the U.S., but in every country it can lay its bloody hands on around the world. The parasitic internal economy of the U.S. is built on this parasitic relation to its empire.

Inflation goes hand in hand with this increasing parasitism. For the financing of the growth of an increasingly large unproductive and parasitic sector is bound to be inflationary. Wealth can only be actually created through productive activities (where actual value is created); unproductive activities can only siphon off wealth created elsewhere (as a matter of fact, by the working class). Thus imperialism's vast increase in unproductive, relative to productive, economic activities will tend to be financed through an increase in money supply without an increase in the total value in circulation. And this tendency becomes much more pronounced, both as a cause and effect, as U.S. imperialism moves into crisis.

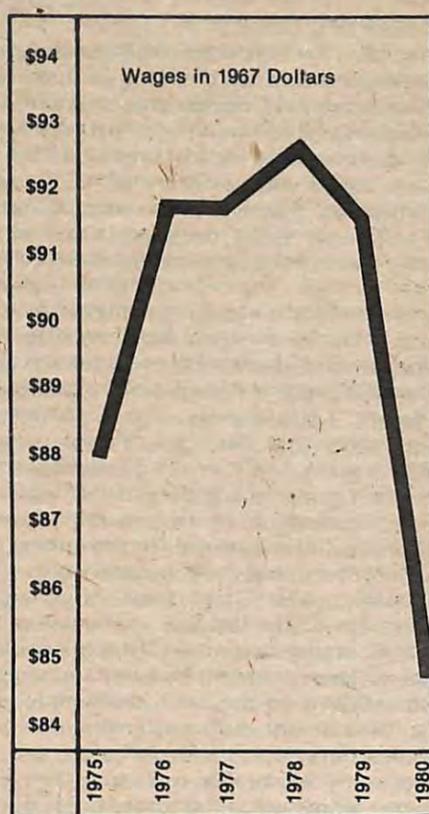
Given this background and underlying cause, it can be seen why inflation has proven to be next to impossible for the bourgeoisie to deal with. It is caused by the inherent characteristics of their system. This did not cause a problem as long as U.S. imperialism was on the rise and at its peak. But when it began to decline and move toward a crisis, inflation became virulent, threatening to go out of control, asserting itself as a symptom of the underlying crisis.

Thus the imperialists are faced with a dilemma. On the one hand, the only way they can now stimulate this moribund and parasitic economic structure is by pursuing policies which will accelerate inflation; on the other hand, whatever anti-inflation measures they take threaten to burst the bubble and bring about an economic crash.

## Bourgeoisie's "Solutions" Hide Bankrupt System

With this, the bourgeoisie's real dilemma in mind, all their bull such as the theory that inflation is caused by "the inflationary psychology that keeps spreading," as Council of Economic Advisors Chairman Charles Schultze puts it, can be seen exactly for what it is. According to this, as one of their ridiculous TV ads used to put it, "if we would all be a little less piggy, we could stop inflation."

In fact this psychological explanation of inflation is a total fraud—and the imperialists know it. The only reasons they put it forward are in order to muddy the waters, obscure the real instability and bankruptcy of their system and to get people to accept the "discipline"



**After stagnating, at best, through the 1970s, workers' real wages have begun to show a sharp decline. This chart, which adjusts for inflation by expressing take-home pay in constant dollars, shows overall wage raises are more than eaten up by inflation. In an effort to keep up, both husband and wife often work—a recent survey showed that more than half of U.S. wage-earning families had at least two members working at this point, but their pooled wages have still not kept pace with inflation.**

and belt-tightening which is very much on the bourgeoisie's agenda. And it is not that Carter's program is "too little too late," as some of his rival bourgeois politicians, jockeying for a better position themselves, are saying. It is another in the dreary round of measures to try to curb inflation somewhat without having things go completely out of control—and it will not be the last.

Nor does this program present a great contrast with the liberal program espoused by Kennedy and the AFL-CIO, which would supposedly attack the corporations instead of the people by enforcing "wage-price" controls (which in practice amount simply to wage controls). The reason that the bourgeoisie in general is not going for "wage-price" controls at this time is because there is significant disunity within their ranks over how to sum up the "wage-price" freeze instituted in the early 1970s. (They claim that such controls are not being instituted now because they don't work. But nothing they do against inflation fundamentally works, so this can't be a special reason against controls.)

At some point in the future they may well decide to impose "wage-price" controls, but at the moment the predominant summation of the experience of the early 70's seems to be that the program of controls exposed the labor hacks too much for going along with direct attacks on the workers. They fear such open attacks on wages would arouse the workers to open resistance and lessen the ability of the Frasers and Kirklands to hold in and mislead workers. Better for now to take more indirect measures.

The imperialists are simply doing what they have to do, impelled by the forces and tendencies of their system, trying to stave off disaster. The vain cries for discipline which echo everywhere in this latest anti-inflation effort only underline the fact that imperialism cannot discipline itself, but can only rush forward toward the massive blood-letting purge of war. □

# Decline

Continued from page 9

ing the '74-'75 decline will no longer provide the cushion they once did. It is an open secret that the Supplemental Unemployment Benefit funds for auto workers will not be able to sustain a large number of laid-off workers for any extended time—these funds are vastly inadequate. Exercising the option of early retirement when a plant shuts down will be less feasible when the investments into which these pension funds have been poured have collapsed. As it is, and this was pointed out in the section on banking, pension funds (which are managed by a relative handful of banks) now own between 20% and 25% of all stocks, and about 40% of corporate bonds, hardly a low-risk preserve for what are supposed to be deferred wages. And, anyway, the Department of Labor estimates that less than half of those covered by these plans will ever see these benefits, because of certain stringent stipulations.<sup>21</sup> In addition, the financial foundation of the social security system is already quite unsteady. The mounting deficits of the government and the pressures on the dollar internationally, which had their origins partly in the stimulus of the last few years, will act to constrain the bourgeoisie from undertaking another such stimulus. Unemployment and welfare benefits cannot be maintained on the same scale, much less extended to provide for millions thrown out of work, when ballooning debt and inflation are pushing the economy inexorably toward such a breakdown. In other words, what the future holds out is not a mere contraction of credit, i.e., that it will be more difficult to finance or refinance purchases, but a disintegration and wrenching of the entire structure. The house of cards image is an apt one. Things don't just get progressively worse, they undergo qualitative change.

Being entangled and enmeshed in this debt cannot be reduced to the number of bad debts or the shrinking or expanding of the merchant-customer base. It takes a toll on how people scrape to live, on social relations. The truth of the matter is that people realize not only how precarious what they have is, but also how nightmarish and pressure-ridden it is to keep it. A woman's husband loses his job at an auto plant; they are up to their necks in debt; she drives her car, with her children inside, into a river—they are dead on arrival at a city hospital. It happened in Cleveland, but it is not unique. What happens to people? David Caplovitz in his highly original study<sup>22</sup> describes the daily degradation. Wages and salaries are garnished. Often employers put pressure on employees to settle their debts or face the imminent loss of their job. Job insecurity grows. In case studies of three cities, 20% of the employed lost at least one day of work because of the debt problem—absenteeism to resolve the accumulation of debt-related difficulties. Those who lose their jobs because of debt burdens must then weave their way through the unemployment and welfare bureaucracies—first of all, just in the attempt to qualify. And quite clearly the constant scrambling and jockeying has an impact on people's mental and physical health. Caplovitz conducted interviews concerning psychosomatic ailments like insomnia, stomach upsets, headaches, nervousness, and loss of appetite. Over half of the debtors interviewed acknowledged having at least two of these symptoms in the past month. One of those interviewed explained, and this is by no means exceptional:

"You know I live alone and I've been separated from my husband for 20 years and it's lonely so you buy something here or there on credit. You have to brighten up your life a bit. There was one point there when all the bills and debts seemed to be closing in on me. I had no one to turn to, and I had a nervous breakdown."<sup>23</sup>

The threat to income that debt represents impairs not only health, but marriage and personal stability as well. Countless surveys show that debt troubles lead to marital quarrels and stress, and they have become a major factor in divorce:

"I've had debt problems with him ever since I married him. He never wanted to pay his bills. We fought like cats and dogs, day and night. I'd have to call him at work to tell him the lights were turned off. I'm so glad he's gone."<sup>24</sup>

The maze of debt obligations people enter into—

	1980	1970	1975
Divorces per 1000 population	2.2	3.5	4.8
Families headed by women (millions)	4.5	5.6	7.2
Black and other minority (excluding Hispanic) female head (%)	22.4	26.7	32.4
Births to unwed mothers (1000s)	224	399	448
Public expenditure for law enforcement (\$ billions)	3.3	8.6	17.2
"police protection" (\$ billions)	2.0	5.1	9.8
crimes (1000)	3,384	8,098	10,253
crimes per 100 people	1.9	4.0	5.3
homicides (1000)	9.1	16.0	20.5
police employees (1000)	303.8	449.7	556.8

Table 4 source: U.S. Bureau of Census, The Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1977, pp. xvii-xix

monthly payments, late payment fees, hidden fees—all this presses against people's financial capabilities, and there is an undeniable cutting back: dental or medical care is put off, recreational activities (perhaps one of the few bright spots in someone's life) are curtailed, and even food expenditures are roped in.

In general, the quality of life deteriorates with the development of capitalism into its final stage—decadent, moribund imperialism. Vital activity gives way to stagnation and degeneracy. The experience of the "growth" industries cited in the chapter on accumulation are testament to this. But so are some of the more *sub rosa* enterprises: the booming child pornography industry, in addition to other similar degradation of adults, multi-billion dollar drug trafficking and widespread teenage prostitution.

## Crisis, "Social Rot"

Certain aspects of social life stand out in this period. The search for security in the face of economic uncertainty, frustrated aspirations, and social degradation has led to a discernible rise in religious activity. This is quite pronounced and takes more fanatical forms among sections of the petty bourgeoisie, with various cults, gurus and other assorted "saviors" who make a career out of turning many, especially the youth, into mindless zealots and robots. But within the working class, including those whose conditions of life are extremely desperate, religion has been sought out as an escape as well. This is not necessarily reflected in regular church attendance or affiliation with organized religious denominations, but in more widespread acceptance of "fate," attempts to explain current events by recourse to Biblical "prophesies," e.g., "the end of the world is near and has been pre-ordained," and the spread of mysticism, astrology and metaphysics in general. In the ghettos, storefront churches continue to proliferate, in the factories self-styled ministers and messengers distribute bible tracts, and on TV religious programming has grown as slick as it is pervasive. This points to the hand of the bourgeoisie, but the flight to religion, while definitely promoted by the bourgeoisie, is also a barometer of the conservative trend that set in during the 1970s.

Another trend, is the splitting up of the family delineated in Table 4. More than twice as many adults are divorced today as in 1960. Today there are 7.5 million female heads of households compared with 4.5 million in 1960. A full one-third of Black families are headed by women today. Twice as many births to unwed women take place today as compared with 1960. Among Black people this is related to the situation that drove them into the cities in the post-war period to face chronic unemployment and squalid living conditions which destabilized people's lives, a situation hardly mitigated by a welfare system that would make payments only if it could be established that there was no gainfully employed head of household.

A second marked trend which can be discerned from this table is the growth of "law enforcement" expenditures. They have increased 5½-fold since 1960, including police, judicial and "corrections." This reflects the mounting trend of police terror in the streets of the inner cities, especially directed against Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, as the bourgeoisie has moved to crush the anger and rebellion arising out of the urban poor. It is the reason that rebellions against police repression and the overall oppression that minority nationalities face continued through the 1970s—in Humboldt Park in Chicago, in Birmingham, and, even more significantly, in Houston where the Moody Park Rebellion of 1978 saw the Chicano community rise up in sustained and more politically conscious struggle against the police and courts.

The rise of crime is also a reflection of these conditions. The impoverished conditions in the minority communities have added to the ranks of the criminal strata, the broken and degraded elements of society who succumb to a life of degeneracy and crime. The ruling class both promotes this with its "look out for yourself, to hell with anyone else" outlook and seizes upon this crime and violence of which the masses are the chief victims as an excuse to send their marauding armies of police into the communities. At the same time, many of the young who have been locked out of the work force turn to crime, not so much as a parasitic way of life as these degraded strata do, but more out of anger, frustration and plain desperation. As indicated earlier, a great many ghetto youth will never enter the labor force—these are the shock troops of the permanent reserve army of unemployed in society. One study concluded in this connection that "more Black youths 18-24 years old are in local jails than in the Job Corps and other Federal Service programs put together. The number of idle on the streets increases."<sup>25</sup>

The situation facing the masses, then, is that the majority of the working class is living, as it were, on the precipice: able to get by, but only by the skin of their teeth. Illusions are stripped away as the opportunities to get ahead dry up and the effectiveness of seeking out individual solutions diminishes with the deepening of the crisis. This is what can be seen from the Youngstown example. True enough, some could get other jobs, go on pension or hang loose for a

while. But it cannot last long—not with continual "shakeouts" of the steel industry. True enough, some could grab up overtime, but this cannot carry people through long periods of layoff. These are thin reeds to stand on. And, as has been emphasized, everything can come unglued with a major collapse—which is why the experience of 1974-75, when benefits and protections, like seniority, no longer afforded the same sense of security, was a bellwether. To put it bluntly, the present existence of the masses is really quite untenable, based as it is on this partial recovery and the cushions, like debt. Moreover, the conditions for some are highly volatile right now, with intense and grinding poverty and very little in the way of temporary band-aids. For all, the quality of life is rapidly deteriorating, even if there is some tinsel and lace to cover it up. In a certain sense, just as the bourgeoisie is juggling to keep their system afloat, so too are people forced to do many things at once—holding down a job, putting off creditors, borrowing here and there, maybe selling a house, etc.—to stay afloat.

## World War

But it is not just an economic collapse which is on the horizon. It is not just a financial debacle that will make it impossible for the federal government to fund jobs programs and more decisively burst the credit balloon and result in far more serious material losses for the masses. Something else is looming on the horizon—and that is world war. The forces propelling war are gathering quickly. The superpowers make the pretense—beneath their pious talk of detente or human rights. Soviet airlifts make their way to Afghanistan, U.S. naval squadrons steam up the Persian Gulf. The preliminary moves can be seen, the opening shots can be heard. And the tempo is picking up daily. The superpowers do not go to war because they want to; it is not that they are driven by malevolence. They are driven by necessity. Who strikes first and where is of secondary importance, even to them—the proletariat it is of no importance at all. But that there will be a first strike within the next few years is what lends urgency to the situation.

The ruling class in nurturing war fever presents people with the lesser-evil ultimatum: "sure things are messed up here, we have our slums and unemployment, but at least you have your freedom to travel around, to go out to eat, to have your own car and color TV and enjoy a high standard of living." Naturally, in the Soviet Union, the social-imperialists make a similar case: "sure we have our problems, shortages of some consumer goods and private housing, but at least people can retire with dignity, not worry about medical care and be more assured that their children will have a job and education." Such demagoguery has unlimited potential. It is the tired old refrain of slavemasters throughout history—"things could be a lot worse for you on some other plantation." But to accept this framework—and here it is no longer simply a matter of putting up with oppression, but fighting and dying for the furtherance of slavery—of whether workers in the United States get more crumbs off the table than do workers in the Soviet Union or whether Blacks are more or less oppressed than central Asian peoples in the Soviet Union is pure poison. It is the pathetic reasoning of a slave who will remain a slave. And, beyond this, whether the case is made for the relative advantages on the Soviet or U.S. side, it is completely chauvinist because, in fact, these crumbs and bribes, be they higher wages or "socialized medicine," have been bled from the people of the world. Of course, if one chooses to approach things this way then maybe a Soviet victory would not be the unmitigated disaster that is portrayed by our rulers. After all, extending the argument of higher living standards to its logical conclusion, the Soviets might get enough productive forces and conquer enough of the world to throw a few more bones (in the way of social benefits) to American workers and, who knows, even allow them to shoot their mouths off. The point of this is not that the Soviet social-imperialists are any better—or worse—than the U.S. imperialists, but that both are intolerable and must be overthrown.

There is a great deal of confusion, much of which is sown by the bourgeoisie, among the masses on the question of war. Most people in this country have only experienced war indirectly—through a relative or friend who has served abroad or through those from abroad who have settled in this country. Several million, of course, have been in the armed forces and altogether have the direct experiences of two world wars, Korea and Vietnam. But these wars have always been fought somewhere else. The chauvinist song "Over There, the Yanks are Coming," at least has the merit of expressing the objective position of U.S. imperialism through the past two world wars: it was the U.S. armed forces that were going "over there" to clean up or to defend the spoils of wars fought abroad. The hardships suffered by people in the United States during these wars were real enough, but scarcely comparable to those who lived in countries which were turned into bloody battlegrounds or even testing grounds by the imperialists. World War 2 in this country was synonymous with rationing, victory gardens, longer working hours and, of course, reports from the battle lines; it was more an inconvenience than the dislocation and ter-

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# Decline

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ror of war. The caskets came back, but the streets were not piled high with corpses from the ravages of war. Total U.S. casualties during World War 2 were just over one million, less than half of which were deaths.<sup>24</sup> In absolute and percentage terms this was a small fraction compared to the casualties in Europe and Asia.

The fact that these wars have been fought elsewhere, and that the United States had gained from them in its strength and position without suffering material damage, fuels the idea held by many among the masses that, maybe, a war is just what is needed to revive the economy. This divides into two. There is a recognition that wars and the economic system are interlocked, and that when things get bad the capitalists prepare for war. (However, of course, the capitalists do not go to war simply to rev up the economy: wars of aggression are launched to put down challenges to an empire, such as in Vietnam, and world wars are caused by inter-imperialist rivalry and the need to re-divide the world.) On the other hand, there is the illusion that things will necessarily get better for people with the economic stimulus of war. In the past there has been truth to this; but things will not be the same this time around. The kind of war shaping up will directly affect the lives of tens of millions in this country and it won't just be in the higher casualty figures.

A point which is made throughout this book is that the United States, having been the main beneficiary of the outcome of World War 2, of necessity became the policeman of the world. Pillaging and plundering the world, it became the target of revolutionary uprisings. Interventions, police actions, limited wars, counter-insurgency assistance—this was the stuff of 30 years of world domination. And now, with a rival in the Soviet Union challenging it throughout the world, the U.S. must play the decisive role in organizing and preparing its bloc for war. It cannot scuttle the preliminary skirmishes or let others do the fighting and wear themselves out; the reason is quite simple: it is U.S. imperialist interests which are directly at stake and which are threatened. And because it has built up a far-flung empire, losses tend to reverberate. The Soviets, if they are to build up an empire, must collide with the U.S. imperialists—which is what has been happening. If they are to succeed, they must thoroughly vanquish the U.S. imperialists, and this will require, ultimately, that the U.S. imperialists be defeated in their own backyard, even if the war begins and is fought elsewhere for a period.

The U.S. imperialists are no less compelled to trounce their rival in order to protect and expand their empire of plunder. The megatonnage is there, the monstrously accurate technologies have been

developed, and the targets are pre-planned. The scenarios and contingency operations on both sides take as their point of departure destruction and attacks on each other's soil. The Department of Defense has undertaken several studies which coolly calculate how many millions of lives in the United States can be spared, how many can be evacuated, and in what space of time—for purposes of winning the war.

What will it mean for a third world war to take place and how will it affect the lives of the masses? First there is the question of the preparations for war—politically and economically. The ruling class will not be in as strong a position economically going into this war as in the previous two world wars (because of their international entanglements). The main reason for this is the high degree of integration of the U.S. economy with the rest of the bloc that it controls and the burden the U.S. has of shoring it up to avoid collapse. It is a two-way street: the United States is neither insulated from the disturbances that are multiplying throughout its bloc nor in a position to destabilize it further with expansive and inflationary policies. Concretely, this means that it will be harder for the U.S. ruling class to make concessions and accommodations to the working class as part of its drive to seal some sort of national unity.

To be sure, crumbs will still be thrown to a number of workers, but this will be in the context of a much tighter squeeze on the living and working conditions of the masses; these crumbs will be offered up much more directly and explicitly as rewards for loyalty and productivity. In addition, laying the economic foundations to prosecute a war of the dimensions that is shaping up requires more centralized control over labor and resources, and while there may not be a return in form to the wage/price boards and panels of the early 1970s, workers will be subject to control and coercion on a scale that will most certainly exceed that of the previous two world wars. The gas shortages of the last few years are but a faint prefiguring of what will be happening. Working and driving hours will only be one aspect of people's lives that will be strictly regulated. A war economy in a country which is not only in the grips of a major crisis but very much at center stage of the international contradictions propelling this war will force a rather sharp turn in the kind of life people have been accustomed to: from the further restrictions in availability and distribution of basic necessities to an imposed labor discipline which few have experienced.

Politically, the ruling class has already revealed the lengths to which it must go to rally public opinion and intimidate opposition to its war plans. The hysteria whipped up around Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan were merely the opening shots. If people are to be press-ganged into the most devastating war in history, then it is absolutely essential that the right climate be created. The imperatives of the ruling class were spelled out candidly in the somewhat infamous "Eisenstadt Memo" of 1979.

This was the sage advice from an advisor to President Carter to quickly find some outlet for the frustration and anger of the masses, to seek out some scapegoat which was named and later invoked—the oil-producing countries. Here again, the enormity of the crimes to be committed by the U.S. imperialists in launching and attempting to win this war will require a stable home front—something which will be more difficult to secure both because of the experiences of the masses through the 1960s (of which more will be shortly said) and the hardships that millions will face, sooner and later. The level of class struggle so far preceding the outbreak of this war is lower than that which raged before the last two world wars. However, the potential for this is very great—and the ruling class is well aware of this and determined to snuff it out.

Despite the cloudburst of national chauvinism around Iran, Afghanistan and the 1980 Olympics, the ruling class was still skittish. The American people had to be primed further and one Marine commandant described the reaction to draft plans as "underwhelming." While the political struggle and consciousness of the working class, in particular, was not highly developed, the country was not "united" in a durable way. With so much on the line in this war for the imperialists, and with the American people having to sacrifice in fighting and directly experiencing this war, the political "work" of the bourgeoisie becomes very important. The level of repression directed at revolutionary forces began to pick up markedly as the 1980s opened—not so much because of the existing level of struggle but on account of what could happen.

By the same token, the ruling class is going into this war following a period of discord within its ranks—from Watergate and other scandals to the abbreviated political lives of presidents. This tended to undermine the cohesiveness of the U.S.-led bloc in the 1970s. The pap about how "America lacked resolve" to carry through on her commitments abroad and stand firm against the Russians, though mainly a crude attempt to stir up chauvinism and serve as a pretext for expanded defense expenditures and military activities abroad, did reflect reality: the U.S. imperialists had taken a drubbing in Vietnam, the ruling class was wracked with scandal, and the American people had indeed become cynical and distrustful of authority. Politically, the ruling class must close its ranks more firmly (this is not to suggest that there are any fundamental disagreements within the ruling class over the need to go to war—only over how to pull it off in the strongest possible position), both to weld the U.S. bloc together as firmly as possible and increase the initiative of the U.S. ruling class and to exact the submission of the American people. This is a war which will be accompanied by more savage repression than any before it in this country's history. □

19. *New York Times*, op. cit.
20. "Who's Buying Homes," *Dollars and Sense*, April, 1979, p. 13.
21. "Workers' Pensions: A Penny Saved is a Penny Robbed," *NACLA Reports*, April 1976, Vol. X, No. 4, p. 16.
22. David Caplovitz, *Consumers in Trouble, A Study of Debtors in Default* (New York: Free Press, 1974).
23. *Ibid.*, p. 281.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 284.
25. *New York Times*, March 11, 1979.
26. Newspaper Enterprise Association, *The 1973 World Almanac* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1972), p. 510.

## Books on Mao Banned in China

"CHINA WANTS YOUR BOOKS."

Or so read the ad in *Publisher's Weekly*, R.R. Bowker's major magazine about book publishing. "The new China represents an unprecedented marketing opportunity for American publishers... China has dramatically opened long-shut doors to foreign ideas and foreign ways..." Bowker had struck a deal with the Chinese to co-publish a monthly magazine, to be printed in Peking, promoting English-language books approved for importing into China. When we heard that Bowker was aggressively seeking ads for the first issue of their new magazine, we figured we had some books we'd like to see distributed to the Chinese people. These books expose the counterrevolution in China and uphold the revolutionary contributions of Mao Tsetung which are being slandered and smashed by the traitors presently in power.

Months after we'd submitted our ad (reprinted here) we called to see why the magazine had not yet come out (it was scheduled to be out in January 1980). Bowker said that "there's been a hold-up in production, but we should receive it any day." Last week we received a letter (also reprinted here) saying that Peking had rejected our ad as reactionary! The only ad to be pulled! Undoubtedly the volumes of bourgeois scien-

tific and technical books, along with a generous helping of Jacqueline Suzann, were much more acceptable.

While we would have preferred slipping this ad past their attention and into print, we consider it an honor and a tribute to the value of these books that they were singled out for censorship. We can only hope that they were the cause of the interruption in production of the catalog.

Right:  
Rejected ad.

**XEROX**

March 11, 1980

R.R. Bowker Company  
1180 Avenue of the Americas  
New York, New York 10020  
212 764-5100  
A Xerox Publishing Company

Rebecca Frasler  
RCP Publications  
P.O. Box 3486  
Merchandise Mart  
Chicago, IL 60654

Dear Ms. Frasler:

I have had news. The advertisement you wanted to run in the January, 1980 issue of the U. S. Publications Catalog for China has been pulled by the Chinese in Peking where the catalog is being printed. The explanation that I was given is that the material advertised is reactionary. No other else was added, the ad cannot run. I am sorry to have to tell you this; we were led to believe at the outset that there would not be any censorship. Apparently, the rules have been changed.

I have enclosed your check and mechanical.

I apologize for the inconvenience, R. R. Bowker had no say in the matter.

Sincerely,  
*Beryl Schonberger*  
Beryl Schonberger

Books by Bob Avakian  
Chairman of the Central Committee of the  
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

卜·阿衛乾，美國革命共產黨  
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Mao Tsetung's Immortal  
Contributions, \$4.95  
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The Loss in China  
and the Revolutionary  
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Revolution and Counter-Revolution—  
the 1976 Revisionist Coup in China, \$4.95  
(available in Chinese)

卜·革命與反革命——一九七六年  
中國修正主義政變 (此書有中文版)

發行者：革命共產黨出版部  
RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654

Note: The Chinese are not only banning literature that upholds Mao but are also phasing out his writings and other Marxist-Leninist works as well. Last July, in reply to a purchase request from Liberation Books in California, China Publications Center replied that *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung*, *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tsetung*, and *Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* had been sold out, and "there are no plans at present to reprint any of these books, so they are not likely to be available in the future."