



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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## U.S. Gunpoint Diplomacy Extorts Hostage Deal

It has now become clear that a deal has been struck between the U.S. and Iranian governments, and all signs are pointing to the imminent release of the 52 captured American embassy personnel in exchange for the unfreezing of Iranian assets in the U.S. and lifting the Western embargo on trade and military shipments to Iran. Especially significant was the fact that Tehran Radio announced publicly for the first time on October 31 that a "just method" for the release of the hostages had been drafted.

Even as President Carter attempted to play dumb, repeating to newsmen his standard one-liner—"I can't predict anything"—reports began to surface that the deal had actually been sealed more than two weeks ago in Switzerland by Lloyd Cutler, one of the administration's chief fix-it men, and representatives of the Iranian government. Over the weekend, preparations were under way to fly out the hostages; a plane chartered from Sweden's Scanair Airlines by "an unidentified

American businessman" was standing by. A whole wing of the U.S. Army hospital in Wiesbaden, West Germany has been reserved for the hostages, where CIA "debriefers" and other "readjustment experts" are awaiting them.

The bourgeoisie's legion of official and unofficial mouthpieces will most certainly claim this as a big "victory" and a testament to their "patience" and "resolve" in protecting the great American ideals of freedom and democracy around the world. Already,

Continued on page 7

### Spit on the Imperialists' Con Game Rulers' Deceitful Battle for the Ballot

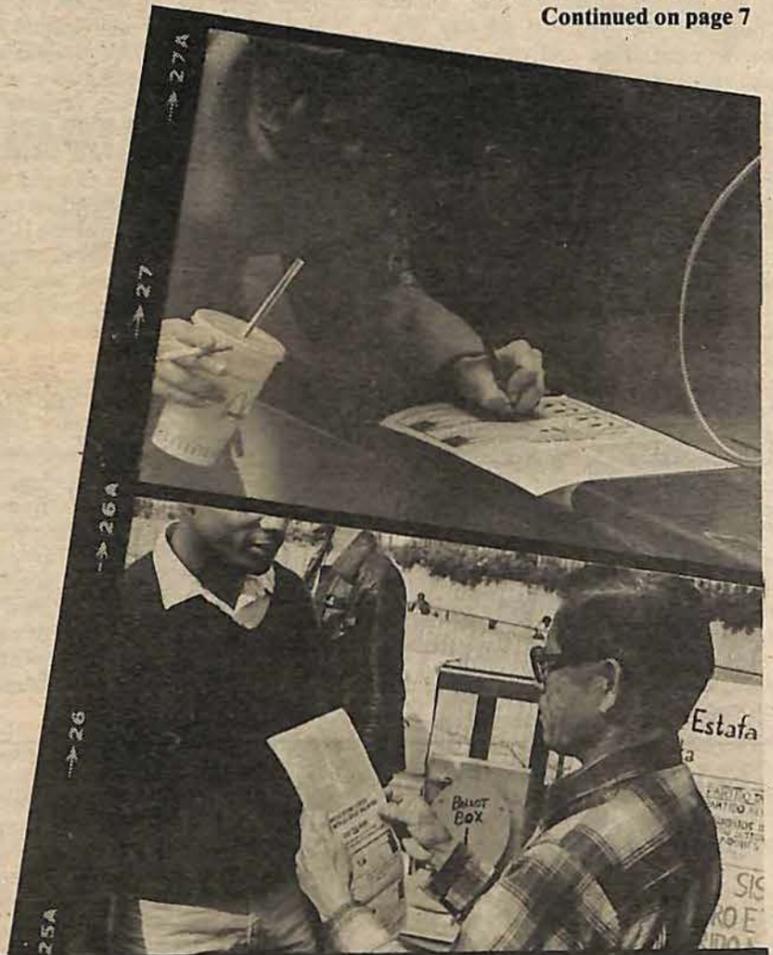
Tuesday, November 4, 1980. Election Day. The whole world is supposed to be watching as the United States, that bastion of freedom, chooses its head of state. But what the majority of the world knows only too well, and what millions here are beginning to understand (if they didn't know already), is that the great "right" to go into the polling booth and pull that little lever is nothing more than the right of the oppressed to put the stamp of approval on the system that oppresses them. And on Tuesday night, no matter which one—

the "soulful" incumbent warmonger Carter or the cruder jingoistic warmonger Reagan—wins, one prediction is for sure: there will be a warmongering imperialist mouthpiece sitting on the throne. Oh, but the "mandate of the people" will have been duly recorded on the holy day and will be used to ordain the crimes of U.S. imperialism here and 100 times more around the world.

All the desperate maneuverings during their election con game, which

Continued on page 3

In the face of the bourgeoisie's desperate "Battle for the Ballot," people around the country are casting ballots reading, "This Whole System Is Putrid, I Don't Believe In Any of Its Candidates," and taking other political action in direct opposition to the election con game and the whole imperialist system.



### Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants Government Appeal Decision Sparks Outrage

See page 24

# Liberal Veil Covers Reactionary Face in UN 2 Appeal



Signing a banner in support of the UN 2 outside New York courthouse, October 30th.

U.S. Federal Court, New York City. On October 30, oral arguments were presented in the appeal of the conviction of the UN 2. Steve Yip and Glenn Gan—RCP supporters arrested on the eve of May Day this year for dousing the ambassadors of both the U.S. and the USSR in red paint as an exposure of superpower war preparations—were convicted on two felony charges each this summer and viciously sentenced. As appeal procedures opened, over 40 people gathered at the courthouse steps, heightening the battle to free these comrades. The decision on the appeal has yet to be handed down by the Appeals Court, but the events of the day, both the demonstration and the court proceedings themselves, have shown just how high the stakes are in this battle.

Outside the courthouse an inspiring show of international solidarity with the UN action took place at the demonstration. Bright red banners flanked the courthouse steps with political slogans in support of the UN 2 and against the war moves of the U.S. and Soviet Union. These slogans were written in Russian, Polish, French, Farsi, Afghani and English and had been made by foreign-born workers and students. The French banner had been signed by some Haitian workers. Another banner in Spanish was made by a Puerto Rican brother who had stepped forward in the battle to build Revolutionary May Day. The demonstration concentrated the internationalist stand of the UN 2 action, as well as the sentiments of thousands nationwide who have directly come forward to support the UN 2.

In stark contrast to trial judge Ward's blatant reactionary antics dur-

ing the trial—and as a measure to cloak the real motives of the authorities—the appeal judges assigned to the case have the reputation for being "liberals." In court there were the Doctor Welby's of law, astute and "impartial," not only eager to hear both sides but appearing quite open to the defense's arguments and delving at greater lengths into the prosecutor's case. All this was aimed at deliberately attempting to give the impression that "justice" could be served.

In the appeal, as in the trial, defense lawyers stated that the statute under which the UN 2 were charged was written to deal with "acts of terrorism"—clearly not the nature of the UN action, even within the framework of bourgeois legality. That the intent, and the effect, of this action was to expose the imperialists' war moves—and not to inflict physical injury, which did not occur—has been completely proven by the viciousness with which the authorities have hounded the UN 2.

The U.S. Attorneys responded to the defense's appeal by repeating, "This is a simple case." In their appeal brief, they beefed up the rhetoric of a "violent attack"—indicating an escalation of their own attack on the UN 2. But the government is finding itself increasingly tangled up in a web of contradictions. First, U.S. Attorney Sudler argued that the attack was violent, but he

and Judge Ward conceded during the trial that the "assault" was "a touching, however slight." At the same time,

he and Ward refused to deal with the issue of intent to injure or of injury,

Continued on page 6



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Spit on the Imperialists' Con Game

# Rulers' Deceitful Battle for the Ballot

Continued from page 1

reached a crescendo in the last weeks with the "battle for the ballot" (as a series of TV spots put it), have been aimed at getting this "mandate." It is nothing but the mandate of the ruling class to hold onto their archaic and barbarous system by whatever means necessary.

Just beneath all this democratic facade stands the gun, their armed rule which they never hesitate to use at the slightest threat to their empire and which they have used repeatedly to conquer other countries and keep them in their grip. And they are indeed desperate. They must go to war soon with their equally imperialist rivals in the USSR. They must line up the American people behind them. And at the same time, interest in their elections, the centerpiece of the "democratic way of life in America" has been at an all-time low.

It is on this stage of sharpening contradictions in the world and real opportunities to advance the struggle to bring down this imperialist monster we live under that significant active opposition to this election con game is taking place: class-conscious workers, revolutionary-minded people from different strata actively standing up to SPIT ON THE IMPERIALISTS' CON GAME, realizing the futility and actual tacit support for the politics of our rulers represented by simply sitting out the elections, or worse, getting sucked back into going to the polls. One million leaflets calling on people to cast this ballot: THIS WHOLE SYSTEM IS PUTRID, I

DON'T BELIEVE IN ANY OF ITS CANDIDATES went out across the country. On election day these ballots will be cast, along with fitting political actions, such as gatherings where these ballots will be appropriately stuffed down the toilet. There will be local demonstrations in Detroit, Michigan and in San Francisco, California. All this will unleash many more who will be inspired and drawn into motion against our rulers. Those who rule this country so arrogantly and viciously will not have the political stage to themselves by any means.

During the final weeks of the campaign, the calls, screams, threats, and pleas to the masses of people reached a fever pitch. For example, take their direct appeals to go to the polls and pull a lever, any lever, for U.S. imperialism: Vote for somebody! Anybody! But *Please Vote!* is what they've been screaming. And with these shrill cries they are in fact admitting that it doesn't matter to them who you vote for or who wins because the real candidate is the system itself.

For example, on the blatant jingoistic side we have the Lord and Taylor Department Stores who ran a full-page ad in the *New York Times* which lets the real purpose for the elections hang out all over the place while it drips with

patriotism and national chauvinism. It read in part: "*Please Vote.* Tuesday, November 4th, is the day to stand up and be counted for what you believe. The future of this great country is in your hands...Honor your voting privilege as an American, as only an American citizen can. Please don't throw away your right to vote, to stand up and be counted on *Tuesday, November 4th*—for yourself and for your country."

And to reach the millions for whom this type of approach falls on deaf ears the ruling class has more slicked up appeals like this one from one Margaret Finn, who hasn't missed an election in 50, years who says in *Parade Magazine*:

"So I'm not supposed to go to the polls anymore because Watergate was such a disillusionment?...Maybe we expect more from the political system—and from the people who run it—than is possible...There is no perfect candidate. There never was. Why are we looking for one now? That is not a reason not to vote. Choosing the lesser of two evils is not exactly new."

The variations on this theme are endless: "One thing you can be sure of, if we didn't vote things would be worse. You can count on that." Or, the TV ad featuring one disheartened sports fan staring into his TV set saying: "I

thought they were gonna win. All my friends said they were gonna win. So I didn't vote. Maybe my friends didn't vote either." But the bottom line of all these pitches was perhaps most simply and crudely put in a billboard ad which read: VOTE NOVEMBER 4 ANY CHOICE IS BETTER THAN NONE! In other words at least here in the good old USA you can vote in one of their stacked and manipulated elections for which spokesman of your oppressors will be in office—not like over there in the USSR or some other foreign country.

Besides the straight-up pleas to vote like those cited above, even more importantly they attempted to make it seem that there were real differences between Carter and Reagan, that it is a "choice between two futures" as Carter put it. They have used their polls and predictions to make a real horserace out of the election, attempting to create some excitement and tension over who will win. They made the pitch that every vote counts and that *your* vote could be decisive in determining who gets selected and therefore the course of history.

In the last weeks of the campaign Carter drew ahead of Reagan in the polls but it was "too close to call." As

Continued on page 8

Join With Others Who Understand That It's None Too Soon For the Oppressed To Stop Waiting On The Oppressor For Salvation!

**BALLOT**

Pull Handle

Check Box

DEMOCRATIC PARTY  
 REPUBLICAN PARTY  
 INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES & OTHER ASSORTED SAVIORS

THIS WHOLE SYSTEM IS PUTRID, I DON'T BELIEVE IN ANY OF ITS CANDIDATES!

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ OCCUPATION \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL THIS COPY OF THE 1980 ELECTION BALLOT TO THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, P.O. BOX 3486 MERCHANDISE MART, CHICAGO, IL. 60654

**BALLOT**

Pull Handle

Check Box

DEMOCRATIC PARTY  
 REPUBLICAN PARTY  
 INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES & OTHER ASSORTED SAVIORS

THIS WHOLE SYSTEM IS PUTRID, I DON'T BELIEVE IN ANY OF ITS CANDIDATES!

KEEP THIS ONE AND DO SOMETHING CREATIVE WITH IT YOURSELF ON ELECTION DAY.

Send one of these ballots to the Revolutionary Communist Party and we will find something dramatic to do with all of them together at election time. Keep the other one and think of something creative to do with it yourself on election day.

**Buffalo, New York**

# Black Community Seethes In Wake of Racist Attacks

Buffalo, New York. On October 19, national attention was drawn in the press to a "Unity March" in Buffalo, New York called in response to a reactionary storm of murders of Black people in this city. While this rally—co-sponsored by dozens of organizations and individuals like the Mayor, State Assemblyman Arthur Eve, an archbishop and many other clergy—became the most visible expression of the widespread outrage against the murders, the tranquil nature of the affair actually served to obscure the particular stench of national oppression sweeping Buffalo. Obscured as well have been the forces called into motion by the increasing and underlying crisis of the system in general.

From September 22 to 24, within a 36-hour period, four Black men were shot dead by someone carrying a .22 pistol in a paper bag, walking up to each one and shooting him in the head. October 7: Police homicide chief Leo Donovan insists that the KKK can't have anything to do with this, for they left town years ago. Immediately there are four cross-burnings, two in the heart of Buffalo's Black community, two in Lockport, a small industrial town 30 miles away. October 8-9: Two Black cab drivers are killed with knife and pipe, stabbed and bludgeoned to death and then, in lynch fashion, their hearts are cut out. October 10: A man shows up at the bedside of a Black man in the county hospital, barking "I hate niggers," and tries to strangle him with a cord. Only the chance appearance of a nurse saves the life of the man, who remains in critical condition.

The police are singularly "helpless." Somehow they "cannot" do anything even in the face of more minor incidents in this wave of terror. For example: two days before the cab driver was lynched, a Black auto worker was coming home from work. He was forced to stop by a van, whose driver, shouting "I will kill you, nigger," hit the Black worker in the face and banged the back of his car with a lead pipe. The auto worker immediately called the police but later found that no report or investigation was ever made. Or again: a bus filled with people from a Black church in Buffalo was fired upon, a bullet hitting the busdriver in the arm; the police did nothing. Or yet again: at the funeral of the first victim, three or four carloads of punks appeared, yelling racist shit to the mourners, their cars "decorated" with red paint and with cardboard heads with holes in them on top. But the cops somehow couldn't catch them.

The authorities in Buffalo have tried dual tactics in their efforts to confuse the truth behind these racist attacks and undermine any potential unity between Blacks and whites, and they have also tried to intimidate the outrage building within the Black community itself. Soon after the murders, a vicious campaign of slander was uncorked. First they "discovered" that the two cab drivers, who had their hearts cut out, also had criminal records and worked for "a company that was well known for trouble." Slips of paper were found in the cabs—betting slips for the numbers—leading to their speculation that these Black men were "hit" by the mob.

Then they turned their fire on the Black man that was almost strangled to death in his hospital bed. The news surfaces that he was arrested in the past for "male prostitution" and, get this, the attack in the hospital was probably a former lover of his hellbent towards jealous revenge! According to the rulers all these attacks were unrelated and they were all brought on by the victims themselves. All this crap piled high in an effort to dilute any sparks of consciousness among the masses of people that these attacks have their roots in the systematic national oppression that is one of the main pillars of imperialism.

On the other hand, however, the

authorities have brought increased city police, county sheriffs and state police into Buffalo, where they are positioned right in the heart of the Black community to make sure that if anyone might rebel against this systematic national oppression, they could put it down. But all this, of course, is in the name of protecting the Black community from the "lunatic killer."

But events during the last week and a half show that not only are the police openly stationed in the community a concentration of the daily swaggerings of these gunslingers, and about as close to giving "protection" to Blacks as the Nazis gave to the Jews; but that just like in most cities in America you don't have to look hard to see that behind some of the robed sheets stands one of

Buffalo's swineest. In one instance, where four white men were taunting a Black youth, the cops who responded turned the whole thing around and accused the youth of doing the taunting. If not for the intervention of a white woman who called out exactly what happened, the pigs would've arrested the youth. One of the cops was a well known KKK sympathizer—(read: member)—and the 16th Precinct, where he was stationed, an equally well known Klan center.

But if you listen to Andy Young, who recently visited Buffalo, there is "no problem with the Klan" and people should look to Atlanta, where "Blacks control their destiny and if there's any trouble with the police they just call up (the Black mayor), Maynard Jackson

and get it taken care of"—a truly "model" city. But just two days after these silver words were uttered in Buffalo, an explosion blasted through an Atlanta day care center, and events since have laid waste to the carefully cultivated maze of the Black lackeys in that "model" city.

The authorities in Buffalo began to push a campaign of unity between the oppressed and the oppressor. There has been a campaign to wear a black ribbon in mourning for those killed, as a gesture of Black-white unity, and as a token of support for police efforts. On one TV station the announcers wear the black ribbon—alongside a white carnation to show support for the hostages in

Continued on page 10

## Another "Justifiable Homicide" in Chicago Police Shoot James Cash In The Back

Chicago. Justifiable homicide. This is how Fourth District Police Commander Fred O'Reilly described the shooting of a 30-year-old Black steel worker, James Cash. "Justifiable homicide" are the code words by which the Chicago cops are routinely exonerated of the most vicious and heinous crimes. The murder of James Cash, shot in the back by a cowardly pig is just such a crime.

Because of the circumstances of James Cash's death, absolving the cops of all guilt has posed a real challenge to the police department. This challenge has been met in the time-honored tradition of Chicago's finest—through a web of lies, deceit and attempted intimidation of witnesses to cover the bloody tracks of the pigs. Their story, dutifully reported by the media, is as follows: Cash "apparently went berserk" and dashed naked from the South Side steel mill where he worked; while a cop and three security guards were trying to "subdue" Cash, he grabbed the cop's gun and shot the security guard in the leg, forcing Officer Thomas Carroll to defend himself in the gun battle that ensued by shooting Cash in the forehead.

There are a few problems with the cops' "self-defense" story—most importantly the autopsy report of the Cook County Medical Examiner's office which told the *RW* that the cause of death was a bullet that entered Cash's back and pierced his heart.

While all the events leading up to Cash's death are not fully known, it is clear as day that he was murdered in cold blood. He came to work on Thursday, October 23rd to his job at U.S. Steel South Works as he had for the last 12 years. A co-worker later reported he

had seen Cash slip and fall in a muddy work area. Cash's foreman, who had been riding his back, apparently had some words with him and sent two co-workers out to talk to him. By the time they arrived on the scene, Cash, with his clothes in a pile by the mud, was in the back of a plant security car naked. When the two co-workers tried to escort him into the plant hospital, Cash bolted and ran out the gate and into the Black ghetto adjacent to U.S. Steel.

The three guards and the co-workers jumped in a security car and found Cash three blocks from the plant. A Chicago cop, notified by U.S. Steel, had already caught Cash and was struggling with him. With security guard Edward Rak in the lead, all four pigs jumped on Cash like a pack of wolves on their prey. "They threw him up against a car and began beating him with a flashlight," said a neighborhood resident whose story was repeated by many others. "All four of them were beating him in the face real bad and kicking him. He cried out 'Stop, stop,' but they wouldn't listen." All of a sudden the tables turned, as Cash, righteously struggling to defend himself from being beaten to death, grabbed the cop's gun and wounded Rak in the leg. Realizing the game was up, the stunned Chicago cop jumped behind the security car. Cash fired all the bullets until the gun was empty and clicking, according to eyewitnesses. As he turned his back on the cop, Officer Carroll, a white cop, stood up and took deliberate aim as coolly as if he was engaged in target practice, and fired the fatal shot into Cash's back.

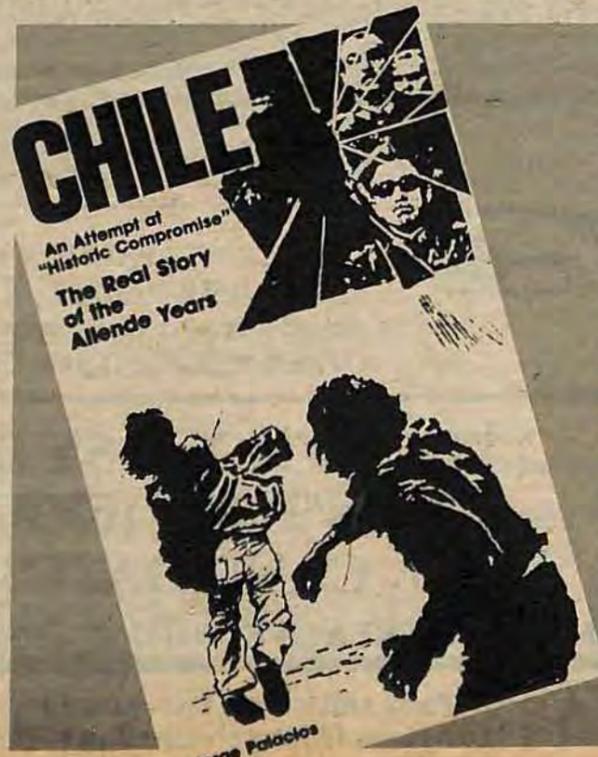
Shooting a man in the back has rarely proven an obstacle to the pigs in declaring "justifiable homicide." From the

depraved logic of the bourgeoisie, the murder of a Black man is not only justifiable, it is part of the natural order of things. The U.S. Steel spokesman's explanation in the wake of the shooting, that Cash "apparently went berserk," must be, to say the least—regarded with great suspicion since this evidence comes mainly from the company goon security guards who beat him. No eyewitnesses have reported what went down between the security guards and Cash before the two co-workers arrived on the scene. At this point, we have only the statements of the capitalists—and the cops.

What is known is that this man wound up viciously beaten and dead at the hands of the cops for nothing more than some petty incident maybe involving an argument with the foreman. Lift your nose from the grindstone for a minute, step out of line for a second—the results were fatal for James Cash, as they have been for many others murdered outright by the cops over the last few months in Chicago. Only two days before Cash's murder, Paul Pearce, a white, was beaten to death when he intervened in a domestic quarrel. Ezekiel Baker, a Black man doing business in Chicago, was shot in a scuffle with police after he resisted a brutal beating. Fred Frazier—murdered for committing a traffic violation; Richard Ramey—beaten to death for smoking on the elevated train; Wilson Wright—busted for tire theft and found dead in his jail cell, a supposed suicide.

While the pigs continue to "serve and protect" (as the motto inscribed on their squad car states) by murdering

Continued on page 10



**CHILE: AN ATTEMPT AT "HISTORIC COMPROMISE"**  
The Real Story of the Allende Years

by Jorge Palacios

The first book to tell the real story behind the U.S. engineered military coup in 1973. Palacios, a leading member of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, poses the crucial question of why—in a country with such a powerful mass movement—the reactionaries were able to deal the people such a swift and stunning defeat. His hard-hitting account nails the treachery of the pro-Soviet Communist Party of Chile, with its efforts to form a coalition government with the U.S.-backed Christian Democrats—the so-called "historic compromise," a strategy devised in Moscow and followed by the French and Italian CP's as well. An incisive analysis of the revolutionary and anti-junta forces in Chile today. A book of far-reaching significance.

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## Debate on 100,000 Campaign

# LET 100 FLOWERS BLOSSOM: LET 100 SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND

On September 19, 1980 we called for open struggle and debate in the pages of the Revolutionary Worker on the plan for revolutionary work put forward by the RCP. This debate was called for, learning from Mao Tsetung, who put forward the policy of "Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend," at an important juncture of the Chinese Revolution when differing views needed to come to light. We pointed out that "while our situation is different, the principles are the same: we need and welcome this struggle, particularly among the advanced workers. Mao also said, 'How can there be no wrangling in this world of ours? Marxism is a wranglingism, dealing as it does with contradictions and struggles. Contradictions are always present, and where there are contradictions, there are struggles.' (Talks at Conference of Party Committee Secretaries, Selected Works, Vol. 5, p. 364)."

The RCP has put forward our plan for revolutionary work leading toward the proletarian seizure of power in this country—a plan centered around a revolutionary newspaper. We have put forward that the task of winning the immediate battle for 100,000 co-conspirators—readers and distributors of the Revolutionary Worker is an urgent question and that the revolutionary forces are lagging behind in meeting the interests and requirements of the advanced section of the workers who need to be further armed with a revolutionary understanding of the world and revolutionary organization, in order to change it. We know that not everyone agrees with this plan and have opened the pages of the newspaper to this struggle because the decisive question in this campaign for 100,000 is the political understanding and unity around a revolutionary line. Below are some of the views sent to us by readers of the newspaper in answer to our call to debate.

Because we are confident of the truth and correctness of Marxism, and of our Party's basic line and plan for revolution, we know that through open struggle, it will win out, and more than that, will be the motor for rapid leaps. It will win far more fighters, co-conspirators, from among the revolutionary-minded people." Through this "100 Flowers" campaign, we will continue to elaborate and clarify our views in the pages of the paper. But for the struggle to be thoroughly joined, for the common cause to be advanced to the max we must continue to hear from you.

### What We Don't Have Time for Is Tailing Behind the Advanced

Comrades,

The 100 Flowers debate as part of the battle to win 100,000 co-conspirators has produced sharp struggle. This struggle has served to deepen our understanding of the line of the Party. This is true particularly in relation to the role of the *RW* and the question of "Create Public Opinion, Seize Power." It is in the spirit of the struggle to win the battle for 100,000 that I write this letter. It is the first time I've written to the *RW* but it will not be the last.

I would like to address some points raised in the letter printed in the Oct. 10 issue of the *RW* on p. 14. This letter raises some significant questions that are being debated in relation to the 100,000 but not only in relation to that, questions that are being debated in this country but not only in this country. In fact, the role that consciousness plays in the class struggle, one of the points raised in the letter, is one of the key questions being fought out in the international communist movement, not only today but historically. What role does the conscious activism of the masses play in the class struggle? What does it mean for the masses to consciously transform the world as they transform themselves? The letter I am addressing makes several wrong assumptions and puts out a line fundamentally opposed to the line of the Party, one which would condemn the masses of people in this country and around the world to continue to live in slavery longer than necessary. Though the writer of the letter hopes that its publication will help win people to a "raunchy line," my

response is to be more convinced of the correctness of the Party's line on the 100,000.

This letter is a slick attempt to pretend unity with the need to make this crucial leap to 100,000 co-conspirators but says that the problem is that the Party is going about it the wrong way. But a careful reading of the letter quickly exposes an opposing viewpoint, that centering the work of the Party and all class conscious forces around the *RW* is not concrete enough and what is needed is something more concrete. "Just doing networks is not enough," "what good will it do," "it's not worth the risks that are required," "we don't have time to create public opinion," etc., etc. Putting it this way means the writer feels there is no reason to do it at all, as though the question of creating public opinion is not and has not always been key to the question of seizing power. It is not the frosting on the cake.

The writer claims to know the sentiments of the masses, in particular of the advanced. But this letter presents the view that nothing is going on, the masses aren't doing anything, much less thinking anything. All we hear is the cynicism that does hold some people back, but none of the content of how the advanced see the world, how they sum up their experience—past and present—and the contradictory sentiments that get expressed. This is in sharp contrast to the approach of the Chairman (which the writer unsuccessfully tries to identify their line with)—most recently in the letter to the Black Nationalist with Communistic Inclinations. He neither lightly dismisses nor tails behind the opinions expressed by the comrade but went into a thorough analysis of what was the material basis for his opinions and what was incorrect in them. Understanding that the opinions expressed by that comrade are held by others with similar experience, and that breaking through on these questions is crucial for bringing such people forward, the Chairman went into them deeply and in a way that all of us could learn something.

Compare this to the approach put out by the writer. The masses don't find it very challenging, or for that matter very informative, to be told, "we are doing networks now." (My kindergarten teacher was the last person who I can recall speaking to me that way, although I don't want to accuse the writer of teaching anything to anyone, at least not what the line of the RCP is.) On the other hand, what a liberating thing it is when the advanced masses get a grasp on the fact that this Party has an overall scientific plan for revolution and what building this conspiracy around the *RW* on a grand scale has to do with that.

To quote from the article "Create Public Opinion, Seize Power" in *RW* Vol. 1, No. 1 (May 1st, 1979):

"The question isn't are we going to struggle or aren't we going to struggle? The system forces us to struggle every day just to get by. The question is, are we going to struggle blindly, spinning our wheels or fighting each other; or are we going to lift our heads and struggle consciously, with a clear view of our enemy and our goal of revolution.

"This is no idle dream. We dare not only to dream of revolution but to work unceasingly for the fulfillment of this dream. And there is no more concrete and pressing work today than the publication and distribution of the *RW*, a newspaper which will lay a firm foundation for the revolutionary movement and build up the vanguard Party of the working class, the Revolutionary Communist Party. We face the enormous task of building and unifying a revolutionary movement all across the country, one army of revolutionary fighters with a unified command, acting in common cause with a common guiding line."

Well, that's all very nice, says the line of this letter, but we don't have time for that now—"as things have clearly gotten to the verge." What emerges is the view that things are on the verge of the apocalypse, not that this is one of those periods in history that don't come all that often, where tremendous opportunities are presented to the proletariat on a world scale. This is exactly the viewpoint that is addressed by Chairman Avakian in "Coming From Behind"—those people who can now see that war and crisis are fast developing, but see no possibility of revolution, because they base their thinking solely on perceptions, what is superficial. Without the

weapon of Marxism to see and analyze what is beneath the surface, such people can only tail events and fall into panic or despair.

This is exactly where the line of the letter in question has led. According to their view all that can be hoped for is some sort of protest movement, that the voice of "resistance" be raised as the world comes tumbling down. But what can we hope for? "We have a world to win!" What we don't have time for is tailing behind the advanced, sinking to the level of the intermediate.

The urgency of the situation is underscored by recent events in the Persian Gulf. While it is obvious to most that the current aggression against Iran by Iraqi troops has the potential to develop into a larger war, what is not obvious and requires a Marxist analysis is what are the various forces who are involved, what classes do they represent, what interests are they serving, and what are the underlying laws that are driving things toward world war between the U.S. and the USSR. And beyond that, what are the possibilities for the revolutionary masses worldwide that have opened up and must be seized on in this sharpening situation. Is it enough that many who have had experience fighting imperialism do not believe the U.S. Government and know they are somehow behind Iraq? All this leaves you with is the view that the U.S. imperialists are motherfuckers but that they are strong and can do whatever they want, and the masses have nothing to say. Where else but in the pages of the *RW* can we find the exposure and analysis that can cut through what's on the surface, lay bare the truth, and point the direction for the activity of the masses. To think that in this situation, our efforts are not increasing 100-fold to get this newspaper into the hands of at least 100,000 is criminal.

You can imagine the writer of this letter in Iran today arguing vehemently that we don't have time to develop the leadership of a vanguard communist party, we don't have time to build up the independent role of the proletariat, we don't have time to expose in a deep-going and all-sided way the interests and role of the various class forces so that the revolutionary masses, led by the proletariat and its communist party, can make use of this situation to further the revolution that was begun with the overthrow of the Shah. "Oh no," our writer would exclaim, "the bullets are flying, leave politics to the bourgeoisie, the masses want to act." I'm sure these life and death questions are being struggled out in Iran today. The fact is this is no less a life and death question here today. Failing to develop and rely on the conscious activism of the masses as the only force that will defeat imperialism and advance revolution, we will be in no position today nor certainly in the future to do anything but capitulate. The consciousness that is fought for today around such crucial questions as the Iranian revolution and the moves toward world war will be the decisive factor in being able to bring forward the advanced who today can be mobilized and in going forward through all the future twists and turns, which promise to be more complicated than they are today, I guarantee.

Another point I would like to speak to. If the writer feels that our forces today are too tiny, why do they argue against the means for qualitatively expanding that influence—struggling for the qualitative leap to 100,000 co-conspirators. I know for myself and most of the readers of the *RW*, being part of the grand conspiracy around the paper gives us a tremendous source of strength—that while we don't all know each other, can't all see each other, we are all being trained to think and act as one force preparing to seize power, that we are sinking our roots deep and far flung, and that our class enemy is more worried about this conspiracy and the RCP that is leading it than anything else that is going on because they know what the power of the masses will do to them once we have become politically conscious and decide to act on that basis.

Does all this mean then that the Party's line is that there is no need, nor nothing to be gained by the actions of the class conscious forces today? No, in fact struggling to build the broader influence of the *RW* is in fact quite concrete and involves a lot of

Continued on page 16

# CIA WINS JAMAICA ELECTION

"The U.S. ruling class had declared Jamaica "vital to our interests," (which it undoubtedly is) and has obviously chosen to move decisively in the coming months... it is clear from the U.S. imperialists' scheming over the past period that the ballot box means about as much to them in Jamaica as it means to them in the U.S. The U.S.'s "vote" has already been cast with Seaga and the CIA; with bombings, sabotage and murder."

This is how we concluded our center-fold article on Jamaica in *RW* No. 66, August 8, 1980. And as we go to press it has been reported that indeed, Edward

Seaga, has been elected Prime Minister of Jamaica. In the October 31 edition of the *Chicago Tribune*, Seaga is quoted as pledging to "restore a balanced foreign policy." He continues, "Do not expect a high profile in any single direction. We are a member of the Third World, a non-aligned country, and not tied to the coat-tails of any superpower." Perhaps not to the coat-tails; but then if you can ride in the pocket, next to the wallet of U.S. imperialism, why not, eh Edward.

Edward Seaga is a Harvard-trained financial expert. As head of the Jamaican Labor Party (JLP) he is a fre-

quent visitor to the State Department—so much so that he is popularly referred to by the masses of people in Jamaica as Edward CIA. His cousin is the President of the First National Bank of Chicago and Seaga is a close personal friend of Ray Klein, the head of the Georgetown-based Center for Strategic and International Studies. (Klein is first choice for CIA Director by Reagan and his advisers.) Seaga's model for economic development of Jamaica is the Puerto Rico plan—a neo-colony under the thumbscrews of the U.S. And all his talk about "non-alignment" is only to sucker the masses of Jamaican people—"non-alignment" means only alignment with the U.S. against their Soviet social-imperialist rivals.

In fact it was superpower contention that was at the heart of this election. Seaga's opponent, Michael Manley of the Peoples National Party (PNP), had slipped towards the Soviets and the Cu-

bans as he precariously tried to get money and aid from each. The CIA mounted a destabilization campaign similar to that in Chile 8 years ago. So, in the staccato of gunfire, bombings and assassinations, the U.S. installed their man Edward Seaga. More than 450 people were killed during the campaign—100 of them in the last weeks of the election race during October. Both Manley and Seaga had been targets of sniper attacks (no doubt their own respective thugs) during this whole campaign. And while Seaga's election represents somewhat of a comeback for the U.S. in the area, things between the superpowers—and between the masses of people in Jamaica and these imperialist overlords—are far from settled. □

## UN 2 Appeal

Continued from page 2

saying that this was not pertinent to the case. William vanden Heuvel testified that neither he nor the Soviet ambassador were physically hurt; so, according to Sudler, this was a "violent attack"—but without any injuries! In other words, it was violent—but it wasn't violent, either. Judge Ward, in instructing the jury before deliberating, refused to include the element of "intent to injure."

The Appeals judges focused their questions on this issue of violence. "Where do we draw the line?" one judge questioned the prosecutor. Another asked the prosecutor's opinion of a hypothetical situation. If someone grabbed the lapel of a diplomat and then argued strenuously with that diplomat—would that constitute a violent attack? The prosecutor responded yes, but the judge disagreed. The prosecutor also argued that the throwing of red paint was covered by the statute in the word "strike" (a new argument on the part of the government). One judge responded that "strike" would "imply the use of a weapon, such as a club." And still a third judge cautioned the prosecutor that his definition of the word "strike" would not "hold the day for you."

This nitpicking at the prosecutor's case—even going so far as to crack jokes in the courtroom and at one point making the prosecutor look like a fool—was clearly a performance staged

for the supporters, the law students and the other lawyers who packed into the courtroom. It was aimed at hoodwinking people into thinking that decisions such as this appeal are made on the basis of an "impartial" hearing of all the "evidence" and arguments from "both sides." But both prosecution and judge are on the same "side," and this little performance was only indicative of the heat they are feeling and of how exposed the political nature of this railroad is to thousands of people.

A closer examination of the judge's remarks reveals that, if anything, the judges were discreetly cueing the prosecutor to tighten up his act. One judge posed another hypothetical situation to the prosecutor, saying that, "If I said 'I'm going to kill you' or 'you're a traitor'... that would constitute assault." In the context of the political message delivered by the UN action (the UN 2 shouted, "Our flag is red, not red, white and blue! Down with U.S. and Soviet war moves!"), there should be no mistaking just why the judge chose the word "traitor" in his "hypothetical situation."

But, while things may have appeared somewhat more constrained in the courtroom, outside the courtroom, notably in the media, things were exceedingly blatant. Only two weeks before the appeals hearing, the *New York Post* ran an article listing the UN 2 among several reactionary terrorist organizations. And then, in the days before the appeal opened, ABC's Channel 7 tried to do the *Post* one better. A film clip was repeatedly aired to ostensi-

bly advertise an evening news special on phobia. The clip, done in a "man on the street" style, had the camera swiftly popping from person to person, each one indicating their particular phobia: "I'm afraid of rats... I'm afraid of crowded subway cars... I'm afraid of descending stairwells..." etc. Suddenly, the face of no ordinary man on the street appears, that of William vanden Heuvel (the UN diplomat who took a bath in red paint). After stating his fear, that of "people throwing red paint at me," vanden Heuvel breaks into a roar of laughter. The actual phobia special aired on the night before the appeal hearing and ran only five minutes.

But the point of this was not to provide New Yorkers with a few laughs. The advertisement had a different purpose: to ridicule the UN action, isolate the UN 2 and present vanden Heuvel as being harmed in some way.

In the event of a retrial, this last point can also be resurrected by the prosecution in their attempt to make the charges of felony assault stick, since assault is also defined as including "any intentional display of force, such as would give the victim reason to fear or expect bodily harm."

The UN action has never been a joking matter to the imperialists. During the court proceedings, a non-uniformed UN security officer sat busily taking notes. And while vanden Heuvel was busy laughing it up on TV, supporters of the UN 2 were arrested in Boston. They had gathered over 40 signatures on a banner in support of the UN 2 in a Boston University classroom of activist

Howard Zinn, and they were hauled off by police and charged on two misdemeanors as soon as they took the banner out to the streets. The banner was confiscated as well.

As we go to press, a decision in the appeal has yet to be rendered. And far from being fooled by the judges' performances in court, the battle to free the UN 2 will be heightened still. □



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# Hostage Deal

Continued from page 1

newspapers have been running out banner headlines such as "Hostage Hopes Rise Again" and "Early Return of Hostages Expected." EARLY RETURN?—after a whole year of massive anti-U.S. demonstrations in Iran, of U.S. embassies under siege from Pakistan to the Philippines, of aborted U.S. "rescue missions" and exposed coup plots inside Iran—you gotta be kidding!

No matter how many tons of newsprint or hours of TV commentary spew out their reactionary summation, the U.S. ruling class can't hide the fact that the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehran on November 4 of last year and the powerful anti-imperialist upsurge it spearheaded dealt severe blows to their attempts to crush the revolution and recapture Iran—instead propelling the Iranian revolution forward and inspiring tens of millions more as the shock waves of revolutionary struggle reverberated throughout the Middle East and far beyond. All of this not only denied the U.S. control over Iran, but challenged and destabilized their grip on this strategic, oil-rich region just at a time when they most need it for their coming worldwide military showdown with their imperialist rivals in the USSR.

Furthermore, the embassy takeover placed a hot white spotlight on the crimes of the U.S. ruling class in Iran for all the world to see—from their arming and training of the Shah's army and secret police, to their increasingly desperate direct and covert attempts to halt the revolution in the months following the overthrow of the Shah. By rising up in their millions and fighting tit-for-tat against the gangster ruling class of the U.S., the Iranian people have shown that underlying the imperialists' vicious attacks and reactionary bellowing, they are growing weaker and more vulnerable. And especially now that the bourgeois forces in the Iranian government are moving towards accommodation with the U.S.—beginning with the release of the hostages—this past year of intense struggle in Iran has more clearly demonstrated that it is only the broad masses of the Iranian people, led by the proletariat and its revolutionary communist vanguard, that will be able to stand up to and defeat the imperialists and their old and new agents inside Iran.

In Iran itself, as the finishing touches were being put on this deal with the U.S. imperialists, the Islamic government has resorted to a series of maneuvers to make the release of the hostages appear to be something other than what it is: knuckling under to the U.S.'s straight-out gangster tactics and a big step towards all-round capitulation to imperialism. Numerous government figures claimed that the U.S. had been forced to make concessions; Tehran Radio ludicrously claimed that this new plan to release the hostages is "the way to expose the long criminal history of the United States"! These vacillating bourgeois forces governing Iran have

good reason to try to cover this as a "victory for Islam and the Iranian people"—for they know very well that they will be hearing from the Iranian people themselves.

And they are not the only ones looking over their shoulders—the U.S. government is also watching every step it makes for fear of providing a spark for the explosive situation inside Iran. While it is not yet clear what form the reaction in Iran will take, one thing is for sure: the imperialists and their reactionary hangers-on have pronounced the Iranian revolution dead countless times, only to be stunned when it rose up to smack them in the face once again.

Furthermore, even with the return of these CIA operatives, military attachés and other assorted U.S. "diplomatic" personnel to their employer, the U.S. government is not about to close down the blackmail operation they've been running, spearheaded by the Iraqi invasion of Iran that they themselves instigated and continue to back up through their client states in the region. Not by a long shot. The "Iraq/Iran War" that U.S. officials claim they are "strictly impartial" in, may well continue for a while longer in order to extract further concessions from the Iranian government—or it will be replaced by an equally vicious blend of U.S. carrot-and-stick tactics aimed at nothing less than crushing the life out of the Iranian revolution and restoring their total military and political control of Iran.

That this is the U.S. imperialists' goal in all this was underscored once again in an incident last week in which President Carter's congressional liaison officer Frank Moore "inexplicably" asserted that Ayatollah Khomeini was "dying of cancer of the colon and that the United States believed the Iranian military would take over." Moore's remarks, of course, were immediately repudiated and deplored by the White House—"We have no such information," "Moore was out of line," etc. But whether this "slip" was intentional or not, it underscores the continued U.S. imperialist designs and plots to restore its past dominant position in Iran through whatever means it takes—and the clear role of the hostage deal as a major step in that direction.

### Imperialist Doubletalk

Throughout the final weeks of intense negotiations between the U.S. and Iranian governments—conducted with Iraqi guns pointed at Iran's head—President Carter and other ruling class mouthpieces continued to spew out a stream of imperialist doubletalk. "We will maintain our position of neutrality in the Iran and Iraq war," promised Carter during last Tuesday's nationally televised debate with Reagan, even as he announced that the U.S. is prepared to ship \$240 million of "paid-for" military goods to Iran, when the Iranian government releases the hostages.

To remind our readers of just what kind of "neutrality" the U.S. imperialists are maintaining in the Persian Gulf today, we would like to point out several things Carter "forgot" to mention. Arms, ammo and other supplies are continuing to pour into Iran from U.S. client regimes in the Middle East

## "We Are Going To Stand By Our Revolution"

This story was dictated to an RW reader by an Iranian cab driver in Chicago.

"By the time you will be reading this, I will be back in my country, Iran. For several years I drove a taxi in Chicago. Always, people see my name and ask me what I think about the revolution in Iran. When Iraq attacked Iran, I decided I must return to my country to defend the revolution. I decided to use my job as a taxi driver to expose U.S. imperialism to the common working people in the United States.

"During the last week that I drove a taxi, everytime a fare got in, I would look up in the mirror and I would ask them, 'What do you think about the war between Iraq and Iran?' It was interesting. The businessmen all understood that the United States is involved in this war. Many of the working people

said they did not know much about it. Then I would explain to them the history of U.S. imperialism in Iran, the Shah, and how the United States is behind the Iraqi attack on Iran. I would tell them, 'We are a determined people. We are going to stand by our revolution. We will give our blood.' Then I told them I was going back to Iran to fight against the imperialists. And do you know, almost every working class person gave me \$2, \$3 or \$4 tip, for my trip, wished me luck.

"The same week, I made some tickets that said 'Victory to Iran' and I took them to sell to other cab drivers to raise money for Iran's war effort. Do you know that every Black cab driver I asked—18 of them—gave me \$3 for the ticket—to fight against the imperialists!"

such as Jordan, Saudi Arabia and North Yemen to guarantee that this indirect U.S. military pressure on the Iranian bourgeoisie will continue; the U.S.'s direct military presence in the region continues to escalate, from the two aircraft carrier task forces in the Indian Ocean and the U.S. AWACS planes and phalanx of military advisers stationed in Saudi Arabia, to the dispatch of elements of the "Rapid Deployment Force" to Egypt this month for joint exercises with Sadat's army; and now, this offer of military supplies to Iran that is clearly tied to "progress" made by the Iranian government in surrendering the U.S. hostages and further acts of capitulation to the U.S. imperialists.

While government spokesmen attempt to keep up this paper-thin facade

of "neutrality," various bullhorns for the bourgeoisie have begun to openly discuss and crow about the U.S.'s latest power play. To take one example, the day after the Carter/Reagan debate, imperialist mouthpiece Carl Rowan's nationally syndicated column—titled "A Need For Cold Cynicism"—contained the following remarks in reply to "Iranian charges" that the U.S. "provoked" Iraq's attack on Iran.

"Wouldn't it be something if our intelligence officers did indeed bribe a few Iraqi politicians and generals, if our diplomats did in fact talk the Saudis into giving Iraq a financial green light to go ahead and attack—as Iraq long has wanted to do? This not implausible bit of collusion could be expected to force release of the hostages and perhaps

Continued on page 20



Last November, in front of the U.S. Embassy, shortly after it was seized.

### Comrades in Iran:

We are fellow workers who are studying Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought who are inspired by your firm stand against the blood-suckers; we look to and support your continued struggle against our common enemy, which is imperialism.

We are going to do everything possible to expose these dogs that are plotting against you revolutionaries. Your struggle and your action encourages and inspires us to continue the struggle here and we look forward to the day when together we celebrate the fall of international imperialism. Comrades, as Mao said, "The road is tortuous, the future is bright."

"Venceremos"

Signed by seven rebel workers.

- B.N.
- J.M.
- L.A.
- A.M.
- G.C.
- R.A.
- P.C.

Sincerely,  
The Cholo Brigade

# Ballot

Continued from page 3

the hostage deal in Iran grew closer Carter's standing improved. This was a far cry from earlier in the campaign. Remember the mid-summer dunking of Carter in the polls, when the hoopla of the GOP convention and the popping of Billygate brought Reagan way up. The last week in July it was 45% for Reagan, 28% for Carter and 18% for Anderson. Carter's popularity was polled at a low point of 21%, the lowest rating ever afforded a U.S. president since the polls began. Anderson was even leading Carter in several states. The gap steadily narrowed and soon it was too close to call with Reagan still in the lead. Anderson faded and much of his financial backing was withdrawn. It was a two-man race. But as they ran out all these statistics morning, noon and night on TV, radio and in the papers they were careful to always point to the large percentage of undecided voters. The point being that you, the "undecided," would be decisive in deciding the election. And at the last few weeks the horserace became tighter. It would be neck and neck down to the wire. The headlines read "It's a dead heat." Carter was ahead but he better watch out, Reagan is strong and closing in. "People better get out and vote or the wrong guy could win and you would have no one to blame but yourself" was their message with this manipulation by opinion poll.

Then we had the "Great Debate," the capping off of a year-long election campaign on which the bourgeoisie spent over \$250 million to get down to this final race to the wire. The debate was indeed a fitting reflection of the degenerate and moribund character of politics U.S. imperialist style. Dull, sterile, and completely stage-managed and programmed, the whole affair could easily have been created for installation in the Disneyland Hall of Presidents. And such hoopla in advance! Weeks of slow build-up and hourly coverage from the scene of the debate starting the night before as the hall was readied and the candidates arrived, etc. The media chorus chanted, "the whole election is riding on the outcome of this debate." Even the panels of pundits who came on afterwards to "correctly interpret" the event were forced to apologize for it in order to retain any credibility. Yes, they had to admit, neither of the candidates had said anything new, nor had it been much of a debate. But, they proudly contended, neither of the bourgeoisie's big frontmen made any big mistakes either. Neither of them fell off the platform, picked his nose on camera, or made an international incident on TV.

While the content of the debate will certainly not be long remembered, that wasn't the point of holding it. The purpose was quite simply to focus attention on the most important issue of this campaign—imperialist war preparations—and to further push the "undecideds" into casting their ballots even if reluctantly. And it was interesting to see how the so-called differences between the two candidates became more and more blurred as the distance between even their rhetoric narrowed. Specifically Carter ran the "stop the warmonger Reagan" pitch to throw enough fear about the dangers of Reagan taking things to a "nuclear precipice" into the hearts of those who sat on the sidelines so that they would rush (or at least go) to the polls to vote for the supposedly more "reasonable" and level-headed Jimmy. And on the other side, Reagan ran out that it is Carter's so-called weakness regarding war preparations that is leading toward war with the Soviets and that another Carter presidency would mean four more years of economic disaster, whereas a vote for Reagan could mean jobs for all, lower prices, blah, blah, blah. In this "Great Debate," Reagan even put forward the absolutely absurd proposition that while he was governor of California, the state's "inflation rate went below the national average." Oh, we didn't know that California minted its own money and had its own economy separate from the U.S. as a whole.

As for Reagan's charges of Carter's

weakness on the arms build-up, it is hard to figure out just what Reagan is proposing to do differently than the Commander-in-Chief is already doing. Carter himself listed his military achievements during the debate: "Since I've been in office," said Carter, "We've had a steady, carefully planned, methodical but very effective increase in our commitment for defense. . . . But in doing this (building up our forces in the Persian Gulf—RW) we have made sure that we addressed this question peacefully, not injecting American military forces into combat (yet—RW), by letting the strength of our nation be felt in a beneficial way." Translation: If anybody messes with our oil, we're going to lay some peaceful and beneficial nuclear bombs on them, which unfortunately may result in their extermination.

An incredible amount of attention was focused on the debates by the press after they were over. The big question was, of course, "Who won?" Pages and pages of their newspapers were covered with news and analysis of the debate from every angle. But ABC TV had a novel approach which really got down to the heart of the matter. Instead of chewing over the cud of the candidates' blatherings after the debate they switched their cameras to the Bell Telephone Laboratories in New Jersey, where results of a nationwide, toll-free phone-in-poll were being tabulated on the great computer. What it was was a giant easy introduction to voting, to kind of ease people back into "the fun of voting." Sort of like training wheels for November 4. All you had to do was pick up the phone and dial one number if you were for Carter and another number if you were for Reagan. You didn't even have to say anything. Just dial and hang up. There, that wasn't so hard, was it. Now you watch and you can see your very own vote being tabulated on the big computer. ABC actually conned 700,000 people into this "voter training" and increased the revenues of Ma Bell by 50¢ a call to boot.

Reaching into their election trick bag again, the bourgeoisie moved to threaten those among the masses who are most disgusted with the con game into the voting booth. And here we have some rather interesting goings on. With a number of Black "leaders" who were not directly part of the Democratic Party machine not endorsing either of

## HOW TO LISTEN WHEN YOU WATCH THE DEBATE TONIGHT.

Tonight the men who seek America's highest office come before to debate the issues, each alone before the cameras. Speaking on their feet, extemporaneously answering the toughest, trickiest questions, the candidates may well afford us our most revealing glimpse to date of who they really are and how they think.

If that is, we know how to listen. So to help you get the most out of this unique event, we at Sperry want to share some of what we've learned about listening. Listening isn't simply hearing. It's hard work. We have to pay attention to what we hear. Evaluate it. And then respond to it. Good listening is so difficult, studies show most of us list only a 25% level of efficiency.

So it helps not to get too comfortable. And it helps to eliminate distractions. Even little ones like a love-hungry dog or an apologetic neighbor. An open mind is indispensable, too. Even when you think a candidate is about to say, hear him out. He may prove you wrong something surprising.

Tonight is also the perfect time to break some of the bad habits we all have in common. Like the national human tendency to let skillful rhetoricians use questionable logic. Or our inclination to tune out subjects we find "uninteresting."

Finally, try to see how well the candidates themselves are listening when they aren't speaking. Is he really listening to what the other candidate is saying, or rehearsing what he wants to say next?

If there is one quality we ought to require of our candidates, it's that they listen well. To choose wisely when we vote this November, we must first choose to listen well, tonight.

**SPERRY**  
We understand how important it is to listen well.

October 26, 1980

Dear Fellow Americans,

PLEASE VOTE.

Tuesday, November 4th, is the day to stand up and be counted for what you believe. The future of this great country is in your hands.

Come out and vote for an ever brighter future. Yours is the voice of America. Take a stand for what you believe. Honor your voting privilege as an American, as only an American citizen can.

Please don't throw away your right to vote, to stand up and be counted on Tuesday, November 4th for yourself and for your country.

PLEASE VOTE.

Sincerely,

**Imperialists in search of a mandate—a few of the barrage of newspaper ads which have been part of a desperate "get out the vote" drive in recent weeks.**

the candidates, civil rights lackeys Ralph Abernathy, Hosea Williams and Charles Evers declared their support for Reagan. In a torrent of anger and amidst warnings of impending disaster should Reagan win the presidency and not Carter, a number of other lackeys, including the NAACP which has a policy of "neutrality" for recent elections, declared for Jimmy. And Coleman Young of Detroit warned Black people there that unless Carter was elected millions of dollars of funds for jobs would be cutoff from the city. While Nation of Islam leader Warith Dean Muhammad endorsed Reagan, Mohammad Ali endorsed Carter, saying, "We don't have no Black candidate for President, so it's up to us to choose the right white." Apparently Ali thinks Carter, who used to hug Lester Maddox and who kicked off his campaign in the company of George Wallace, is the "right white."

And in a real "surprise," Eugene McCarthy, "Mr. Dove" in 1968, came out for Reagan. This "switch" actually illustrates quite well why, no matter how these politicians for the bourgeoisie paint themselves, they all represent the same class and are prepared to do whatever is necessary or convenient to serve that class. McCarthy, who actually voted for every military appropriation for Vietnam, before he ran for president, for the infamous Gulf of Tonkin resolution, and the draft, suddenly emerged as the great peace candidate in 1968 in a deliberate attempt to sucker youth out of the mass anti-war movement and back into the "respectable politics" of the ballot box. Now he can serve another purpose in a new image, or really the same old one, this time trying to create some support for Reagan among more traditionally liberal sections.

Some will undoubtedly be lured back into the voting booth by all this desperate trickery only to find themselves tricked again. And many will remain cynical at the fact that this system doesn't work like they tell us in high school civics class. But those who have begun to see that the whole system including the election con game is working exactly like it's supposed to and that it must and can be gotten rid of will

neither be surprised nor discouraged by the outcome of the election. They will join with thousands of others who have stopped waiting for salvation. And it is in this light that the real significance of the active political stand of casting the ballot marked "This Whole System Is Putrid, I Don't Believe In Any Of Its Candidates" becomes clear. As was pointed out in the RCP leaflet on the elections:

"Now is the time for all those oppressed by this system to take independent historical action—to seize the time of this election to strike out in a direction that illuminates a different choice for people, the possibility of a different future worth fighting for.

"People are getting jolted, awakened by today's events. Many of these same people only yesterday thought they had it made—now they are not so sure at all. The few crumbs and petty privileges the system has thrown their way to blind their eyes to a different future are being ripped away. Today people are more restless, dissatisfied and questioning. All this points to the great possibilities of taking dramatic action now. The actions of those who are breaking with this whole con game will awaken still more people. The significance of these people's actions on election day will far outweigh the half-blind voting motions of those, today numerically larger, who try to follow the 'line of least resistance' and chase the wisp of painless progress.

"If this system could be reformed or a couple of 'new, honest leaders' of this system could make such a difference, it would have happened long ago. The great revolutionary Mao Tsetung observed, 'Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it it won't fall. It is like sweeping the floor; where the broom does not reach, the dust never vanishes of itself.' Just falling asleep and dreaming it will all go away (or hoping someone else will work it out) isn't going to cut it. In fact, indifference to politics ends up being very political—it supports the politics of those who rule since it leaves them a free hand. It will take revolution led by the working class to put what is sick and dying in its grave." □

# LENIN ON THE STATE

*The excerpts below are from a short pamphlet entitled The State by V.I. Lenin which was based on a lecture he made at Sverdlov University in the then socialist Soviet Union in 1919. Only two years earlier in the midst of World War I the Russian revolution had succeeded in overthrowing the monarchy of the Tsar and under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party went on to topple the rule of the Russian bourgeoisie represented by the Kerensky government. In these passages, the history and role of the state (essentially the machine for the suppression of one class over another no matter how the oppressors try to hide it) is briefly traced and the necessity and possibility of the working class to lead in overthrowing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie establishing its rule and moving on to the elimination of the state as such is succinctly presented.*

The state is a machine for maintaining the rule of one class over another. When there were no classes in society, when, before the epoch of slavery, people laboured in primitive conditions of greater equality, in conditions when productivity of labour was still at its lowest, and when primitive man could barely procure the wherewithal for the crudest and most primitive existence, a special group of people, specially separated off to rule and dominate over the rest of society, had not yet arisen, and could not have arisen. Only when the first form of the division of society into classes appeared, only when slavery appeared, when a certain class of people, by concentrating on the crudest forms of agricultural labour, could produce a certain surplus, when this surplus was not absolutely essential for the most wretched existence of the slave and passed into the hands of the slaveowner, when in this way the existence of this class of slaveowners took firm root—then in order that it might take firm root it was essential that a state should appear.

And it did appear—the slaveowning state, an apparatus which gave the slaveowners power and enabled them to rule over the slaves. Both society and the state were then much smaller than they are now, they possessed an incomparably weaker apparatus of communication—the modern means of communication did not then exist. Mountains, rivers and seas were immeasurably greater obstacles than they are now, and the formation of the state was confined within far narrower geographical boundaries. A technically weak state apparatus served a state confined within relatively narrow boundaries and a narrow circle of action. Nevertheless, there did exist an apparatus which compelled the slaves to remain in slavery, which kept one part of society subjugated to and oppressed by another. It is impossible to compel the greater part of society to work systematically for the other part of society without a permanent apparatus of coercion. So long as there were no classes, there was no apparatus like this. When classes appeared, everywhere and always as this division grew and took firmer hold, there also appeared a special institution—the state. The forms of state were extremely varied. During the period of slavery we already find diverse forms of the state in the most advanced, cultured and civilized countries according to the standards of the time—for example, in ancient Greece and Rome, which rested entirely on slavery. At that time the difference was already arising between the monarchy and the republic, between the aristocracy and democracy. A monarchy is the power of a single person, a republic is the absence of any nonelected power; an aristocracy is the power of a relatively small minority, a democracy is the power of the people (democracy in Greek literally means the power of the people). All these differences arose in the epoch of slavery. Despite these differences, the state of the slaveowning epoch was a slaveowning state, irrespective of whether it was

a monarchy or a republic, aristocratic or democratic.

In every course on the history of ancient times, when hearing a lecture on this subject you will hear about the struggle which was waged between the monarchical and republican states. But the fundamental fact is that the slaves were not regarded as human beings—not only were they not regarded as citizens, they were not even regarded as human beings. Roman law regarded them as chattels. The law of manslaughter, not to mention the other laws for the protection of the person, did not extend to slaves. It defended only the slaveowners, who were alone recognized as citizens with full rights. But whether a monarchy was instituted or a republic, it was a monarchy of the slaveowners or a republic of the slaveowners. All rights under them were enjoyed by the slaveowners, while the slave was a chattel in the eyes of the law; and not only could any sort of violence be perpetrated against a slave, but even the murder of a slave was not considered a crime. Slaveowning republics differed in their internal organization: there were aristocratic republics and democratic republics. In an aristocratic republic a small number of privileged persons took part in the elections; in a democratic republic everybody took part in the elections—but again only the slaveowners, everybody except the slaves. This fundamental fact must be borne in mind, because it throws more light than any other on the question of the state and clearly demonstrates the nature of the state.

The state is a machine for the oppres-

sion of one class by another, a machine for holding in obedience to one class other, subordinated classes. There are various forms of this machine. In the slaveowning state we had a monarchy, an aristocratic republic or even a democratic republic. In fact the forms of government varied extremely, but their essence was always the same: the slaves enjoyed no rights and constituted an oppressed class; they were not regarded as human beings. We find the same thing in the feudal state.

The change in the form of exploitation transformed the slaveowning state into the feudal state. This was of immense importance. In slaveowning society the slave enjoys no rights whatever and is not regarded as a human being; in feudal society the peasant is tied to the soil. The chief token of serfdom was that the peasants (and at that time the peasants constituted the majority; there was a very poorly developed urban population) were considered attached to the land—hence the very concept serfdom. The peasant might work a definite number of days for himself on the plot assigned to him by the landlord; on the other days the peasant serf worked for his lord. The essence of class society remained: society was based on class exploitation. Only the landlords could enjoy full rights; the peasants had no rights at all. In practice their condition differed very little from the condition of slaves in the slaveowning state. Nevertheless a wider road was opened for their emancipation, for the emancipation of the peasants, since the peasant serf was not regarded as the direct property of the landlord. He

could work part of his time on his own plot, could, so to speak, belong to himself to a certain extent; and with the wider opportunities for the development of exchange and trade relations the feudal system steadily disintegrated and the scope of emancipation of the peasantry steadily widened. Feudal society was always more complex than slave society. There was a greater element of development of trade and industry, which even in those days led to capitalism. In the Middle Ages feudalism predominated. And here too the forms of state varied, here too we find both the monarchy and the republic, although the latter was much more weakly expressed. But always the feudal landlord was regarded as the only ruler. The peasant serfs were absolutely excluded from all political rights.

Both under slavery and under the feudal system a small minority of people could not dominate over the vast majority without coercion. History is full of the constant attempts of the oppressed classes to throw off oppression. The history of slavery contains records of wars of emancipation from slavery which lasted for decades. Incidentally, the name "Spartacist" now adopted by the German Communists—the only German party which is really fighting the yoke of capitalism—was adopted by them because Spartacus was one of the most prominent heroes of one of the greatest revolts of slaves, which took place about two thousand years ago. For many years the seemingly omnipotent Roman Empire, which rested entire-

Continued on page 12



Lenin working while he was underground. (Soviet painting)

# Cash

Continued from page 4

and maiming as usual, a huge public relations campaign has been launched by the city. There is Mayor Jane Byrne's Blue Ribbon Citizen's Committee on Police Brutality, there have been police brutality hearings, and the latest, another tact, is the CBS news local series on "The Man Behind the Badge," a heartwarming look inside the Chicago Police Department. But the masses have not swallowed, much less stomach, these repeated outrages.

Within minutes after Cash's death, 50 to 60 shocked and angry neighborhood residents gathered on the spot. They saw his face was bloody, swollen, and badly beaten. "Motherfucker, you killed him," they spat right in the cops' faces. Only a few weeks earlier another blatant police murder had taken place a few blocks away. Walter Cooley, a Black man, was surrounded by 50 police while in his apartment and killed by a single gunshot wound to the chest because he had fired a shot in the air earlier in the day. The cops' response to both was the same. They begin "an investigation," including intimidation

of witnesses and making up lies for public consumption.

The media, including the *Sun-Times* and the community newspaper, the *Daily Calumet*, printed the "true facts" of the Cash story—straight off the police report, that is. Channel 7 ABC News, however, did a little creative investigation on its own—embellishing the "berserk" theme with the wild fabrication that Cash jumped out the third floor window of the plant hospital and ran out the gate. When asked why they had repeated the cops' story and disregarded the reports of eyewitnesses, the *Daily Calumet* shamelessly told the *RW*, "Well, there was another police shooting around here a couple of weeks ago already, and we don't want to start a race riot." They further defended their story by saying that South Chicago Community Hospital backed up the cops' statement that Cash was killed by a shot in his forehead. This cozy relationship between the police and the emergency room (which is ready and willing to lie to get the cops off the hook) is no secret. The hospital did another service for the cops by shielding the wounded security guard, Edward Rak, from any questions. When an *RW* reporter attempted to visit him in the hospital, the clerk flipped through her index cards for a mo-

ment and then accidentally replied, "Oh, I'm not supposed to even acknowledge that he's here."

In the wake of the shooting, the cops wasted no time in going about their business of interrogating and intimidating witnesses. They showed up bright and early the next morning at U.S. Steel to question one of the co-workers who had witnessed the murder. This man, who initially called what happened a clear cut case of police brutality, now refuses to even talk about it. On the evening of the murder, a neighborhood witness reported that he was visited by two Black detectives. First, they tried to get him to deny the vicious beating he had seen by telling him they had other testimony that contradicted his statements. When he was still firm in his story, they laughed about James Cash, saying he was just a crazy man who had refused to come out of the mud. "I asked them, 'why use force to apprehend a nude person?'" this witness told the *RW*. "And they said they apprehend a person any way they can, even if it means killing him. That's when I told them to get the hell out of my house."

The cold-blooded reply by the pigs is, in fact, simply a statement of Illinois law which legalizes police murder. It states that anyone who is fleeing from a

cop and is suspected of committing a felony—a category which could include everybody and their brother—is fair game for a cop's bullet. This is why the autopsy results (which have not been publicized by the press) even though they so obviously catch the cops in a lie, are not particularly disturbing to them. In fact, Commander O'Reilly told the press, "I expect to put him (the pig who shot Cash) in for a department commendation!"

This case is still under investigation by the office of Cook County State's Attorney Bernard Carey to determine whether any criminal charges should be brought against the cop. But no one is holding their breath. All of the recent police murders have been ruled "justifiable homicide" except in the case of the vicious beating death of Richard Ramey, where mass outrage made indictment of the cops an expedient and timely decision by the city fathers. Off of this indictment, the first in recent memory, Carey has suddenly metamorphosed into "a friend of Black people" with a record of "fighting police brutality"—or so his re-election campaign pitch says. The results of his "fight" are plain to see as the pigs continue to run amok amidst reports of rising police violence and murders like that of James Cash across the city. □

# Wake of Racist Attacks

Continued from page 4

Iran.

Buffalo has also been blessed with another familiar face. Jesse Jackson, professional fireman, was sent shuffling to Buffalo in the wake of this butchery in an effort to douse the sparks of rebellion that might ignite. In his usual demagogic style he tried to rev people up with chants of "I am somebody," etc., then gave them the rulers' message: "There's power in that vote." Although they got nearly 800 people into this capitalist revival meeting, many refused to sing and sway to "We Shall Overcome," and left saying how disgusting it was to have Jackson up there supposedly representing Black people. During the meeting itself, one Black man had yelled back at him: "People are dying in the streets and you're saying vote!"

Jackson & Co. certainly have no clear field. On October 7 a mass meeting was held in the Black community. The anger of the people intensified as it became clearer and clearer that there were two forces determined to keep the interests of the people snuffed out. On the one hand, there were the pigs, saying "We're doing everything we can." On the other hand, there were the Black "leaders," saying, "We all need to cooperate with the law enforcement agencies," and ending the meeting with a prayer for these pigs to find the killer. Finally one brother jumped up and said that it was only a low level of political consciousness that even allowed these pigs to be at the meeting. Another exposed the fact that the head of the State Police was sitting right there at the meeting, the dog that had led the assault on Attica in 1971, and people began to shout, "Butcher of Attica, go home!"

When the two cab drivers were killed and other incidents occurred, more and more Blacks began arming themselves on the street, and hundreds of Black youth took to stationing themselves with baseball bats at main intersections in the Black community. And as events have developed, many who were active in the '60s have come to the fore again now. The *RW* has begun to circulate broadly with much interest generated, especially over a recent issue featuring Bob Avakian's article, "Reply to a Black Nationalist with Communist Inclinations."

While forces of reaction—both official and unofficial—have been brought into motion in this upstate New York city, also propelled into motion by these very same events have been elements which the authorities cannot control. □



By the San Francisco Poster Brigade

# Funding Chokehold Exposed in Pontiac Brothers Trial

Chicago. The process of jury selection in the trial of the Pontiac 10—10 of 16 brothers framed up for the murder of three guards during a rebellion at Pontiac Prison in Illinois—was delayed for four days last week when defense attorney Isaiah Gant failed to appear in court. On Wednesday, October 29, Judge Ben Miller issued a "writ of attachment," an order that directed Cook County sheriffs to find Gant, take him into custody and bring him to court. Gant appeared in court the following day and filed a motion which exposed but another element in this outrageous frameup: it turns out that until this week, defense attorneys had not been paid by the state in *three months* while the prosecuting attorneys have been supplied with a constant inflow of dollars. Another shining example of the American democratic process in action and "equality before the law."

Nearly two years ago, before the start of the pre-trial hearings, the defense won a battle to get the state legislature to vote \$450,000 to go for payment of lawyers of the Pontiac Brothers' own choice, rather than public defenders, and to pay for the cost of the investigation in preparation for the legal case. An equal amount of money had already been voted for the prosecution. It sounded wonderful on paper. But in reality this "equality" concerning money for the two sides has proven to be as much of a sham as every other aspect of "justice" meted out in this case.

The state has constantly delayed payment to the defense for months at a time or only given a fraction of what has been promised. During Fiscal Year 1979, out of the grand total of \$450,000 the defense received only the paltry sum of \$20,608. The prosecution was paid around \$200,000. Besides this money granted by the legislature, the prosecution had practically unlimited funds at its disposal from the IDLE (Illinois Department of Law Enforcement) for carrying out its sham investigation in the wake of the rebellion. This investigation involved 36 full-time staff and paid

for all expenses incurred—such as the widespread bribery of witnesses with promises of transfers to another prison, travelling expenses for their families, etc. At least \$35,000 has been paid out thus far in these kinds of "fees," while a conservative estimate of the cost the prosecution has spent on the entire investigation is \$350,000. This is above and beyond the amount voted by the legislature.

In the case of the defense, on the other hand, the judge ruled that the cost of investigation, questioning of potential witnesses, and so forth, must be limited to \$48,000, or \$3,000 per defendant. The 19 defense attorneys never received a penny until six months after the pre-trial hearings started in April, 1979 and their five investigators were not paid for eight months. While the money for the prosecution rolled in right away and they had a captive audience of 1,200 prisoners under deadlock conditions to "interview" (read: intimidate and/or

bribe—RW) in the wake of the rebellion, the defense was severely hampered in the amount of investigation that could be done.

In fiscal 1980, both the state and the defense were allocated and paid approximately \$750,000. But again, IDLE had an additional budget to pay the salaries and fees of the state's investigators. For fiscal year 1981, even the appearance of equality was thrown out the window as the legislature appropriated \$1,250,000 for the prosecution and \$750,000 for the defense. While the state's attorney's office set their pay scales at \$60-70/hour, Judge Miller ruled that defense lawyers can get only \$35/hour for in-court work, and \$20/hour for out-of-court work. This has meant that most all defense attorneys have been forced to continue to handle other cases even while they're involved full-time in the Pontiac Brothers' trial, making it that much more difficult to prepare.

This is the situation that reached the crisis point for Isaiah Gant. In his motion filed before the court he explained that his law practice has gone down the drain, his two secretaries have quit because of irregular pay and he is unable to pay his office telephone bill. He demanded that the judge either raise the pay scale or allow him to withdraw from the case. These questions, critical for waging the legal battle, will not be decided until this hearing continues on November 7. Every aspect of this case, from the judge's continuous legal decisions against the defendants to the hysterical publicity surrounding the trial to the denial of funds for the defense, underscores the desperation of the authorities to convict the Pontiac Brothers in hopes of thwarting rebellion like that at Pontiac in the future. □

## Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

### Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands

more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison

walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* is establishing a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

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

(Opposite page and below) Two of the 600 works of art from over 30 countries recently on exhibit in San Francisco as part of the ANTI-WW3 INTERNATIONALIST ART SHOW. This show will be reviewed in an upcoming issue of the RW and we will be printing a number of the art works from it, but we certainly hope many people will have the opportunity to see it first hand. It will open in the Los Angeles area on Friday, November 7, 7-10 p.m. at SPARC Old Venice Jail Gallery, 685 Venice Blvd., and run through December 16.



"Poubelles des Chicago," French postcard of Chicago pigs in garbage truck.

# Lenin

Continued from page 9

ly on slavery, experienced shocks and blows under the impact of a vast uprising of slaves who armed and united to form a vast army under the leadership of Spartacus. In the end they were defeated, captured and put to torture by the slaveowners. Such civil wars mark the whole history of the existence of class society. I have just mentioned an example of the greatest of these civil wars in the epoch of slavery. The whole epoch of feudalism is likewise marked by constant uprisings of the peasants. For example, in Germany in the Middle Ages the struggle between the two classes—the landlords and the serfs—assumed wide dimensions and was transformed into a civil war of the peasants against the landlords. You are all familiar with similar examples of repeated uprisings of the peasants against the feudal landlords in Russia.

In order to maintain their rule and to preserve their power, the landlords had to have an apparatus by which they could unite under their subjugation a vast number of people and subordinate them to certain laws and regulations; and all these laws fundamentally amounted to one thing—the maintenance of the power of the landlords over the peasant serfs. And this was the feudal state, which in Russia, for example, or in quite backward Asiatic countries, where feudalism prevails to this day—it differed in form—was either republican or monarchical. When the state was a monarchy, the rule of one person was recognized; when it was a republic, the participation of the elected representatives of landlord society was in one degree or another recognized—this was in feudal society. Feudal society represented a division of classes under which the vast majority—the peasant serfs—were completely subjected to an insignificant minority—the landlords, who owned the land.

The development of trade, the development of commodity exchange, led to the crystallization of a new class—the capitalists. Capital arose at the close of the Middle Ages, when, after the discovery of America, world trade developed enormously, when the quantity of precious metals increased, when silver and gold became the instrument of exchange, when money circulation made it possible for individuals to hold tremendous wealth. Silver and gold were recognized as wealth all over the world. The economic power of the landlord class declined and the power of the new class—the representatives of capital—developed. The reconstruction of society was such that all citizens supposedly became equal, the old division into slaveowners and slaves disappeared, all were regarded as equal before the law irrespective of what capital each owned; whether he owned land as private property, or was a starveling who owned nothing but his labour power—all were equal before the law. The law protects everybody equally; it protects the property of those who have it from attack by the masses who, possessing no property, possessing nothing but their labour power, grow steadily impoverished, and ruined and become converted into proletarians. Such is capitalist society.

... This society advanced against serfdom, against the old feudal system, under the slogan of liberty. But it was liberty for those who owned property. And when feudalism was shattered, which occurred at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century—in Russia it occurred later than in other countries, in 1861—the feudal state was then superseded by the capitalist state, which proclaims liberty for the whole people as its slogan, which declares that it expresses the will of the whole people and denies that it is a class state. And here there developed a struggle between the Socialists, who are fighting for the liberty of the whole people, and the capitalist state—a struggle which has now led to the creation of the Soviet Socialist Republic and which embraces the whole world.

To understand the struggle that has been started against world capital, to understand the essence of the capitalist state, we must remember that when the

capitalist state advanced against the feudal state it entered the fight under the slogan of liberty. The abolition of feudalism meant liberty for the representatives of the capitalist state and served their purpose inasmuch as serfdom was breaking down and the peasants had acquired the opportunity of owning as their full property the land which they had purchased for compensation or in part by quit rent—this did not concern the state: it protected property no matter how it arose, because the state rested on private property. The peasants became private owners in all the modern civilized states. Even when the landlord surrendered part of his land to the peasant, the state protected private property, rewarding the landlord by compensation, sale for money. The state as it were declared that it would fully preserve private property, and it accorded it every support and protection. The state recognized the property rights of every merchant, industrialist and manufacturer. And this society, based on private property, on the power of capital, on the complete subjection of the propertyless workers and labouring masses of the peasantry, proclaimed that its rule was based on liberty. Combating feudalism, it proclaimed freedom of property and was particularly proud of the fact that the state had supposedly ceased to be a class state.

Yet the state continued to be a machine which helped the capitalists to hold the poor peasants and the working class in subjection. But in outward appearance it was free. It proclaimed universal suffrage, and declared through its champions, preachers, scholars and philosophers, that it was not a class state. Even now, when the Soviet Socialist Republics have begun to fight it, they accuse us of violating liberty, of building a state based on coercion, on the suppression of some by others, whereas they represent a popular, democratic state. And now, when the world socialist revolution has begun, and just when the revolution has succeeded in some countries, when the fight against world capital has grown particularly acute, this question of the state has acquired the greatest importance and has become, one might say, the most burning one, the focus of all political questions and of all political disputes of the present day.

Whatever party we take in Russia or in any of the more civilized countries, we find that nearly all political disputes, disagreements and opinions now centre around the conception of the state. Is the state in a capitalist country, in a democratic republic—especially one like Switzerland or America—in the freest democratic republics, an expression of popular will, the sum total of the general decision of the people, the expression of the national will, and so forth; or is the state a machine that enables the capitalists of the given country to maintain their power over the working class and the peasantry? That is the fundamental question around which all political disputes all over the world now centre. What do they say about Bolshevism? The bourgeois press abuses the Bolsheviks. You will not find a single newspaper that does not repeat the hackneyed accusation that the Bolsheviks violate popular rule. If our Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries\* in their simplicity of heart (perhaps it is not simplicity, or perhaps it is the simplicity which the proverb says is worse than robbery) think that they discovered and invented the accusation that the Bolsheviks have violated liberty and popular rule, they are ludicrously mistaken. Today not a single one of the richest newspapers in the richest countries, which spend tens of millions on their distribution and disseminate bourgeois lies and imperialist policy in tens of millions of copies—there is not one of these newspapers which does not repeat these basic arguments and accusations against Bolshevism, namely, that America, England and Switzerland

\* The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries were opportunist parties in Russia who in their overall capitulation to and service of the Russian capitalists promoted all kinds of ideas about "pure" democracy above class and opposed the smashing of the bourgeoisie's state machinery by the masses of people led by the working class.

are advanced states based on popular rule whereas the Bolshevik Republic is a state of bandits in which liberty is unknown, and that the Bolsheviks have violated the idea of popular rule and have even gone so far as to disperse the Constituent Assembly. These terrible accusations against the Bolsheviks are repeated all over the world. These accusations bring us fully up against the question—what is the state? In order to understand these accusations, in order to examine them and have a fully intelligent attitude towards them, and not to examine them on hearsay but with a firm opinion of our own, we must have a clear idea of what the state is. Here we have capitalist states of every kind and all the theories in defence of them which were created before the war. In order to answer the question properly we must critically examine all these theories and views.

I have already advised you to turn for help to Engels' book, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. This book says that every state in which private ownership of the land and means of production exists, in which capital dominates, however democratic it may be, is a capitalist state, a machine used by the capitalists to keep the working class and the poor peasants in subjection; while universal suffrage, a Constituent Assembly, parliament are merely a form, a sort of promissory note, which does not alter the essence of the matter.

The forms of domination of the state may vary: capital manifests its power in one way where one form exists, and in another way where another form exists—but essentially the power is in the hands of capital, whether there are voting qualifications or not, or whether the republic is a democratic one or not—in fact the more democratic it is the cruder and more cynical is the rule of capitalism. One of the most democratic republics in the world is the United States of America, yet nowhere (and those who were there after 1905 probably know it) is the power of capital, the power of a handful of billionaires over the whole of society, so crude and so openly corrupt as in America. Once capital exists, it dominates the whole of society, and no democratic republic, no form of franchise can alter the essence of the matter.

... The bourgeois republic, parliament, universal suffrage—all represent great progress from the standpoint of the world development of society. Mankind moved towards capitalism, and it was capitalism alone which thanks to urban culture, enabled the oppressed proletarian class to learn to know itself and to create the world working-class movement, the millions of workers organized all over the world in parties—the Socialist parties which are consciously leading the struggle of the masses... It is not only the conscious hypocrites, scientists and priests that uphold and defend the bourgeois lie that the state is free and that it is its mission to defend the interests of all; so also do a large number of people who sincerely adhere to the old prejudices and who cannot understand the transition from the old capitalist society to Socialism. It is not only people who are directly dependent on the bourgeoisie, not only those who are oppressed by the yoke of capital or who have been bribed by capital (there are a large number of all sorts of scientists, artists, priests, etc., in the service of capital), but even people who are simply under the sway of the prejudice of bourgeois liberty that have taken up arms against Bolshevism all over the world because of the fact that when it was founded the Soviet Republic rejected these bourgeois lies and openly declared: you say your state is free, whereas in reality, as long as there is private property, your state, even if it is a democratic republic, is nothing but a machine used by the capitalists to suppress the workers, and the freer the state, the more clearly is this expressed. Examples of this are Switzerland in Europe and the United States in the Americas. Nowhere does capital rule so cynically and ruthlessly, and nowhere is this so clearly apparent, as in these countries, although they are democratic republics, no matter how finely they are painted and notwithstanding all the talk about labour democracy and the equality of

all citizens. The fact is that in Switzerland and America capital dominates, and every attempt of the workers to achieve the slightest real improvement in their condition is immediately met by civil war. There are fewer soldiers, a smaller standing army, in these countries—Switzerland has a militia and every Swiss has a gun at home, while in America there was no standing army until quite recently—and so when there is a strike the bourgeoisie arms, hires soldiery and suppresses the strike; and nowhere is this suppression of the working-class movement accompanied by such ruthless severity as in Switzerland and America, and nowhere does the influence of capital in parliament manifest itself as powerfully as in these countries. The power of capital is everything, the stock exchange is everything, while parliament and elections are marionettes, puppets... But the eyes of the workers are being opened more and more, and the idea of Soviet government is spreading wider and wider, especially after the bloody carnage through which we have just passed. The necessity for a relentless war on the capitalists is becoming clearer and clearer to the working class.

Whatever guise a republic may assume, even the most democratic republic, if it is a bourgeois republic, if it retains private ownership of the land, mills and factories, and if private capital keeps the whole of society in wage slavery, that is, if it does not carry out what is proclaimed in the program of our Party and in the Soviet Constitution, then this state is a machine for the suppression of some people by others. And we shall place this machine in the hands of the class that is to overthrow the power of capital. We shall reject all the old prejudices about the state meaning universal equality—for that is a fraud: as long as there is exploitation there cannot be equality. The landlord cannot be the equal of the worker, or the hungry man the equal of the full man. The proletariat casts aside the machine which was called the state and before which people bowed in superstitious awe, believing the old tales that it means popular rule—the proletariat casts aside this machine and declares that it is a bourgeois lie. We have deprived the capitalists of this machine and have taken it over. With this machine, or bludgeon, we shall destroy all exploitation. And when the possibility of exploitation no longer exists anywhere in the world, when there are no longer owners of land and owners of factories, and when there is no longer a situation in which some gorge while others starve—only when the possibility of this no longer exists shall we consign this machine to the scrap heap. Then there will be no state and no exploitation. Such is the view of our Communist Party...

First published on January 18, 1929, in *Pravda*, No. 15.

The present text is printed according to a short-hand account of the lecture.



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# THE CANCER SYNDROME

Cancer. Here in the U.S., what the imperialists tell us is the "most scientifically and medically advanced" country in the world, this disease has reached unprecedented proportions. Some 400,000 people will die of cancer in the U.S. this year. One of every four people in this country will, according to current statistical trends, contract the disease, and better than one in five will succumb to it. Often portrayed as a disease of old age or of "affluence," it has in fact become the biggest killer among all diseases of children under 18 and the second most fatal (after heart disease) among the poor (as among the population generally). Year after year, the official "war on cancer" consists of billions of dollars collected by the American Cancer Society (ACS); scores of new "anti-cancer" drugs tested and more sophisticated radiation equipment and surgical techniques devised; over 50 million visits to doctors a year by cancer patients; 750,000 cancer operations, often severely mutilating; and direct treatment costs of over \$20 billion (averaging over \$30,000 during the lifetime of each patient)—and yet despite all this, the total number of cancer fatalities mounts. While the upward trend in cancer incidence and mortality is a worldwide phenomenon, the U.S. is setting world records in these regards.

Cancer is a disease that is shrouded in mystery by the professional medical associations, official anti-cancer bodies and the bourgeois media. "Stop Running Scared" commands the ACS-sponsored bus billboard; and reading on, we learn that the only alternative to this fear (which has been carefully cultivated by the ACS, the largest private fundraising organization in the world) is the ray of hope offered—by making a contribution to the American Cancer Society! In the last week of March (leading up to April, official "cancer month" which initiates the annual ACS fund drive), a panel of "cancer experts" reported from Florida that "drug treatment is fast becoming as effective against cancer as antibiotics are against infection"; one of the most promising developments was said to be "interferon" ("IF"), a highly potent (and marvelously profitable!) anti-viral agent whose investigation was soon to be spurred by the biggest research grant in medical history—\$2 million from the ACS. IF was the subject of a glowing cover story in *Time* magazine on March 31. Yet less than two months later, as the annual fundraising and "hope-raising" drive had died down, a *N.Y. Times* article reported (May 27) that results in cancer treatment to date had revealed "no evidence that it (IF) is the wonder drug many patients hope it might be. Results reported so far have been modest, in some cases controversial or even negative. Often, interferon has produced less evidence of tangible improvement than can be expected from conventional drug treatment." Another chapter in the seemingly endless "war on cancer," what one bureaucrat had dubbed "a medical Vietnam," had been written.

A new industry, "cancer insurance," has now spawned. It is reported that one provider of such faith offerings paid out only 40% of the premiums it had collected in Ohio in 1978. More recently, "cancer insurance" salesmen have pushed their wares door to door in the area around Three Mile Island.

In the midst of all this, it has become public knowledge that Steve McQueen has joined the thousands of cancer patients who have had to go to Mexico or some other foreign country to receive cancer treatments which are frowned on as "quackery" or even outlawed in the U.S....

Into the whirlwind of mounting confusion and outrage over the repeated failures of the government's "war on cancer" and the numerous contradictory statements and distortions from medical officialdom, has come Ralph Moss's new book, *The Cancer Syn-*

*drome*. Moss is a former assistant public relations director at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in New York (the largest and "most prestigious" cancer research and treatment center in the world), fired in 1978 for his part in exposing the suppression of experiments and other sordid dealings conducted there. Arguing that the "war on cancer" fiasco has resulted precisely from the fact that cancer and its treatment are a very profitable business (as, it must be said, medicine in general is and must be under the rule of the bourgeoisie), the book has found a very receptive audience in many quarters, while becoming the object of unrelenting hostility on the part of what Moss calls the "cancer establishment"—the private research centers, ACS, Food & Drug Administration (FDA), National Cancer Institute (NCI), and the drug companies.

Moss's basic approach is to examine the so-called "proven methods" of treatment (surgery, radiation and chemotherapy), which together have achieved a "cure" (5-year survival) rate of 1 in 3 at best, and to challenge and expose the conventional wisdom about relying on these, showing that excessive and unnecessary treatments are often damaging, sometimes even causing cancer, and can undermine the patient's ability to respond to the so-called "unproven methods."

He emphasizes that what the "proven" methods have in common is that they are all very profitable. He quotes a defender of the radical mastectomy procedure who argued that less elaborate surgeries "wouldn't cut it"—"in a free enterprise system, the fee for a larger operation is also larger." And Moss correctly predicted that IF (interferon) would win the favor of the cancer establishment, since 1 ounce of it is worth \$1.8 billion, and treatments in 1975 averaged \$500-5000 per patient per day. When the Second International Workshop on Interferons was held in April 1979, the list of contributors read like a "Who's Who of the drug field." Small wonder, then, that only months after Moss wrote his book, *Time* splashed the story of IF all over its front cover.

Profit returns to be gleaned from radiotherapy also are very considerable,

particularly with the new generation of fancy CAT scanners and the like that have been installed in major hospitals and medical centers in recent years. But capital's economic interests coincide with its political and even military interests in this matter: for example, the efforts which the "cancer establishment" coordinated with the Atomic Energy Commission to suppress information about the effects of radiation, whether from X-ray doses or A-bomb test fallout.

What may be best in Moss's book is his systematic discussion of the "unproven methods" of cancer therapy: "The proven methods of treating cancer are in a state of crisis.... Something radically new is needed—approaches that are fresh and daring." As he says, cancer is no longer mainly a medical problem, but a political problem; and as he perceives, the basic technology, even some of the particular knowledge, needed to wipe it out already exist—what stands in the way is the capitalist system.

Careful examination of the ACS's

"unproven methods" list (their euphemism for "quackeries") shows that in over 41% of the cases, no scientific investigation had been made as to whether the method in question had any anti-cancer activity or not. In another 15% of the cases, tests had shown contradictory or inconclusive results, while in yet another 12%, there was no proof whatsoever that the method was not useful! Inclusion on this list is a powerful obstacle to winning the funding, facilities and personnel needed for future testing. The point is not that all these agents and techniques have merit, nor even that many of them might not be completely bogus, but that they were consigned to the scrap heap without systematic investigation—in contrast to many of the ACS's approved drugs, which often have long-range devastating toxic effects.

In the remaining 31% of the cases, the ACS claimed that testing had shown negative results. Moss contends, however, that many of these "tests" were invalid or inconclusive. Laetrile, for example, is grouped among these substances on the basis of a summary of its ef-

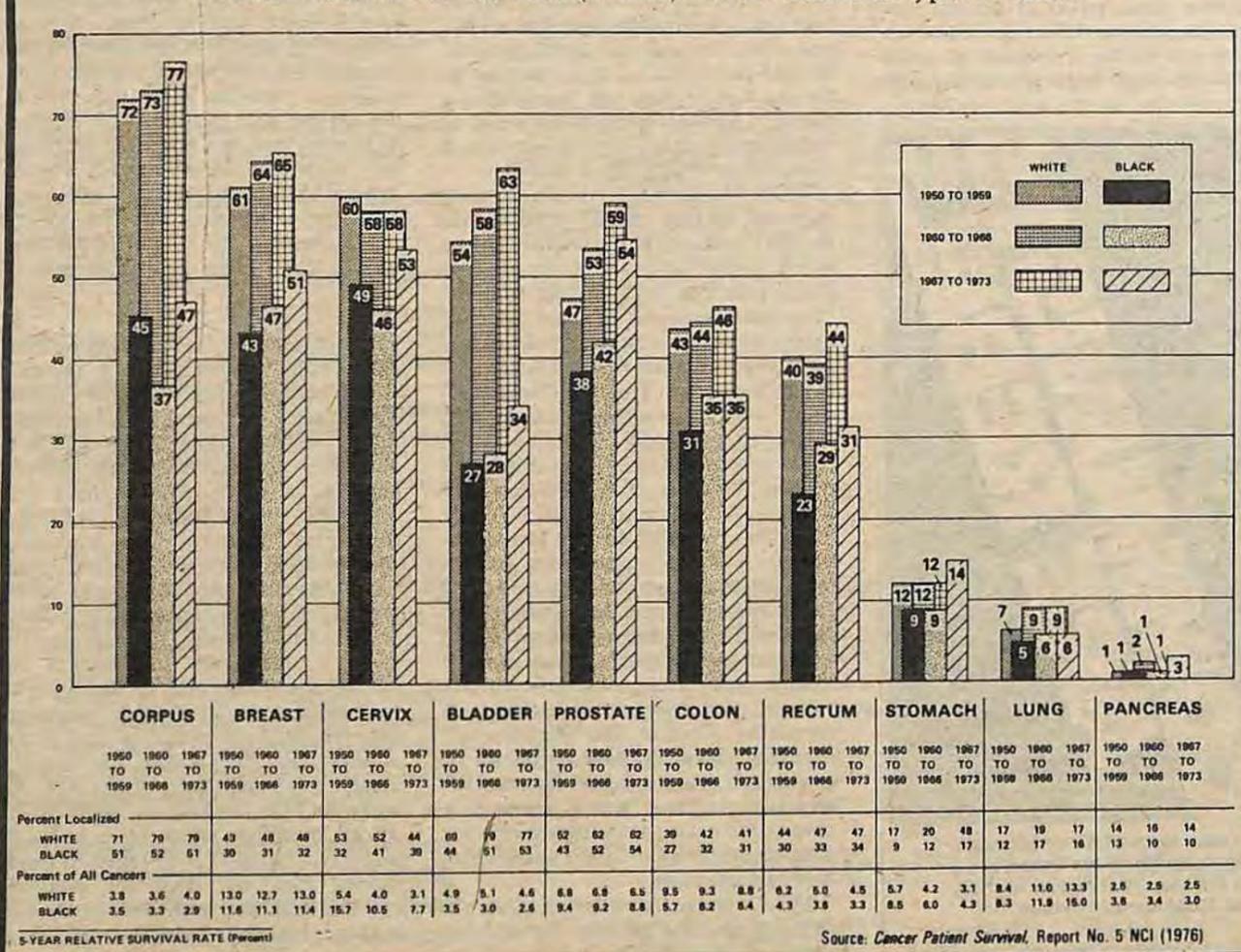
Continued on page 14

## Statistical Analysis of Investigations of ACS Unproven Methods

Kind of Investigation	Method Number (total = 58) *	Percentage
I. No investigation made	5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 34, 38, 43, 47, 50, 51, 55, 57, 58 [total = 24]	41.4%
II. Investigation made: method found to be positive (+)	11, 14, 18, 36, 37, 44, 45 [7]	12.1%
III. Investigation made: contradictory data (+/-)	3, 25, 46, 56 [4]	6.9%
IV. Investigation made: inconclusive results (?)	4, 29, 31, 42, 52 [5]	8.6%
V. Investigation made: method found to be negative (-)	1, 2, 6, 8, 10, 21, 23, 27, 32, 33, 35, 39, 40, 41, 48, 49, 53, 54 [18]	31.0%
		100.0%

58 cancer treatment methods, many of which have shown promise, have been summarily dismissed as "quackery" by the American Cancer Society.

## Five-Year Relative Survival Rates (Percent) For Ten Common Types of Cancer



There has been essentially no increase in cancer survival rates over the last 30 years. In the same period, the incidence of cancer has skyrocketed.

# CANCER

Continued from page 13

fects on 44 selected patients. Moss devotes two chapters to laetrile, probably the most widely used and "controversial" of the alternative therapies. Derived from an organic compound found in over 1200 plants and especially concentrated in the pits of apricots, laetrile first came into use on a limited clinical basis in the 1950s. After many years of restricted testing in the U.S., where it had come to be outlawed (and where users, researchers or prescribers of the substance, whose proponents call it Vitamin B-17, were subject to government harassment, fines and imprisonment as well as seizure of their supplies, lab equipment and experimental records), on the strength of animal tests and treatment of human patients in Germany, Canada, Mexico, the Philippines and elsewhere, and the testimony of many patients in the U.S. who said it had had positive effects on their own cancers, the McNaughton Foundation in Montreal finally won the right to carry on testing through its offices in California, being granted an acceptance of its IND (Investigative New Drug) application by the FDA in 1970.

But then, in an unprecedented move, the approval to test was revoked by the FDA the following week on the grounds that there was "insufficient evidence to merit testing." Three more years of wrangling ensued before it was finally agreed that animal tests would be conducted at Sloan-Kettering.

In 1974, Kanematsu Sugiura, a veteran and world-renowned researcher who had been investigating cancer for over 50 years, was selected to carry out the tests of laetrile's effects on mice. After several months of painstaking and characteristically methodical investigation, Sugiura reported to the Sloan-Kettering administration that laetrile did indeed have potency in inhibiting or delaying the growth of spontaneously induced mammary tumors in mice, in preventing metastases (spread to other parts of the body) of these cancers, and in prolonging the life and general well being of the treated animals.

Instead of arguing that these positive results be taken as a basis for conducting tests on humans, the Sloan-Kettering administration chose to conduct several repeat studies. Some of these showed negative results, others were inconclusive. A storm of controversy developed between the usually very staid Sugiura and the most powerful doctors and scientists at Sloan-Kettering. Sugiura exposed the highly questionable testing techniques used in these repeat studies

and argued for various reasons that the results of all these repeat experiments had to be considered invalid. Meanwhile, he repeated his experiments (they were also duplicated in Germany and elsewhere) according to his own procedures, which were the more widely accepted for biological testing, and several more times got results confirming laetrile's above-mentioned anti-cancer properties.

But in the end, the view publicized by the Sloan-Kettering administration was that laetrile was absolutely worthless as an anti-cancer agent. When pressed about the earlier results that contradicted this, a Sloan-Kettering spokesman admitted that those positive results had been obtained, but claimed that they were "spurious" because "the investigator was not familiar with the animal systems used." Sugiura had been studying those animal systems for over 30 years!

In the following months, powerful interests, working behind the scenes, managed to block further definitive testing of laetrile, either at Sloan-Kettering or as part of jointly sponsored experiments which were to have been conducted in Mexico. The controversy continued, however, especially with the release of Moss's group's publication of its report on the cover-up, Sugiura's results, etc.

Not content to have blocked testing and publicized the view that laetrile was a "worthless placebo," the organized opponents of it unleashed a ridiculous campaign about its alleged "toxicity." Moss notes that in 1977-78, "...the FDA took the extraordinary step of posting large 'Laetrile Warning' posters in 10,000 post offices and sending an FDA Drug Bulletin on the subject... to hundreds of thousands of health workers. As a result, laetrile, once known as a remarkably non-toxic form of therapy, is today widely considered to be a dangerous and toxic drug."

Yet in testing over two decades, laetrile had proven to be "less toxic than glucose," in the words of one scientist. The FDA was sowing confusion based on the fact that the laetrile molecule contains a true poison, hydrogen cyanide. But because of the enzymatic mechanisms involved in laetrile's action, this cyanide is released only at the site of cancer cells, which it then destroys. This explanation and the overwhelming experimental evidence did not sway the FDA, however, which wanted only to hear that a sufficiently large dose of laetrile could be fatal. But the same could be said for virtually any substance. As for the laetrile molecule "containing a poison," as Moss remarks, we would as well consider table salt poisonous since it contains the deadly gas, chlorine!

While Moss's book contains a good guide to further reading, it does not discuss the details of the mechanisms by which laetrile may selectively destroy cancer cells. Nor does it discuss at all the "trophoblast theory" of cancer which is upheld by many of laetrile's proponents, including its developer, Ernst Krebs, Jr. (Krebs is a San Francisco biochemist who, working with his father, also developed pangamic acid, or Vitamin B-15, proclaimed the "most important medical discovery of the 20th century" in the USSR and finally made available—though it remains largely unknown—in the U.S. after a long and bitter struggle against forces in the FDA.) In a private interview, Moss related that none of Sloan-Kettering's doctors and scientists could produce any arguments against this theory, nor any equally coherent and comprehensive theory of the nature of cancer. The "high priests" of cancer, in short, have only a set of perceptions eclectically and pragmatically woven together; Krebs, whom they have tarred as one of the biggest quacks, does have a theory of cancer—one which they cannot refute.

Moss's discussion of laetrile is an objective assessment of what has and has not been scientifically proven. Moss, never claiming that laetrile is "the" cure-all for cancer, correctly insists that the issue will only be resolved by large-scale

testing on humans. He avoids a common pitfall of rejecting discussion of laetrile on the grounds that many of its most active proponents are members of the John Birch Society. (Krebs, incidentally, does not at all subscribe to these reactionary politics, having spoken out repeatedly condemning the capitalist system, its suppression of cancer treatment, and even the corrupt, profit-grabbing nature of much of the "laetrile movement.")

Moss notes that the Birchers have been able to recruit perhaps 75% of their members in recent years in connection with this issue. The main ideological and political question they emphasize is "freedom of choice" in cancer therapy, that is, the right of the individual doctor or patient to arrive at an independent decision about what course of therapy to follow, unfettered by government meddling and decree, quack lists, etc. Further, the "back to nature" bent of much of the literature on laetrile and other alternative therapies fits into the reactionary view that the cancer problem is caused by the "overdevelopment" of society and that what is called for is a return to Jeffersonian-style family farms, unpasteurized milk, unflouridated water, whole grain, fresh air, and so on.

But what the cancer problem cries out for is not an impossible and reactionary leap backward to pre-monopoly capitalism, nor, for that matter, a condemned futile attempt at endless regulation of the monopolies à la Ralph Nader. What's called for is a movement forward through revolution to socialism, which will uproot the basic conditions giving rise to cancer and allow it to be combated effectively.

The information we have does not show that any fundamental research breakthroughs on the nature of cancer were achieved in the socialist countries (though a number of fruitful and suggestive innovations, particularly in regard to prevention, were made). But this was largely a byproduct of the fact that these countries had to direct their attention first and foremost to taking basic measures around sanitation and feeding the population and to wiping out the particular diseases which were most widespread in their conditions. Cancer had become a major problem in China, for example, only during the last several years of working-class rule, at which time increasing attention was paid to it, in basic research treatment, mass education campaigns, and in other ways. What must be learned from the experience of especially China is not so much the specific content of treatment methods against cancer that had been developed—as an appreciation of the powerful force of an aroused and conscious people under the direction of a revolutionary political line, of the necessity to wage campaigns tapping the wisdom of, educating and unleashing the masses to overcome all obstacles to the prevention and treatment of disease. This was done in China, for example, with regard to schistosomiasis ("snail disease"), venereal disease and drug addiction—the latter two, of course, being problems which are no less baffling and insoluble under capitalism than is cancer.

It is noteworthy that the FDA and the cancer establishment generally have begun to accommodate themselves to the "nutritionist movement" and the growing awareness that cancer may well be a deficiency disease, much like scurvy, pellagra, rickets or beriberi. Since it is impossible under monopoly capitalism to eliminate harmful food additives, preservatives, nutrient-destroying processing and packaging, and other typical features of capitalist agriculture and food distribution, the only way to alleviate things and to attempt to assuage the masses' outrage at all this is by adding some anti-cancer agent or other to the food as a final step in its adulteration, presumably to "undo" what has already been done. And so while the FDA last May announced that nitrites (additives which enhance color and flavor) would not be removed from bacon, ham, hot dogs and balogna (nitrites combine with amines in the body to form nitrosamines, which are carcinogenic, or cancer-causing), thereby reversing a 1978 decision to phase them out, it has now announced that henceforth, bacon will get not only

a dose of sodium nitrite but also one of Vitamin C! In its "omniscience," the FDA does out and withholds public health—"The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away."

There is more than short-run economic logic here, than the fact that sodium nitrite production is essential to over 7% of food production in the U.S. The whole ideology of "individual responsibility" and "individual solution" is one which the bourgeoisie seeks to spread with regard to environmental problems generally, and cancer in particular. Unable to get rid of the carcinogens in food, air and water, mobilize the masses and set up a system of diagnosis and prevention—all this is possible only under socialism—the bourgeoisie must resort to further overreliance on narrowly restricted "technique."

Moss discusses half a dozen other key alternative methods of treating cancer, many of which have been tested or are in use in other countries, and all of which showed promise in the few lab tests or clinical cases in which they could be studied in the U.S. against the backdrop of government harassment and official medical censure. The picture that emerges is one in which those who have been unable to get satisfactory treatment through the established methods (i.e., the majority), and who have also become aware of alternatives, have been forced to go abroad or to smuggle the desired substances into the U.S. Doctors wishing to study or use laetrile have to do so in a sideline and clandestine way (it is illegal to ship it across state lines). Even Linus Pauling, a Nobel Prize winner in chemistry, has been refused publication in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* (of which he is a member), has been unable to get any research money from the government for studying the effects of Vitamin C on cancer (he has recently co-authored a book, *Cancer and Vitamin C*), and has even been reduced to peddling laboratory mice to raise the needed funds.

What the various "unproven methods" have in common is being readily available in many foods (which, for various reasons, tend to be uncommon in the American diet) or as vitamins, or being easily produced and very inexpensive drugs, such as hydrazine sulfate. They are unpatentable and consequently offer no profit bonanza to the drug companies. (The high price of laetrile is largely a function of its illegality.) And so, there is no reason to produce or use them! And what determines whether a given drug can be patented? As summarized in an article in the *N.Y. Times* (10/7/80), not mainly, perhaps not at all, the merits of the drug itself, but rather, whether its inventor has "standard credentials" and "knowledge of how to market it."

If such be the fate of unprofitable treatments, how much less chance does preventive medicine—the only really thorough "treatment" for cancer—have of developing under the capitalist system. With regard to cancer, prevention is largely a matter of removing the hundreds of carcinogens which have flooded the environment—chemicals used in the workplace, food additives, water and air pollutants—largely in the last 30 years (it is during the same period that the incidence of cancer in the U.S. has soared). Under capitalism, this takes the form of phony "regulation," in which the regulating agencies—here, the FDA, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) are key—are frequently headed by or in the pay of the biggest polluters. This is a familiar picture, but a few facts from Moss's book bring it out with regard to cancer.

For years, Dr. William Hueper was the leading expert on environmental carcinogenesis at the National Cancer Institute (NCI). Granted a paltry \$90,000 in 1948 to pursue his work (the sum total of prevention research in NCI's total budget of \$14.5 million, which was heavily weighted toward testing new and potentially profitable drugs, etc.), when he retired from NCI in 1964, he still was working on the same annual budget—although NCI's

Continued on page 15

**COMMUNISTS ARE REBELS**

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# CANCER

Continued from page 14

total allocation had jumped ten times! Hueper had at one point been warned by his director at NCI to omit from a public presentation a section of a report he had written on the dangers of radioactivity-induced cancers among uranium miners. He summed up, "the AEC (Atomic Energy Commission) was afraid that publication of that information might interfere with the continued production of A bombs." (cited in *Cancer Syndrome*, p. 227)

In 1976, the entire membership of the NCI Carcinogenesis Program team, its "prevention" wing, resigned, complaining of a lack of manpower or of general support for cancer prevention. In 1970, the FDA allowed a doubling of the level of DES (diethylstilbesterol, a very potent carcinogen) residues in meat, despite widespread outrage and demands that it be removed altogether. (This synthetic hormone causes a premature fatty bloating of livestock and thus allows much higher profits per pound.) Synthetic hormones were dumped into the water table in the San Bernardino Mountains, and young girls 7 and 8 years old in the area began to menstruate. The list goes on and on—sound medical opinion has it that perhaps as many as 90% of all cancers are mainly environmental in causation (a figure obtained from UN World Health Organization data by comparing the incidence rate, adjusted for overall differences in life expectancy and age structure of the population, with that in countries where carcinogenic pollution of the environment is far less widespread).

But in its 1978 Annual Report, the American Cancer Society stated:

"...we are steadily extending our knowledge of cancer-causing agents. However, some misunderstanding has grown up around the probable extent of "environmental" cancer—an unexamined assumption that a very high percentage of human cancer is caused by dangerous chemicals in our air, food, water and work places..."

"While the evidence is mounting that substances we eat, breathe or contact are contributing causes of most cancer, only a minority of these are industrial "chemicals" or by-products." (Cited in *The Cancer Syndrome*, p. 225)

Moss relates a story that captures the essence of this official complacency. Even though asbestos had long been implicated as a very powerful carcinogen (one-third of asbestos workers die of lung cancer), in its 1976 Annual Report, among hundreds of research projects, Sloan-Kettering made no mention of studies on asbestos. But that is not all: that same year, "...the Center's administration began renovating two of the older buildings. ... Dust flew in the corridors of the hospital that summer and fall, but no one outside of the administration knew that these clouds contained asbestos, which had accidentally been freed from old pipe-coverings by workmen. ... No official announcement was made that for several months employees, visitors, and possibly patients had been exposed to asbestos-laden dust." The rotting of these pipe coverings was only a very small part of the rot that permeated Sloan-Kettering.

Several court rulings in recent months reflect increasing pressure from industry to overturn rulings cutting into its profits, especially in the face of the deepening crisis: as mentioned, the FDA/USDA reversal of the decision to phase nitrites out of meat; upholding an American Petroleum Institute suit, thereby ruling that OSHA cannot set strict limits on levels of benzene (a potent carcinogen) in workplaces; and at the American Cyanamid Plant, whose director is on Sloan-Kettering's Board of Directors, throwing out a lawsuit by five women who had been transferred to the plant's lead pigment division, where they were forced to handle potentially fetus-damaging amounts of lead.

In light of these recent decisions, Moss points out that the prospect for

achieving a cure for cancer, or even any reversal in the trend for its growth to spiral without limit, is bleak under capitalism. He does avoid promoting the widespread reformist "regulationist" illusions which have been somewhat reinforced in recent years by the numerous exposures of chemical dumps, radiation leaks and so forth. Such dumps and leaks are part of the daily (in the case of the dumps, mainly nightly) workings and the very nature of capitalism.

The major media act, of course, as the mouthpiece of the "cancer establishment." For example, one top AP executive, questioned about the propriety of AP running an ACS publicity piece as a 10-part "objective" news series on cancer without acknowledging its origin within the ACS, replied in amazement, "I never considered the ACS to be a political organization. ... That's just like saying that God is political." This unwitting statement was true in more ways than one: for in its inquisition against mavericks in the scientific and medical community, its maintenance of the "unproven methods" list of heretic treatments, its cultivation of an image of virtual infallibility, its "selling of indulgences" in the form of annual contributions to the ACS, and its mystification of cancer as an ever elusive disease whose nature is "unknowable," the "cancer establishment" smells more than a little like the Catholic Church. And as it forces its critics, those who wish to pursue progressive, scientific, preventive medicine, and those desperate for treatment into the cracks and crevices of bourgeois society, the stench arising from its operations has a distinctly medieval character.

But, upon close examination, the features of the "cancer establishment" are rooted in more modern times. Tracing some history of Sloan-Kettering (named after a former President and Chairman of the Board of General Motors, former directing members of the cancer center; today its Board Chairman is Laurance Rockefeller), of the American Cancer Society (its prime movers included Albert Lasker, an ad man for the tobacco industry, and Elmer Bobst of Hoffman-LaRoche, one of the biggest drug-making companies in the world), and some of the other key components of the "cancer establishment," Moss shows how cancer treatment research is restricted along certain lines, and "prevention is prevented."

For example, the main corporate gifts to Sloan-Kettering today are from big oil companies, whose refineries' pollutants are a major cause of cancer (according to some studies, these pollutants cause 30-40% of all cancer). The majority of Sloan-Kettering's directing board are bankers, who know the importance of being directly represented in the medical field and keeping abreast of new and profitable innovations. Also represented on its Board are such monopolies as ARCO, Texaco and Union Carbide.

As for the FDA, another main component of this "cancer establishment," the highly scientific character of the proceedings held by its Bureau of Drugs is depicted in a passage which Moss quotes from the *New England Journal of Medicine*: "There was open drunkenness by several employees which went on for months. There was intimidation internally by people. ... (In) '72, '73 going to certain kinds of meetings was an extraordinarily peculiar kind of exercise. ... people tittering in corners, throwing spitballs; I am describing physicians, people who would slouch down in a chair, not respond to questions, moan and groan with sweeping gestures, a kind of behavior I have not seen in any other institution as a grown man!" With such a distinguished team pontificating over the merits of a new chemical, how could anything of value possibly escape their notice?

Of course, it is not only in the U.S. that the fight against cancer is subordi-

nated to powerful economic and political interests. In its Oct. 16 issue, in the "Ask An Expert" column, the *Daily World* (CPUSA) approvingly quotes Dr. August Garin, Deputy Director General of the Cancer Research Center of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, to the effect that he "agrees with the results of the ACS's experiments on laetrile, showing it to be worthless." Unfortunately for this "expert" and the CPUSA, the ACS has done no ex-

periments on laetrile! This example shows that it is not the existence of any particular institutes and agencies in one country that have "gone bad," but the operation of the capitalist system worldwide, that is the main obstacle to making progress against cancer.



For over 10 years, big meat-producing companies have fought in court to defend their right to inject DES into livestock and put it in feed—even though it was shown over 40 years ago to cause cancer and more recently a variety of birth defects in humans, including sterility.

periments on laetrile! This example shows that it is not the existence of any particular institutes and agencies in one country that have "gone bad," but the operation of the capitalist system worldwide, that is the main obstacle to making progress against cancer.

While the book jacket for *The Cancer Syndrome* states that it "offers no panacea, nor does it attempt to assign blame," it is quite clear from reading the book that Moss, too, views capitalism itself as the leading cause of cancer. For the big finance capitalists in whose hands the whole conduct of the "war on cancer" ultimately rests, the supreme objective is neither the cure nor the prevention of cancer, but the making of ever bigger profits. As the head of Philip Morris (it too has a slot on Sloan-Kettering's directing board) might view it, if something like IF comes along that looks promising, he'll invest in it; otherwise, he might reinvest in his tobacco holdings. If some really effective cancer treatment could be shown to be more profitable than the different existing rip-offs, capital would surely flow into its research, development, production and marketing, and the "war on cancer" would become a thing of the past, much as the "war on polio" largely did a generation ago. (As Moss put it in an aside, at a certain point it became clear that there was more money in polio vaccines than in iron lungs.) But given that cancer is rooted in the very production relations of capitalism and the vast, anarchic despoliation of the environment to which they inevitably give rise, and taking into account the likelihood that any truly effective clinical and nutritional means of controlling cancer will prove to be relatively unprofitable, as well as the enormity of the existing vested interest in cancer, such a "victory" in the "medical Vietnam" is a very dim prospect under capitalism.

It is important to see that the "cancer establishment" is not some select group standing outside or above the bourgeoisie, but just a particular section of that class which has cornered the market on the cancer commodity. Any other view, which exaggerates the particular corruption of this group, its presumed conscious design to "inflict cancer on the masses" (a view that runs into the fact, among others, that the bourgeoisie, too, die from cancer), or the "greed" or other forms of "will" of the "cancer establishment," is wrong.

Such a view is contained, for exam-

of capitalism itself.

Such a correct view is, of course, complete anathema to the cancer establishment as well as the bourgeoisie generally. It is not surprising, then, that Moss's book has been shut out of the major review media. The *Washington Post*, after conducting an extensive interview, has delayed printing it. The *New York Times*, the *New York Review of Books*, and the *Wall Street Journal* have also not run a story on Moss or his book. Any mention of it is conspicuously absent from a review of new books on cancer in the latest edition of *Scientific American*. CBS-TV's "60 Minutes," after taping a 15-minute segment, pared it down to 60 seconds of relatively innocuous material. The other networks have likewise refused to cover it. Moss went to 20 publishers before Grove Press agreed to print this "inflammatory material." More recently, he was the target of numerous attacks levied by proponents of cancer orthodoxy at the 4th International Symposium on Cancer Prevention and Detection in London.

The seriousness with which the bourgeoisie views Moss's exposures was captured in a statement by a Sloan-Kettering executive after Moss had been fired: "If Moss were a scientist, we could control him"—that is, we could silence him by cutting off his grant money. But since he is a freelance writer, he has instead become the publicist for many of the "underground" and unorthodox doctors and scientists who wish to see their views on cancer therapy expressed without jeopardizing their patients, practice or research.

About 50 smaller and local periodicals have reviewed the book, mainly favorably. Moss feels that the most important result of the controversy generated around it has been a "heightened sophistication about cancer" among cancer patients and the masses of people generally; a determination to persist in struggle until all the facts about this scourge and about the political and economic interests that profit from it are brought to light.

In this struggle, *The Cancer Syndrome* has been and will continue to be a very valuable weapon.

**The Cancer Syndrome, by Ralph Moss.** Grove Press, New York, 1980. \$12.95. Order through Liberation Distributors and Revolution Books bookstores.

# 100 FLOWERS

Continued from page 5

action. And it is the same Party that has called for the 100,000 co-conspirators that has called on thousands to act around the elections, to not remain passive or cynical but to act in a significant way on election day in opposition to the imperialists' con game. It is the same Party that called for support of the demonstration in Germany exposing and opposing the Autumn Forge '80 war preparations, and called for taking this out to the very troops that are being prepared as cannonfodder for this war.

But I would expect that those who hold the line of that letter have no enthusiasm for this kind of "action" because it gets you right back to the need to get into politics, to be in advance of the spontaneous sentiments and actions of the masses and to get to the heart of the matter—what do we have to understand in order to end this system and what do we have to break with. (Just as an aside, I recently heard Vernon Jordan on the radio arguing against every point that was made in the Party's recent leaflet on the elections—without explicitly mentioning the RCP—which just underscores the point that there is indeed a sharp battle for public opinion and that the *RW* is definitely drawing blood.)

I would like to close on this note. Any careful reading of the *RW* can only reveal the truth that Imperialism is getting weaker and more desperate and that the struggle of the masses here and around the world against it is increasing. This is excellent. But understanding this puts greater demands on the class conscious forces to seize the opportunities presented to us and to do the work necessary to transform the world. The line of those who oppose the struggle to organize and train 100,000 co-conspirators today as a crucial step in preparation for revolution has been proven wrong by history and will be proven wrong again. There is more that needs to be said in response to this and other letters that have appeared in the pages of the *RW*. I call on others who see the urgency of the battle for the 100,000 to contribute to the struggle in the pages of the *RW*.

A Co-conspirator

## The *RW* as a Weapon

To the *R.W.*:

Just a few weeks ago was a call for debate and discussion around the hundred flowers campaign in relation to the 100,000 *R.W.* sales and conspirators. The response seems good but I would like to add more to the debate. From the letters I just read you can see the debate and struggle around line.

To double the size of the *RW* among the broad masses and get it into the hands of the advanced, I want to relate an incident that happened to me while I was selling the *RW*.

Some people told me they don't know anything about this paper getting us prepared for revolution. It's just a lot of general reading and stuff they may know about or see on the T.V. news. We need guns, one guy told me, not a paper.

They fail to understand that we have the guns—*RW*'s that train the masses the true way of understanding national and world events in such a way that we can understand and change the world. Guns is Marxism. The truth and correctness of Marxism needs to be applied and studied by those who do see the need and role of the *RW* in preparing for revolution among the masses. Marxism is the world outlook of materialist dialectics based on the thoughts of the real world that people come in contact with. And it brings out other things. Like with a telescope—if you want to see stars you use this, if you want to make revolution you need the *RW* and its Marxist outlook on things affecting us which will give rise to a revolutionary mood in this country (such as mass outbreaks and protests and wars for imperialist gain).

With this revolutionary newspaper we can master and understand world and national events instead of just watching the news and saying we saw it and that's all we need to know. That's Wrong!! We need Marxism and the *RW* to lead us out of the thick fog our mind is in and into the revolution. Here are the guns, now let's use them and get ready to use the real thing when the time arises.

O.M.

## Criticism of "Create Public Opinion... Seize Power" as Central Task

This letter was submitted as a criticism of the section in the Draft Programme, "Create Public Opinion, Seize Power," but we have taken the liberty of printing it together with the letters on the 100 Flowers campaign because it is relevant to this debate as well as the discussion and struggle over the Draft Programme and Draft Constitution.

I am making these criticisms out of a great respect for the R.C.P. who have held the correct line through many twists and turns and been in the vanguard from holding high the N.L.F. flag and uniting with the Black Panther Party in the late '60s

and early '70s to the support of the Gang of 4 and the open debate over the Programme and the 100,000 co-conspirators campaign. I make them with the knowledge that without the R.C.P. and a correct line revolution in this country will be impossible at least for quite awhile.

Overall I feel the Programme is excellent and I really only have disagreement with the Create Public Opinion and Seize Power section but that disagreement is strong and basic.

It states "The main way that the Party influences the masses and the mass movement, the main way it works to build the leadership of the proletariat and prepare the working class and the broad masses—and the Party itself—for revolution is to systematically carry out revolutionary agitation and propaganda." This downplays the actual practice of class struggle, making the main class struggle the Party carries on theoretical struggle. In *The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War*, Collected Works, FLP Vol II, p. 208 (also Red Book, p. 4) Mao says, "No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement." A little later he says that Marxism is a "guide to action." Without being out there leading, organizing and participating in the struggles of the masses there is no way of testing revolutionary theory and surely no way of getting a profound grasp of the practical movement. The R.C.P. does carry on practical class struggle (demonstrations opposing world war, supporting Iranian people, etc.) but this has become increasingly secondary.

In the Create Public Opinion section it says "Mainly through these means, written and spoken the Party and those under its leadership must support every major outbreak of protest and rebellion among the masses and assist the struggling masses to both unite more broadly and fight more powerfully..." This separates the Party from the masses and their struggle like it's some coach, standing on the sidelines directing and cheering on the working class whose place it is to actually carry on the toe-to-toe struggle with the bourgeoisie. It seems since revolution is not going to be a debate, our social practice now has to be with the masses organized in struggle with the bourgeoisie. The Party of the working class has to be intimately linked with them helping to lead, build and organize their struggles not merely explain or cheer them on.

In bringing up these questions I often get the answer from people in the R.C.P. that the masses will build these struggles on their own. This may be somewhat true but it doesn't seem like a communist attitude to me. I think people involved in those struggles will tend to say "Who the hell are you? What do you know?" if you try to explain the deeper aspects of the struggle without being practically involved in building it. And they'll be right.

Mao said in *On Practice*, Collected Works, Vol. I, p. 297, "Only social practice can be the criterion of truth. The standpoint of practice is the primary and basic standpoint in the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge." If the "...main content of the Party's work... is to raise the consciousness of the working class and broad masses," I think there has to be more emphasis on practice; otherwise all the agitation and propaganda will be worthless.

In correcting the right errors pushed by and consolidated in the Mensheviks some left errors are being made. Those right economist errors are the easiest to make and hardest to see but as I think Mao said, "In correcting right errors guard against left errors."

Let the use of *What Is To Be Done?* be guided by Mao's *On Practice* and we will come from behind and make Revolution in the '80s.

A class-conscious worker and former revolutionary organizer

## 100,000 is not a Magical Figure

Comrades:

In response to the calls in the *Revolutionary Worker* for correspondence around both the Draft Programme and the 100,000 *RW* sales, I would like to offer some thoughts... In the October 3 issue of the paper, two of the letters take a negative outlook on the call. This attitude is wrong! 100,000 is not a magical figure, pulled out of the air as a blueprint for revolution. It is not a certainty that all 100,000 readers will be dedicated "warriors," well schooled in Marxist philosophy. But, as the first letter fails to see, that isn't of prime concern for the moment. Yes, we must seek out as actively as possible the advanced sections of the working class and strive to bring them more fully into the Party. There is no argument with this. But, at the same time, this will not be the situation of the vast majority of people (consciously Marxist and schooled in all phases of the Party line) at the time they come into motion during the revolutionary crisis. Many, perhaps even most, will be acting initially out of simple frustration with the given order, capitalism, and lashing out somewhat blindly at the perceived enemy. They will not, at that moment, be dedicated communists. And it is at that juncture that the role of those who are class conscious revolutionaries, who are schooled in

the line of the Party, who have been steeled in the struggle of preparing for just such a moment, will be so important. They will then have to provide leadership to the vacillating rebellion. It will be then that, as our Chairman has put it, the class conscious forces will step forward to become the leaders of tens of millions. But until that time, "we have work to do." While the *Revolutionary Worker* must be gotten into the hands of as many of the advanced as possible, (and 100,000 is simply a figure that points out that there are certainly at least that many people who today do yearn for revolution) it is, at the same time *not* just a paper for the advanced sector. It is not an elite newspaper which the broader sections of the masses would not be interested in. Rather, it is exactly through exposure to such a paper that many people who may now be "sitting on the fence" can be won over to the revolutionary ranks. To refuse to take the paper out to these wavering elements or to those who the writer of that first letter does not view as dedicated enough "warriors," is counterproductive bullshit! It evidences the same type of downgrading of the masses as the second letter in that issue does.

The author of that second letter has much the same outlook as does the first. He does not see the time as being ripe for such a bold step as increasing circulation to 100,000. He fails to see that the people who are coming into motion now will develop rapidly as the situation develops and move from the reformist outlook of groups like the anti-nuke movement towards a more revolutionary understanding. But more than this, there are many who are now involved in such groups who already hunger for a more revolutionary organization but who have not had any contact with the Party. Yes, people will try many things and many methods before becoming conscious revolutionaries, but this process does not occur magically in isolation from the influence of the advanced.

The writer concludes by claiming that while he himself, may aspire to loftier goals than narrow reform, the great mass of people are incapable of such aspirations. This type of outlook, if we accepted it, would lead us all to become "goulash communists."

The *Revolutionary Worker* is our main weapon today not without good reason. It is essential for building the overall revolutionary movement. It travels in regions where there are currently no Party branches, no Party members, and into many more hands than it would be possible for the Party to talk to individually and with regularity. To downplay the urgency of getting this paper into as many hands as possible is to cave in to the ruling class. To claim that there are not at least 100,000 revolutionary-minded people or people who would at least be open to such ideas, is crazy. To have put out a call for 500,000 co-conspirators, while it would be much more difficult, would not have been unrealistic.

N.B.

## Further Description, Clarification Wanted on "Create Public Opinion... Seize Power"

To the *Revolutionary Worker*:

First of all I'd like to congratulate the RCP for launching the campaign to "Let 100 Flowers Blossom, Let 100 Schools of Thought Contend." Although struggle over political line is not "an optional accessory," still it is a tribute to the Party's determination to remain red that it has launched this campaign.

Like the comrade who wrote in last week's *RW*, I too have been reluctant to put forward my views on the campaign for 100,000 co-conspirators and the Party's central task in general. Partly because I don't "get it" so good, because it doesn't fit into my view of things, and partly because I do have more confidence in the Party and its leadership than I do in my own ability to analyze what is possible and necessary at this time. But nonetheless, my disagreements have held back my contributions to the campaign. So now is the time to lay it out.

One thing that has distinguished this Party and the RU before it from any other so-called revolutionary organization I have ever had any contact with is its thoroughness in educating people. Lines and policies have always been gone into deeply, on all levels, politically, organizationally, philosophically and theoretically. Also, the Party has been bold in making self-criticism when lines or policies have been proven incorrect. In my opinion there has been a serious failure to do this around the new central task and programme of the Party. The explanation for this new line and programme and the criticism of the old one has been inadequate. People are left to figure it out for themselves, and the result is much ideological confusion and disunity, as is being reflected in this campaign for 100,000 co-conspirators.

What am I talking about? Comrades, for a number of years people in and around the RU and the Party were trained that people learn through their day to day struggles. Cadre were chided for thinking that the masses learn "through their day to day discussions" or their "day to day newspaper reading." I think most people, myself included, are agreed that we have to "Create Public Opinion, Seize Power." We have to raise the consciousness of

Continued on page 17

# 100 FLOWERS

Continued from page 16

the masses. But the question, and the confusion and disunity, revolves around *How* do we do that?

The following quotes, excerpted from the *Mass Line* pamphlet, which is still sold as a publication of the RCP and which was written in the beginning stages of the struggle against the economist line of the Mensheviks, illustrates sharply what I am talking about:

"... The Party of the working class applies the mass line. It takes these scattered and partial experiences and ideas, and by applying the science of revolution, sums them up, concentrates what is correct... and returns these ideas to the masses in the form of line and policies, which it perseveres in carrying out and propagating in linking itself with and leading the struggle of the masses, and these concentrated ideas become a tremendous material force as the masses take them up as their own and use them to transform the world through class struggle." (emphasis added) It seems the Party would stand by this quote, except for the part that is emphasized, but I don't see what is wrong with the part that I emphasized. But let's continue through the pamphlet:

"But in order to apply the mass line, the Party must base itself firmly on the understanding that people learn through their own experience, and not simply 'being told' what is correct and what must be done... The role of agitation by the Party is crucial—to organize the anger of the masses over particular outrages and abuses into militant, disciplined struggle, uniting many, not just a few... No Party is fit to lead the masses, nor can it be in any position to determine what must be done and how to do it, unless it continually strengthens its ties with the masses and takes part, together with them in the daily struggle against exploitation and oppression, and assists them in forging links between their struggles..."

And on the question of training the advanced, "The Party must pay special attention to uniting with and raising the level of the advanced workers not yet Party members who come forward in these struggles as leaders... and it must train them not apart from, but in the course of actually leading the struggle of the broad masses."

The pamphlet goes on to discuss *How* to develop mass struggle and the relationship between the day to day struggle and the revolutionary goal.

I am aware that this pamphlet was written in 1976, before the split with the Mensheviks, and before the line struggle really took off.

But the point in quoting this pamphlet is that I believe it contains a line that has never been thoroughly refuted. In the course of the struggle against the Mensheviks and in the continuing struggle around economism, the Party's line has changed, but almost in a piecemeal kind of way. Where has there ever been a critical analysis of the old central task, for example, "To build the struggle, class consciousness and revolutionary unity of the working class and develop its leadership of the broad united front against the U.S. imperialists in the context of a united front aimed at the rulers of the two super-powers"? Where has this been stacked up against the new central task, "Create Public Opinion, Seize Power," and exposed in the thoroughgoing way I spoke of earlier, in order to educate people as to why the new central task is correct?

I have the same question around the line the Party fought for and won people over to concerning the crucial necessity for intermediate workers organizations. The NUWO was formed in spite of the Mensheviks. Well after they were out of the Party, in the 1979 CC report, it was still being held up as a correct form of organization. This was based on the line that we need to carry out concentrated struggles and broad exposures, to "walk on two legs" as it was put. What happened to this line and this organization? Was it incorrect? If so, it seems there should be some criticism of it, some educating done about it because otherwise people are left unarmed and confused. Was the TUUL article in *Revolution* meant to be a way of criticising the Party's line around the NUWO? If so I think the question should have been gotten into straight up and not in a round about way. Many comrades and others worked hard to build the NUWO, the Party struggled hard for people to grasp its necessity, yet the whole business has just faded away. The point I am making is that the *line* the Party was struggling for in that organization has not faded away, but remains a part of many people's thinking.

What I am arguing for here is not so much that we resurrect the old programme of the RCP, but that there be a much more thorough explanation for the new one. The introduction of the new Draft Programme certainly doesn't do that. It basically says "The world has changed, and so has our understanding, so that's why the new programme." To sum it up, in order to create the new we have to destroy the old, and in my opinion there is a need for more all-around destruction.

A few more comments in passing. First, you will recall that shortly after the Miami rebellions there was an announcement in the *RW* of a forthcoming

article on the relationship of the Party to rebellions like that one. This article never appeared, which is a drag because it seems to me that an article like that is just what is needed because it would speak exactly to the question of how, given the central task and main work around a newspaper, is the Party going to be an organization "capable of combining all the forces and of leading the movement not only in name but in deed..." as Lenin put it. This is certainly a big question in my mind.

Secondly, it strikes me that in making the *RW* be a paper that speaks to the advanced, it has become too advanced, speaking at a level of political awareness and interest beyond that of even many advanced people. Something that illustrates this to me is that *Revolution* magazine seems to have become unnecessary, because everything in it has basically already been in the *RW*. Perhaps this is why *Revolution* hasn't been playing much of a role lately. At any rate (and I know this is a big subject), I think there is a contradiction in having the *RW* be written for people who are pretty advanced, yet the paper is for the broad masses. This is not to say that only the advanced buy it, but it is mostly the advanced who really read it in a sustained way. At least this has been my experience and it definitely influences the way I have viewed the possibility to win 100,000 co-conspirators.

A reader & distributor of the *RW*

## Against the "Defense of Lagging"

Dear *RW*,

Sustained distribution of 100,000 *RW*s is definitely a quantitative leap. But primarily and more important it is a qualitative leap.

What this quality means was sharply posed when the introduction to Lenin's "Talk With Defenders of Economism" called for "putting an end to the 'third period' of the revolutionary movement in this country with gusto." What Lenin attacked as characteristic of the "third period" in Russia is "defense of lagging" as opposed to "preceding the spontaneous movement, pointing out the road and (being) able ahead of all others to solve the theoretical, political, tactical and organizational questions which the material elements of the struggle spontaneously encounter." While it's not up to me to completely sum up the "third period" in the U.S. revolutionary movement I think some of its characteristics, "the false notes" are things the Party has made great strides in overcoming like eclectics on the relationship between building the struggle and raising consciousness, a party of jack-of-all-trades instead of a Leninist Party of professionals and especially the tolerance of a low theoretical level. The 100,000 is a decisive break with the false notes, the crusty legacy of reformism and economism, a leap to a new period and it is exactly a contribution, something that resolves the questions and contradictions that the material elements are spontaneously running up against.

Two main interrelated questions are being debated in the 100 Flowers letters: The first—are we ahead or behind, as the Chairman posed it in "Crucial Questions," especially are we behind in satisfying the interests and requirements of the advanced? The second—is what we are mobilizing the advanced to do correct?

Both the second letter in issue No. 76 and the se-

cond letter in issue No. 75 "defend lagging" and I think are fairly typical of the opposition to the campaign. The one in No. 76 speaks more to the question of the advanced and the one in No. 75 to the central task. Both are wrong, the political lines in them need to be taken on and defeated.

The letter in No. 76 says there were more advanced at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution and that they were more advanced than the advanced today, concluding that "the masses (then) hadn't been drugged with crumbs for so long and the ruling class's mask wasn't nearly as intact."

This is in sharp opposition to the Chairman's analysis of "roads to the proletariat," an important materialist analysis of how to work toward resolving the contradiction between the generally backward state of the working class and the fact that certain sections of the working class have had revolutionary experience (not mainly because of their position as workers). The upheavals of the '60s awakened and revolutionized vast numbers of vets, oppressed nationalities and women. The anti-imperialist struggles in the colonial countries brought forward many thousands more. Many of these workers have belonged to revolutionary organizations, were influenced by Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought or different tendencies and trends.

Is the mask intact for the advanced or is it much more that "they have no tribune from which to speak, no eager and encouraging audience, they do not see anywhere among the people that force to which it would be worthwhile directing their complaints against the 'omnipotent' Russian government" as Lenin described the need for an all-Russian newspaper. In our lagging, especially in not truly making the *RW* central, we have not been able to fulfill the advanced requirements. The more the line of the Party, especially "Crucial Questions," has been taken up, the more we have discovered that these advanced have questions that are indeed profound—and hard to answer without Marxism. How many times in the past have questions about Fidel or Che been smugly dismissed with "we think they're revisionists"? Or when questions have been raised say about the *RW* article on Sartre, rather than studying his line (and the article) and taking on his analysis often these advanced get dismissed as "too intellectual" when they know the line of the paper better than us.

The bourgeoisie really has a problem. In all these decimated areas they consider "jungle" and "vast wastelands" are revolutionaries who still study the Red Books they got 10 years ago and propagate its thought where they work and live and generally among those they know. Or what about one group of workers that revealed the huge library of science, philosophy and history books in more than several languages (that they had taught themselves) that brought to life the meaning of what Mao says about the oppressed searching for philosophy as they study and struggle over different idealist and materialist philosophers. And not only do we run into these people, but many of them and many like them have been influenced by the line of the Party, heard the Chairman on the speaking tour or the Snyder show, went to or were influenced in one way or another by May Day, etc. (Those who keep writing of the Party's "isolation" are dead wrong. There's a lot of people, obviously not the majority, but not an inconsequential number either, I'd say millions) who admire and respect the Party's line and the actions it has taken. The contradiction is more on us; how

Continued on page 18

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# 100 FLOWERS

Continued from page 17

well people get utilized and trained. (Once again the importance of the *RW*.)

Some of the advanced take up the *RW* right away—because they see it as a social force for revolution, because they like some or all of the content. Some don't take it up right away because they have questions, disagreements that have to be struggled out. We speak a lot of challenging the advanced—I think that's correct if we mean challenging them to take up Marxism-Leninism and become communists, one crucial part of which is understanding the role of the *RW* scientifically. The other side, though, is we have to accept the challenges that they place on us. As Lenin says, "Theoretical knowledge, political experience and organizational ability are things that can be acquired. If only the desire exists to study and to acquire these qualities." Frankly, I think this leap requires all of us making some leaps, as the opening remarks to the '79 CC meeting said, it is on us to actually lead this revolution. I think being a nice person or a good organizer or a pragmatist with a little Marxist coating won't cut it any more (not that it ever really did).

While I think this letter errs in confusing the advanced with the intermediate and ends up tailing the intermediate, I think the description of even the intermediate as "drugged with crumbs" is a little one-sided. Compare this to the Chairman's view that these workers tend to find things tolerable, are plagued with growing restlessness, are being drawn into political life as big things happen—Iran, the elections, Miami. They won't mainly act now but they will be affected by our work.

This writer as well as others has brought up the Bolshevik Revolution to negate the revolutionary elements in today's situation. The Chairman stresses the similarities between today's situation and the situation Lenin wrote about in *What Is To Be Done?* (and in fact brings up the universal applicability of the principles). Aren't there some advantages in today's situation that didn't exist then? The experience of the Bolshevik Revolution and the Chinese Revolution, especially the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, as well as the struggle of the working class and oppressed peoples internationally (including in this country) for the last 60-plus years; the fact that the world system of imperialism is now on the decline, much more battered, much more "rotten ripe" than at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution when the age of imperialism was just coming into being; the proletariat is much larger and much more mobile.

The second letter in issue No. 75 tries to hide behind the advanced by saying they and he don't agree with this leap. They want something more concrete, namely action. Again, many of the advanced do not demand "something more concrete" but answers to profound questions. But in fact when the advanced do raise these things, what is our response—and responsibility?

The comrade's view of the advanced reveals the incorrectness of his method and outlook. The communists determine what is possible based on what the advanced (if these are advanced) say is possible. (Isn't this a refurbished version of the old Gallup Poll mass line?) The advanced have much experience, and great contributions to make, but, without theory they can't distinguish appearance from essence. The point isn't to criticize them, their limitations are objective and reveal the necessity for the Party and for many more to make the leap to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. But the point is to raise their sights and win them to the historical inevitability of communism, the possibility for revolution in this country and why the *RW* is the key link right now.

This comrade doesn't attack the central task and the plan of the *RW* from the plane of theory by analyzing the contradictions in the world and in this country now and how the conscious forces must act on it, but is incredibly restricted by his own narrowness. He says the 100,000 is not possible because his practice has not shown that it is possible. That's definitely thinking that leads nowhere—our Party hasn't been involved in an attempted seizure of power yet—does that mean it's not possible?

It is critical to prove that his "more concrete" path is not at all concrete if you're trying to forge a path toward communism, an important qualitative leap being the seizure of power in this country (as well as aiding this process wherever it is going on).

First, the Party does want to act—we want to seize power and overthrow the bourgeoisie. Our tasks today flow from this and our ultimate goal of communism. You get no sense of this as a close possibility when he goes into what he thinks achieving the 100,000 would mean "half a million readers... networks and circles, finances, supplies" etc. But for what? What difference would it make?

Not much according to him, that's why there has to be something more, some other action, and he says this is Bob Avakian's line but not the line of the 100,000 co-conspirators. I would say this is an example of "rendering Chairman Avakian more profound."

The comrade reverses the dialectic between

creating public opinion, the raising of consciousness and class conscious action. This in fact, whether he likes it or not, ends him up in the camp of the economists. When he talks about this action he puts little emphasis on the line of these actions. For example, "key to this is an actual visible multi-national force." Building multi-national unity is certainly important—but based on what line—right now the hacks and the CP can produce a "multi-national force." Even the bourgeois army is a "multi-national force."

The comrade also says "to continue to call for the 100,000 at this time without, say, organizing a visible conscious movement in opposition to war moves." There is already a visible movement in opposition to war moves with all kinds of class forces in it. And it is bound to grow. Forces will throw people into motion. The question is, will it be class-conscious?

The Party has placed some importance on class-conscious action in the last few years. What about the Teng demo, May Day, the election demonstrations being called for, banners being sent to Iran, etc. But because he reverses the correct relation between the *RW* and class-conscious actions he sees these as few and far between. To him the *RW* has some limited usefulness as the way to get people to May Day. This is straight up Martynov's line of rendering Plekanov more profound than agitation is only a call to action not that the *RW* in training people in proletarian internationalism as well as the importance of May Day won a certain section of the advanced workers to act politically on that day, which in turn made it clear to millions (creating public opinion) that there is a social force of proletarians in this country preparing for revolution in conjunction with the proletariat internationally.

The comrade's line seems to be that the way to build off May Day is to have more demonstrations so the masses will "see a multi-national force" and that "they're not alone." May Day showed that already. And the 100,000 co-conspirators reveals our "not so tiny force."

The point the Chairman is making around action, as I understand it, is that when these concrete leaps, actions in support of something like Miami would take place "then tremendous progress will be made for the positions occupied by the class-conscious proletariat in its preparation for the time when it can lead the all-out struggle to overthrow U.S. imperialism and continue marching with the international proletariat toward the final goal of communism." But this will never happen without wielding the *RW* as the Party's most decisive weapon now.

What has to be grasped and fought for is not just that the 100,000 is a good idea but it is a correct idea whose origins lie in the material conditions of imperialism at this time. In other words it is as Lenin says, "The whole art of politics lies in finding and grasping as strong as we can that link that is least likely to be torn out of our hands, the one that is most important at the given moment, the one that guarantees the possessor of a link the possession of the whole chain."

To grasp this I think we have to grapple with the relationship between the forces and relations of production and the base (relations of production) and superstructure. In the pamphlet "Communists Are Rebels," Bob Avakian points out:

"Capitalism, in a way far more than previous societies, necessitates and brings about unprecedented development of the productive forces and, for the first time, establishes the potential to abolish scarcity as a social phenomenon, but especially with its further development—and in a qualitatively greater way with its transformation into imperialism—suffocates these same productive forces, is itself incapable of utilizing them in anything like a full way. Therefore even while it provides the potential to abolish scarcity, capitalism repeatedly—and on an even more destructive scale—brings about the criminal absurdity that there is great scarcity precisely because there is too much abundance—not as Marx and Engels pointed out, too much for what people need, but too much for what the capitalists can profitably employ."

The imperialist superstructure reflects and serves to maintain this system. The bourgeoisie must create public opinion—to hang on to power. The writer of this letter is obsessed with visibility, but the bourgeoisie's grip on the masses through the superstructure is "invisible." On the surface it seems like each person just happens to come up with their ideas on their own. But this is quite false. The imperialists have a vast arsenal of books, tv, radio, movies, etc. at their disposal and they use them to the max.

In order to unfetter and unleash the productive forces, first and foremost, man, there has to be a revolution in the superstructure. In other words the misery suffered by the proletariat and others oppressed by imperialism will not end until the proletariat seizes political power from the bourgeoisie, creating conditions for and establishing new economic relations. To continue from the pamphlet, "The proletariat is capitalism's grave digger and the agent of the advance of humanity to a whole new and unprecedented 'nature' because it alone can, in conformity with the social character of its productive labor, utilize these forces fully and unleash them—by taking control of and employing them collectively and rationally. Communist ideology represents the theoretical expression of this historical role and mission."

"But here a contradiction emerges. While the pro-

letariat as a whole has this historic role and mission and while, as a class, it has no interests in the exploitation and the division of society into classes, the entire proletariat does not become conscious of this all at once—and in fact, in capitalist society in particular under the domination of the bourgeoisie economically, politically and ideologically, only a relatively small minority of the proletariat is able to take up this class conscious position and fight on that basis. Here we see the contradiction between the advanced and the rest of the class (and masses) or between the leadership and the led."

In fact we can't "act"—seize power—because only a small part of the proletariat is class-conscious and acting in its own interests. But the working out of the principal contradiction between the forces and relations of production (which in the era of imperialism is expressed in the working out of the spirals from world war to world war) as the people's experience brings them up in contradiction to the ruling ideas of society provides the material basis for a growing number to get more won to their own class interests, and a greater number still to the side of the proletariat if the Party and advanced are principally carrying out this task.

While a revolutionary situation must exist objectively, what is decisive in carrying a revolutionary situation through to victory is whether the Party has the line, roots, plan and organization to carry it through. I suppose it's possible to lead the armed struggle without raising the consciousness of the masses, but, given that our goal is not just seizure of power but the complete transformation of society until classes are historically obsolete internationally, for the masses to be unleashed as the *Draft Programme* (and history) stresses again and again, it is impossible to carry the battle through if that process is not done now. Also, say, in Cuba there was an anti-imperialist revolution without a class conscious proletariat, but where did that end up?

To bring all this back to the central task, create public opinion... seize power, is quite scientific and fighting for the leap to be made to really implementing it is quite necessary.

Creating public opinion for revolution means training the workers in the materialist understanding of all aspects of life and activity of all classes, strata and groups of population in society, showing that behind every manifestation of tyranny and oppression lies the same dark forces. Hence while the *RW* is the main weapon, written agitation especially political exposure is the only way to train the masses in revolutionary activity. Man's knowledge proceeds from the particular to the general and through exposures of particular outrages and abuses people will be repeatedly shown who and what is responsible for their oppression.

The *RW* and the call for the 100,000 is not a question of training the advanced in a vacuum. The *RW* begins to train and win over some of the intermediate (and neutralize others) and, as Lenin pointed out, it actually weakens the bourgeoisie. As he put it, "Political exposures are as much a declaration of war against the government as economic exposures are a declaration of war against the factory owners. And the moral significance of this declaration of war will be all the greater, the wider and more powerful this campaign of exposure is, the more numerous and determined the social class, which has declared war in order to commence the war. Hence, political exposures in themselves serve as a powerful instrument for disintegrating this system we oppose, a means of diverting from the enemy his casual or temporary allies, as a means for spreading enmity and distrust among the permanent partners of the autocracy." Not only that, through agitation being central we will truly be able to keep on the pulse of the masses. The newspaper can build organization based on the political line of the Party, organization that is flexible and can go from one stage to another.

The *RW* is exactly, concretely what is needed to break the hold of the bourgeoisie and no other plan and no other program will enable us to prepare ourselves and a section of the advanced to step to the fore as time develops.

D.M.

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## Co-Conspirator Corresponds

# Important Questions about Revolution in El Salvador

Dear *RW*:

I've been selling in the Salvadoran community for quite some time now, and over the last few months I've noticed some changes in the community, and questions that I think the *RW* should speak to.

When I first started selling in the Salvadoran community a year ago, I found that people had an incredible enthusiasm for revolution and socialism and pride in the struggle that was developing in their country. People would come up to me on the street and say, "I'm from El Salvador. Is that newspaper against capitalism?" We met only a few people who said, "Oh, it's terrible...all the bloodshed!"—generally these were people who were not politically aware or who'd become burnt-out and had summed up that revolution was impossible.

Now, much more often the Salvadorans I meet have recently arrived here and are people with revolutionary experience in their own country—union leaders, student activists, even guerrilla fighters. But when I ask them, "How is the struggle going?", quite often they respond, "Oh, but there's so much dying." What angers me is that these people are *not* burnt-out. Just the other day I heard this from a young woman I met while selling the *RW*. She is from a poor family in El Salvador, she and a woman cousin of hers had fought with the guerrillas, and she is now in the U.S. to help support her family back home. She had never seen the *RW* before, but she and another cousin took 5 copies and wanted to get the Draft Programme as well. By no means have these people's dreams of revolution been wiped out. But more frequently

now, people from El Salvador are confused as to what is the road forward.

I think this confusion has a lot to do with the revisionist line that is leading the struggle in El Salvador, which is oriented not towards unleashing the conscious activism of the masses but instead more and more sees the heroic struggle of the Salvadoran people as a bargaining chip to be used to force the junta (and its U.S. masters) to turn power over to a new bourgeois leadership—themselves. I certainly wonder what's going on when the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) makes statements like, "With the fiscal triumph will begin the construction of a new homeland" (the emphasis in recent strikes has been economic damage) (this quote was taken from *Excelsior* of Mexico City, 9-13-80). And then I read about how the guerrillas stop an attack 10 blocks from the Presidential Palace (will they ever actually take it?) while they attack the Guatemalan Embassy for the fifth time (are they looking at the Guatemalan Embassy attacks as more of a protest demonstration—"Don't you dare try to invade El Salvador!"—than as part of an offensive aimed at seizing power?) Anyway, I'm not surprised that revolutionary-minded people are wondering about the seemingly aimless dying.

And as contention between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. sharpens up all over the world, the situation in El Salvador is becoming even more complex. Some Salvadorans have come right out and told me that they see a great deal of superpower contention going on now in El Salvador. Anyone who saw the TV program, "The Castro Connection," knows that this is true for Central

America as a whole, and that the U.S. is working hard to prepare public opinion in this country for its next move—quite possibly military intervention by Guatemala and Honduras, may be disguised as an OAS (Organization of American States—*RW*) "peacekeeping" mission. But also, more and more now when paper sellers in the Central American community talk about Cuba and how people fought against U.S. imperialism only to be sold out to Soviet social-imperialism, the people there anxiously add, "and Nicaragua?!" These questions are *not* coming from anti-communism. For example, recently we sold outside an adult school where mainly Central Americans go to learn English. We noticed that the people clustered around us reacted the strongest—nodding their heads in agreement, looking up to listen more carefully—when we talked about the Soviet Union being the "same shit" as the U.S., and Cuba being no more than a colony of the USSR. But then when a reactionary tried to turn people against us by saying that the U.S. was the land of freedom and democracy, which we took on, a crowd of at least 50 people became dead silent and then most of them began booing and jeering him!

This presents tremendous opportunities for the *RW* to build upon the understanding that people have arrived at

(we would not have gotten this kind of reaction to both the superpowers a year ago). But also the *RW* needs to be addressing the questions that have arisen. We need more consistent articles specifically analyzing what's going on in El Salvador and Central America as a whole, especially now that superpower contention is heating up in the U.S.'s "back yard". We also need articles that hit at some of the line questions that people coming from these countries have—e.g., have you wiped out revisionism when you reject the "peaceful road to socialism" theory, the question of Che and focoism. We have seen many times now the effect the line of the RCP has on people, not only in this country but internationally. Several people from Central America have told me that they've seen the *RW* or articles from the *RW* in their own country. One Nicaraguan we recently met had liked the paper so much when he saw it in Nicaragua (and he says he wasn't the only one there who liked it), that he even took copies with him to El Salvador, risking instant death if he were to get caught with them at the border. I think the basis for taking on Latin American revisionism now is very good, and it is very necessary to do so.

A paper seller  
in the Salvadoran community

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# Hostage Deal

Continued from page 7

bring about the overthrow of the Khomeini regime, which Saudi Arabia and other Arab states regard as a threat. Both developments are clearly in our national interest....

"OK, you ask, if Carter, the State Department, the CIA and the Saudis helped mastermind Iraq's attack on Iran, why did the United States tilt toward Iran and label Iraq as the aggressor? The answer is that we have conflicting interests in the area and must therefore follow seemingly contradictory policies. We want Iran in such a critical bind in the war that releasing the hostages and saving the nation (capitulation to the U.S.—RW) takes priority in parliament over the rantings of wild leftists...."

And Rowan concludes from this: "We are dealing with an area of devious people implementing diabolical schemes—an area where we, too, must play ruthlessly and shrewdly when we can."

A strange "neutrality" that these bloodthirsty imperialist mobsters are involved to the hilt in. As to the wild rantings of this imperialist tool about the "devious" and "diabolical" Iranians, they can be likened to a wolf charging his prey with being a predator for refusing to let himself to be eaten up!

Threats, blackmail and naked force—these have been the bottom line of the tactics employed by the U.S. imperialists throughout this so-called "regional war" in the Persian Gulf as they battle to crush the Iranian revolution and shore up their deadly grip on this critical region in order to prepare for a far bigger and bloodier showdown with the Soviet imperialists. Last week, even as Carter and Muskie called for "patience" and expressed their pious hopes for "restoring normal ties with Iran," State Department spokesmen were warning that if any hostages were to be put on trial as spies, "this would have extremely grave consequences for Iran." Of course, there was no serious expectation that any of the hostages were going to be tried as spies by the Iranian government at this point—although the CIA operatives, defense attachés and others are guilty of spying and far worse crimes against the Iranian people. The message really being communicated through this "warning" is that any action taken by Iran—including any serious foot-dragging on releasing the hostages and on caving in even further to the U.S.—will have "grave consequences," a none too subtle attempt by the U.S. ruling class to reassert their role as omnipotent imperialist bullies whose rule is law.

This is indeed a fitting example of the kind of military and economic gangster tactics used by the U.S. in order to bring intense and growing pressure on the national bourgeois forces that dominate the Iranian government to capitulate. While these pressures have been developing for some time, the U.S.-backed Iraqi invasion—with its direct military threat and its large-scale economic devastation—has brought to a head the many contradictions the bourgeois forces face due to their class position between the imperialists and the workers, peasants and other popular strata of the Iranian people.

Of course, the main club being wielded by the U.S. to force Iran's bourgeois leaders to their knees has continued to be the Iraqi invasion. As the U.S.'s present overall strategy calls for, Iraq's armed forces are continuing their slow, plodding, noose-tightening operations around Khorramshahr and the oil refinery city of Abadan, and are continuing to unleash missile attacks and constant artillery fire on the civilian population of Khuzestan's cities. In spite of the steady claims of "crushing victories over the Persian racists" churned out by the Iraqi military command, over the last week they have made little progress near Abadan, and have reportedly even lost ground in fierce house-to-house, hand-to-hand fighting with irregular Iranian forces, including those led by Marxist-Leninist forces, inside Khorramshahr.

Serious internal difficulties are also clearly looming ahead for Iraq's reactionary rulers. According to information coming out of Iraq, there has been a steadily increasing number of executions of Iraqi soldiers who have refused to fight. According to another report, demonstrators in the southern Iraqi city of Basra recently stormed the local prison and freed 1500, among whom there were many political prisoners.

As the U.S. has moved to strike a bargain with the Iranian government, the Hossein regime in Iraq has begun to squeal some protests, making threats to permanently occupy Iran's Khuzestan province. What this reflects is a fear among Iraq's leadership that an accommodation between the U.S. and the capitulationist forces in Tehran could lead to them getting shafted. However, while Iraq certainly has its own nationalistic interests in the conflict, its threats to dismember Iran, and the U.S. government's "principled stand in opposition to this," are all basically part of the program for bludgeoning Iran into submission which has been unfolding since the beginning of the war.

## Superpower Contention Sharpens

The Soviet Union, too, is stepping up its attempts to come off the defensive position it has found itself in since the beginning of the U.S./Iraqi attack on Iran. This is now clearly taking the form of a "tilt towards Iran," designed, they hope, to offer Iran an "alternative" to moving back into the Western bloc—that is, coming under Soviet patronage itself. According to the *New York Times*, "Western and Asian diplomats have become aware of an apparently widely held Soviet fear that military reverses in the war might lead to an internal officer-led overthrow of the regime of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and the restoration of ties with the United States.... Concerns of this nature appear to be implicit in a message today from Leonid Brezhnev.... Mr. Brezhnev warned against the American buildup and current attempts to revive an imperialist influence in Iran...." The Soviet armed forces newspaper *Krasnaya Avezeda*, also for the first time, has branded Iraq the "aggressor" in the war.

Although the Soviets officially deny it, it is widely reported that they offered arms supplies to Prime Minister Mohammed Ali Rajai at the beginning of the war. Undoubtedly, that offer still stands, and the Soviets are now going further out of their way to signal Iran that "We're here if you're interested." Thus far, there has not developed within the Iranian government any significant visible faction advocating a move towards the Soviet bloc, and the general consensus within the Iranian national bourgeoisie is clearly in favor of some sort of accommodation with the West at this time.

However, this Soviet "tilt" towards Iran also contains within it an implicit threat: "We're offering our 'friendship'—reject it at your own peril." While the Soviet Union, largely out of necessity, has so far played a subdued role in the conflict and has continued to stress its "neutrality," this veneer is beginning to flake away, and the Soviet fear of the U.S. making large military and political gains in the Persian Gulf area will undoubtedly force them into a more active and aggressive posture as events unfold.

The U.S. is also stepping up its great-nation swaggering in the rest of the Persian Gulf and throughout the Middle East, as it carries forward its military buildup in an attempt to reassert firm political control and deny any gains to the Soviets. The recent signing of a 20-year pact of friendship between Syria and the Soviet Union (which is reported to include secret provisions for the Soviet navy's use of Syria's ports on the Mediterranean), and the moves towards the formal union between Syria and Libya, have brought a sharp response from the U.S. through its client toadies in the Gulf area.

The U.S. imperialists are determined to head off the absorption of Libya into the Soviet bloc. Libya, unlike Syria, is an oil-producing country with substantial economic relations with the U.S. and Western Europe. Recently, it has appeared to move closer to the Soviets, and has attacked Saudi Arabia for

allowing the U.S. to set up military bases and position equipment within its borders. Last week, Saudi Arabia broke diplomatic relations with Libya, of course at the instigation of the U.S., in a blatant attempt to force Libya into line and punish it for opposing the U.S. military buildup in the Middle East. This is just one more example of the rapid polarization in the region directly resulting from the heightening intensity of the U.S.-Soviet contention and preparation for war—which overshadows all other developments.

## Releasing Hostages—Hot Potato

Up until the weekend, Tehran Radio continued to claim that there were no negotiations going on with the U.S.; the newspapers in Iran said little more than that the parliament was taking up the hostage question. In spite of this blanket of official silence, the word began to get out among the Iranian masses last week, through listening to foreign radio broadcasts as well as just putting "two and two" together. As it became more and more difficult to conceal its moves, the government started laying the groundwork for releasing the hostages on the basis that it is "in the interests of the Iranian people and the revolution."

For example, last week, Ayatollah Sadegh Khalkhali, the head of Iran's Islamic courts and a vocal opponent of the U.S. in the past, emerged as a leading spokesman for a "swift settlement of the hostage crisis." Pushing for the hostages to be released prior to the U.S. presidential elections in order to maximize Iran's so-called "bargaining position," Khalkhali told a Beirut newspaper on October 29, "Carter is trying to return to the American presidency. Therefore he is ready to give us all the spare parts we need for the war on condition the case of the hostages is resolved. We agree to this because it is in our interests."

At last Friday's prayers at Tehran University, Prime Minister Rajai—who had just one week earlier told a press conference in New York that he believed that the U.S. had "in practice" apologized for its crimes against Iran—blustered that "the spare parts that this arch-Satan owes us, we will drag out of his throat." And in a further tirade aimed at convincing his audience that he had not caved in to the U.S., Rajai said that we are "not prepared, not even for a single moment, to become the servants of the United States in order to obtain the spare parts."

While most members of parliament have preferred to make their arguments for coming to terms with the U.S. during the last week's secret sessions instead of out in public, they clearly reached basic agreement to release the hostages some time ago. Plans to demand a public U.S. apology for its criminal support for the Shah's regime, and to demand that the U.S. withdraw its AWACS planes and naval forces from the area, were also dropped as "unacceptable" to the U.S. Instead, the terms they are most likely "demanding" from the U.S. are those laid down by Ayatollah Khomeini in mid-September, before the start of the war, or something similar. True to character, in order to avoid taking the rap for all this, Khomeini has been staying somewhat aloof from the hostage deal so far,

instead of handing it back to parliament to make the final decision, and undoubtedly warning them to reach unity among themselves before trying to sell it to the people.

On October 30, the scheduled public session of the parliament that was supposed to set the terms for the hostages' release was boycotted by a bloc of Islamic Republic Party (IRP) members, on the grounds that "we have no interests in promoting President Carter's re-election." In response, Ayatollah Montazeri, one of Khomeini's closest associates, publicly attacked their actions as "unacceptable to the Moslem and revolutionary nation."

While there may be some in the government who are actually balking at releasing the hostages at this time, IRP's leaders, including the reactionary Ayatollah Beheshti, are not opposed to closing the deal with the U.S. Their only reason for pushing for delays such as this is to avoid the appearance of being "railroaded" by the U.S. into a craven rush to do its bidding, which could seriously undermine their base among the masses.

In fact, this is the fundamental problem these capitulationist forces in the Iranian government—as well as the U.S. imperialists themselves—are faced with as they push through this deal. While a popular eruption in Iran derailing the hostage release plan cannot be totally ruled out until all 52 are flown out of Iran, the main question facing Iran's rulers is how they will ride out the reaction after they do so.

They are most certainly hoping that the war against Iraq—because it has increased the prestige of the government and the armed forces in the eyes of many—will provide them with some room to maneuver and mask their moves behind a smokescreen of "national unity against the main enemy—Iraq." Exactly because of this, these moves towards capitulation on the part of the Iranian government do pose a serious danger to the Iranian revolution; and they can only whet the appetite of the U.S. imperialists and their reactionary agents inside Iran, and force the hand of their equally imperialist Soviet rivals, as well.

On the other hand, the war has had the effect of arousing and mobilizing the masses of Iranian people to fight against U.S. imperialism (which is popularly understood to be behind the Iraqi invasion) and has heightened their political awareness in the process. The government's present rush towards capitulation to imperialism can only greatly sharpen up the contradictions between the Iranian masses and the national bourgeois forces that have been in leadership of the movement up to this time, ushering in a new stage of class struggle inside Iran.

It is this, above all, that doesn't bode well for Iran's bourgeois forces as they cinch this deal with the U.S. As for the U.S. gangster ruling class, they may be getting their hostages back soon, but this situation does not promise them the counterrevolutionary "stability" in Iran and the Persian Gulf they are so desperately and ruthlessly trying to achieve. □

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

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

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

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

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

## Revolutionary Mass Organization

In the section of the Draft Programme, "Create Public Opinion, Seize Power," on page 38, it says, "The Party must build revolutionary organization among the advanced workers, as one important vehicle for mobilizing broader sections of the working class to mount the political stage around key questions in society." The following proposed rewrite aims to deepen this point with regard to a number of questions that I will briefly outline here. It is crucial now to intensify our efforts to rally the advanced workers on the basis of Marxist agitation and propaganda, developing the conspiracy around the RW among the workers and give "sustained and growing expression to the actions of the advanced" in supporting outbreaks of protest and rebellion of the masses. But at this time it is premature to form mass organizations of the advanced workers (aside from organization around the RW). While the forms of organization through which the masses will be mobilized and brought forward to a revolutionary position cannot be known right now, we have to anticipate the time when such organizations will be crucial—when the mass movement approaches and then reaches a point of revolutionary upsurge and a revolutionary struggle for power. Even then it will not be the case that the Party will just initiate these organizations all on its own (the development of the Soviets and Lenin's analysis of them is relevant here), but we have to prepare for the time when all this is the order of the day. In this light I propose the following rewrite:

Page 38, 1st full paragraph

Original: "The Party must build revolutionary organization among the advanced workers, as one important vehicle for mobilizing broader sections of the working class to mount the political stage around key questions in society."

"Overall, then, the main content of the Party's work..."

Rewrite: "The Party must build revolutionary organization among the advanced workers, as one important vehicle for mobilizing broader sections of the working class to mount the political stage around key questions in society. Many specific questions that will arise and have to be addressed, theoretically and practically, in the course of building the revolutionary movement to overthrow capitalism cannot

be answered, or in some cases no doubt even anticipated, at this time. For example, what will be the particular forms through which the workers, and other sections of the people, will in their masses both wage struggle against the bourgeoisie and be won to the revolutionary position by the work of the Party and the influence of the class-conscious forces generally—this is something which cannot be determined as yet. And, overall, there will be many problems—political, tactical, organizational, as well as ideological—that will have to be confronted and resolved when it is no longer a question of uniting thousands or tens of thousands of the advanced around the revolutionary program but actually leading millions and tens of millions to take it up and wage the decisive battles to overthrow the old order and establish the new. But the basic principles and the general features of this process can be grasped now and have been outlined here."

A.C.

## On Consciousness

Comrades,

The late Wilhelm Reich, no doubt increasingly losing his contact with reality, still had the insight to observe that for revolutionaries the objective conditions for revolution have always been right; or I think "ripe" was how he expressed it. In the Programme on page 25 we are reminded that "desperate conditions mark(ing) a revolutionary situation and... a revolutionary mood." It is pointed out that for such a mood to seize the masses "the depth of crisis must be such that society as a whole is convulsed in it and the stability and tolerability of the situation of the masses is not only being shaken but shattered."

From previous discussions I have had concerning the following ideas with members of the RCP I would assume that the apparent contradiction expressed above would be resolved by pointing out the phenomenon of the division of the masses into backward, intermediate and advanced forces—for whom the conditions, short of crisis, are ripe for revolution—more or less. This idea would be qualified by pointing out that prior to the revolutionary situation the advanced workers would do revolutionary work in preparation for the revolutionary situation that is in development. It is generally agreed that the breadth and depth of the crisis would ripen the objective conditions, the intermediate and backward would be drawn into political life and based on the previous work of the advanced, the masses would seize the time or the bourgeoisie would seize it, for counter-revolution.

But if "desperate conditions" and good propaganda are the prime ingredients how will the revolution continue under socialism which will progressively do away with the "desperate conditions" the proletariat faces under capitalism? It is again generally agreed that the remaining antagonisms rooted in the division of labor, which will survive capitalism, coupled with revolutionary agitation and propaganda—which will be enhanced in scope and effect by the workers' armed dictatorship—will give focus and direction to a continued struggle to revolutionize man and nature; society.

Though these anticipations of what I understand to be the Party's understanding is somewhat simplified I think it gets to the essence of the Party's understanding as it is advanced in the Drafts. The Drafts and discussions with Party members have made myself and others increasingly clear that the RCP, though making a relatively correct assessment of the present and future tasks of revolutionaries, itself falls short of those tasks. The above anticipated rebuttal, or qualification of, the questions implied by Reich's statement do not confront the production of consciousness in a more than superficial i.e., external, manner. The ideas are incorrect because of this essential superficiality.

The RCP without a doubt has been in the forefront of the struggle against mechanical materialism particularly as it has manifested itself in the revisionist productive forces theory. The heroics the Party has demonstrated in this fight are magnified because the Party has done so without actually moving beyond a mechanical materialist standpoint. Joel Kovel, in an unpublished paper titled "Marx and Freud" wrote, "a good deal of actual Marxist (sic) practice down through the years has been informed by just this type of linear (i.e. mechanical) materialism. Whenever, in fact, Marx, or one of his followers ascribes the same degree of inevitability to a historical process as would belong to a law of nature, he is practicing linear materialism. Such would be the case whenever purely technological or economic factors are adduced to explain the action of men in society. This kind of materialism is ultimately idealistic, for man is seen outside nature, acted upon by nature and without dynamism of his own—in short, a pale abstraction." It is for this reason, because of this ("linear materialist") position, that the Drafts, besides and in

Continued on...

# DRAFT PROGRAMME

Continued from page 21

spite of a lot of talk about the conscious transformation of men and society, reads like and sounds like a giant list of reforms and/or pie-in-the-sky idealism. The Drafts, to put it simply, demonstrate no understanding of how class society (transforms) men *spontaneously* in the course of its development. It goes without saying that the Drafts do not begin to explain how the proletariat will consciously transform men and society.

It is a basic understanding that men change society and thereby change themselves. The opening articles in the Programme give a concise and accurate representation of man's historical struggle to change society; class struggle is correctly posited as the motor of that motion that leads to societies' historical development. But the Drafts on the other hand say little about how man was or is transformed in these developments. If anything the idea expressed on p. 13 about the bourgeoisie's "vigorous, tradition-challenging advancement of the natural sciences" gives the impression that the increasing development of society transforms man simply by adding to his consciousness, i.e., by increasing it. This idea has in fact been defended by RCP members in discussion. The conception clearly and obviously negates the dialectical idea of qualitative development.

Previous revolutions have been characterized by the development of a higher degree of consciousness. I think that it would be generally agreed that this higher degree of consciousness could be understood in a two-fold sense; a higher degree of scientific/technological development or the consciousness attendant to those developments on the one hand, and on the other, probably in some kind of relation with the previous aspect, the consciousness of new social possibilities. This latter aspect is manifest in a tendency to pierce the attempts by the ruling class to *more or less consciously* mystify society, giving their rule an eternal character.

The idea of "more or less conscious" mystification of society begins to get to the factor of the qualitative development of human consciousness. For instance, what is seen most concisely in the rise of the bourgeoisie is that in the first place, or phase, during the rise of the bourgeoisie, i.e., its "heroic era," the consciousness produced by awareness of the social possibilities developed as a result of new instruments of production and forms of property, pierces the mystification of feudal society, as carried out by the lords. What becomes apparent is that the new ruling class—in this case the bourgeoisie, but it applies equally to its predecessors as I am confident any serious examination of the following ideas will show—with the increasing development of the new instruments and forms of property, increasingly establishes, or reestablishes, the mystification of society; but now on a higher level—in this development mystification becomes *less*—conscious, more spontaneous. This spontaneity seems to have its basis in three aspects of the development of class society and class struggle. The first appears to be the tendency of the rising class to project, backwards through history, the existence of what is for it, the contradiction between old and new forces and relations of production. By doing so, the realization of the new relations offered by the new forces through revolution is viewed as realization of the inherent human nature of man—or some such nonsense—which as is pointed out on p. 14 of the Drafts, is consolidated *against* further development and change. The second and third aspects appear to be the larger base that each successive ruling class establishes its rule on. This larger base is evidently connected to the fact that the new forces and relations of production operate increasingly as real social forces which determine in an ever more broad and effectual manner, the lives of the most diverse individuals.

With the consolidation of bourgeois power, mystification is so complete that capitalism's action as a fetter on the productive capacities of man is made operable mainly through that mystification. It is the fettering of consciousness, through the mystification of man's social reality, that is attendant to the consolidation of private property's newest form—the commodity and/or money—that in the last phases of class society erects the most effective fetter on future development, i.e., communism.

The commodity form of property and labour—money—is the most effective and mystified fetter on development because it increasingly restricts all human activity (and after this consciousness) to commodity forms of production as it increasingly invades every area of human intercourse—seen most strikingly in its control of popular culture through which it has invaded the deeper recesses of personal life which, in folk culture to varying degrees, was fortification against social mystification. The importance of the "personal" and "private" sphere is clearly seen in bourgeois development. The new instruments and relations of production evolved as the personal and private property of the individuals—they became a social force and property only with the development and consolidation of bourgeois society.

On page 14 of the Draft it is explained that "In past societies, the productive relations characteristic of the new society would begin to appear spontaneously alongside the old ones within the shell of the old society. . . . But this is impossible under capitalism, because exploitative relations can only be abolished by abolishing them and their basis throughout society." This idea is put forward as an "aspect of why the socialist revolution has to be a conscious act. . . ."

Of "estranged labour," the basis of exploitative relations, Marx wrote, "In estranging from man (1) nature, and (2) himself, his own active functions. . . . estranged labour estranges the *species* from man. It changes for him the *life of the species* into a means of individual life and secondly it makes individual life in its abstract form the purpose of the life of the species, likewise in its abstract and estranged form." (Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844," p. 276)

Explaining further, Marx wrote, ". . . in degrading spontaneous, free activity to a means, estranged labour makes man's species-life a means to his physical existence.

"The consciousness which man has of his species is thus transformed by estrangement in such a way that species (life) becomes for him a means.

"Estranged labour turns thus:

"(3) Man's *species being*, both nature and his spiritual species property, into a being alien to him, into a *means* for his individual existence. It estranges from man his own body, as well as external nature and his spiritual aspect, his human aspect.

"(4) An immediate consequence of the fact that man is estranged from the product of his labour, from his life activity, from his species-being is the *estrangement of man from man*. When man confronts himself, he confronts the *other man*. What applies to a man's relation to his work, to the product of his labour and to himself, also holds of a man's relation to the other man, and to the other man's labour." (*Ibid.*, p. 277)

Please excuse the long quotes, comrades, but Marx no doubt can explain these ideas better than myself. Finally, what is important in all this was summed up also by Marx, who pointed out:

"Through *estranged, alienated labour*, then, the worker produces the relationship to this labour of a man alien to labour and standing outside it. The relationship of the worker to labour creates the relation to it of the capitalist (or whatever one chooses to call the master of labour). *Private property* is thus the product, the result, the necessary consequence, of *alienated labour*, of the external relation of the worker to nature and to himself." (*Ibid.*, p. 279)

Capitalism cannot be understood or defeated as simply the highest stage of private property. On the contrary, we must understand capitalism—the final and highest stage of private property as "the product, the result, the necessary consequence" of the final and highest stage of the alienation of labour—"of the external relation of the worker (the individual producer—R.G.) to nature and to himself." This external relation of the worker to society (i.e., nature and self) is seen clearly in the very real fact "desperate conditions" create a "revolutionary mood" among the masses and that these conditions are, as best we can tell, the primary cause for such a mood. This proves that in fact the laws of commodity circulation and accumula-

tion exist as a force which acts independently of and on the individual producers. Marx pointed out that, "The transformation, through the division of labour, of personal powers (relations) into material powers cannot be dispelled by dismissing the general idea of it from one's mind, but can only be abolished by the individuals again subjecting these material powers to themselves and abolishing the division of labour." (Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, "The German Ideology," p. 78)

Marx pointed out again, "*Private property* thus results by analysis from the concept of *alienated labour*." Explaining further, ". . . analysis of this concept shows that though private property appears to be the reason, the cause of alienated labour, it is rather its consequence, just as the gods are *originally* not the cause, but the effect of man's intellectual confusion. Later this relationship becomes reciprocal." (Marx, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-80) Marx saw that—and shows that—"The worker produces capital, capital produces him. . . he produces himself. . . man as a worker, as a commodity." (*Ibid.*, p. 283)

By viewing society and social life in a restricted, fettered, manner as a *means* of individual life—a development which reaches its greatest height with the development of capitalism, i.e. exchange society in which all (or most) relationships are dominated by exchange and mediated with money—the worker's personal powers are transformed into material powers. Through estrangement, the personal powers are given an objectivity of their own which is independent of that producer and which becomes operable through the division of labor. The consequence of this, or its objectification, is realized in private property—which in capitalism also achieves its greatest development as the apparent independent circulation of commodities which regulates exchange society, capitalism—which in its material force fetters future development by (re)producing the worker as a commodity. Labour is, after all, the "*subjective essence* of private property—*private property* as activity for itself, as subject."

It is important that we begin to understand this and its implications. If it is not understood, Marxism turns into idealistic mechanical materialism, as witnessed fully developed in the productive forces theory, or in a less developed, less dangerous, more militant or even "progressive" or "revolutionary" form, in the Drafts. The new Communist man will emerge through the creation of a new environment; a kind of variation of the liberal notion that a man is a "product of his environment." One is given a list of reforms which are highly praised as to their value and significance; but one gets no sense of where the force and possibility of those changes comes from. One gets no sense of how man really *acts* on society. After all, the basis for the emergence of the new Communist man will only be laid to the degree that that man already exists and creates those conditions. On the contrary, then, it is only by grasping the idea of the radical transformation of *man*, which we claim as our goal and as the possibility revealed by our science, that it is possible to grasp the key to changing reality.

It seems that what is to be gained here is an understanding that the subject—the individual—must be made conscious of how it is fettered, in terms of both activity and attitude, and how that fettering is an actual fettering of material life and as such increasingly fetters the subject in both aspects. It seems that in fact the subject's awareness of this fettering is in fact the first step the subject must take in transforming reality and itself. This is the first step the subject must take in subjecting the material powers it sets in motion *spontaneously*, by spontaneously fettering itself to its conscious control. The subject must be made to grasp the full implications of its activity on reality, that by approaching social life with a restricted and fettered attitude, as a means to maintain physical existence, the individual does his part in unleashing the forces of capitalism.

It could be said—to anticipate some arguments in closing—that crisis may indeed act on man from without but that it does make him aware of the personal nature of society's social power. Actually, on the contrary, in time of crisis men are made aware of the personal nature of social power only in so far as they are made aware—increasingly aware, even—of the personal *effect* of social forces. Contrarily, what is important in understanding the personal nature of social forces is understanding man at the basis of those forces. This alone gives one consciousness that social forces cannot only be reformed—i.e., piecemeal change—but can be changed fundamentally and radically. This is why Reich's observation is important for anyone serious about revolution and why a more conscious understanding of the real subjective factor in social development—alienation—is necessary to make possible the real revolutionary transformation of reality. Society (human reality) can only be transformed when all men are revolutionaries in that they adopt a revolutionary orientation—simply expressed by Mao: "It's right to rebel." But in order for this to happen, men must no longer be alienated from themselves or from reality, but must consciously understand the totality of the connections between the two and not be overcome by the spontaneity that attends commodity consciousness. Consciousness which, approaching social life as a means of existence, sees only society's spontaneous actions as those means. No new productive forces, or relations, actually, appear under capitalism because everything that does appear which even implies some other form of existence is not really developed until it too has been converted into a *means*. Understanding consciously the totality of his relation with society, the conscious—i.e. "revolutionary"—individual understands that the restricted view of species-social-life as a means of individual life becomes a material force, through the division of labor. Understanding the totality of his relations, the conscious individual in turn understands that the material force thusly set in motion has an effect on people, making them and himself increasingly fettered and also increasingly fettering society, *all* as means; posited abstractly as means by society *and* themselves. This is the genuine significance of consciousness in the socialist revolution and why it must be conscious; socialism is the grasping of the implications created by man's appearance as nature's bearer of *conscious* activity.

The above arguments leave a great deal to be desired—particularly in terms of practical significance and particular application. It is hoped that mutual struggle and study will draw out the practical particularities of these arguments. I have above implied some ideas about culture and am in fact preparing a more complete analysis of culture that is informed by the above viewpoints. Though that is not immediately relevant to the present discussions over the Drafts, I think that the above viewpoints have some fairly clear and important implications on culture and education that I hope will be discussed later. Pressed for time, I was more inclined to present the above arguments in a general form because the general manifestation of a mechanical outlook seems to me to be more dangerous and therefore important because in particulars of application the RCP firmly stands with the people. It seems this is why the RCP has been able to so far stand up against international revisionism without completely abandoning the theoretical—and possibly ideological—stand of the revisionists. How long this can be maintained is not important—rather, that it cannot be maintained. I think that it is important that this error be pointed out in the general form in which it exists and where it shows itself most broadly.

Anyway, in line with continuing the struggle and study over these points, I would suggest that comrades study the above cited works by Marx, in addition to Russell Jacoby's "Social Amnesia: A Critique of Conformist Psychology from Adler to Laing"; George Lukacs' "History and Class Consciousness," particularly the repudiated article on "Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat." Also any of Freud's work—particularly "Totem and Taboo"—would be helpful, as would that of the so-called "Frankfurt School," most notably Herbert Marcuse: "Eros and Civilization"; "Towards a Critique of Marxist Aesthetics"; "One-Dimensional Man"; or "Negations." Stanley Aronowitz has also done some good work around bourgeois—i.e. alienated—education, in particular, though I can't remember any titles.

—Conspire! Bloom 100 Flowers!

R.G.

Continued on page 23

## Dare to Grapple with the Battle Plan for Revolution!

### New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (Drafts for Discussion)

"Whether revolution will be able to prevent world war, whether war, if it does break out, will give rise to revolution or yet another round on the rack of capitalism—these urgent questions depend in part on what we do."

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# DRAFT PROGRAMME

Continued from page 22

## Notes on Draft Programme, "Organs of Political Power"

That the new Draft Programme is a big advance over the old Programme is especially apparent when comparing the section "The Proletariat Upon Seizing Power Will Immediately Take Up the Transformation of All Society" in the new DP with the section in the old Programme on "Socialism and Communism". The question of how to revamp all society in the interests of the vast majority of people is taken far beyond the old rather general bare bones outline of what the future would hold.

Already today and in a dramatically increasing way, millions will be looking for a way out of the madness of imperialism, searching out and comparing and contrasting the various solutions offered by different forces. The Programme of the Party must present to these people the most radical, and the only realistic, solution in a sweeping scientific way and also address in a particular, specific way exactly what the Party of the Proletariat intends to do and how.

As I said, I think the new DP is a great advance in this respect, however, I think there is one section in particular that needs to be fleshed out more—the section on "Organs of Political Power." The section addresses the question of "how to smash and dismantle the old forms of rule and political institutions and create in their place new ones which actually represent, rely on, and involve the masses in ruling and remolding society in their interests." As far as it goes, what this section has to say about this seems correct, but for me (and for several people I've discussed the DP with, mainly in the petty bourgeoisie) it raised more questions than it answers. I agree that, as is stated in this section of the DP and elsewhere (p. 88) it is impossible to provide more than a basic picture now, the DP can't be a detailed blueprint because what steps are taken in the future will depend on the particular conditions at that time and also that the organizations of the masses created before and during the revolution will lay the basis for Organs of Power in the future socialist state, but it seems to me that more can be said in a general way than is in the Draft.

It should be stated that there will be a governmental structure separate from but led by the Party. That there will be representative bodies, congresses (?), at various levels leading up to a national governing body, which, led by the Party, would govern the affairs of the socialist state. These representative bodies would be based on the forms of mass organization developed leading up to and during the seizure of power. This national body could finalize a constitution detailing the rights of the people, the structure of the state, etc.

Another fundamental principal that the DP could go into is that such governing bodies would not be parliamentary, with the separation of executive and legislative functions, but as part of ending the separation of leaders and the masses would be a working body that implemented decisions not just issued them from on high.

Perhaps I am off in thinking that the structure of the state and organs of power can be more clearly outlined at this point. One thing that has become clear to me in the course of studying and thinking about this question is how little I understand about the dictatorship of the proletariat and how the working class implemented its rule in Paris, Russia and China. It is however a question which concerns the masses and which, in my experience, with a few people, they want a fuller answer to them given in the DP.

## The Role of GIs in the Preparation For and the Armed Seizure of Power Revolutionary Mass Organization

The debate raging in the pages of the *RW* over the Draft Programme and Draft Constitution of the RCP, USA is great! Even though in my opinion most of the criticisms so far have been wrong, the process of struggle and debate over what is correct and what isn't, over the application of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions in the world and in this country today, is a tremendous thing which deepens and sharpens the revolutionary understanding of all of us participating (even those only reading), and further deepens and sharpens the final document and correct line of the RCP which will emerge from this process. The original document is an incredible thing—what an advance over the old Programme and Constitution of the RCP, what a sweeping, dynamic and revolutionary view of the struggle and the future, and what a staunch proletarian internationalist outlook! (It infuriates me, by the way, that some who have written in criticize the proletarian internationalism of the DP, and then raise bullshit—The DP & C is pregnant with the revolutionary stand of the international working class. But that's not what I wanted to write about.)

The fact that the DP is so profound and so revolutionary has initially made me a bit hesitant to criticize it, but that is wrong, we *must* "Dare to Grapple with the Battle Plan for Revolution!" So anyway, I do have something that I would like to throw into the struggle and debate in the hopes that it will help to sharpen up the final result. Who knows, even if this isn't overall correct, it may spark some other thinking which will contribute to the process.

After all, a previous letter was what started me thinking about the subject of

this one. I'm referring to the last letter on the DP in the Oct. 17 *RW* (pp. 16-17) titled "Organs of Political Power." I don't agree with most of its points. Its first suggestion, that the paragraph on the proletarian armed forces (DP, p. 41) should include points about iron discipline and the appointment and removal of officers, is not appropriate because that section is dealing with a bigger and more general question about the smashing and dismantling of the old and the creation of the new forms of rule, etc. The revolutionary armed forces are raised as an example in this connection and the points raised in the letter are unnecessary here and would take away from the overall point. Further I think the main danger we will face in the proletarian armed forces will be being too much like the old top-down bourgeois military, so I agree with the emphasis in this section.

Also I don't agree with the next criticism raised which says the DP is one-sided. I think the line in the DP about the revolutionary armed forces being "closely linked with and rely(ing) on the masses of people for support" is a political as well as a material description and I think it is correct.

The last point raised in this letter, however, I do think is relevant. Specifically, "These GIs will be a significant element, to be won over, if not already won, re-educated and integrated into the revolutionary forces."

Now, before I get into a tangle about where this should be or shouldn't be in the Programme or where it is or isn't already (for example, it is raised partly on the same p. 41 and also on pp. 18-19 in a more complete and all-sided way), I think it would be best to put forward my overall political position on this question.

Specifically I want to talk about the role of GIs in the preparations for and in the actual armed seizure of power in this country. This question, while not perceptually slapping us in the face at the present time, will become a gigantic one in the years ahead. World war *is* coming and the closer it gets, massive numbers of workers and other oppressed masses (including proletarian youth, oppressed minorities and lower level petty bourgeoisie) will be press-ganged and otherwise driven into the imperialist military. I don't think we are talking about a small part of the population either, it could easily be tens of millions, especially if the war is actually under way before we approach a revolutionary situation. How we deal with this will be decisive to the armed insurrection.

I think, in a country like the U.S., that before the proletariat, led by its Party, can actually initiate the armed uprising it must have *already* won over and/or neutralized significant sections of the bourgeois military. In fact, that this is happening should be one of the key indications that the moment for insurrection is near. The reason for this is that in a highly industrialized and urban country like the U.S., where an armed insurrection followed by a period of civil war is the correct process for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, we will have the necessity to pass, at the commencement of open armed hostilities, almost immediately (perhaps within a matter of hours) from a military situation of overall strategic defensive to the strategic offensive, placing the initiative firmly and decisively in the proletarian camp. To do this requires not only a massive uprising of the masses generally, especially the proletariat, but also requires a rapid disintegration of large parts of the bourgeois military as well as the outright allegiance of sections of it (entire units as well as individuals) to the proletarian cause.

By way of example, I will make some comparisons to the Russian Revolution of October 1917, which, although obviously different in many ways from what we will likely experience in the U.S., does represent the closest living example to what our insurrection will look like. The sailors and soldiers were instrumental in the insurrection and civil war in the Soviet Union, and in fact the majority of the armed insurrectionary forces in Petrograd, the main focus along with Moscow of the insurrection, were sailors and soldiers (approximately 2/3 during the storming of the Winter Palace, for example, the rest being the workers' Red Guards). Further, virtually the entire Baltic Fleet, including full detachments of sailors and complete Naval flotillas, immediately sided with the Bolsheviks, and most of the soldiers in the Petrograd and Moscow garrisons and on the war fronts were either won over or neutralized.

This does not take away from the political leadership of the working class through its Party, because the proletarian line was in firm command. In addition the Red Guards were the political backbone even in the armed struggle along with the sailors who were mostly proletarians (as opposed to the soldiers who were principally drawn from the peasants). However, it must be said, that the largest number of organized, disciplined, and well trained armed units (as well as the largest number, period) in the initial phases of the armed struggle in the key cities of the Soviet Union were ex-elements of the bourgeois military. I think we must pay keen attention to this fact. I think it is likely this will be even truer in this country for several reasons: 1) the overwhelming majority of the bourgeois military personnel will be proletarians. 2) In the most likely event that we won't see a revolutionary situation until during the coming war, the bourgeois military will contain massive numbers of armed and angry members of the working class and oppressed minorities (many millions more than in the Russian military). 3) In this age of complicated technological weaponry the time it takes to train inexperienced revolutionary forces will be longer and will be a factor, although not the decisive factor.

Lenin often stressed the role of sailors and soldiers, pointing out that in wartime they play "an exceptionally big role in all state affairs." (Vol. 26, p. 79) In

Continued on page 27

# Government Appeal De

Bob Avakian and the

In the brief time since the U.S. government sharply escalated its attack on the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Chairman of its Central Committee, Bob Avakian, the RCP, the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants, and angry and determined people from the broad masses have responded with swiftness. Once again, all eyes are being focused on this battle where the enemy, the imperialist bourgeoisie, is attempting to snatch away the revolutionary leadership from the masses.

As reported in last week's RW, on October 21, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals ruled against Comrade Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants, indicted on multiple felony charges which stem from a police attack on the January 1979 demonstration against the U.S. visit of Chinese revisionist leader Deng Xiaoping. In the face of broad opposition, the trial court was forced to dismiss the charges in November of last year; the government appealed this decision and, as anticipated, the appellate court reinstated the charges and with them the possible 241 years in prison faced by Comrade Avakian and the other defendants.

In a speech given last November in Washington, D.C. shortly after the charges were temporarily dismissed, Bob Avakian made a key political point, full of lessons especially for the struggle around the Mao Defendants. And in the face of the recent escalation of the attack on the Party, these same words ring out with even greater significance now:

"We have to understand that it's a battle. We have fought to keep them from carrying through this railroad and we can and we will fight to keep them from using murder or any other means to crush and cripple and destroy the vanguard Party, the necessary weapon of the working class and the masses of people to rise up and make revolution in this country. We are determined to wage that battle and more than that we are determined to win it. The masses of people, no matter what they think, have something to say about whether or not they can destroy the revolutionary vanguard Party in this country."

The dismissal of the charges represented a tactical retreat, one aimed at dissipating the sharp opposition to the government by temporarily burying the case. Now the government has returned and escalated its attack on the RCP by dropping any pretense that this is a "criminal" trial, and openly indicating the trial's political nature.

But the government maneuver has already started to backfire.

That great attention is focused on the case of the Mao Defendants was illustrated last week by a conversation between an RW correspondent and a secretary in the clerk's office of the D.C. Court of Appeals. The secretary was asked for "a copy of the court decision which came down last week." She responded, "Oh, you mean the Schiller decision (the official government name of the Mao Tsetung Defendants case is "U.S. vs. Schiller"—RW). Yes, that's very popular." When she was asked how many had been printed and distributed, she said, "I don't really know the exact number, but I do know that it's been very popular, we printed a very large number of them and now in fact we have to limit them to only two copies per person." And right after that, in fact, they ran out altogether and had to reprint.

But there is more than attention focused on this case—there is sharp outrage. This was powerfully concentrated at a press conference on October 30 called by the Party and the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants. At the press conference, the terms of the latest phase of this battle were laid out, and a number of telegrams—sent to the Committee and the D.C. Court of Appeals—were read. More telegrams continue, and must continue, to pour in. Some of these are reprinted below:

Oct. 29, 1980

**Mary Alice Theiler, President, National Lawyers Guild**

The National Lawyers Guild has always taken a firm stand against the repressive use of the legal system in political trials. The opinion of the three-judge panel of the D.C. Court of Appeals, reversing a finding by the District Court of prosecutorial vindictiveness in the prosecution of the Mao Tsetung Defendants, has condoned a governmental attempt to repress political expression and dissent in this case. The District Court found actual vindictiveness by the prosecution in getting additional indictments against the defendants after they had exercised a legal right—a request for a joined trial. By adding additional charges with additional penalties, the government cynically stated that it was "giving them what they asked for." Unfortunately, as noted by the dissenting Judge Mack, the Circuit Court has substituted its own fact-finding for that of the district judge, which was overwhelmingly supported by the record. Like Judge Mack, we find the actions of the D.C. Circuit Court "troubling, and its holding contra to established law."

Oct. 30, 1980

**Matt Piers, Chairperson of the National Lawyers Guild Committee on Government Repression and Police Crime**

I want to express outrage and dismay at the recent ruling of the D.C. Court of Appeals in the case of the U.S. vs. Schiller, the Mao Tsetung Defendants case. In an opinion which appeared more politically motivated than any action by the prosecution, the Court of Appeals has reinstated criminal charges by generally avoiding the fact that the trial court based its dismissal of those charges on a finding of actual prosecutorial vindictiveness.

In a review of this ruling, it is apparent that the court's unreasoned rejection of the trial court's finding and the defendants' arguments is uncritical acceptance of the prosecution's position.

The National Lawyers Guild urges the Court of Appeals to reconsider this dangerous and unprincipled ruling and to allow the court's dismissal to stand.

**San Francisco Chinatown childcare workers, parents and staff**  
To the Court of Appeals:

We denounce your court's decision to uphold the prosecution in its attempt to jail Bob Avakian and 16 others for 241 years. This is nothing less than a political attack on the broader interests of the people. There are many who are consciously acting on what they understand is out there—the stakes of the future. Like the Berrigan brothers, who went up against the U.S. war plans by obstructing the building of weapons for use in the next world war. Right now we are acting on what we see is going on through this trial. Your democracy was only meant to preserve and protect the present and future needs of the rich class.

Stop the railroad of Bob Avakian and the 16 other Mao Defendants!

**8 workers from the Ford Rouge Plant in Dearborn, Michigan**

We auto workers from the Ford Rouge plant, Dearborn, Michigan, say, "Do you think the world is the same as one year ago? The system you are swarming to defend is growing weaker, and heading toward world war. On May 1st, a force was born, a class-conscious section of the working class. Our eyes are open wide. We join our brothers and sisters worldwide, and will not stop until our job is done. No wonder you fear and are desperate to stop the revolutionary leadership of Bob Avakian. Raise your executioner's ax over the head of Bob Avakian—we will be part of a mighty fist to deflect it, grab it, and turn it toward the system which so richly deserves it.

DROP THE CHARGES! STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN!

**Washington, D.C. "Smash H-Block Committee"**

Today in the north of Ireland there are over 3000 prisoners out of a population of 1½ million. The majority of these prisoners have been tortured and locked up for their political beliefs. Even at this moment 500 of the Irish prisoners are protesting for political status. Knowing how precarious political freedoms are, we are only too aware that if the indictment of Bob Avakian is allowed to stand, the hands of strangulation will have been placed around the throats of our own political freedom. Free all political prisoners now!

**Bertell Ollman, Professor, Dept. of Politics, New York University**  
To the D.C. Court of Appeals—

Dear Sirs:

The prosecutors of Bob Avakian and the other Mao Tsetung Defendants were clearly and terribly vindictive, and it was a mark of good sense as well as justice to have recognized this and dropped the charges against these defendants. To renew these charges in light of these facts seems grossly unfair. Either there was prosecutorial vindictiveness or there was not. Having already decided that there was, and that this is grounds for dismissal, I cannot grasp the moral, let alone the legal basis for renewing the charges. Or have we simply exchanged prosecutorial vindictiveness for judicial vindictiveness? I urge you to drop the charges now.

Sincerely yours,  
Bertell Ollman

**Dan Sheehan, lawyer in the Karen Silkwood case**

I expressly endorse the dissenting opinion of Judge Mack, and agree with her observation that Judge Pryor has both ignored the legal precedent in this jurisdiction and followed faulty logic in reaching his opinion. This case is an ideal case for review.

Please accept my apologies for not being able to be present with you today; but I have to be in Greensboro, North Carolina to file the federal civil rights act suit against the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party, and the Greensboro Police Department for the killing of the labor organizers there last year.

"This decision doesn't just mean that we are back to square 1 in the case, but represents a serious escalation which must be met in exactly the way that forced the government to back off the case last November, with an outpouring of support by thousands of people from all walks of life. Specifically, we're calling on people to rise to the challenge and send letters and telegrams in protest of this outrageous decision to the D.C. Court of Appeals, contribute money needed to fight this railroad both in the courts and out among the people, and step forward and build political opposition to this railroad in their local areas."

Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants

Rise to the challenge! Send letters and telegrams to:

D.C. Court of Appeals  
500 Indiana Avenue N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20001

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

# Decision Sparks Outrage

## Mao Tsetung Defendants



Bob Avakian

### Joseph Forer, civil liberties lawyer

The decision on the appeal is an outrage. It's a completely unreasoned, unconscionable approval of prosecutorial vindictiveness.

### Doug Cassel, Chicago lawyer

The vindictive prosecution of the Mao Defendants is a sneak preview of what's in store for many dissenters in the '80s unless this blatant repression is stopped, and stopped now. Send the government a message for the '80s—one that it won't forget for 241 years.

### 6 Seattle attorneys

We strongly condemn the reversal by the U.S. Court of Appeals of a lower court order dismissing the charges against Bob Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants. We call for the immediate dismissal of all charges—a 25 felony count against each of the defendants—and an end to this political attack once and for all.

### Arnold Townsend, Executive Director of the Western Addition Project Area Committee, San Francisco

We protest the government's reinstating the charges. Harassment must stop. We support the right of Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants to be on the street and to be free.

### 2 D.C. lawyers, Brad Stetler and Norm Townsend

As private practitioners of criminal law in Washington, D.C., we are deeply disturbed by the recent decision of the D.C. Court of Appeals reversing the trial court's decision to dismiss the indictments against the 17 Mao Defendants. The majority opinion abandoned the clear factual findings of trial court that the prosecutor's actions were vindictive, and the court abruptly departed from unquestioned precedent in this jurisdiction to rule against the defendants. In effect, the court covered for the inconsistent positions of the prosecutors, drawing at straws in an attempt to rationalize its ruling. The political basis of the court's decision is clear. Despite lip service to the ideals of judicial neutrality and independence, the courts and the prosecutor are cogs in the same government, and the purpose of that government is to repress radicals and dissidents in their struggle against the existing order.

### 2 students at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois—Co-coordinator of the Progressive Student Coalition, and Treasurer of the Coalition Against a Radioactive Environment

We condemn the railroading of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants on trumped-up charges arising from the demonstration against

## 1979 Interview with Chairman

# The Enemy's Dilemma and the Proletariat's Strategy in the Case of the Mao Defendants

*The following interview with Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, by Paul Valentine a reporter for the Washington Post took place last year before the government was forced to retreat and maneuver in the Mao Tsetung Defendants' case, throwing the case out of court in the face of significant and growing broad mass support for dropping the charges. With the recent decision by the government to put its railroad of the Chairman and the 16 other defendants back on track, this interview is quite relevant to the current situation.*

**P.V.:** As you say, one of your roles is to expose to the world the inequities and evils of the system, and that's what you're doing now by broadcasting to the world what's happening in the trial of the seventeen defendants in November, right? At the same time you're doing that, you and your lawyers, through the method of filing motions, are asking the judge to put a stop to that very exploitation and evil system you're talking about. You're asking for some kind of equity in the court and you're asking the judge to correct it. All right, let's

say for the sake of discussion, that the judge does go along with *all* the motions and supports them. And rules in favor of the defendants and throws the whole thing out. That does two things: one is that it tends to show that there are internal corrective mechanisms within the system, and it also takes away at least that immediate, tactical weapon that you've been using of the, uh, statements that you've been putting out on behalf of your own trial. Your own upcoming case. So you're saying—this system is exploiting and this is why it is, and they're trying to railroad us in a political trial, hiding behind a smokescreen of calling it a criminal trial. Now if the judge ends up ruling in your favor in those rulings, it seems to me that whole process comes to a halt. Therefore, to take it one step further, under a Marxist strategy, I should think that you would *not* want the judge to rule in your favor. I want you to respond to that.

**B.A.:** Okay, well you see, I think when we talk about exposing the system, we're not talking about creating the inequities. When we say exposure we mean bring to light what exists. We mean revealing what is. We don't mean inventing—the operation of this system is criminal. So that's the first thing. When

Continued on page 26

Deng Xiaoping in January 1979. The political nature of this trial is going to become clearer to more and more people if you continue the prosecution. We say, drop all the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

### Gary Leutt, teaching assistant at the University of Hawaii, History Department

Some criminals, these revolutionaries who defended Mao Tsetung! Some crime, this demonstration canceled by the authorities minutes before it was scheduled to begin! Some felony, defending oneself against police who attack without warning!

Judge, as you scurry to put this railroad back on the track and prepare to imprison 17 people for life, consider what kind of sentence you will face when the people, ground down by the system you defend, pronounce their verdict on you.

Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

### 4 revolutionary musicians in Chicago

The latest attacks on Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants are one more indictment against the rulers of this country and the government. The outrage of the people will continue to be heard until even the dogs who bring these plastic laminated fools their slippers in the evening are taking chunks out of their legs.

### Jim Stanbury, member, South Bay Chapter, ACLU

I'm outraged about the continuing attack on Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants. Drop the charges once and for all.

### 4 revolutionary Salvadorans in Chicago

We demand the freedom of Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party. The forces around the **Revolutionary Worker**, and conscious people, will struggle until Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants are free. This case is a farce, with the intent to smash the revolutionary movement in the U.S. by taking our leadership. We can see how desperate the rulers of this country are in their efforts to expand their empire, and how the revolutionary struggles around the world are gaining strength and threatening their rule. They won't be able to stop the revolutionary forces here either, who are showing the people the way out of this hell-hole—revolution. We will use this attack to expose even more the bloody nature of these imperialist rulers. We will continue our struggle to free Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, and to overthrow imperialism in the name of the working class here and around the world.

# Enemy's Dilemma

Continued from page 25

we say exposure we mean precisely that—shining a light on what exists and helping people to understand rationally how these things relate to each other and how they all stem from that one source.

The court system is a part of the dictatorship that exists in this country and it's completely unjust for the masses of people in this country. Whether we are found "not guilty" by a jury or whether the judge feels he has to throw out this case, will in no way change that. It doesn't change the fact that every day, thousands of poor people and working-class people and oppressed people are being herded through these courtrooms and stuck away for long periods of time for the crime of being poor, for the crime of being oppressed and for the crime of not owning capital, and in some way or another for having run up against the capitalist dictatorship and so having its fist slammed down on them... What's involved here is that they exercise dictatorship—which doesn't mean like high school textbook or fairy tale definitions of dictatorship—it means the rule of one class over another, fundamentally. The capitalist class rules over and exploits the working class, politically dominates the life of the country in its own interests and oppresses the majority of people. Its court system and everything else is set up to reflect that. But being an exploiting class, it represents a minority and represents enslavers, represents people who oppress the majority. They have to try to cover this up. They have to try and pretend that in fact, they are not oppressing and exploiting and dictating to the majority of the society.

And you see, they also have a particular kind of slavery that's different—in the old slave system, the slave owners didn't have to try to pretend that they were not dictating to the slaves. That was obvious and clear. They just developed theories and rationalizations to say that they *deserved* to do that because the slaves were inferior, sub-human, or what have you. Now the capitalists also have their ideologies and so-called sociologies and other theories to explain that the workers and the oppressed people are inferior to them, and to say that therefore, this is the only rational way to organize society because they're the only ones with the brains and the know-how and the initiative. The workers are dumb, stupid and lazy. Therefore everything is as it should be. But they can't simply rely on that. You see, their form of enslavement is one where you are so-called "free" to choose who exploits you. This provides them with both the need and the possibility to cover up or to attempt to cover up the fact that the essence is still one of enslavement and one of oppression. In other words, if you don't like working for General Motors, you don't have to work for General Motors, you can starve. Or you can try to go to work for Chrysler or U.S. Steel. But you're going to find that no matter who you work for, if you are able to get a job, you're going to be in the same social relations and the same conditions of exploitation because these people dominate all the large factories and banks. They control the means to life and if you want to live, you have to work for them. But the form of it is one where you are apparently "free." You're not a slave to be owned outright and tied to a piece of land. So you can be "free" to starve or to choose one exploiter or another.

What goes on then in these courtrooms is that they set up these legal procedures to exercise their political control and their dictatorship but they also have to try and cover it up. This is in fact to their advantage. In other words, if they were to come out openly and say: "We are the capitalists. We control everything. All you are our slaves. You will do as we say and not step out of line." If they were to do that, then they'd be exposing themselves much more rapidly. Instead they do it much more subtly. Have you ever read anything by this guy who used to write for the *New York Times*, a sports columnist, Robert Lipsyte? Well, he wrote a book called *Sports World* in which he

made a comparison which I thought was kind of interesting, about how sports writers learn what *not* to write, and I think it applies more generally. The first day the sports writer walks in to work wearing a blue sweater and a green hat and somebody punches him in the mouth. The next day he walks in wearing no blue sweater but still wearing a green hat and somebody punches him in the mouth. The third day he walks in with neither a blue sweater nor a green hat and nothing happens. Lipsyte's summation is: nobody ever has to tell the sports writer after that not to wear a green hat anymore. And that's the way they do it in this society. They don't usually come out openly and shoot you down and club you. They do that enough one way or another to tell you what your place is so that only when people find their conditions dramatically changed do they say, "Fuck it. I want to go up against it anyway. I don't care if they do come out with the club and the gun." Do you see what I'm saying? And that happens all the time in this society, but only when it happens in a massive way do you have a revolution.

So they put up this facade, this facade of democracy, of "equality before the law," and so on, and the *normal function* of their machinery is enough to keep most people in their place in so-called normal times, even though people hate it and try and find different ways to resist it. When we go out and talk about revolution and they tell us—"Hey look, they got tanks, airplanes, and everything else." People are pretty clear about that so it takes pretty desperate conditions. So, it's a complex question but basically to try and boil it down simply—the judge, the capitalist system, and its representatives, have this contradiction. Their courts are part of their apparatus of dictatorship but they have to maintain the facade of democracy. Therefore they get caught up because of that. There are certain contradictions they face and that's why I said it's more their problem than ours, fundamentally. Although it is a problem for us, you know, being indicted and facing this time in jail. I don't mean to belittle the seriousness of that. But in a sense they have a more fundamental problem. And that gives us some room to maneuver, and we take advantage of that contradiction. We continue to expose that it's actually *dictatorship*, but we also take advantage of the contradiction.

We're fighting to preserve and strengthen our Party because without our Party there can't be a revolution in this country and these conditions are not going to be changed without a revolution, and without our Party to lead it. So we take advantage of that. In other words, we don't accept their rules. We don't play by their rules in any fundamental sense, but we bring that contradiction to bear on them: "You're trying to maintain the illusion of democracy—therefore what we do is file motions and other things, the essence of which is to say—you're not even playing by your own rules." That's the essence of what we're doing in court, saying, you're not even playing by your own rules. Now, that puts them in a position of having to choose, "Are we going to acknowledge or make it easier for the RCP to expose that we only play by our rules until we think we don't have to or until we think we shouldn't, until we're in a situation where even those rules aren't good enough and we have to even go beyond that? To expose the fact that we make the rules and we can change them when we get ready and that the fundamental thing is that we're going to run this society—OR—do we not feel like risking that and is it better for us politically to get rid of this problem (i.e., this case) and to dump this, to let these people off this time and then do precisely what you're saying, come out and say, 'You see, democracy can work here.'"

That's the choice they have to make. That's their choice. Fundamentally that's not going to get decided by what goes on in the courtroom. Fundamentally that's going to be decided by what political situation they see shaping up.

In other words, if they see, for example, thousands and thousands of people here in D.C. and around the country, coming to see more sharply through our work around this what the nature of their court system is and how this case is just typical (this is not atypical, this is *typical* in a concentrated form of what life and political and economic conditions are like in this country for millions of people), then they're going to have that choice much more sharply presented to them: "If we go ahead with this case and we find these people guilty, it's going to expose us to thousands and maybe millions of people more sharply. On the other hand if we don't proceed with this case then it's going to be a victory for the RCP, much as we will get out there and say that this proves that democracy works. They're still going to have exposed us and in fact, defeated us in this battle." So they're going to have to weigh that.

There's another element they have to weigh. They obviously are trying to infiltrate the RCP. You know, the FBI acknowledges that it's doing that. We know that they're still carrying out CO-INTELPRO stuff and so on. What we're demanding in these motions is that a lot of that stuff be revealed, because it's obviously relevant to our defense.

**P.V.:** You have motions on surveillance?

**B.A.:** Yeah. This is important, especially if you have an "aiding and abetting" case, right? Now, if they're saying you "aided and abetted" an "unknown principal," it's quite relevant to your defense to know if that "unknown" person was a police agent. I mean, a police agent threw a rock and then we're all guilty by mere presence at a demonstration of "aiding and abetting" a police agent. So we're demanding to know this. Now they've got to weigh this also because they face the question: do they want to reveal the extent of and the particulars of their surveillance? Do they want to expose this? For example, suppose they're trying to work certain agents into our ranks, do they want to expose them? Do they want to come out and acknowledge that? Do they figure that this RCP is going to be around and it poses a much deeper and more fundamental threat than just this one political action, therefore, it's more valuable and important to them, you know, to take their time and to try to sink their agents deeper into our ranks rather than revealing them right now just to get this conviction? They're going to have to weigh that too, if you see what I'm saying.

So really, you see, what we are doing, the way we're doing this legal case as well as the motions and so on, really amounts to this. We're saying, you're not even playing by your own rules. You *claim* to have these rules that are "due process," "fair procedure," and so on. You're not even playing by your own rules, which are rigged to begin with. We don't say their rules are fair, we say they're rigged to begin with to enforce the capitalists' rule, but you're not even playing by those rules. That's what our motions amount to. Now what are they going to do about it? Now the ball is in their court, you see what I mean? If they say, "You're right, fuck it. We don't have to play by even those rigged rules when we don't want to and we think it's time and enough's at stake to suspend those rules and introduce some new rules and we can do it and that's all there is to it," well, they can say that, and then that is more exposure. Do you see what I'm getting at?

**P.V.:** Yeah. Am I summarizing it correctly to say that either way it goes, you win? Because in effect if either the judge or the jury lets you off, that's vindication that shows you were wrongly arrested, wrongly charged and wrongly processed. If you're convicted, then you'll campaign that point; the system was successful, was designed to keep you down and successfully did it in this case by convicting you and sending you off to jail.

**B.A.:** Well, it's not quite so simple as that. If we lose the case, that will be a defeat. If we are convicted, that will be a defeat for us, there's no getting around that. We do not want to be convicted. In other words, it's not like,

"Who cares. Heads we win, tails they lose." We do not want to be convicted! That would be a crippling blow against our Party and against building a revolutionary movement in this country. But and therefore, we're going to fight mainly by mobilizing and doing political work among masses of people to expose what's going on here and to rally them in support of our fight, as well as by our legal maneuvers which also have a political thrust to them. (Our whole legal strategy is to bring out the political nature of what's going on here. It's not to wrangle with them about the niceties of the law.) Now, we believe that defeats can be turned into their opposites. You can, in fact, by working and by regrouping, overcome defeats and move forward in the face of defeats. So if we're convicted, we're not going to give up. We're not just going to say, "Well, they're too powerful. You can't do anything." We are going to use that as a further exposure. But there's no getting around the fact that would be a defeat for us. It won't in any way lessen our determination to work for revolution, nor will it prevent us from carrying out work for revolution. But it certainly would be a crippling blow and I don't want to try and downplay that. We're taking this extremely seriously. If we do suffer at the hands of that defeat, we will do what you have to do—which is to regroup to go out and use that as more material for exposure, as well as everything else going on in society...

**P.V.:** Will it be a defeat in the sense that the movement or the RCP will have lost credibility or will it be a defeat in the sense that a number of you will be literally out of circulation for a while?

**B.A.:** In the latter sense, because by correctly dealing with this politically, we will *not* be politically defeated through this. And that's very important. I think it's a very good question and an important distinction. You see, it's one thing if you are politically defeated, that is, if you discredit yourself politically or if you compromise fundamental political principles in the course of any activity that you carry out. Then you've suffered a defeat that is very hard to turn around because you've discredited yourself and compromised yourself politically. We will not do that. We are standing on our principles and we're going to continue to stand on them. But it would be an organizational defeat in the sense that you said. A number of us, including myself, would obviously be removed from the political situation. They've got a lot of years hanging over our heads. We've got work to do and it'll be a crippling blow against our Party and against the revolutionary movement if a number of us, including myself, are sent to jail for any period of time... It would not be a minor blow, it'll be an extremely serious setback. It won't prevent revolution ultimately and it won't prevent us from working for revolution but it will certainly be a very serious setback. You know, this is a *real* struggle that we're involved in. It's not just some game. For example, it's like if you lose a battle in warfare, to use an analogy, you can't say that it was a victory for us because it shows how bloodthirsty the enemy is. I mean it does show how bloodthirsty the enemy is, but it's still a defeat...

**P.V.:** So what it is going to boil down to, when the day of the trial comes, is a kind of credibility contest between you and the police witnesses. You both will be talking to a jury and the police are going to say that the RCP initiated the violence and you're going to testify that they initiated the violence.

**B.A.:** Right.

**P.V.:** It's really going to be a battle of testimony there and credibility in the way the two sets of testimony are offered.

**B.A.:** That's true, and that's important. But what will be most important and fundamental in resolving that is the kind of political atmosphere that exists generally, in the area and even across the country. Because we go in there again, as I said, with a great disadvantage. They are the authority. They are the state. They are the law. They are the United States of America, as they say in their indictments. In other words, they are the ruling class. We're just representatives of the exploited and oppressed people who fun-

Continued on page 27

# DRAFT PROGRAMME

Continued from page 23

this country even if we reach a revolutionary situation before the war starts I am sure it will be so tied into and close to the start of the war that we will be in a similar situation to what he is describing.

So, back to the DP, if we wait until the armed forces of the proletariat are actually in battle against the bourgeois military to start winning "over broad ranks of its soldiers (as it seems to me is implied in the second full paragraph on p. 41), I think it will be too late. Also, note the phrasing in the paragraph above that on p. 41, where it says the "armed forces of the proletarian revolution... will be developed out of the masses' organizations in struggle." I suppose the "masses' organizations" could be interpreted to include the bourgeoisie's military but I think that would be stretching it and probably wasn't what was intended. Either way, I think it must be said explicitly that we will be struggling to win over significant portions of the bourgeoisie's armed forces to side with the revolution right from the start of the uprising. (Note: on this point I think the writer of the letter in the Oct. 17 RW misread that first full paragraph on p. 41 as indicated by the second full paragraph in the letter.)

Now I don't want to undermine the crucial political point raised by the DP about the importance of the defeats and losses suffered by the bourgeois military on its demoralization and disintegration. Breaking the bourgeois arrogance of enemy military units is a fundamental task which actually helps to free up the thinking of soldiers who have been trained to act and think like robots. This was clearly demonstrated in the Vietnam War where the most significant factor in the breaking up of the U.S. armed forces was the defeats suffered in battle.

However, this can and must also be done politically through agitation and propaganda in the ranks of the bourgeois military in a massive way prior to the insurrection (as well as during and after); this, of course, cannot and will not be unrelated to the probable enormous dislocation of the system and the intensive war preparations, and further, once the imperialist war starts, the defeats suffered by the U.S. troops at the hands of their imperialist enemy as well as the overall incredible misery and horror will provide a major material force helping to lay the basis for the disintegration of the imperialist military (which also, by the way, was the key factor in the Russian bourgeois soldiers and sailors going over to the revolutionary ranks). In other words, this process won't depend solely on the thrashing provided by revolutionary forces, and if we wait for that, the thrashing will probably come from the opposite direction.

Frankly the slant in the paragraphs on p. 41 I think is more towards the process which went on in China during the revolutionary civil war where they won over the enemy military forces mostly in the process of beating the hell out of them. A lot of those battles in China happened during the phase of the overall strategic defensive (which hopefully we won't see in its full form in the U.S.), and more importantly their revolution involved armed struggle through its entire process up to the complete seizure of power. Again, in this country we must immediately seize the initiative with a decisive insurrection, which to be successful

must involve elements of the bourgeois military actively among the revolutionary armed forces (as well as at least neutralizing many others), battling against those sections of the armed forces which remain with the bourgeoisie as well as other reactionary segments of the population.

At this point I think it's important to point out that the thrust of this analysis is not completely missing from the DP. In the last paragraph in the section ending on p. 19 is a profound analysis of the "Achilles heel of the bourgeois armed forces," which goes on to say, "As the old authority begins to be seriously challenged and to break down, many will come over to join the revolutionary struggle led by the class-conscious proletariat, especially if there is—as there will be—the firm leadership of the Party, armed itself and arming the masses with the correct line, strategy and policies, with a clear sense of the revolutionary way forward." However, the last part of the previous paragraph (p. 18) does seem to cut against this and more go along with the line on p. 41. It again implies that the process of disintegration in the bourgeoisie's armed forces will not start until after the uprising has commenced.

All this brings me to my last point which I am not at all sure about, but I think it is important to throw it into the debate. Wouldn't it be appropriate for an analysis of this whole point on the role of GIs to be included in the United Front section? Let me quote from the beginning of that section to help explain why I think this. "... It is also of crucial importance to determine which forces within the U.S. itself can be firmly united with, which can be won over or at least neutralized and which must be uncompromisingly struggled against and defeated in the process of proletarian revolution. This requires and depends upon a scientific estimate of the various classes and strata, as well as other significant social forces, within the U.S.—their position and role in this country at this stage, and specifically how they are being and will be affected by the present and deepening crisis—and therefore what will be their attitude towards and relationship to the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and in particular the highest stage of that struggle, the armed contest for power." (p. 20, my emphasis added)

Surely GIs represent a "significant" (even potentially gigantic) and rapidly developing social force in this country which must be "won over or at least neutralized" and also dialectically related to that must be "uncompromisingly struggled against and defeated." And there can be no question about their particular relationship to the armed struggle. The only reference to members of the armed forces in this section, however, is to "high-ranking military officers" (p. 22). Now I know it wouldn't be correct to say that GIs as a group are part of the United Front against the bourgeoisie, but it's also not true that as a group they will be against us. I think that a dialectical analysis showing the significant aspects and potential development of this major social force, and also analyzing the crucial role they must and will play in the armed seizure of power, should be a part of this section. I know that in the period leading up to the October insurrection Lenin often spoke of uniting the workers, soldiers, and peasants (particularly poor peasants) in the fight against the Provisional Government and ruling class, and the major slogan of that period was "All Power to the Soviets of Workers, Soldiers, and Peasants." I don't know, maybe I'm missing something here, but anyway there it is—what do you think?

C.J.

# Enemy's Dilemma

Continued from page 26

damentally have no rights in this society. So we have to do a lot of work. That's the reason that we're bringing what we call "picked troops"\* in here. By the time that trial happens, we're going to create a tremendous amount of turmoil politically and public opinion. And I want to emphasize—politically—we're going to be creating political turmoil and creating public opinion around this whole case and all the issues. Because this touches on all the fundamental issues of society and the world. It touches on the developments towards world war. It touches on the nature of the dictatorship in this country. It touches on the question of revolution. Many of the fundamental questions, political questions, of society and world affairs are going to be brought out in this trial. But the main way we're going to fight to win victory, that is to defeat their attempts to convict us, is by going out broadly in this city and around the country, but especially concentrated in this city. So, as I said, the atmosphere is going to be one where when the trial opens, they are going to have to weigh the political atmosphere where hundreds of thousands of people in this area and many more around the country know about this case and have heard from us what really went on. That's going to be, ultimately, the most decisive thing.

If you look at the Supreme Court, the Supreme Court is a high political body and in a certain way, it is a political barometer of what the ruling class is doing and what the level of struggle of the people is. They'll take the same issues of law and find exactly opposite things about them from one period to another. If you begin to read any of these decisions, you can see that they are inherently, essentially, and rather clearly political. A judge or a panel of judges will sit there and say one thing one time and say another thing another time, going all the way back to the beginning. You have the "Dred Scott" decision and everything else all the way up to the present. All of these are extremely political. They reflect the struggle between dif-

ferent class forces in society and that's what's going to be going on in this case. Whether the judge grants any of our mo-

tions is not going to be determined primarily on the basis of the force of our legal arguments, though our arguments, according to their own rules, are very powerful arguments legally. But that's not going to be decisive. The judge is going to weigh it politically and he's not

even going to be personally deciding things in this case either. There are going to be people much more significant in the political structure that are going to be telling him how he ought to decide. They're not going to leave it up to Judge Pratt to decide this case. □

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