



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 81 (Vol. 2, No. 29)

November 21, 1980

Published weekly in English, Spanish and Chinese. ISSN 0193-3485 50¢

Proletarian Revolution on Trial in China

Mao's Comrades Defiant

The trial of the so-called Gang of Four which opened in Peking November 20 was supposed to neatly begin to drive the final nails into Mao's coffin. Everything was supposed to be carefully arranged beforehand. In order to confuse things, the Four were brought to trial alongside six members of the Lin Biao clique that they and Mao fought against and defeated. They were marched into the courtroom by guntoting bailiffs and sat in a dock with iron bars in front and between them. This was in order to emphasize what was supposed to be the Four's helplessness. Behind them seethed a pack of bloodthirsty, vengeance-crazed mummies, widows and other representatives of nearly every revisionist chieftain who'd ever tried and failed to overthrow Mao and socialism in China, all unleashed by those who finally did succeed in overthrowing the working class and its leadership, the Four, who were Mao's closest comrades and successors after Mao's death in 1976.

Continued on page 5



Chiang Ching

GREENSBORO MURDERS / VERDICT U.S. RULERS DELIVER DESPERATE MESSAGE

The following is the text of a leaflet by the Revolutionary Worker that was distributed nationwide this past week.

From the streets of Greensboro, North Carolina where the KKK and the Nazis shot down five anti-Klan demonstrators last year to the courtroom where six of these murderers were found to be brave patriots and completely acquitted, the ruling class of this

country has sent out a message. To the white-robed, brown-shirted and otherwise uniformed and plainclothes reactionaries the meaning has been plain: here's your license, boys, hunting season has opened. To the masses of people who hate and rise up against oppression, particularly Black people, and to those who would come forward to lead this struggle, the intended message was no less clear: step out of line and we'll blow your brains out.

The verdict was as blatant and outrageous as the murders. It was meant to be. There was little effort to cover up.

The force of the message was meant to be in the very blatantness and openness with which it all went down. "That's the way it is and that's the way it's going to be" was the point made over and over again as they made sure that media reports of the acquittal were accompanied by repeated film clips of the KKK/Nazi hit men methodically taking out shotguns, rifles and handguns from car trunks, carefully aiming and calmly carrying out their political executions. And just in case anyone didn't get the message, they brought the Greensboro cops out in full force and put the state police and National Guard on alert in an attempt to insure that the masses swallowed this all in silent submission.

The public airing of the details around the murders at the trial made it

clear that it was the high and mighty who rule this country who carried out these assassinations, through their government apparatus and the vermin they collect from the sewers to fill the ranks of their Nazis, KKK and other such patriotic bands. A few examples: The local cops in Greensboro had conveniently disappeared from the scene of the anti-Klan demonstration just a few minutes before the Kluckers and Nazis pulled up and opened fire. Ed Dawson, a Klan member and informant for the local cops and FBI, led the caravan to the rally site. A federal agent, Bernard Butkovitch, who worked for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, had participated in a Nazi/Klan planning meeting just two days before the massacre. The FBI announced that just a day before the killings they had conveniently "dropped" their intensive investigation and surveillance of the Communist Workers Party, which had

Continued on page 11

Revolutionary Worker

Statements Demand: Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants

Melbourne, Australia
Nov. 11th 1980

From A Group of Revolutionary Communists Pledged to Overcome Modern Revisionism in the Australian Working Class

Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

Dear Comrades,

Please accept our small donation of \$50.00. We see your campaign to mobilize the people against the coming retrials of Comrade Avakian and others, as of international importance.

U.S. imperialism by this act of the retrials shows up clearly their need to defend their tool in China, Deng Xiaoping, a leading capitalist roader and a proven counter-revolutionary and traitor to China and the revolutionary movement in other countries.

Your campaign to free the Mao Tsetung Defendants comes at a time when Chairman Mao's closest colleagues, after 4 years' imprisonment, are to be brought to "trial" in their capitalist court.

We assure you that the Australian people will know about this struggle.

Charles Bates, Black Veteran Revolutionary from Buffalo

D.C. Court of Appeals:

I am a supporter of the RCP in Buffalo, New York. I am also an ex-prisoner. I followed the old Communist Party for forty years. I feel that Bob Avakian is getting a bad deal from the imperialist system of government. I feel that it is coming from a vindictive action because of his eye-opening speaking and awakening of working people, old and young, to accept the new revolutionary plan. The system is coming down hard because he is moving the slaves to rebel against the slave system. We are calling on all decent and progressive working people to join the struggle to help free the slaves and at the same time expose and subsequently destroy the bloodsucking capitalist system. I have joined many movements—the CP, Black Muslims, in hopes that this system would have long been overthrown. This has long been my dream. This system is oppressive and destructive. I was raised in Mississippi where the boot was on my neck and then in the service I had to fight Jim Crow and racism. Came back and couldn't get work.

I feel Bob Avakian is a beacon light which is setting on a hill and the people

can't afford to have this light extinguished. There are few people like him in history; they are few and far between. He is a great articulator against the system and has his hand on the helm of the ship and is indeed steering it in the right direction. We must support him at all costs even to laying down our lives. He is a man of vision and understanding. Leaders like Bob Avakian who try to lead people against the system have always been set up, put away and even murdered. We will not allow the courts to carry out murder and injustice to Bob Avakian as they have carried out and promoted lynchings and murder against Black people. **WE ARE PUTTING OUT A CLEAR AND DEFINITE WARNING THAT THIS RAILROAD AND INJUSTICE TOWARDS BOB AVAKIAN MUST STOP NOW. WE WILL TOLERATE NO FURTHER INJUSTICE.**

Drop the charges! Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and the 16 Mao Defendants!

43 Women at the Women's Pentagon Action

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

The U.S. government is building up their MX missiles, Trident subs, and their plans for a winnable nuclear war. That same government is attacking Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants—bringing back a 25-felony indictment (241 years each!) against these 17 revolutionaries. It's obvious that the government is going after these people and particularly Avakian as a key leader, in order to intimidate and try to contain the millions of people who are not going to passively accept their plans for war.

5 Workers from Houston

Court of Appeals:

We have heard of the overturning of the court dismissal of the 26 charges carrying over 241 years of prison time being brought down against Comrade Avakian and 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants. We heard about this outrageous attack through reading the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper, the weapon of our class, the working class, and all oppressed people. We know your nature and the atrocities you will commit in order to keep your bloody decaying empire intact. Go ahead—attack... the fury and consciousness of thousands more will be unleashed in a much more tormentous way than a year ago! Keep your bloody hands off Chairman Bob Avakian and the 16 other Mao Defendants! Keep your bloody hands off our future!

Continued on page 19

Major Events in the Mao Tsetung Defendants Case

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

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

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

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

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

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

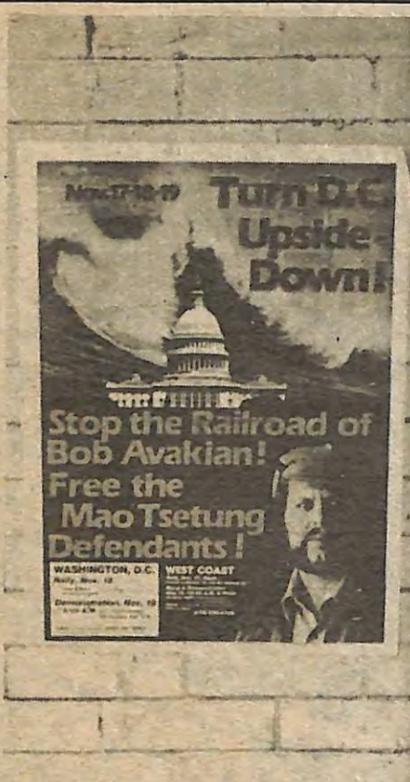
- * Throughout the year that the case hung in the appeals court, the bourgeoisie stepped up attacks on the

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

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

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

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



Washington, D.C., November 1979.

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

Atlanta: Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 10743, Atlanta, GA 30310 (404) 767-6784
Baltimore: Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 1992, Baltimore, MD 21203
Birmingham: P.O. Box 2334, Birmingham, ALA 35201 (205) 787-0202
Boston: Revolution Books 233 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-9016
Buffalo: Box 121, Ellcott Station, Buffalo, NY 14205 (716) 895-6561
Chicago: Revolutionary Workers Center 1727 S. Michigan, Chicago, IL 60616 (312) 922-1140
Cincinnati: P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 542-6024
Cleveland: P.O. Box 09190, Cleveland, OH 44109 (216) 431-6910
Dayton: P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 274-8046
Detroit: Revolution Books 5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48212 (313) 872-2286
El Paso: P.O. Box 2357, El Paso, TX 79952 (915) 544-3032

Hawaii: Revolution Books 923 North King St., Honolulu, HI 96817 (808) 845-2733
Houston: P.O. Box 18112, Houston, TX 77023 (713) 641-3904
Los Angeles Area: Revolution Books 2597 W. Pico Blvd., L.A., Calif. 90006 (213) 384-3856
Louisville: P.O. Box 633, Louisville, KY 40201
New York-New Jersey: Revolution Books 16 East 18th St., New York, NY 10003 (212) 243-8638
North Carolina: P.O. Box 5712, Greensboro, NC 27403 (919) 275-1079
Philadelphia: P.O. Box 11789, Philadelphia, PA 19104 (215) 849-3574
Portland: Revolutionary Workers Center 4728 N.E. Union, Portland, OR 97211 (503) 282-5034
St. Louis: P.O. Box 6013, St. Louis, MO 63139 (314) 721-6159
Salinas: P.O. Box 101, Salinas, CA 93902
San Diego: P.O. Box 16033, San Diego, CA 92116
San Francisco Bay Area: Revolutionary Workers Center 5929 MacArthur Blvd., Oakland, CA 94605 (415) 638-9700
Seattle Area: Revolution Books 1828 Broadway, Seattle, WA 98122 (206) 323-9222
Tampa: P.O. Box 24983, Tampa, FL 33623
Washington, D.C.: Revolution Books 2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20009 (202) 265-1969
West Virginia: P.O. Box 617, Beckley, WV 25801

Down with NATO! Thousands Storm U.S. Headquarters in Greece

Athens, Greece—Last week witnessed powerful eruptions in this Greek capital and other major cities throughout the country against Greece's re-entry into NATO's military apparatus. In Athens, on Nov. 17, 10,000 students and workers broke off from a larger demonstration of many thousands more and stormed toward the American embassy, chanting "Out of NATO forever!" and other slogans against U.S. imperialism. The march on the embassy, led by anti-imperialist forces, including the Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist) (KKE(M-L)), clashed with police in a bloody battle that rocked downtown Athens and left at least one worker dead and over 200 people injured as well as 40 policemen and a public prosecutor.

The demonstration had originally been called by the Student Union—controlled by the revisionist Communist Party of Greece (KKE)—to commemorate the 7th anniversary of the Polytechnic Uprising on Nov. 17, 1973. At that time, students seized the Polytechnic Institute in Athens for three days and took over the radio station, broadcasting an appeal to the Greek people to rise up against the fascist junta led by George Papadopoulos and raising the slogans, "Greece out of NATO!" and "Down with U.S. imperialism!" The uprising was ruthlessly suppressed when the junta brought out tanks against a demonstration of 100,000 people outside the university and slaughtered over 150.

The original plans for last week's ac-

tion had called for a march on the U.S. embassy, but two days before when police announced that this would not be allowed, the Student Union leadership quickly agreed not to march there. In the meantime, however, the KKE (M-L), along with several other organizations and independent anti-imperialist forces, made it clear that they planned to proceed with the march on the embassy in spite of police threats.

On the day of the protest, thousands broke away from the main demonstration and headed for the U.S. embassy in a significant break with the leadership of the revisionists. When the demonstrators came up against lines of heavily armed police blocking off the road to the embassy and spokesmen tried to negotiate with the police, other cops baton-charged sections of the march and unleashed a barrage of tear gas in an attempt to disperse the massive crowd. But the people held their ground, attempting to break through the police blockade, and a pitched battle broke out in front of the Parliament building. As the demonstrators fought back, police opened fire with pistols and brought in armored cars to overrun street barri-

ades erected by the masses. The fighting raged long into the night, turning the center of the city into a battleground.

The next day, protests continued to explode as the anti-imperialist forces held demonstrations in the three main Greek cities of Athens, Salonica and Tatra to condemn the police and the government. In Salonica, over 2000 stormed the American consulate, smashing out many of the windows as the police this time held back. That night, in Athens, anti-imperialist students took over some of the facilities on the Polytechnic campus and fought with members of the National Union of Greek Students who were opposing plans for another march on the American embassy to protest the brutal police actions the day before. The funeral of Stamatina Kanellopoulos, the young woman worker who was killed by police in the street fighting outside Parliament, was also the occasion of new demonstrations as a huge crowd turned out in an Athens suburb.

These very significant mass actions delivered a stunning blow against the
Continued on page 11

2000 March on Pentagon Powerful Women's Demo Puts Top Brass in Tizzy

The demonstration of nearly 2,000 women at the Pentagon on Monday, November 17, was an extremely significant political event. It was a sharp exposure of the feverish preparations being made by the U.S. imperialists for war and certainly indicated that wide opposition exists to the plans of our rulers. But also, it indicated that the oppression which this society heaps down on women is now giving rise to ever greater desires to fight it through political action and, significantly, to the desire to politically link this struggle to that against war. Certainly the authorities saw the danger in all this and acted accordingly on the day of the demonstration.

The demonstration, the largest in recent memory at the Pentagon, drew women from Washington, D.C., New York, Boston and other areas in the Northeast. It was initiated by an ad-hoc coalition called Women's Pentagon Action, which consisted of a number of feminist organizations, anti-nuke ac-

tivists and others. Joining the struggle were those long involved in the women's movement, as well as people who have only recently become active. The demonstration had a clearly feminist thrust; along with the workshops sponsored by the coalition on the day before, the action itself became an arena for lively struggle over different views on questions ranging from the source of war and war preparations to the role of pacifism in the movement (the coalition had advocated this approach to the demonstration).

The Women's Pentagon Action demonstration was much larger than most of the women had expected and the size of it certainly stung the brass and their bosses. It took direct aim at war preparations as fliers called for "A women's response to the current military escalation." In a unity statement approved by the sponsoring groups they said, "we have come here

Continued on page 12

Pentagon, Saturday, Nov. 15th.



Revolutionary Worker

Revolutionary Worker

LAPD's Psychiatric Treatment—Mace, Tear Gas

& Bullets

"First two psychiatrists came out. Then came one cop car, then another... until there were ten more. They teased him. And laughed at him. They tried to shock him. They maced him and used tear gas."

"The cops just went down very casually—like in slow motion, they took aim and shot him."

"The police had us outnumbered or we would've thrown a rock, or something, to stop them from killing him."

"I was over there just a few days before they killed him. We talked. He told me he was having some problems, but it wasn't anything serious. Then the police killed him and the papers printed all that stuff. They said he was crazy—psychotic. One even wrote that he was a child molester! He was the nicest neighbor you'd ever want to have. We told the papers to retract it."

Again and again, the friends and neighbors of Meb Brantly told the story of how this 53-year-old television repairman was murdered by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). They described how the so-called "psychiatric experts" from the L.A. County Board of Health brought the cops down, and how when a few of Meb's friends volunteered to talk to him, they were told by the cops, "Get out of here. We've got it under control." They told of how the pigs taunted Meb, and how most of all, the cops just took aim "like in slow motion" and coldbloodedly

gunned Meb down. The last image of Meb that the LAPD left his friends and neighbors with was that of his motionless and handcuffed body being dragged out of the house by the feet.

But to the LAPD, this was a clear case of self-defense. According to the police report, "The subject picked up a typewriter, which he raised above his head. Officer Burkhardt drew his service revolver and, in an attempt to prevent the typewriter from being thrown at him, fired one round..." The Officer Involved Shooting Team (the District Attorney's agency for "investigating" their police), has been ordered by the LAPD to do an "extra-thorough investigation" (read: an extra-thorough cover-up). Certainly murdering a man for refusing to enter the County Hospital for a psychiatric evaluation requires an "extra-thorough" cover-up.

The press had already started this before Meb Brantly's body reached the city morgue; in traditional fashion, it just xeroxed the police report to feed to the public. One article began: "Mosher Avenue neighbors said that he was sick in the head, and attacked people. County Mental Health Department officials said he appeared upset and psychotic..." But the response to Meb's murder in this predominantly working-class neighborhood of Highland Park exposes the outright lying of the press. One man told the *RW*: "This wouldn't have happened in Brentwood or West-

wood (two affluent sections of L.A.). Meb was having a nervous breakdown—he wasn't crazy. Everything he said to the police was coherent; that they didn't have a search warrant and had no right to enter his house." "He was white and we're Spanish. But we're going to defend him," a woman said seriously. Under fire from people, the *L.A. Times* was later forced to retract its version of the killing.

Meb's murder comes on the heels of countless others. Two weeks earlier, Kenny Ramirez, a 19-year-old Chicano youth, was "accidentally" gunned down. In a powerful show of outrage, 800 people attended his funeral. Just one day after Meb's death, an off-duty LAPD'er, working as a nightclub security guard, critically wounded two men and seriously wounded a third as he began blasting away in order to "break up a fight." And only two days later, on November 16, another one of these gunslings murdered John Moore, a 21-year-old Black man who was lying on the ground unarmed and handcuffed. In the last 60 days, 12 people have died at the hands of L.A. County pigs; six of them were murdered by the LAPD. Except for Meb Brantly, they were all Black or Chicano—and all but one was unarmed.

In the last two months, hysterical press accounts about "crime in L.A." and "gang violence" have been designed to take the heat off the badge-

wearing killers and legitimize and intensify police attacks, particularly on oppressed nationalities. The media has consciously promoted a bunch of reactionary fools and stooge politicians who have stood up at so-called "community meetings" in the ghettos and barrios, defended the police, and called for more "protection"! Television news cameras gleefully filmed one such meeting, focusing on a scene where people who raised the issue of police murder were shouted down by one fool who yelled, "Hey, I'm Black. And I know that most of those people who got shot deserved it."

LAPD Chief Darryl Gates, alarmed at the growing anger against blatant police murders, told the press: "At a time when violent crime is surging in the community, there's been a tremendous pressure by segments of the community to make this a less aggressive department. They have said, 'Police officers, put your guns away, don't shoot people, don't get involved in situations where you may have to take serious counter-measures'—the tremendous pressure on this department for two years has not been fair. It really has not been fair." Meb Brantly, Kenny Ramirez and John Moore—three examples in two weeks of the "serious counter-measures" Gates has in mind. □

New Orleans Pigs Mark Death of Fellow Officer—Kill 4

This past week, cops in the New Orleans Police Department went on a killing spree, centered at the Fischer Housing Project in the Black community of Algiers. In a 24-hour period, and in the quiet darkness of the pre-dawn hours, four Black people were shot dead—three men and one woman. While two civil rights groups, a coalition of community organizations and outraged residents are investigating the early morning murders, swarms of local, state and federal police agents are also on the scene to squash any flare-ups of anger. But an uneasy calm hangs over the Algiers area—a place with a history of police terror heaped upon the Blacks who live there. As one woman, a member of a community organization, put it: "They (the residents—*RW*) are terrified, shocked and angered. This is an extremely serious situation, and it's going to be with us for a while. It's not going to be buried in the graves with those people."

On November 8, at about 2:15 in the morning, a New Orleans cop was found shot in the neck and bleeding to death in a ditch next to his car—in the Algiers neighborhood. Four days later, on November 12, the first of the wanton revenge killings by New Orleans pigs was carried out. Shortly after midnight, police blew away 38-year-old Raymond Ferdinand, while trying to arrest him for some unspecified offense. They claim that he pulled a knife on them. They lied. Raymond's companion said that the knife was sheathed and held inside a paper bag when he was gunned down.

Within the next 24 hours the cops had gotten their act a bit more together—after all, they probably reasoned, "It might be a little too blatant an exposure if everyone we arrest winds up with a bullet in the head." So, their next foray into the Algiers area was legitimized by the obtaining of arrest warrants. Named in those warrants for the murder of the dead cop, were James Billy, Jr. and Reginald Miles. Police claimed, after looking for suitable persons with arrest records, no doubt, that these were the men that were stopped by the cop on a drug bust and that they had killed him. How the links were made here has yet to be made public—perhaps "eeny, meeny, miney, moe" was used as they searched their files.

Two police units were dispatched to the Algiers area, each consisting of 8 cops—including one token Black to stem the possible charges of "racial shootings." Anyone with any familiar-

ity with the unwritten code of the pig sty would have instantly concluded that James Billy and Reginald Miles, being accused of the killing of a cop, would never make it to the station house alive.

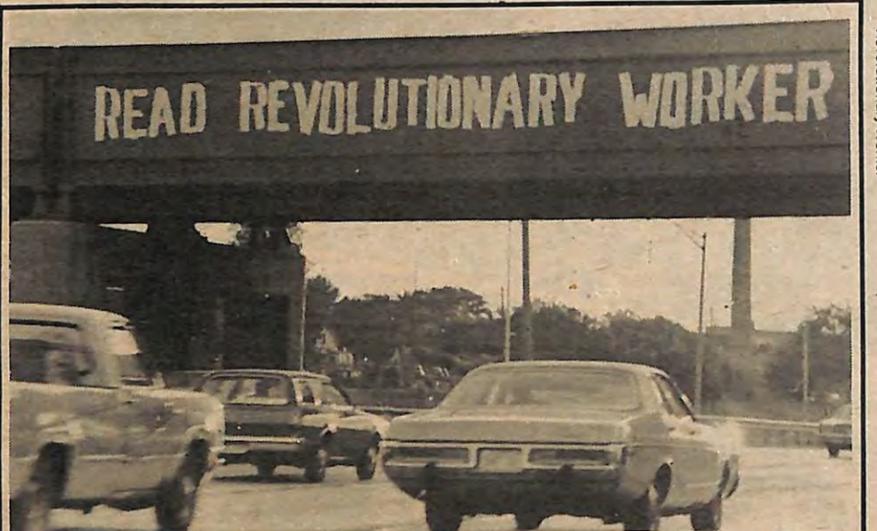
And they didn't. And neither did 28-year-old Sherry Lynn Singleton—a friend of Reginald Miles. One police unit smashed down the door of one house in the Fischer Project only to find they were in the wrong place. One unit then went to the next house, where, according to a woman, Kim Landry, she and James Billy were awakened by the cops breaking in the door. Billy made no attempt to flee when police bashed in the door. The cops led Kim Landry out of the house and then opened fire—killing James Billy on the spot. Of course, the police claim that Billy came out of the bedroom firing first. But where was Billy when Kim Landry was being taken from the house? The police were removing a potential witness to their murderous plans, not braving blazing guns of James Billy. The autopsy showed that Billy's arm was broken by a shotgun blast, and that he had bullet and shotgun wounds in the wrist, side and back.

The second police unit went to the residence of Reginald Miles. Again police claim that they were fired on first. Miles was mowed down in a hail of fire that put nine bullets into his chest, arm, neck and knee. Sherry Singleton was shot to death in the bathtub—with bul-

lets piercing her left knee, right side and right eye. The pigs say that she, too, tried to fire on the cops—twice—but her gun jammed.

In the wake of these brutal and cold-blooded murders, the Black community is stunned and angered. There are few, if any at all, who believe the police versions of what went down during those 24 hours. But David Kent, the deputy police chief, is sticking to their tale: "I think the officers used a lot of self-control. All the evidence indicates that

the suspects fired first." This, no doubt, is exactly how the inquest will see it. But these four killings were in direct response to the death of a cop found in the Algiers area. And further, they were a blatant attempt to harness the anger of the people into line through open terror. A *New York Times* article reporting the cops' killing spree discusses the people's "anger that may be difficult to control." And now the cops are treading nervously through the Fischer Housing Project in Algiers. □



Before & After: Attempt to blot out the above message backfired—as can be seen below; it now stretches across all eight lanes of Chicago's Eisenhower Expressway.



Revolutionary Worker

U.S. GERM WARFARE TESTS REVEALED

TARGET: SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

The RW obtained a copy of a recently declassified U.S. Army Chemical Corps document published as "Secret" in 1960. The following is from the conclusion to "Biological Warfare Tests Done in the 1950s":

"One of the insects picked for the study was the *Aedes aegypti* mosquito, the carrier of yellow fever virus... the mosquito favors human habitations as breeding places. The female mosquito sucks blood from animals or humans, but seems to prefer humans. It takes its first meal two days after emerging from the larval stage, and seeks blood again at intervals of about three days. While probing for blood, the mosquito transmits yellow fever virus to the unknowing victim.

"Yellow fever is a highly dangerous disease. A person begins to show symptoms of the fever from two to ten days after he has been bitten by the mosquito. The fever appears suddenly, causing headache, high temperatures, rigor, vomiting and even prostration. If the disease is fatal, death usually comes on the sixth or seventh day. If the patient recovers, he is weak for a period of from two weeks to two months. There is no known therapy for yellow fever, other than symptomatic, and in severe cases the patient has a poor chance of recovering. Of the clinical cases since 1900, one third of the patients have died.

"Every few years an epidemic occurs somewhere in the world of yellow fever, primarily in Africa and the Americas... Yellow fever has never occurred in some areas, including Asia, and therefore it is quite probable that the population of the USSR would be quite susceptible to the disease.

"If military attack were made with *Aedes aegypti* mosquitoes, it would be quite difficult to detect the fact... The difficulties that an enemy would face in

detecting infected mosquitoes and protecting their population would make *Aedes aegypti*-yellow fever combination an extremely effective biological warfare agent."

One sunny summer day in 1956, Army helicopters from an unknown point of origin flew their way over the coastal marshlands of south Georgia and headed toward the city of Savannah. Past the moss-draped avenues of Savannah's stately downtown and the nearby courtly mansions of the upper class, the Army helicopters reached their final destination. "Lynah Plantation," the Army's secret code called it, a pseudonym for Carver Village, an all-Black working-class neighborhood. While the Army helicopters hovered overhead, a deadly test was beginning. Classified "secret" by the Army for 24 years, it was part of a nationwide series of similar experiments on biological warfare agents. Completely unknown to anyone below, millions of female *Aedes aegypti* mosquitoes were sprayed from the air over the neighborhood of 4000 people.

The declassification of the Army documents (the result of a Freedom of Information Act suit by the Church of Scientology) was received in Savannah with widespread anger. One woman, a resident of Carver Village, told the RW about an explosive meeting of several hundred people which took place two weeks ago where officials were blasted for this outrageous test. "People are very angry. We will be forever," she said. Many people remembered relatives or neighbors who had suffered "unknown" fevers, a few knew people who had died, and some at the meeting had themselves been literally swarmed by mosquitoes. One elderly woman showed her badly scarred legs, the

result of a mosquito attack during which she passed out and had to be hospitalized.

Prior to the release of the mosquitoes and for eight months afterwards, Army agents posing as public health officials stalked the streets of Carver Village. They had secretly placed mosquito traps and returned to check them. "I recall that shortly after they came, this area would be just infested with mosquitoes," said one woman. The disguised Army agents visited people who had fallen seriously ill. The victims were photographed and otherwise tested by these "public health officials." Then, one day after the tests were complete, the Army agents disappeared—no doubt, as the document indicates, to move on to their next assignment in some other city.

The Pentagon, of course, denies that the mosquitoes were infected with the deadly yellow fever virus. The Army can't deny that the mosquitoes were set loose—that's in the report. And since the only hospital which admitted Black people at the time in Savannah closed down long ago—all the medical records likely destroyed in the meantime—there is nothing "on the record" to show that people died or were stricken with yellow fever. As the Army gleefully pointed out in its report, the disease evades detection and would have been hard to spot even at the time. But the wave of sickness and the number of deaths recalled by Carver Village residents cannot be evaded.

The Army information officer at Fort Stewart near Savannah had a quick response to the RW: "We are not answering any questions concerning this." The Public Affairs Major at the Pentagon took a different tack: "The Army is in the process of trying to recreate 26 years of history." You bet they are, in order to cover up their

heinous acts. But, the Major continued, forced to speak to the fact that the mosquitoes had been released over an all-Black neighborhood:

"There is a perception, whether or not right or wrong, that Carver Village was selected because of color content. My experience from the information end concerning the chemical and biological warfare arena is that nowhere ever has color content been a variable in test selection." Now there's equality! Not only Black people are a "variable in test selection" for chemical and biological warfare (and there are many other gross examples of this)—everybody else is too!

To say the least, there is little credibility to the Pentagon's denials. The military has been exposed before for similar testing, notably the incident recently called to national attention wherein biological agents were released over San Francisco in the late '40s. The U.S. Army field manual was changed in 1956 to read, "The United States is not a party to any treaty now enforced that prohibits or restricts the use in warfare of toxic or non-toxic gases... or of biological warfare..." And today, at least \$20 million each year is allocated to produce such diseases as yellow fever, pneumonic plague (a more deadly version of the black death that stalked Europe in the Middle Ages), and pulmonary anthrax (an often fatal lung disease so dangerous that an area of Utah where it was tested will remain contaminated for 100 years).

We will have more to say about the extensive chemical and biological warfare testing in the '50s and '60s which has recently come to light. The Savannah "Biological Warfare Mosquito Test" is but one hideous example. It's a sign of the even greater crimes our rulers have slated for the future when they plan to put these—and other—weapons into use. □

Proletarian Revolution on Trial in China

Continued from page 1

The Chinese revisionist press and the U.S. ruling class for whom they've become lackeys displayed a more carefully chosen and edited film presentation to show the Four as "dazed," "disoriented," "not well," as the accompanying commentary described them, like dogs who had been beaten into submission. Of course the Chinese ruling revisionists have done everything possible to put them in that condition.

But what has come through anyway—and what the Chinese revisionist press has gone into a frenzy about—is a picture of revolutionary defiance. *Xinhua*, the official Chinese news agency, reported almost hysterically that in particular, Chiang Ching, Mao's widow, "looked pleased with herself." "This woman, who wants to be an empress still, in every move maintains her accustomed artificial posturing. She still uses some of the techniques from her days as a movie actress and under the public gaze deliberately holds up her head and adopts a nauseating pose."

Of course to China's new revisionist rulers, craven capitulators to imperialism that they are, the fierce, brave, defiant stand of a staunch revolutionary who is opposing and exposing them at every turn is indeed something that sickens them. The sight of her standing firm, showing her attitude even in the first minutes of the trial as she continually forced the prosecutor to repeat his inane charges in order to

mock him and replying sharply without permitting herself to be interrupted—which the Chinese and U.S. press attributed to her being "hard of hearing"—of course all this made China's rulers' stomachs churn.

Of course they refer to her contemptuously as a movie actress, because they will never forgive the role she played in leading China's workers and peasants to sweep away the "emperors, ghosts, beauties and mummies" who had dominated the stage and screen and replace them with a culture that served the transformation of China in the hands of the working class and not a handful of bureaucrats bent on consoling and numbing the people in order to restore capitalism. And more, they are incensed and driven mad with the desire for revenge on Chiang Ching and the others of the Four for their unwavering defense of Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line and steadfast opposition to the revisionist coup led by Deng & Co. in 1976. What these sniveling capitalist-roaders consider a "nauseating pose" by Chiang Ching is the stand of the revolutionary working class, determined never to submit to any oppression and to fight until all humanity is emancipated from the chains of classes and class differences.

Even as they drag the Four before them for judgment, the serene and firm confidence of the revolutionaries in Marxism and the masses of people continues to drive these revisionists wild. The shrieking denunciations of the

"unrepentant" and "unruly" Chiang Ching are really the highest compliment. The official press reports also could not conceal the firm stand taken by Chang Chun-chiao who, when he was handed the indictment, said simply, "I refuse to accept it."

Revealing Indictments

The 20,000-word indictment against the ten defendants read by the chief prosecutor at the start of the trial included 48 specific offenses grouped under four major counts: 1) frame-up and persecution of Party and state leaders, and plotting to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship and seize power; 2) persecuting and suppressing countless cadres and masses; 3) plotting to assassinate Mao Tsetung and launch an armed counter-revolutionary coup; and 4) plotting an armed uprising in Shanghai. The third count is hypocritically directed against the six representatives of the counter-revolutionary Lin Biao clique—hypocritically because upon Mao's death the very revisionist rulers who are staging this trial themselves launched such a coup and seized power. The accusation was included along with the other three directed at the Four more for the sake of spreading confusion than for actually trying to convict Mao's closest comrades.

But the details released so far about the contents of the indictments show very plainly that while Deng Xiaoping and Co. have not dared go quite as far as the U.S. news media, for example, which is openly demanding for Mao himself to be tried, "it really is Mao and his line which is on trial here."

The particular Party and state leaders whom the Four are being accused of "persecuting to death" so far are Peng

Dehuai (Peng Teh-huai) and, He Long (Ho Lung), as well as the notorious reactionary writer Lao She. He Long, a leading military commander, was a key backer of Liu Shao-qi (Liu Shiao-shi) and the army and a main proponent of the line that China's military should be reorganized along the lines of the imperialist armed forces. At one time Deng Xiaoping was his political commissar.

Peng Dehuai was one of the most notorious renegades in the history of the Chinese revolution since liberation. He was a continual opponent of Mao's line on many matters since the 1940s. In 1959, as China's economy faced severe difficulties at the end of the Great Leap Forward, caused by the sudden, treacherous pull-out of all Soviet "aid" and everything in Soviet-built installations down to the lightbulbs (and worsened by natural disasters), Defense Minister Peng joined in with Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping in attacking the Great Leap Forward as "petty-bourgeois fanaticism." This was because Mao had insisted that China's workers and peasants could build their economy and do so rapidly by relying on their own efforts. But what made Peng the most notorious of these three leading rightists at that time was his flagrant collusion with the Soviets in order to overthrow Mao. In fact, Peng even went so far as to secretly meet with Khrushchev to discuss his criticisms of Mao and plot together against him, and to openly threaten Soviet intervention in China if the course set by Mao was not reversed.

Although Liu and Deng, who had been able to isolate Mao within the Party, protected Peng, allowing him to run wild as a sort of vanguard of the Right, soon Peng became the direct object of

Continued on page 14

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.

Who Are the Advanced?

One of the central and most hotly debated questions around the 100,000 campaign has been the advanced—who are they; what is their role in society; and should we base the paper on their needs and requirements; are there "enough" in society to warrant the call for 100,000 co-conspirators, etc. I wanted to go into this question more, especially who are the advanced—a special species of unique human beings who are born with "better ideas" for how society should run? Or doesn't, in fact, their existence grow out of the contradictions within the system itself, and isn't this, in fact, what an advanced consciousness of imperialism and where it is headed, grow out of?

This is actually a fundamental question of Marxism and has to do with the relationship of consciousness and being. I know for myself for the longest time I thought the advanced were people who magically, like diamonds in snow, emerged with a better brighter vision of society. When people sharply confronted me with their deep desire for revolution, they would say in all sincerity, "let's get out there and do it now," and it became apparent that if they saw as it says in "Crucial Questions" that "being there means being there now; because, while the revolutionary struggle for power has not yet begun, still, in the way mentioned, the revolution—the work of preparing for that day of reckoning (and the continuing struggle beyond that)"—has already begun—that if these people could be won to that understanding they would indeed begin the work of preparation. Quite frankly I bumped into these people and they seemed rather unique, almost unusual, and the conclusion I came to was that their "weird" ideas corresponded to my own. And when

they raised deep and profound questions, and came up against stumbling blocks, I got bummed out. My attitude was "their ideas have changed. I knew it wouldn't last, this fragile gem has faded." I know one line in the networks work has been—these people have these great ideas, and then they go out and sell the paper and run up against the "real world" and find out their ideas weren't so good after all. I think this line and my own which I have characterized above are dead wrong and actually play a big role in holding a lot of the advanced back in terms of the work we do with them.

Where does the consciousness of the advanced really come from, and what is the "real world"—I think this is the heart of the question. The advanced are not a species apart—their consciousness comes from the "real world" from their experiences, their being. I think the whole point is the advanced are those who grasp the real world more as it actually is, who have a deeper and more accurate sense of what's really going on, and especially, where the system is headed.

If consciousness reflects being, why is it that people have different summations of the world—why isn't it then that the average consciousness, or the intermediate one, then, isn't more accurate? After all, don't more people think this way? Why is it that the advanced, who are a minority, in fact grasp reality more accurately? Where do their ideas come from?

This is gone into in Lenin's "Materialism and Empiro-criticism." If you say the intermediate consciousness is actually more real (which a lot of people do. How many people for instance think the system of imperialism is still tolerable, and it's only a few crazy people who think it's not) whether this line takes more open or more subtle forms—it's the same as Bogdanov's line that Lenin combatted in that book. Bogdanov said that being and consciousness were identical, sort of like you think what you eat. With this line you would have to take the average of what everyone thought and say that was true. This is in fundamental opposition to Marxism, to what is really true.

Two quotes from the chapter "How Bogdanov Corrects and Develops Marx" are useful in this context.

"From the fact that in their intercourse men act as conscious beings, it does not follow that social consciousness is identical with social being." and, further,

"The paramount thing is that the laws of these changes have been discovered, that the objective logic of these changes and their historical development have at bottom and in the main been disclosed—objective, not in the sense that a society of conscious beings, men, could exist and develop independently of the existence of conscious beings. The fact that you live and conduct your business, beget children, produce products and exchange them, gives rise to an objectively necessary chain of events, a chain of development, which is independent of your social consciousness and is never grasped by the latter completely. The highest task of humanity is to comprehend this objective logic of economic evolution (the evolution of social life) in its general and fundamental features, so that it may be possible to adapt to it one's social consciousness and the consciousness of the advanced classes of all capitalist countries in as definite, clear, and critical a fashion as possible."

From these quotes it is clear why people's perceptions of the world are not identical with the world as it really is. The consciousness of the intermediate and backward are not just "different ideas" but in fact, sum up reality wrong. It is clear from this why perceptions are not enough, why if you look at the world perceptually you will end up summing it up wrong and as the "Crucial Questions" article by Bob Avakian pointed out: "stubbornly conservative." Because what you will not and cannot understand from "the sum total of perceptions" is what is rising and developing. All you can see is what already exists, what in fact is dying away, as all there is.

What makes the advanced, advanced then? (This is not to say these are stiff and rigid categories, that

the intermediate and even backward have no advanced aspects, and that all this is not in motion as more and more turmoil develops in society. In fact one important thing to combat is that the advanced are walled off—or to wall them off.) But I think this is an important question. I think the advanced, thru their experiences, have taken a broader view of the world and seen its motion and development, what is rising and developing—where imperialism is headed for instance. This has a lot to do with roads to the proletariat—those people who thru experiences outside, in a sense, what daily confronts the working class right in front of its nose—the oppression of women, or the true nature of imperialist war, or the oppression of Black people, and the powerful struggles against this—have seen and sought out more the laws underlying this system.

What this quote also makes clear is the need for a leap to take place—to class consciousness, to comprehending the actual laws and how things really are to their fullest. In this light the significance of this battle for 100,000 co-conspirators and the decisive role of the RW stand out.

I would like to go more deeply into this question of taking the sum total of perceptions, or averaging out experience as you would call it. I think this is a big thing that goes on, and why people don't see the revolutionary aspects in today's situation. What they see is what predominates, what there is more of—more backwardness, the bourgeoisie rules, they have a hold on the working class, etc.

Those things—whether it's one worker taking 100 RWs and selling them, or one woman in a housing project going into a voting booth to pretend to vote and plastering it with ballots, these get averaged out of existence because "mainly people who take the paper don't sell it." What is more dominant is more real. This has a lot to do with the analysis of imperialism getting stronger or weaker and how people view that too.

Those aspects which are actually in a minority—these are more true and more real because they concentrate what is on the rise. This is actually a very controversial thing. For instance when the article "Rely on the Masses" came out it made this point several times.

There was the struggle referred to over the subbotniks in Russia, where workers donated free labor on Saturdays to advance socialism. "Inevitably this path-breaking initiative incurred opposition and Lenin had to defend it against those who 'sneered at the insignificance of the number of subbotniks compared with the vast number of cases of thieving, idleness, lower productivity, spoilage of raw materials and finished goods, etc. . . ." The advanced experience of the masses was more significant—more true, more real, if you will—than the more numerous cases because it more deeply corresponded to the future, to the place where life was and the direction it was headed." I struggled with several people over this passage—more significant, they said, I'll grant that, but how can you say the subbotniks were more real? Weren't the cases of thieving, etc., just as real—didn't they both happen? I think this line, while certainly not dominant in the party or the advanced around it, is significant—it's an anti-Marxist one which underlies the view of many who say we'll never come from behind, things are too backward today, etc. Yes the subbotniks and the thieving both happened, they both existed in the real world, only a fool would deny that. But the point is that to grasp the essence of reality is not just to say this and this happened. If you do that, as *Materialism and Empiro-Criticism* makes clear, you can never grasp reality as it actually is, i.e. its laws. All you can do is sum-total up perceptions, why were the subbotniks more real? Because Lenin liked them better and wanted to say so? No, it was, as the passage said, "because it more deeply corresponded to the future." The heart of Marxism is to grasp the laws of matter in motion, to grasp the world not statically, but in its motion and development, and that is why what is rising and developing is in a sense more true and more real.

I think this underlies a lot of the party's analysis of the period we're in—why we can come from

Continued on page 18

U.S. Imperialists Tighten Screws, Iranian Rulers Squabble

As the Iraq/Iran war enters its third month, the U.S. imperialists are continuing to put the heat on the Iranian government. Ever since they unleashed the Iraqi invasion and followed it up with a vicious mixture of imperialist carrot-and-stick tactics (see last week's *RW* for the economic blackmail against Iran that U.S. banks are engaging in), they have been cold-bloodedly pressing towards their main immediate goal: forcing Iran's rulers to knuckle under in order to have a better shot at putting an end to the continuing revolutionary struggle of the Iranian masses.

This intense pressure has been having its effect. For example, during a trip to Algeria last week, the speaker of the Iranian parliament, Ayatollah Rafsanjani made a significant, conciliatory statement about the current U.S. terms for releasing the hostages: "In principle, the United States Government has accepted all the conditions, adding that the question at hand was one of 'implementation.'" Since then, there have been more indications that the terms and the timing of the exchange of much of Iran's frozen assets in the U.S. for the 52 hostages are nearly set, pointing to just how far the Iranian government has been forced to bend by the U.S.'s gunpoint diplomacy.

Their moves towards caving into imperialism have appeared in other areas as well, especially in their conduct of the stalemated war with Iraq. Much to the government's dismay, this very question is being widely debated throughout the country. Thus, in the face of mounting pressure from the U.S. and increased popular dissatisfaction inside Iran, Iran's rulers are becoming all the more desperate and are going to great lengths to prevent more opposition among the masses from developing, as well as to move to ruthlessly put down any that does already exist.

The widespread use of demagoguery continues to be the main leg the government is standing on, making full use of the war situation to hoist the banner of "unity against Iraq"—under their leadership. This means that the role of the masses is to line up obediently behind the government's half-hearted and even treacherous conduct of the war and to accept major concessions to the U.S. (such as around the hostage deal) as being necessary to the war effort.

Because of the war situation and because it is widely understood that the U.S. is behind the Iraqi invasion, there is a continuing basis for many in Iran to believe that the government is firmly standing up to U.S. imperialism. But the basis for the government to get over with this facade is rapidly eroding. Even with this avalanche of demagoguery, Iran's rulers have been increasingly unable to cover over what they are actually doing, and the potential for this to become exposed more widely and take a more conscious and organized form has them, and the U.S. too, deeply worried.

Iran's rulers are taking no chances on this happening either. Recent weeks have seen a growing clampdown on the revolutionary masses, spearheaded by a frontal attack on the People's Mojahadeen Organization. Because they are the largest anti-imperialist organization in the country today, and because their radical interpretation of Islamic ideology threatens the government's ability to use Islam as their authority to rule, the government views them as the most immediate obstacle among the various organized progressive and revolutionary forces to carrying through their capitulationist plans.

Since the beginning of the war,

Mojahadeen-led units at the front have been singled out for attack by the army and Pasdaran—facing arrest, beatings and even bombings of their headquarters in Abadan and Khorramshahr. These attacks escalated further this week with the conviction and sentencing to 10 years in prison of Mohammed Reza Saadati, a leading member of the Mojahadeen, on charges of obtaining information about the continuing operations of the SAVAK and CIA inside Iran in 1979 from a Soviet agent. In addition, the court passed the same sentence on the entire leadership of the Mojahadeen and put out orders for their arrest! (In the course of the trial, the government cynically used the incorrect position taken by the Mojahadeen on the USSR in a shabby attempt to justify this unprecedented "sentencing" of the entire leadership of an anti-imperialist organization.) Even more significant is that the government's offensive against the Mojahadeen is aimed at trying to isolate the entire revolutionary Left from the masses and preparing to launch even more systematic and murderous attacks on them in the near future. This is a clear signal on the part of the government, for as much as the Mojahadeen has tailed the government on many questions, this has not led to a lessening of the attacks on them. Instead, the Iranian government's moves towards accommodation with the Western imperialists are driving them to beat down all opposition. These stepped up attacks have most certainly met with the heartiest approval of the U.S.

New Infighting in Government

The pressure being applied by the U.S. imperialists through the war has also helped trigger a new round of infighting within the ranks of the Iranian government, especially between the two forces grouped around President Bani-Sadr and the so-called "hard-line" leaders of the Islamic Republic Party (IRP). While united around the necessity to come to terms with the West now,

they are trying to shore up their own weakened positions by pinning the blame for the country's economic and military difficulties on their rivals. What has been most interesting about this recent spate of public brawling is what they have revealed about each other.

President Bani-Sadr, who has been spending most of his time in the south "directing the armed forces," has been accusing the IRP leaders of trying to use his absence to "monopolize power." He has sharply attacked the IRP's censorship of TV and radio and their attempts to "interfere" in the army—recently accusing the IRP governor of Khuzestan of leaving the area "defenseless at the beginning of the war." On the other hand, the IRP leaders are accusing Bani-Sadr & Co. of trying to "Westernize" the government and charging that the regular army that Bani-Sadr commands has fallen apart during the fighting and has failed to protect the masses of people in the south.

While most of what they are saying about each other is true—and this has helped open the eyes of much broader sections of the Iranian people to what is actually going on—the attacks have also been kept within certain boundaries. For instance, the recent arrest and release of former prime minister Ghotbzadeh was basically a test of strength between these two contending forces in the government. But when a sizable number of merchants in Tehran's bazaar threatened to go on strike if he wasn't released, Ayatollah Khomeini himself stepped in, as he has done before when such infighting starts to rock the boat of the Islamic Republic too much. In a blistering speech last week, Khomeini warned that the government's whole existence would be threatened—"there will remain no prime minister, or any president, or a Majlis or a military official or a bazaar merchant"—if these two warring factions don't patch up their differences. Khomeini's quote not only accurately

describes the economic and military vise that the U.S. is tightening on Iran's national bourgeoisie; it also points to the shrinking room for maneuver they have left between the imperialists on the one side, and on the other, larger and larger sections of the Iranian people who are starting to break free of the government's grip altogether.

Key Role of Masses in War

Ever since the Iraqi invasion jumped off in late September—and as the U.S. and its allies continued to bolster Iraq to make sure the pressure on Iran was kept up—every political force in Iran has had to address itself to the question of how to fight this imperialist-backed attack.

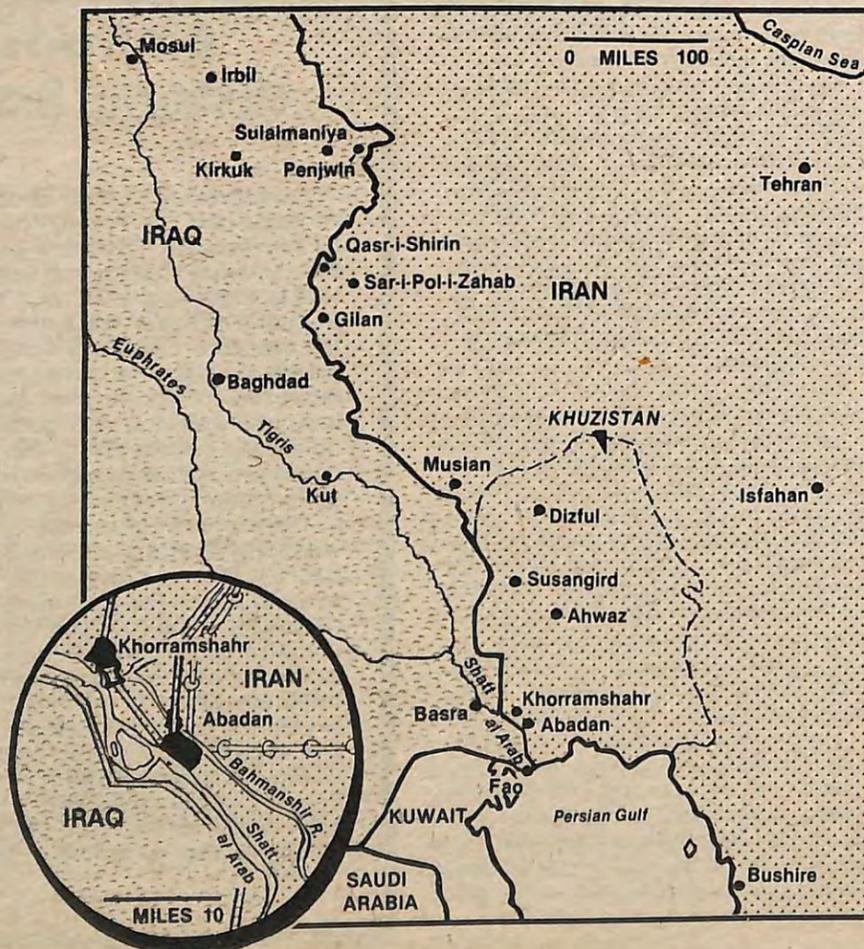
The government's bourgeois military strategy has become a concentration of their overall moves towards capitulation. While the Bani-Sadr forces are arguing for relying chiefly on the regular armed forces to relieve the besieged cities in the south, the IRP has continued to call for evacuating the cities—and then sending in the Pasdaran and sections of the army that they control. Most importantly, though, both oppose arming and mobilizing the masses, and they are united around coming to terms with the U.S. around the hostage question to pave the way for reestablishing ties with the West, relieving the economic and military pressure cooker they're in (or so they hope). While needing U.S. spare parts and equipment in order to carry out their bourgeois military strategy during the current war, they are moving to reinforce their armed forces so as to keep the Iranian people themselves firmly under control, both during and after the war.

However, these reactionary plans of theirs are not working out as smoothly as planned. For instance, it is now widely known that in many of the areas of heaviest fighting in the south, the Iranian army's main units have either disintegrated or have been withdrawn, and many larger forces haven't been committed to battle at all. Under these conditions, there have been major moves among the tens of thousands of people who have stayed in cities such as Abadan, Ahwaz, Dezful and Susangird to demand arms and ammunition from the government and to increasingly organize themselves into independent fighting units, especially where the leftist forces have been most active.

As for the reactionary Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein, their dreams of a lightning quick victory vanished into thin air long ago, and they are now finding themselves bogged down inside Iran. In Khorramshahr, in spite of repeated Iraqi announcements of its "capture" since the second week of the war, there are still several hundred Iranian fighters, organized into three and four-man sniper squads, dug in on the southern side of the Karun River, which runs through the city. They are continuing to make it impossible for the Iraqis to control the area and are inflicting substantial casualties on them.

In besieged Abadan, the Iraqi forces are no closer to taking it than they were three weeks ago. With communications to the rest of the country cut, it has been almost impossible to get reports from Abadan. However, it is clear that the masses in Abadan have fortified the city thoroughly, forcing the Iraqis to try to level as much of the city as possible by long-range artillery and to avoid a frontal assault that could lead to significantly higher casualties. This is an explosive issue for the shaky Hussein regime inside Iraq, and possibly even more so in the Iraqi army itself, where morale is dropping.

Continued on page 8



U.S. Engineers Brutal Return of Haitian Refugees

Last week the open complicity of the U.S. government in the murder of refugees was exposed as news leaked out, despite intense efforts by Washington to keep it quiet, that over 1000 Haitian refugees were slowly starving to death on a Caribbean sand bar while the U.S. and the U.S.-controlled regimes in the Bahamas and Haiti refused to lift a finger to rescue them. Then, when the story could no longer be covered up, the refugees were beaten by club-wielding Bahamian cops and forced to return to the mercies of the notorious Duvalier regime in Haiti.

On September 22, 113 men, women and children piled into a 33-foot boat in Haiti, having paid \$250 to \$300 apiece for what was supposed to be a trip to Miami. But on October 3, their small craft put ashore on Cayos Lobos, a sand bar the size of a football field on the western edge of the Great Bahamas bank. By the time they reached Cayos Lobos, six of the refugees had already died at sea. The next morning when the refugees awoke, they found that their boat had "disappeared." Over the next few days, five more perished, and then, on October 9, the 102 survivors, including two pregnant women, were spotted by a U.S. Coast Guard patrol plane.

Not only did the Coast Guard make no attempt to rescue the abandoned refugees, it even issued orders to deny all knowledge of the refugees' existence. An internal Coast Guard memo printed in the *Miami Herald* read, "Do not release any detailed information on this incident. Refer all inquiries to the Bahamian government. Do not speculate on any facts in this case." Then

penciled on the memo was, "Try to avoid releasing this information. Reason: It will bring more and more media calls to this office after the press learns that the Bahamian government will give them few answers." And how did the Coast Guard know that the Bahamian government would give few answers? Because the U.S., the Bahamas and Haiti had already worked out a little plan to seal the fate of these and any other would-be escapees from U.S. imperialism's hell-hole island of Haiti.

In spite of the fact that the Coast Guard had at one time rescued 33 "anti-Castro Cubans" from Cayos Lobos, the U.S. now took the position that Cayos Lobos was sovereign Bahamian territory and that the U.S. could not rescue the refugees without Bahamian permission. The Bahamas took the position that they would not rescue the Haitian refugees unless Haiti agreed to pay for the operation. Haiti took the position that once the refugees left Haiti, they were no longer its responsibility. And finally, all three agreed to keep the existence of the refugees a secret!

In the meantime, to cover themselves in case of exposure, the Good Samaritans of the Coast Guard dropped a few food packages out of an airplane to the refugees, and on October 20 sent a landing party from the Coast Guard cutter *Dallas* ashore on Cayos Lobos. According to commander Glen Helmes, captain of the *Dallas*, the Coast Guard "examined each and every person, took blood pressures and temperatures, and asked if anyone was seriously ill. We found no one who needed to be eva-

uated"!

The U.S. had made a calculated decision to let the Haitians rot forever on Cayos Lobos, and it was only after the rumors had spread too far that the story was officially "broken" by the *Miami Herald* on November 8. That same day, the Coast Guard announced that a rescue ship from the Bahamas would soon pick up the refugees, displaying again that the U.S. government was calling the shots. On November 12, a boatload of Bahamian cops equipped with rifles, tear gas and truncheons landed on Cayos Lobos. The Bahamian pigs were photographed by newsmen from helicopters beating the marooned Haitians with clubs. After fierce resistance by the refugees, they were forced into a Bahamian boat for a return to Haiti.

Each year—and increasingly so—thousands risk their lives seeking to escape from the hell-holes created by imperialist domination. Refugees from both Cuba and Haiti flee deteriorating economies which have been grossly distorted by exploitation and domination by the two superpowers. The U.S. has for some time labeled those from Haiti "economic refugees" and those from Cuba "political refugees." This reflects the political use the U.S. has made of Cubans, traditionally scoring some propaganda points against Soviet imperialist-backed Cuba. Of course, all that has changed over the last year with the wave of refugees leaving Cuba and finding the U.S. worse. As for the Haitians, the U.S. doesn't want them. The Haitian refugees demonstrate exactly the same thing about U.S. imperialism in Haiti, that Cuban refugees show about Soviet imperialism in Cuba. So the Haitians are branded "economic refugees," are not to be admitted and, in fact, are left to drown or starve whenever possible. And this is all portrayed as the sole work of "human smugglers"—with im-

perialism nowhere to be seen.

The U.S. attempts to explain the mass exodus of Haitians by pointing to the fact that Haiti has the highest population density of any country in the Western hemisphere (over 460 people per square mile). This "overpopulation" theory is a none too subtle attempt to throw the blame for Haiti's economic condition onto its victims, and to cover over the responsibility of imperialism. In reality, the current wave of Haitian refugees has been caused precisely by the extension of capitalist relations in Haiti. The expansion of U.S. bauxite mining by Kennecott and Reynolds, as well as the expansion of corporate farming by such giants as the U.S.-Haitian Sugar Company, have created a tidal wave of landless peasants desperate for any chance at survival.

The U.S. has activated the government of Lynden Pindling, prime minister of the Bahamas, to engage in a joint "crackdown" on Haitian refugees. The Bahamian government has declared that all Haitian refugees in the Bahamas have until January 18 to leave the country or else face jail and deportation. The U.S. hopes by this maneuver to portray its policies as the same as those of other governments in the region, even those with black majority populations and black governments.

On November 16, the survivors of Cayos Lobos were forced ashore in Haiti, some carried on stretchers. The Haitian Red Cross made a great show for the press of welcoming the survivors with fruit juice and promises of medical care. But as a crowd of Haitian well-wishers gathered, they were savagely attacked by Haitian cops swinging clubs. To smooth things over, the Haitian government then threw a cocktail party for foreign journalists who had come to witness the return of the survivors. □

Iranian Rulers

Continued from page 7
ping and unrest is spreading.

Near Ahwaz and Dezful, the other two chief targets of their drive into Khuzestan, Iraq's forces have bogged down. At the same time, the Iranian government has been neither willing nor able to mobilize the masses—nor even prepared to commit their main force army units—to stage a decisive counterattack to drive the Iraqi forces out of Khuzestan. Faced with this stalemated military situation and the onset of the rainy season that will greatly restrict the mobility of their armored units, the Iraqi command launched a major offensive this week aimed at capturing Susangird, which is actually located behind the present line of the Iraqi advance in northern Khuzestan.

According to several sources, this attack has blown up in the Iraqis' faces. After a number of days of shelling aimed at driving the population out of the city, Iraqi tank-led columns entered one side of the city. While they ran into heavy house-to-house fighting there, Iranian forces—consisting heavily of people from Susangird who were prepared for just such an assault—encircled the Iraqis and cut them off from their rear, leading to the capture of several hundred Iraqi soldiers and their equipment. At last report, both Iraq and Iran have sent reinforcements into the area and the battle for Susangird is continuing, but the key element thus far has been the fighting initiative of the Iranian people themselves.

In the war zone in Khuzestan, there continues to be a complex and varied relationship between the fighting units that have developed among the masses—many of which leftist forces are involved in or have organized themselves—and the Pasdaran and the regular armed forces. Right in the face of constant harassment and even sharp attacks by the Iranian government forces, there have been important gains made by the revolutionary forces in

mobilizing the masses in the war independent of the government; and as the type of fighting that is going on around Susangird and elsewhere in the south indicates, the potential for this to develop on a far wider scale as the war drags on most certainly exists.

In the October 17 issue of the *RW* we wrote that "the current government cannot be relied on to wage war, and in particular, it cannot be relied on to do so in such a way as to weaken—not strengthen—the forces supporting imperialism inside Iran." Exactly because of the recent pronounced moves of the exploiting classes in Iran to cave in to imperialism, the role of the Iranian proletariat in joining the fighting under its own banner and spreading its independent revolutionary line and organization among the masses is all the more key.

Since the full-scale Iraqi attack began, in a certain sense there have been "two fronts" of revolutionary struggle within Iran directed against U.S. imperialism and its internal and external agents. Resisting the U.S.-backed Iraqi invasion has clearly been principal up to this time, and there has even been a certain basis for unity in this with national bourgeois forces in the government as long as they have continued to put up resistance to the imperialists.

But in the course of the last month, what has become more crucial than ever is the political struggle aimed at exposing and opposing the capitulationist moves of the Bani-Sadr, IRP and other bourgeois forces in the government. In fact this front of struggle against imperialism is just as much a life-and-death question for the Iranian people. And the further these moves towards the U.S. progress, the more these forces will join the openly pro-U.S. reactionary elements in Iran today as enemies of the masses and targets of their struggle.

Finally, through this process a clearer line of demarcation is being drawn for millions of people in Iran between two roads, capitulating to imperialism or fighting the imperialists and their accomplices to the finish, and advancing the Iranian revolution in the period ahead. □

New Pamphlet, Soon to be Available!

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

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

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

The Struggle Between Two World Views on the Understanding of the Human Body

The following article, being run as a two-part series in the RW—first appeared in 1974 in Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), the theoretical journal of the Chinese Communist Party. It was written during a period of continuing intense struggle by China's then revolutionary leadership, represented by Mao and the Four, to mobilize the masses of people to defend proletarian rule and prevent the revisionists and reactionaries inside the Party from dragging China off the socialist road. The article reflects the fierce battles that China's

revolutionaries waged to apply the science of Marxism-Leninism to every sphere of human understanding and activity, and in particular, to apply materialist dialectics in the three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

This article is a vivid illustration of the application of dialectical and historical materialism in the area of scientific experiment. It exposes the metaphysical outlook in science that sees reality in an isolated, static

and one-sided way as opposed to the method of materialist dialectics which holds that in order to understand the development of anything it is necessary to study it internally, in its internal contradictions, and in relation to other things. At the same time it shows the fetters that idealism places upon man's ability to change and know the world and that, in fact, the history of the development of man's understanding "is the history of the unbroken triumph of materialism over idealism."

With the appearance of mankind, the history of mankind's understanding of the human body itself also began. This long process of development rang with the struggle of two world views. The history of the development of man's understanding of the structure and functions of the human body is the history of the unbroken triumph of materialism over idealism, of the dialectical over the metaphysical. This essay simply takes a preliminary look back at this struggle from several aspects in the hope that it might be of use in promoting a deeper and more systematic study of the question.

Concerning the Relationship of the Parts and the Whole

Because of the extremely low level of the productive forces, understanding of the human body in the remote past was superficial and most general. As the struggle for production, the class struggle, and scientific experimentation advanced, in the process of understanding the natural phenomena of birth, aging, illness, and death, and especially in the struggle with disease, knowledge of the human body gradually became less superficial.

Further knowledge of the structure and functions of the human body was dependent on anatomical analysis of the body.

The earliest extant medical text of our country, the *Nei ching*, said: "As for the flesh of a person eight *ch'in* in height, on the outside one can measure a slice and obtain it, and after death one can dissect and examine it. The brittleness of the entrails, the size of the bowel, the amount of food, the length of the veins, the clarity of the blood, the amount of breath (*ch'i*), whether the twelve arteries have a great deal of blood and little *ch'i* or little blood and much *ch'i*, or whether there is a little or a lot of both—all these are determined." To a certain degree this suggested the importance of anatomical analysis and the possibility of understanding the structure and functions of the human body. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, our country possessed anatomy charts of the human body drawn from real life. But the Confucianists' proclamation of education in the rites (*li-chiao*), their trumpeting of "elaborate funerals" and "ancestral sacrifices," and their dissemination of the false theory that "the body is received from one's parents, and to neither destroy nor harm it is the beginning of filial piety" seriously obstructed the development of the study of anatomy in our country. Since the latter years of the fifteenth century, the development of the forces of production in European society forcefully acted as an impetus for the study of natural science. At that time, the study of the human body was filled with acute struggle, just like the rest of the natural sciences. "Natural science provided its martyrs for the stake and the prisons of the Inquisition" (Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*). In 1543, the same year Copernicus published his *Theory of the Motion of Heavenly Bodies*, Vesalius published his *Structure of the Human Body* (*De humane corporis fabrica*), thereby flinging a challenge at the prerogative of the Church in the matter of knowledge of the human body. He paid no heed to religious prohibitions, but dissected corpses and used scientific observations to refute various false doctrines which had been dominant for over a thousand years. He therefore encountered misfortune and attack, was forced to give up his position, and was once sentenced to death by the Inquisition. In 1553, "Calvin had Servetus burned at the stake when the

*Chin Wei, "Tui jen-i'i jen-shih ti liang-chung shih-chieh kuan tou-cheng." *Hung-ch'i* (Red Flag), No. 12, 1974. Translated by Charlotte L. Beahan.

latter was on the point of discovering the circulation of the blood, and indeed he kept him roasting alive for two hours" (*Dialectics of Nature*). In the early nineteenth century, Wang Ch'ing-jen, one of our own physicians, rich in innovative spirit, opposed the feudal education in the rites in which the Confucians considered the dissection of the human body to be a great wrong, and by means of directly examining corpses, he composed a book, *Correcting Errors in the Medical Arts*, which corrected various mistaken theories about the structure of the human body contained in the ancient books. The disciples of Confucius and Mencius launched a large-scale attack, reviling him as "inhuman" (*pu-jen*), a "profligate," and a "heretic." This history shows that the development of man's understanding of his own body was carried on in the midst of a fierce class struggle. In this realm, without the courage to smash the old-fashioned traditional views of the reactionary classes, there can be no progress.

In the seventeenth century, Harvey, applying the methods of scientific experimentation, completed the discovery of the circulation of the blood. He was also ridiculed and attacked, but he laid the foundation for the development of physiology. After this, separate, systematic study of the organs of digestion, respiration, and the nervous system was developed in succession.

In the 1830s the suggestion of the cell theory was an important development. It testified that "all organisms except the very lowest consist of cells" (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*). More recently, someone has

independent. In the 1850s the German scientist Virchow went a step further and cut apart the whole organism, saying that the body was an "alliance of cells" and declaring that only the cell was the true morphological element in which "there was any manifestation of life." Moreover, he said cells did not obey any general rules for the whole but "longed for freedom, longed for independence." He denied the nervous system the position of leadership of the human body, trumpeting that each cell was a center: "In the whole nervous system there is definitely no one part that can be considered the true central point, able to act like an organ of government and proclaim orders to all directions and sides." He denied the unity of the whole, and right up until four years before his death (1898), he held to his idea that the organism was nothing other than a collection of cells, declaring "only if we discard mythical unity and see that the reason for life is that everything is cells can we obtain a true understanding."

The age of Virchow was precisely the age when man was just beginning to understand the mutual relationship of the various organs and systems of the human body and the dominant position of the nervous system. At that time, quite a few scholars started a theoretical battle with Virchow, criticizing his cellular pathology as "one-sided pathology" and criticizing his allegation that the body is an alliance of independent cells as "false principle." They made the point that "strictly speaking, there is no such thing as a local disease" to refute Virchow's mistaken assertion that "there is no disease but local disease." Engels

This method of dividing the human body into systems, organs, tissues, and cells and then analyzing their structure and functions has brought about many great advances in the understanding of the human body. However, this method stood each individual part of the body alone, ignoring the whole, ignoring the general internal relationship of the body in the process of study, and it gradually took the form of a metaphysical, localistic viewpoint regarding knowledge of the human body.

estimated that the entire body is composed of more than a hundred billion cells. These numerous cells constitute the various tissues, organs, and systems of the human body.

The discovery of the cell "opened the secrets of the production, growth, and structure of the organism" (*Dialectics of Nature*). Subsequently, many fruitful studies on the structure and functions of the human body were carried on at the cellular level, which at the same time brought out new contradictions. From the discovery of the various organs and systems of the human body to the discovery of the cell, the process of man's understanding basically proceeded from the whole to the parts. This method of dividing the human body into systems, organs, tissues, and cells and then analyzing their structure and functions has brought about many great advances in the understanding of the human body. However, this method stood each individual part of the body alone, ignoring the whole, ignoring the general internal relationship of the body in the process of study, and it gradually took the form of a metaphysical, localistic viewpoint regarding knowledge of the human body. The eighteenth century Italian scholar Morgagni considered the organs to be

recognized at the time that Virchow's cellular pathology reflected the fact that natural scientists were shackled by the old metaphysical categories, so that when they were explaining those new facts which could have fundamentally substantiated the existence of the dialectic in the natural world, their hands were tied. Though Virchow and others accumulated rich materials and made a definite contribution to medical developments, they were unable to produce a correct theoretical generalization. Their overall view of the human body was not the equal of that of the ancient scholars with their simple dialectical thought. Two thousand years before, a medical scholar from our own country, under the influence of simple materialism and simple dialectical thought as represented by the Legalists, once pointed out that "man's life has a form which does not take leave of *yin* and *yang*," and he believed that the two forces of *yin* and *yang* with their unity of opposites pervaded all the vital activities of the human body from beginning to end. Furthermore, in his opinion: "The five viscera are interconnected and transmission (between them) is in a definite order. If the five viscera are diseased, each

Continued on page 10

Understanding of the Human Body

Continued from page 9

transmits that which has overcome it." This illustrated that under normal conditions or those of disease, each organ is mutually related and mutually controls the others. He similarly pointed out, "If joy and sorrow are unrestrained, if heat or cold are excessive, life will not be stable." He recognized the significance of the "seven passions" (joy, anger, sorrow, fear, love, hate, and lust) and the "six excesses" (wind, cold, heat, moisture, drought, and fire) in the onset of illness, and he explained the intimate relationship between a person's mental activities and his physical activities and between a person's vital activities and his external surroundings. Though these viewpoints had not achieved a scientific analysis in their understanding of each part of the body, in terms of general relatedness, they were more correct than the metaphysical, localistic view-

But, in the human body, are stability and unity ultimately absolute, or are change and struggle absolute? The question of how to understand the phenomena of equilibrium and stability in the human body sharply reflects the opposition of dialectics and metaphysics.

point represented by Virchow. Naturally, the later Tung Chung-shu group strove to use the opiate of idealism and metaphysics to impede understanding of the human body and inserted the dregs of Confucian thought into the theory of *yin* and *yang* and the five agents. Eliminating such garbage is an important component of the glorious task of inheriting and fostering our country's great storehouse of pharmacology.

In 1875, Engels, basing himself on the contemporary achievements of natural science, made a profound dialectical generalization on the role of the nervous system in the unification of the organism as a whole: "The nervous system, when developed to a certain extent—by posterior elongation of the head ganglion of the worm—takes possession of the whole body and organizes it according to its needs" (*Dialectics of Nature*). Since the end of the nineteenth century, the study of the nervous system, particularly the animal nervous system, which controls the activities of the various internal organs, has gone on to explain the neurological regulation of various activities within the body. In the twentieth century, there have been discovered in succession several dozen endocrines secreted by internal glands as well as other physiologically active materials. Hence, the general concept of the regulatory function of endocrines has developed. The whole body is filled with nerves and blood vessels, and thus, by means of the nervous system and the endocrine system, each organ and system is related to form the whole. It has by now been proven that nerve cells in the lower section of the brain secrete a number of fluids which control the activities of the endocrine glands, and this destroys the boundaries which had previously been thought to clearly divide neurological from endocrine regulation. It also establishes the principle of unified neurological and endocrine regulation under the domination of the nervous system. It is precisely this neurological and endocrine regulation which achieves the mutual relatedness of the various organs and systems and guarantees the unity of the whole human body.

Because of the long duration of the influence of metaphysical ways of thinking on many natural science workers and because the capitalist class was already heading toward decline, reaction, and an extreme maintenance of a metaphysical world view, the localistic viewpoint represented by Virchow not only was not destroyed at the time, but its influence gradually extended to impede the development of the science of the human body and of medicine. Various biases in Western medicine, for example, in the care of the sick, looking only at the head if the head aches, the foot if the foot hurts, looking only at the part and not at the whole, looking only at the illness and not the sick person, and ignoring the importance of the role of subjective activity in the prevention of disease, all are the evil influences of this sort of localistic viewpoint on the practice of healing the sick. In the various fields of basic medicine, the study of the parts is most frequent, and the study of the mutual relatedness and mutual functions of each system, organ, tissue, and cell is lacking. Even in the new areas of the study of the animal and human body, metaphysical localism is still firmly manifested. For example, in the last twenty years, the study of the structure and function of the higher elements of animal life (proteins, amino acids, and so forth) has advanced rapidly, and one of the accomplishments has been the production of an artificial pancreatic material. This new area of study has already been greatly influential in the science of the human body. The body's heredity, memory, immunity and other such vital phenomena, the process of assimilation and excretion, the various physiological activities, and the mechanisms and principles of their neurological and endocrine regulation have all, in varying degrees, been given a new explanation and

form one aspect at the level of molecular biology. This is a forceful confirmation of the material nature and the ability to understand the vital activities and the process of disease in the human body, a new victory for the viewpoint of dialectical materialism. But there are those who ignore this accomplishment and assert that all vital activities at bottom can be traced to the activities of molecules, biology being no more than a branch of physics and chemistry, and hence they deny the diversity of things. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Any form of motion contains within itself its own particular contradiction. This particular contradiction constitutes the particular quality which distinguishes one thing from all others. This is the internal cause or, as it may be called, the basis of the thousand and one ways in which things are different from one another" ("On Contradiction"). But if it is denied that different things have different particular natures, then there are no means to explain the process of the dialectical progression of things from the lowest level to the highest; nor can the difference between the parts of a whole and an independent part be understood. Historically, Morgagni absolutized the organ, Virchow absolutized the cell, and today the

standing of the human body develops without interruption along the correct road.

Concerning the Relationship of Equilibrium and Motion

The structure and functions of the human body are extremely complex, while the outer environment is also normally in a state of flux. How the organism is able to maintain normal vital activities is an important question in understanding the human body. Physicians in our own country long ago realized the unity of opposites, of *yin* and *yang*, to generalize about the various structures and functions of the body, and they pointed out: "If the *yin* is tranquil and the *yang* mysterious, then the nerves will be well ordered." If the *yin* is dominant, then the *yang* will be diseased, and if the *yang* is dominant, then the *yin* will be diseased." They witnessed that the balance and harmony of the various physiological functions of the body were very important in carrying out the normal vital activities. In the nineteenth century, the French physiologist Bernard suggested that cells live directly in the "internal environment" of the secretions of the blood and tissues and that the "stability of the internal environment is the primary condition for a free and independent life." After the beginning of the twentieth century, many scholars studied the phenomenon of the stability of the internal environment and its principles and went further to suggest the scientific concept that the "internal environment is stable" ("condition of stability"). This deepened the understanding of the various functions of the human body in its maintenance of a relative stability.

Obviously, the relative stability of the body's internal environment and its physiological functions is a widespread phenomenon. Body temperature, blood pressure, the pulse, the degree of blood acidity, the amount of blood sugar, and the like are ordinarily all maintained within definite limits, and undulating movements which lead away from this level of stability are regulated and returned to normal by the regulatory mechanism of the nerves and endocrines. Otherwise, if things became too high or too low, normal vital activities could not be maintained and there would be sickness and perhaps even death. But, in the human body, are stability and unity ultimately absolute, or are change and struggle absolute? The question of how to understand the phenomena of equilibrium and sta-

reductionists absolutize the molecule; this is in actuality metaphysical localism, a new form of mechanism. Whether we look at it from practice or theory, a profound criticism of this metaphysical localism, which looks at the part as higher than all else, is still a realistic task of battle. An important theoretical and practical problem for both Western and Eastern medicine is the pursuit, from the physiological, pathological, and pharmacological aspects, of a correct study of the relationship of the body as a whole and its parts. Another aspect of the problem is the need to prevent the tendency to deny the parts and

One substance changes into another, one capacity is transformed into another, one condition changes into another, this proceeds extensively at all times within the human body.

view the body as a whole as divorced from its parts and to view the vital activities as some mysterious "vitalism." In the fourth century B.C. Aristotle said that vital activity was the embodiment of a mysterious "vital force" which had the role of creating and giving form. After this, this "vitalist" position, constantly appearing in new forms, became a stubborn fortress of the idealist point of view on the animal and human body. In recent years, there have been those who, under different banners, have obliterated the general laws concerning the material foundation and material movement in vital activities, but in reality this is simply a reappearance of "vitalism." Revisionists have trumpeted a "spiritualism," and some superstitious movements have trumpeted this sort of thing in order to deceive and muddle people. Only dialectical materialism can profoundly reveal the dialectical unity of the whole and its parts, that is, in studying the laws of activity of the organism as a whole, it is also necessary to pay heed to its parts, including a study of the chemical basis of vital activities, so that our under-

bility in the human body sharply reflects the opposition of dialectics and metaphysics. Bernard said: "All living structures, in spite of their number and diversity, have only one aim, and that is to maintain the internal stability which is a condition for life." Although Bernard pointed out the importance of the stability of the internal environment and furthered the study of the vital activities of animals and humans and their regulatory principles, in terms of theoretical generalizations, he left behind "ceaseless motion" to stress only stability. This was very one-sided and led to the metaphysical theory of equilibrium in biology and medicine. There were also those who, in terms of theory, simply would not acknowledge the phenomena of equilibrium and stability in the human body nor their significance and, from the opposite extreme, also fell into metaphysics, thus being unable to correctly reveal the objective dialectics of the human body. Opposing these two kinds of one-sidedness is necessary for correctly understanding the human body and for

Continued on page 13

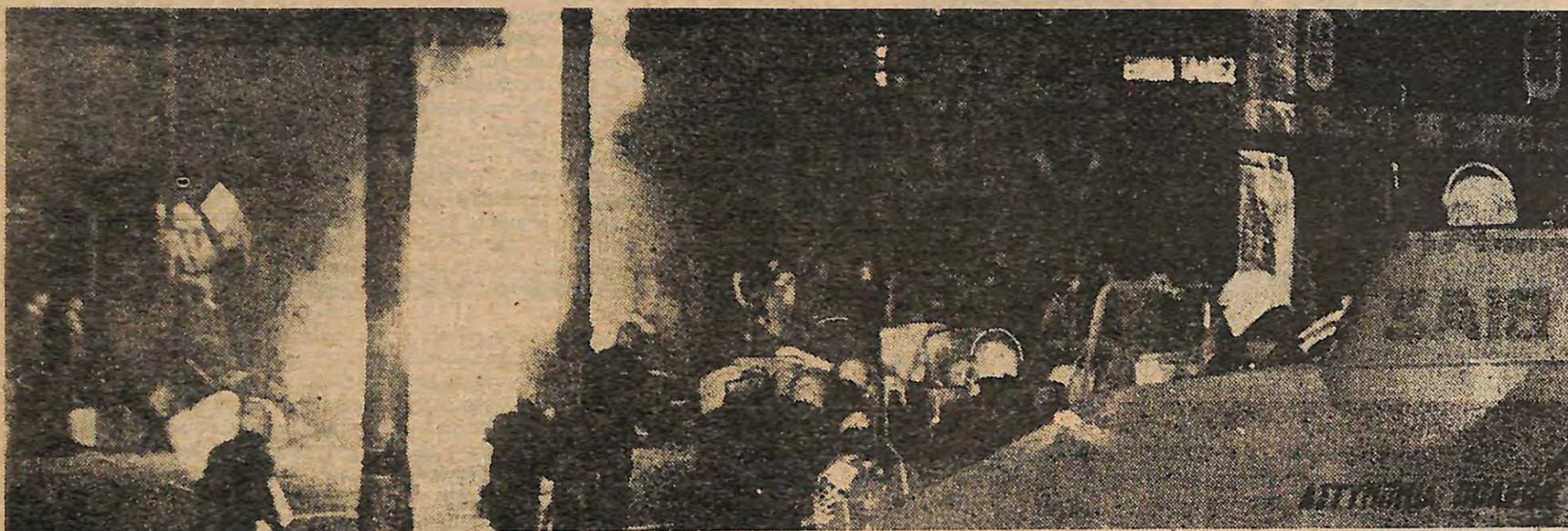
\$2.00 (plus \$.50 postage)

Available from
RCP Publications,
P.O. Box 3488,
Merchandise Mart,
Chicago IL 60654

NEW
PROGRAMME
AND
NEW
CONSTITUTION
OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY
COMMUNIST
PARTY, USA

(DRAFTS FOR DISCUSSION)
1980





Scenes from the November 17 demonstration in Athens, Greece.

Greece

Continued from page 3

U.S. imperialists' war plans and indicate the renewed revolutionary struggle of the Greek people which has had a long and proud history. After militant and heroic armed opposition to German imperialism during World War 2, Greece was occupied by the British imperialists in no small part due to the betrayal of the Communist Party of Greece. But even well after the end of the war, in the late '40s, the Greek masses rose up in a three-year civil war against the Greek ruling classes who were backed first by the British and then the U.S. It took massive U.S. military support to finally crush this revolutionary upsurge. Ever since the Truman Doctrine in 1946, when the U.S. declared the entire Mediterranean to be *its* imperialist turf, a succession of reactionary regimes have ruled Greece with the aid of U.S. imperialism. In 1967, with popular struggle on the rise again, the CIA helped organize the fascist coup by the notorious "Greek colonels" who instituted a seven-year reign of terror in an attempt to stamp out the continuing

struggle of the Greek masses. But by 1974, resistance to the fascist junta and anti-American sentiment had reached such a fierce level that the junta fell, only to be replaced by a more "democratic" bourgeois dictatorship headed by President Karamanlis, the current ruler.

Obviously, for the U.S. imperialists, Greece is quite vital militarily—especially now as they prepare for the outbreak of war with their Soviet social-imperialist rivals. Along with neighboring Turkey, Greece forms the southeastern tip of the NATO alliance which faces off against the Eastern European countries that make up the Warsaw Pact's formidable military machine. Both countries are literally dotted with U.S. air bases and other vital installations which provide the major base for the powerful U.S. Sixth Fleet and other military operations. This area is of immense strategic value in their calculations for waging and winning World War 3. Not only will this be an important war theatre for the defense of the U.S.'s Western European empire—the place where they hope to contain the Soviets' main naval fleet which must pass through the Dardanelles and the

Bosporus to and from the Mediterranean Sea—but the NATO forces concentrated here will also be a major spearhead for a strike launched against Soviet forces in the Middle East.

In this light, both the U.S. and Greek rulers were watching carefully to see what would develop on Nov. 17, and clearly they were not the only ones who were shaken by the events of that day and the ones that followed. Almost immediately, the revisionists and the social-democratic forces like Andreas Papandreu—who, along with his Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement, has long been promoted by the U.S. as the loyal bourgeois opposition (as was his father) to whichever repressive government is in power—rushed to condemn the march on the embassy. They screeched that it was the work of "anarchists" and "destructive elements" who had "tried to defame the struggle of the Polytechnic students," attempting to put the blame for the violence on the demonstrators themselves. Most revealing was the fact that the Greek government was quick to praise the revisionist-led Student Union for its "responsible" stand and attitude.

These latest anti-U.S. upheavals have

come at a most inopportune time for the U.S. imperialists, the Greek ruling class, and those who front for them. Not surprisingly, news of the demonstrations was almost completely blacked out of the U.S. press. It was only last month that NATO headquarters in Brussels triumphantly announced the return of Greece to its unified military command structure (Greece withdrew in 1974 in protest against the Turkish invasion of Cyprus) in a major move to solidify the southern flank of the U.S. bloc's military apparatus. Recently the U.S. has had to do some heavy leaning on its Greek and Turkish junior partners to patch up their longstanding differences and start gearing them up for the outbreak of war with the Soviets—including instigating the recent military coup in Turkey.

But one factor they have continually underestimated is the powerful revolutionary movement among the masses in these countries. Now in the U.S. imperialists' hour of most desperate need, the righteous struggle of the Greek people is breaking loose once again and threatening to throw a considerable monkey wrench into their carefully calculated and predatory plans. □

U.S. RULERS DELIVER DESPERATE MESSAGE

Continued from page 1

called the rally and whose members were killed. The state "prosecutors" and the defense lawyers worked harmoniously to pick an all white jury that included relatives of Klansmen, of a cop and other assorted reactionaries. And as a final touch, the state supplied the Klansmen and Nazis with their "defense": an FBI agent who testified that as an "audio expert" the tapes of the gunfire indicated to him that the "fatal" shooting might have been started by someone other than the Klan and Nazis—even though one Klansman himself testified at the trial that the first shots had come from the caravan.

The Greensboro murders and the ver-

dict acquitting the killers has jolted millions and filled them with a gut wrenching outrage. That jolt reflects the leaps and developments in the situation in this country and the world that are behind the Greensboro massacre.

Murder and terrorism are nothing new for the U.S. ruling class. They have perpetrated thousands of Greensboros—and far worse—throughout the world. Their State Department and CIA are experts at organizing assassination units and hit squads to carry out political murders. It is no secret who is behind such right-wing murder squads in El Salvador and Guatemala. Everyone now knows the role of the U.S. in training and supplying the Shah of Iran's brutal secret police, SAVAK.

Nor is the murder of Black and other minority nationalities and others who resist oppression anything new at all in this country.

What is new about Greensboro, and other events lately, is the blatant and deliberate way the ruling class has let their mask of "American justice and democracy" drop a little within the U.S. itself, and revealed more fully the naked force of arms that is the foundation of their power. This is what has jolted people. But these cold-blooded execution style murders were not commissioned by the ruling class out of growing strength, but rather increasing weakness. This is the most important thing to grasp about this whole event. For this is not the action of a ruling class secure in its domination and control of the masses.

Their whole system of legalized robbery and murder, of brutal exploitation and oppression, is facing severe and deepening economic and political crisis which is fast approaching the point of worldwide explosion. Their economy is

in shambles and all their efforts to revive and prop it up have been shown to be bankrupt. From the Vietnam war to Iran to Nicaragua, their once seemingly iron grip on their far flung empire has been challenged and weakened, if not completely broken. And everywhere they turn they are confronted by their equally imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union.

This crisis has drawn millions into struggle against them at home and throughout the world. They can sense that what is going on now are only the initial shockwaves of the collapses and upheavals that are rumbling beneath the surface. The uprisings in Miami and Chattanooga this past summer that showed the defiant rebelliousness that smoulders among millions of Black people, along with other outbreaks among other sections of the people, are only a small sign, a taste of the future when the relative stability that the U.S. imperialists have been able to maintain

Continued on page 12



Revolutionary Worker

Powerful Women's Demo

Continued from page 3

to mourn and rage and defy the Pentagon because it is the workplace of the imperial power which threatens us all." The statement went on to denounce specific examples of war preparations as represented in such things as Presidential Directive No. 59 (which admitted the U.S. retargeting of its nuclear arsenal to insure first strike capabilities against its Soviet imperialist rivals).

Picking a week day so as to catch a maximum number of the brass at home, the action of the 17th began with a silent walk through endless rows of white tombstones in Arlington Military Cemetery and then moved to the loudest possible display of rage and disgust outside the Pentagon building

itself. "We won't take it!" the angry women chanted as they shook their fists at the gray arch-symbol of imperialist war. Slogans were painted on the entrances. At one point, they joined hands to form a ring which completely encircled the huge Pentagon Building. Symbolically, the demonstration was divided into four stages, ranging from "Mourning," in which grave markers commemorating the victims of imperialism were planted on the Pentagon's lawn, to "Defiance," in which the women sought to physically block the entrances to the building.

"Defiance" was a good description. In fact, the militant action of many women outstripped what had been called

for in the demonstration instruction sheet. Entrances to the building were defiantly obstructed as the women got right in the faces of the smug Pentagon officers.

The authorities obviously concluded that these women were too much to take. The exposure had hit hard and the Women's Pentagon Action was viciously hit as a special target for retribution. The post-election media orgy which, ad nauseum, fanfared the "wave of conservatism sweeping the nation" and proclaimed the "demand" of the people for more military spending (not to speak of the "swing to the right" on the issue of the role of women), was looking a little discredited to say the least. And by all means, swift measures (however vain) had to be taken to prevent more such action in the future.

The order was given and the Federal Protective Service (the cops who guard the Pentagon) moved on the women. Some women had been at the entrances only minutes before the cops waded in. No arrests were made at the main gate where the press was located, an obviously conscious decision. A literal charge was led by some women, while others skillfully evaded the clutches of the pigs and struggled to continue their demonstration. Ultimately, the police managed to bust nearly 120 women; the disposable plastic handcuffs were drawn up extra tight.

But the arrests on the day of the demonstration were only the beginning of the message the authorities wanted to deliver. The women who had been arrested were all arraigned the same day. Most were barred from meeting with lawyers. Thirty-four of them pleaded guilty to misdemeanor charges expecting light fines. But in a prearranged and coordinated effort, justice was meted out swiftly; instead of light fines, they all got convicted and slapped with jail sentences of between 10 and 30 days, depending on record of previous arrest. The women were immediately bound in leg irons and chains and hauled off to a Federal Prison in Alderson, West Virginia. (Alderson has a reputation as a prison which holds women convicted for political reasons.) Workers at the Alderson Hospitality House (a center which monitors the treatment of prisoners at Alderson) have called attention to the fact that this is the first time in the history that women sentenced to less than 60 days have been sent to the prison. They also report that the women arrived in the chains in which they were originally

shackled, were denied food and medical treatment, and were held in an unheated bus for over twelve hours.

The arrests and events which followed showed the danger posed to the authorities by actions like this. But the danger didn't simply lie in the immediate effect of the action that day—as significant as it was. As noted, the event itself had become an arena of struggle shown by the lively and political atmosphere which prevailed. Big questions were posed and grappled with. The Sunday workshops, for example, covered a wide field of topics. In one on the subject of poverty, the idea of revolution was introduced into the discussion by one participant and from there on out, the question took center stage. Many people openly applauded this position, many opposed it while others sat in pensive silence. All took the discussion seriously. The relationship between the women's movement and the struggle of oppressed nationalities was also taken up in a workshop. The conference closed with a street march and vigil dedicated to Yulanda Ward, a Black woman and revolutionary activist recently assassinated in Washington, D.C.

Summation of the demonstration and the events which surrounded it continued long after Monday. The heavy-handedness of the authorities had visibly shaken more than a few demonstrators, and in particular, debate arose over the role of pacifism. While there were clearly different ideas about this at the demonstration itself, struggle around it was sharper afterward. People had come up against the hand of the state, and had learned something about its nature. The ideas of many were undoubtedly expressed by one woman. She pointed to the nature of the period on the horizon in this country and the world—perceptions sharpened by the demonstration itself—and said that the "role of pacifism has to be evaluated by the movement in general."

The Women's Pentagon Action drew together 2,000 and issued a sharp indictment of our rulers' preparations for war. And as this system moves headlong toward war and intensifies its oppression throughout society on every level, more and more people will be moved to political action and more demonstrations like this can be expected. The rulers—who will try to block this process—will learn that their efforts are in vain. □

DESPERATE MESSAGE

Continued from page 11

in this country breaks down even more completely. They are forced to step up their level of repression in an effort to choke off and silence any resistance to their rule. This includes the escalation of their efforts to terrorize Black people into submission. The verdict in Greensboro is only part of the picture, and it is not unrelated to the mass murders of Black children in Atlanta, Black men in Buffalo, and the wave upon wave of wanton police murders in cities throughout the country.

Yet everytime they try to reassert and maintain their control, they only draw more people into resistance and create even more fertile ground for conscious revolutionary forces to expose them and to mobilize more people into a force that will overthrow them. This is true internationally and here in the U.S. as well.

They have no choice. They cannot avoid arousing and drawing into political motion their own gravediggers. As Mao Tsetung said: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again... till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic."

The Greensboro murders were directed consciously and specifically at

people who called themselves communists. That the "Communist" Workers Party is communist in name only does not change the fact that it was meant as a particular message to those among the masses who dare step forward to be part of a conscious revolutionary force. It was meant to say to them, you can't do that, you can't afford to be caught with communists, revolutionaries, any kind of agitators, troublemakers or left-wing extremists, because if you do, you'll be caught dead. A *New York Times* editorial after the verdict was very blunt about this message. After smugly noting that the Klan is growing (surprise they should notice, after they and the rest of the bourgeois media have spent the last year promoting, glorifying—and inflating them), the *Times* warns that "there are now many more blacks and whites who will stand up and fight back." Then they get to the heart of it. "All American communities need to be alert to the stirrings of agitators."

Why? Because no one has deep and profound questions about where the hell things are going? Because no one is willing to listen to revolutionaries? Because no one is interested in the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism? If these "agitators" and their ideas are so rejected by the masses, if they are so isolated, then why the hell does the *Times* even have to warn about

them? And why does the bourgeoisie have to kill them? If the love for this country and the capitalist system the Klan and Nazis represent is so deep and broad among the masses of people, why do they have to go to such great lengths to try to whip up patriotism—with such meager results? If people are so united behind the ruling class, why are they forced to intensify the use of police brutality and murder to try to create a climate of frightened submission?

The "civilized" gangsters who run this country have been forced to revive scum like the Klan and the Nazis and promote them as if they represented the outlook and opinion of the majority of people precisely because they are desperate to try to create that kind of public opinion. For weeks before the verdict and since, Kluckers and Nazis have been given prime radio and TV coverage nationally, interviewed in the most polite and gentlemanly fashion. And then because they are all over T.V., we're supposed to believe how popular they are. But if they can't really create massive and unwavering opinion in their favor, they at least have to try to fool people into thinking they have, and to make those who hate this system and are willing to step forward to mobilize others to tear it down think that such a step would be useless, because they will simply be crushed in a wave of reaction.

But just the opposite is true. In their efforts to strike fear into the hearts of the oppressed and the revolutionary-minded people through the Greensboro murders, the ruling class has awakened many thousands more. They risked a

high political price because they recognize that there is a growing basis for those advanced revolutionary forces who come forward from among the people to arouse broader and broader numbers. They are compelled to risk tremendous exposure and risk bringing even more people into action against them because they desperately need to try to intimidate and demoralize these forces and prevent them from playing the revolutionary role they can play right now. But this shows all the more why people who hate this shit and who dream of getting rid of it, people who long for revolution to sweep away these arch criminals and their scum like the KKK and Nazis, must seize the time and the opportunity to create public opinion now, precisely in order to seize power when the time is ripe. Greensboro is not only another reason why this system must be overthrown, but a sign that it can and will be. □



Prisoner writes:

REPORT FROM INSIDE PONTIAC

We received this letter from a prisoner at Pontiac Prison in Illinois.

Dear Comrades, I greet you in solidarity and unity in the struggle.

I would like to bring to your attention a most vicious existing condition here which has now become a daily occurrence. This is the vicious, malicious, and brutal, macing and beating of Black prisoners by white racist and KKK prison guards. These racists run in these cells 6 and 8 at a time with mace, black leather gloves on, with clubs. They wear their riot gear. They then handcuff and beat these Black prisoners continuously. They handcuff these brothers and then continue to beat, choke and drag these brothers. They steal and destroy their personal property. Many of these racist guards have made rank simply for these beatings. One particular officer, one of the most vicious and racist of all, Lt. Benje, was only working for the IDOC for only a period of 10 months before they made him an "acting" lieutenant, above all

of the other officers who had been working here a much longer period of time. This KKK racist was usually, and still is usually, in on most of these beatings personally. They made scum the Lt. in charge of the Segregation Unit where he can beat all the Black brothers any time he wants to, and nothing is done by the corrupt prison officials other than to sanction this fucking shit. Further, and get this, there is supposed to be an investigation by, are you ready for this?, the Illinois Department of Law Enforcement for this very same thing, against many of these SAME officers. This shows you what the hell the IDLE is in reality all about. These are the same motherfuckers that investigated the Pontiac 17 for the Department of Corrections.

By the way, while I am thinking about it, the last article that I have read concerning Pontiac Correctional Center and all, RW No. 76, October 17, 1980 is one of the BEST that I have read. I was here through all that bullshit, and I was in the North Cell

House all of that time. I know what went on. This article printed it like it was. There were a lot of things left out. One of the things that wasn't mentioned was the beatings of prisoners when we were finally given our "first" showers. They had guards from all the other institutions down here giving showers. We were taken out of our cells 10 at a time, handcuffed, and taken to the shower room where the handcuffs were then taken off. We were beaten on our way to and from the shower room. We were also forced to take our showers in the "cold" water most of the time, and no windows in the shower room. In the winter!!! This was in fact left out of that article. I just thought I would mention this to you in case you were not aware of this going on as well.

As for the personal property being taken at that time, well that is still going on all over the seg unit. I have two small claims lawsuits filed right now. One for the taking of one of my law books, and one for the taking of my AM-FM radio. They are taking personal property away

from all our brothers every day...

Another thing, I am also one of the targets of the "hit list" that these corrupt officers have going. They can't understand me. They have the sick mentality that because my skin pigmentation is "white" that I "should" be one of their racists. Ha. As long as I am strong in the struggle they cannot say it is only the "niggers" trying to cause trouble. If they can break me, NEVER!!!!!! they might be able to try and "control" the other "troublemakers." This is one thing that makes me even more stronger in the struggle for my Black brothers. This is a block in their fucking system and they either have to break me or then they have to eliminate me. I am willing to go all the way for our common struggle. I made this commitment openly and completely knowing all of the consequences and sacrifices.

Sincerely,
Your Comrade

Understanding of the Human Body

Continued from page 10

developing new medical learning in our country.

Four years before Bernard published his basic views, Engels wrote: "The possibility of temporary states of equilibrium is the essential condition for the differentiation of matter and hence for life." "In the living organism we see continual motion of all the smallest particles as well as of the larger organs, resulting in the continuing equilibrium of the total organism during the normal period of life, which still always remains in motion, the living unity of motion and equilibrium." "Any equilibrium is only relative and temporary" (*Dialectics of Nature*). What a decisive assertion about the functions and activities of animals and man! The great amount of facts provided by recent science fully proves that within the human body there is everywhere a unity of opposites; the anabolism and catabolism of matter, the excitement and relaxation of the nerves, the diastolic and systolic pressure of the blood flow, the production and dissipation of body heat, the coagulation and anticoagulation of the blood, the material which contracts and that which relaxes the blood vessels during circulation, the antigens and antibodies in immunological response, the mutual antagonism and control of hormones... (sic) there is

no organ, no process, which is not one of the "contradictory opposites both unified and struggling which impel the motion and changes of things" (Mao Tse-tung, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"). One substance changes into another, one capacity is transformed into another, one condition changes into another, this proceeds extensively at all times within the human body. "Life, the mode of existence of all albuminous bodies, consists primarily in the fact that at every moment the albuminous body is itself and, at the same time, something else" (*Anti-Dühring*). Death is an important element of life. Within the human body there is renewal and birth, decay and death, everywhere. Not only are the contradictions of birth and death embodied in the whole process from the fertilized egg developing into a person right to old age and death, but a person is, at every wink of the eye, in the midst of uninterrupted production and decline. The skin grows ceaselessly and is sloughed off ceaselessly; corpuscles are produced ceaselessly and are destroyed ceaselessly. As for nerve cells, which were once considered nonrenewable, their protein material and such elements are being renewed ceaselessly. This is like a person who, in his whole life, will in reality not know how many times his whole body has changed. Any equilibrium is, and can only be, a state of contradictory motion. The various parts of the body as a whole live from beginning to end in the midst of ceaseless production and destruction, ceaseless motion and change. This kind of motion is

manifested through the two states of relative stability and of marked change and clearly shows that the development of the human body and each individual organ is characterized by stages.

The differing interpretations of the phenomena of equilibrium and stability in the organism have produced extremely different influences on the practice of medicine. A one-sided stress on equilibrium and stability leads people to approach the treatment of illness and maintenance of health in terms of negative equilibrium and passive defense and to stress only rest and nourishment. Proceeding from the outlook of the dialectical unity of motion and equilibrium, people have come to understand that motion is more basic and more important to the human body than stability and equilibrium. A stout will to struggle, feelings of revolutionary optimism, urgent work and study, regular physical labor, and positive physical exercise, all in keeping with the dialectical motion of the human body, are no doubt important guarantees for strengthening the constitution, avoiding illness, and raising the level of health. Naturally, if the aspect of relative equilibrium and stability inside the body is denied, then important precautions, rest, and regulation would be ignored, and this too would be one-sided. If we correctly grasp the dialectical relationship of motion and equilibrium and make different concrete analyses of different physical conditions, we can certainly make our country's medical and health care work serve the people even better.

The Bourgeois Media and the Greensboro Verdict

Right from the time of the execution of the five members of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) at that anti-Klan demonstration in Greensboro last November the events of the murders and the trial, as well as the groups and individuals involved, have been extensively covered by the newspapers, radio and TV in this country. As was pointed out in the RW leaflet reprinted in this issue, this extensive coverage was done for a reason: the ruling class had a message to deliver and they wanted to make sure it got out. But literally every single piece of coverage in the media bears out the point that V.I. Lenin makes about the role of the press in a bourgeois-democratic society. Freedom of the press, he said, under capitalism is false and hypocritical "because in fact it is freedom for the rich to buy and bribe the press, freedom for the rich to befuddle the people with the venomous lies of the bourgeois press."

The first task assigned to the media was to promote and glorify the KKK and the Nazis. This was done through the numerous TV and radio interviews that presented them as representatives of a substantial and growing segment of public opinion." Perhaps the most straightforward example of the press' role in this raising of the right was the article run in a Norfolk, Virginia newspaper the day before the verdict quoting a former *Esquire* magazine

editor from Durham, North Carolina. "I've had a tinge of Red myself," he said, "but these (Communists) aren't ever going to do any good down here. I don't know how many members of the Klan there are in this state—2,000 say. Trouble is, there's 2 million people in this state who, down in their hearts, think the Klan's right."

But the most disgusting example of the way the media has slobbered all over these scum occurred the day after the verdict at a press conference called by Nazi leader Harold Covington. Covington began his rantings by excluding the only Black reporter present from the press conference. Not one other reporter got up and left in response. Instead everyone of them sat there slurping up every bit of dribble that this guy dished out—and then made sure it got to their editors to be splashed all over the evening news and morning newspapers. Of course, any reporter standing against this shit—and there are many—is bounced off the beat or right off the newsroom floor.

At the same time every effort is made to portray revolutionaries and communists (even though the CWP has nothing to do with communism) as completely isolated, irrelevant sects, any time a dozen Klan or Nazis call a "demonstration," (where they are usually surrounded and protected by ten to twenty times as many cops), they

are given a slot on prime time news.

In addition to their job as public relations men for the Nazis and the Klan, the bourgeois media also was assigned the task of helping lay the basis to convict and jail a number of Communist Workers Party members, on rioting charges, who survived the shootings. From the beginning what was clearly an armed attack, a planned hit by the Nazis and Klan was described in all the media as a "shootout" between the CWP and the Klan/Nazis. In part this was done to provide some flimsy legal excuse for acquitting these killers, but it was also intended to create a picture of "crazies from the left and right killing each other," while the capitalists sit in their mansions smelling sweet. But while they talk about the revolutionaries and the Klan both being "bad" and social outcasts, it is made clear that the Klukkars are really just good ol' boys—the bourgeoisie's good ol' boys. They are just a little extremist in their patriotism and love of country. Well, there is no denying that the KKK and Nazis are fitting representatives of American patriotism.

In order to take the heat the verdict has fueled off the authorities, the media, in Atlanta and other cities of the South have taken the tact of blaming the CWP for the acquittals of the KKK/Nazis, on one level saying it was because they refused to participate in

the trial and give testimony, but really implying because they provoked the confrontation with the Klan.

Also, great use was made right after the verdict of flunkies in the NAACP and various Black ministers to run out the line that "Black people don't want anything to do with either revolutionaries or Klansmen"—in effect equating the two. At a silent march in Greensboro after the verdict, called by the NAACP and others, one guy even got up and urged the demonstrators not to "confuse anti-communism with racism."

But among many more people than our rulers think, this multi-media spectacular has had the opposite effect, only angering people more. Many have stepped forward to forcibly denounce the whole bloody affair. Countless workers and others—including whites, sorry Mr. Capitalist—have taken a sharp stand and have brought forward their hatred of this verdict and the point behind it. The jolt which has hit people in general has raised some big questions. And as the Cronkites, the Chancellors and Wallaces continue to read the scripts provided them by the captains of finance capital, the jolt that they themselves have provided creates the possibility for even more people to pick up these media-mouths' garbage and throw it right back in their prime-time faces. □

Proletarian Revolution on Trial in China

Continued from page 5

Mao's counterattack as he waged war against the Right within the Party. At a Central Committee meeting in Lushan in 1959, Mao directed his criticism of the Right at Peng in particular, saying, "Coming to Lushan, I have noticed three things: we have accomplished great things, many problems remain to be resolved; the future is bright. But right away a new series of problems has arisen with right opportunism launching a frantic attack against the Party. . . . True, there have been shortcomings and errors, but we've corrected them. They try to seize hold of that and attack the general line to overthrow us." Mao threatened, "I will go to the countryside to lead the peasants to overthrow the government. If those of you in the Liberation Army won't follow me, then I will go and find a Red Army, and organize another Liberation Army. But I think the Liberation Army would follow me."

Liu and Deng found themselves cornered politically and forced to sacrifice Peng, their most powerful partner because of his control of the Army, in order to avoid losing everything to Mao's counterattack. But after a brief period they resumed their protection of Peng, who retained important military and Party positions. As the class struggle in China continued, the newly generated bourgeoisie concentrated within the leadership of the Party again went on the offensive against Mao, issuing a play, "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office," which, under the cover of historical allegory, was a bitter protest against Mao's "mistreatment" of Peng, in order to rally their forces, bureaucrats and others whose political line and outlook led them to try to use their privileged position under socialism to become a new capitalist class oppressing and exploiting the workers and peasants. And again Peng became the focus of Mao's counterattack, as Mao guided Yao Wen-yuan in writing an article criticizing this play that lay bare what the rightists were up to and served as the opening shot in launching the Cultural Revolution to overthrow Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping and all other "Party persons in authority following the capitalist road," seize back those portions of power that had been captured by the bourgeoisie, and most basically to transform the outlook of the people in the course of earthshaking mass political struggle.

So, then, what is being said by charging the Four with "persecuting to death" Peng Dehuai? Clearly the real charge here is that the Four fought to politically defeat and actually seized portions of power from the feverishly plotting counterrevolutionaries like Liu, Deng and Peng who were working overtime to overthrow Mao, establish capitalism in China and again enslave the Chinese people. Whatever punishment Peng Dehuai received after his arrest by the Red Guards in 1967 during the Cultural Revolution would most certainly have been justified by his crimes. While it is not known exactly what did happen in this regard, it would not be surprising if the actual charges were being inflated by the revisionists, though, again, the proletariat sheds no tears for its enemies. In fact, for all the parading around of the "bereaved" widows of Liu Shaoqi and He Long and their "grief" which is causing them to demand the max against the Four, what actually is shown on their faces and in their every action, more than any grief, is the arrogance and vindictiveness of the bourgeoisie, calling for the blood of those who dared to not only defy them but to fight tooth and nail for their total defeat and elimination.

Clearly, the real charge here is against the revolutionary line of Mao Tsetung and Mao himself, who was these revisionists' implacable foe. And specifically this is a not very subtle way of declaring that Mao was no good ever since the Great Leap Forward, or in other words, that he was mostly OK for leading the struggle for China's liberation, but that socialism under Mao had been nothing but one long "persecution"—which is completely in line with the present "re-evaluation" of Mao's role in China. This is not a totally new development, since Liu Shaoqi and Peng Dehuai were rehabilitated by their old friend Deng before this trial, but it does more clearly show what is at stake here. It also raises, once again, questions about whether Deng Xiaoping & Co. may be sending a signal to the Soviets that they may be willing to "switch superpowers."

It is obvious that what is meant by "persecution" is opposing revisionism, upholding the class struggle by the working class to overthrow the bourgeoisie and exercise its all-round dictatorship over it. As Chiang Ching herself pointed out in her 181-page blast at the revisionists written earlier this year while in prison (see *RW* 77), the charge that an untold number of innocent people were persecuted during the Cultural Revolution is merely a cover for the revisionists' own persecutions: "If, as you say, the Cultural Revolution really produced so many frame-ups of innocent people, do you mean to say that the same thing did not happen in the 17 years prior to the Cultural Revolution? Aren't the present-day Party Chairman, Hua Guofeng, as well as Ye Jinying, Deng Xiaoping, Peng Chen and Hu Yaobang all also responsible for the numerous cases of frame-ups? Looking at Party history you can ask how many people in China were destroyed with trumped-up charges by Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping and Peng Chen before the Cultural Revolution. Didn't many outstanding cadres become victims? The aim of the Cultural Revolution was precisely to reverse the verdicts on the good cadres that were victimized, overthrow the fascist dictatorship of Liu, Deng, Peng, Tao, and Zhou Enlai, and restore the true faith of the party. What's wrong with that?"

The Planned Shanghai Uprising

The last portion of the indictments made public by the revisionists, dealing with the "plot" to organize an armed revolt in Shanghai after the revisionist coup and the Four's arrest, also reveals some interesting things, this time about the outlook represented and promoted by these revolutionary leaders.

According to the indictment, Chiang, Wang and Yao Wen-yuan began organizing a militia in Shanghai during the Cultural Revolution in order, Chiang is quoted as saying, "to use the gun to protect the (cultural—*RW*) revolution made with the pen." Wang is quoted as saying in the early 1970s, "What worries me is that the army is not in our hands." Both of these statements in fact attest to the sharp class struggle that was raging in China during the Cultural Revolution. Most definitely an armed militia was needed to protect the gains of the Cultural Revolution from the Right that quite fully appreciated the important role of military force in the class struggle as the bourgeoisie has historically. Mao himself advocated and called for the establishment of militias based in the factories and led by the Party. And quite clearly the regular army leadership was a hotbed of revisionists, judging from its role in the 1976 coup. Wang's statement above would appear to be simply a statement of fact. The question of which class actually controlled the armed forces in China was to become a decisive question, because the Right itself resorted to and invariably would resort to the force of arms to take power in China, and only

the armed and organized, politically conscious mass of workers and peasants could stop this from going down.

"We must be on guard. We must pay attention to the trends in class struggle," Chiang Chun-chiao is accused of telling people in Shanghai in September 1976 (just before the coup). "We must heighten our vigilance. The struggle is not yet concluded. The bourgeoisie inside the Party is not lying down after its defeats. There are people who want to put Deng Xiaoping into power," Wang Hung-wen is accused of saying around the same time. He is also "accused" of telling Mao, in October 1974, that Deng and Zhou were plotting to seize power. Of course, Deng and Zhou were doing exactly that, and no one could deny it. The point is, that is exactly what the Four are being tried for: fighting, under Mao's leadership and after his death, to keep political power in the hands of the working class. In reply, again, we must quote from Chiang Ching's recent declaration: "I'm not going to admit to any crimes, not because I want to cut myself off from the people, but because I'm innocent. If I have to admit to anything, I can only say that I lost in this struggle for power."

What is very significant is the outlook expressed by the followers of the Four centered in Shanghai (where they had deep and extensive roots) who, according to the indictments, deployed 33,500 men and large quantities of arms in order to cordon off the center portion of the city and issue "an appeal to the people of the world." One of the Four's followers is quoted in the indictment as saying, "If we cannot keep up the fight for a week, five or three days will suffice to let the whole world know what's happening." For these proletarian revolutionaries, the main question was to advance the struggle of the international working class, regardless of the twists and turns in the immediate future in China and regardless of the likelihood of their being wiped out. Especially when held up for condemnation by self-seeking revisionist slime like Deng & Co., such broad-minded and lofty internationalism can only be cherished by the class-conscious workers of all countries.

Power Plays and Intrigue Among the Revisionists

While the charges against Wang bring up Mao's responsibility in a backhanded way, Communist Party General Secretary and Deng's right hand man Hu Yaobang gave a big boost to the anti-Mao tide in his talk on Nov. 13 with the visiting General Secretary of the Spanish CP. Hu denied that Mao had developed Marxism-Leninism, saying he only "took the ideological method of Marxism-Leninism and applied it to China." But even this Mao did correctly only up to 1957, according to Hu. "From 1957 to his death in 1976, Mao made many mistakes, ultra-left mistakes." Hu's role is as an advance scout to pave the way for Deng. In fact, while Deng himself has made a distinction between Mao's "political mistakes" and the Four's "crimes," he said in an interview with Yugoslavian TV last week that it would be "hard to avoid" having the relationship between Mao and the Four come out in the trial.

Closely related to the attack on Mao is the power play by the Deng forces against other forces within the revisionist clique that hold tactical differences with them. The trial of the Four is a big stick wielded by Deng to subdue opposing forces. The Nov. 14 *People's Daily* reprinted an article from the *Liberation Daily* which called on the army to "further cleanse the poisonous influence of Lin Biao and the 'Gang of Four' . . . throw off the restrictive yokes that are outmoded or have been proven to be incorrect through practice,

and correctly understand and deal with the Party's active policies." This is a pretty clear-cut warning to the army not to step out of line.

The Nov. 15 *Peking Daily* carried on the front page an interview with one Zhang Youyu, a legal expert and vice chairman of the Chinese Social Sciences Academy. Zhang states that to hold up the trial any longer would create suspicion that there are people protecting the Four. Since the squabble within the revisionist dog pack over how to conduct the trial has been one of the major reasons for the repeated delay of the trial, Zhang's remark can be seen as the warning to those opposed to Deng: "Any more footdragging and you'll be labeled a 'protector' of the Four." From these moves, coupled with the purges now going on in Shanxi and Hebei provinces, as well as the recently disclosed plan for a three-year party rectification program to start next year and be aimed mainly at the close to half of the present party membership which was recruited during the Cultural Revolution, what emerges is a major offensive by Deng to clean up any and all opposition to his line in order to consolidate his power further.

Resistance from the revolutionary quarters is by no means out of the equation. A *People's Daily* commentary on the above mentioned Zhang interview warns that if the trial is delayed any further, "the remnants of Lin Biao-Gang of Four counterrevolutionary cliques will be very happy" and "they will continue to hope to take power again." Zhang himself warns that if the defendants disrupt the trial, they may be ordered to leave the court or be charged with contempt.

Since it was in socialist China, under the leadership of Mao and the Four, that the rule of the working class achieved the greatest heights yet reached by humanity, this trial has the greatest significance for the class-conscious workers of all countries, for whom it is most definitely the trial of their own flesh and blood. This gives the resistance that has been shown by Chiang Ching and her comrades so much significance. It is a red banner waved to the revolutionaries of the world. It is the red banner of Mao's line, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, a banner already carried high by growing numbers of revolutionary forces, a banner which will certainly see many, many victories. □

**Thoroughly Expose and Criticize
The "Gang of Four"**

**A Battlefield for Criticizing
The "Gang of Four"**

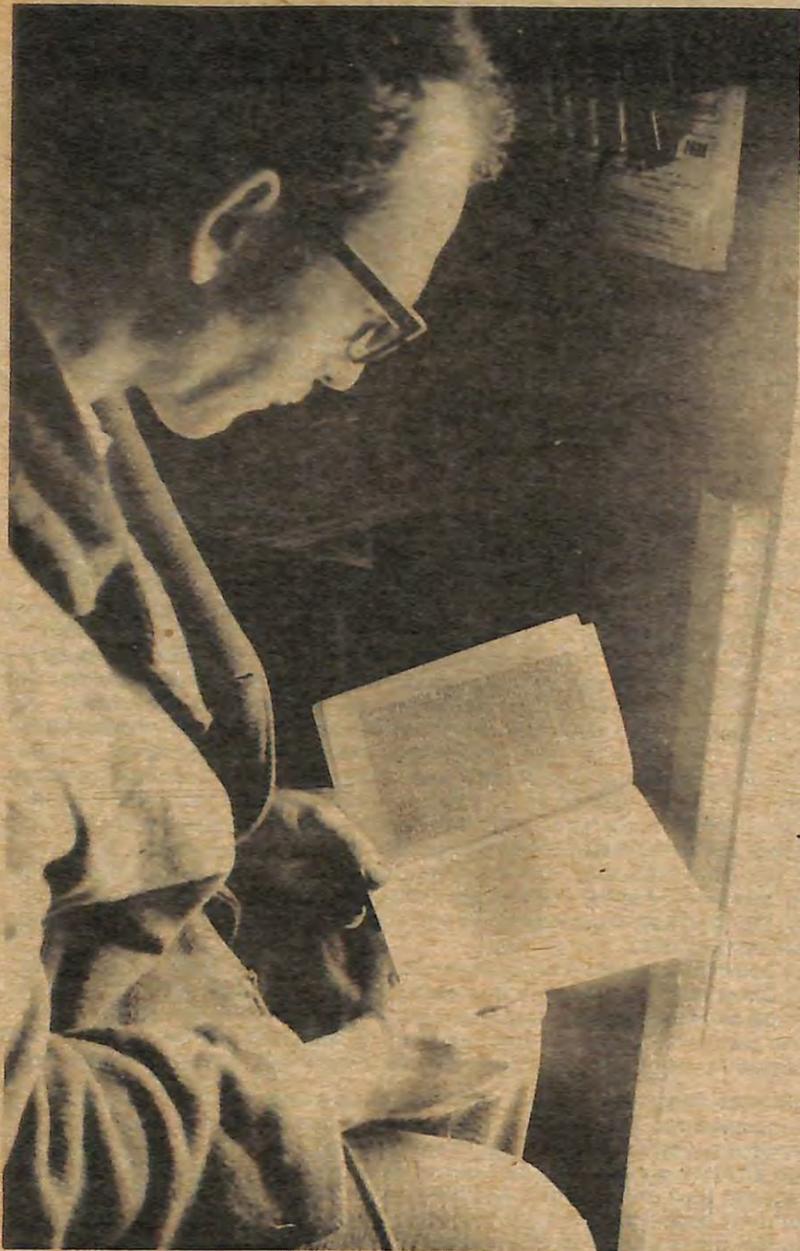
**Ferretting Out "the Bourgeoisie"
— Another "Gang of Four" Saboteur**

**"Gang of Four" Criticizing
AND MAO
MAKES 5**

Why the "Gang of Four" . . .

\$4.95 (paper), \$12.95 (cloth)
include 50¢ postage

Prepay all orders to:
RCP PUBLICATIONS
PO Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654



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.

On Freedom and Democracy Under Socialism

To the RW:

The letter from the lawyer in RW No. 76 regarding the draft programme and people's "civil liberties" under socialism misses three essential points. The lawyer completely missed the role of the Party as the vanguard under socialism, he fails to recognize that socialism is a transition to communism, and most fundamentally he does not understand the conscious dynamic role of the masses which everything rests upon.

All of the bourgeois democratic rights this lawyer lists, free speech, elections, fair trial and bail are instruments of dictatorship by the capitalist class—designed not only for overt intimidation, but to deliberately keep people confused about the nature of this dictatorship, demoralized about changing anything, ever, and politically passive and unconscious.

The bourgeoisie has a great need for these democratic trappings. They are concealing capitalism's "dirty little secret"—the extraction of surplus labor from the working class and the dictatorship which enforces it. These institutions were not designed to suppress feudalists and monarchists but to give the masses, who would have to be more educated than the old world peasants and serfs, the illusion that they were "involved" and their interests "protected" while they were held firmly beneath the thumb of a new ruling class.

But while socialism is also a dictatorship, it is a dictatorship of the majority of society over the minority. It is not founded on exploitation of man by man (although the bourgeoisie is the target of suppression they, as individuals, are not exploited for the benefit of a new ruling class). Since there is no exploitation to cover up, this dictatorship is openly declared and what is even more revolutionary, its eventual elimination is also declared and worked for.

But while the bourgeoisie has no need for consciousness among the masses—in fact this is exactly what will make their rule impossible—the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot exist without it.

The goal of socialism is not to "involve the workers in running society" or "protect the working class from abuses of power." It is to eliminate exploitation and begin the conscious struggle for classless society. Socialism is a bridge between capitalism and communism and the working class must constantly master the laws of nature and society on a higher and higher level thru studying Marxism and waging class struggle, to maintain and strengthen it. This consciousness will inevitably be transformed into matter—this is the actual, physical running of society—both the economic base and the superstructure in a way no law can guarantee.

So any fool who wants to be the U.S. Deng Xiaoping, for example, will not be able to hide behind some vague right of "free speech" or demand his "day in court" to criticize the dictatorship of the proletariat, but better be prepared to take on a politically armed working class whether in an immediate factory floor debate, a "poster war", thru nationally circulated journals or televised debates—whatever. The form can be worked out—the broader the better. The important thing is the conscious political role of the masses in their millions, taking on this political line, learning to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism, and thereby strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. Each revolution from the Paris Commune, thru 1917, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have taught the working class more about seizing and keeping state power. Each step has represented a gain in consciousness and the development of Marxism. There is not an automatic cycle of "gain power then lose it to the bourgeoisie" but an upward spiral in knowledge that will make the bourgeoisie's re-emergence eventually impossible.

And the role of the Party must be understood. It is emphatically *not* to benevolently "immerse leaders in the lives of everyday people" but to be at the forefront of the ever-sharpening class struggle. The Party is the vanguard of the working class. It is made up of the most politically advanced and conscious

members of society. It represents the highest concentration of the understanding of the laws of nature and society—of Marxism. And it can only play its revolutionary role by being at the forefront of the class struggle—ahead of where the masses are spontaneously at and showing the way forward thru deeper understanding of Marxism. The Party is integrated with the masses on all levels of society to systematically sum up the mood and experience of the masses and return this knowledge, concentrated by Marxism, back to the masses as a political line. The masses acting with greater consciousness in turn revolutionize the Party and demand an even more advanced understanding. The goal is to break down (eventually) the difference between leaders and led—the Party and the masses. We do not need laws that will secure a position as "ruling class" for the proletariat (the bourgeoisie will break them anyway) but a higher level of understanding among the masses that will recognize and fight a reemergence of bourgeois ideas and have in mind the goal of elimination of classes and the need for a Party.

Finally a word on this lawyer's warning that those who hold bourgeois freedoms dear will never be won over if they think they will lose their "democratic rights" under socialism. I believe he is mainly talking about the petit-bourgeoisie and this is a good example of why this class cannot lead revolution. This vacillating between wanting a better shake for the working class and democratic rights to speak out against its rule is not helpful—and must fall to one outlook or the other.

I don't think this is a fair characterization of all petit-bourgeois people anyway. Many individuals already hate the bourgeoisie and spit on its so-called "democratic rights." Petit-bourgeois individuals *can* be won over to revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat to the degree they break with their class and become conscious thru the study of Marxism. It is only thru Marxism that the masses will forget about democratic rights (of the bourgeoisie) and achieve the historic goal of ending exploitation and moving on to classless society which in our era must begin not with wider and better democratic rights, but the dictatorship of the proletariat.

F.N.

More on the Role of GIs

To the Editor, *Revolutionary Worker*:

The letter "The Role of G.I.'s" in Issue No. 78 raises some critical questions concerning the strategy for armed insurrection as laid out in the Draft programme.

The question of what role the soldiers will play is indeed a "gigantic" one as the letter says. I would like to take up some of the questions raised by the letter and also urge that other comrades examine this question in the serious and critical way that comrade "C.J." has done.

First off, in stressing the need for "agitation and propaganda in the ranks of the military in a massive way prior to insurrection," the writer is, in my opinion, absolutely correct and in unity with an important thrust of the D.P. (although the comrade doesn't seem to think so!) This is a lesson that has been paid for in blood by the proletariat historically.

But the letter goes on to say that, "in a country like the U.S., before the proletariat led by its Party, can actually initiate the armed uprising, it must *already* (letter's emphasis) have won over and/or neutralized significant sections of the bourgeois military." If by this the letter means, and it's clear from other portions of the letter that it does, that masses of G.I.'s must be won over to, and fighting *along side* the armed detachments of the masses from the very outset of the fighting, this is wrong and would lead to some other serious errors also. The author clearly wants to solve the important strategic problem of an uprising which pits a technically weaker (but much more numerous) revolutionary force against a better-armed and well-trained army loyal to the bourgeoisie. But in do-

Continued on page 16

DRAFT PROGRAMME

Continued from page 15

ing so, the comrade makes the decisive question of the whole uprising that of whether or not the proletariat can recruit and have ready at the jump, its own force of well-armed, and well-trained ex-GI's.

I believe the Draft Programme is correct in opposing just this sort of orientation, saying very clearly: "the armed forces of the proletarian revolution... will be developed out of the masses organizations in struggle" (p. 41) These mass organizations may include the revolutionary mass organizations of the GI's, but they will not play the leading role politically, nor in all probability, in a material sense either. The revolutionary armed forces would be far more numerous than those of the enemy, and include many with prior military training, but would be poorly armed and poorly trained in comparison to the bourgeois forces, at least at first and perhaps for quite some time. From this flows a very real contradiction, which the comrade correctly views as a serious problem that must be solved by the proletariat if it is to be victorious.

How does the D.P. describe this process of going up against the technically superior bourgeois military? It says:

"... as the revolutionary forces carry out the armed struggle and defeat the armed forces of the bourgeoisie, they will not only shatter and disintegrate the enemy's military organization, but will win over broad ranks of its soldiers, re-educate them, and integrate them into the armed forces of the proletarian revolution in accordance with its basic principles." (p. 41)

This has been true in the historical experience of the proletariat, in my reading, contrary to what comrade "C.J.'s" letter implies. The comrade says that two-thirds of the popular forces attacking the Winter Palace in the October Revolution were ex-military and gives the direct impression that this not only typified the insurrection in Petrograd right from the beginning but the other major cities of Russia as well.

But the given example is misleading, first because the events of October, 1917 did not explode out of nowhere; since the fall of 1916, soldiers and workers had clashed in the streets of Petrograd and elsewhere. When in February, workers and soldiers joined in overthrowing the Tsar, the first soldiers to come over were precisely those that had been ordered to fire upon, and had fired upon and had taken some blows in return from, the demonstrating masses. These events typified a long period of preparation during which the Bolsheviks carried on consistent agitation and propaganda among the troops, in the context of massive and often armed (and sometimes spontaneous) collisions between the troops and the revolutionary masses. True, as a result of all this, a majority of the soldiers and sailors were won to sympathy with the Bolsheviks by October. But even then, in the places where fighting was the most sharp and prolonged, as in Moscow, it was not the soldiers and sailors who played the leading role, either politically or materially (in numbers) but the workers who did so. (Incidentally, the attack on the Winter Palace, though indeed a crucial point in the seizure of power, did not typify the fighting in the actual armed insurrection in Petrograd, but was the last, and the only large-scale fighting in that city at that time. The Kronstadt sailors, for example, arrived too late to take part in any but this last battle). In fact, most Russian cities except those at the front, did not have the large garrisons found in Petrograd (almost at the front itself) and Moscow (the capital and key industrial center).

As early as 1905, Lenin analyzes the matter of winning over the troops:

"It is alleged that it is impossible to fight modern troops, that the troops must first become revolutionary. Of course, unless the revolution assumes a mass character, and affects also the troops, serious fighting is out of the question. Work among the troops is of course necessary. But we must not imagine that the troops will come over to our side at one stroke, as it were, or as a result of persuasion or their own conviction. The Moscow Uprising demonstrates how stereotyped and lifeless is this view. As a matter of fact, the wavering of the troops, which is inevitable in every modern popular movement, leads to a real fight for the troops whenever the revolutionary struggles become more acute." (Lessons of the Moscow Uprising)

and a little later, Lenin insists:

"We have been carrying on work in the army in the past, but we must redouble our efforts in the future to 'convert' the army ideologically. But we shall prove to be miserable pedants if we forget that at the moment of the uprising a physical fight for the army is also necessary."

Why is this? It is because the GI's are not just one more social grouping which the class-conscious proletariat must strive to win over and unite with. They are part of an institution which objectively carries out a certain role in society, the role of enforcing the rule of the bourgeoisie, and enforcing and extending that rule abroad, by violent means. This gives rise to particular conditions for the masses of soldiers. True, these soldiers are drawn from the ranks of the same working-class and oppressed peoples they are sent to fight (although, even here, the Draft Programme calls the G.I.'s "youth of the proletariat and oppressed nationalities" (my emphasis—J.F.) and not simply "proletarians," as if we can see them as simply "workers in uniform." And even if a massive mobilization forces the bourgeoisie to reach into the factories and elsewhere for older cannonfodder, this still doesn't change the social role of the former workers in the military as part of the repressive state apparatus). This is certainly a sharply-felt-contradiction for the GI's at any time, and is the basis for revolutionary exposures and other work of the Party.

But the GI's also are subjected to very different conditions of existence than the masses at large. They are kept physically and politically isolated from the masses, through the most degrading indoctrination and even may be somewhat buffered by their position in the military from the crisis and turmoil in society. Most fundamentally, what the GI's are being geared to do, the role they are expected to play, is to crush the resistance of their own class brothers and sisters here, or to fight them in the uniform of another bourgeoisie abroad. Many GI's will want to go up against this, and more than a few will do so, even well before an actual armed uprising, but even at that, the revolutionary GI's cannot influence and cannot lead political movements among the oppressed as a whole in the same powerful way that the "civilian" working-class can—this, too, helps create a certain atmosphere in the service. The fact that increasing numbers of GI's will throw all this up in the face of the brass and the bourgeoisie, and rebel anyway, even with the threat of court-martial and the officer's automatic over their heads, and that some will join the armed uprising right at the jump, all this will give tremendous strength to the overall revolutionary movement. But it doesn't change the objective role that GI's play, and the conditions in the military which arise from this role. The class-conscious proletariat must take this into good account in formulating strategy.

The result of all this is, as Lenin says, that at the moment of the uprising the troops will be split, they will be wavering. Some will have already decided and will be actively working for the success of the revolution; others will carry out orders and fight against the uprising; most will be undecided. It would be folly for the revolutionary forces to hold back at this point, and wait for all to be convinced. The forces of the proletariat must and can put together a gigantic superiority of forces, and with all the audacity and boldness they can muster, go up against the armed defenders of the sick and dying bourgeoisie. In doing this, they force the average soldier, probably already sympathetic to the tremendous historic changes swirling around him or her, to lay all cards on the table, and face up to the consequences of their actions. Fight against their own people, and a bright new future for humanity? Or change sides, and join the forces of revolution?

Mao, in speaking to this dialectic, pointed out that in order to win over the enemy soldiers politically, it was necessary to

"demonstrate to the Japanese soldiers the indomitable spirit and stubborn, heroic fighting capacity of the Chinese army and the Chinese people by dealing blows in battles of annihilation... cats make friends with cats and nowhere in the world do they make friends with mice." (On Protracted War)

All this means to me that the Draft Programme is correct in dealing with the question of work with the GI's where it does, and not as part of the section of the United Front. The troops are part of the superstructure, a part of the repressive state apparatus they enforce the very relations of production which must be destroyed. The letter from comrade "C.J." recognizes this, but is unwilling to accept its implications and so falls into admitted confusion on the matter: "Now I know that it wouldn't be correct to say that the GI's 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." Now the point is that the GI's as a whole group can only refer to the institution of the bourgeois military, and as part of this they are indeed "against us" however much the rank and file GI's may subjectively hate and desire to rebel against this. Again, many, even most, GI's will ultimately break with this, but not until the contradiction is sharpened to the extreme in the actual outbreak of armed revolutionary combat.

Actually, this theoretical error arises earlier in the letter, too, when the comrade claims that Lenin "often stressed the role of soldiers and sailors, pointing out that in wartime, they play an 'exceptionally big role in all state affairs' (Vol. 26, p. 79)" The letter is trying to make out here that Lenin treated the soldiers and sailors as a group which influenced "affairs of state" in the same way that say, the revolutionary movement of the working class does, or that of the progressive sections of the petit-bourgeoisie. In point of fact what Lenin says in this passage is that the "army" (not the individual soldiers and sailors) plays an exceptionally big role for the bourgeois state. Lenin is using this example as an indicator of how far "the crisis has matured" (title of the article) for the bourgeois state, not as an indicator of some kind of special ("exceptionally big") role for the rank and file GI's in the revolutionary movement and armed uprising. In reality, wherever they could, the Bolsheviks pushed to merge the Soviets of soldiers with those of the workers, far from giving the GI's some special place in the united front.

The error in comrade "C.J.'s" letter concerning the role of GI's directly leads to a twin error on the role of armed citizens. For if what is decisive in the uprising is the participation of the ex-GI's then it follows that the masses on their own up against the armed might of the bourgeoisie are not in good shape. Without a doubt, this serious question and the development of counter-insurgency doctrine, modern weaponry, and the political sophistication of the bourgeoisie (compared to, say, the Tsar) hasn't made the solution any easier. But this contradiction must and can be resolved.

The point the comrade directly makes is that without any prior political work among GIs at all, it is difficult or impossible to go up against modern troops and in the course of that win over large sections of them. But this is a straw-man because the Draft Programme never sets up any such premise. On p. 19, the Draft Programme explicitly calls for this kind of prior work, and gives it a central role:

"It (the bourgeoisie) must still rely on its basic military units to occupy territory and put down rebellion, but these units are drawn overwhelmingly from the youth of the proletariat and the oppressed masses generally and are forced, through all kinds of degrading methods of indoctrination, and intimidation, to fight against their own interests and their own class brothers and sisters. As the old authority begins to be seriously challenged and 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."

Anyway, the whole thrust of the Draft Programme makes this point crystal clear—I can't see how anyone could read it and come away thinking public opinion should be created everywhere in society except in the military. What it doesn't say is that this agitation by itself will bring over the largest number of GIs, and it does insist that sharp armed battles will be waged against the bourgeois forces before and while this happens. It seems that what the comrade doesn't agree with is that in these conditions there will be any sharp battles: "this process (winning over the GIs) won't depend solely on the thrashing provided by the revolutionary forces (as the Draft Programme presumably implies) and if we wait for that, the thrashing will probably come from the opposite direction." (all my parenthetical remarks—J.D.) The letter is concerned that "the bourgeoisie possesses complicated technological weaponry"—and this should be an important concern, for this bourgeoisie does have a bigger empire and will defend it more viciously, than any class of exploiters in the history of the world, but it still is not correct to then concede that the armed citizens cannot go up against this.

On this, I think we can learn some things from history. The comrade cites the success of the Chinese Red Army in whipping the KMT and in the process bringing over large numbers of enemy soldiers. The point the letter tries to make is that well yes, this might be true, but "their revolution involved armed struggle throughout its entire process" and so this doesn't really apply to our conditions; after all, the letter implies, the Chinese had a trained army right from the beginning they never had the problem of whether or not the armed citizenry could take on a modern army. What Stalin correctly said on this, is that, "In China the armed revolution is fighting the armed counter-revolution. That is one of the specific features and one of the advantages of the Chinese Revolution." But if the comrade wants to argue from this that, to be successful, a revolutionary armed force must have the participation of technically superior troops, the example of China proves rather the opposite. The Red Army, especially in the period the comrade describes ("the long period of strategic defensive") was well the weaker force technically, in arms and in training too. These were in the main peasants with experience in guerrilla hit-and-run fighting if any at all; they were victorious because of the leadership of Mao's line, and the overwhelming support of the masses particularly in the base areas.

With the development of a revolutionary situation here, wouldn't there be the same support from the masses, and what is more important (here and in China) a Party capable of preparing the masses for, and providing correct political and practical leadership of the uprising? In addition, aren't there also advantages concerning the possibilities of armed struggle in this country? After all, though "our" imperialists now rule a more powerful and centralized society, it is also one which is more fragile, vulnerable to sudden political and economic shocks and jolts. There is a far larger proletariat here (which in a revolutionary situation would be a far richer source of internationalism, socialization, and skills including military skills, than was found among the peasantry), and there are far greater ties between the proletariat and the oppressed nationalities, who are overwhelmingly part of the multi-national working-class; overall in this society, revolutionary ideas and actions will much more immediately and deeply affect all of society, compared to China's semi-feudal society. All of this is extremely favorable for the strategy of armed uprising followed by civil war.

The revolution in Iran also shows some things about the ability of the armed masses to go up against an army. While many soldiers did come over in the course of insurrectionary fighting in the February Revolution, and while a mutiny among revolutionary airmen touched off the fighting, overwhelmingly the masses armed themselves, chiefly by raiding police stations, and taking hundreds of thousands of weapons, and themselves fought against police and army units until the latter were withdrawn because of their unreliability. What was decisive in Iran, as will be the case here, was the determined offensive of the masses, and the political consciousness and mobilization of the masses. (see *Revolution*,

Continued on page 17

DRAFT PROGRAMME

Continued from page 16

Jan/Feb 1979 for this description).

One more comment I wanted to make on the letter:

In opposition to a sort of undertone I think is in the letter, everything in the period right before the uprising will not be "in place." The political and moral authority of the bourgeoisie will not be the same as today, neither will their ability to run things, get things done. On the part of the revolutionaries, things will be similarly unsettled, and not "neatly stacked and ready to go." Huge numbers of the intermediate, and even advanced, till then passive sympathizers, these masses of people will need to be brought into the uprising in the course of the fighting; these are the "reserves" of the revolution, which will provide the gigantic superiority of numbers and tremendous social force which will overwhelm the bourgeoisie and finally bury them. It is the line of the Party which makes this possible—the Draft Programme shows us that we must politically prepare now just as we are doing in the battle for 100,000 co-conspirators of the *Revolutionary Worker* so that there will be a force of advanced that will step to the front of events, lead the masses in the bold and crushing first blows of the uprising and then, in the course of the fighting, draw in many more millions including the very troops who are sent out to suppress the insurrection, and finally finish the system off.

This will not be easy for the class-conscious proletariat at the point of launching the uprising. But what must be grasped is that fundamentally it is the bourgeoisie which is at this point in some very hot water. Though it may not be apparent on the surface even at that time, the bourgeoisie will be weak and getting weaker, the proletariat gathering its strength and politically preparing to bring it to bear on these motherfuckers hard, in one giant hammerblow.

Mao's principle still applies: even up against modern armies it is the role of the masses, and not the factor of trained personnel and advanced weaponry, which will be decisive. What is necessary is to grasp the possibilities as laid out in the Draft Programme and the Party's line in general, and to study and apply Marxism to every kind of contradiction which will arise in these tremendously exciting and historic times we are entering.

J.F.

Break The Chains

The proposed rewrite of the section of the Programme on women printed in No. 71 is wrong, not only for what it says, but what it doesn't say. The RCP's slogan—"Break the chains, unleash the fury of women as a mighty force for revolution"—concentrates the correct understanding of the Party on this question. The rewrite goes totally against this—its slogan could more be—unleash the fury of women as a mighty force for women's liberation. This rewrite has separated the fight against women's oppression from the fight for revolution, and has raised it above the question of revolution.

The intro to the rewrite objects to the opening section in the Programme which says "The dominant social relations in this society perfectly mirror the economic relations—exploitative. In particular, even the working class men, infected with the dominant bourgeois ideology and frustrated with his role in capitalist society, often plays the role of the bourgeois inside his own home in relation to his wife and children." You can't object to this and still see how women's oppression can only end through revolution. The Party does not target backward men as the enemy, it clearly points to the relationships brought about by capitalism. When I was a feminist and people were struggling with me over the need for revolution led by the working class, my biggest objection was that working class men were too backward, after all, look at their attitude towards women. This Programme provides the answer to that question, by showing where this garbage comes from and how it will be eliminated—it shows the material basis for that. And it doesn't talk about phony equality as the solution, which I think this rewrite does.

This person who objects to calling exploitative relationships what they are must also object to the Party's analysis that the oppression of women holds back the proletariat from transforming society. While the Programme is being accused of moralism, isn't it this person who is whining about capitalism being unfair to women, and how we need some *class/less* (bourgeois) equality? In the "Break the Chains" pamphlet, Avakian talks about the Mensheviks' position on the oppression of women, and says they "beg for a few petty reforms and then even apologize for that." That is the line of this rewrite, except it's covered up with a lot of talk about ideological struggle.

The rewrite is economist. It runs down some of the conditions of women, with a lot of talk about the material basis. At first it sounds very scientific, but it's not. Because if you leave out the class relationships, the class basis, you end up with some reformism in the long run.

This person talks a lot about political and ideological struggle. But around what? Around how women can be unleashed in the fight to transform society? Around how we can't make revolution without that? No, the rewrite says it will be around housework and birth control. Yes, we will struggle around those things, but we will not narrow our sights to that. With a line like this, the only thing new we will create will be a new bourgeois society. If that isn't the line of the rewrite, why were some of the key parts of the Programme left out? Most notable the last sentence of this section—"In any sphere, from employment to literature and art, this question will be raised and will be the source of ongoing struggle in order to ensure the full participation of women in the socialist society and the ongoing proletarian revolution and thereby *immensely strengthen that revolution.*"

The rewrite is so incredibly narrow, where is the outlook Avakian talks about when he says women must struggle "not only for themselves, but for all oppressed the world over"? ("Break the Chains" pamphlet) According to the rewrite, women can't even raise their sights to this. This also goes against the whole analysis of "roads to the proletariat," which includes women. Are not women who have rebelled against their own oppression able to sometimes see more clearly the source of all oppression? Is it not this, is it not these "exploitative relations" which began to open many people's eyes (including myself) to the real nature of capitalism and the necessity and possibility of revolution? Without seeing this, the rewrite not only leads to a position which will not eliminate the oppression of women, it will not lead to revolution.

In struggle,

a Communist who didn't give up feminism to see a line like this rewrite get over.

On the Importance of Understanding the Agriculture Question

Dear RW,

I have been following carefully in the pages of the *RW* the debate about the section on farming and agriculture. I would like to contribute to the struggle around this section because I feel it concentrates in a certain way many of the overall questions with regard to the DP as a whole. I hope this letter will help to kick off struggle about this section—which I feel is very important and a great advance—but also about the DP as a whole.

Why is this section of the DP so important and given so much attention in the DP? Why does it occupy such a large portion of the section on the Economy? Not only is this an important question now, but its importance is heightened when we find that there is no mention at all of the question of agriculture in the section "Socialism and Communism" of the last Programme of the Party and on-

ly a small mention of it in the section on the United Front. The question is mentioned indirectly in the last Programme in the section titled "The Struggle for Communist Society" where it says: "But eliminating small-scale production and trade and the narrow outlook that characterizes small-scale operators can only be accomplished gradually, through a series of steps, in tempo with the overall development of the economy and society, under the rule of the proletarian state."

While this is generally true of "small shopkeepers, artisans, self-employed working people," and even small plants and small financial institutions, this line disagrees with the line of the new DP which says: "Once state power is effectively consolidated by the proletariat, it will be both possible and necessary to proceed with a relatively rapid socialization of agricultural production, largely by-passing the cooperative forms that have proved necessary in economically backward countries with extensive peasant agricultures." The former line totally misses the objective basis that exists to transform agriculture. Besides the fact that there is a relatively small number of farm owners and a relatively high development of agriculture in the U.S., the proletariat, upon coming to power will seize control of the input/output sectors today monopolized by the bourgeoisie, as well as ownership of land. These factors along with the elimination of rent and debts, the compensation of the proletariat's farmer allies by the state, and the overall policies of the proletariat toward agriculture and the countryside in general will provide the basis for rapid socialization of agriculture; for winning over the small farmer to the fact that "a guaranteed wage for farming paid by the state will be a far more effective source of security than various utopian schemes under capitalism, such as parity." (Today the demand of the small farmer is not for more land as with the peasant in semi-feudal society but 100% parity. The problem with this is very directly private ownership itself and commodity production which continually determines the ruin of small farmers.)

All this, I believe, agrees with what Chairman Avakian says in the '79 CC Report, that

"How rapidly the ownership of the means of production can be socialized, and what intermediate and lower stages (besides state ownership) this must pass through, will be fundamentally determined by the level of development of the productive forces (how advanced the means of production are, how large and socialized the proletariat is, etc.)."

What is a more important (although related) error in the former line is that it fails to see the tremendous necessity for the rapid socialization of agriculture. Is it necessary to immediately transform the relations of production in agriculture, socialize it, and go on to cement a firm alliance between the city and countryside, the proletariat and its farmer allies? What would be the consequences if we do not seize the opportunities on this front as quickly as possible? Even with cooperativization would there not be a strong pull toward maintaining private ownership (coops are, even under socialism, still a remnant of capitalist ownership) and therefore toward polarization—and this fairly quickly given that capitalism would be abolished and the capitalist monopoly of the input/output sectors would be abolished as well? Would there not be a strong tendency to settle in after a few reforms? The Programme speaks sharply to this when it says in allying with the farmers

"The uncompromising stand and resolute measures of the proletariat and its state against big capital, shattering its political rule and breaking its stranglehold on the economy, in agriculture as well as industry, will be of decisive importance. But, on the other hand, while aiming its spearhead in this direction and uniting with the (mainly) non-exploiting farmers on the basis of and through the measures already summarized, the proletariat cannot conciliate with the petty proprietor aspects of these farmers' outlook and inclinations, for this would *only weaken* not strengthen this alliance—and in fact will only send the farmers, as well as other middle forces, scurrying to the enemy camp." (emphasis mine)

Socialism would be given a big body blow, and capitalist forces (both old and new and both hiding behind the "obvious" fact that "it is not possible") would certainly fight against such a move by the proletariat. Mao Tsetung spoke to this as well in his *Critique of Soviet Economics* (note 12)

"Agricultural collectivization in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe was completed very slowly, mainly because after land reform, they did not strike while the iron was hot but delayed for a time. In some of our own old base areas, too, a section of the peasantry was satisfied with the reform and unwilling to proceed further. This situation did not depend at all on whether or not there was industrialization."

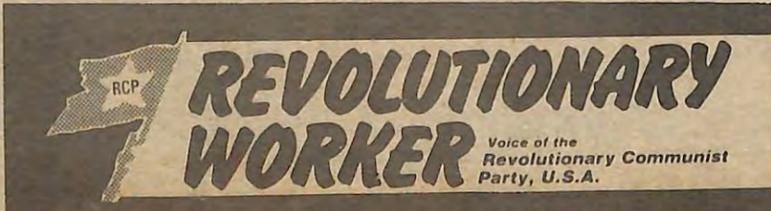
Of course, even with socialization the problem is not solved entirely and the proletariat must establish all-around dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and continue to revolutionize all of society. Especially in an advanced capitalist country as Mao pointed out (note 14)

"Lenin says, 'The transition from capitalism to socialism will be more difficult for a country the more backward it is.' This would seem incorrect today. Actually, the transition is less difficult the more backward an economy is, for the poorer they are the more the people want revolution. In the capitalist countries of the West the number of people employed is comparatively high, and so is the wage level. Workers there have been deeply influenced by the bourgeoisie, and it would not appear to be all that easy to carry through a socialist transformation. And since the degree of mechanization is high, the major problem after a successful revolution would not be advancing mechanization but transforming the people."

Without seizing on the tremendous strengths of an advanced capitalist agriculture—the high level of proletarianization and mechanization of the countryside—it would be very difficult to combat the accompanying political and ideological weaknesses, and furthermore place these strengths at the service of the international proletariat.

All this is not to undercut the Party's analysis of the possibilities of revolution in the U.S. In fact, it would be "just dreaming" to think about, prepare, and act on this front if revolution were not possible at all. Further, the importance of this section goes beyond the fact that agriculture provides food and is therefore a revolutionary necessity, even if this is very important. Our outlook on this has to be that what class—or class outlook—controls agriculture is of decisive importance for the proletariat in seizing power and in going on to place it at the service of the struggle of the proletariat internationally and move on to achieve communism where there will be no distinction between countryside and city due to class distinctions and the exploitation of the countryside by the city. Otherwise all we have left is the economist/reformist, utopian outlook which is only concerned with "improving conditions" and separates this from the overall historic mission of the working class to abolish forever all class distinctions and all the evils that accompany this throughout the world. And with this outlook it is definitely "not possible" to go on and accomplish this historic task.

Become a Co-conspirator



100 FLOWERS

Continued from page 6

behind, why the outlines of a revolutionary crisis can be discerned today, why America is in decline. If you just sum totalled perceptions—wouldn't you have to say the backward is more predominant—imperialism is "still around", wouldn't you in fact have to average these things out and come up with no revolutionary aspects to today's situation, wouldn't you have to go for the lowest common denominator and cater to the consciousness of the average worker—because after all there are *more* of them.

Those who push this rotten line say the party is way in advance—when in fact its line corresponds to reality, to the advanced aspects and the needs of the advanced workers, and it is not just those things we like better or wish would happen—but in fact is what is absolutely vital to push things ahead and for which there is a tremendous basis in the world as it really is.

When I used to think the party "had to be advanced" as a moral thing for which there was no basis I felt we were like a finger in a dike of backwardness—noble, but doomed to be swept away by the oceans of the bourgeoisie. Instead we are building off those things which more concentrate where the world is headed, imperialist crisis, and the rise of the masses and the real picture is it is the bourgeoisie who is doomed to be swept away by the oceans of the people. But not on its own.

This is why it's so key when the "Rely on the Masses" article talks about the masses are not just one big mass, but fundamentally the Leninist view of the masses is those who are awakening to political life—those who are, through this crisis, and the bourgeoisie dragging them into political life, too. Who instead of being like the peasant described in "Materialism and Empiro-criticism" who sells his grain, but is not "conscious of the kind of social relations formed on the basis of exchange"—are grappling to comprehend just these laws and relations. And what will we give to these people—what they *already* know, or the *Revolutionary Worker*, the *Draft Programme*, and what role will we struggle with them to play?

K.R.

"If it's necessary it's possible..."

More on the "it's necessary but not possible" line. Until the 100 flowers campaign broke out, that's the outlook I silently clung to. I remember reading the Chair's "Crucial Questions" statement about how the Russian workers in 1902 "faced starker conditions of exploitation and oppression and had already been waging struggle on a broader scale and generally in a more militant way than the workers in the U.S. over the past period of time..." At that time I'd been thinking a lot about how much worse off people were in Russia when Lenin wrote *What Is To Be Done* than people in the U.S. are now, and wondering if that treatise was really all that relevant to us today.

For some time I've been talking to a lot of professional people about the party's analysis and outlook and strategy for moving history forward out of this mess. And I've been running into a lot of feelings of disgust for this system, and a lot of doubt about whether anything can be done to change it. A lot of those progressive petty bourgeois admire the party, but look upon those around it as being a dedicated band of Don Quixotes tilting at windmills. "Saving damsels in distress is desirable, but eliminating the source of the distress is altogether too romantic." Now I must confess that before I got into Marxism, Don Quixote was a pretty attractive literary character for me. And what I suspect now is that I have looked at the party as a band of Don Quixotes but with a better lance. The idealism was pretty much the same. So naturally my own idealism has profoundly affected how I perceived where the people I was talking to were coming from. I found myself having a lot of unity with the "reader" who felt the party "overestimates the revolutionary aspects of the current situation but underestimates particularly the political effects of the working class being in an advanced imperialist country that has been the top dog for the last 35 years." (To say nothing of the effects of the petty bourgeois who have even greater illusions about being able to make it in this system.)

When the 100 flowers campaign was announced I began thinking about how I'd finally put right out there my thoughts about how conditions would have to get a lot worse before people would take up the science of Marxism-Leninism and enthusiastically take out the *RW* and consciousness and political struggle with others to understand the world from a materialist viewpoint and take up the cause of revolution. I even spun a theory in my head about how Marxism-Leninism couldn't really take root in the U.S. at this time because the ideology of those who control the superstructure was so strong

(especially given modern media technology) that we'd never win over enough against the bourgeoisie in time to turn a World War around, much less prevent one. And then I went back and read the RCP of Chile's "Evaluation of the Work of Mao Tsetung" and the struggle Mao had to develop a proletarian party in a nation with a very few proletarians and how the key factor in China from the early days of the CCP on was training the masses in Marxist-Leninist ideology and how that had to be done even with millions of illiterate peasants—and was done. Then I thought, is it any more difficult for Marxist ideology to take root in the U.S. today? Mao did not say, "we have to wait for better soil." Must we?

I had also tried on a rationalization about why we can't make 100,000, and thus why we can't make revolution, in the period ahead, which was based on the notion that the class conscious forces are too small. And then I re-read Lenin's essay on the 1905 revolution and how in February of 1905 there were only hundreds of Bolsheviks and how, precisely because they had developed their consciousness "the hundreds of revolutionary Social Democrats 'suddenly' grew into thousands, the thousands became the leaders of between 2 and 3 million proletarians." If a few hundred could do that in a nation of 130,000,000 why can't we in a nation of 200,000,000 when even right now we have far more than a few hundred in and around the RCP, which along with the history of two major revolutions in Russia and China, has developed and greatly deepened the science of revolution and which has the leadership and determination to carry through a revolution in this most advanced imperialist country to its final conclusion?

So I went back to the Chair's "Crucial Questions" statement and found the key which I'd missed when I was looking for reasons why we can't make the leap the situation demands. Avakian reminded us how "Lenin drove home over and over again the fundamental point that the workers cannot fully develop their political consciousness and political struggle against the system unless and until the communists carry out consistently Marxist propaganda and agitation." The problem isn't that the bourgeoisie is too strong with all their electronic ideological pandering. The problem isn't that people aren't suffering enough today. The problem is the outlook of some communists who think that people who hate this shit can't or won't get conscious about how the world works and how to change it.

Look, I'm a petty bourgeois professional myself. I'm 51 years old and I've hated this shit for a long, long time. I tried every reformist thing that came down the pike for several decades. But I was deeply moved, in fact profoundly changed both politically and personally by the Vietnam War and the protest movement I was a part of and by the Black liberation struggles which I supported and by the youth rebellion which I participated in as much as I could for someone in his late 30s and forties, and by the women's movement which made me come to grips with the enormous male supremacist ideology of this system and how it had done a trip on me. My life was radically altered and my outlook revolutionized by all that—and most especially by the formation of the RCP in 1975. What makes anyone think there aren't scores, hundreds, thousands of others like me whom the real world has deeply affected and who long for revolutionary change?

The "necessary but not possible" line is not only wrong, but it will lead straight to capitulating to the very motherfuckers and their class which we all hate. Because if we claim it's necessary but we don't really think that it's possible, we'll end up saying, "Not this time around" and we'll miss the greatest opportunity of history and condemn the world to yet another generation or more of increasingly vicious U.S. imperialist plunder.

I'm beginning to see the link between what we do now and the future we dream of. The question is whether we'll turn the dream into reality. And it's only by people understanding the world and how it can be changed through revolution—which is what the *RW* is all about—that that dream will be based on reality and not on Cervantes' romantic wishful thinking à la Don Quixote and his windmill tilting.

If it's necessary, it's possible, and any other way of looking at it is just grasping for excuses for giving in and giving up.

L.T.

Reply to "Further Description, Clarification Wanted"

In reference to Oct. 31st No. 78—100 Flowers "Further Description, Clarification Wanted on 'Create Public Opinion... Seize Power.'"

1st paragraph—"still it is a tribute to the Party's determination to remain red that it has launched this campaign."

This is wrong... the revolutionary line is there, the

line is red. I'm sorry, but your wanting to keep the campaign or overall class struggle between you and the Party isn't going to happen. This my friend, is the reason for the 100 flowers. This is relying on the advanced masses (who I'm sure many have answered your letter) to take part in coming from behind. It's a shame and a crime that those swamped in metaphysics can't see the liberating effect of the 100 flowers. The bourgeois ideology of "me first" won't allow you to participate!

I started this letter saying I was going to be principled, but maybe I've strayed—none of us are out here alone, if you feel this way it's exactly because you fostered this by refusing to take part. WOW, come on this is great. Break thru! Bust out! Catch up! Stop making excuses for not taking up the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. We're making history! You can take part, but not by making the Party the main obstacle to working class revolution. Instead take up the plan for revolution, the 100,000 "Create Public Opinion... Seize Power".

It's very clear that you don't agree with the 100,000—your letter reflects it. It constantly asks for something more concrete to take to the masses.

E.M.

Revolutionaries are Optimists!

"An Organization of Revolutionaries, Not Insurrectionaries"

RW:

Even though L.W. in *RW* No. 79 says, "We can and must win this campaign to involve thousands of advanced in the highest and most widely applicable form of class conscious action right now—selling 100,000 *RW*s on a sustained basis," and even though it seems L.W. wrote the letter intending to agree with the 100,000 campaign, the line of this letter is not the line of the RCP. It disagrees strongly with the fact that the revolution of this era is a first step towards man's conscious mastery of nature, and that this revolution will only proceed as far as the advanced section of the proletariat is moved forward to class-consciousness.

The comrade says, "the topic of most interest to revolutionary minded people was how the *RW* networks were going to create an organizational conspiracy that would outfox the police, and ultimately be able to send out and implement the call for armed insurrection." L.W. then implies that the advanced are prepared for revolution, that their only question is how is the insurrection going to come down. "But there is nothing wrong with their interest in the nuts and bolts of overthrowing the bourgeoisie! This is a very good question, 'how are we going to beat this motherfucker?' even if what they are mainly concerned with right now is tactical and organizational questions..."

First of all, this assessment of the questions of the advanced is false. Even immediate experience will show this. What were the advanced struggling over when we passed out over a million leaflets and called on the advanced to take independent historical action around the elections? Overwhelmingly it was around 1) is there any "breathing room" with a lesser of 2 evils; whose state is it? and 2) what impact can the class conscious proletariat have in wrenching people free from the trap of bourgeois democracy? It just might be, L.W., that the line we put out to the advanced has something to do with the questions they raise. Now obviously tactical and organizational questions do come up. But to say that that is the sum and substance of what the advanced want to know, and that "they are not going to go with a solution just because it speaks to their highest aspirations... if they don't think that tactically and organizationally this solution can be implemented" is not only insulting. It condemns the working class to the exploitative and oppressive capitalist division of labor by saying the proletariat is capable of nothing more.

When Chairman Avakian recently replied to the "Black Nationalist with Communistic Inclinations," he quoted from Mao: "The oppressors oppress the oppressed, while the oppressed need to fight back and seek a way out before they start looking for philosophy. It is only when people took this as their starting point that there was Marxism-Leninism." He then comments on Mao's quote: "Both parts of what Mao says here are of great importance; first, that the oppressed fight back and seek a way out before they start looking for philosophy, and on the other hand, that in fighting back and seeking a way out they do start looking for philosophy, for a theory and outlook to guide their struggle and point the way out."

The movie "Spartacus" has a very sharp example of this where Kirk Douglas is organizing the other slaves into a slave army. At one point in the movie he gets frustrated at his ignorance, saying that he wants to know what makes the wind blow, where do the sun and the stars come from, etc. The deep underlying and burning question in his mind was not how to outrun a chariot.

It has been a tremendous advance for the Party to recognize the fact that the battle for public opinion is decisive. Isn't it true that man is a *conscious* being? Isn't it true that there is a fierce class struggle over ideas? Isn't it true that the thing that holds people

Continued on page 19

100 FLOWERS

Continued from page 18

back, including the advanced, is the bourgeois ideas they have and that which class eats up the other in the ideological struggle will determine which class eats up the other in the political struggle?

This is tied in with L.W.'s statement that the aim of the paper is to create "an organization of insurrectionaries." That's not right. "An organization of insurrectionaries" sounds like a group of people who are very skilled and have all the proper techniques for overthrowing governments. Organizationally the *RW* aims to be (and is today) the backbone of an organization of revolutionaries. "Revolution" has a much broader meaning than overthrowing a government, it requires consciousness and needs to continue long after a particular bourgeois government is overthrown. I don't think this is splitting hairs, but it instead seems to me to concentrate 2 lines, one of which limits the tasks facing the proletariat in this country to overthrowing the government. In fact that is only the first step of a historic mission.

When talking about roads to the proletariat L.W. says the significance of these people is that they know how to apply military tactics to the turf in their cities, that they know how to elude the INS, women who escaped their husbands, etc. What about the fact that these people tend to be more revolutionary minded than the average workers? Or are we promoting expertise over redness?

L.W. says that the roads to the proletariat get frustrated because "without Marxism, how could they see how to fight and win?" The advanced mainly need to be armed not so much with how to fight, especially in the narrow sense L.W. means it, but with an advanced understanding of the world. The reason many of them don't see that they need to act now is that they don't see the impact they (as a section or group of people, not as individuals) can have on broader strata. To see this requires an understanding of the aims and aspirations of the international proletariat, how revolution is needed to realize these aims and aspirations, what's the situation and the stakes today. The significance of their actions can be seen very clearly in this context.

When bringing out the impact of the Party, L.W. says, "the Party is a revolutionary proletarian vanguard, and is drawing the wrath of the bourgeoisie and the respect of the advanced (and the proletariat)." The Party draws the "respect" of the advanced? That's it?! In fact the Party on May 1 brought together a class conscious section of the working class to fire the opening salvo of revolutionary struggle for the 1980's. The Party has struggled to meet the interests and requirements of the advanced so they can play their historic role. While the advanced do respect the Party, that is hardly the essence of the matter.

Thinking and being form a unity of opposites. If, according to L.W., the advanced don't think about the larger issues, then following the logic of the argument, they won't act on them either. That is why in

L.W.'s opinion, which happens to run contrary to fact, the advanced only "respect" the Party.

The thread running throughout L.W.'s letter is economism, although the form is somewhat different than economism usually takes. L.W.'s line is that the advanced (let alone the broader masses) can only see and only want to see what's immediately in front of them, in this case the nuts, bolts and tactics of overthrowing the government. There is no question but that the Party and the class conscious proletariat as a whole will make full use of their tactical knowledge. But if the gun isn't guided very firmly by the head, there is no telling where the bullets will land.

* * * * *

In the beginning of "On Contradiction" Mao says, "The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics." A couple of pages later he says, "The fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictoriness within the thing. This internal contradiction exists in every single thing, hence its motion and development." This understanding needs to be applied to the developing situation. While there is a connection and interpenetration of both aspects of the contradiction (they are a unity of opposites), the fact remains that they are 2 opposing aspects and need to be examined separately (they are a unity of opposites).

In this period the development of the objective situation is marked by a downward spiral of the imperialist system, which increases the imperialists' desperation and is leading them to go to WWII against their look alikes in the Soviet Union who are driven by the same necessity. This one aspect of the contradiction has a contradiction within it: the deterioration of their system on the one hand, and the contradiction between U.S. and Soviet imperialism on the other. At this point the deterioration of U.S. imperialism is principal, but when WWII starts that will overall be the principal aspect. Each one of these aspects can be broken down further still, but they are the main features of the motion and development in the objective situation.

The objective situation sets the stage for and is primary over the other aspect of the contradiction, the mood of the masses. The development of the objective situation will be reflected in the mood of the masses, in particular in the increased anger and hatred for the way people have to live and the system that forces them to live this way, but it is not a mechanical relationship. The mood of the masses has some relatively independent motion and development (although this has limits which are set by the objective situation). This is why when the shit really hits the fan (for instance the U.S. losing WWII, or a major crash in the economy) it is not automatic that the proletariat will make revolution. The other side of this is that the possibility for revolution may present itself before WWII—revolution is not contingent on bodies being piled high in the streets. But this

depends on the level of class consciousness of the proletariat, particularly the advanced. We have some work to do. This has everything to do with why L.W.'s downplaying of consciousness is so wrong.

Within the mood of the masses is the contradiction between the low level of consciousness of the broad masses, and the Party and the class conscious section of the proletariat it leads. Again, while the development of the objective situation, in particular the working out of imperialism's downward spiral and the moves towards war, has a big influence on what people think, it will not spontaneously teach the workers class consciousness. Even the spontaneous economic or political struggles people engage in will not teach them what they need to know to make revolution and move on towards communism.

The task of the Party is to raise the class consciousness of the proletariat by carrying out agitation and propaganda, mainly with the *RW*, training the advanced to be the lever to move forward the intermediate and neutralize the backward. By carrying out this preparatory work, the revolutionary aspect of the mood of the masses will eat up the non-revolutionary aspect and this will in turn eat up the other aspect of the contradiction when the time is ripe, i.e. the working class will overthrow the bourgeoisie when their system is weakest. In this light, L.W.'s downplaying of consciousness can only lead to the past eating up (if only temporarily) the future.

The direct effect of 100,000 Co-Conspirators will be to make a leap in the preparations for proletarian revolution in this country. But this country is a part of the world and especially with America being an imperialist superpower, the actions of a class conscious minority here have a profound impact on the class struggle worldwide. In particular there has been very sharp 2 line struggle in the international communist movement for some 20 years between the line of Mao Tsetung and the line of various revisionists. In this country the legacy of the "C" PUSA stinks and has had a very harmful influence on the communist movement, and on the advanced.

Internationally, including in the U.S., the revisionist lines have been strengthened by the fact that there has not been a revolution, or a serious attempt at it, in an advanced capitalist country for almost 60 years. The correct line winning out in the RCP, the implementation of that line among the masses, and the heightened ability of the proletariat in this country to overthrow the U.S. imperialists, or at least to take maximum advantage of whatever opportunities the downward spiral and WWII will present us with—all of this will have a tremendous impact not only on the class struggle in this country but also internationally.

But in order for this to happen there is much in the legacy of the communist movement, particularly in this country, that needs to be broken with now. As L.W. says, "We've got some surgery of our own to do." I didn't grasp until this debate in the *RW* opened up how deeply rooted economism and metaphysics were in the revolutionary movement. This of course shows the necessity for having this debate, and many of the letters are testaments to the strength of Marxism and this Party's grasp of the science. The stakes are very high and for the class conscious proletariat this is a tremendously exciting—but decisive—challenge.

T.D.

STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN! Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

Continued from page 2

Paul Louie, Minister, Presbytery of the Pacific
Synod of Southern California United Presbyterian Church, USA

To the Court of Appeals:

Dear Sirs:

I protest the flagrant violation of justice and equalities by your Appeal Court action in overturning the prior decision of Judge Carlisle Pratt in the Bob Avakian and Mao Defendants case. By your judgment, you have decided on grounds and reasons contrary to established law in such jurisdiction.

The Appeal Court has shown its subjective bias and prejudice, rather than act on the basis of judicial integrity and considered deliberation. This action has been taken—in spite of the law in such matters and in spite of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary. The Appeal Court's decision discloses that it sides with the thinly masked political nature of the government prosecution attempts in this case. This is a travesty of justice.

11 Iranian, Afghan, and Arab Students
in Washington, D.C., and joined by
18 Customers at Revolution Books, D.C.

Statement Against Escalation of Railroad of Bob Avakian:

If oppression alone could produce revolution, the people of the U.S. and the world would have long ago overthrown U.S. imperialism. Revolutionary leadership, arming millions with revolutionary consciousness, is a key ingredient. This is exactly why the U.S. government has escalated its attack on Bob Avakian. Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian! Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

From XX, Prisoner

D.C. Court of Appeals:

I am writing this letter in opposition to the refiling of charges on Bob

Avakian and the Mao Defendants.

Being in prison, I know the kind of justice that is given the progressive elements of the working class.

The attack that is being appealed has to be one of the most outrageous insults to the working class. You cannot let this appeal take place and at the same time hide the degradation the criminal justice system is dealing out to the working class. Don't think because you waited a year to start the oppressive attacks on Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants again, that we the working class have forgotten. In fact we have united more and more people to the righteous cause of political freedom for Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants. I as a working class person will do everything possible to expose this fascist organization you call a "legal institution." This continual harassment and political abuse is clearly shown to us by the vicious attacks placed on Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants. We completely back Bob Avakian's struggle for political freedom and we will not stop until all the ridiculous charges have been dropped once and for all.

Margaret Knapke, Dayton, Ohio

Ms./Sirs

To the Court of Appeals

I must protest your handling of the case of the "Mao Tsetung Defendants," those 17 individuals who, with many others, chose to demonstrate their opposition to Deng Xiaoping in January of 1979. It is evident on reading the transcript of the charges that the defendants had not pre-meditated and certainly were not prepared (i.e., armed) for "rioting." You must recognize the prosecution's vindictiveness, for while the demonstrators were indeed denunciatory of the Vice-Premier, their defiance was not unconstitutional and did not warrant police intervention.

I strongly urge you to acquit the "Mao Tsetung Defendants."

In an exciting step, last week the *RW* began publishing separate English and Spanish editions. There is also a Chinese edition, and plans are underway for editions in several more languages to begin publication in the near future. We call on all co-conspirators to take up distribution of the *RW* in all the different languages as a crucial part of the campaign to make a leap in circulation of the *RW* to a sustained weekly distribution of 100,000 in November. We must further develop the co-conspiracy among the foreign-born, especially workers, and those who speak other languages as an important part of our preparations for revolution.

**BECOME A
CO-CONSPIRATOR!**

Subscriptions

One Year—\$20 Ten Weeks Trial Subscription—\$4.00

CHECK ONE:

- English Edition**
- Spanish Edition**
- Chinese Edition (for Chinese edition, send order to: Everybody's Bookstore, 17 Brenham Pl., San Francisco, CA 94108)**

Contact your local **Revolutionary Worker** distributor to arrange for your weekly copy of the **Revolutionary Worker** or write to:
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL. 60654

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Donate to the Revolutionary Worker

I would like to give \$ _____ to support the **Revolutionary Worker**. Send contributions to **Revolutionary Worker**, Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL. 60654.