



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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## Mao's Comrades: Caged, But Every Ounce— Tigers

As the trial of the so-called "Gang of Four" entered the second week, the cool, revolutionary defiance of Chiang Ching (Jiang Qing) and Chang Chun-chiao (Zhang Chunqiao) is jarring China's revisionist rulers and is brightly shining through every news distortion that the revisionists and the U.S. press can muster. In reply to repeated questions from the judge, Chiang Ching, Mao's widow, simply and eloquently replied, "I don't know." *Ta Kung Pao*, a Hong Kong revisionist mouthpiece, described Chiang Ching's appearance in court: "Chiang Ching was very shameless, denying everything and presenting a performance thoroughly imbued with ugliness." What is ugly to the reactionaries and revisionists is

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Chang Chun-chiao

## Poland: Soviets Growl, U.S. Eyes a Meal

On Sunday, November 30, the Soviets warned straight out that Poland could meet the same fate that Czechoslovakia suffered at the hands of the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion. The Soviet news agency Tass carried an article from Czech party paper Rude Pravo, comparing conditions in 1968 Czechoslovakia and 1980 Poland, warning that "socialist and patriotic forces in Poland would do everything necessary to defend the revolutionary gains of the past 35 years." The wording was virtually the same as that used by Moscow in 1968 to explain the Czech invasion.

"What they don't want to do most of all is to give us the kind of help we all gave the Czechs. They are more afraid

of that than most Poles think. They wouldn't do it lightly."

This rather succinct euphemism of Josef Klasa, Poland's media boss and Central Committee member, juxtaposed with the *Rude Pravo/Tass* article, underscored the dilemma facing the Soviet Union and the Polish rulers. From Washington to Moscow, everyone is quite aware that a Soviet invasion of Poland, à la the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, would be a dramatic, and perhaps, qualitative change in the world situation, the implications of which neither superpower is sure of nor particularly eager to test at this point.

But three months after the summer

upheavals of Polish workers that rocked this Soviet satellite, the aftershocks and rumblings of new tremors are growing in frequency and intensity. The country is enmeshed in political and economic chaos. Strikes, threatened strikes, economic disasters, food shortages, party purges and accusations of corruption and subversion fill the daily reports coming from Poland. And although the U.S. imperialists have no real hope of pulling that country out of the Soviet bloc right now, they are seizing on every opportunity to weaken the Soviet bloc and worm their way into each new crack in Polish society. The Soviets are deeply concerned by the continued upheaval and the Polish

government and Party's inability to quell it. For not only does the turmoil in Poland threaten repercussions in other countries of their bloc, it poses a direct threat to their own military capabilities.

In the face of all this, the Polish United Workers Party heads, their Soviet mentors, and even key leaders of the new Polish union, Solidarity, are all gathered around their political Richter scale, warning of a cataclysm if things do not settle down. The official newspaper of the Polish Army issued a warning that, "We can't afford any longer to pay from one day to the next a continually higher price for the style of political life we now have." Lech

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## El Salvador

# U.S. Guns Declare: "No Rivals Tolerated"

On Thursday, November 27, 8 leaders and members of groups and parties opposing the U.S. junta in El Salvador were assassinated by the junta. The eight were kidnapped, along with 21 others, from a press conference of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), a coalition of opposition forces in the country. The conference was held three blocks from the U.S. Embassy. After the kidnapping the eight were killed, reportedly after being tortured. Among the eight were Enrique Alvarez Córdoba, president of the FDR; Juan Chacón, president of the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR); and Manuel Franco, an official of the pro-Soviet revisionist Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS). Also among those killed were members of the Social Christian Movement (formed by those who have split off from the Christian Democrats) and the social-democratic National Revolutionary Movement (MNR). While the fascist junta and the U.S. government made their expected statements bemoaning this "deplorable terrorist incident," they made little attempt to hide that it was they themselves who were responsible for the executions. And they had a clear political purpose for doing so, as we shall see shortly.

According to witnesses, 200 military and police officers of the junta surrounded the building where the press conference was being held while 20 plainclothes agents entered the building and kidnapped the 29 people. Later a group calling itself the "General Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez Brigade"—named after a former Salvadoran president who led a massacre of 30,000 Salvadorans after a failed peasant uprising in 1932—claimed credit for the assassinations. If this "brigade" exists at all, it is no doubt a part of the Salvadoran National Guard. It is common knowledge that all the right-wing paramilitary groups in El Salvador are simply U.S.-trained and financed military men. In the past, they tended to leave their uniforms at home when they conducted their escapades, but of late they have been more open about their affiliations and in this case, a Salvadoran air force copter was reported to have been circling the area overhead while the military operation was carried out.

Behind the profuse amounts of bullshit in the U.S. press about how these assassinations have something to do with a move by the "right wing" in El Salvador in advance and in anticipation of Ronald Reagan's inauguration,

stands the reality that the fascist junta, backed to the hilt by the U.S., is already in power. 8,300 people have been murdered by this junta so far this year, even before Ronald Reagan's election. This latest execution is part and parcel of an obviously worked out strategy on the part of U.S. imperialism to deal with its opposition in El Salvador and other Central American countries, especially with regard to the Soviet Union's revisionist agents in the form of the PCS, which plays a central role in the FDR opposition coalition.

The past year has seen broad sections, representing a wide range of class forces, join the FDR. With the FDR serving as the rallying point for all the major organizations with a following among the masses of peasants and workers (who wanted and were ready to give their all to topple the junta and throw the U.S. out of their country) and with the U.S.-backed junta becoming virtually completely exposed for what it was to the masses of people, large sections of the various middle forces including the petty bourgeoisie and sections of the bourgeoisie broke with the government and joined the opposition.

Even large sections of the leadership of the Christian Democrats and the MNR who were both part of the junta itself have gone over to the FDR. While these forces would like most to continue to act in the interests of the U.S. as they have in the past, they have been confronted with the threat of complete isolation, right along with the diehards of the junta, if they didn't make a break with it. In short, they had little political future if they didn't join the FDR. Enrique Alvarez Córdoba, president of the FDR and one of those assassinated last week, for example, was even a member of the 14 ruling families in El Salvador. He is a former U.S.-supported minister of agriculture and the architect of the infamous 1976 "Agrarian Reform."

The U.S.'s maneuvers have been complex, with their apparent contradictory character explained by their single common purpose: to maintain U.S. imperialist domination. Towards the workers and peasants whose struggle is the motive force of the movement to liberate El Salvador from the U.S.'s clutches, there has been nothing but brutal, massive murder. Towards the bourgeois opposition and especially these forces whose interests are more in line with the U.S. imperialists, there have been dual tactics: on the one hand, assassinations aimed at trying to stem

the onrush of bourgeois political forces streaming out of the government and into the opposition; on the other hand, negotiations and collusion with forces like Alvarez Córdoba, who came to meet with the U.S. State Department to beg the U.S. to recognize the FDR as the only legitimate government in El Salvador and withdraw its support for the junta.

While the U.S. has apparently toyed with this idea, weighing the various possibilities and assessing just how much strength and influence they would have in such a government, they seem to have made a decision that it is too risky to allow the Soviets any hand at all in the government of El Salvador as world war approaches. These assassinations are part of the implementation of this decision. They are an attempt to drive some of those in the FDR out of it and back more firmly in the U.S. grip.

The clear purpose of this assassination was to give a message to these forces to get out of the FDR or get smashed, no fooling around is going to be tolerated. It was also a direct message to the PCS (one of whose leaders was killed). And it is the PCS's own bourgeois line and work that is part of the conditions that the U.S. is trying to take advantage of, despite numerous mouthings to the contrary. The PCS has done its damndest to actually hold back the raging power of the masses' struggle and keep it in certain hands. Even around the question of armed struggle, while they have not taken a straight out line of a peaceful road to power (as in the past), they have tried to keep the masses passive while select guerrilla units do the fighting—and precious little of even this is going on despite a very favorable situation overall for the masses to strike tremendous blows at the enemy instead of simply being the targets of right wing terror. But it was precisely the strength of the masses that attracted the various bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces into the FDR. With this strength now apparently at an ebb, many may very well be won back over to supporting the junta, especially as the U.S. puts more pressure on as it has every intention of doing.

The role of the PCS in El Salvador is a key question that requires more in depth analysis, but the most basic point here is simply that the PCS has consistently worked within the FDR to cool out the struggle of the masses to the ex-

tent it has been possible, and used this struggle to increase its influence among the ruling classes and petty bourgeoisie, already having enjoyed various amounts of power as it has moved in and out of the government. The PCS chieftains' outlook and line is that of a would-be bourgeoisie whose development is blocked by portions of the bourgeoisie already in power, a problem that requires them to resort to the USSR for backing to remove this U.S.-supported obstacle, even though this also prevents them from thoroughly combatting U.S. domination. Their strategy is the infamous "historic compromise" followed by the pro-Soviet revisionist parties throughout Latin America (as well as, of course, Europe), seeking to be allowed to share power as junior partners of more pro-U.S. forces in preparation for seizing all power when the opportunity presents itself for the Soviets to move decisively against the U.S. within the U.S.'s own "spheres of influence."

The U.S. meanwhile, with its decreasing political maneuvering room in the area, is moving steadily toward trying to drown everything in blood. A recent document apparently leaked by some "dissidents" in the State Department revealed what many already knew about the U.S. role in El Salvador. According to the *Latin America Weekly Report*, the document "speaks of increased training for Salvadoran officers in Panama (and Argentina); improvements in military infrastructure for more effective rural and urban combat communications; stockpiling of material and development of rapid supply and troops deployment systems; moves to bring paramilitary groups under a unified command; and provision of U.S. surveillance data to the Salvadoran armed forces." What all this means is that "right-wing terror" that the U.S. has claimed to be trying to prevent is in fact being planned and coordinated by the U.S. State Department.

These moves in El Salvador have been accompanied by similar "aid" to the military governments of Guatemala and Honduras, the U.S.'s most faithful lackeys in the region. And just prior to the assassinations of the FDR leaders, spokesmen for these three neo-colonies announced that they would put into effect "operation Sandwich," a joint military operation with all forces op-

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**December 4 Petition Date**

Statements Demand:

**Stop the Railroad of  
Bob Avakian and the  
Mao Tsetung Defendants**

This week, Thursday, December 4, marks an important juncture in the battle to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian! and Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants! On December 4, the defendants will file a petition demanding that the entire 9 judge panel of the D.C. Court of Appeals rehear the government appeal of a November 1979 lower court decision dismissing all the charges against the Mao Defendants. It was on October 21, that a 3-judge panel of the Appeals Court ruled to reinstate the charges and to sharpen and escalate their attack.

The call from the Mao Defendants Committee went out two weeks ago: Flood the D.C. Court of Appeals with Telegrams and Letters of Support! That call was based on the understanding that even getting a rehearing before the full Court of Appeals would represent a significant retreat on the government's part, in their attempt to quickly dispatch this case back into their courtrooms for trial. Now, as December 4 looms before us, this flood of support letters must rise to a wave. For what is at stake here, and what is under attack, is precisely the ability of the exploited and oppressed to make revolution, to seize on the historic moment that may well be ahead in the storms of war and crisis this system is now breeding. The rulers aim to cripple the revolutionary movement by snatching away the revolutionary leadership of Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the RCP.

And many more must begin to grasp exactly what is concentrated in this battle, to understand, as Bob Avakian put it: "That what goes on between the ruling class and our Party is not some abstraction without any relation to the class struggle. Rather it is in fact not only a part of, but in an important way a concentrated expression of what is going on in society as a whole... when attack comes down on an organization like ours, that is precisely an attack on the working class and the masses of people that we represent."

The bourgeoisie is deadly serious—their major attack demands a major political counter-attack! Open the floodgates for the December 4 hearing! Rise to the Challenge! Send letters and telegrams to:

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

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

We, the undersigned, workers of many different countries, condemn the government's plot against Bob Avakian and the 16 Mao Defendants.

Now that the imperialists in the U.S. and the Soviet Union prepare for a war of worldwide plunder and devastation, the red flag of internationalism and revolution has been raised in the belly of a superpower by the RCP and its Chairman, Bob Avakian.

300 red flags flew in the garment district around May 1st, 1980, raised by workers who know by our experience the vicious nature of the imperialist system. There is too much at stake to let you rob us of the revolutionary leadership of Bob Avakian. The opportunities around the world for defeating

you and your equally imperialist rivals are in our hands, and we need Bob Avakian's leadership on the streets.

Keep your bloody hands off Bob Avakian and the 16 Mao Tsetung Defendants!

**40 garment workers in N.Y.C.**

We the undersigned, are disgusted at you, the Court of Appeals of D.C. for restoring the 25 felony charges against RCP Chairman Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants. The decision comes from the same source as did the Klan and Nazi acquittals in Greensboro. We know why you are doing this—to intimidate and crush the masses of people because revolutionary leaders are exposing the slaughter of World War 3 that you are preparing to unleash to save your capitalist system and because they are calling for revolution as the only road forward. However, in all your deliberations to attack Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants, you will fail, because you always leave us out of the calculations. And just as happened last time, we will defeat this railroad!

Stop the railroad of Bob Avakian! Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

**51 people at the unemployment office, Buffalo, N.Y.**

We endorse the dissent in the Oct. 21 panel decision in the *U.S. vs. Schiller* case, involving RCP Chairman Bob Avakian and 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants, and urge the Court of Appeals to grant an en banc rehearing and affirm the dismissal of all charges by the trial court.

This is a clear case of political persecution by the Justice Department, and the prosecutorial vindictiveness evident in the indictments should be condemned by the Court of Appeals.

**Houston National Lawyers Guild chapter**

We Latin American workers, here in the capital of the imperialist United States, demand "Drop the charges against Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA!". We can see that this case is an attempt by the government of the United States to smash the revolutionary leadership and all the revolutionary movement in this country. We have seen first hand, that in El Salvador just as in all of Latin America, it is like a volcano that is about to erupt in revolution, the increasing desperation of those that rule this country because their empire is being hit, blow after blow by the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world. We also understand how decisive revolutionary leadership is. We know that this attack will only serve to reveal even more the bloody hand of Yankee imperialism and to mobilize even more people to see the necessity to come to the front in the cause to eliminate this beast of imperialism until it exists no more throughout the world.

**15 workers from El Salvador, 5 from Guatemala, 3 from Nicaragua, 1 from Peru, and 3 from Cuba (2 of whom just came to the U.S.), all gathered in D.C.**

(translated from Spanish by the RW)

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**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.

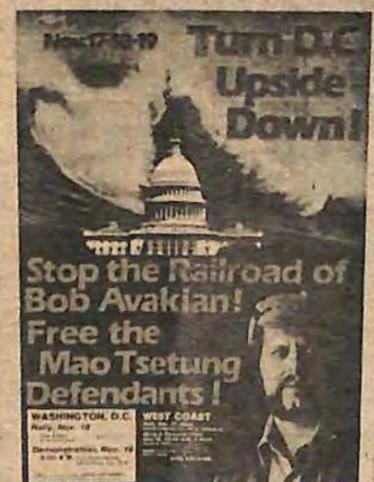
- On November 14, 1979, the charges were dropped before the case had gone to trial. "Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian—Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants" had become a battle cry in the months prior. The political support of thousands and thousands of people had been mobilized, and in the face of this, the 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.

# Haitian Struggle: Duvalier Swings Fascist Club

Last week the *Revolutionary Worker* ran an article exposing the role of the United States in its brutal return of Haitian refugees from a Bahamian island. When the U.S. could no longer keep the story under wraps, it spent a lot of media time lying about it and trying to cover up its role in it. And as the question of what's going on in Haiti is forced more and more into the public eye by the large numbers of refugees trying to escape this U.S. dominated country, we're bombarded by the imperialists' caricature of the Haitian people: illiterate and beaten down.

But what has not made the evening news or the back pages of the *New York Times* is the fact that the U.S. imperialists are shuffling desperately through their game plans for how to keep the current puppet regime of Jean-Claude Duvalier (Baby Doc) intact and hold back the struggle of the Haitian people.

Just a few weeks ago Haitians in the northern city of Cap Haitien turned a funeral of refugees shot by the Haitian army into a demonstration. Pressured by the U.S. to do something about the tens of thousands of Haitians leaving Haiti, the Duvalier regime's army had opened fire on a boat full of people just off the island's coast. Nineteen refugees were massacred. The masses of people ended the burial by closing in on one of the local police stations and demanding the release of those who had survived the attacks and were under arrest. And as we go to press we have learned of another anti-regime demonstration in Port-au-Prince. On November 24th approximately 200 people defied the terror of the Tonton Macoutes (Baby Doc's notoriously vicious counter-insurgency force) to march in the streets with signs saying: "Down With Misery," "Down With the President For Life," "Down With Oppression." Several arrests were made.

U.S. imperialism has ravaged Haiti and in the past couple of years daily conditions of life for people have deteriorated so much that tens of thousands brave high seas and flimsy boats to escape. Others stayed to more and more boldly take on the Duvalier regime. The Duvaliers—François (Papa Doc) and his son Jean-Claude—have ruled Haiti as U.S. lackeys for 22 years. Papa Doc's rule was world famous for its terror and total political repression. When Jean-Claude was appointed "President for life" after his father's death in 1971 he began talking (with the "helpful advice" of the U.S., of course), about "liberalization and democratization" for Haiti. This talk intensified in 1976 with the Carter Administration's "human rights" campaign. All this liberalization mouthing was, of course, nothing but a desperate move on the part of the regime and its U.S. masters to try to bring some stability to its rule in the face of increasing rebellion and unrest among broad sections of the masses of Haitian people, particularly among the petty bourgeoisie. This liberalization/human rights ploy definitely didn't change the exploitation and oppression heaped on the Haitian people in any way. With the worsening crisis of imperialism pushing all the social, political and economic contradictions over the edge, just listing the atrocities and hardships of the Duvalier regime would be like opening floodgates.

But the effect of this move was quite the opposite of what was intended. As one Haitian put it, "When Jean-Claude announced 'liberalization' the masses took him up on it!". In the mid-70s the Haitian masses moved into widespread struggle. The relatively new and small industrial proletariat moved first. Strikes broke through decades of Tonton Macoute repression, short, scat-

tered, but unrelenting. Workers at Haitian-American Sugar Company, Reynolds Metals, Cement d'Haiti, Rawlings Baseball factory, and Brant Textiles as well as taxi drivers in the capital struck, demanding an end to Macoute-controlled unions. And in the southern city of Gonaïves masses stormed a CARE "food for work" depot. Port-au-Prince market women defiantly marched in front of the national palace to protest inflation and pilfering by the Macoutes. The Duvalier regime responded with open violence to the strikes, including murdering a reporter from the opposition newspaper *Petit Sanèbi Soir* at the Cement d'Haiti strike. The people demanded a free press and an end to cultural censorship. For example the regime had set up a government radio station for people to let off steam over petty grievances such as low level corruption and harassment by the Tonton Macoutes. But once again the people rushed further, raising basic abuses of the masses and challenging the legitimacy of the Duvalier regime.

In February 1979 as a further part of its so-called "liberalization" the regime held parliamentary elections. Opposition parties formed calling for bourgeois reforms, the most influential of them being the Christian Democrat

*As we go to press, news of the biggest sweep of arrests in Haiti since Jean-Claude Duvalier came to power in 1971 has come to light. On Friday evening, Nov. 20, the Haitian military began a crack down aimed at independent journalists, radio reporters, and opposition political figures. A reporter at the radio station "Radio Haiti-Inter" announced that the station's director was missing. As the broadcaster put on a record the Tonton Macoutes busted in and ar-*

*rested the whole staff and put the station under military control. At least one journalist was pulled from his home and arrested. Approximately 15 youth who were gathered on the streets in one neighborhood were arrested. Some leaders of opposition parties were also rounded up. All of those arrested were taken to Casseres Dessalines, a torture and interrogation station in Port Au Prince.* □

Party whose program is straight out for bourgeois reformism and which undoubtedly has a number of leaders with ties to U.S. imperialism. The government trucked voters from one voting place to another, sending troops in to "restore order" when an opposition candidate was winning in Cap Haitien. Two opposition candidates including Christian Democrat Party leader Sylvio Claude were arrested.

Students and interns at the medical school started protesting. Playwrights and poets wrote and produced anti-Duvalier culture in Creole, the language of the Haitian people. Some of the plays were called: "Head Trap," "Pre-

sidential Candidate," "I'm Waiting and Unhoodwinked," and "Unmasked." In June, 1979, the Haitian Press Club and Haitian Writers' Association were formed. Three months later, in September, the government lashed out with its "cultural and social ethics law" requiring the regime's approval of any political comments. It set sentences of up to three years for criticism of the government, any government official member of the Duvalier regime, and for "speaking ill of the dead" (meaning François "Papa Doc" Duvalier).

The U.S. imperialists' deep-seated fear about maintaining its grip on Haiti

**"I trust that this pamphlet will help the reader to understand the fundamental economic question, viz., the question of the economic essence of imperialism, for unless this is studied, it will be impossible to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics."**

V.I. Lenin



V. I. LENIN

IMPERIALISM,  
THE HIGHEST STAGE  
OF CAPITALISM



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There is much worthy of the attention of class conscious workers, revolutionary-minded people and all progressive forces in events which have transpired since November 17—the day of the Greensboro verdict. Even as the vindication of the Klan/Nazi killers was blasted from coast to coast and the stamp of approval of the highest ruling circles of the USA was publicly put on their crimes, the anger of countless numbers shot forth. The five anti-Klan demonstrators who were cut down in Greensboro in November, 1979, were intended as testimony to the viciousness of a ruling class which, when necessary, will drop its veil of democracy and openly reveal that its power lies on sheer terror and force of arms. This is a lesson not lost. But the essential message of Greensboro—that anyone who rises up to fight their oppression, and especially anyone who may step forward to lead this struggle, should expect to be shot down in a hail of blood and bullets—is already being ripped apart and shoved straight in the faces of the imperialists who orchestrated the massacre and verdict. Among the masses of people—especially among the basic masses of exploited and oppressed—there is an unpublicized surge of both deep questioning and revolt.

Via the Greensboro authorities, news came which fit the mold of the week prior. All remaining charges against the KKK had been dropped. These were the “lesser charges” of Klan members who had not been tried—murder, riot, etc. But at the same time—and without the national fanfare—charges against the Communist Workers Party (CWP) were also dropped. Six anti-Klan demonstrators had been indicted in early May on charges of felony riot and inciting to riot. The authorities evidently concluded that this indictment had served its purpose—which it had. The charges had been used throughout the trial, first, to bolster the notion that the massacre was simply a “shoot-out” between “extremist groups,” then later, to give credibility to the Klan/Nazi

## ...IN THE WAKE OF GREENSBORO

claim that they had shot in “self-defense” at the anti-Klan demonstrators who “started it.” Reaction to the verdict undoubtedly played a role in the dismissal of these charges. Putting the victims on trial for the crime—and the further storm which would arise—might run counter to what the authorities thought had already been accomplished. The bourgeoisie had made its point.

Case closed? Not quite. In a leaflet distributed nationwide after the verdict (and reprinted in *RW* No. 81), the Revolutionary Communist Party noted:

“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.”

While we are somewhat limited in the scope of what we are able to report at this time, there is ample evidence which bears out the words above. It can be said without question that the reports we have received—though concentrated mainly in the South—do not represent simply isolated examples in a few areas, but actually characterize what is undoubtedly taking place on a broad scale. Certainly, public demonstrations, press conferences, proclamations, etc., which have denounced the Greensboro verdict from anything other than a completely bourgeois standpoint, have been downplayed—or flat-out ignored—in the press. And much more deeply buried from public view are other ex-

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Dayton, Ohio

## BLACK REVOLUTIONARY ASSASSINATED

YULANDA WARD: 1958-1980

On November 1st, Yulanda Ward, a young Black revolutionary activist, was murdered in the streets of Washington, D.C. While many of the details surrounding this killing remain unclear, the stench of the state apparatus hangs heavy around the murder. She was singled out and executed on the very weekend of a Washington, D.C. conference of the student section of the National Black United Front in whose activities she was playing a leading role.

As the first day of the conference ended, all participants were invited to a party on D.C.'s all Black Southeast side. Yulanda Ward and three companions, also NBUF activists, arrived at the party but decided not to stay as the place was very crowded. As they were returning to their car, they were met by four gunmen. According to Yulanda's companions, the assailants yelled, “Hold it, don't move—where's the cash?” Money was taken—but little else resembled a normal robbery. The four activists were separated, frisked from ankles to head, and Yulanda was grabbed by a gunman with a large weapon—possibly a .357 magnum, according to her companions. (This is hardly a typical “street” weapon.) Suddenly a blast echoed through the city streets as one of these murdering dogs fired point blank into Yulanda Ward's head. The others escaped injury. The murderers vanished into the night.

The stench of assassination was intentionally obvious. Yulanda was a widely respected woman among many throughout D.C. and elsewhere and was a leading figure among revolutionary-minded Black students. Events before and after her murder indicate that the forces of imperialism were out to get this sister.

There had been forewarnings that sights were being set on Yulanda. In the months leading up to her murder, there were two attempted break-ins to her apartment and numerous threatening phone calls telling her to stop all political work or “get hurt.” Since the murder, the D.C. cops “can't find” the bullet that killed Yulanda. After the highly questionable arrest of two “suspects,” Yulanda's companions—and eyewitnesses to the shooting—were not even informed of the police line-up of these men. During courtroom proceedings involving the two, a courtroom marshall attempted to eject from the room and then arrest a well known friend of Yulanda's. A special announcement was made in court: no one except police-accredited press could take notes. Then the marshall moved into the spectator area, telling Yulanda's friend “This means you,” ordering an *RW* correspondent to close his notebook “or else,” and sitting nearby to enforce the order.

Yulanda Ward's political work began in her early teens in Houston, Texas and had intensified in her years at Howard University in Washington, D.C. At the time of her death, she was active in the D.C. Rape Crisis Center and a Co-chairperson of the D.C. Citywide Housing Coalition. She was also connected with the Grassroots Unity Conference.

But it was her role in the developing movement among Black students that best exemplified Yulanda's political work. Black colleges throughout the U.S. are presently the target of sharp attacks due to the imperialist crisis. Many have become seething arenas for the fight against national oppression and sharp political struggle around

many questions throughout society generally.

This past fall, a major battle raged, centered on Black College Day (BCD). Tony Brown, a well known Black TV producer and syndicated columnist, had issued a call for “Black College Day, 1980”—a series of events capped by BCD itself to take place on September 29 in D.C. It was ostensibly an event aimed at focusing national attention on the plight of Black colleges. Brown boasted that “about a half million” would come, complete with “marching bands from the 107 predominantly Black colleges... a queen and her court drawn from the pool of Black college queens... Reagan, Carter, and Anderson are invited to speak.” A paper written by Yulanda and presented for discussion at the conference on the day of her murder laid bare the real essence of BCD:

“While masquerading as a protest demonstration against the destruction of Black colleges, it was in fact an attempt by the ruling class... to harness the potentially explosive growing consciousness of Black youth and misdirect that consciousness away from raising fundamental questions about the nature of this economic and political system.”

A broad array of forces had come together to expose and oppose BCD. Yulanda had played a key role in this struggle. Attention spontaneously focused on Pepsi Cola Corporation, which funded BCD and is notorious for its investments in South Africa. But more to the point—and singled out in Yulanda's paper—was the imperialist politics which were behind this event.

The struggle undertaken by these forces against BCD had an extremely significant impact. Workshops held in

the days before the 29th were turned into political battlefields as those opposed to BCD went into the sessions, agitated and won increasingly broader support. Of the thousands that participated on BCD itself, a significant section had come to understand the real nature of BCD. As a result, the Black stand-ins for Carter, Reagan and Anderson were literally booed off the stage.

The battle lines became even more sharply drawn in the aftermath of BCD. Brown lashed out in a syndicated column appearing nationwide in Black newspapers. The article targeted Yulanda and four others, describing them in detail though never mentioning them by name. The article came out six days before her murder. In the weeks before her death, Yulanda was struggling to draw the appropriate lessons from the work against BCD.

The murder of Yulanda Ward was a desperate act—an act intended to intimidate others from following a path similar to Yulanda's. The immediate response to her slaying was, however, not what had been intended. Hundreds attended memorial meetings for her in D.C. and elsewhere. Later, at the conclusion of workshops which preceded a demonstration of 2,000 women at the Pentagon on November 17, a silent march dedicated to the memory of Yulanda Ward was held in D.C. At Howard University, money was raised to reprint Yulanda's position paper in full in the press.

The despicable murder of Yulanda Ward will only accelerate the revolutionary struggle to which she devoted her life. □

## 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.

### "Create Public Opinion, Seize Power"

The letter "The RW as a Weapon" by O.M. in the RW No. 78 attempts to defend the central role of the Revolutionary Worker, but in doing so, in my opinion, it tends to blunt its real revolutionary purpose and content. Our central task is not "Create public opinion." It is "Create public opinion... seize power." These two aspects form a unity of opposites. While right now in this country what we are doing is creating public opinion, overall the principal aspect is seizing power—that is what we are creating public opinion for. By confusing these two aspects—by saying "Guns is Marxism" and speaking as though the RW and guns were the same thing, O.M. is forgetting about the need for revolution.

The main content of all our agitation and propaganda must be to expose the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and to make clear the necessity for its overthrow and replacement with the dictatorship of the proletariat—by force of arms when a mass, armed insurrection becomes possible. All our work must be carried out in preparation for that day. It is a bourgeois lie that capitalist society is run by "majority opinion" and not dictatorship by their class. If we forget this, then all our work would be disoriented and, the public opinion we would create would not expose the capitalist dictatorship and the need to overthrow it, but would add to the bourgeois fog. As a reminder, isn't it the case that today, in our work of creating public opinion, we constantly run up against the bourgeoisie's dictatorship? In this bourgeois democracy, where supposedly anybody can say anything, isn't the ruling class constantly trying to stop the distribution of the RW by harassing and arresting RW sellers

as well as other more brutal attacks on the revolutionary forces? The bourgeoisie regards the RW as not just offering one more item in the "marketplace of ideas"—it regards it as a direct threat to their dictatorship. This should remind us of the ultimate purpose of all we do, and the task of armed revolution that lies ahead. Loosening our grip on this central point could lead dangerously close to a gutted "legal" Marxism.

Lenin said, "An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot, unless we are to become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, forget that we are living in a class society from which there is no way out, nor can there be, save through the class struggle and the overthrow of the power of the ruling class." Lenin, so far as I know, was not a gun freak or an advocate of the "purely military viewpoint." He was a Marxist. He, too, argued for a newspaper as the main revolutionary weapon in the period of preparation for the seizure of power and clearly opposed the strategy of terrorism as "disorganizing" the revolution. But his purpose in all this was to prepare and he sharply combated the idea which was quite popular among the revisionists even of his time, that there was some other way out for the proletariat other than armed struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

When people say, "We need guns, not paper," and you go around telling them, "Guns is Marxism" and confusing paper and guns, you are not educating them in Marxism nor creating public opinion to seize power.

It would be degrading to the whole point of *What Is To Be Done?* if all we were to get from it was the idea that we need a newspaper or that the newspaper should be central to our work.

It was exactly this same question that O.M. is dealing with... "we need guns, not paper"—that Lenin responds to in *WITBD?*, not by replying "no, we need paper, not guns," but by laying out a plan for proletarian revolution which centered around a newspaper:

"Such work [a newspaper and the organization that would arise around it] would strengthen our contacts with the broadest strata of the masses of workers and with all those strata who are discontented with the autocracy, which is of such importance for an uprising. It is precisely such work that would serve to cultivate the ability properly to estimate the general political situation and, consequently, the ability to select the proper moment for the uprising. It is precisely such work that would train all local organizations to respond simultaneously to one and the same political questions, incidents and events that agitate the whole of Russia, to react to these 'incidents' in the most vigorous, uniform and expedient manner possible; for an uprising is in essence the most vigorous, most uniform and most expedient 'reaction' of the whole of the people to the conduct of the government."

Marx didn't think that "Marxism is guns." He recognized the dialectical relationship between consciousness and armed struggle: "The weapon of criticism obviously cannot replace the criticism of weapons. Material force must be overthrown by material force. But theory also becomes a material force once it has gripped the masses." "Create public opinion... seize power" speaks to both aspects of what Marx is talking about and the correct relationship between them.

Mao said, "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries." The form that this armed struggle takes differs. In China, a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country, it was a prolonged people's war centered in the countryside. There, the armed struggle was actually the main form of struggle from the beginning of the revolutionary process and agitation and propaganda to create public opinion was carried out in the context of and to directly serve armed struggle. (In China, the armed struggle itself was also the main aspect of creating public opinion—Mao called the Long March "a manifesto.") In the advanced capitalist countries, on

the other hand, the form will be an armed insurrection followed by a civil war. In these countries a longer period of preparation is required before the armed struggle can be launched and the open military conflict is decided more quickly. All this depends on the particular conditions in the various countries. But if we confuse preparatory work with the armed struggle, then Marxism, and the purpose of our work in this period, is in danger of being thrown away.

S.W.

### We Must and We Can "Create the World Anew!"

A number of letters published in the RW as part of the 100 Flowers Debate have shared an outlook that the RCP's call for 100,000 co-conspirators is "necessary" but "not possible". In particular this was the outlook sharply expressed by the third letter in issue No. 77 (signed by someone who said they had 100% but weren't putting it out). A number of other letters have specifically addressed this line overall and in particular have criticized this letter for its economist and defeatist political and ideological line. But I think there is a certain incorrect philosophical underpinning to this line, shared by all these "necessary but not possible" letters, which should be taken up, exposed and rooted out so that a correct grasp of Marxist philosophy—especially dialectics—can be deepened and can further push forward the advances and leaps that are both necessary and possible, most especially right now the victory of 100,000 co-conspirators around the Revolutionary Worker.

This letter in issue No. 77 itself raises this philosophical question and its connection to the call for 100,000 co-conspirators. At its end the author says, "One last note. Freedom is the recognition of necessity. What is the necessity with regard to increasing RW networks? Can someone elaborate on this principle and tie it in with the problem we're facing here?" When the author says "Freedom is the recognition of necessity" he/she is paraphrasing the point made by Engels when he analyzed the relationship of freedom to necessity as a question of Marxist philosophy. But Mao Tsetung further developed and enriched Marxist philosophy and specifically addressed this particular question. This is what he said in part:

"... Engels spoke of moving from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, and said that freedom is the understanding of necessity. This sentence is not complete, it only says one half and leaves the rest unsaid. Does merely understanding it make you free? Freedom is the understanding of necessity and the transformation of necessity—one has some work to do too." ("Chairman Mao Talks to the People," page 228)

The author of the letter in No. 77 (and all the authors of "necessary but not possible" letters) also "only say one half and leave the rest unsaid." This is because they are all based on metaphysics and not on dialectics. Mao also said "The life of dialectics is the continuous movement toward opposites." Freedom and necessity form a unity of opposites, a contradiction, and between these two opposites, necessity and freedom, there is both conditional and relative unity and absolute struggle. Under certain conditions because of the unity or identity of these opposites and through the struggle between them, they can be transformed into each other and specifically, necessity can become freedom. But "understanding" necessity is not the same thing as transforming it into freedom. How can this be true? This negates the movement of opposites, the struggle that must and does go on between them. This negates that "there is work to be done." If you are standing on a railroad track and a locomotive is bearing down at you at 70 miles per hour and you "understand" the necessity to get your ass off the tracks and fast—it is not at all the same as if you do it. In the real world, your "freedom" to go on living is quite dependent on whether or not you act on your understanding of your necessity to move your ass.

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# HISTORY DEVELOPS IN SPIRALS

The following article appeared in the Chinese press in 1974, and was clearly written under the leadership of the "Gang of 4," upholding Mao's revolutionary line. At the time a serious struggle was shaping up between the revolutionary forces, led by Mao and the Four, and the "capitalist roaders" led at the time by Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) and Deng Xiao-ping. This article mapped out some general features of the battle that lay ahead for the revolutionaries in China by reviewing in broad strokes the tortuous path of the revolution in China. Particularly strongly expressed here is the fact that history moves forward through twists and turns—that is, spirals, and not a straight line—and confidence in the ultimate victory of revolution. It is this kind of confidence based on a sweeping revolutionary viewpoint that is giving strength to the Chinese revolutionaries today in making their strong stand under great pressure on behalf of the future of the proletarian revolution, in China and worldwide.

## History Develops in Spirals

Hung Yu

The People's Republic of China has triumphantly travelled a militant path for 25 years.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line over the past quarter of a century, our Party, by uniting the people of all nationalities in our country and overcoming all sorts of difficulties, has beaten back repeated attacks by class enemies at home and

abroad and won great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction. In particular, our Party has in the past 25 years undergone four major struggles between the two lines in which the anti-Party conspiracies of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, chieftains of the opportunist lines, were exposed and smashed, thereby ensuring our country to march forward along the road of socialism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the last eight years further testifies to the correctness of Chairman Mao's thesis and policies on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it has further heightened our understanding of the laws governing class struggle in the period of socialist revolution. Practice in our socialist revolution and socialist construction has over and over again testified to this truth: Revolution invariably advances along a zigzag path by incessantly surmounting all kinds of obstacles and obstructions. New things are bound to replace the old and revolutionary forces are bound to prevail over reactionary forces. This is an objective law independent of man's will.

## Unity of Opposites—Progressiveness And Tortuousness

In his work *Karl Marx*, Lenin made a vivid and scientific generalization on the law of the development of things, describing it as "a development, so to speak, that proceeds in spirals, not in a straight line." In many of his important works, Chairman Mao has incisively expounded and elaborated this brilliant

thought of Lenin's. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Events have their twists and turns and do not follow a straight line." (*On Protracted War*.) Dwelling on the law of development of class struggle, he has 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. This is a Marxist law." "Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again... till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law." (*Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle*.) This teaching of Chairman Mao's points out the two diametrically different outcomes for the imperialists and reactionaries on the one hand and the revolutionary people on the other hand; he also points out that a tortuous course of development is inevitable in the struggle between the revolutionary forces and counterrevolutionary forces. The disruption and failure of the counter-revolutionaries and the failure and success of the revolutionary people are two aspects which are interlinked and can transform themselves into each other. The alternate appearance of these two aspects in the course of revolutionary struggle is a concrete manifestation of the law of spiral development.

Why do things develop in spirals? It is because in each thing there is the contradiction between its new and its old aspects and the two aspects of the contradiction are united and at the same

time opposed to each other, thereby pushing the development of things. The course of development of things from a low to a high stage is one in which the new things develop through continuously defeating the old. To conquer the old and replace it, a new thing is bound to meet with strong resistance from the old; only by repeated and fierce struggles can the new thing grow in strength and rise to predominance, and only thus can the old thing be weakened and forced to perish gradually. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the general direction of the development of things is a forward movement from a low to a high stage, it cannot advance in a straight line. The inevitable phenomenon in the actual process of development is that there are twists and turns of varying degrees at one time or another. Chairman Mao has said: "Like every other activity in the world, revolution always follows a tortuous road and never a straight one." (*On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism*.) This is because there is a process of development for the revolutionary forces to grow and for the counter-revolutionary forces to perish, and it is not possible for the former to completely defeat and annihilate the latter overnight. This is also because the cognition of objective laws, the leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, requires a process of accumulating experience—from without experience to having experience, from less experienced to more experienced. Only by repeated comparisons between positive and negative experiences can

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## Northern Ireland

# Letter from the Cages in Long Kesh Prison

The following letter to the RW—a vivid indictment of British imperialism written and sent out right under the noses of the authorities—is by Irish prisoners in the infamous Long Kesh concentration camp in British-run Northern Ireland.

Revolutionary Worker, R.C.P. Publications, 3186 Merchandise Mart, Chicago, ILL. 60654, U.S.A.

Comrades,

As you probably know, seven Irish Republicans held in the notorious H-Blocks of Long Kesh began on the 27th of Oct. the ultimate form of prison protest, a hunger strike to the death. These seven men are politically aware and committed Irish Republicans, captured in the course of the struggle against British occupation of our country. They have only taken this drastic and potentially final step after long and careful consideration. Their decision is the culmination of years of struggle and resistance by the political prisoners, which has taken them through a nightmare of brutality and torture at the hands of British Imperialism.

The anti-Imperialist war for National Liberation and Socialism being waged by the I.R.A. has its roots in centuries of struggle against British aggression. 12 years ago the Republican working class

rose up to challenge once more their oppression and exploitation at the hands of the British ruling elite. The struggle has continued relentlessly ever since. Political activists captured in the early seventies quickly forced the British govt. to recognise them as political prisoners and from then on Republicans captured by the British were imprisoned in Cages where the political prisoners organised their own lives, time was used to politically educate themselves and deepen their commitment to the struggle, all attempts by the British at rehabilitation were rejected. The recognition of the political prisoners by the govt., was also a clear admission that they, the British ruling class, were engaged in open war with the Irish people. Unable to destroy the anti-Imperialist movement and at the same time unwilling to relinquish their hold on the six Northern Counties of Ireland, the British, from 1976, decided to adopt new policies. They would tell the world normality now existed and that any trouble was being caused by a few gangsters and godfathers who were entirely self interested. Having in this way removed the spotlight of international attention they would then be in a position to release their forces "official and unofficial" in an unprecedented reign of terror and oppression to wipe out resistance to their



Wall in Northern Ireland.

rule. This policy was to have its base in the criminalisation of political prisoners, who would be forced to wear degrading prison issue uniforms and to submit to the authority of pro-British Fascist screws. The British would then point to these "submissive" and "conforming criminals" as evidence that politics were not involved in this situation.

The British government, however, characteristically miscalculated and instead of submissive and conforming prisoners the Brits found themselves with politically aware, committed and dedicated men and women who threw the insult of criminality back in the face of British Imperialism. Since 1976 when the first political prisoner entered the H-Block and was refused political recognition, a determined and defiant resistance has been maintained by the women imprisoned in Armagh Gaol and the men in H-Block, the numbers on the protest now ex-

ceeding 560 (32 women and 530 men). Of course the Brit tactic would only work if they could exhibit these prisoners accepting and conforming to the criminal tag, so torture increased in an attempt to break the resistance of the prisoners. The protesting Republicans were left naked in their cells with no furniture (except for a piece of foam rubber a supposed mattress), no reading material, no radios, no newspapers, no cigarettes, no letters or parcels. They were denied any exercise unless they wore prison uniform, on rejecting this total 24 hour isolation resulted. They were told to wear the uniform to gain the "privilege" of using the toilet, the prisoners again refused, were denied the use of the toilets and the no-wash protest began (they have now lived in their cells unwashed for 18 months their urine poured out through the doors and their excreta plastered on the walls). Systema-

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# UCLA MOVES TO BOOT RCYB— REGISTERS FLAG-WAVERS



The Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) is currently embroiled in a battle to maintain its status as a campus organization at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). The campus administration has been trying to "deregister" the RCYB—the first such action since SDS was thrown off the campus in 1971. Emerging as a central figure for the administration has been Assistant Dean Robert Ringler, who has been the authorities' "star witness" in deregistration hearings against the Brigade. Ringler rushed from a November 6 Brigade deregistration hearing to another meeting on campus where in opposition to some 60 students, he defended the "right" of groups like the KKK, Nazis and especially an organization called "Save American Hostages" (SAH) to be on campus. The UCLA administration has since registered SAH and is continuing in its efforts to deregister the Brigade. The connection between these two actions is not hard to figure, especially in view of the political atmosphere at UCLA over the past year.

In November, 1979, after Iranian students seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran, UCLA was the scene of intense political struggle. A rally was called by the RCYB and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (AV) on November 9 to support the Iranian people. Banners reading "Death to the Shah, Death to U.S. Imperialism" were raised and over 500 people gathered to struggle over the role of the U.S. in Iran and other questions. A "contribution" to this debate truly befitting American ideals was made by a group calling itself the "Society for the Abatement and Vehement

Extermination of Minority Encroachment." This was, in fact, a collection of about a dozen "frat-rats" who chanted things like "USA, USA, USA" and who got about half way through "God Bless America" before forgetting the words. Three days later, 300 people from UCLA and elsewhere attended a rally at the Federal Building near the campus called by the RCYB and VVAW (AV). Later that same day, over 500 students gathered again on the campus itself with more vigorous struggle developing. Many students denounced the Shah and the U.S., though this was clearly against the tide. In the same period, the Black Student Alliance held a rally of over 600 students which demanded deportation of the Shah and opposed the "KKKism, SAVEMEism (a reference to the frat-rats—RW), and John Wayneism" widely promoted on campus.

These and other actions drew new students into political struggle and charged the thinking of countless others. While the struggle hasn't remained at the high pitch characteristic of the weeks following the embassy seizure, these actions made an important imprint on the political atmosphere on campus. Just recently, for example, when SAH appeared on campus, students immediately began approaching the reactionaries to oppose them. And, with the accelerating events generally throughout society (such as the verdict in Greensboro which was blasted at the rally called by the Black Student Alliance recently), the campus administration is girding for more radical political action by students. In particular, it is directly attacking the RCYB. The RCYB's role in support of

the Iranian revolution—and in the months following this, its work in building for May Day 1980 and in opposing the U.S. government's attack on Bob Avakian—has sent the administration up the wall.

The charges against the RCYB center around the past year's "unscheduled events" and distributing literature (leaflets, the RCYB's newspaper *Revolutionary Communist Youth*, and the *RW*) "illegally," like in cafeterias and classrooms. The administration is also very upset because RCYB members helped distribute a satirical replica of the *UCLA Bruin* campus newspaper appropriately titled the *UCIA Bruin*. The *Bruin* had repeatedly attacked Bob Avakian, May Day, and the Iranian revolution. The parody exposed the *Bruin*'s subservience to imperialism.

At the same time, key to the administration's strategy of creating the type of political atmosphere more conducive to "higher learning" is the promotion of reactionary groupings. On October 17, the *Bruin* featured a banner headline reading: "Bounty Offered for Criminal Khomeini Followers—\$50 for Iranian's Arrest?" The front page amounted to a wanted poster; it was accompanied by a photo of flagwavers from one of last November's rallies and highlighted an article reporting on the activities of SAH. A week later, the *Bruin* announced that SAH was registering as an official group at UCLA. Thirty students picketed the administration and the *Bruin*, demanding that SAH not be allowed on campus. Since then, increasing numbers of students have called for a change in UCLA regulations which would ban racist groups from campus. Robert

Ringler, the *Bruin* reported, threatened to resign if such a ban was implemented. And administration officials have affirmed that the KKK and Nazis would be officially recognized if they applied for registration.

SAH & Company have appeared on other campuses in Southern California also. At Cal State Northridge, where the administration recently reversed its original decision not to allow SAH on campus, SAH member Robert Zirgulis was recently confronted by some students. One, who regularly reads the *RW*, picked him up by the neck and sat him down on a bench. Soon, a crowd of students were laying into this creep about U.S. support for the Shah and the continuing attempts to pull off a coup in Iran. Zirgulis was then escorted off campus.

Robert Zirgulis lists a P.O. Box in West Los Angeles as the address of SAH. That P.O. Box is rented by an interesting little "import-export" front called California Bear Import-Export Company. Zirgulis' "import-export" company does "business" in the Middle East. Zirgulis himself, who claims he was once "involved" in the anti-war movement, travelled throughout the Middle East, including Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan after graduating from college several years ago. In fact he claims to have escaped the civil war in Lebanon in 1975 by crashing through a Palestinian roadblock. Maybe he just "fancies" himself as a CIA agent, then again, maybe before he left school he took advantage of one of the CIA's frequently published recruitment ads in the *Bruin*.

Hearings at UCLA against the RCYB will resume in the next few weeks. □

## Long Kesh

Continued from page 7

tic, organised beatings increased alarmingly, obscene sadistic body searches are now a daily occurrence, whereby a metal probe is pushed up a prisoner's anus supposedly to check for contraband but actually as a further punishment. The brutalities are endless. The prisoners have lived with this inhuman treatment for an incredible period of 4-1/2 years.

The British govt. has dismissed the mass support on the streets for the political prisoners and ignored all international pressure to resolve the situation. Now the prisoners, unable to bear these conditions any longer, have started this agonising protest of slow death in an attempt to force the British administration to recognise what the whole world already does, that they are political prisoners and a war between the Irish people and the British Imperialists continues unabated. (The fact that only Republican prisoners are subject to the above mentioned tortures, demonstrates that the British do treat them different from ordinary prisoners).

The hypocrisy of the British administration is evident in the fact that 200 Republicans imprisoned before 1976 are still recognised as political prisoners and are held, with full political status in the Cages of Long Kesh, less than 200 yards from the H-Blocks. The five demands of our protesting sisters and brothers are very basic and simply ask that they be treated in a humane manner. The five demands are 1. The right to wear their own clothes. 2. The right to abstain from prison work. 3. The right to associate freely and organise their own education and recreation etc. 4. The right to receive one visit, one parcel, and to send and receive one letter per week. 5. The restoration of all remission which has been taken from them as further punishment during the protest. As I have already stated these conditions already

exist here in the Cages of Long Kesh, and that the only difference between us and our brothers and sisters in the H-Blocks and Armagh is that we were captured before 1976 and they after.

Starvation diets for four and a half years have left the prisoners in an emaciated condition, they cannot last long on hunger strike, so I make this urgent appeal to you to act now, in whatever manner possible, to help save the lives of our seven comrades on hunger strike and to stop the torture of our 32 sisters in Armagh Gaol and our 530 brothers in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh. A victory for the political prisoners is a defeat for Imperialism.

In Solidarity,  
The Republican P.O.W.s,  
The Cages,  
Long Kesh.

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## LAPD INFILTRATOR OF AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT EXPOSED

"I hope this doesn't cause another storm," pleaded LAPD Chief Daryl Gates, as American Indian Movement (AIM) activists last week exposed Frank C. Montelongo as an LAPD Public Disorders Intelligence Division (PDID) agent, who had infiltrated AIM since 1975. Montelongo had become a trusted AIM member, often heading security for political events. He reported to the LAPD & Co. on the activities of the Leonard Peltier Offense/Defense Committee in L.A., and the Committee Against the Frame-up of Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk (two activists in L.A. framed up but later acquitted of murder charges). He had also been one of the main security people on the California leg of the Longest Walk in 1979 and was a participant in religious ceremonies such as the Sweat Lodge.

Though Montelongo was directly employed by the LAPD, spying and other police agent activity hasn't been simply a "local matter." According to AIM activists, there have been as many as a hundred or more assaults, attempted murders, and murders against Native American political activists since 1973 alone. One attempt to murder AIM leader John Trudell resulted in the death of his wife and two children. There is also the long string of political frame-ups and other attacks on activists from Dennis Banks to Leonard Peltier, and many more. Police and FBI under-

cover agents have played a big part in all these attacks.

Montelongo joins two other police agents previously exposed—Doug Durham and Blue Dove. Durham helped the FBI frame up indictments against Dennis Banks, and was also instrumental in the Skyhorse/Mohawk case. Along with the filthy intrigue already described, the work of these agents always included attacks on Native American religious activities. Speaking of Montelongo's infiltration of the Sweat Lodge ceremony, Beverly Little Thunder said, "It was a sacrilege to hear someone's prayers and then put them down on the typewriter for the police to read." Montelongo had spied on many such activities, the Sun Dance and others as well. (When the LAPD attacked a picket line against the frame-up of one Native American activist, the first thing these pigs went for were various sacred religious implements, which they then destroyed.)

No one has any illusions about this kind of activity stopping. As one AIM member put it, "We all just assume Frank (Montelongo) has been replaced." Or as Gates put it, "It's so vital to the welfare of this community that we be allowed to conduct this kind of work that I'm going to continue it until someone, a court or someone, declares that we are doing something improper." □

## Italy Earthquake Disaster

# THE FAULT

Over 3,000 people are known to be dead. Perhaps hundreds, even thousands more, could be trapped beneath the ruin and rubble in various states between life and death. The earthquake that struck the southern portion of Italy has affected more than 10,000 square miles and has inflicted damage to at least 97 cities, towns, and villages, with a population of some 7 million people. It is said to be Italy's worst earthquake since 1915, when one struck the Avezano area in central Italy, claiming the lives of 30,000 people. But while the government continues to "hold" the figures at the 3,000-plus mark for their "official" proclamations, recent estimates, including a slip from one of the generals in charge of part of the rescue operations, predict the death toll will exceed 10,000.

It is no surprise that the Italian bourgeoisie is trying to hide the truth of the extent of the damage done. They fear that the powerful exposure of their growing inability to rule will have profound political repercussions. It is exposure enough that there were absolutely no preparations for this quake, that struck with a force 50 times greater than the A-bomb that levelled Hiroshima (measuring 6.8 on the Richter Scale), and sent tremors from its epicenter southward to Sicily and northward to the city of Trieste on the Yugoslavian border—following the fault line of a region that is historically known as an earthquake area!

But that is only part of the picture. As of this writing, nearly a week after the earthquake struck on November 23, there are still many areas that have yet to receive aid or where rescue operations are only at the beginning stages! Instead, angry and distraught residents of the stricken areas dig at the rubble with bloodied hands, following the cries and moans of those still living—but entombed—in a desperate race against the decline in the amount of oxygen available to those trapped below.

The worst hit areas were the provinces of Naples, Salerno, Potenza and Avellino (see map). While damaged and destroyed roads, bridges, communications lines and dense fog certainly hampered the initial rescue operations, this can hardly explain why one migrant worker, who left his job in Switzerland and drove for 20 hours to his home in Caposele, beat the rescuers there. And his story is not his alone, as cars bearing Swiss and German plates, and loaded with migrant workers, were the first ones to arrive in many of the villages. Nor can the initial problems explain why one village had to radio for help on an outdated wireless set, while foreign newsmen and their camera crews were conveniently provided with telephone hook-ups and electrical outlets. Nor can this explain why there is a marked absence of heavy equipment in the numbers required in the quake area—few tractors, few bulldozers, and few cranes. This lack of equipment, and the overall immobility on the part of the ruling class have already forced the condemnation of the towns of Sant' Angelo de' Lombardi and Conza di Campania as "death towns." There, the bulldozers have been put to use in levelling the two areas, and covering the whole place with caustic lime. (Lime is traditionally used as an effective preventative against spreading disease because it dissolves the decomposing bodies of the dead.) But what is unknown, due to the absence of rescue operations, is how many people in those towns were still alive when the bulldozers moved in!



Meanwhile, an article in the November 28 issue of the *New York Times*, entitled: "Pompeii Reported Seriously Damaged," devoted one sentence to the victims of the latest quake, and cried over the broken vases and cracked frescoes at the ruins of Pompeii. No doubt the Italian rulers are already making preparations for raising the estimated \$1.2 million that will be required for restoration of their "priceless" tourist treasure, and in fact U.S. TV footage has shown people actually putting together bits and pieces of broken pottery while thousands of people remain buried. And while this certainly exposes the outlook of the imperialists toward the lives of the workers and peasants—"They are expendable and replaceable,"—their concern for restoring the pots and pans of the "ruins of grandeur" is more than a little symbolic; because what the U.S. imperialists are most concerned about are the cracks and fissures in the Italian state and the resultant political crisis threatening their weak NATO ally.

What stands under glaring indictment here is not the "awesome and unconquerable power of Mother Nature," but the antiquated, ripe for revolution, economic and social relations of imperialism. In fact it is the development of imperialism in Italy, with the incessant chase of capital after the highest rate of profit, that has distorted the economy of the country and provides the foundation for understanding both the inability of the Italian government to deal with this crisis and their "selective" rescue efforts.

The post-WW2 development of Italy's economy, spurred on by the U.S. imperialists' Marshall Plan, focused industrial development and investment in key cities and regions in the northern half of the country. Where agriculture

continued as a part of the economy, it was again, mainly in the north, while overall agriculture in Italy deteriorated. Beginning in the 1950s, and continuing until today, these pockets of industry, coupled with the decline of agriculture, sucked people from the farmlands into the cities in search of work. This was especially pronounced in the more starkly backward and under-developed south, where in the 20 years between 1951 and 1971, a recorded 4.1 million people migrated northward! Another one million left the unprofitable farms in the north and headed for the cities.

Overcrowding, the mushrooming of slums, little or no facilities for education, or hospital care, were the results of this enforced migration. And of course, the job market was non-existent for the majority of those migrating, as capital used only those that could be employed profitably. According to a 1978 report prepared for the U.S. government by the Library of Congress research division, "Economic Conditions in Italy, France and the United Kingdom," in those same 20 years, over half, or 2,351,000 emigrated into the countries of northern Europe; particularly Switzerland, Germany and France. This trend has continued. It was this development that set the stage for one of the grim ironies of the earthquake. Nearly all of the women in the town of Laviano were killed in the quake, while all the men were "saved" by the blind hand of capital hurling them into these other countries to find work to support their families.

This uneven development of capitalism in Italy has left the south an area of impoverished peasants, eking out a bare subsistence living from the land. Housing there is only made of tin or mud—virtual huts on the mountainsides. That people live in the ruins ad-

mired by the flocking tourists, or inside the caves that dot the hillsides, is not unusual at all. It is little wonder then, that the quake would leave such a trail of destruction in such an area held in poverty by the very workings of capitalism. This is exactly why there is no rush to the rescue operations—profits are not in much jeopardy here; only the lives of mere expendable peasants. This is the measuring stick the capitalists use to assess what has to be done and what doesn't have to be done.

But there are other considerations that the rulers must take into account—political considerations, cardinal questions of affairs of state and political exposure. That is why they have sent, to an area already laboring under the superstitions that spring from such backward conditions (it was reported that some of the older women residents were afraid to fly in the helicopters), their chief representative of superstition on earth, the Pope himself. He is there playing a dual role: promoting and feeding superstition by reassuring the people that they did not bring this upon themselves by sinning, on the one hand; leaving the quake and the resultant destruction still in the realm of the "work of the lord", on the other. While his handlers deftly keep him away from the tottering ruins, he ambles through the wreckage applying the salve of "the lord's mysterious will" in order to cool the people out.

One only has to take a look inside the city of Naples to put the lie to this "god's will" chicanery. In a city that even the officials estimate sustained 50% damage of some degree or another, the one place that was left untouched was the U.S. Naval Base. Why? Because the imperialists build their armament bases and their factories a damn sight more durable than the tin and mud houses of the peasants. (Despite the fact that the Pope might make a case for the gangsters of U.S. imperialism being without sin.)

The Italian bourgeoisie have even sent the President, Sandro Pertini, into the devastated areas in hopes of salvaging some of the political wreckage. His arrival on the set only demonstrates how uptight the rulers are—and his reception demonstrates why. When he was walking through the town of Laviano, which is in the epicenter of the quake and was flattened in 60 seconds, he was confronted by one of the survivors. They stood, amidst the carnage, face to face. Suddenly, the survivor spit upon Pertini's cheek, then turned and walked away in disgust and anger. Just how many others in the earthquake areas would like to do the same—or more—to the representatives of the government is purely speculation. But it is this potential political explosion, exemplified by the scene in Laviano, that terrifies Italy's rulers.

It is this fear of political exposure, and the ramifications throughout Italy, that has the forces in the government scrambling hither and thither, blaming their opposition and trying to take political advantage of the situation. Italy is well known as the economically sick man of the NATO allies. And the current crisis of imperialism is not only



Areas of greatest earthquake damage.

Continued on page 23

# Poland:

Continued from page 1

Walesa, the recognized national leader of Solidarity, was ferried from Gdansk to Warsaw by government helicopter to try to calm the workers. He told striking steel workers that, "The army could be called in to run things. Let us not forget their tanks and rockets could also be the reply. We will not be able to defend ourselves, whereas these gentlemen could destroy us."

On Monday, November 24th the Soviets issued a heavy handed hint that it would, if necessary, be willing to take military action to "stabilize" Poland. The threat came in the form of a Soviet newspaper article blasting a strike by Polish railroad workers as "touching on Poland's national defense interests." The strikers had, in fact, been careful to only strike local commuter lines, but their potential for wider action was clear. It is also clear that it is the Soviet Union's national and defense interests that are threatened by the upheaval, since most of Poland's railroads, running east to west, play a key role in Soviet troop supply movements throughout their bloc, especially for their frontline troops in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. The Soviet warning did not fall on deaf ears in the government. The Polish press agency (PAP) warned: "Certain groups are playing a game with unpredictable consequences for Poland's statehood." Polish TV ran a film clip of joint Polish and Soviet tank and artillery maneuvers, stating that they were aimed at "perfecting the military readiness of the units of both armies" and to "deepen the friendships

born in the years of World War 2." Although the film clip was later exposed as old footage from the archives, its purpose of adding strength to government threats and warnings was clear.

Even the U.S. imperialists, though obviously finding some reason for encouragement from the developments in Poland, seemed to be urging the Polish strikers not to go too far. Late in the week a State Department spokesman said that, "We think that a solution can be best achieved in an atmosphere of moderation, of calm, and we intend to refrain from any words or actions that could possibly hinder the earliest possible resolution of that problem." And he added, for the benefit of the Soviets, "we expect others to do the same."

Under current conditions, the U.S. does not need to risk the losses they might face in Poland in the wake of a Soviet invasion. In the past year, the power and position of the Catholic Church, the main U.S. ally inside the country, has been immeasurably strengthened. In the latest government reorganization, a prominent Catholic layman, a close confidant of Cardinal Wyzinski, was given a Cabinet post. Lech Walesa makes it a point of consulting with the Cardinal before or after any major decisions or actions of the union. And the Church, for its part, has seen it in its own interests, and those of the U.S. imperialists, to do its part to preserve a certain amount of stability in the country, on several occasions counseling the workers to moderation. But while the U.S. imperialists clearly influence some of the strike leaders and generally take glee in any difficulties faced by their Soviet enemies, the U.S. imperialists by no means have the Polish workers under their control and also have reason for concern in the situation.

Despite all the warnings, the open threat of Soviet intervention, the calls of Solidarity leaders and the Church for moderation and compromise, the Polish workers have so far shown little inclination to curb their struggles.

The latest escalation jumped off around the ratification of the new union's charter by the courts. A lower court insisted that the union charter contain a clause recognizing the pre-eminence of the Polish United Workers Party in all the affairs of state and the so-called "socialist" principles of the Polish constitution, as well as the inviolability of Poland's military relations with the Soviet Union. Since both these clauses had been included in the Gdansk agreement that settled the summer strikes, this shows how opposition to the Polish Party and the Soviet Union has grown wider and bolder.

Many felt that to agree to include this clause in the charter would cause the new union to be compromised in the eyes of the masses of people. The union threatened a general strike if the clause was included.

Lech Walesa, who recognizes that all his dreams and ambitions, not to mention his body, would be hanging from the gallows in the event of a Soviet invasion, quickly began to look for a compromise with the government. An agreement was ultimately worked out and ratified by the Supreme Court, which took the clause out of the main body of the union's charter and put it in a special appendix. Both sides claimed a victory.

This controversy had hardly subsided, however, when new strikes broke out in Gdansk, Lodz, Warsaw, the Silesian coal mining area and other key industrial areas, as workers charged the government with failing to implement earlier wage increase agreements and accused various regional Party leaders of trying to sabotage and undermine the new unions. And they were right. The large wage concessions the government had been forced to make, coupled with general economic chaos and continuing declines in productivity are straining the economy to the breaking point. It is only international loans, from both the Soviets and the U.S. bloc, in response to the desperate pleas of Polish officials, that are keeping things afloat at the moment. The aim of the party and government officials has been to renege or chisel away at promised wage increases where possible, grant them as a bribe to certain key sections of the working class and to use the "partnership" of the new unions in an effort to enforce labor discipline and somehow dissipate the momentum of the workers' upsurge.

As part of this, Party First Secretary Kania, in a dramatic move, held a summit meeting with Walesa a few days after the agreement on the union charter. The meeting produced loud professions of partnership, sincerity and reasonableness, similar to some of the meetings that Kania's predecessor Edward Gierk had with striking workers in the Gdansk and Szczecin shipyards when he replaced Wladislaw Gomulka in late 1970. In return for Kania's promises of "co-operation" and promises to go along with the new unions, Walesa undertook to tour the country calling for the restoration of calm and stability, and exhorting people to "work harder" for the good of the country.

But Walesa, although he still enjoys tremendous popularity among Polish workers, represents only one trend or camp among the new union's leadership and members, and the most "moderate", i.e., capitulationist. This was seen in one of the potentially most explosive situations to develop to date, when the government raided the offices of the Warsaw branch of Solidarity on November 23, arresting a union printer. He was jailed along with an employee of the state prosecutor's office on charges of having purloined a secret document from the prosecutor's office which carried instructions on how regional party officials were to deal with the union. The union couldn't exactly deny it had the document, since it was in the process of churning out as many duplicates of the 13 page report as they could crank out of their copying equipment. Instead they said that the only reason the report, entitled "Methods of Pursuing Participants in Illegal, Anti-Socialist Activities," was labeled "secret" was that it was embarrassing to the party and government.

The Warsaw union, supported by other new unions throughout the country immediately threatened a general strike if the two document duplicators were not released. In addition, they demanded an investigation of the operations of the state prosecutor and the secret police, budget cutbacks for the Ministry of Interior and an investigation to determine responsibility for the repression of the previous workers revolts in 1956, 1970-71 and 1976. Once again the government appeared to back off, releasing the two men, although not dropping the charges, and promising to "negotiate" on the other demands. The threatened general strike



was called off.

This posture of compromise and negotiation, backed with a not so veiled threat of force, is not a new strategy for the Polish leadership in dealing with the masses of workers. A similar approach was taken after the strikes in 1956, 1970-71 and 1976. But it is anything but a repeat of the past. The government and party grip on the masses has progressively eroded as each new wave of struggle has sharpened the struggle and brought new confrontations. This is reflected in the fact that the PUPW is now working on its third First Secretary in ten years and party leadership has been reshuffled so often it is beginning to look like the poker deck of a Mississippi River gambler. It is the Polish leadership's seeming inability to bring the upheaval under control that poses the greatest likelihood of direct Soviet intervention. The Soviets have too much at stake in Poland to allow it to slip out of their hands. The country is too central to their strategy. It literally stands between the USSR and Western Europe.

But invading Poland and putting down the workers' movement by force is the last thing the Soviets want to do now. It would create an almost impossible situation for them, a very dangerous situation. Invasion would certainly be met by massive popular resistance, and surely include some sections of the Polish army. Such a prospect, the military occupation of the heart of its own alliance, can hardly seem very bright for the Soviet imperialists. They now have only about 30,000 troops stationed in Poland, as compared to 300,000 in East Germany. An invasion and suppression of Poland would require hundreds of thousands of troops. Beyond the direct military consequences for the Warsaw Pact, there is the question of what such a move would touch off in other Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe.

But neither the Polish government nor the Soviets are at the end of their resources to re-establish some control over the situation in the country. In a certain sense, the very forces that the U.S. is using to extend and strengthen its influence inside Poland are working now as forces for re-establishing some stability. And forces like Walesa can be used by both the U.S. imperialists and their Soviet rivals. It might seem a bit strange that the Polish government and the Soviets could end up using the likes of Walesa and other "labor radicals" to reassert their hold on the masses, but this seems to be the strategy that the majority of the Polish leadership has agreed upon. Co-opting the leadership of unions is hardly a new or unproven strategy for the capitalist class, whether of the U.S. or Soviet or Polish variety.

Because of the context in which they are occurring—the global confrontation between the two superpower blocs—the strikes of the Polish workers have broad political significance. But the apparent lack of a significant revolutionary leadership influencing the workers' upsurge leaves it open to the peril of the Polish and Soviet revisionists' efforts to crush it through co-optation. Yet this struggle contains the seeds of revolutionary upheaval and, despite its shortcomings, presents the Soviets with no easy alternatives. And at the same time, it leaves the U.S. imperialists worried that it will outstrip their ability to use it to their own ends.

## EL SALVADOR

Continued from page 2

posed to the Salvadoran junta scheduled to begin in December. At the same time, contingency plans have been drawn up for possible direct U.S. military intervention in El Salvador should their lackeys prove unable to control the situation.

The most recent assassinations in El Salvador and these plans for direct military intervention are sharp indications not of a "more aggressive stance" on the part of the U.S. imperialists in Central America, but of a situation more and more spinning out of their control which requires increasingly desperate measures. □

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

The following is the conclusion of an article which first appeared in 1974 in Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), the theoretical journal of the Chinese Communist Party (for Part I see last week's RW). 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."

## Regarding the Relationship of Mental Activity and the Human Brain

In the ancient past, primitive people were confused and ignorant about their mental activities and things seen in dreams, and they also believed that within the body an undying soul existed. This primitive and foolish concept was utilized by the forces of the exploiting classes, and religion was further trumpeted so that for ages, human mental activity was mysticized. Progressive thinkers in our country long ago suggested a materialist position on mental activity. Hsun Tzu pointed out, "When the form is complete, only then is there spirit (*shen*)," explaining that human mental activity was reliant on the person's body. Wang Ch'ung said, "Under Heaven, there is no fire which burns of itself; in the world, how can there be a formless, independently knowing spirit?" Fan Chen likewise said, "When the form exists, then the spirit exists, and when the form dies, then the spirit is extinguished." All of these are refutations of the existence of a supernatural soul. Concerning the relationship between the mental faculty and the brain, the *Nei ching* contained such writings as "the head is the seat of cleverness and brightness." Li Shih-chün went a step further to point out, "the brain is the seat of government of the spirit." But these were not sufficient concrete knowledge of the subject. In the seventeenth century, Descartes, basing his assertion on the fact that stimulation of the cornea routinely produced blinking, proposed the concept of the "reflex," but he described the human body as a mechanism controlled by a "soul" concealed in the core of the brain, for he had not abandoned the false theory of the soul. This sort of dualistic thinking had a reactionary influence on the study of the human brain. Even in the twentieth century, the English physiologist Sherrington, though he had done no small amount of research into the physiology of the brain and the nervous system, still openly believed that at bottom we did not have the scientific prerogative to relate the mental activities of humans with a physiological process. Recently, some scholars studying the functions of the brain have brought up seemingly fresh theories which consider the mental faculty to be the message sender to the brain, but these are simply replays of the old dualistic tune of the ancient Greek Hippocrates and his ideas that "the brain is the messenger" and "the brain is the transmitter of consciousness." Some neurologists have even declared outright that "mankind has an undying soul, and this point is the basic principle of Western culture," and they have foolishly schemed to place human mental activity outside the reach of scientific study, a last sanctuary for the idealist view of the world.

Nevertheless, these fallacies cannot impede the victorious advancing army which is following the correct road of materialism and revealing the mysteries of human mental activity. In the nineteenth century, due to the relatively broad use of experimental methods of dissection or stimulation of various parts of the brains of animals accompanied by sickbed observations and autopsies of corpses, the scientific understanding of the functions of the brain developed rapidly. In particular, the contemporary determination of the fixed position of the speech center in the convolutions of the cerebrum proved that the activity of speech was dependent on the integrity of the structure and functions of a certain region in the convolutions of the cerebrum. "Speech is the direct manifestation of thought." The discovery of the speech center established in an important respect the inseparable relationship of the brain and mental activity. But because of the restraints of metaphysical thinking, some people took complex mental activities and located them in

isolation at various points within the convolutions of the cerebrum, absurdly declaring that a certain spot governed "selfish desires," another governed the "religious self," and so on, which led to the appearance of "phrenologist" charlatans and their techniques and to the mire of idealism. They did not understand that the human brain is a processing plant; a person's mental activity is not only inseparable from the brain, it is also inseparable from social practice. If one ignores the reflections of the objective world, then one cannot correctly reveal the functions of the brain.

In 1863, Setchenov published *On the Reflexes of the Brain* in which he pointed out that if there were no external stimulation of the sense organs, not an instant of mental activity could occur. Though from the point of view of dialectical materialism and present-day science, simply using a classical reflex theory to explain the mental activity of the human brain would not be adequate because it verges on the mechanistic, yet at that time, to be able to raise the position of the cerebral reflex was an important advance in the materialistic understanding of the human brain. After *On the Reflexes of the Brain* was published, it was banned by the reactionary Tsarist government and the minister of the interior instituted legal proceedings against its author. The document of indictment stated, "Setchenov's work explains the mental activity of the cerebrum," and this sort of materialistic theory "destroys the social and moral foundations of actual life" and "is an enormous danger." Setchenov was placed on the blacklist of the Tsarist Special Affairs Office, which carried on a long-term persecution of him. This simply shows how fearful and inimical the decadent, declining reactionary ruling class was to the materialist position. But the materialist understanding of the human brain could not be extinguished. In reality, before Setchenov, the English neurologist Lai-ke-ke (Leacock?) had published a *Discussion of the Reflex Functions of the Brain* which suggested the view that the brain's activities were reflexes. This shows that the theories of natural science are not the Heaven-given creations of some genius but are the embodiments of things which have already reached maturity in the historical process. This also shows that the materialist scientific understanding of the human brain will inevitably continue to experience uninterrupted development.

In the twentieth century, the rise and development of many new methods and areas of the study of the structure and function of the cerebrum went a step further to confirm, with rich scientific materials, the materialist position on the functions of the brain. People are already able to record certain electrical activity produced in the cerebrum during conscious and voluntary activities. People are also gradually coming to an understanding of the role of certain chemical materials in mental activity and even the influence of some drugs. The new developments in neurophysiology show that the conduction of impulses to the convolutions of the cerebrum by the reticular structure of the brain stem has an important role in maintaining alert consciousness, and the activities of the reticular structure are reliant upon impulses from within and outside the body. This confirms that human mental activity cannot exist independently, separated from the brain or the world inside or outside of the body. The development of neurosurgery has provided new possibilities for the direct study of the brain. In surgery, stimulation of the sensory regions can arouse elements of sensation even though no actual object has been perceived. This shows that human sensation is definitely not what the physiological idealists insist, the "special capacity" inherent in the brains and nerves which does not reflect the objec-

tive world. Just the opposite is true; sensations can only be the reflection of the objective world upon the brain. Stimulation of some portions of the temporal lobes arouses grief over some past memory, and this is irrefutable proof in one respect that mental activity is a function of the brain. The developments of modern science fully confirm the Marxist scientific judgment that human mental activity is the reflection of the objective world on the brain. The correct understanding of man is the result of people in social practice actively reflecting the objective world.

## On the Relationship of the Structure and Function of the Human Body and Social Practice

The question of the relationship between the structure and functions of the human body and social practice is a most important one. The struggle between the two world views over this matter is most acute.

On the question of the formation of mankind, the reactionary class and its spokesmen proclaimed that God had created mankind and denied that the human body was the result of the development of earthly material. On the question of the development of the human body, they proclaimed fatalism and denied that the structure and functions of the body could have developed without interruption through social practice. Especially on the question of knowledge and ability, which are closely related to the structure and functions of the brain, they heralded the extreme idealist fallacies like reincarnation, innate genius, physiological determinism, hereditary determinism, and so forth and denied the decisive role of social practice for the people's knowledge and ability. Such fallacies as "To be born with knowledge," which was advanced by Confucius and Lao Tzu, "Innately ingenious thinking is the function of the brain of the innate genius," which has been advanced by scholars in the service of Soviet revisionism, and "The head grows well," which was advanced by the renegade and traitor Lin Piao, all serve the aims of reactionary government. Progress in the contemporary science of the human body, with its irrefutable facts, has peeled away layer after layer of these deceptive falsehoods and has proved the dialectical materialist position that the structure and functions of the human body are intimately related to social practice.

The human body has advanced from the animal. Liu Yü-hsi, a T'ang dynasty Legalist, pointed out: "Man is the most excellent of the animals." "(The myriad things) took advantage of the life-giving principle *ch'i* and were produced. All were divided into classes, the plants being called *sheng*, animals being called *ch'ung*, and the strong point of the naked animal was that his intelligence was the greatest." This illustrates that to a certain degree, Liu understood that mankind was the highest product of the advance of animals. Darwin, on the basis of a great volume of scientific materials, came to the scientific conclusion that man had evolved from certain ancient apes and on this basis, destroyed the myth that "God created man." But looking at the problem from a purely biological position, Darwin was unable to answer just how ape became man. Engels utilized the sharp weapons of dialectical materialism and historical materialism to solve this question scientifically for the first time, proclaiming the determining role played by labor in the transformation from ape to man. The reason that man was able to take shape in the world was basically a product of social labor and social practice. Only because of labor were the apes' front appendages transformed into human hands. "The hand is not only the organ of labor, it is also the product of labor." "First comes labor, after it and then side by

Continued on page 17

# Mao's Comrades: Caged,

Continued from page 1

beautiful to revolutionary people the world over.

New this week were the reports of Chang Chun-chiao's appearance. Chang was the second to be brought before the judges. Chang was handed the indictment. "I refuse to accept it," were Chang's first and only words as he silently, fiercely, defied the whole proceeding with its carefully constructed political case aimed not only at the "Gang of 4" but even more fundamentally at Mao and at further consolidating capitalist restoration in China. Radio Peking commented that Chang's silence "shows he is stubbornly insisting on his reactionary stand"—that is, the stand of a proletarian revolution-

ary. Chang Chun-chiao, the main leader of the Cultural Revolution in Shanghai and a former member of the Standing Committee of the Party's Politburo, showed defiance by his very physical appearance. On camera, his health looked badly deteriorated. It was almost certain he had been drugged and tortured, even recently, but his unshaven face and his slightly unbuttoned jacket were noted and even commented on by some of the media, as "signs of disrespect." The *Chicago Tribune* wire service commented: "Zhang, facing the death penalty, simply sat mute in the prisoners' box. He glared at the panel of judges and appeared on the verge of shouting several times but never did." Like a tiger—caged and beaten, but every ounce a tiger—Chang radiated rebellion.

All this is jolting the ruling revisionists who realize that Chang's defiance, coming together with and re-enforcing the earlier stunning revolutionary stand

and bearing of Chiang Ching, is having far more public effect than all the elaborately orchestrated "revelations," the confessions and the rest of the whimpering "drama" of their political "trial of the century." The November 26 *Washington Post* gave a sense of this when it said that Chiang Ching's "stately, mean and haughty air... seems to jar the chief judge and many of the specially invited spectators." The *Post* then describes how the judge exclaimed at one point, "Humph, 'Don't know!'" and then "'Don't know?'" echoed several disbelieving courtroom observers."

The *Post* goes on to describe (and fairly accurately from their reactionary point of view) some of the consequences of Chiang and Chang's clear revolutionary stand. "A criminal is usually expected to admit crimes to prove guilt. From a political standpoint her (Chiang Ching's—*RW*) confession also would place a tighter seal on the Cultural Revolution. The start of the trial had been delayed for more than a month because Chiang Ching and another defendant (Chang Chun-chiao—*RW*) refused to confess their guilt, according to Chinese officials. However, a leading legal scholar may have provided a solution (!!!) for the problem when he was quoted in a *People's Daily* article saying that under China's new criminal code, confession is not necessary for conviction... he added in the article that if the defendants 'indulge in sophistry, act shamelessly or refuse to say anything, the court has the power to order them to be quiet or taken from the courtroom.'"

In other words, they have even passed a new law to try to deal with these two leaders' revolutionary stand. "This law applies to you," the judge told Chang

Chun-chiao at one point. And to Chiang Ching, in true Alice in Wonderland style, ("first the sentence, then the trial"), the judge pontificated, "So, the accused Chiang Ching has refused to confess. But the facts are on the file. There is enough evidence to prove that Chiang Ching and her gang made false accusations against the top Chinese officials."

The revisionists are not making much of an effort to hide the fact that this whole affair is a railroad, with the verdict stamped and approved long before it is started. The *People's Daily* carried on its front page last week a cartoon showing the Four (along with the Lin Biao clique) in a coffin that is ready to be nailed shut.

## The Real "Gang" Charges the Four

So far, the trial of the Four has concentrated on only one charge. According to the indictment, the Four met on October 17, 1974. The next day, Wang Hung-wen (one of the Four) was dispatched to Mao to tell him that, "Although the Premier (Zhou Enlai) is now ill and in the hospital, he is busy receiving visitors till late at night. There are people visiting almost every day. Those that go often are (Deng) Xiaoping, (Ye) Jianying, and (Li) Xiannian," and that "in Peking now, there is an air of the Lushan conference (the 1970 Central Committee meeting where Lin Biao conspired behind Mao's back to seize power—*RW*).

What is very revealing here is that throughout all their rantings about how the Four meant to "conspire" against Zhou and Deng, the revisionists never deny that these midnight sessions between Zhou and Deng and other rightists took place. Everyone in China must certainly assume that they did. They were surely not just reminiscing about the good old days—they were plotting a coup to take power away from the working class. Some "plot" by the Four, telling the Chairman of the Party about this!

The Left, represented by the Four, had in the main won a victory in the political line adopted at the 1973 Tenth Party Congress held after the fall of Lin Biao. The political report, which upheld the Cultural Revolution and stressed Lin Biao's rightism (as opposed to his superficial "ultra-leftism" which the Right was using to attack the genuine Left) was delivered by Zhou Enlai, who fundamentally disagreed with the line of the report. However, the Right was gaining organizationally. Although Wang Hung-wen was promoted to a position only behind Mao and Zhou, many of the rightists knocked down during the Cultural Revolution were being brought back into high positions, including Deng.

Mao was forced to agree to such a blatant capitalist-roader as Deng coming back because of the need to clean up remnants of the Lin Biao forces in the army, where Deng had considerable influence. Also, the Right was gaining strength and demanding such rehabilitations. It was not possible for Mao and the Four to wage an all-out up-front battle at that time against the Right, in particular in the arena of organizational positions. They had to concentrate on setting a general revolutionary political orientation and on arming the masses politically and ideologically for the battle ahead. It was in this context that Mao was forced to not openly oppose Deng's appointment as First Vice-Premier at the Fourth People's Congress in January 1975. This is Mao's "nomination" of Deng as First Vice-Premier, which the Four allegedly tried to sabotage against Mao's wishes.

But in fact, Mao, during this same period, relied on the Four to lead a fierce battle for public opinion and educate the masses about the dangers of capitalist restoration. The campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius attacked by analogy those forces, in particular Zhou (and also Deng), who were trying to smash the gains of the Cultural Revolution. And right before the

## Outrageous Press Lies on Gang of Four Trial

The U.S. press, in connivance with the Chinese revisionists, have been really outdoing themselves in their habitual pastime of lies and outrageous distortions around the trial of the "Gang of Four." Aided by the fact that the Chinese revisionists have lumped together the reactionaries associated with Lin Biao into the same trial with the genuine revolutionaries, the U.S. press has taken full advantage of people's lack of knowledge about just who is who. They continue to spread all sorts of confusion and slander against the revolutionaries who were, in fact, the staunchest combatants against all the various packs of revisionists—including the Lin Biao group they are now being tried with. In China, as in the U.S., the purpose is to attack the entire Cultural Revolution period and Mao. The "Gang of Four" were explicitly marked as enemies in Lin Biao's "Project 571" coup plan. Chang Chun-chiao, in particular, was one of the few people named personally as a foe. But this, of course, has not prevented the revisionists and the U.S. press from lumping them all together and implying—or even outright saying—that the Four were somehow a part of this plot of Lin Biao's to murder Mao and pull a coup.

The latest in this pattern of outrageous distortion involved Chen Boda, who was linked up with Lin Biao's group, but is being linked with the Four. When Chen confessed this week, typical headlines went like this: "Gang of 4 Figure Confesses at Trial" (*Chicago Tribune*) or "China's ex-No. 4 Man Admits Persecution Order" (*Chicago Sun Times*) Get the hint? "No. 4"; "Four"; "Gang of Four"—all the same, right? No.

The network evening news on at least two of the major networks showed Chen's picture on the screen in front of a logo that said "Gang of Four Trial"

and even had the pictures of the real Four. Of course, hardly anyone in the audience, without special knowledge of China, could know this man was not one of the Four at all. The *Chicago Sun Times* headlined, Chen was a bitter opponent of Mao and the "Gang of Four" during his last years in Party leadership in the late '60s. But this was no new development. As far back as 1956 at the Eighth Party Congress, Chen had teamed up with now-honored revisionist Liu Shaoqi to prepare a report saying that developing the productive forces of China—not continuing the class struggle and revolution—was the key task. This was directly opposed to the line of the Chinese revolutionaries led by Mao, and is exactly the basic line of today's revisionist rulers. Chen and Lin Biao then teamed up to repeat exactly the basic line of today's revisionist line in a draft of the report to the Ninth Party Congress more than a decade later. Again this was strongly opposed by Mao, together with the Four.

The press has also been careful to link Chen closely with Mao. In press reports Chen was usually identified as "Mao's secretary." Never mind the fact, available to anyone who does the slightest research, that Mao blasted Chen, saying that he and Chen never got along and that "Chen Boda and I have had many divergences for many years..." But never mind all that, just tie him up closely with Mao, since that serves the political purpose at hand for the U.S. press.

Could it be that the U.S. press are ignorant, stupid philistines and chauvinists who don't know and don't care who's who in China? Well, all of the above characteristics are true, but this activity is very conscious. Seems like any lie will do when it comes to attacking revolution.

Fourth People's Congress, Mao launched a campaign to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent and combat revisionism. Two major opening salvos were pamphlets by the Four. It is clear that the Four were carrying out Mao's line, and that Mao led them, stood behind them and gave them all the support that he could.

### Wang's Capitulation

A major turn in the trial is Wang Hung-wen's (Wang Hongwen) apparent willingness to testify against the others. As we said a month ago in *RW* No. 75, the fundamental question is political line, not any individual and

## Announcements Meetings to Mao's Revolutionary Comrades

In a number of cities across the Communist Party, USA will soon spread a revolutionary stand being taken by Chang Chun-chiao, to go deeply into Mao's significance of events in China to the masses.

The exact times and places will be announced in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

# But Every Ounce — Tigers



Chiang Ching

even Wang's capitulation, the two revolutionary leaders remained unshaken. When Wang was brought into court, the TV cameras focused on Chiang Ching, but according to the *New York Times*, during Wang's testimony against her, "She sat impassively, her head cocked back"—scornful of betrayal. And the *Chicago Tribune* reported that when Wang testified against Chang Chun-chiao, "Even that did not faze Chang, who sat unmoved" in what they described as a "striking performance."

All this does pose the question of why some revolutionaries, like Wang, have given in, while others have remained firm. The answer generally promoted in the press is that Wang, for example, is simply trying to save his neck. While the revisionists have obviously applied such pressure, and perhaps torture as well, it is really not so much this that is the fundamental cause of Wang's betrayal. It is not a simple matter of some personal qualities of cowardice or courage, but again much more basically a question of political and ideological line which provides the source for strength—or weakness. Why else have every one of the revisionist Lin Biao's "big tough generals" confessed in their trial, with many breaking down into whimpering blobs? Why else was Chiang Ching's only "confession" that "If I have to admit to anything, I can only say that I lost the struggle for power."? All of the Four had been through tough situations personally, with life, limb or prison on the line. There were many incidents during the course of the Cultural Revolution during which all of the Four demonstrated real personal courage. But the bigger question underneath all this, what makes the difference, when push comes to shove, between beacons of revolution and pathetic capitulators, is the firmness and correctness of one's revolutionary political and ideological line and understanding.

Real Marxist-Leninist leaders have to be prepared for twists and turns in the struggle. The ultimate tests are political and ideological. Do they have a real scientific view of the advance of history, and the fact that, while inevitable, revolution cannot advance in a straight line? Are they prepared for the fact that these twists and turns are not

simply a question of attacks by a handful of top reactionaries, but may involve temporary periods when significant sections of the masses turn against the revolution? Revolution is not simply a process of upsurges, but is also marked by periods when reactionaries may gain further sway over some sections of the people, and the revolutionary enthusiasm of others may be reduced on account of temporarily unfavorable conditions internationally or domestically. This is the path of all revolutions. It is one thing to have courage to face torment by reactionaries, and it is still another, requiring the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought to withstand temporary periods when many masses of people turn against you. It requires Marxism to be able to see how this is, in fact, temporary and how the conditions for all this turning into its opposite are developing and to base yourself on the advanced section of the masses, leading them forward so as to be prepared for the future. And this means keeping the whole international proletarian revolution in mind. Clearly, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao are firmly rooted in this view, are full of this strategic confidence and are providing a standard for the international proletariat. Perhaps, on the other hand, Wang Hung-wen, having come to the fore during the period of upsurge of the Cultural Revolution, was not so thoroughly rooted in this sweeping, Marxist-Leninist view and gave in.

Wang, while his "confessions" are being broadcast everywhere, is really now an irrelevant figure. The two sides are clear. Deng, as a representative of the backward counter-currents in history, has his own reactionary, if ultimately puny, significance. Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao are far more significant, even in defeat. While they have lost the immediate battle, they have not been beaten politically, and so their stand is inspiring and teaching people worldwide and contributing to accelerating the forward march of revolution not only in China, but internationally. Despite all the revisionist hype around Wang Hung-wen, his snivelling capitulation only serves to further highlight the real heroism of the revolutionaries who stand firm.

"Even if any of the Four do cave in, it could only mean completely repudiating everything they—and Mao—stood for, and everything the class-conscious proletariat internationally honors them for. And this line will shine brilliantly, independent of any individual." It seems that Wang, the youngest of the Four and the least experienced politically, has betrayed and repudiated the correct line he stood for in the past.

At this time, it is hard to say exactly where Yao Wen-yuan, the other member of the Four, stands. He has not taken the witness stand against the others, like Wang, but at the same time his stand is not one of refusing to coope-

rate with the court, as is Chiang Ching's and Chang Chun-chiao's. The Hong Kong *Ta Kung Pao* will only say so far of his actions that "when he answers, he always mulls it over for a while before speaking, and sometimes he incessantly looks over his prepared notes. This fully reveals his trickiness."

Along with Wang other "witnesses" were produced against the revolutionaries. One was Kuai Dafu, who was a famous, and somewhat mysterious figure who had been a Red Guard student leader in the Cultural Revolution at Qinghua (Tsinghua) University in Peking. He had been arrested and, though his case was never clearly summed up, charged in the late '60s with ultra-"leftism." Whatever his role then, he took the stand against Chang Chun-chiao and testified that in 1967 Chang had urged him to organize demonstrations against Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-chi). This was quite a charge, since Mao had already targeted these top capitalist-roaders and millions were in the streets against their bourgeois headquarters. At least as revealing was Kuai Dafu's next accusation, saying that Chang had told him "You revolutionary small fighters should unite and beat the dogs who have fallen into the water." Studying this reported quote for a minute, what it reveals again is that Chang was fighting for Mao's revolutionary line. Factionalism among the Red Guards, often stirred up by rightists, was a big problem (and was even the basic content of the charges earlier aimed at Kuai Dafu himself). What Chang was clearly saying to Kuai Dafu is *unite* and target the main revisionists who "have fallen into the water," not sink yourselves in factional fighting and targeting everyone.

In the face of this testimony, and

cing  
Uphold  
Revolutionary  
des

country, the Revolutionary  
ponsor meetings to uphold the  
Chiang Ching and Chang  
revolutionary line and the  
the world proletarian revolution.  
be announced. Watch coming

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



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

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# Statements Demand:

Continued from page 3

Hello! My name is Bear. So do be aware. I really do care what's happening in this world everywhere. I should know, I lived in Houston 10 years ago. Fighting for freedom in and out the pigs' back and front door. Kicking ass and taking names. Which didn't even change their way of justice games. One day I was at home, minding my own business as the day went on. But the pigs didn't leave me alone. They put me in jail, and my mother placed \$5000 bail. I guess that was swell. They didn't tell. The charges as well. But the judge knew what to do. He pointed all the crimes at me too. Which really didn't need to be. Couldn't they see. I was human as anyone. But they know Blacks when it's freedom too. So they say this wouldn't do. "Freedom's not for you. So therefore you are through. Helping any race is your kind." So they put me on the front line. Fighting country which is no aspect of mine. But I had to do it, or else face time. So that's why I say, Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants, Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian. Because they threw something on them which is not true. So I will not stop revolution till he is free from the dogs too.

**A GI at Fort Lewis, Washington**

The leadership of Bob Avakian is as precious to the class-conscious international proletariat, as it is dreaded by you and the moribund class you represent. OK, so you're desperate enough to gamble and raise the stakes. We will meet your challenge and put up the ante further still. The angry millions who forced your previous retreat still yearn, only now they are more conscious than ever about where history is headed and what needs to be done. You are holding a losing hand. Drop the charges once and for all.

**The Moody Park 3**

The decision in *U.S. vs. Schiller* condoned the prosecutorial vindictiveness in the indictment against Bob Avakian and co-defendants. Government vindictiveness is nothing new.

My client, Damian Garcia, raised the red flag over the Alamo, and he was murdered while awaiting trial.

Many lawyers already question whether it is possible to serve the law and still serve justice. If this indictment is not dismissed, there will be many more such lawyers.

**Glen van Slyke, attorney, Houston, Texas**

I am writing to urge a full D.C. Court of Appeals rehearing on the dismissal of the case against the Mao Tsetung Defendants, of participation in a demonstration on January 29, 1979. The case was dismissed in the District Court on November 19, 1979, but was reversed by a three-member D.C. Court of Appeals, by a 2-to-1 majority, on October 21, 1980.

The activity taking place on January 29, 1979 was a peaceful demonstration, which citizens of the United States have a right to undertake. It seems clear that the violence which ensued was more the acts of the police against the demonstrators.

The above is supported by the fact that one-third of the 17 defendants could not be identified by a government witness, and at least 1/4 of the 25 felony counts of assault were alleged to be inflicted on "unidentified" police officers. Furthermore, six of the felony counts were charged for "aiding and abetting" an "unidentified attacker."

The vagueness and unsupportability of the assault charges leads inevitably to the conclusion that the case is a political attack by the prosecution. It is the harassment of an organization for its political beliefs and activities.

The District Court was correct in dismissing the case last November, and I support a rehearing by the full D.C. Court of Appeals to which an appeal has been filed. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,  
**K. Laurence Chang**  
Associated Professor of Economics  
Case Western Reserve University

We are outraged by the recent acquittals of the Klan/Nazi defendants for the death of five anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro. Our outrage is intensified by the reinstatement of contrived charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants.

How is it that the people responsible for gunning down five anti-Klan demonstrators go free, while 17 revolutionary demonstrators face 241 years apiece for charges of "attacking an unidentified horseman with a bag of objects"? This discrepancy indicates a conscious attempt by the government to demoralize the socialist consciousness of the people by setting examples of violent consequences for those opposing racism, fascism, and imperialism. This last-ditch effort to undermine the growing tide of progressive social unrest will only serve to unleash the determination of the people into channels of conscious resistance and change.

**6 professors at University of Dayton.  
93 students at Central State University in Ohio  
and 35 other people**

Dear Justices:

I am writing to express my concern at the decision by the three-judge panel in upholding the government's appeal in the above-listed case. I have followed this matter since its inception and have read the Oct. 21 decision. I strongly concur with the reasoning of the defense and hope that your court will overturn the present order. It seems clear to me that the defendants are being treated in this fashion by the government only because of their political beliefs, a concept clearly repugnant to the Constitution and to the beliefs of all citizens. The '80s may well be a decade of turmoil, and the rights of citizens must not be curtailed. Thank you for your attention to this letter.

Very truly yours,  
**Robert Godlove, Attorney at Law**  
Buffalo, New York

To the Committee to Free the Mao Defendants:

We are outraged at the recent ruling by the Washington, D.C. Court of Appeals which overturned the dismissal against Bob Avakian and the 16 other Mao Defendants. That the government case against the defendants has been, from the very beginning, politically motivated is clear to anyone who has followed the proceedings. The charges against the Mao Tsetung Defendants,

to over 241 years in jail each, are not only a political attack against these revolutionaries, but also serve as a clear warning by the government to other potential political defendants.

The recent Court of Appeals ruling must be seen as a continuation and escalation of this political attack.

We stand with you in demanding that this political railroad be stopped immediately and that all charges be dropped.

**Neal Bush, Attorney  
Bock Davis, Attorney  
Connie Schweifler, Attorney  
Beverly Safford, Attorney  
Gloria House, Associate Professor of  
Humanities, Wayne State  
University, Detroit**

D.C. Court of Appeals; Washington, D.C.

Case against Avakian, etc.—it is outrageous civil liberties violation. Justice demands case be dropped.

**John Hanrahan, Washington, D.C.**

The reinstatement of the charges against Bob Avakian and the 16 Mao Tsetung Defendants by the Court of Appeals and U.S. government is another in a long list of attacks on the revolutionary movement or anyone who dares to speak out against our oppression.

But this is much more serious in that it is a naked attempt to put a legal stamp of approval on silencing the leadership of the RCP. This attempt is not unlinked to the Greensboro "trial," the prosecution of Private Garwood, the UN 2 railroad, etc.

The charges are unjustified, and we demand that they be dropped once and for all, immediately!

**Initiated and circulated by  
co-president of class of 1983 of Howard University Medical School in  
Washington, D.C. and signed by 9 other students**

We condemn the outrageous ruling of the D.C. Court of Appeals which escalates the government's attempt to railroad Bob Avakian. Behind it is the hand of the ruling class embroiled in crisis—forced to attack revolutionary leadership in order to destroy the possibilities for millions to consciously overrule them and their system in the '80s. Keep your hands off Bob Avakian.

**5 Students at Antioch Law School**

We condemn the actions of the Court of Appeals and the U.S. government to railroad Bob Avakian and the 16 Mao Tsetung Defendants. While we move into the '80s, deeper crisis and world war draws near, the opportunities and our bright future in ridding the world of U.S. imperialism may very well also present themselves in this decade. We NEED Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants on the streets! We will not allow our revolutionary leadership to be taken from us.

**21 workers in Washington, D.C.**

We, the students at U.C. Berkeley, demand that the U.S. government's D.C. Court of Appeals drop the charges on Bob Avakian and the 16 Mao Defendants. This latest escalated attack is an attempt to reverse the dismissal of the 26 charges totaling 241 years in jail for them.

We will not let the ruling class rip away our revolutionary leadership! In one year's time since the first attempted railroad, we see their crisis-ridden empire quickly approaching World War 3.

U.S. government plans have never been tolerated by U.C. Berkeley students, and we cannot afford to lose our opportunity to rid the world of U.S. imperialism. U.S. government, keep your bloody hands off Bob Avakian and the 16 Mao Defendants!

**36 students at U.C. Berkeley**

We understand why you continue to attack Bob Avakian, but all your desperate attempts to take away our leadership and to smash the battle for freedom will not go unanswered, the class-conscious people of the world are rising to expose your so-called "democracy," win this battle, and finally defeat you. All your squirming and conspiring will be in vain. Free Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants immediately!

**62 workers and oppressed people from Philadelphia**

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

While the rulers went all out to con the people into voting for "the candidate of their choice" under the illusion of "people's democracy"—the true meaning of "democracy" under this system stands out all the more as the 241-year indictment against the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party and 16 other revolutionaries is reinstated. Stop the railroad of Bob Avakian, free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

**30 people attending the Jimmy Cliff concert,  
10 people attending a lecture by Howard Zinn, Boston University professor  
and political activist, on "History of People's Resistance in America"**

The following is the true mandate of the people. We, the undersigned realize that the so-called "mandate of the people" that was given to this "democratic" government on November 4 is a farce, plain and simple. The people do not want another capitalist war. After the Watergate conspiracy, the bloody murder of Fred Hampton, of Malcolm X, the Panther harassment, and the numerous other government conspiracies, the people of New York City are united in opposing this racist, oppressive and hypocritical system and its actions against our leadership. We are demanding that you free Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants.

We need our revolutionary leadership out on the streets. Stop the railroad of Bob Avakian and the 16 Mao Defendants!

**60 residents of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant**

We, the undersigned shipyard workers who took part in the Mao Memorial, loudly condemn the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. We say, drop these charges once and for all. The vicious attack on the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party and the 16 co-defendants is proof that our ruling class is desperate to hold on to its ever-slipping rule, and must lash out even more blindly at those who are organized against them.

**Alan Barysh  
Leroy Savage  
Beth Steel, Sparrows Point**

Continued on page 15

# Reader Writes on *The Cancer Syndrome*

Dear RW:

The article in the October 31 RW on cancer, reviewing *The Cancer Syndrome* by Ralph Moss, is a tremendous eye-opener for millions. It demonstrates the real power of the revolutionary newspaper as a weapon to expose the system and bring much broader forces into revolutionary motion. As a former cancer patient, now a co-conspirator, I can speak a lot of bitterness about cancer, but I won't here because I feel the article, with its fog-piercing power, speaks to the bitterness that millions feel toward their misery by pointing to the true source—Capitalism. This is something the advanced workers must make use of.

More of what I want to address in response to the article is the problem I

had during my battle with cancer, not only of how to deal with the reality of this life-threatening disease, but also how to deal with the bourgeoisie, which tells all patients to cope by just thinking about number one.

I tried to be materialist about it for one thing, and as a revolutionary-minded person I was inspired by the life of Gert Alexander, an RCP member who died in 1976 and who, in the face of heart trouble, never backed down as a revolutionary but gloriously gave her life to the cause of revolution; and I was also inspired by the way socialist optimism was being promoted in (then socialist) China and I wanted to have that spirit too—not some "everything is beautiful," kind of optimism.

But what I tended to do was get intimidated by the low survival statistics

and by my own ignorance of cancer and get devastated by the treatments and radiation and chemotherapy and finally throw my arms up and say "fuck it." Cancer must be different from all the other abuses of the system, I thought. It has thoroughly natural causes, so there's no point in thinking about it—whatever the doctors want to do to me that's cool. Somehow cancer treatment has no class content, I thought, it involves the most elementary forces of life and if any society can deal with cancer it must be advanced capitalist USA with its radiation machines, scanners and spanking new clinics.

That was my spontaneous take on my cancer. I tried to combine materialism and revolutionary optimism with a submission to capitalist medicine and ended up drowning out those sparks of

revolution in myself (I was stepping back politically from revolution too). But I had a lot of help from the bourgeoisie. And that gets to why the cancer article in the *Revolutionary Worker* and Moss' book are so important. They point out that cancer is not an unavoidable product of modern society but rather of capitalism and the bourgeoisie which stifles the development of necessary means to prevention and cure. These laid bare the maneuverings of the bourgeoisie to cover up the real cause of cancer, which is their capitalist system. They tried to pin it all on Mother Nature. Millions can be aroused by this exposure as the system sinks deeper and deeper in slime.

## Statements Demand:

Continued from page 14

Your thin veil of pretense of legality is worn to its thinnest in your attempt to railroad Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. Millions around the world who have long had enough of your pious hypocrisy—your great concern for human rights—to hide your hideous criminal dictatorship, will spread the word of the attempt to jail these revolutionaries to millions more. Stop the railroad of Bob Avakian! Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

**Member of the medical staff,  
John Hopkins Hospital**

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

We, lawyers, law students, and legal workers, condemn the continuing politically motivated attack on Bob Avakian and the other 16 Mao Tsetung Defendants. Last November, the lower court ruled that the piling on of charges totaling 25 felonies and a possible 241 years in jail was vindictive on the part of the prosecutor and dismissed the indictment. On October 21, the D.C. Court of Appeals went to the extreme of reinterpreting the law on prosecutorial vindictiveness in order to reinstate the indictment, thus showing the seriousness of the government's intent to convict these defendants. The prosecution of this case is also an attempt to set the kind of political climate in which the state can deal with all opposition in the same way.

As progressive legal people in the San Francisco Bay Area, we oppose all such moves of political repression. We demand that all charges against the Mao Tsetung Defendants be dismissed immediately.

**35 legal people who attended a  
S.F. Bay Area National Lawyers Guild meeting**

To Whom It May Concern:

You may think that you can quietly rip off Bob Avakian and the 16 other defendants, but that is *not* going to be the case. I guess if you didn't learn anything about the people's desire to keep Bob Avakian on the street last year, we'll have to teach you a thing or two this year. Because there is no way in hell that we will let you steal our revolutionary leaders, and the more you try, the louder and broader we're going to call out to the millions of people who right now—even as you read this—are wishing, hoping, and even praying for an end to your rotten, decrepit system. We'll call on them to step forward to defend Chairman Avakian and the other defendants, and as much as you hate it and try to wish it away, you know deep down in your black hearts that we can and will stop your railroad. So go ahead! Pick up that rock. But when you're forced to drop it, it's gonna hurt. But we'll only laugh and hit you harder and harder until the day you and all you stand for is swept off the face of the earth forever.

**A revolutionary-minded receptionist  
Chicago**

U.S. imperialism is indeed in a desperate and weakening state. The need to crush the Iranian revolution grows with each passing day while "the people grow more tempered in struggle" . . . the Buffalo murders lay bare national oppression for the masses to see, while the Greensboro verdict attempts to club Blacks and revolutionaries into submission and submit to your bloody dictatorship. The draft, economic crisis and numerous other incidents reveal your growing weakness and desperation. Your crisis can only be temporarily solved by waging and weighing World War 3 against your look-alikes in the Soviet Union. Drop the charges once and for all.

P.S. The following undersigned youth and students and all progressive forces of Southwest Ohio pledge to continue to expose and oppose your plans to rip away our revolutionary leadership and spread the above message far and wide.

**RCYB, 9 students, University of Cincinnati;  
25 students Central State, in Ohio; 2 professors, Central State and one laid  
off auto worker.**

The case of Bob Avakian and associates represents the political use of a criminal statute to the end of reducing political discord from the U.S. The recent developments in this case—the reinstatement of charges in particular—is a further escalation in this unjustifiable violation of the political right of free expression. As scholars we oppose this treatment of political prisoners of conscience.

**30 scholars in attendance at the Current State of Marxist Theory  
Conference, University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.**

We have many years experience in the misery of capitalism. We live in it and it lives on us every day. And now, when we can see the chance to overthrow this system, the rulers of this country are attacking Bob Avakian and the Revolutionary Communist Party. We need this revolutionary leadership. Stop the railroad of Bob Avakian! Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

**4 senior citizens at a Salvation Army Thanksgiving Dinner in Buffalo**

To the Court of Appeals  
Washington, D.C.

We join with hundreds and thousands of others in demanding Drop the outrageous charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants! Your cynical attempts to derail our revolutionary movement will not succeed but only act to convince thousands more to join with the forward march of history.

**75-year-old former I.W.W. member, Patrick R. Sullivan  
Carla M. Hanawalt**

To the Washington, D.C. Court of Appeals:

We protest the reinstatement of charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. Just as the U.S. rulers attempted to crush and suppress the Iranian people's revolution so do they try and rob the American people of revolutionary leaders. They will not succeed in Iran or the U.S.A. Long live the unity of the peoples of the world! Free Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

**22 people at the Iranian Student Day Celebration  
at the University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio November 29th.**

**KEEP BOB AVAKIAN ON THE STREETS!!!**

**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 600 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.

# New Maneuvers in Tommy Lee Hines Frameup

Last Friday, a county circuit jury ruled that Tommy Lee Hines (a 28 year-old mentally retarded Black man) is not competent to be retried on charges of raping 3 white women two years ago and removed him to a state mental hospital for "testing." Immediately, the Alabama State Attorney General's office announced "possible" plans to appeal the decision. This decision came only 5 days after the verdict dropping all the charges on the KKK-Nazi murderers in Greensboro, North Carolina. Clearly the ruling class has decided that a conviction of Tommy Lee Hines so close to the acquittal of their Klan dogs would be too much of an exposure of their rotten dictatorship. And it might possibly be a flame that would ignite the smoldering anger of millions of people at the cold-blooded Greensboro verdict.

It has only been 18 months since hundreds of people took to the streets of Decatur, Alabama in two armed demonstrations which forcefully declared Tommy Lee Hines innocent of all charges—and which declared the system guilty in an outrageous racist frameup of a man who is incapable of even committing such crimes. The first demonstration was attacked by armed KKK scum who had come looking for

blood and got some—their own—as two of them were gunned to the ground by the demonstrators. The authorities geared up for the next rally by calling in the National Guard, some even in tanks, and posting sharpshooters all over the rooftops. In the face of the massive armed might of the state, even greater numbers of demonstrators—2,000 strong—took to the streets, while a handful of robed cowards—only 150—hid behind 4 rows of riot-equipped pigs. Some people left the successful rally chanting, "Unite, white, Black and Brown, gonna tear this rotten system down!"

The outburst of fierce struggle against the frameup of Tommy Lee Hines had brought worldwide attention to the trial, and graphically demonstrated to many the rotten nature of this system.

Following the powerful demonstrations in 1979, one demonstrator (a Black man from Decatur) was charged, tried, and convicted this summer in the shooting assault of the KKK leader. Sensing the volatile political situation around the case and with Miami and Chattanooga fresh in his mind, the judge deemed it unwise to sentence this brother to more than 2 years probation. Then in August, temporarily retreating from the sharp exposure and boiling anger of the

masses, but still determined to draw blood under more favorable conditions, the state appeals court "overturned" the conviction. This court decision merely declared that Tommy Lee Hines would be brought to trial again on the same charges only in a different city—Birmingham. And the capitalists, through their media, proceeded to raise the stakes for this retrial by spreading far and wide the threats, made by a nearby KKK paramilitary training school leader, that his boys were training for any "disturbance in Birmingham" when the Tommy Lee Hines retrial began.

But the bourgeoisie has been temporarily forced to maneuver again in their outrageous frameup of Tommy Lee Hines. The tension is running too high in this area, with the Greensboro verdict adding fuel to the fire of people's fury against the recent bombing attempt at a Black church in Birmingham, as well as the continuing vicious murders of Black youth in Atlanta. Despite this latest maneuver in the case, they are clearly preparing to appeal again when they feel conditions are more favorable. Truly no outrageous crime, no matter how lowlife, is enough to satisfy the appetite of the dogs who rule this country. □

people from ACARD—Atlanta Coalition Against Registration of the Draft—came up with their own banners and a song they had written to sign for this occasion. The march drew other organizations and individuals—from progressive clergy to '60s activists and others angered by the acquittal. One man, whose roommate sells him the *RW*, got in touch with the Party later, demanding more leaflets to give to his friends.

## Dayton

Our report from Dayton centers on the activities of a group of *RW* readers in the area who, on their own, organized a press conference, forum and demonstration in the days following the Greensboro verdict. These people are mainly graduate students and activists from anti-nuke and anti-Klan struggles. They have previously done support work for the UN 2 and are involved in the struggle against the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants. They saw a link between the case of the Mao Defendants and acquittal of the Klan/Nazi killers in Greensboro, and they proceeded to organize around this, encountering sharp resistance in the process from forces unfriendly to the RCP. The following is excerpted from a letter sent to us from these comrades in Dayton:

"Several of us had gotten together the evening of Monday, November 17, 1980, with three members of the Revolutionary Communist Party to discuss the status of the Mao Defendants case over a potluck supper. By coincidence, the Greensboro verdict came out shortly before we gathered, and that was, of course, the predominant theme. As the discussion progressed, the necessity of and plans for the demonstration began to materialize, really without a conscious effort. Contacts with other sympathetic groups in the area were made—themselves outraged by the verdict. Our gathering saw a clear parallel between the acquittal of the fascists and the reinstatement of the charges against the Mao Defendants. Agreeing that a prompt action was necessary, we planned a public demonstration for downtown Dayton four days hence. The organization and public relations tasks seemed formidable, but our collective anger and enthusiasm fueled our commitment. We made plans for a noon forum at a local university... Our efforts to build for the forum and the subsequent demonstration were met with both enthusiasm and fervent sectarianism. When challenged to remove the Mao Defendants issue from the program, we explained and maintained that the Greensboro and Mao Defendants issues were parallel, if not synonymous, and urged a specifically anti-Klan faction to focus on the parallel, i.e., the endangering of our right to dissent. We were partially successful in synthesizing support for the demonstration, although division was present and even debilitating on the day of the march.

"The day before the demonstration, we solicited support from students at a local Black university, asking for signatures on letters to be sent to the D.C. Court of Appeals and the Greensboro prosecutor, and also for their participation in the public rally. We collected 93 signatures on the letter within 45 minutes, and four students took letters to circulate through their dorms.

"Approximately 60 people attended the rally, to march and hear five speakers. Police officers in riot gear and plainclothes photographers were also present. The press turned out from several TV stations and newspapers, and coverage was basically accurate. Five days later, we are still getting feedback and questions from this event. On the humorous side, we had dubbed ourselves the Dayton Ad-Hoc Committee To Dissolve Sectarianism and To Unite the Progressive Forces, and had signed the leaflet thus... □

The accelerating pace of events is daily putting new demands on the politically conscious and revolutionary forces in society. Imagine what would have happened in the last two weeks if the *Revolutionary Worker* was presently at the level of a sustained distribution of 100,000... □

## Greensboro

Continued from page 5

tremely significant signs: the sharp struggles which have taken place across the country on factory floors, on school campuses, and elsewhere; the number of workers and others of all nationalities who have taken an advanced stand, who have been compelled to act, and who have hungered for and taken up a revolutionary line not only on the question of Greensboro, but concerning the nature of the whole system; the propelling into political life of countless individuals who only yesterday were, as one brother put it, "sitting on our asses."

The objective situation in the U.S. was set for a Greensboro. It was a sharp jolt, of the magnitude of which even our rulers are unaware.

### North Carolina

In Greensboro and the surrounding area, reaction to the verdict was swift. Inspiring is the example of a core of around half a dozen workers—both Black and white—who decided to write up a letter denouncing the verdict and in particular the role of the local government and the press in attempting to put this verdict over as the "will of the people." One white worker has been a regular reader of the *RW*—and all have felt a strong desire to act, to be a force in the struggle. The plant where they work is multinational, but with a majority Black. It is literally segregated by the rules, with separate locker rooms and showers for Black and white. White workers occupy the more skilled and higher paid jobs. All this represents real barriers to break through, and the core of workers writing the letter are determined to take it out broadly in the plant, struggle for both Black and white workers to sign it, then make it public, presenting it to the local media or newspapers. Due to the efforts of one of these workers, nearly every worker in the medium-sized plant received the leaflet issued by the RCP after the verdict.

In fact, over 10,000 of these leaflets were distributed in a few short days throughout the city generally. This would have been impossible, were it not for the fact that many people (including many who had not seen the *RW* before) took stacks of leaflets to distribute themselves. At one housing project, a number of *RW* readers made sure that no one in the project went without the Party leaflet. An important meeting was held between the Party and these project residents, centering on the key political questions which had been raised

by the verdict, and again, questions which had shot far beyond the limits of a North Carolina courthouse. People struggled to grasp the Party's line and get politically prepared to fight for it. All these residents took *RW*'s to distribute for the first time. Other Party literature began circulating in the project, notably, Chairman Bob Avakian's *Summing Up the Black Panther Party and his Communists are Rebels*.

Red armbands were distributed throughout Greensboro, raising a sharp revolutionary pole in the wake of the verdict. *RW* sales more than tripled in one short week. A high school student—a ninth grader, whose father is an *RW* reader—wore an armband to school and passed out leaflets, confronting the serious questions of other students. A student at a local college—also an *RW* reader—was so infuriated upon hearing about the well publicized press conference by Nazi Harold Covington, that he and several friends he had gathered together rushed over on the spot, picketed, and disrupted the spewings of the Nazi.

The RCP's line has been the focus of much controversy and debate in the area, partly because it has been put forward quite boldly and partly because it stands in such sharp contrast to that of many other political forces. While the RCP has made clear that the massacre and verdict were the acts of a desperate ruling class beset by sharp contradictions, many others have preached the opposite—that it is the masses who are in a desperate position and not the rulers.

But the politically charged atmosphere which has surrounded Greensboro since the verdict shows that the effect of this outrage was to spark more intense political struggle. An excellent illustration of this was a demonstration which took place at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (near Greensboro). 1000 students marched on Thursday, November 20 in a very multinational action, the size of which surprised all. Organized mainly by the Black Student Movement, the demonstration stretched for several blocks from the campus administration building to the Student Union. It was a genuine outpouring of rage. The thrust of the Chapel Hill action was starkly distinct from a NAACP march held the same day in Greensboro. While the theme the NAACP promoted was "We Won't Go Back" (and along with this, they issued calls for a federal investigation—more insidious than ever, given the widely known fact that the federal government had helped organize the massacre!), there were few cries from Chapel Hill for a federal investigation, there were no politicians on the

podium, and there was sharp exposure of "justice" in America as opposed to begging the rulers to "make it work."

In Durham, another city in North Carolina not far from Greensboro, Black students staged a demonstration at North Carolina State. The action, also on November 20, was joined by Black youth from the community. According to the local press, the police ignored a brief rock and bottle throwing incident after the march broke up, tactically deciding to "let it die down."

### Atlanta

In the days following the verdict, Mayor Maynard Jackson and other Black officials in Atlanta were continually interviewed whining, "We must call on President Reagan to do something about the Klan." But among a large section of the masses, things had clearly gone far beyond the most dreaded fears of these Black lackies. At Bowen Homes, scene of the murderous day care center explosion in October, a Black woman bought the *RW* from newspaper distributors. She explained that she worked in a warehouse and that the Greensboro verdict—and the big questions it raised—were literally the only topic of discussion at work. Both Black and white workers had joined in for days afterwards, struggling over, in her words, the "Klan and revolution."

A Black worker from a different part of the city received a visit the night the verdict was announced. This brother had been recognized by friends as a revolutionary-minded person and has occasionally distributed the *RW*. At his door this night stood 12 Black workers—including friends of his other friend he had never even met. They were there for one reason: to get down and struggle around the meaning of this verdict and the situation in general. And they had visited him exactly because of the revolutionary solution he had advocated in the past.

On Sunday, November 23, over 200 people demonstrated in Atlanta, protesting the verdict. This march had originally been planned by the NAACP to be directed against the rampant murders of Black children in Atlanta. But after the verdict, many people demanded that events in Greensboro be protested at the march as well. Worried that things might get out of hand, the NAACP didn't even bother to show up and spread the word for others to do the same. The podium was left to other religious figures, but the sentiments of the crowd which gathered outstripped the passive speeches and prayers of the speakers. The action became somewhat of a lightning rod for people who wanted to protest the verdict. Some

# Understanding of the Human Body

Continued from page 11

side with it, articulate speech—these were the two most essential stimuli under the influence of which the brain of the ape gradually changed into that of man” (*Dialectics of Nature*). The measurement of the brain of the anthropoidal ape, based on the measurement of the cranial capacity, was about 350 to 600 milliliters, while the average brain measurement of modern man is about 1400 milliliters. The internal structure of the cerebrum has also become more and more complex and has been indelibly imprinted with the stamp of labor: those parts of the cerebrum of the ape which were the movement centers controlling the front and rear appendages were just about the same size, while in humans, because of the differentiation of the hands and the very number and complexity of their activities in labor, the motor region of the human brain which controls the hands is much larger than the region controlling the feet and is more detailed. Moreover, the brains of apes have no speech centers, and the left and right hemispheres are symmetrically constructed. In humans, due to the appearance of speech, corresponding speech centers appeared in the convolutions of the cerebrum (in the left hemisphere in the vast majority of cases), and most recently it has also been confirmed that the construction of the two hemispheres of the cerebrum have therefore become asymmetrical. Contemporary science has thus confirmed Engels’ well-known assertion that “labor created the human body.”

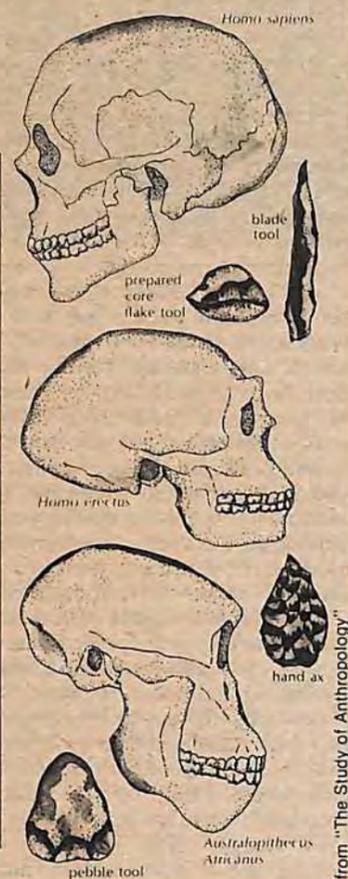
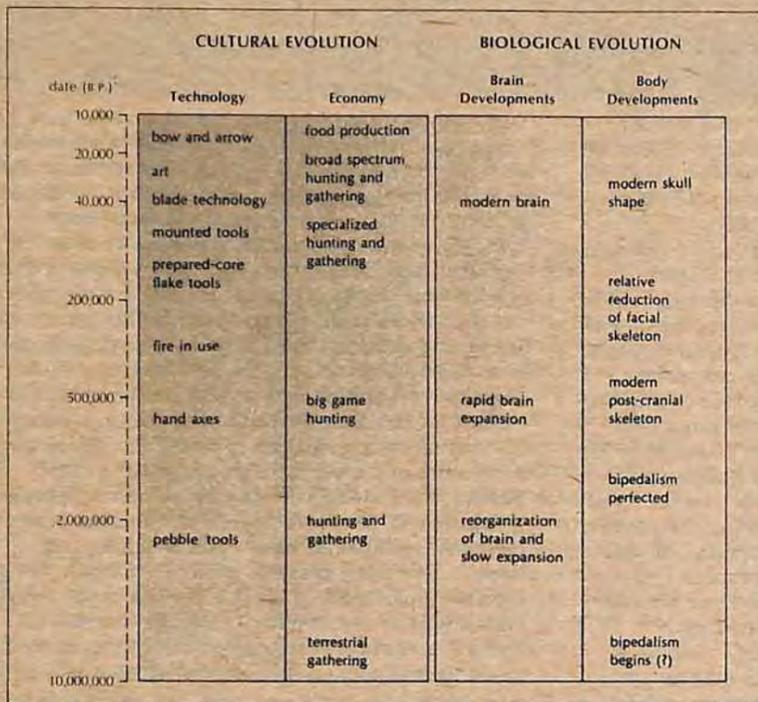
The structure and functions of the human body are not unchanging, once formed. The class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experimentation all change the structure and functions of the body. The more a muscle is moved, the more it develops; the more the sense organs are exercised, the more acute they become; in various labor specializations, a person’s nervous system and the functions of the various organs, through long-term, unremitting discipline, are able to achieve striking degrees of ingenuity and accuracy. Practice makes perfect, and he who works has more ability. The strength or weakness of body constituents can also be changed. As early as the second century, Hua T’o, a famous Chinese physician, recognized that labor and physical exercise could make “the body light and desirous of food,” “poverty of breath will be canceled, the pulse will flow, illness cannot arise and like a door pivot, there will be no decay (because of use).” His younger brother Wu P’u followed the method of “Five Animal Plays” he had created and maintained his physical exercise so that he was able, at an advanced age, to maintain to a certain extent his “eyes and ears sharp and his teeth complete and strong.” The studies of modern kinesiologists also show that physical exercise can provide the body with a well-rounded and healthy influence. Motion is the bible for the healthy body. Regular participation in physical labor can change the body’s constituents from weak to strong and from strong to stronger. For young people still in the period of body growth, physical exercise is particularly significant. A strong and robust body comes not from “protection” but from “struggle.” The broad masses of the Chinese people, in compliance with the instructions of Chairman Mao to “develop the physical education movement and strengthen the people’s bodies,” have launched an extensive mass physical exercise movement; their physiques are clearly being strengthened, the rate of illness has clearly been lowered, and it has served the purpose of promoting the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

A person’s knowledge and ability is determined by social experience. Our eminent leader Chairman Mao has taught us: “Where does correct thought come from? Is it plucked from Heaven? No! Is it something innate in a person’s brain? No! A person’s correct thought can come only from social experience, only from the three experiences of the social struggle for production, the class struggle, and scientific experimentation.” The history of human knowledge, including the history of each branch of science, confirms this truth. For many years, observations of children living under special conditions or isolated from the outside world, observations of people with serious sensory deficiencies, and observations of twins identical in hereditary elements have proven from both sides that the formation and development of knowledge and ability are determined by social practice. Observations in this century of the “wolf boy” also proved the same point. When the “wolf boy” was rescued and returned to human society, he was unable to speak, but was only able to howl like a wolf. He could not walk or even stand, but could only run on four legs like a wolf. Only after returning to human society and undergoing a long period of training and discipline was he able gradually to learn how to speak and learn the ways of humans. This fully shows that if one moves away from social practice, then basically there will be no human knowledge or ability to speak of. Thus, “to be born knowing” and “innate genius” and “the cerebrum with its innate genius”—all are out and out deceptive talk. “The humble and lowly are the brightest! The high and mighty are the most ignorant.” Social practice is the sole and inexhaustible source of man’s knowledge and ability.

In social experience, men do not transform only

“Contemporary science has thus confirmed Engels’ well-known assertion that ‘labor created the human body.’”

Below, a chart and illustrations taken by the RW from a recent anthropology textbook.



the objective world, they also transform the subjective world. This process is deeply influenced throughout by the social order. Revolutionary people are filled with confidence as they gaze at the future: when the whole world has realized communism, the exploiting classes’ evil practices of scorn for labor and escape from practice will be thoroughly eliminated, the capitalist principle of the pursuit of profit and anarchical conditions will be completely eliminated from the production process, environmental pollution will be controlled, the phenomena of unemployment and poverty created by capitalism will be conquered, and people will achieve greater and greater results in the campaign against illness and premature aging. Of course, there will still be contradictions and struggle in communist society, the struggle between moving forward and falling backward and the struggles between materialism and idealism and between dialectics and metaphysics, but people, in the practice of struggling to transform the objective world will continue to learn and transform themselves and will arrive at new and unprecedented levels of morality, knowledge and physical well-being.

Mankind is the earth’s highest product of material development. The complete history of the knowledge of the human body’s structure and functions, particularly the new advances of the twentieth century, forcefully confirm dialectical materialism as the only formidable ideological weapon which can lead us to a correct understanding of the human body. But the knowledge of the human body is not yet complete and can never be complete. The struggle between the two world views on the issue of knowledge of the human body similarly has not yet been concluded; nor can it be concluded. The victory of the dialectical materialist view of the human body has not made idealism and metaphysics draw in their horns; nor can it, for they will certainly camouflage themselves and reappear tenaciously. As imperialism and social imperialism decline daily, some fallacies will appear in the area of the science of the human body which will be directly and mutually related to reactionary political aims. For example, some people openly proclaim that differences in people’s biological makeup determine their class position; some distort the great accomplishments of the electronic computer and automation and spout nonsense about machines being smarter than humans, foolishly trying to deny the historical role of the working people; and others struggle to apply the biological concept of the internal stability of the animal and the human body to human society in order to deny conflict, class, and the class struggle and to deny that in class society, the class struggle is the motive force behind historical development. All are similarly reactionary falsehoods which defend exploitation and oppression and oppose the revolution of the proletariat and which must be constantly exposed and criticized. We must not ignore Lenin’s teaching, “In order to maintain this struggle and to carry it forward to completion and gain a full victory, a natural scientist must be a modern materialist and a conscious defender of materialism as represented by Marx, that is to say, he must be a dialectical materialist” (“On the Significance of the Struggle for Materialism”).

In the past, correct knowledge of the human body

developed in the midst of the struggle between the two world views, and now and in the future, it certainly will and certainly can develop still further in the midst of that struggle. As long as we strive to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and insist on intensifying the struggle between the two world views, then in the Three Great Revolutionary Movements, we can certainly continue to develop the knowledge of the human body and make it come closer to objective truth, and we can more effectively put it to use in practice so that it will make an even greater contribution to humanity. □

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# 100 FLOWERS

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What is the link between this metaphysical separation of freedom and necessity, resting content with or sunk in an outlook that goes only half-way and "leaves the rest unsaid" on the one hand, and the economist and defeatist political line this same author (and other "necessary but not possible" authors) put forward in discussing the RCP's line on coming from behind to make revolution and specifically to make the leap to 100,000 co-conspirators (and do this *now*, not "in a year or so")? The Party's overall revolutionary political line and programme for coming from behind to make revolution is based fundamentally and thoroughly on *dialectics*, as is the call for the 100,000 co-conspirators. Specifically it is based most fundamentally on a correct and dialectical grasp of the relationship philosophically between thinking and being and politically between consciousness and spontaneity, grasping and attempting to deepen through practice Mao's great contribution to our understanding of the "conscious dynamic role of man" in changing the world and himself in the process. A book published by revolutionaries in China in 1973, "Three Major Struggles on China's Philosophical Front", takes up this point in an essay on the struggle with revisionists over the question of the identity of thinking and being. It says, "Marxists not only acknowledge the objective world but more important, they actively change it in accordance with its laws... (The revisionists claimed that) merely acknowledging that 'being is primary, thinking is secondary' meant everything, and as long as one 'acknowledges objective reality' everything would be all right and he is a conscious materialist... But could this be called 'conscious materialism'? Not at all: It was 'conscious' capitulationism, renegade philosophy through and through. If (it) were to be followed, people could only remain helpless before the objective world, they could only leave everything to fate and be docile tools."

Isn't this the political line expressed in this letter in issue No. 77: helpless before the objective world, leaving everything to fate (maybe "leaps" in the objective situation will bring forward more/enough people, or "more time", but we can't do it, not now), and winding up by laying down before the bourgeoisie and calling on the masses of people to be docile tools in the plans the imperialist class has in store for us in the decade ahead, most especially their plans to unleash new levels of untold suffering through world war to keep their system going still longer?

This line sees (or claims to see; more on this later) the *necessity* for consciousness, the *necessity* for revolution, the *necessity* for the role of a national newspaper like the *RW* in coming from behind, in carrying out the central task "create public opinion, seize power", and the *necessity* for this leap to 100,000 co-conspirators. But this is only "one half" and not only "leaves the rest unsaid" but negates it: the *possibility* for carrying out the work to win these battles; the *freedom* which necessity can be transformed into. Why?

First, revolution is a *conscious* act by the masses in their millions led by the class-conscious proletariat and its vanguard party. It is not a spontaneous act. Revolution *can* happen (and it will)—but not spontaneously. But this metaphysical outlook separates and builds an unbreakable wall between the necessity and the possibility for this happening. With this outlook, it is *enough* to "understand the necessity". Then continuing with this outlook, somehow, miraculously, necessity should spontaneously become possibility/freedom. There is no work to be done because this is a line essentially of tailing spontaneity, bowing to necessity, capitulating to it. Of course when this doesn't happen—when necessity doesn't spontaneously become freedom—then what? Give up, saying, "Oh I agree—this is *necessary*—it's just not possible."

(One thing this shows which is quite important to grasp is that fundamentally, the bottom line of all these "I agree that 100,000 co-conspirators around the *RW* are necessary—I just don't think we can do it" lines is actually the line that "revolution may be necessary in this country but it really isn't possible".)

Second and speaking from my own experience on this, I think this kind of metaphysical outlook is actually incapable of correctly (that is, dialectically) understanding, grasping, and recognizing "necessity". When the campaign for 100,000 co-conspirators was launched, I also clung to the line that this leap was "necessary but not possible". But through the course of the campaign, especially through the 100 Flowers Debate and through practice and summing up practice of carrying out the Party's revolutionary line, I think I've begun to root out what was wrong in my thinking and what led me to this defeatist line.

How is it possible to correctly grasp necessity if one metaphysically walls this off from its opposite, freedom (opportunity and possibility)? Those of us

who cling to or are influenced by this line ("I really *do* think it is desirable and necessary to make this kind of leap around the *RW*—I just don't think we can do it"; or all the variations of this: "don't think we can do it so quickly," or "we can't quite do it but we can make some quantitative leaps" or "we can't do it unless we do it by doing something else first, like building and leading a big mass movement" or "we have to bring the advanced workers forward in more revolutionary actions—then we can get them to take up the 100,000 campaign," etc., etc., etc.), we should ask ourselves: *how* are we looking at and analyzing the *necessity* involved here? The point that Chairman Avakian made in "Crucial Questions in Coming From Behind" about the demoralized member of an opportunist political group who asked a Party member, "What is it you guys see out there?" is very relevant here. The Chairman points out that this person was trying to grasp how the Party, by applying the same metaphysical method as this person uses, could develop a revolutionary line and carry out revolutionary work and prepare to seize the revolutionary opportunities it sees, both in today's situation and even more in the period ahead, including the possibility of making revolution. As the Chairman points out, if the Party based itself on this same metaphysics, it could *never* "see anything out there". This is the problem all the "necessary but not possible" lines share. This line is *stuck* in metaphysics and as long as one applies a metaphysical method, one will always miss the contradictory aspects, the motion and development that lie beneath the surface, the essence of what exists and what is coming into being and therefore, the great opportunities that are dialectically related to the great necessities before us.

With regard to making the leap to 100,000 co-conspirators—*how* and *why* you analyze that this leap is necessary is critical: you will never see "what's out there" that makes this necessary leap possible unless you look at what's out there from the point of view of changing it, transforming it, from the point of view of having some work to do, some struggle to carry out. For example in the past in my thinking and analysis of the objective situation and the objective basis for this leap to 100,000 co-conspirators, I always "missed" (that is, negated) the crucial question of the interests and requirements of the masses, especially of the advanced. I always failed to understand that part of the lagging of the conscious forces behind the objective situation is our lagging behind the interests and requirements of the masses, most especially of the advanced. I saw only or at best, mainly, our necessity as a question of lagging behind the deepening crisis and the moves toward war and the spontaneous struggles of the masses. But what I left out (and what all these "necessary but not possible" lines leave out) is the critical (and dynamic) role of consciousness. Because my outlook was based on metaphysics, it inevitably failed to see that deepening crisis and moves toward war are giving rise to contradictory motion and developments. In relation to their stepped up war preparations, for instance, the imperialists are forced to drag the masses into political life and yes, the bourgeoisie works overtime to unleash a patriotic, reactionary social basis in the course of this, and to some degree succeeds—but more important to grasp (and *act* on), this sharpens the interests and requirements of the masses in the realm of consciousness; it gives rise to increased possibilities for revolutionary exposure, especially agitation and also propaganda, and it sharpens and deepens the questions on the minds of the masses, especially the advanced. So the development of the objective situation creates necessity and (by *dialectically* grasping and acting on that) freedom, especially within the realm of public opinion, of consciousness which exactly heightens the necessity and possibility (as well as urgency) for making this leap to 100,000 revolutionary co-conspirators—but we have some work to do!

This is something I "disbelieved" for a long time because I tried to see what it is the Party "sees out there" with a metaphysical method—at bottom, a bourgeois outlook that buys the bourgeoisie's line on what lies ahead and what can be done about it. As the Chinese revolutionaries pointed out in the pamphlet quoted above, this kind of metaphysics is capitulationism, a renegade philosophy which in my past thinking (and in all these "necessary but not possible" letters) led to capitulation to the bourgeoisie on making the leap to 100,000. Sooner or later it is an outlook that will lead to capitulating overall on the question of making revolution. But especially important to grasp right now is the fact that such an outlook inevitably leads to capitulation *now*, in battles that are equally decisive in their influence on our ability to seize the opportunity to make revolution when it does present itself as will be the actual *armed* battle for revolutionary power later (and this is also pointed out in "Crucial Questions in Coming from Behind").

As Mao said, "when you discover a law, you must be able to apply it, you must create the world

anew... It won't do just to understand necessity, we must also transform things." People who are still stuck in and clinging to the political line (and underlying philosophical outlook) that the leap to 100,000 co-conspirators is "necessary but not possible" have a lot of work to do, beginning with their own grasp of the principles and method of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, of the RCP's revolutionary line and programme, and as the bottom line, of Marxist philosophy, especially dialectics. It won't do just to "understand" the necessity to criticize and root out erroneous political lines and the incorrect philosophical basis for them—there is some transforming to be done as well, most especially in the course of carrying out and struggling for the correct line and transforming the world and ourselves in the process. The battle to achieve 100,000 revolutionary co-conspirators around the *Revolutionary Worker* is both necessary and possible. We must—and we can—"create the world anew"!

S.N.  
11/21/80

## Two Tails

Comrades,

There is a thread running through many of the letters in the 100 Flowers that oppose the leap to the 100,000 sustained readers that still needs to be dragged out into the open and exposed to the light of Marxism. F.T., in *RW* No. 80, put it this way: "I do not say we can't make breakthroughs and meet the needs and requirements of many advanced, who must be armed with Marxism if they are to be tribunes of the people—building networks and spreading the influence of the paper. But while getting armed with Marxism need not be an endless process... In order to go up against all this bourgeois shit in all its forms—reformism, cynicism, idealism, individualism, etc. generally requires intense protracted struggle." L.W., in *RW* No. 79, said basically the same thing: "while it is true that millions are being drawn into politics and into one kind or another of motion, that does not mean that right now hundreds are going to step forward into the ranks of active revolutionaries. What this period means to many of the advanced is a reevaluation and a searching, with surges and setbacks, on the questions of is revolution possible and how."

Both letters oppose the basis to make this leap from different sides—F.T. calls for more galvanizing of a "visible, class conscious force"; L.W. calls for "creating an organization of insurrectionaries that goes far beyond the party itself." Yet both letters are united in that they each make a principle out of tailing the consciousness of the advanced, and both are united in that they oppose the battle to make "create public opinion... seize power" the central task of revolutionaries.

I think opposing both the leap to the 100,000 and the central role of the *RW* in the process of revolution has a common philosophical basis—which is the view that a small number of people with advanced ideas can't change the world by struggling with the consciousness of the rest of the masses. The line goes: "Well, maybe they can have some effect, win a few over, change things a little bit, quantitatively, but there is no way that agitation and propaganda can actually initiate and lead a qualitative change in the world."

The more blatantly economist view of F.T. shows a world in turmoil, and the advanced in the U.S. completely cowed and intimidated by the bourgeoisie. Millions who burn with hatred for the way they have to live—yet no real basis exists to unite even a small percentage of these millions around the Party's line. This comrade's view of "burning with hatred" reminds me of the Bible story of the bush that burned without being consumed—and seems just as metaphysical. There is nothing solid here—no real fire—only smoke. And the Party's line is just as smoky—not only is it incapable of actually winning anyone over—except through (maybe) "intense, protracted struggle", it magically changes from a campaign to sell 100,000 to a campaign to sell 75,000! And as to the role of the *RW* in creating broad public opinion—it doesn't exist. (If something as concrete as 25,000 newspapers can vanish in the middle of a sentence, why not the central task of the Party?)

Search through F.T.'s entire letter, and not once is the role of the paper in creating broad public opinion mentioned—yet the role of the actions of the advanced, in demonstrations, can work miracles—they bring the outlook and discipline of the working class to other classes, they break the sense of isolation that the workers feel, they create broad public opinion around Iran and around U.S.-Soviet war moves, they act like a magnet, etc. The only real role for the paper in all this is to bring workers to demonstrations. (And oh, by the way, some workers are training themselves in Marxism using the *RW* and the Draft Programme, but this, of course, has nothing to do with the potential in today's situation, or the broad impact the *RW* can have on those "isolated" advanced.)

When you try to find in this letter a view of how to actually prepare for revolution, there is none. This letter is not about preparing for revolution, or for going beyond that to communism. Let's build up a movement right now, so we don't feel so lonely

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# 100 FLOWERS

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out here, says F.T. Who cares about revolution, or ending imperialism. It's all smoke anyway. So of course there is no basis to make the leap to 100,000—that's a step toward revolution, based on a materialist analysis of the objective world.

The letter from L.W. runs into the same fundamental questions, though from a much more "left" point of view. To L.W., the advanced are quite real. But we are not behind the advanced in any real political sense in this letter—and there is no basis to make a leap forward.

The comrade says he knows of many people "desperate" for revolution—and that is no doubt true—but the way he portrays these people is actually very timelessly—desperate, and possessing certain survival skills, even fighting their own people's war. But you get no sense of the effect the recent sharpening of the situation in the world has had on these people, you get no sense of the effect the Party, through May Day or through the *Revolutionary Worker*, has had in awakening their sense of the possibility of raising all society to a higher level, on a world scale—you just learn that they hate the system and want to see it go. Advanced who burn with a desire for revolution certainly do exist, and are part of the basis to make the leap to 100,000—but it will never be made by reflecting their own understanding back to them, with an elaborate scheme of how to build an organization that can stand up to the bourgeois state. Principally, these people need to make a political leap—to an understanding of the process of proletarian revolution, and their role in it. The line in the letter says just the opposite—"And they are not going to go with a solution just because it speaks eloquently to their highest aspirations... if they don't think that tactically and organizationally this solution can be implemented."

L.W.'s view of the "organization of insurrectionaries that goes far beyond the Party itself" that we are building seems revealing to me. The analogy to the circulation of the blood with the heart as the center is very weak—what is the point of all this circulation? It almost sounds like it exists to defend itself. But even more, there is no circulation into the outside world here, there is no changing the world, there is no flow of knowledge from the extremities to the center and back out again at a higher level to change the world more profoundly.

I don't want to make too big a deal about an analogy, but I think that in some ways it shows the weaknesses in the whole letter. There is no dynamic process of revolution here, there is no conscious transformation through leaps. The advanced are advanced, but they are separated from the rest of

society, not the crest of a wave of rising consciousness and struggle brought forward by the contradictions in the world, giving them a much more powerful basis and much greater necessity to act as levers to the broader masses with the *RW* as the main weapon.

Why did Lenin place such emphasis in *What Is to Be Done?* on political exposures as the key, fundamental way to prepare the broad masses of workers for revolution? It seems to me the point here is not just that a political revolution is necessary to enable the proletariat to reorganize all society and begin the struggle to eliminate class divisions entirely, but related to that is the fact that the political life and activity of various classes and strata in society reveals in the most concentrated way the real nature of different classes, their strengths and weaknesses, their historic possibilities and their relationship to the battle to transform nature. These exposures must be hot on the heels of real events, showing in a living way the struggle and transformation of all society. Political exposures are not only interesting to broad numbers of people, they can actually change the way people line up around key questions, and thus strengthen one class or another. And when these exposures are systematically and comprehensively carried out in a newspaper, there is no better way to train people in class-consciousness.

The fact that developments in the world, particularly moves toward war, have created huge cracks in the way that U.S. imperialism has trained people to look at the world, and forced the bourgeoisie to make frantic efforts to transform how people look at themselves in order to be useful cannon fodder and war production machines, has opened up huge possibilities for the *RW* to have increasing broad influence and effect. For revolutionaries the task is to wage the battle to fully grasp the necessities and possibilities here, and act on that by waging the battle for the hundred thousand.

Related to this broad turmoil and possibility and in fact concentrating it, is the effect of all this on the advanced. I think we have to recognize that we are already into a period of awakening and upsurge. This is expressed by rebellions like Miami and also by the growth and emergence of social movements—the women's movement, the anti-nuke movement, the anti-draft movement. But even more it is expressed by a leap in the political and ideological questioning and struggle over the all-around questions of why are things the way they are and what can be done about it. The Party and the class-conscious working class has already had a significant influence in stimulating this and pushing it all forward.

And within those politically awakening and in motion, there are the most advanced, those who are

already thinking about revolution and the *RW*, and wondering and struggling over whether or not this is really the road society can and must take. I remember when I first began to grasp Marxism-Leninism, and to understand that I could actually make some difference in changing the world. I remember that through some sharp and complicated struggle I made a political leap in a fairly short time—and how it was almost painful to look at TV or read a bourgeois newspaper because I could see for the first time that each article and each program was a sharp political or ideological dagger aimed at deadening and dulling and twisting the consciousness of the masses of people. In order to make that leap, I had to understand that there was a central dividing question of political line that the movement as a whole had to solve with Marxism and then fight for in order to advance.

And so it is with the 100,000. There is not much time. The newly awakened political forces can be the crucial pivots and levers to the broader masses who are even now awakening. The basis exists to wage political struggle to win over a significant section of the advanced to make a political leap, to understand how the world actually works and the central role of the *RW* in changing it. I think some real advances have been made, and we will soon see a network of co-conspirators qualitatively more deeply linked to the masses of people, qualitatively better able to sum up the mood of the masses of people, concentrate that, and return it in the form of agitation and propaganda especially in the pages of the *RW*, and qualitatively better able to make the next leap in contributing to the advance of the international working class movement.

If we do not grasp that the point of all our work is to train the working class to seize hold of the reins of all society through armed struggle, and then rule every aspect of social, political, economic, cultural and scientific life, and that the principal way we can contribute to and accelerate this process is through political exposure in a newspaper, we won't really be able to make the maximum of the opportunities that are developing, we won't make any real communist contribution to revolution. And if we are not training the advanced in that line, in that spirit, we will not be training them in revolution at all. We will be breaking the link between the advanced and the masses, and we will be breaking the link between the Party and the advanced.

We need to further break with the thinking that something else, something other than a class-conscious understanding of the world as it really is in all its contradictions and interconnections is enough to unleash the masses to make revolution and transform all society. And we have to understand that only by carrying out this kind of work will we be able to learn anything other than what we already know about the mood and thinking of the masses and the development of the prospects for revolution.

F.B.

## Haiti... Duvalier Swings Fascist Club

Continued from page 4

can be clearly seen in its military plans for trying to squash the struggle of the Haitian people should its "Baby Doc" be unable to do so with his Tonton Macoutes, medieval dungeons and all the rest. General Robert L. Schweitzer, the head of strategy, planning and policy for the U.S. army, recently took off on a secret mission to the Caribbean. In late January he cemented an agreement with Jean-Claude Duvalier and Dominican President Guzman. This naked declaration of imperialist domination (published in anti-regime literature) reads in part: "Considering the current difficulty of U.S. armed forces intervening in Latin America and particularly, in Haiti, where a situation of political and military tension can break out at any time. Considering the material, technical, tactical and fighting numerical weakness of the Haitian armed forces, that lack a navy, air force and artillery. The Haitian and U.S. governments proposed that in the event of a true guerrilla front emerging in Haiti, the Dominican government and armed forces are to intervene directly in Haiti and become the main force fighting against the Haitian guerrillas. Consequently, the U.S. government firmly declared that it is willing to help the Dominican government and armed

forces in all fields (political, military, economic) to fully carry out the role should the situation arise."

On April 15th the head of the Dominican Republic armed forces, Lt. General Mario Imbert McGregor, announced construction of 12 new Dominican military camps on the Haitian border. At the same time the Dominican army launched a military maneuver called "border fraternity," a rehearsal for mobilizing interventionist troops.

By last summer with the devastation of Hurricane Allen and the response to the \$5 million wedding of "Baby Doc," things became more out of control for the regime. In September the government arrested a number of journalists. And in October several radio reporters and opposition political figures were arrested. The army was everywhere. Schools were closed. Strikes continued despite the government's statement that "Any strike by a union will be considered a destabilizing act against the government." On October 27th a mass demonstration was called by the Christian Democrat Party (CDP), and the pro-U.S. League of Human Rights, the first such open call for a mass demonstration in the capital in a

decade. The government put up barricades, encircled the CDP's headquarters and suppressed the demonstration, putting out a call for a pro-Duvalier demonstration the same day, which didn't materialize. Instead, women demonstrated in front of the national palace protesting inflation that has brought the price of a small can of rice to \$3.00 and a pinch of salt to 20 Haitian cents.

"Don't let anyone think that they can blow the whistle for liberalization harder than I," Jean-Claude Duvalier has declared. But it seems that he and

the U.S. have called forth more than they bargained for. Instead of sapping the strength of the mass struggle "Baby Doc" and his masters' "liberalization" policy and the deepening crisis of U.S. imperialism have only fueled it. The democratic movement in Haiti has brought the masses into struggle which the Duvalier regime cannot control or eliminate. And smoldering just beneath the surface is the revolutionary potential of the Haitian masses, which threatens to break into open flame.

### CORRECTION

In the front page article titled "Mao's Line Indicted in Peking" which appeared in the issue No. 80 of the *RW* dated November 14, 1980, there were two errors. The sentence which read, "On November 10th, the Chinese revisionist rulers made public four more indictments..." should have read "On November 10th, the Chinese revisionist rulers made public formal indictments..." And the article incorrectly refers to the Sixth National People's Congress. It should be the Fifth National People's Congress.

### Correction

In the article "Proletarian Revolution on Trial in China" (*RW* No. 81), the first sentence of the second paragraph under the sub-head "The Planned Shanghai Uprising" (p. 14) should read:

"According to the indictment, Chang, Wang and Yao Wen-yuan began organizing a militia in Shanghai during the Cultural Revolution in order, Chang is quoted as saying, 'to use the gun to protect the (cultural—*RW*) revolution made with the pen.'"

Chang Chun-chiao was inadvertently referred to as "Chiang" several times in the article, thus causing some confusion.

# HISTORY DEVELOPS IN SPIRALS

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one achieve a correct understanding of the law of the development of revolution and consciously apply this law to accomplish the revolutionary tasks.

Spiral development only approximates a series of circles, but each cycle is not a simple repetition of the previous one and does not return to where it started. As Chairman Mao has summed up: "With each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level." (*On Practice.*) Superficially, reversals and zigzags look like going out of the right path, but actually every time a reversal or a twist and turn is overcome, it is invariably accompanied by a victory and progress, thereby pushing the thing to a new stage. Compared with the old stage, every new one is brought to a comparatively higher plane and by no means returns to the original place. The unity of opposites—the progressiveness and tortuousness of development of things—makes up the complicated spiral movement. The viewpoint that things develop in a straight line negates the tortuous nature of the development of things, and the viewpoint that things move in a circle negates the progressive nature of the development of things; both negate the dialectical unity of the progressive and tortuous nature, and will inevitably lead to the metaphysical quagmire.

The history of development of human society over the past several thousand years is a history of spiral development full of twists and turns. Revolutions in the past, be it the replacement of the slave system by the feudal system, or the replacement of the feudal system by the capitalist system, involved dozens or hundreds of years of repeated and tortuous struggles centering around progress and retrogression, restoration and counter-restoration. Since the replacement of one system of exploitation by another system of exploitation involved such a process of development, the socialist revolution in which socialism triumphs over capitalism and which makes final elimination of the system of exploitation and classes its goal, will by no means be smooth sailing. The struggles involved will be more tortuous and protracted than those of any previous revolution and tremendous efforts have to be exerted. Chairman Mao has taught us: "New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy success, without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) Chairman Mao said this in 1957. Practice in the past 17 years has greatly heightened our understanding of this viewpoint. After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the overthrown reactionary classes refuse to take their defeat lying down. They are bound to come out to engage in sabotage and disruption to get back their lost "paradise" and look for agents in the ranks of the Communist Party as their political representatives for staging a come-back. In addition, the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure will be more arduous than before owing to the thousands of years of influence of the exploiting classes' traditional ideas. It will take a considerably long period of time to decide the question of which will win out, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, in the political and ideological spheres. Class struggle and the two-line struggle at home always coordinate with the class struggle abroad. The domestic class enemies are bound to work hand in glove with the imperialists and social-imperialists and make trouble whenever they have the opportunity to do so. Therefore, after the seizure of political power, the proletariat faces the heavy task of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, uniting the people of various nationalities, and persisting in continuing the revolution under the dic-

tatorship of the proletariat. Much work remains to be done. The proletariat must sum up the positive and negative experiences in the protracted and repeated struggles and continue to deepen its understanding of the law of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Only in this way can it overcome hardships and obstructions on the path of advance, defeat the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and realize communism.

## Zigzag Course of Development in China's Socialist Cause

Our socialist cause in the past 25 years has developed along a zigzag course in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Speaking at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949, Chairman Mao clearly pointed to the principal contradictions at home and internationally in the period of socialist revolution and foresaw the protracted and complex nature of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. He thus set forth a correct line and laid down the basic steps and various principles and policies for the transition from the new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

**"The viewpoint that things develop in a straight line negates the tortuous nature of the development of things, and the viewpoint that things move in a circle negates the progressive nature of the development of things; both negate the dialectical unity of the progressive and tortuous nature, and will inevitably lead to the metaphysical quagmire."**

In the years immediately after the birth of New China, the Party led the people of the whole country in rehabilitating the national economy and carrying out the *san fan* and *wu fan* movements (the movement against the three evils—corruption, waste and bureaucracy—and the movement against the five evils—bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information for private speculation). It put forward the general line for socialist industrialization and socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, and got the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) for socialist construction going. The vigorous development of socialist revolution and construction filled the people throughout the country with joy and elation, but at the same time it evoked bitter hatred and fear on the part of the class enemies at home and abroad.

Bourgeois careerists Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih who had wormed their way into the Party ganged up in an anti-Party alliance and wildly carried out conspiratorial activities, vainly trying to split our Party, usurp the supreme power in the Party and the state and obstruct the advance of socialism. Chairman Mao led the whole Party to expose and shatter in good time the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance and rallied all Party members and the people of the whole country to bring about an upsurge in socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production.

The bourgeoisie, however, did not take its defeat lying down. Taking advantage of the rectification campaign in 1957, it unleashed another furious attack on the Party. This fully showed that, with the socialist revolution on the economic front alone, the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat still was not secure and it was imperative to carry out a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Under the guidance of Mao's thesis on continuing the revolution under the dic-

tatorship of the proletariat, the nation started a vigorous struggle to beat back the bourgeois Rightists and once again repulsed the bourgeoisie's large-scale frenzied attacks, thereby giving great impetus to the rapid development of socialist revolution and construction.

Having summed up the experiences, both positive and negative, of socialist construction at home and abroad, Chairman Mao put forward the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." Hence the excellent situation marked by the big leap forward in the national economy and the establishment of the people's communes in 1958. But the struggle in the political and ideological spheres remained very intense. At the Lushan Meeting in 1959, the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique took the field, frantically attacking the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune in a futile effort to split our Party and check the onrushing torrent of socialism. Chairman Mao led the whole Party in meeting the onslaught head-on and crushing the Peng Teh-huai Right opportunist clique whose plots fell through.

With the daily deepening of the socialist revolution, the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique ran wild in carrying out counter-revolutionary activities. During the period when China had temporary economic difficulties due to three successive years of natural disasters and sabotage by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, Liu Shao-chi and his followers openly trumpeted and pushed

continue Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary activities. He negated the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, attacked the socialist new things and plotted to launch a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'état, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, all in a vain effort to turn socialist New China back into the semi-feudal and semi-colonial China of old. With deep insight, Chairman Mao saw through all this and led the whole Party in exposing in good time the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and smashing its counter-revolutionary machinations to restore capitalism by following Confucius' precept of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites."

The purpose of the current deepening movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is precisely to thoroughly repudiate the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and its revisionist line, criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius—the ideology of the reactionary decadent classes promoted by Lin Piao, consolidate and develop the tremendous achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. Historical experience has proved that each and every victory in the socialist cause has been won through repeated struggles. The socialist revolution in the days ahead will, as in the past, move forward along a spiral course in class struggle and the struggle between two lines.

## Overcome Metaphysical Viewpoint of Straight-Line Development of History

In order to observe and analyse the situation in the revolutionary struggle from the viewpoint that history develops in spirals, it is necessary to do away with the metaphysical viewpoint which holds that history develops in a straight line. Lenin pointed out: "Human knowledge is not (or does not follow) a straight line, but a curve, which endlessly approximates a series of circles, a spiral." (*On the Question of Dialectics.*) In class struggle, looking at problems in a straight-line way means "all struggle and no alliance" or "all alliance and no struggle." According to Chairman Mao's directives and in the light of the historical experience of our Party, the Tenth Party Congress once again reminded us of the necessity to oppose and prevent these two kinds of one-sidedness. If one does not know that there are ups and downs, tension and relaxation in the course of struggle and that the process of alliance involves struggles against reactionary things, splittist tendencies and erroneous ideas, one does not understand the law of spiral development. Chairman Mao pointed out in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan: "Today our Anti-Japanese National United Front policy is neither all alliance and no struggle nor all struggle and no alliance, but combines alliance and struggle." (*On Policy.*) To lead any major class struggle and two-line struggle to victory, it is essential to have a good grip on this Marxist policy. The "unity-criticism-unity" formula conforms to the law of spiral development and is an important method for us to correctly resolve contradictions among the people. These contradictions and those between ourselves and the enemy are two different types of contradictions. The knowledge different persons among the people have is not always the same, but they can be united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought through criticism or struggle and through distinguishing right from wrong on matters of line. And only by achieving unity can the correct line be implemented and the erroneous line overcome. Denying the existence of contradictions among the people and stressing unity alone but negating struggle will of course harm the revolutionary cause. Likewise, confusing the two different types of contradictions, stressing only struggle but negating unity, and not knowing the dialectical relationship between struggle and unity and the paramount importance of revolutionary unity will also harm the revolutionary cause. Both tendencies are manifestations of seeing problems in a straight-line way and run counter to the law of spiral development. These two tendencies

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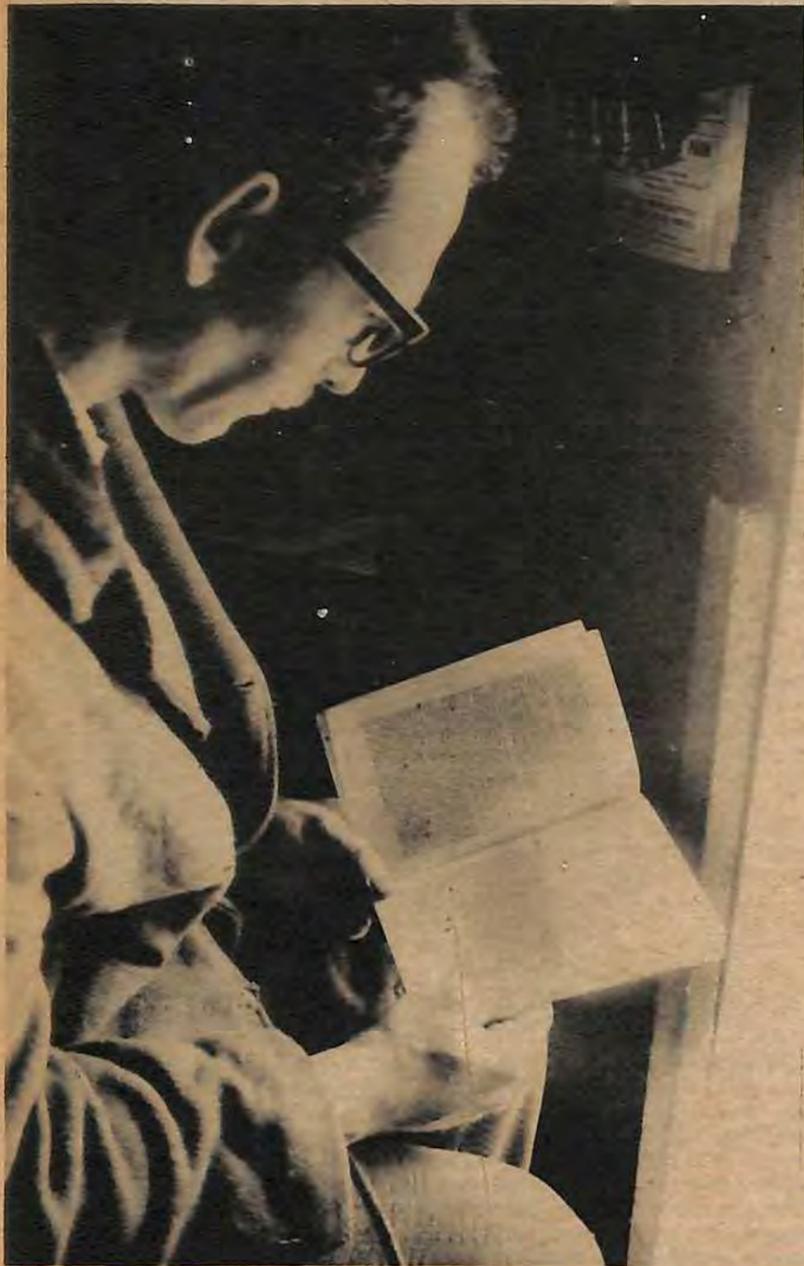
# LETTERS ON THE DRAFT PROGRAMME & DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE RCP, USA

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

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

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

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



## On Culture as Propaganda

Comrades,

The letters on the drafts of the *New Programme and New Constitution of the RCP, USA* are leading to a deepening of the Party's revolutionary line in today's excellent situation. In the spirit of this struggle, I would like to respond to the letter on "The Role of Culture as Propaganda" by A Son of the Working Class in RW No. 74.

This letter criticizes the draft *Programme* for not referring to "forms of culture which will be useful 'in the process of building up to and then waging the armed struggle for power,'" and then goes on to state that "although some forms of revolutionary culture are being developed even now—posters, RW centerfolds and covers, poetry, *The Mother*, *Fire*—it seems necessary to provide a basic guide for such a cultural weapon in the *Programme*." This point raises a question of fundamental importance for the revolution, and in fact this comrade's criticism relates not only to a disagreement with "omitting" this point from the section on culture, but concentrates a fundamentally incorrect line on culture which flows from an incorrect line on the revolutionary process overall, for in fact the true source for all forms of culture useful to the proletariat is the daily experience of the masses of people in the struggle for production, scientific experiment, and most importantly, the class struggle. And it is out of this rich experience that cultural workers create works which are higher than life. Are there revolutionary elements in the cultural sphere? Definitely!

As the draft *Programme* points out, "Even under capitalism, for all that it crushes and degrades the masses and seeks to reduce them to a mere animal-like existence, attempting to suffocate any higher aspirations or broader vision than the daily struggle for survival and a place on the capitalist treadmill, nevertheless among the masses of workers, oppressed peoples and others, many different forms and works of culture are continually created which—even if, spontaneously, they do not have a revolutionary content and generally mistake the source of suffering in society and present both problems and solutions in terms that are utopian, individualistic, etc.—still overwhelmingly speak to basic problems and concerns of millions of people and strongly reflect their yearning for a way out of them, and even attempt to forge such a way." (pp. 76-77) These are revolutionary elements in today's situation, and though incomplete and not fully correct, they contain seeds of the future which must be built on. But rather than diverting these cultural movements from their spontaneous course, A Son does not recognize their existence. He sees only the reactionary, willing or unwilling, tools of the imperialists in the cultural arena, does not see the truly inspiring contributions of, to take one example from one segment of one field of culture, The Clash, for instance, and instead would have the Party divorce itself from the struggle of the masses in the cultural arena, and create its own "forms" of culture. Where did the Punk movement come from? Isn't it a pretty clear example of a spontaneous movement among sections of youth (especially English working class youth) rebelling against decadent, deathly imperialism? Is "Revolution Rock" (a song by The Clash), which calls on people to "rock to this brand new beat" of Revolution, something that we can unite with? What are the implications of negating this for the Party's work overall? Are there really 100,000 co-conspirators out there?

And what "forms" shall the Party create? The power of the culture created under the Party's leadership comes precisely from its ability to "draw much more deeply on the cultural works and forms created by the masses, concentrate what is correct, what represents their desire for an end to the torment and indignity that capitalism means, and synthesize out of all this a *revolutionary content*, infused with the outlook and lofty aims of the proletariat." (p. 77, emphasis added) As Lenin pointed out:

"Marxism has won its historic significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat because, far from rejecting the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois epoch, it has, on the contrary, assimilated and refashioned everything of value in the more than two thousand years of the development of human

thought and culture. Only further work on this basis and in this direction, inspired by the practical experience of the proletarian dictatorship as the final stage in the struggle against every form of exploitation, can be recognized as the development of a genuine proletarian culture.

"Adhering unwaveringly to this stand of principle, the All-Russia Proletcult Congress rejects in the most resolute manner, as theoretically unsound and practically harmful, all attempts to invent one's own particular brand of culture..." ("Draft Resolution on Proletarian Culture," Vol. 31, p. 317)

So our task is not to "concentrate on smashing the present," but recognizing that "the fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external, but internal; it lies in the contradictoriness *within* the thing" ("On Contradiction," *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. 1, p. 313, emphasis added), our task is to divert the movement of the proletariat and the oppressed people from its spontaneous course of development, and this holds true in the cultural sphere as well. We want to smash the dead hand of the past which is preventing us from entering the era of mankind's conscious and united struggle against nature—through uniting all the progressive and revolutionary forces around the highest possible understanding of things, welding all those who hate this shit into a class-conscious force, and fighting through to the complete abolition of classes.

Rather than focus on incorrect forms, and paint an incorrectly dark picture of the objective situation, the draft *Programme* speaks to the actual content of the struggle in the cultural arena, and the actual balance of forces, and in the process speaks directly to the content of proletarian culture. "The masses need, most of all, cultural works that enable them to realize their real interests—to revolutionize society and their ability to do so, and that arouse them to fight for this goal." (p. 75)

We don't offer "probabilities" or "possibilities"—we have dreams that are based in reality, dreams that "present reality in its revolutionary course of development" (from a Soviet definition of socialist realism, quoted in *Mao's Immortal Contributions*, Bob Avakian, p. 206). This is what the draft *Programme* section on culture concentrates so well, and what the great revolutionary and great poet Mao Tsetung expressed so well. As Mao wrote:

The Four Seas are rising, clouds and waters raging,  
The Five Continents are rocking, wind and thunder roaring.  
Our force is irresistible,  
Away with all pests!

R.R. (A Child of Capitalism)

## On Homosexuality

To the Revolutionary Worker:

In what I thought was an innocent conversation recently, I told somebody I liked his politics. "Actually, I'm a communist," he said, and he gave me my first copy of RW. It made clear good sense, and I asked for more reading and got the *New Programme and New Constitution (Drafts for Discussion)* and THAT was clear and made good sense, most of it. There's only one point I can't get past, and that's the discussion of homosexuality on page 67. (I should add here that I'm a homosexual woman; I work behind a typewriter in a big medical center.)

I was surprised to read that "...homosexuality... is a product of the decay of capitalism, especially of the increasing ripping apart of the family, which is inevitably taking place under capitalist conditions. . . . In particular, it stems from the distorted, oppressive man-woman relations capitalism promotes. Once the proletariat is in power, no one will be discriminated against in jobs, housing and the like merely on the basis of being homosexual. But at the same time, education will be conducted throughout society on the ideology behind homosexuality and its material roots in capitalist society, and struggle will be waged to eliminate it and reform homosexuals." ONE of the reasons this was surprising (that passage is so full of contradictory and just odd statements it could be

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# DRAFT PROGRAMME

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discussed at great length, but I'll try to keep this as short as possible, in gratitude for the ease with which *RW* has made it possible for us to speak to these puzzling passages) is because of the sense of security that earlier passages as the one on page 14 gave, in which Marx and Engels are quoted: "... the proletarian revolution involves the most radical rupture with all traditional property relations and with all traditional ideas as well." I think page 67 expresses unscientific traditional ideas we could do better without. My perception of the ban against homosexuality is that it went along with the old list of religious proscriptions (don't eat shellfish, don't eat pork, get into ritual bathing, bury your wastes, produce children, etc.) which once, when conditions were different, made group survival statistically more probable for the group that followed them, and which has no meaning any more except to the superstitious. The scientific question seems to be: is homosexuality (or, more broadly, sexual orientation) the product of capitalism in decay OR of oppressive class societies in general? Either way, why did it also exist in primitive communist societies (according to anthropologist Morgan, upon whom Marx and Engels drew so heavily)?

The Party's line is that homosexuality is a product of the decay of capitalism. I don't understand what that means. First you'd have to know (assuming a scientific approach) how many homosexuals there were before this decline, and, if I make no other point in this letter, I want to make it clear that NOBODY knows how many there are, because it's still greatly in our interest to keep quiet, and we do. The only scientific statement you can make at this time is that you don't even know the size of the population you're talking about, let alone whether it's shrinking or increasing, let alone what's causing such alleged shrinkage or increase. This is a very frustrating state of affairs to gay women, who know not much about other gay women except in their area of direct contacts (including written) except that we seem to be everywhere, and we are hidden everywhere. No study worth looking at has been done, because it only gets the "visible" few; this "outrageous" subset is not representative. More than likely, friends you've known for years are lying.

That the *New Programme* as it stands will not only not change this state of affairs but will go further and "educate" us on the "ideology behind homosexuality" (how about, there are other ways besides having children to be productive) and to, here's the heavy one, REFORM us? Into WHAT?

This is depressing, this passage on page 67. On page 75, it's stated that "the effect of bourgeois culture on the masses is to further demoralize and degrade them" ... that fits in with what the, as I see it, bourgeois remnant on page 67 is doing to me. It's demoralizing, it takes energy away from much more useful, possibly revolutionary activities.

The Party's line on homosexuality is bourgeois. Its effects are poisonous. What is it doing right in the middle of the *New Programme*?

It doesn't even make sense in terms of what IS known about gays. The line that it stems from oppressive man-woman relations ... nobody knows that. I sat in on a seminar with some homosexual physicians last year; they all said THEY don't know what "causes" it, and none of their sources knew. The shrinks threw it out of their list of "diseases" a few years ago, having given up trying to "cure" it. No two rednecks agree. We're all guessing, and as long as it's seen as a crime or a misguided ideology needing reform, we'll still be guessing. (There does seem to be a consensus among gays themselves that it's something that one knows very early, that feels as if one is born into it, and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the opposite sex, particularly not with hating them, just nothing to do with them—that's the point.) It's not "scientific" to keep guessing like this.

It's even conceivable that gays might be a biological response of the human organism in a collective sense to the pressure of overpopulation. Without a census, how will we know if it's increasing? Maybe homosexuals are doing humanity a favor. I won't argue this, though, but who knows?

Key to much of this is the question of what proletarian morality is—I'd love to see this discussed at some length. I suspect that often whatever some revolutionaries don't like is labeled "bourgeois," and what they DO like is okay. I'm trying to come around to an argument that would make a heterosexual listen. What's key is that the Party is losing people, with page 67. Just for example, I'll take the people I know about, a group of loosely connected gay women here and there around the country, to whom I would love to show *RW* and more. They're workers (gay women don't grow up with the expectation of a husband to help support them) and, to a very mild degree at least, rebels. They're intelligent. What I want to know is, how can I give any one of them the *New Programme*, say, and say "read this and let's talk about it, but, uh, skip page 67 ..."? □

## On Grappling with the Draft Programme—the United Front Strategy and the Petty Bourgeoisie, Friend or Enemy?

The following are some comments for debate:

(1) The section Create Public Opinion, Seize Power should precede the United Front Section, the central task linked to the strategy for proletarian revolution. It is through revolutionary agitation and propaganda that the Imperialist enemy will be exposed to the maximum and through it the proletariat and its allies will get politically conscious, and the proletariat will get a scientific estimate of itself, and other strata and how they will line up and through this an understanding of the necessity of leading the United Front Against Imperialism.

(2) The United Front section should come from the broadest internationalist understanding reflected in the final statement in the General Line of the RCP that is, "(to) make the greatest contribution to the cause of proletarian revolution and communism worldwide." That is why the context should be set as a "worldwide United Front Against Imperialism." Perhaps an analysis of the main contradictions in the world today should be developed bringing up to date the analysis made by the Chinese in their "Proposal Concerning a General Line." Here we should bring out (a) the contradiction between Imperialism and Social Imperialism developing into open antagonism of world war; (b) the contradictions between the Oppressed Nations and these Imperialist superpowers; (c) the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat; (d) the absence of a socialist camp and who are the friends and enemies of the proletariat worldwide. And it is in this context and flowing from these contradictions that we should address the United Front Strategy in the U.S. today, its target and aims, and making proletarian revolution here and supporting revolutions throughout the world.

(3) It is an important lesson of the class struggle under socialism that the United Front is not only the correct strategy for proletarian revolution but for the continuation of the proletarian revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat until the elimination of all classes and class divisions and communism throughout the world.

(4) I think Imperialism as the highest stage of monopoly capital should be better explained in the programme and no assumption should be made as to the reader's understanding. Also why on page 31 of the programme does it state "... the common enemy—the imperialist system and bourgeois democracy? Are they separate aspects?

(5) At the heart of the United Front Strategy and the basis for this strategy is a class analysis of friends and enemies of the proletariat. It is both an analysis of economic status and their attitude to revolution. Mao brings this out in his "Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society," March 1927. He says, "Who are our friends and who are our enemies? This is a question of first importance for revolution. ... To ensure that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution

and will not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting our real friends in order to attack our real enemies."

(6) The section on the Petty Bourgeoisie is too one sided and it is not clear whether in the main the PB are the friend or the enemies. It is not a completely scientific estimate and emphasized basically that the PB is highly susceptible to patriotic appeals and other chauvinistic propaganda and that the Bourgeoisie increasingly attempts to mobilize the PB into a social base for reactionary movement, and some will be influenced along this direction to preserve their small capital and "independent position" above the proletariat. This is indisputably true about some sections but why is this reactionary aspect the very first thing said about the PB? What about an analysis of the advanced, intermediate and backward? The PB, the programme states, is a very large, greater than one third the population, and diverse group involved in many aspects of society particularly the cultural and education of society, the providing of services like health, and raising and distribution of food and where this group lines up, and how the proletariat can win over or at least neutralize as much as possible, is as complex as it is vital for proletarian revolution. Of course the material position of the PB between the proletariat and bourgeoisie gives it an unstable position and the proletariat should know the individualism and vacillations of these strata but more important it should have leadership in how to forge the United Front with these strata and on what basis. What are the advanced and revolutionary aspects?

(7) Have we forgotten that it was among this strata that revolutionary minded forces came forward to take up Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought to change the world and join and build the RCP and take on responsibility to give leadership to proletarian revolution and to achieving communism? Are not many revolutionaries today who follow the line of the RCP from PB backgrounds? A recent letter in the 100 flowers campaign written by a petty bourgeois professional brings out the revolutionary aspects of the PB. We all know about the role played by students and PB youth and professionals in the sixties that were drawn onto the political stage by the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, the Black Liberation struggle, groups like the Black Panther Party that objectively dealt great blows to the Imperialist enemy although not fatal blows. The Petty Bourgeoisie has its currents of political life and consciousness too and has within its ranks women who no longer want to accept their place, Vietnam veterans, Blacks and other oppressed nationalities as well as immigrants from countries dominated by Imperialism. The PB has many contradictions with Imperialism and although the very next paragraph emphasizes the economic contradictions of being crushed by the crisis and holds up the strikes of farmers, truckers, nurses, as a contrast or the opposite side of the reactionary social base they composed I don't think these should be heralded as what is advanced or the basis for the United Front no more so than the economic struggles of workers.

(8) It is not that these aspects of the PB should be left out of the programme. This also would be one sided, but what is advanced and what is the material basis for the advanced coming forward out of the many contradictions they have not just within the economic base of society but the superstructure. For example revolutionary agitation and propaganda has already borne fruit in bringing this into being in a beginning way. There are many advanced among the PB who hate this system—those that stepped forward to defend the Houston Rebellion and the Moody Park Three, to defend the revolution in Iran and go up against the hysterical attacks of the Bourgeoisie. There are the artists and poets and musicians with their revolutionary message. One local artist drew a poster recently with a desert scene and storm clouds gathering with Mexican revolutionaries like Villa, Zapata, Adelita with guns in hand in the foreground. The theme: "Everywhere is fertile soil for revolution." There was the statements of outrage against the murder of Damian Garcia signed by a priest that was under sharp attack and being deported by the Bourgeoisie, and the thousands of PB that opposed the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. Thousands have been inspired by the Cultural Revolution and Mao Tsetung. Recently a Chicana nurse brought out how all her life she thought the system was no good and unfair and she thought that what the Iranian people did was right on and so was what the people in China did under Mao. As much as the system attacked Communism she in her heart supported it although she did not know very much about (it) and not only wants to read the *RW* but study communism. It is important to rely on the advanced in the PB strata and arm them with political consciousness and unleash their deep hatred and disgust for the system. This is what is missing in this section and why it is overall one sided.

(9) The section bringing out how the PB responds to the question of war is more dialectical and the thrust of unity-struggle-unity is very correct. "... the proletariat also can and must unite with the anti-war sentiment among the petty bourgeoisie and struggle with them to win them to support, sympathize with or at least remain neutral towards the armed uprising of the masses to overthrow imperialism." The estimate of the PB's stand on national oppression and the oppression of women in this section would add alot to this section, bringing out in the same way what is progressive as well as backward in their views.

(10) This question of seeing the PB as principally friend not enemy or traitor, taking the stand of unity-struggle-unity is critical to the United Front Strategy. As Mao brought out in "Rectify the Party's Style of Work": "We cannot defeat the enemy by merely uniting the comrades throughout the Party, we can defeat the enemy only by uniting the people throughout the country." We have a basis in revolutionary agitation and propaganda for doing this as the more thoroughly and scientifically we grasp the nature of Imperialism, its economic base and superstructure, their interpenetration and all the contradictions they give rise to the more thoroughly we will isolate and drive a wedge between the broad numbers of people and the common enemy, and the more that the class conscious proletariat takes the offensive, the more firmly the vacillating forces see where the only future for society lies in the proletarian revolution and forward march through the twist and turns to communism.

E.B.

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## SPIRALS

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have occurred in our Party's history and brought losses to the cause of the Party. So we must pay attention to them and always keep in mind the historical experience of one tendency covering the other.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao used day-to-day routine such as eating and sleeping as an example to give a profound illustration of what is meant by dialectics. To those who had mistaken ideas and failed to understand the dialectical relationship between fighting heroically and abandoning territory temporarily in order to wipe out the enemy troops, Chairman Mao said: "To eat and then empty your bowels—is this not to eat in vain? To sleep and then to get up—is this not to sleep in vain? Can questions be posed in such a way? I would suppose not." (*On Protracted War*.) To see things in a straight-line way is in fact a metaphysical way of thinking and is like "eating without emptying the bowels" and "sleeping without getting up." Anyone using this way of thinking in observing things inevitably fails to see what is the essence and what is the appearance, which is the mainstream and which is the tributary, which is the part and which is the whole. This way of thinking leads to blind optimism and loss of vigilance when revolution develops successfully, and to indolence, helplessness, pessimism and despondency when revolution faces difficulty and twists and turns. Only by using the dialectical viewpoint of spiral development can one perceive the inevitable reversals and zigzags in the development of revolution, and only in this way can one perceive the inevitable victory of revolution even when it undergoes twists and turns, discern the orientation in the acute and complicated struggles, grasp the initiative in the struggle and guide it in the course of its development to seize victory.

The reversals and twists and turns in a revolutionary struggle have a dual character. While bringing transitory difficulties to revolution, they at the same time pave the way for still greater successes for the revolutionary cause. The revolutionary people invariably have to be educated and tempered by both positive and negative examples. It is the reversals and twists and turns in struggle that educate and temper us by negative example; after correctly sum-

ming up the experience and drawing lessons from it, we create the conditions for winning still greater victories in the revolutionary cause. The failure of the First Revolutionary Civil War in 1927 was a profound lesson to the Chinese people, enabling them to understand the extremely great importance for the proletariat to take the leadership into its own hands and grasp the Marxist truth that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line our Party mastered the three principal magic weapons (the united front, armed struggle and Party building) for the Chinese revolution, found the correct road for encircling the cities from the rural areas and the final capture of the cities and pushed the Chinese revolution to a new stage in its development. These historical experiences are an invaluable wealth for the revolutionary people. Chairman Mao often tells the Party cadres to bear in mind the experience and lessons of the many successes and failures in our Party's history; in so doing he is teaching us to learn to analyse and correctly handle the reversals and twists and turns on the road of the revolution from a materialist dialectical point of view and to understand that such twists and turns are inevitable in the development of history. When we have studied how the

phenomena. The proletariat is bound to defeat the bourgeoisie; socialism is bound to triumph over capitalism; Marxism is bound to prevail over revisionism—this is the established general trend of the development of history. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history." (*On the Chungking Negotiations*.) Any reversals or twists and turns, even retrogression and the repeating of history for a while, can only affect the tempo of historical development, but can neither halt the advance of history nor change the direction of its development. Both in the past and in modern times, there have been countless reversals and twists and turns in the development of history. From Confucius (551-476 B.C.) to Yuan Shih-kai (1859-1916) and Chiang Kai-shek, and from Chen Tu-hsiu to Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao, all were reactionaries swimming against the tide of history. None of them succeeded in turning back the clock of history. Instead, every one of them lifted a rock only to drop it on his own feet and ended up in self-destruction.

We firmly believe that no reversals or twists and turns of any kind can obstruct the cause of revolution from advancing; this belief is based on the

**"Only by using the dialectical viewpoint of spiral development can one perceive the inevitable reversals and zigzags in the development of revolution, and only in this way can one perceive the inevitable victory of revolution even when it undergoes twists and turns, discern the orientation in the acute and complicated struggles, grasp the initiative in the struggle and guide it in the course of its development to seize victory."**

reactionary classes in the past brought about a restoration and how tortuous the struggle was in consolidating the new social system, we can understand better the importance of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism today.

### Twists and Turns Cannot Halt the Advance of Revolution

The reversals and twists and turns on the road of revolution are only whirlpools, big and small, in the long river of history and are of little significance. As far as the entire course of history is concerned, advance and ascendancy make up the mainstream and essence of things, while twists and turns and retrogression are only branches and transient

historical-materialist viewpoint that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." At all times the people are the masters of history and the people always want to make revolution. Led by Chairman Mao, the broad masses are firm in taking the road of socialism. The working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals all have profound proletarian sentiments for the Party and Chairman Mao and have enormous enthusiasm for the socialist cause. As long as we have firm faith in the masses and rely on them, we can overcome any reversals or twists and turns and surmount any kind of dif-

ficulty. Both at home and abroad, class enemies all try to subvert our dictatorship of the proletariat and change our socialist system by taking advantage of the reversals or twists and turns that appear in the advance of our revolutionary cause, but all to no avail. This is because our revolutionary cause stands for the fundamental interests of the people and has won the approval and support of the masses.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." We also firmly believe that no reversals or twists and turns of any kind can impede the advance of the revolutionary cause because our revolution is carried out under the guidance of the correct Marxist-Leninist line. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is the product of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution; it is the fundamental guarantee for winning victory in the revolution. It is entirely due to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line that we defeated imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries with Chiang Kai-shek as their ringleader, that we got hold of arms and seized political power and won great victories in socialist revolution and construction. When an erroneous line dominated, there were reversals and twists and turns in our struggles, causing serious damage to the revolutionary cause and even leading the revolution to failure; but when the correct line dominates, the reversals or twists and turns that appear in the course of our struggle are only partial and temporary and are not difficult to eliminate. Therefore, under the guidance of the correct line, achievements are always primary and the situation is always excellent. Having undergone tests in prolonged struggles, our Party, state organs and the People's Liberation Army can withstand any storms. After eight years of tempering in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is consolidated as never before. As long as we strengthen revolutionary unity, unwaveringly carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, correctly distinguish and handle the two different types of contradictions, we will make the excellent revolutionary situation still more excellent.

"While the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns." This is a scientific conclusion drawn from the summing up of countless historical experiences, and it has been verified in practice. □

## Fault

Continued from page 9

intensifying the contradictions brought on by the earthquake, but more importantly, it is severely restricting their ability to respond—in other words, Italy and its rulers have more pressing needs, like preparing for war, to be bothered with the deaths of peasants in the mountains and cities of the destitute south.

Currently, this in-fighting is taking the form of the revisionists of the Communist Party of Italy (CPI) calling for the ouster of the cabinet controlled by the Christian-Democrats (C-D). It is the C-D's, a staunchly conservative and pro-U.S. party, that control the areas hit by the quake. The CPI, which claims "independence" from the Soviets and which in fact is tied closely to the Italian bourgeoisie and leans towards the U.S., has long since been maneuvering for a piece of the government. So much so, that they have promised the U.S. and the Italian rulers just about everything to get in; that they would stay in NATO; not divulge NATO military secrets; would not try to oust the C-D's from office—even to the point of agreeing or abstaining in the voting, and at the price of elected posts. The C-D's have refused any semblance of a coalition government with the "communists." This current round of political in-fighting is certainly the CPI trying to regain its popularity, and along with it, a piece of the political action of running the country. And while the CPI is not rigidly tied to

the Soviets like so many of the other revisionist parties around the world, this new round of criticism could very well be the portent of a shift to a more straight up oppositionist stance by them. Whatever the results of this political crisis in the government, the masses of Italian people will continue to be at the mercy of the capitalists and their revisionist henchmen until they are overthrown.

Meanwhile, the attempts at political cover-up come from another front as well—from the U.S. A torrent of tear-stained news stories have virtually gushed from the fountains of the prostitute press. The damage is listed; the towns are listed; some of the names of the dead are listed; the finding of a child is used to hide the inadequacies of the overall rescue; and the line of "pity the poor peasants" is run out every day, while the cameras roll on about the aid being collected in the Italian-American communities. The point is not that there isn't suffering in Italy, or that aid should not be sent; the point is that the capitalist media is skillfully, and cynically, manipulating the public opinion to take the heat off the imperialist system.

One only has to contrast the news coverage devoted to the earthquake last month in Algeria, which left an estimated 20,000 people dead. From the one, or was it two, day coverage you'd think that nothing happened there at all. And through the jaundiced eyes of the imperialists, nothing did. What the hell does it matter that some 20,000 people from Algeria were killed and scores of others left homeless, they

reason. To them, mere "refugees." Their lives are on a par with the lives of the peasants in Italy—worthless, unless they are making them their profits. That's what's in common with Algeria and Italy. But what's different, and what's the cause of all this media attention, is that *this* is Europe—this is a NATO ally; an advanced capitalist country—not some colony like Algeria or Guatemala. "So let's focus on all the misery, and balance that with the Pope handing out hope; let's get the Italian-Americans involved before they start wondering about what's actually going on and why." And the imperialists begin to crank it out.

The concern of the U.S. imperialists was also demonstrated by their contribution to the "rescue" efforts. In a country that is a virtual port for U.S. based naval warships that cover Europe's Mediterranean flanks, the U.S. has graciously lent the Italian government four helicopters!

The *Times* has also been quite useful in adding to the mystification of the why's and wherefore's of earthquakes. In another article in their November 26 issue, entitled: "Predictions of Earthquakes Is Still an Inexact Science," they basically push the line that there was nothing that could've been done to avoid all this destruction and loss of lives. But in their feigning of "objectivity" they cite the successful preparations for an earthquake in the Haicheng region of China in 1976. Of course, what they fail to mention is the fact that this occurred when China was still under the revolutionary leadership of Mao and his followers—at that time they

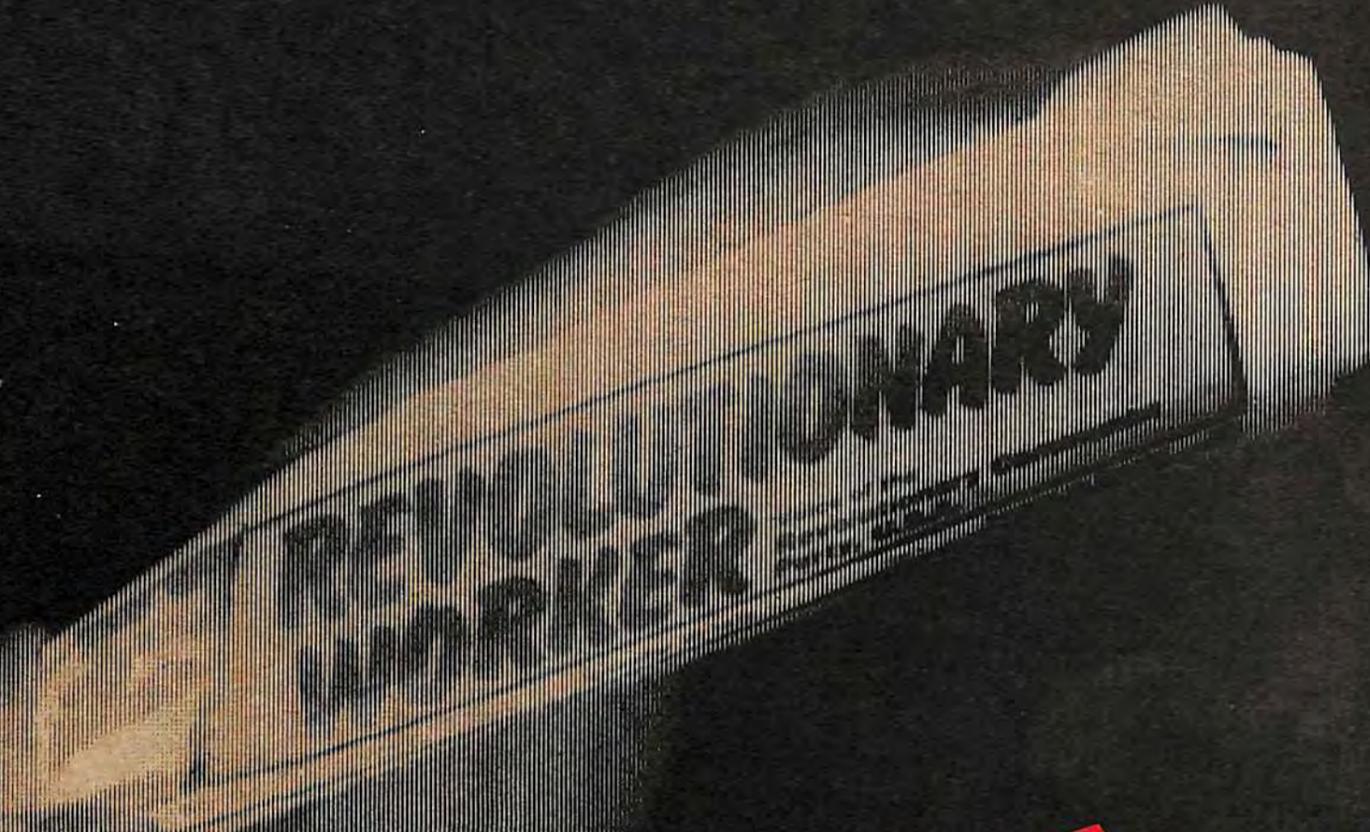
were guided by the socialist principle of "the most precious resource is the people themselves." It was this outlook that enabled the revolutionary leadership of China to mobilize the masses of people to take the necessary steps to predict and prepare for an earthquake, in a region just like that in Italy—one that was prone to such seismic activity.

The point here is not to imply that every potential earthquake will be predicted and successfully prepared for, but, in opposition to the outlook of the imperialists, once the biggest roadblock to mankind's progress, imperialism, is removed by the revolution, tremendous steps can be taken towards mastering nature.

As we go to press, the so-called "rescue" efforts are being further hampered by icy rains and high winds, that are causing mudslides in the mountainous regions. And the absence of the needed equipment, the manpower and even food and shelter, has already been the cause of new deaths, as people, driven by the elements, have rushed back inside their half-standing homes only to meet their deaths as the aftershocks bring the remaining parts of the structures crashing down on them. The latest figures still predict that the death toll will reach 10,000 and that 300,000 will be homeless in the quake's aftermath. The final tally will be awhile in coming, and in fact may never be accurately known. But for those counting with their eyes open, every new victim, every new casualty, is a marker—a blood debt owed—by the masses of people to that tiny class of parasites and their imperialist system. □

In an exciting step, the *RW* has begun 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.

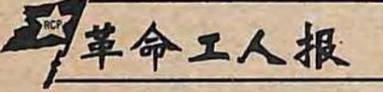
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