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Imperialists Deny
Political Crisis
While . . .

FLAMES OF RAGE SPREAD IN N. IRELAND



Irish-Catholic youth heave Coca Cola petrol bombs at authorities.

In the wake of the death of yet another Irish hunger striker last week, the streets of Northern Ireland exploded once again, blasting through the news blackout of the U.S. and British imperialists designed to make it appear that things are cool and under control. On Tuesday, May 21, Patrick O'Hara, a member of the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), became the fourth hunger-striker to die at the hands of his British captors since March 1. He, like the three H-Block prisoners before him—Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, and Raymond McCreech—died behind the barbed-wire compound of Long Kesh Prison near Belfast, Northern Ireland. He, like the others, had been demanding the reinstatement of political prisoner status. And, as in the aftermaths of their deaths, expressions of anger and outrage rocked the streets in cities across Northern Ireland. This time, it was easily the most widespread street fighting since the outbreaks first

began on April 15. Scores of youth, in groups of up to 200 strong, engaged in running battles with authorities in Belfast, Derry, Strabane, Lurgan, Portadown, and Dungannon, as word of O'Hara's death spread across the land. In the Irish-Catholic ghetto of West Belfast, where three police stations were besieged, the

fighting became so intense that British troops and police quickly erected barricades to try to contain the youths in their own neighborhoods. The Allied Irish Bank was set on fire as were a number of other places in the Belfast business district, as crowds of youths prevented fire-fighters from dousing the blaze. Barricades and petrol bombs greeted the armed forces of the state wherever they showed their faces.

Unable to cover this upsurge under the shroud of darkness they have tried to pull down around events in Northern Ireland since the riots after Bobby Sands' death, the imperialists were forced to let a little bit of what is really going on in the country out. For the first time in weeks, footage of the daily street fighting was shown on U.S. television. Even news and film footage of the righteous rebellion of Irish youth is considered extremely politically

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An Imperialist Power Colors Itself Pink

The day before the final round in the French presidential election a critical observer remarked with a wry smile, "Just think, the day after tomorrow France will probably be a socialist country—and we thought it would take a revolution." This sarcastic remark, of course, was a deliberate exaggeration; it would be hard to find anyone who actually thought the probable election of François Mitterand, candidate of the Socialist Party (PS), would actually bring socialism.

And Mitterand himself vehemently denied that he even intended such a thing, at least not in several lifetimes. Still many believed (and still believe) that a victory of the "left" would at least open the door to progressive change in France. On May 10, at a few seconds past 8 p.m., when the news was flashed over nationwide French TV that Mitterand had beaten the incumbent president Valerie Giscard d'Estaing to end 23 years of so-called "conservative

rule," tens of thousands and then hundreds of thousands were pouring jubilantly into the streets of Paris and other major cities in France.

In Paris pandemonium reigned in many sections of the city as cheering crowds surged through the streets, converging on well-known landmarks and districts from the Left Bank to the Bastille. Chants of "On a gagné" (We've won) and "Giscard

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Rebellion Sweeps Three Michigan Prisons



Jackson prison—after the first uprising—Friday, May 22nd.

Last week the Michigan state prison system was rocked by a series of rebellions by inmates righteously fed up with the conditions of life in these capitalist hellholes. The explosion began at Southern Michigan Prison in Jackson on May 22, as 800 prisoners seized control of the two maximum security cellblocks and then spilled into the yard, burning down two modular housing units and destroying, among other things, the guard officers' dining room. These were by no means random targets, particularly the latter. The whole Michigan prison system is notoriously overcrowded, so much so that the state has been forced to institute a program of releasing minor offenders three months early in part of an attempt to avoid outbreaks like that which just took place. At Jackson, known as "the world's largest walled prison," 5,500 inmates are crammed like sardines into deteriorating cellblocks designed to hold half that many. But far worse is the abuse inmates must endure at the hands of the

mostly white guards who, as one inmate put it, "take delight" in verbally and physically assaulting the largely Black prisoners drawn from the urban areas of Detroit. Recently these screws have even had the gall to demand the "right" to use greater force against the inmates however and whenever they see fit (as if this was not already the standard routine).

Not surprisingly, the rebellion was sparked by just such an action by these junior stormtroopers who announced they were "preparing to go on strike." According to prison officials, the prison guards' union then "defied administration orders" and began a prison-wide lockdown and began roughing up inmates on the pretense of conducting a weapons search. They were able to do this, however, because just coincidentally it happened that most of the supervisory personnel, including the warden, had been given the day off as part of a state "budget cutting measure." With the guards running amok and faced with the prospect



Jackson prison—Tuesday, May 26.

of being locked in their cells for the entire Memorial Day weekend and possibly longer, the prisoners moved. By that night prisoners at the Michigan Reformatory at Ionia had heard of the Jackson outbreak on radio and TV and they too rose up in revolt, overpowering some guards and storming through the prison unlocking fellow inmates and setting fires in the hated cellblocks, stopping only after repeated shots were fired by the guards.

But if Michigan prison officials thought the storm had blown over they were shaken again the following Tuesday as Jackson prison blew up again, this time with more intensity and in a more organized way. Over a thousand inmates, some carrying makeshift clubs, roamed the prison grounds torching three more of the wretched prefabricated dormitories and most of the prison building that passes for a "school." But this time the inmates were also armed with something else... bullhorns. While prison officials tried to portray the rebellion as "a feud between residents of the cellblock and the modular units," prisoners were yelling out to reporters on the scene that they were in rebellion against the overcrowded conditions, lack of medical care, lack of educational opportunity and the guard brutality. One prisoner could be heard agitating, "This is not inmate against inmate. We must maintain unity against the administration." And if the reporters still didn't get the story straight, the message was nevertheless communicated to the general public as 30 foot flames shot into the air and jet black ashes blew over the north side of the city of Jackson.

And prisoners in Michigan were not finished yet. Not 15 minutes after the robot guards dressed in riot gear and state troopers armed with tear gas, shotguns and M-16s had succeeded in forcing the Jackson inmates back into the cellblocks with a show of force, the maximum security prison at Marquette, 450 miles to the north of Detroit, erupted in yet another wave of revolt.

Several hundred prisoners refused to return to their cells and began setting fires that reduced the prison school, the slave-labor garment factory and the inmates dormitory to rubble. Guards there finally retook control of the prison by firing shotgun blasts into the ground in front of the rebelling prisoners.

Just what prisoners in Michigan and all over the country are coming up against was apparent as the ever-present Ted Koppel picked up on the story of the rebellions for his ABC Nightline to provide a showcase for the reactionary mouthings of prison officials and an opportunity for them to run out the U.S. rulers' line on how they plan to deal with prisoners. His featured guest was L. Brooks Patterson, a prosecutor from the Detroit area who three days before the Jackson rebellion met with guards there and reportedly advised them to take the actions that they did to "force the Department of Corrections into creating a safer work environment." Patterson's credentials in "rehabilitation" include sponsorship of a referendum to wipe out early releases for good behavior and heading up a drive to reinstate the death penalty in Michigan.

Sandwiched in with a few liberals to serve as punching bags, Patterson predictably launched a rabid call to "remove the predators from society" and stop "appeasing" them once they are incarcerated—all while Koppel dutifully played the humble straight man. "Are you saying we shouldn't rehabilitate?" asked Koppel innocently in his inimitable style, lofting Patterson another slow pitch. Oh no, replied Patterson, just lock 'em up and throw away the key. After all, "No one would be in prison if he were not really dangerous to society." As the events in Michigan show, the pent up fury of those locked up in these imperialist tiger cages is indeed most dangerous... dangerous, that is, to this country's rulers, and their whole dungeon-like society. □

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Bob Avakian Responds to Letter

In Today's World Especially "Slow Patient Work" Cannot Be Justified

The following are some further excerpts from a letter by Bob Avakian in response to a letter he received. For previous excerpts from letter see RW Nos. 95, 96 and 102, March 6, 13 and April 24.

I think there are some problems in terms of viewing things metaphysically—a tendency not only in the letter and how it deals with the question of spirals, but at least a danger and tendency to be guarded against in general in how we approach this. Specifically, I mean the tendency to act as if such spirals have a course of development almost pre-ordained (actually, of course, such an approach smacks of idealism as well). This comes out in the letter when it says things like "the current spiral is more one that conforms to the typical motion of spirals and crisis under imperialism". What does it mean, "conforms to the typical motion of spirals"? I don't believe that there is such a thing as the "typical motion" of them, and the notion of "conforming" to such "typical motion" is metaphysical (and idealist), smacking of religious-type dogma. These spirals are spirals precisely because they are determined by the struggle of opposites; they are complex processes involving a number of important or major contradictions, and there is no "typical motion" that they are supposed to—or do—"conform" to. It is true that these spirals have been described as (world) war-to-war spirals, or as the "Basic Principles"* documents puts it, such (inter-imperialist) wars are nodal points in this development by spirals. And this is correct as a basic characterization. But...

This must be understood according to materialist dialectics. Specifically, when it is said that inter-imperialist wars are nodal points this refers to the fact that this has been the case so far and that it will again be the case with the current conjuncture shaping up, unless... Unless it is prevented by revolution, which is actually a real possibility, and more than that something to be urgently worked for. And if revolution does prevent world war, then of course there will not be such a war and it will not be such a nodal point. Not only is it true that at some time in the future things will have changed in the world in such a way that inter-imperialist wars will no longer occur, but perhaps

* "Basic Principles For The Unity of Marxist-Leninists And For The Line of The International Communist Movement," A Draft Position Paper for Discussion Prepared by the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Available in English, Spanish and French from RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL, 60654—ed.

before the possibility of their occurring is completely eliminated it may be the case that even if they occur they will not constitute nodal points in the development of world events, at least not in the same way as up to now.

Further, on the current conjuncture shaping up and the world war looming as a decisive part of that: neither the particular characteristics of that conjuncture (including in what period of time it is shaping up, with what overall alignment of forces, etc.) nor the specific alignment of the imperialist blocs is something that has resulted from "the typical motion of spirals and crisis under imperialism," but is the result (with variation of a major and minor sort still possible and still occurring) of the development of a very complex process—a major spiral understood in that sense. Was capitalism bound to be restored in the Soviet Union, and then in China—are these developments to be considered part of the "typical motion" referred to? And how about the Vietnam war and its outcome? The point is that things have developed to the particular point where they are (and are continuing to develop) but they were not bound to do so. True, such development is determined by certain things, but these are not "iron laws" of the type more appropriate to religious mysticism or fatalism. It is determined by the fundamental contradiction of the bourgeois epoch—between socialized production and private appropriation—and the internal and inter-related struggles of particular things (contradictions) that play a major (and minor) part in the motion of that fundamental contradiction during this period in its development.

As things have actually developed on this basis, world war did not come about (nor even have the same likelihood as now of coming about) in certain situations where there were major turning points in the world (in particular the ones mentioned in the letter—the restoration of capitalism in the USSR in the mid-50s, or later the upsurge of national liberation struggles in the 1960s) nor did changes occur in the world in such a way that the world balance of forces was qualitatively altered so that the proletariat and not the bourgeoisie had the upper hand in the world. But such changes could possibly have occurred (either world war, though with a different alignment than the way it is now shaping up, or revolutionary advances of such significance that the world balance of forces shifted in favor of the international proletariat, or conceivably both). It is with this kind of understanding, and method, that we have to approach and deal

with the historic conjuncture now shaping up, and not with a metaphysical (and idealist) mechanical-determinist one.

The point that "For Decades to Come—On A World Scale" is stressing (see excerpts from the latest meeting of the RCP Central Committee in RW No. 98—ed.) is that there are certain historic moments or conjunctures when the contradictions of the imperialist system—a worldwide system—are concentrated on a world scale, and this heightens the revolutionary possibilities in the world as a whole and within particular countries. It is true (as the letter says) that at such times "the scope for man's conscious dynamic role is qualitatively enlarged," but we must be careful in saying this. First of all, as the letter itself adds, "there's an interpenetration between periods of preparation and periods when you can actually change things on a world scale." But more than that, a "period of preparation" in one country or part of the world may be a period of actual revolution in another; or, as "Decades/World" points out, "In fact, revolutions have played a key part in the 'working out' of the major spirals." Not to firmly grasp this would promote chauvinism, especially in imperialist countries, where revolutionary situations are (or have been so far) more closely linked with the concentration of such historic conjunctures on a world scale. This does not change the fact that such (world-scale) historic conjunctures do heighten revolutionary possibilities on a world scale and in particular countries (this was certainly the case in China with regard to WW2, for example), but it stresses the need to deal with all this dialectically—and precisely on a world scale, with the whole world in view—that is, from the standpoint of the international proletariat.

A view of just wanting to be the "left wing" of a reformist mass movement also "forgets" or ignores the truth that international developments might suddenly spark turmoil, radical change, etc., in an imperialist country like the U.S. (as well as others). And it forgets along with that the crucial fact (stressed earlier) that periods of preparation in one or a number of countries may well be periods of actual revolution in others. From the standpoint of the international proletariat these days (and this has been true for quite some time) things are never such (that is, the world and the changes in it are never such) that only "slow, patient work"—and still less accommodation to imperialism and reaction—can be justified.

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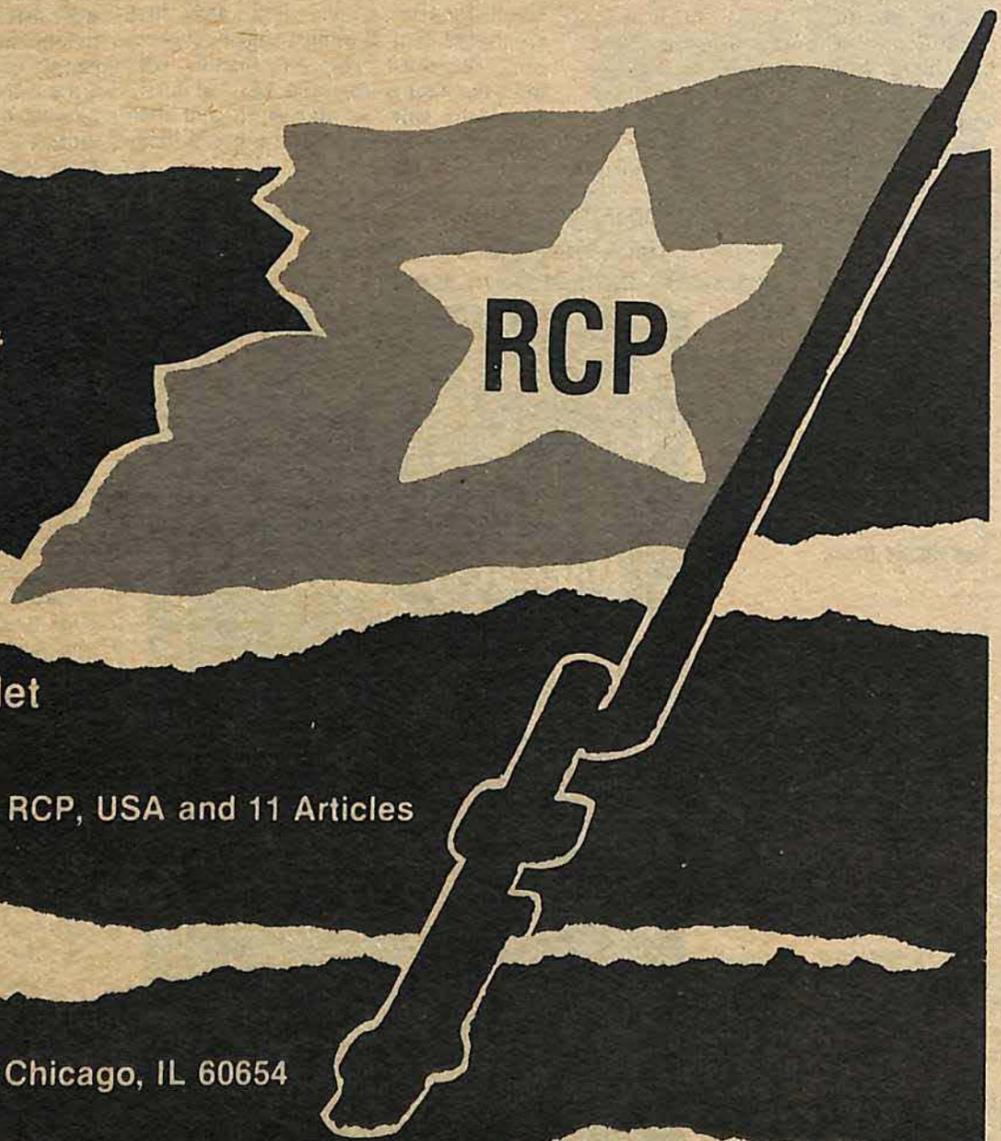
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Red Flag from Bob Avakian in Honor of Paul Friedman

On Monday, May 18, a delegation of revolutionaries climbed to the top of a hill overlooking the city of San Francisco, the site of the May 7 memorial for Comrade Paul Friedman (reported in *RW* No. 104). Comrade Friedman, a long-time revolutionary communist and member of the RCP, had died of natural causes (a brain aneurism) two days before May First, 1981. Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee and now in France seeking political refugee status, heard of Comrade Friedman's death in the *Revolutionary Worker* and immediately asked that a red flag be placed there on his behalf. At his request the delegation planted a large red flag, with a streamer below it with the message the Chairman had sent: "In memoriam to Paul Friedman from Bob Avakian, your comrade and friend."

Statement by Chiang Ching from Jail

The April issue of Chuo Koron, a Japanese bourgeois magazine, carried several translations into Japanese of Chinese "underground" publications received by foreign residents in Peking in late January. One of them was the 54-page pamphlet from the Communist Party of China (M-L) which was also sent to the *RW* and translated into English in Issue No. 90. Another is "Written Reply" attributed to Chiang Ching, which we have translated here from the Japanese version in Chuo Koron. This statement was supposedly written by Chiang Ching in prison and smuggled out by a comrade. According to the Japanese translator, the "Written Reply" is mimeographed and is laid out in leaflet form.

While we have not until now heard of the particular group signing the introduction, it is a clear and admitted fact that quite a few such forces exist now in China. The Japanese bourgeois source, of course, cannot be vouched for, but the strong defense of Mao and the Cultural Revolution and the stinging denunciation of the Deng-Liu clique as well as the proletarian optimism characteristic of Chiang Ching which bursts through the text, are quite good evidence that the "Written Reply" is indeed authentic. It appears it was written before the trial actually began. During Chiang Ching's trial, there were also reports of a 180-page statement against the revisionists written by Chiang Ching early last year, which we have not yet seen.

A Written Reply by Comrade Chiang Ching

Introduction:

Fellow soldiers and comrades of the revolutionary proletarian faction of the whole party and the whole country:

Starting from November 20th, 1980, the ruling clique of Deng Xiaoping and his kind who are going down the capitalist road is trying to use the power of leadership they have stolen from the Party and the state to condemn our beloved Comrade Chiang Ching to a bloody sacrifice. As a proletarian revolutionary, Comrade Chiang Ching has shown from beginning to end the lofty spirit of facing death without faltering. Faced with the bared claws and fangs of the Deng clique, she

has not shown a bit of fear, and relying on reason to struggle hard, she is defending Chairman Mao, defending the revolutionary proletarian line, defending the rich achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, ready to make the bloody sacrifice.

Fellow soldiers and comrades, for some time now there has been a dark cloud over us as a small handful of ghosts and monsters are exercising dictatorship over us. They are suppressing, persecuting and butchering many revolutionaries. Can we just watch this passively? No! We must make revolution. We must rebel once again. We must not fear a thousand cuts, we must foster the spirit of daring to pull the emperor off the horse (this expression is

from the novel *Dream of the Red Chamber* used by Mao at the March 1958 Chengtu Conference—*RW*) and learn from our beloved Comrade Chiang Ching. We must not call back the troops until the defeat of the ruling clique of Deng Xiaoping and his kind who are going down the capitalist road.

Shanghai Branch of the Association of Anti-revisionist Comrades of the Chinese Communist Party

Text of Chiang Ching's Statement:

In a letter dated July 8, 1966 and written to me, the great leader Chairman Mao came right to the point and clearly pointed out, "Perhaps, after my death, the Right will use my words to lift high and forever the black flag when it comes to power. But if it does, it will be doomed."

Today, the ruling clique of Deng and his kind who are unrepentant to death has used the opportunity of Chairman Mao's unfortunate death to seize the supreme power of leadership of the Party and the state, carried out the line of capitalist restoration from the center to the regions, and are brutally attacking and suppressing revolutionaries and the broad masses of people. They are protecting and promoting to positions of trust the handful of ghosts and monsters and reactionary elements that were driven off the stage and pulled off the horse by Chairman Mao and the people of the whole country. They are frantically negating the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao. Even more unpardonable is that they are preparing to negate Chairman Mao's grand achievements as well as the leading position he occupies in the hearts of the people of the whole Party and the whole country.

Looking back into the past, in a few short years after 1958, Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping and their kind seized power in a great portion of the major departments of the center and began promoting their counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Especially in the superstructure, including the field of culture, they silenced at will the heroic images of the proletariat and spread their feudal, bourgeois, revisionist poison. For a certain period, emperors, kings, generals, ministers, talents and beauties flooded the stage and screen of the proletariat. Chairman Mao many times raised criticisms of such phenomena, but Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping and their kind paid no attention, even blocking Chairman Mao's instructions and trying to isolate him from the cadres and the masses. Thus there formed within the Party center the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shaoqi. In 1964, following Chairman Mao's instructions, I began to work on the creation of the modern revolutionary ballet *The Red Detachment of Women*. In 1965, Chairman Mao pointed out in a Central Committee work meeting that the new historical play *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* must be criticized, but he was met with a boycott by the Liu Shaoqi clique. Chairman Mao sent me to do research with Shanghai Vice-Mayor Chang Chun-

chiao. We asked Comrade Yao Wen-yuan to take up the pen and write *On the New Historical Play Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*. After repeated revisions by the Chairman himself, this piece was published in the Shanghai *Wen Hui* newspaper. The central propaganda department, the cultural department and the various public opinion channels in Peking, all under the control of Liu Shaoqi's clique, did not publish the essay by Comrade Yao Wen-yuan. This makes clear the wolfish ambitions of the Liu Shaoqi clique. What were they doing if not trying to set up a Liu-ist party, a Liu-ist shop?

On August 5th, 1966, Chairman Mao made public the first big character poster titled "Bombard the Headquarters" as well as the 16-Point Decision which was adopted at the 11th Plenum of the 8th Central Committee personally presided by Chairman Mao, and the blazing fire of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was lighted. A Plenary meeting of the Central Committee was held from October 13th to 31st 1968 and unanimously recognized that: Chairman Mao's great strategic alignments regarding the Great Cultural Revolution and a series of important instructions at various stages of the Great Cultural Revolution were all correct. The Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee played an important role in the struggle to thoroughly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary proletarian line. The Plenary meeting further unanimously decided to expel Liu Shaoqi from the Party permanently, relieve him of all posts inside and outside the Party, and to continue to clear the accounts with the anti-Party and anti-China crimes committed by Liu Shaoqi and his clique. Now the Deng Xiaoping clique says the Great Cultural Revolution had no positive points and has completely negated the unanimous decision reached at the 12th Plenum regarding the handling of Liu Shaoqi, slandering the revolutionary movement to criticize and settle accounts with the Liu Shaoqi clique's capitalist restoration as persecuting the Party and state leaders and suppressing the broad cadres and masses. I would like to ask—is it I, Chiang Ching, by myself who decided to expel Liu Shaoqi from the Party permanently and relieve him of all posts inside and outside the Party?

Now a handful of the ruling clique of ghosts and monsters are exercising dictatorship over us, and we once again come face to face with the danger of the ruin of the Party and the country. I always remember the words Chairman Mao once uttered: "If the Rightists stage an anti-communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90% of the population. The Right in power could utilize my words to become mighty for a while. But then the Left will be able to utilize others of my words and organize itself to overthrow the Right." I firmly believe that the broad cadres and masses who possess a high degree of revolutionary tradition will surely carry on the revolutionary legacy of the great leader Chairman Mao and defeat the ruling clique of Deng Xiaoping and his kind for going down the capitalist road. This is the inevitable trend of the historical development and no reactionary force can stop it! □

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MARXIST-LENINISTS,
THE WORKERS,
AND THE OPPRESSED
OF ALL COUNTRIES**

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Superpowers Jab and Block Over Lebanon

The U.S. imperialist's special Mid-East envoy charged with defusing the Israeli-Syrian confrontation in Lebanon, Philip C. Habib, returned to Washington for consultations May 27th. Habib's mission had been two-fold: to attempt to impose a settlement of the immediate issues in the crisis under direct U.S. supervision without cutting the Soviet imperialists into the action, and in the course of this to not only hold together the U.S.' own bloc of reactionary states in the region, but to block Soviet thrusts and undermine their imperialist rivals' main political strength in Syria and within the PLO. Habib left the Mid East without having nailed down either objective.

Since late April, pro-U.S. Israel and Syria, at present tied closely with the Soviet Union, have been locked in a showdown over the Syrian deployment of a number of Soviet made SAM 2 and SAM 6 anti-aircraft missile batteries in central Lebanon. Syria deployed the missiles, just a few miles from its own border, following the gunning down of 2 of its helicopters by Israeli fighters. The incident took place as part of an Israeli effort to relieve pressure on its reactionary Christian Phalangist allies, whose forces at the strategic town of Zahle, in east central Lebanon, were under siege by Syrian forces.

The Syrian missile deployment brought an immediate howl from Israel, which screeched that the missiles posed a "grave threat" to Israeli security and threatened to attack and destroy them if they were not immediately removed. Israel arrogantly claims that the right of its air force to control the skies of Lebanon at will, whether on strafing or reconnaissance missions against the Palestinians in southern Lebanon or in support of Phalangist military forces, is itself "vital to the security of Israel." For its part, Syria insists that the SAMs are "purely defensive," and that Syria, whose 22,000 troops in Lebanon are formally designated as a "peace keeping force" working in cooperation with the United Nations, is legally within its rights.

The Syrian move, however, was far more than merely a "defensive" tactic. Indeed, in advancing a small number of missile batteries a few miles from its own borders into Lebanese territory, the actual tactical advantage gained was negligible, both in the immediate battle against the Phalangist forces and in its effect on the overall strategic balance in Lebanon. It has become clearer and clearer as events have unfolded that the key motives for the missile deployment were political. By timing the move hours after Israel had shot down two Syrian helicopters, the Assad regime could plausibly present its action as purely defensive, thus strengthening its political hand in the following confrontation. But most importantly, the move had the virtue of not only presenting Syria as "standing firm in the face of Israeli aggression"—a key to gaining political capital in the Arab world—but as advertising Syria's new "clout" as a regime backed by the Soviet Union.

The Begin regime in Israel has been pursuing a policy in Lebanon aimed at eventually breaking the power of the hostile forces in the area, through a combination of its own forces and backing the right-wing Phalangist drive to gain strategic supremacy in north and central Lebanon—and, apparently, counting on U.S. and ah, NATO support for a move to throw Syria out of Lebanon altogether. But following Begin's threats to bomb the Syrian missiles, it quickly became clear that support for such a move, which would almost certainly have triggered a full scale Israeli-Syrian war and seriously compromised U.S. imperialism's present efforts to forge an "anti-Soviet

strategic consensus" in the region, would not be forthcoming from the Reagan administration. The consensus view in the Reagan administration is that Begin's "provocative" policies in Lebanon are throwing a monkey wrench into the whole framework of U.S. relations with the pro-Western bourgeois Arab regimes, and are also strengthening the political position of the Soviet Union in the region. Moreover, as has become plain in recent days, the U.S. has by no means given up on finding the ways and means to pry Syria, and through them, sections of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), away from the Soviets.

Added to all of this, it is no secret that the general view within the Reagan administration is that it would be no great loss if Begin went down to defeat in the upcoming Israeli elections anyway, as he has not shown sufficient broadmindedness in subordinating the Zionist dreams of a "greater Israel" to the U.S. imperialists' strategic war preparations. Administration attempts to put some distance between themselves and Begin were highlighted by the flat dismissal by the State Dept. of Begin's assertion of May 25th that "the Soviet Union has military advisors with the Syrian troops in Lebanon." "Privately," reported the *Times*, "several State Dept. officials expressed unhappiness with what they described as provocative statements made in recent days by the Israeli leader."

Secretary of State Haig was also known not to be overjoyed by Begin's open ridicule of the chief U.S. maneuver aimed at settling the "missile crisis"—the employment of Saudi Arabia as the mediator capable of exerting financial pressure—and also various inducements—to encourage Syria to quietly soften its "firm stand." Although agreement was apparently reached that the Saudis would restore suspended contributions to the maintenance of the Syrian occupying force in Lebanon, this did not produce any immediate reciprocal action by Syria. What has been more noticeable, however, is the rapid surge in speculation in the U.S. imperialist press about possible "opportunities" to counter Soviet influence on the Assad regime. In a *New York Times* analysis, "Syrian-Soviet friendship is on paper, not streets," the following pointed observations are made:

"In the last year, according to Western diplomats, nearly a dozen Russians stationed in or visiting Syria have been assassinated. Those assassinations, the scathing comments of Syrians when asked about the Damascus-Moscow friendship treaty signed last October, and the secluded existence of the 3,000-5,000 Soviet military advisors in the country offer testimony that Syria's relationship with the Soviet Union is still tenuous at best... 'Whatever the open show of mutual friendship,' said a senior Western diplomat in Damascus, the 'fact is that Soviet influence in Syria is limited'..."

The article also ticked off the avenues for Western influence in Syria, including the large proportion of Western educated members of Assad's cabinet, and numerous private friendly overtures between Syrian and U.S. officials. On May 28th, foreign policy commentator Anthony Lewis put the matter even more baldly in a column praising Habib's diplomatic efforts:

"... What argument can Mr. Habib offer President Assad to move him, similarly, away from the confrontation that has at least superficial political appeal for him? It could be that Mr. Assad, an extremely shrewd figure, would rather restore some ties to the United States than become more depen-

dent on the Russians..."

All of this does not mean that the U.S. imperialists believe they are on the verge of inducing Syria to renounce its friendship treaty with the Soviet Union. Instead, it is a part of the U.S. effort to gauge every move it makes in the region to strengthen the U.S. position, to block the Soviets' own efforts to expand their influence and to work to undermine Soviet gains wherever they take place. This is the whole objective of the formula announced by Habib as a "solution" to the crisis.

The Soviet imperialists, meanwhile, have been operating under precisely the same principle. Operating under the signboard of convening a conference of "all interested parties" to "achieve a comprehensive Middle East settlement," the Soviets have been lobbying overtime among Arab governments, including those closely tied to the U.S. and the Western European imperialists, for the reconvening of the Geneva Conference, dormant since 1973, in which the U.S. and the Soviet Union are formally co-chairman. In late April, the foreign minister of Kuwait visited Moscow and signed a communique endorsing such a conference.

In the midst of flanking maneuvers by both sides, the surprise announcement came from Tel Aviv and Cairo that Israeli Prime Minister Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat had agreed to hold another "summit in the Sinai," set for early June. An Israeli spokesman said, "The two leaders would discuss further peace steps in the Syrian-Israeli missile crisis in Lebanon." It is too early to assess the significance of this step; but the Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement is the centerpiece of the whole U.S. strategy to build its anti-Soviet united front in the Middle East. Negotiations have been in the works to allow U.S. military forces to operate out of the Sinai following Israeli withdrawal, under the terms of the Camp David accords, in April 1982. While there have been some contradictory statements in Cairo on the Israeli-Syrian confrontation, with Egypt's foreign minister expressing support for Syria, Sadat has reaffirmed the peace agreement and pledged Egyptian neutrality in the event of war. Undoubtedly, the timing of the summit is aimed at reemphasizing the firmness of Israeli-Egyptian cooperation as part of the U.S. alliance system in the region.

It is, indeed, quite possible that Israel will use the summit with Egypt to determine definitively what Egypt's stand

will be in the event Israel decides to go ahead with an assault on Syrian missiles an act which, it must be assumed, most probably will lead to a broader Israeli-Syrian war—and could escalate further from there. Powerful forces within Israel, according to numerous sources, are urging that the time for a strike against Syrian forces in Lebanon is "now or never." According to the magazine *8 Days*, the argument advanced by those, such as Israeli chief of staff Raphael Eitan, for a quick strike is that the only alternative is a "war of attrition" with no clear outcome, and a war which Israel, already facing growing economic and political chaos and rising opposition to its policies in Lebanon, might not be able to sustain. Israel, while tipping its hat to Habib's diplomatic efforts, has continued to concentrate mobile infantry and armored units on its northern border, while infiltrating forces into the southern belt of Lebanon controlled by the pro-Israeli rightist Christian leader, Major Haddad. Clearly, as well, a key element of Begin's maneuvers is to guide events to the point where the United States, in defense of its own imperialist interests, has no alternative but to withdraw its opposition to an Israeli strike.

Through this crisis, the U.S. is pressing ahead to realize its broader strategic objectives in the region. Habib's proposal calls for the disengagement of Phalangist and Syrian forces around Zahle, and the replacement of some forces on both Phalangist and Syrian sides by troops of the regular Lebanese army—an army itself, however, powerfully split between the different warring factions. On the basis of this disengagement, the Israelis would then agree to cease their overflights in the Bekaa Valley, near the Syrian border, and the Syrians would be persuaded that there was no longer any legitimate need to keep their SAMs in Lebanon. Furthermore, through the Saudi connection, the U.S. is vigorously pushing to replace some Syrian troops in Lebanon with forces from pro-Western Arab regimes.

Such an agreement would mean an important gain for U.S. imperialism. But in the arena, the U.S. has a superpower foe also schooled in such jabbing and blocking. So while the outcome of the present round of contention in the region is certainly still undetermined, just as certainly, it signals the necessity of both of the principal antagonists for a global fight to the finish. □

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“Libyan Terrorists”—Made in USA

On Monday, May 6th, the U.S. State Department announced that the entire Libyan diplomatic mission to the U.S. would be expelled and that their Washington, D.C. embassy would be shut down. According to the *New York Times*, the State Department declared that the U.S. imperialists would no longer “tolerate the training of terrorists, assassinations, intimidations of Libyans abroad or interference with Libya’s African neighbors.” By May 14th the Libyan diplomats had left the country and once again the machinations of U.S. imperialism as it heats up its contention with the Soviet imperialists in preparation for war have been cast in hysterical rantings about, as Alexander Haig stated on March 18th, “Soviet-backed Libyan networks of terrorism.”

While attention has been focused on “terrorism” as the reason for breaking all diplomatic ties with Libya, in actual fact the expulsion of the Libyan diplomats is just one part of an overall contest between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in northern Africa. In fact, the expulsion of the diplomats is one of the milder forms of that contest. Libyan leader Muammar Quaddafi has been moving closer and closer to the Soviet Union and acts to spread Soviet influence in the area. (On a recent 3-day visit to Moscow, just prior to the U.S. expulsion of the Libyan diplomats, Quaddafi called for “decisive” support from the Soviet Union for a united effort of Syria, South Yemen, Libya, the PLO and Algeria in opposition to the U.S. Camp David Accords. And in addition to the Libyan invasion and occupation of Chad last December, Quaddafi has recently called for full Arab

support of the Soviet-backed Syrian effort in Lebanon.)

The U.S. imperialists are seriously counterattacking. The U.S. press has recently been running a number of articles very sympathetic to (some, pro-U.S., that is) anti-Quaddafi dissidents and portraying the Libyan regime as a fractured and sick government on the verge of being overthrown by its own people. At the same time, the U.S. imperialists have actively and openly called for the overthrow of Quaddafi by whoever can and by whatever means necessary. One State Department official recently stated that Quaddafi is “a menace that we would like to see disappear.” And, in the April 1st issue of the *Washington Post* U.S. flunky and Sudanese President Jafaar el Numeiry called for the overthrow of Quaddafi “by any kind of war, by taking him out, by killing him.” U.S. support for any such effort by Sudan has been shown by much more than just words. According to one Sudanese journal, *Sudanow*, the monthly publication of the Ministry of Culture and Information, Sudan has been the recipient of a French gift of arms; according to Arab press reports the U.S. and France have received a list of Sudan’s military needs and a guarantee of payment by Saudi Arabia. In addition to this, Sudan, which is already the recipient of the largest amount of American “aid” in Sub-Saharan Africa (currently \$130 million—\$30 million of which is military aid), is looking forward to a substantial increase, including a tripling of the military aid. As an added aspect to the picture, Egypt’s Anwar Sadat has promised to come to the aid of Sudan in

any war with Libya “whatever the length or intensity of that war.”

In view of all this, the U.S. claims that the threat posed by “Libyan terrorism” and the failure of Libya “to play by the rules of international conduct” led to the breaking off of U.S./Libyan diplomatic relations are an obvious sham. Adding to the blatantness of this sham, and in fact casting the entire affair in an almost ludicrous light, are the facts that have emerged concerning the evidence presented by the U.S. imperialists against Libya.

On May 17th Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger stated on “Meet the Press” that the U.S. actions against Libya were primarily aimed at “increasing the safety of people in the United States. The Libyan embassies, or people’s bureaus, are really almost assassination headquarters, and what we need to do is get people of that kind... out of the country.” However, no sooner had Weinberger opened his mouth than his foot was firmly implanted in it. As evidence of “Libyan terrorism” the U.S. imperialists have been pointing to the shooting of an anti-Quaddafi Libyan student leader in Colorado in October of 1979. However as it turns out, the “Libyan terrorist” arrested in that attack was one Eugene A. Tofayo, a long-time American super-patriot. (The charge is that he was recently hired by the Libyans.) Hailing from the town of Truth or Consequences, New Mexico, Tofayo expressed his dedication to U.S. imperialism at the early age of 15 when he falsified the information on his birth certificate in order to join the Marine Corps and go to war in Korea. From

there Tofayo embarked on a 25-year career in the Marines and the Army, a career which included a stint in Vietnam with the Green Berets and a Bronze Star for his performance there. After retiring from the army in 1976 Tofayo was recruited as a “Libyan terrorist” by two other American patriots—two “former” CIA agents named Frank Terpil and Edwin Wilson. Terpil, whom the CIA now claims to have fired in 1971 for “boasting and boorishness,” (since when was this grounds for anything but promotion?), had been a “Libyan terrorist” for a number of years and in fact had been supplying arms to, and training for, the Libyans, and, according to the *New York Times*, had recruited a number of “former Green Berets and American specialists” as instructors for his terrorism school. And apparently it was one of Terpil’s instructors, American specialist and “former” CIA agent Wilson who recruited his old Green Beret buddy, Tofayo, for the “Libyan assassination squad.”

Quite the exposure of “Libyan” terrorism, gentlemen of the U.S. bourgeoisie. At best, what you are saying is that some of your trained terrorists jumped ship and started plying the trade you taught them for someone else. Well, take heart gentlemen. Console yourselves that, even if all you say about them is true, in their current job they are still upholding the principles and practices that “made America great” around the world, and on which you yourselves are counting to keep it that way in the period ahead. □

Washington’s OPEC Price Freeze

The recent meeting of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) resulted in an unprecedented agreement by the organization to freeze prices and (on the part of the majority of members) to cut back production. This most of all represented a move by the U.S., acting through its pliant comprador regime in Saudi Arabia, to stabilize the oil price situation and knock OPEC into line in terms of the current needs of U.S. imperialism.

Saudi Arabia has been pumping more than 10 million barrels of oil per day over the past year. This is over 40% of OPEC’s total output, and two million more than the target of eight million which Saudi Arabia has announced for years as its optimum level of production—what it needs to meet even its U.S.-fostered misshapen “development” plans. The “extra” money is put in U.S.-bloc banks, for them to make use of as they see fit. Further, Saudi Arabia has kept (and is still keeping) its price at \$32 per barrel of oil, whereas prices of other members of OPEC range from \$36-\$41. With over 10 million barrels per day being produced, this means that Saudi Arabia is turning its back on more than \$40 million a day. Finally, the large Saudi production has produced a glut on the world market—an over-supply of about 2 million barrels of oil per day. So in other words the 2 million per day which Saudi Arabia produces beyond its immediate revenue needs is just the amount which makes for a world over-supply. And of course since Saudi Arabia is selling its oil at the lowest price, it can always find buyers, so the problem of selling their oil hits the other OPEC members and exerts pressure on them to lower their prices.

This is the mechanism by which Saudi Arabia was able to force the other OPEC countries into a price freeze and production cut-backs. And in all this, we’re supposed to believe, the Saudi ruling class is just acting as

“good businessmen,” as one imperialist oil expert characterized them. (It’s hard to keep calling them “greedy sheiks” anymore, after this exposing performance.) In fact, they are acting as good servants of U.S. imperialism, not as the “independent businessmen” to which they have now been promoted—for as we’ve seen, from the viewpoint of whatever independent interests they have, their actions don’t make sense. Right now the U.S. is interested in a stable price for oil and in a world over-supply, both in order to keep the price down and to build up its strategic petroleum reserve. The results of the OPEC meeting preserve and stabilize the situation which already exists. Saudi Arabia will not cut its production back, thus forcing other countries to do so. But this will not relieve the oversupply, for even if all other OPEC members cut their production by 10%, this would only cut out 1.4 million barrels of oil per day, whereas the world surplus is running at two to three million a day. Thus the cutbacks by other OPEC members will simply stabilize the current glut and keep it from getting out of hand. There is no doubt that Saudi Arabia’s policies have been closely coordinated—in fact dictated—by Washington.

This is not to say that in the past the U.S. was opposed to higher oil prices. Despite the big problems which it caused, the U.S. had an interest, for instance, in the 1979 price hike, in promoting austerity, cutbacks in consumption, the development of alternate sources of energy in the U.S., and increased coordination within its bloc around energy and other matters. The whole price rise phenomenon has had the effects of greatly increasing the power of Saudi Arabia in the Arab world and the Middle East (and previously, of Iran under the regime of the U.S. lackey Shah), and of helping the U.S. to tighten up its bloc and enhance its hegemonic role within

it—all as part of a process of gearing up for war. Although the circumstances and complexities of the original OPEC price hike need more extended analysis in themselves, the point here is that Saudi Arabia’s actions in particular have always been clearly in line with U.S. desires.

Over the last year or more the U.S. has been pushing—through Saudi Arabia—a plan to index the price of oil to the general rate of inflation in the bloc, thus cutting out sudden and disruptive price changes and assuring a steady oil supply at a relatively stable

and predictable price. Other OPEC countries have been resisting this scheme, wanting to see a more rapidly rising price. The just-concluded OPEC meeting represented a crack of the U.S. whip over the heads of these countries—which are also ruled by comprador bourgeoisies, but which have more maneuvering room in relation to the U.S. than does Saudi Arabia—signalling the U.S. necessity to try to rein them in and tighten their ranks behind its war chariot economically as well as politically and militarily. □

A WORLD TO WIN

INTERNATIONAL
MARXIST-LENINIST JOURNAL
No. 1, May 1981

“To carry out the struggle against revisionism and to aid the process of developing and struggling for a correct general line in the international communist movement, the undersigned Parties and organizations are launching an international journal. This journal can and will be a crucial weapon which can help unite, ideologically, politically and organizationally, the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world.”

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FBI Cover-Up of Nun Murders in El Salvador

Operating with the dedication to the cause of U.S.-style justice for which it has become internationally renowned, the FBI's "investigation" into the rape and murder of four Catholic missionaries in El Salvador last December has finally "discovered" that a grand total of 2 (!) national guardsmen—a sergeant and a corporal—were "responsible." According to a *Washington Post* copyrighted article, extensive hard work in their Washington, D.C. forensic laboratory has led these dedicated crime fighters to trace the sergeant's fingerprints and shellcasings matching the rifle issued to the corporal to the scene of the brutal murder. No mention was made of such other "clues" as the fact that national guard superior officers had personally ordered and supervised road blocks throughout the area, that the van the missionaries were traveling in was well known throughout El Salvador, and that no two-bit rank-and-file guardsmen could have murdered the nuns without direct orders from the top. Then again, no mention was made of just who the "top" is—that is, who exactly is it, after all, that the Salvadoran National guard gets its training, its weapons and ultimately its orders from. But this is all irrelevant—after all, isn't it the U.S. government that has "pressured" the "independent" Salvadoran junta (who have been "foot-dragging" according to *Time* magazine) to "solve" this case?

Come now, Mr. Imperialist, surely you can do better than this. Do you really expect that people will forget just who it is that calls the shots—literally—in El Salvador? Do you think we have forgotten your State Department spokesman's initial reaction to this U.S.-sponsored hit job, which followed by a week the murder of top leaders of the opposition coalition Democratic Revolutionary Front—"We deplore violence once again," with just the slightest smile showing through the ever-so-mild crocodile tears? Do you really think we have forgotten that it was only after a huge outcry from many quarters, especially from Catholics in the U.S., that you publicly declared your "horror" at the result of your orders, and announced the "suspension" of military aid to the junta—a so-called "suspension" which *officially* lasted all of four weeks and had no effect on U.S. arms shipments to El Salvador? Do you really think that no one is going to see through this cheap propaganda ploy meant to whitewash

the exposure of you—your puppet junta's—brutal butchery?

Of course, this new "revelation" will undoubtedly satisfy the bourgeois liberals in the U.S. congress, whose immediate tasks will be to spread that satisfaction throughout the U.S., especially among those high-ranking Catholic church officials whose parishioners have been making all this fuss about

U.S. support for the fascist junta. But just in case there are some missionaries somewhere who might get the idea that the original message of the nuns' murder no longer stands, the U.S. press has hastened to include "disclaimers" about the possibility of actually prosecuting *anyone* for the crime. For example, the above-mentioned *Washington Post* article includes the following:

"But even if the government succeeds in linking . . . (the two guardsmen) to the crime based on the FBI's technical report, that evidence may not be sufficient to convict them under Salvadoran law. The judicial system here, as one analyst put it, requires 'practically eyewitnesses in broad daylight at high noon' to obtain a conviction. And while

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The June, 1981 issue of *Life* magazine contains a photo spread of measures being taken to fortify the U.S. embassy in El Salvador. It provides yet another example of the situation the U.S. finds itself in today. As *Life* puts it, "A diplomatic post in El Salvador used to be a pleasure. Today, staffers live in a virtual state of siege . . . Those who work inside the embassy draw whatever comfort they can from the manned checkpoints, surveillance cameras, concrete blast walls, steel doors and bulletproof glass that surround them. But none can ignore the continual threat from the streets . . ." (Left) Sandbagged post on top of embassy roof. (Above) Staff training to use gas masks.

War and Revolution— From the Horse's Mouth

In a tape released shortly before May 1, 1981 Bob Avakian said, in part, "When we're talking about crisis and war, we're not talking about it to hear ourselves talk; we're not just bullshitting; we're not just saying it because it sounds like something heavy. We have to deal with the situation the way it really is. We have to recognize clearly what these motherfuckers have in store for us: the imperialists that run this country and their kind throughout the world, including especially their rivals in the Soviet Union, and the way the two of them are in fact getting ready and making active preparations to drag the whole world into World War 3, with all the nukes and everything else that they're getting ready to unleash to see which one of them can come out on top and loot and plunder most of the world and make themselves the big 'boss' throughout the whole scene. Now

there's no way that we can run away and hide from this, but on the other hand if we think about it, if we get into it, if we analyze it more deeply, there's no way that we should want to or no way we need to, because this doesn't show their strength. In the final analysis, it shows their weakness. It shows that, in fact, the crisis we're talking about is deep, that it is not just bringing more suffering for us and for people like us, the oppressed and exploited and degraded people throughout the world who suffer under this system every day; but it also is pushing them to the limit, it's also stretching them to the limit, it's also bringing them to a situation where they're a lot more vulnerable than they are many times, day in and day out, even year in and year out. In other words, it's heightening all the contradictions of their system, with all the madness we have to live under every

day. And in this sense it is also preparing the stage for far greater opportunities to get rid of this whole system with all of its madness, once and for all, or at least to make tremendous strides toward doing that on a whole world scale, and including, very possibly, the chance to actually do them in right in this country, to get rid of their system right in the U.S. itself."

Those who think that the above analysis is "just rhetoric" should take note of the fact that the U.S. bourgeoisie doesn't think so. In fact, that noted "revolutionary" rag, the *Sunday New York Times Magazine*, is downright uptight over these developments. Consider the opening and closing paragraph of two seemingly unrelated articles in their May 24 edition. First, a major cover-story on the Philippines begins, "Marxists would say that the 'objective conditions' for revolution ex-

ist in abundance in the Philippines. The country's leader . . . and his relatives and friends flaunt their great wealth while the gap between them and the vast majority of the impoverished grows. Many bishops, priests and nuns in this profoundly Roman Catholic nation of 4.7 million people denounce the regime and are sympathetic to its opponents; the bulk of the politically aware elite is openly disaffected, and scattered groups of insurgents have tied down much of the armed forces in prolonged combat."

Rather an ominous opening paragraph for a journal dedicated to creating public opinion for the maintenance and expansion of U.S. imperialism, isn't it? Furthermore, their much-vaunted concern for the "objective conditions" of the Philippines is directly related to another little con-

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TESTIMONY ON POLITICAL PERSECUTION

Below is further testimony on political repression and Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France.

Long Walk

April 30, 1981

My name is Susu Jeffrey; I am a poet, I have three published poetry collections, I co-edited an anthology of Boston poets published by the Boston Mayor's Office on Cultural Affairs, I have three college degrees, and am a former Assistant Professor of English at Wright State University in Dayton, Ohio.

I participated on The Long Walk for Survival, an American Indian Movement (AIM) continental walk "for the survival of Mother Earth and all that grows or casts a shadow upon her," from June 1 to July 5, 1980. The Long Walk For Survival was nominated for the 1980 Nobel Peace Prize. On The Walk I spoke to the press and my name, opinions, and quotations appeared in at least three newspapers in Nevada and Arizona. Previous to The Long Walk For Survival, I was involved in several non-violent, anti-nuclear, civil disobedience arrests.

On July 10, 1980, five San Francisco policemen entered my one-bedroom apartment, with a search warrant, and arrested me for drug violations, including one phenobarbital pill and three wholes and three halves of codeine pills. I have never taken, purchased, or held phenobarbital, a sleeping pill. I have prescription codeine headache medicine. My bail was \$12,500 for the two pill felonies, a misdemeanor marijuana charge, and three other felony charges which were later dropped.

After I left the San Francisco jail, as I was putting my front door key in the lock, on July 11, about 10:30 p.m., I was mugged. I suffered possible brain damage (bruised pituitary), a broken nose, black eye, cut upper lip inside my mouth, and my glasses were destroyed. The brain damage, if true, was temporary.

I believe the coincidence of being on The Long Walk For Survival, getting arrested, and being mugged, to be a personal example of legal repression in the United States. I have established credentials as a pacifist, a non-violent person and advocate. I have contacted Amnesty International about my case.

I am not a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party. I have seen, but never spoken to Bob Avakian. I am writing this testimony for three reasons: 1) to support Bob Avakian in his attempt to remain free and alive, 2) to document my case on the advice of Amnesty International, and 3) to add to the growing evidence of political repression of U.S. citizens by government authorities inside this country. In the U.S.A., political activists are charged with criminal violations. Apparently I violated the unwritten freedom of speech limitations.

Susu Jeffrey

Pontiac Brothers Case

Testimony in Support of Bob Avakian's Demand for Political Refugee Status

My name is XX, I am XXX's sister, one of the Pontiac Brothers that up to May 9th were facing the death penalty for allegedly killing three prison guards at the Pontiac Prison rebellion of July 22, 1978. I do feel there is repression in the prisons simply because of the different things I have been through. Even though my brother was found not guilty, we don't know right now where they are going to send him.

I really fear for his life myself. I really fear that they are either going to put dope on him or try to pin him down

with shanks (weapons) or knives and other things they try to plant on people. His life would be in danger because they know what he represents. I've been out there, not only at Cook County Jail and I had to wait to see him. One time they would not tell me he was sick, they just kept me waiting. And I later found out he was at Cermak Hospital all that time. The family was not notified that he was ill. Another time in Pontiac Prison we had found out they had operated on his leg and as a form of punishment they left the wound open and they wouldn't give him any kind of medication to ease his pain and prevent infection.

This repression comes down not only on the prisoners but on his family too. The first time my mother was searched, they made her stand over a can to be searched. That was deep. Just making her squat over a can to go to court. Not to go visit, just to be allowed into the courtroom. They searched her like that (she didn't have a prison record or anything, just for being a mother of one of the Pontiac prisoners on trial).

I feel this is torture. It's a way where-as you really can't do anything about the torturing. I have talked to a few Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and a few white guys in the prisons and they said, as long as we're fighting among ourselves, that's O.K. with the authorities. But when we start to make friends or keep peace, that's when the guards start doing something.

I believe they would kill a political leader, a revolutionary. They would do

it in a certain way, they wouldn't openly kill him. First thing they would get the word around to the other prisoners that he is either a tattletale (informant) or involved in a conspiracy or they would lie about the crimes that he actually committed. Once the word gets out, and I have heard this myself, that once the guards lie and say that you did something you didn't do, that would create hatred among the other prisoners. That's how they start something and have someone bumped off (killed) and it would never be known who did it.

It's been a terrible experience, I've experienced a hell of a lot. Prison society stinks, I said that and I'll say it again. The whole system to me is messed up. Those are my views on it.

Knife-Men

XX

The May 1, 1980, demonstration in downtown Los Angeles, led by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) had just taken place and I was leaving the area in one of the trucks that displayed the International Workers' Day slogans. Immediately in front of my vehicle was the lead truck with the RCP flag at its head and a large canvas portrait of Bob Avakian hanging on its left side. It was on this side that two commercial size buses marked "Los Angeles County Sheriff" accompanied us thru traffic. As we approached a red light, the bus traveling parallel to the lead truck, in a concise—almost simultaneous move, swerved toward the truck

coming to a halt about a foot away, a window near the rear went down, a uniformed arm shot out—knife in hand—and slit the painted throat of Bob Avakian. This was followed with cheers from both buses by those whose duty it is to "serve and protect"...serve and protect the political, ideological and economical domination of the U.S. ruling class over the masses of people within this country...that Bob Avakian concentrates and illuminates the future for a world free of this domination has everything to do with the public opinion created among these watchdogs that led to their plotting and cries of relief at the symbolic demise of this revolutionary leader. For the United Nations High Commission to claim that the political origin of the obvious persecution of Bob Avakian is questionable and to deny the status of political refugee on that basis is absurd. But the progressive and revolutionary peoples of the world are not laughing. Clinging to this transparent shit about provisions of the Geneva Convention and the rejection of the RCP Chairman's demand—which would amount to nothing short of an attempt to offer up to the U.S. imperialists, the opportunity to transform the symbolic political assassination that took place in Los Angeles into a reality—will not be tolerated! Reverse the decision to reject Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France!

XXX

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NEW TAPE:

"Wherever people rise up in rebellion, raise up the red flag! That's the flag that the imperialists in this country and throughout the world hate, the thing, the symbol that they most fear to see raised in the hands of the oppressed because it means that we're rising up with our heads up; we're rising up with our eyes really cast to the far horizon; we're becoming politically conscious; we know what our interests are, that they lie with the international proletariat in its struggle for communism throughout the world..."

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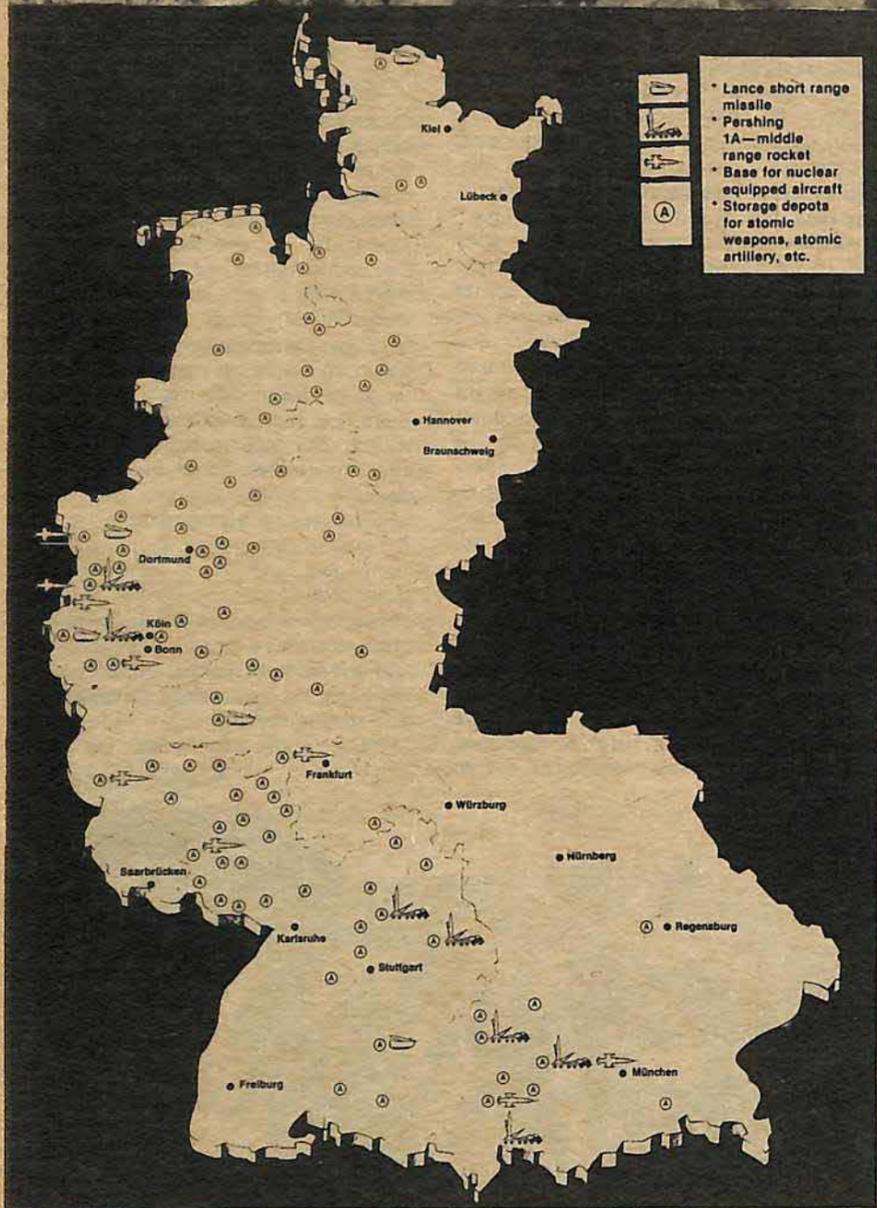
Bob Avakian Speaks on May First, 1981



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



U.S./NATO Nuclear Forest in West Germany



Lance short range missile

couple of pages and you find a large map marking the positions of the NATO atomic weapons based in West Germany. Symbols designate the medium-range Pershing missiles, the short-range Lances, artillery capable of firing battlefield nukes, as well as the bases of NATO's nuclear-armed aircraft and West Germany's network of bunkers storing atomic weapons.

According to the Stockholm Peace Institute, which *Stern* cites, the U.S. and its NATO allies have 10,000 nuclear weapons in Europe, 6,000 in West Germany. The destructive capacity of the nuclear warheads on the Pershing and Lance missiles presently stationed there alone is equal to that of *all* the bombs and artillery shells used by all combatants in World War 2. (And these figures listed don't even include the nuclear missiles on the U.S. Poseidon subs hovering off the coast of Europe and the several hundred U.S. and British nuclear-armed bombers based in Britain and on the carriers of the U.S. Mediterranean Fleet.) As one example of what a military arsenal West Germany is today, when severe flooding took place earlier this year in an area close to the border with East Germany, the papers and newscasters had to broadcast an alert for "floating land mines"! In short, the U.S. and its imperialist allies in Europe are armed to the teeth with nukes, especially in West Germany, which must be fortified massively, and at breakneck speed, as it is almost certain to be on the front lines of World War 3.

After describing the nuclear forces that are *already* stationed in W. Germany, *Stern* moves on to inform its readers that even more, and bigger, U.S. nukes are destined for the forests of West Germany in the next few years. Here *Stern* is referring to the decision of

NATO's defense ministers in late 1979 to accept a U.S. plan to "modernize" NATO's medium-range missiles by stationing 108 of the more advanced Pershing II missiles and 464 U.S. cruise missiles in five West European countries. The first are due to arrive in 1983, with the last due to be delivered by the summer of 1988 (though the way things are going in the world today, these are likely to be in place—and possibly used—before then if revolution does not prevent world war). Of these, all 108 of the large Pershing IIs and 160 of the smaller but more accurate cruise missiles would end up in the Federal Republic.

The U.S. has claimed all along that these missiles are only a "response" to the Soviet deployment of its SS-20 mobile missiles throughout Eastern Europe and the western military districts of the USSR, so as to "restore the balance of power" and "maintain peace" in Europe. The Soviets, of course, have used the same imperialist gangster arguments to justify their deployment so far of more than 200 SS-20s. With a range of 4,500 kilometers (3,000 miles), the SS-20 is capable of hitting anywhere in Western Europe. Clearly what is going on is not a "balancing of forces" in the interests of "peace" in Europe or anywhere else, but rather an all-out arms race to prepare for the impending global imperialist bloodbath.

This rival missile buildup in Europe is a very sharp indication of just that. The new Pershings and cruise missiles that are slated to be stationed in West Germany (and in Italy, Britain, Belgium and Holland as well) are not only able to hit Warsaw Pact forces in the European theatre, but can reach deep into the USSR itself, including the Soviets'

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"West Germany already has the highest concentration of atomic weapons of any place on earth...indeed without exaggeration, if one were to mark the map between the North Sea and the Swiss border with a red dot for every atomic weapons depot command center and atomic armed unit, West Germany would look like a kid with measles."

This is taken from the feature article

in a recent issue of *Stern*, the largest mass circulation magazine in West Germany. Stretching across the front cover of the magazine is a picture of a nuclear-armed Pershing missile being raised into firing position. The article itself, titled "The Hidden Atomic Force in West Germany," starts out directly under the picture of the tip of a U.S. Lance missile ominously protruding from a pine forest...somewhere in the Federal Republic of Germany. Turn a

News Item

File this little tidbit under the category of Poetic Justice. The May 24 issue of the *New York Times* reports on the untimely death of one Boris Sagal, 58, a movie director of the rabid imperialist kind. Some may recall the name. One of Mr. Sagal's recent screen credits is the TV mini-series "Masada" which was nothing more than a blatant imperialist propaganda piece designed to rally support for their Israeli Zionist junior partners in the plunder of the Middle East. This none too subtle piece, which focused on an ancient bat-

tle against the Romans at Masada, began and ended with the Israeli army climbing up Masada and planting the Israeli flag as a culmination of the "historic Zionist quest" to claim Palestine as theirs, to rule as they wish. As the imperialist myth goes, the destiny and highest purpose of the Jewish people has been to take over Palestine—robbing, raping and pillaging anyone and anything standing in their path, especially the Palestinian people. Mr. Sagal did his best, such as it was, to further the reactionary notion

that whatever crimes the Zionists commit in league with the U.S. is historically justified by the fact that Jews have been victimized and persecuted.

But there is more. Another of Sagal's screen credits was the TV movie "Ike." Remember that one? Now there was a real classic filled with the most hokey reaction surpassed only by its reaching new heights in boring the audience to tears. If they haven't already, the tranquilizer companies should seriously consider suing the movie's producers for loss of revenue and a sizable

amount for punitive damages too. This film was a real winner, along with others Sagal directed, such as "Twilight of Honor," and "The Thousand Plane Raid." And his latest project was in the same vein. He had just begun filming "World War III" starring Rock Hudson and David Soul (of "Starsky and Hutch" fame). Unfortunately, on the third day of filming, Mr. Sagal was struck by a helicopter blade in the head and shoulder and died soon after. □

The First Victim of World War 3

Dazhai: From Revolutionary Model to Revisionist Mess

"In agriculture, learn from Dazhai (Tachai)!" This was a famous rallying call issued by Mao Tsetung in 1964 and spread throughout China during the Cultural Revolution. Hundreds of millions of peasants took up this call to learn from the experience of this 450-member agricultural brigade in waging class struggle against the bourgeoisie and transforming the rocky, barren hills into a thriving community. Indeed, Dazhai came to be known worldwide as an advanced model of socialist revolution and socialist construction in the countryside. So it's no big mystery why the present revisionist rulers made such a big fuss over Dazhai's current state in the April 15th issue of the official *People's Daily*—a prominent front-page article entitled "Xiyang County (where Dazhai is located—RW) has truly begun to prosper and live up"; a front-page commentary entitled "Happy To See Dazhai, Xiyang Taking a New Step"; and finally on the second page, an account of a reporter's visit to Dazhai. Exactly because Dazhai is so well known for its revolutionary achievements, its degeneration today brings out the sharp contrast between the socialist and capitalist road in agriculture.

What are these "new steps" that are making Dazhai so "prosperous and lively"? According to the *People's Daily*, 1,084 production teams (each team consisting of about 30 households), or almost 87% of the total in Xiyang County, are now operating under the "system of fixed responsibilities in production." Under the system, which can take various specific forms, contracts are drawn up with certain numbers of peasants (several households, individuals, or a single household) for fixed quotas. Payment is given according to output, with extra pay for production above quota and penalty for failure to reach it. The crudest form of the "system of responsibility," the "fixing of quotas by household" (part of the infamous "sanzi yibao" pushed in the early '60s by revisionist Liu Shaoqi to undermine the collective economy), is now being applied to 192 households in the most economically backward regions of the county. Sideline production, private plots and free markets, all restricted by the revolutionaries in order to promote collective economy, are now being revived in full force. (The revolutionaries had taken the line that while such things could not yet be totally eliminated, they should be restricted step by step.) Specialized tasks such as managing fruit orchards, vegetable fields, and flour mills, raising pigs and so forth are contracted out to those with special skills. In short, it all boils down to the promotion of naked self-interest and self-enrichment as the highest goal. "Produce, produce, produce," is the watchword, and those who can claw their way to the top, by backstabbing their neighbors if necessary, are promised material rewards. For the peasantry as a whole, it means a return to the days when they were driven like workhorses for the profit of a few, now particularly a few top party bureaucrats.

The account of a reporter's visit to Dazhai in the April 15th *People's Daily* attempts to justify all this by using the well-worn revisionist methods of focusing in on the most backward sentiments among the masses. Upon arriving in Dazhai, the reporter sees that the fields are being worked by small groups of two or three. He finds one peasant who

tells him that the role of everybody working together in cooperation "looked good for taking movies, but this way is better for working!" One wonders where this backward fool was when the peasants of Dazhai, working as one, literally changed the face of the countryside by removing hills, filling in gullies, and creating productive fields where there once was only barren rock, in the process raising total annual grain output by 278% and total income by 932% from 1953 to 1973. Later, the same peasant that the reporter just happens to stumble on again says he is glad that the old days are gone, "when members couldn't be sure if they would have to undergo some criticism in the evening after working hard in the fields the whole day, so that one became jittery and even felt guilty for playing chess or poker." Judging from the vicious statements coming out of his mouth, this peasant faced not a few mass criticisms, and not for playing chess or poker, but for actively pursuing a bourgeois line.

Class Polarization

Of course these blatant efforts at restoring capitalist relations in the countryside have been going on for some time under revisionist rule. Dazhai itself is by no means an advanced model for the revisionists in the application of their "system of responsibility." The dismantling of socialist agriculture has led to, for one thing, the marked resurgence of a class of rich peasants in the countryside at the expense of the masses of peasants. This kind of class polarization is a necessary step for the revisionists in

going further down the capitalist road, and not only do they make hardly any attempts to justify it, such inequalities in fact are pointed to as the way to the future. An article in the January '81 issue of the journal *Economic Studies* put out by the revisionists cites one study which found that after implementing the policy of "fixing output quotas by the household," per capita income differences between richer and poorer households increased significantly, with some earning 2 to 3 times as much as others, some 5 to 6 times, and in a few cases even more. The article continues in a matter-of-fact tone that, "This kind of difference is normal in the socialist stage, and is unavoidable. This is a difference in the level of wealth, and is not the same as polarization arising out of exploitative relations."

One recent *Beijing Review* article titled "Let Some Localities and Peasants Prosper First" (!) gives some concrete examples of the changes in class relations in the countryside. One peasant, whose household was the only well-to-do one in the village before liberation, was designated as a rich peasant during the land reform in 1950. In 1979, after the revisionist coup, the designation was removed "in view of his good behavior." By 1980, he had earned enough to become one of the top rich peasants again. A poor peasant who was disgruntled at this chain of events was criticized for his "ultra-left thinking" which was characterized as "to be poor is to be revolutionary and to prosper will make one revisionist." In another case, the income of the secretary of the party branch in a certain brigade is now tied directly to how well the brigade as a whole does in production. If the target is surpassed, he receives the wage equivalent to the strongest laborer in the brigade, plus a bonus. In 1980, the secretary earned 2,280 yuan. According to the revisionists' own statistics, the average per capita net peasant income nationwide in 1979 was about 160 yuan. Of course, such disparities are "normal in the socialist stage." This reborn rich peasant and the party secretary are not isolated examples but serve as advanced models for capitalist relations in agriculture. What can be seen here is the emergence of a new rural bourgeoisie, composed of farm managers (often

party leaders), technocrats and rich peasants, who act as sort of regional overlords for the top revisionists in power.

"The system of responsibility," with its raising the god of profit on the altar and the widening of inequalities, is nothing new—but the rehash of the poisonous capitalist road advocated by the likes of Liu Shaoqi from the early days of the People's Republic. This was directly opposed by Mao, whose line on the socialist road in agriculture was concentrated in the experience of Dazhai. For Mao, the fundamental lesson of Dazhai didn't come from any particular policies of the brigade nor even in the remarkable transformation of a desperately poor village into a highly productive one. Mao upheld Dazhai as a model of keeping class struggle against the bourgeoisie and the capitalist road first and foremost in mind. As a 1972 pamphlet on Dazhai put forward, "the fundamental experience of Dazhai... is that the poor and lower middle peasants and other commune members are even better grasping Mao Tsetung Thought and that peasants in their millions are consciously farming for revolution."

Bourgeois Right

A decisive question in the class struggle under socialism is the restriction of bourgeois right, the "birthmarks" of the old society existing within the non-exploitative socialist economic relations, such as the commodity system, inequality in distribution, collective ownership instead of ownership by the whole people, etc., etc. These resultant inequalities stand out particularly sharply in the countryside and between the countryside and the city. The existence of bourgeois right means that there is a spontaneous tendency, for instance, for production units in the countryside with better land, more machinery, stronger workers, and so forth to produce and accumulate more. Since the commodity system is still in operation, these units can grow richer, while those who start off with less favorable conditions fall behind. So, unrestricted and allowed to grow, bourgeois right will strengthen the bourgeoisie and lay the basis for its attempt to seize power and restore capitalism.

Carrying out Mao's line, party lead-

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Studying theory in the fields of Dazhai, in the late '60s.

"The Results of Six Months' Work"

Lenin on Who Paid for the Newspaper and Why

An urgent and integral part of sustaining distribution at new levels and broadening and deepening the influence of the Revolutionary Worker is strengthening financial support for the newspaper (as well as other publications). Aside from the obvious fact that the RW is not financed through advertisement, financial support for the paper from the masses of proletarians themselves is an important question of revolutionary principle. It is one reflection of whose paper this is and ultimately whose revolution it must be.

Our Party has consistently fought for this orientation and doing so has required going against a tradition actively fostered and practiced by revisionist organizations, like the "Communist" Party, USA (and their counterparts around the world) who generally give away their newspapers. And while we would agree that these revisionist papers are worthless rags, this is not the

reason these parties give them away. Neither is it simply a question of financial support they often receive in various forms from their revisionist godfather, the Soviet Union. This policy is a reflection of their bourgeois political outlook, their view of revolution. It reflects their contempt for the masses' ability to consciously grasp revolutionary theory and transform the world on that basis. Often their main "selling" point is that "it's free!", right in line with their meat-and-potatoes view of revolution: "How else could you get anyone to be interested in politics except for what value they will personally and immediately get out of it?" Our Party, with a totally opposite outlook on the revolutionary process and with the struggle for worldwide communism in mind, calls on class-conscious proletarians to financially support the Revolutionary Worker as one expression of their thirst for revolution-

ary politics, their desire to develop the revolutionary movement to transform the world.

We are reprinting below excerpts from Lenin's article, "The Results of Six Months' Work," in which he carefully measures and analyzes the political significance of the workers' contributions to the founding of the Bolshevik daily newspaper Pravda in St. Petersburg in 1912. In other sections of the same article he measures the influence of the Bolsheviks' press among the workers compared to the influence of other political forces. Lenin here was making a particular, and important, political point by measuring the support for the workers' newspaper among the workers themselves. The Bolsheviks, of course, also built support for their Party's activities, including financial support, from among other classes and strata sympathetic to the revolution.

While Lenin's conditions then were

different in many ways from our own, what above all stands out is that there is a great deal to learn from Lenin's analysis and the same burning need to make giant strides in financially supporting the RW, for this would represent further advances in the class-conscious proletarians' preparations for revolution. There have been important recent advances to build on—including that already in some places many proletarians now contribute \$1.00 (and more) for their copy of the paper. Class-conscious proletarians need to develop this into a widespread and growing movement of regular contributions to the support of the RW, not only to print it every week, but to help expand its distribution, both in "old" and new areas, to support its ability to improve the scope of its exposures, and to further prepare for the not-so-distant future as various attacks on the Party and its press intensify.

THE RESULTS OF SIX MONTHS' WORK

By founding a workers' daily newspaper, the workers of St. Petersburg have accomplished a major feat, one that without exaggeration can be called historic. The workers' democratic movement has rallied together and consolidated itself in incredibly difficult conditions. Of course, it is not possible to talk of the stability of the workers' democratic press in our country. Everyone knows very well the persecution to which working-class newspapers are subjected.

For all that, the founding of *Pravda* is an outstanding proof of the political consciousness, energy and unity of the Russian workers.

It is useful to look back and note some results of the six months' work of the Russian workers for founding a press of their own. Since January of this year the interest shown by working-class circles of St. Petersburg in their press has become fully evident and a number of articles dealing with a workers' daily has appeared in newspapers of all shades that come into contact with the word of labour.

I

Data on who founded a daily working-class press in Russia and how it was founded are, fortunately, available in a comparatively full form. They are the data on the collection of funds for a workers' daily newspaper.

Let us begin with the funds with which *Pravda* was brought into being. We have the accounts of *Zvezda*, *Nevskaya Zvezda* and *Pravda* for the period from January 1 to June 30, or exactly six months. Publicity ensured the absolute accuracy of the accounts, accidental errors being corrected immediately on indications from those concerned.

What is of the greatest importance and interest to us is not the sum total of the funds collected, but the composition of the givers. When, for example, *Nevskaya Zvezda* No. 3 gave the total contributions for a workers' daily newspaper as 4,288 rubles 84 kopeks (from January to May 5, exclusive of the donations which from April 22, the day when *Pravda* first appeared, we were at once prompted to ask: what was the role which the workers themselves and groups of workers played in collecting this sum? Does it consist of large donations by sympathisers? Or did the workers themselves show in this case a personal and active concern for the working-class press and make up a large sum out of donations from a large number of workers' groups?

From the point of view of the initia-

tive and energy of the workers themselves, it is much more important to have 100 rubles collected by, say, 30 groups of workers than 1,000 rubles collected by some dozens of "sympathisers". A newspaper founded on the basis of five-kopek pieces collected by small factory circles of workers is a far more dependable, solid and serious undertaking (both financially and, most important of all, from the standpoint of the development of the workers' democratic movement) than a newspaper founded with tens and hundreds of rubles contributed by sympathising intellectuals.

To obtain exact data on this fundamental and most important matter, we have performed the following operation with regard to the figures on collections published in the three newspapers mentioned. We have singled out only the donations stated to have been made by groups of factory or office workers.

What we are interested in at the moment is the contributions made by the workers themselves—moreover, not by individual ones, who may have come across a collector by chance, not being linked with him ideologically, i.e., in terms of their views and convictions; we mean groups of workers, who must no doubt have discussed beforehand whether they should donate any money, whom they should give it to and for what purpose.

Each report by *Zvezda*, *Nevskaya Zvezda* or *Pravda* which indicated that the money contributed for a workers' daily came from a group of factory or office workers, we assumed to be a group contribution by the workers themselves.

How many such group contributions by workers were there in the first half of 1912?

Five hundred and four group contributions!

More than five hundred times, groups of workers made contributions for the founding and maintenance of their paper, either donating what they had earned in one day, or making a single contribution, or contributing repeatedly from time to time. In addition to individual workers and sympathisers, 504 groups of workers took a most active part in founding their newspaper. This figure is an unquestionable indication that a deep and conscious interest in a workers' newspaper has been aroused among the mass of the workers—and not just in any workers' paper, but in a workers' democratic paper. Since the masses are so politically conscious and active, no difficulties or obstacles can frighten us. There are not, and cannot be, difficulties or obstacles which the political consciousness, activity and interest of the mass of the workers would be unable to overcome in some way or another.

Those 504 group contributions break

down by months as follows:

January 1912.....	14
February.....	18
March.....	76
April.....	227
May.....	135
June.....	34

Six-month total..... 504

This little table makes clear, incidentally, the great importance of April and May as a period of radical change. From darkness to light, from passivity to activity, from action by individuals to action by the masses.

In January and February group contributions by the workers were as yet quite insignificant. Obviously, the activity was only just beginning. March showed a noticeable and substantial rise. Seventy-six group contributions by

workers in one month—this indicates at all events a serious movement among the workers, a tenacious effort by the masses to have their way at all costs, undeterred by having to make donations. This speaks of the workers' deep confidence in their own strength and in the undertaking as a whole, in the trend of the projected newspaper, and so on. In March there was as yet no workers' daily, which means that groups of workers were collecting money and giving it to *Zvezda*, as it were, on credit.

April brought an enormous leap that decided the matter. Two hundred and twenty-seven group contributions by workers in one month, an average of over seven contributions a day! The dam had been broken, and the founding of a workers' daily paper was assured. Every group contribution means not merely the sum of five-kopek

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Can the hunger for revolutionary ideas be even greater than the hunger for bread? John Reed, in his book *10 Days That Shook The World* recounted:

"We came down to the front of the Twelfth Army, back of Riga, where gaunt and bootless men sickened in the mud of desperate trenches; and when they saw us they started up, with their pinched faces and the flesh showing blue through their torn clothing, demanding eagerly, 'Did you bring anything to read?'"

(above, soldiers reading revolutionary newspapers at the front)

Flames of Rage

from page 1

dangerous by these truly desperate overlords. And of course what has come through recently is accompanied by banal lies about "the senseless violence" and "a centuries-old religious conflict" and so forth—anything to obscure that what is really going on is a political struggle to kick the British imperialists out of Northern Ireland. It is this fact, which by now is so obviously apparent to all, which the imperialists in their desperate frenzy will not and cannot even admit for fear of the consequences. And right there, we can see the indelible mark of a class that is not only desperate but doomed—fearing even to acknowledge the fact that those rising up in arms against them are quite different from "common criminals," "religious extremists," etc.

Here you have a huge section of the population of Northern Ireland literally up in arms against the British, and all British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher can muster is an endless repetition of belchings, "Crime is crime is crime, and murder is murder is murder." The situation in Northern Ireland is called, "the Troubles" and of course the uprisings are termed yet another example of "international terrorism" with the press reporting on, "the Soviet-made Palestinian-tested Libyan supplied rocket launchers used by the Provisional Irish Republican Army." All this imperialist yapping only provides further confirmation of the truth that (forgive us, Mrs. Thatcher), "Imperialism is imperialism is imperialism" and it will never change its nature. Just as Israel, for example, refuses to this day to even recognize the existence of the Palestinian people that they have slaughtered, tortured, and moved off their land; just as the U.S. refuses to recognize the anti-colonial nature of the Puerto Rican struggle and terms the struggle in El Salvador, as "a clash between the extreme right and the extreme left," etc., so do the British term the Irish struggle "sectarian violence," etc. Why those British troops are over there torturing and murdering in order to keep the peace and quell a disturbance among rowdy and rebellious British citizens. After all the country is ruled by the British Parliament and the British Prime Minister and economically dominated by Britain—it's just part of Britain, so they lie, just like all British possessions past and present. All those people in places like India, Burma, British colonies in Africa and so forth were simply rowdy and rebellious British citizens too, and their uprisings mere criminal civil disturbances in the suburbs of the empire!

There are in fact very real reasons why the British with the complete agreement and cooperation of the U.S., absolutely refuse to grant the Irish prisoners in Long Kesh and Armagh political prisoner status. Here we quote from a very political editorial about the "criminals in Northern Ireland" in the May 20 *New York Times* entitled, "Of Britain and Ireland":

"The first blurred area is the actual demands of the hunger strikers. It is frequently argued that they are not seeking political or prisoner-of-war status but simply five points relating to prison conditions, and that a little flexibility on these points by Britain would solve the problem.

"But in essence the five points would constitute prisoner-of-war status. . . .

"The campaign for the points, therefore, is not a campaign for improved prison conditions but for a specific goal of political status. No one starves himself to death for the right to wear his own clothes. . . .

"The second blurred area is the real significance of political status. . . .

"The granting of such status to convicted IRA prisoners would greatly enhance the IRA's claim that it is waging a war against Britain and that as an organization it has some sort of historic or inherent legitimacy."

Clearly, any act which would

legitimize the struggle in Northern Ireland in any way; any act which would in any way admit that there is a very real political struggle to oust Britain from Ireland could have disastrous implications in the face of a rapidly deteriorating world situation for the imperialists of all stripes. Such an act would undoubtedly unleash even further struggle in Northern Ireland and among others struggling against the Western imperialists. The British bourgeoisie is perched precariously upon the horns of a dilemma. It is a rotting and decaying imperialist power, battered one week by rebellion right on the doorstep of London, in Brixton, and rocked the next, by street-fighting youths tearing up Northern Ireland. And the situation in Northern Ireland is beginning to spill into the Republic of Ireland to the south, as evidenced by the near sacking of the British Embassy in Dublin a few weeks ago. Throw in the demonstrations that exposed British imperialism's crimes in Northern Ireland, from Athens to San Francisco to London itself, and the picture is not a rosy one at all. In fact, every Western European imperialist power, and the U.S. too, is wringing its hands in the face of the revolts of the youth in West Germany, Switzerland, England, and Ireland. They are openly praying that the rebellion doesn't spread to even larger sections of the people who are increasingly dissatisfied with living under their rule.

The significance of this struggle is amply demonstrated by the fact that it is reported that U.S. Green Berets are participating in the fighting in Northern Ireland in order to gain experience in dealing with urban street warfare which they are certain to have to deal with themselves, including in the U.S. itself. They are well aware of the great upheavals that are ahead that could very well threaten their very existence as the rulers and oppressors of tens of millions worldwide.

The British have not kept tens of thousands of their troops in Northern Ireland for 12 years and spent \$2 billion of their national treasury per year to keep in control there for nothing. And Ireland has real strategic and military significance (not to mention economic) for them too. It is vital in protecting the British western flank and they have been desperately trying to get Ireland to join NATO, making it more of an integral part of its military machine. This aspect of their necessity to hold onto

Ireland is revealed in a recent editorial in the British magazine, *The Economist*, which proposes a sham political settlement of the Northern Ireland "troubles" in the form of a plan to re-unify Northern Ireland and the Republic in the south. Three points among others stand out in this editorial:

"Ireland to join NATO. Britain cannot leave its western flank entirely exposed. Ireland would have to assume defense responsibilities for the whole island (of Ireland) and would probably combine them with a defense pact with Britain.

"Policing the North to be done either by a renamed Royal Ulster Constabulary (what's in a name, when the purpose of suppressing the Catholic minority remains the same—RW) . . . or by a joint North-South police force.

"The EEC (European Economic Community, popularly called the Common Market—RW) to contribute large economic aid, probably over and above the regular payments that North and South would be entitled to as members—a fair price for helping to heal its greatest area of instability. . . ."

But even a sham settlement such as this one is considered too much of a risk at this time by most of the British and U.S. imperialists. Implicit in such an agreement would be at least the formal recognition of a legitimate political struggle in Northern Ireland. The results could be quite unpredictable and very well only give impetus to even further revolts against the empire.

The watchword among the imperialists is hold on to everything they can, and maneuver like hell to try to cool things out. Better to continue denying that the struggle in Northern Ireland even exists. For it is an undisputed truth that for imperialism, in its advanced state of crisis and decay, a shock or jolt in one part of its domain can throw many other things up for grabs.

And despite the twists and turns that the struggle in Northern Ireland is bound to take, despite its ebbs and flows in intensity, and despite the wild and desperate gyrations and maneuverings of the imperialists, there is one lesson that once again the decadent overlords are learning. It is written ominously on the graffiti-filled walls of Northern Ireland, a grim herald of the future for the imperialist vampires the world over—"Beware A Risen People!"



Etching portraying early days of British colonialism—entitled "Practical Christianity", it shows black overseers whipping black slaves under the beaming approval of an English lady. Richard Newton, the artist, was only 15 when he drew it. He was arrested during the 1793-94 "sedition" roundup and was sent to Newgate Prison along with his publisher, William Holland. He died at age 21.

Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister, says, in this, the class-conscious, different view of who are the



1857—Indian troops of the Bengal army rebellion was ruthlessly suppressed. An estimated over 2,000 Indians bayoneted by British soldiers, executed by lashing them to the fronts



the Minister of Britain and chief executioner of Irish in that context, "Criminals must be punished." With the proletarians of the world fully agree, but with a different definition of criminals.



(Left) 1900, China—a captured Boxer (Chinese rebel) is about to be beheaded before an audience of imperialist troops. In addition to England, the U.S., France, Germany, Russia and Japan all had a hand in crushing the rebellion and exploiting the country.



British colonial forces attack Palestinian demonstrators in Jaffa in the late 1930s.



They rebelled against the British colonization of India. The above—the remains (ravaged by scavenger birds and animals) of British troops in one town alone. Below, captured rebels were of cannons which were then fired.



A British soldier in Aden (main city in South Yemen) in the 1960s.



A British soldier in Malaya displays a decapitated Malayan head.



CORRESPONDENCE

Red Flags in the Army

On Friday May 1st, deep inside the imperialist Army, USA the sights and sounds of May Day were quite imposing indeed. Two significant events occurred inside an important military base. As rebellious youth in Europe battled with the police of their imperialists, as Salvadorans liberated territory in the cities, and even as old man "jaundiced face" Reagan ate brunch recovering from his wounds, the Red Flag of proletarian internationalism was hoisted high, right in the face of the repressive military prison-like rule. Hundreds of combat-trained soldiers woke up on May First to a new dawn. They dressed and made their way in the early morning dew to the mess hall. But once outside, as the sun was rising in the East the color of the sky was different. It was bright, but the morning haze of a purple sky as the sun prepares to break through was not what they saw. Instead, high up in a giant tree, strategically placed was the bright Red Flag of the proletariat worldwide. To say the least, the impact and inspiration on many, many GIs was hard-hitting. As they walked with their eyes on the sky, with their eyes on the future, they discovered yet another surprise under their feet. Once again, strategically located, were scores of RW's, laying in wait, only needing the interaction with mankind to become yet another powerful force for world revolution. A victory for the international proletariat was scored by the conscious action of GIs who saw not only the need to put up the Red Flag but to also put forward the key weapon now in helping to tear down the stars and stripes and put the flag of the oppressed in command. May Day posters calling on people to Take History into Their Hands were put on every exit door

in one barracks. May Day 1981 among this section of the troops was quite imposing and full of rich lessons for us all.

Inspired by the May Day '81 tape by Bob Avakian, some soldier or soldiers of the imperialist army took their military training, took the expertise which the bourgeoisie had them trained for, and consciously put that skill to use in the interest of the proletariat worldwide. This was the orientation which made it possible and correct to scale high up that tree and hang the Red Flag. Understanding, as the original call for May Day reprinted both in the RW and in a leaflet put out, that what was needed this year was a leap, a conscious leap and training in proletarian internationalism, that this was what was necessary to advance the revolutionary movement—tactics and strategy were developed to insure that this would take place—the result was a tremendous victory. A battle of annihilation had been successfully fought and won. It is important to recognize, in fact, it is crucial to see that it was the conscious dynamic role of the troops themselves once armed with a political line which reflected the truth that carried May Day to victory in this so-called base area for imperialism.

Of course, while initially caught off guard, the brass was soon quick to respond. In a frenzy they called the troops into morning formation and hand picked those GIs they know to be loyal and solidly in the camp of the imperialists to police the area, meaning to pick up and get rid of every damn paper. The flag was taken down and troops in individual units were told that this shit would have to stop. Efforts to keep it quiet and to downplay the significance of what occurred were made, even as they launched an investigation and prepared to strike back. There were two

sentiments that filled the air as the troops stood in formation—the sentiments of liberation and the other of desperation and frenzied intimidation. But nothing the brass could do can change what occurred.

At the same time, about a mile away, on the walls of the barracks of yet another combat unit, the sights of May Day struck again. Someone threw a can of red paint all over the prison-like barracks directly across from battalion headquarters. There are unconfirmed reports that the Generals are sleeping less soundly trying to guess just how many revolutionary GIs they have in their ranks. The situation on the post where the red flag was raised continues to be very tense, as revolutionary-minded GIs function "normally" during the day, and at night out of sight and sound of the brass and military intelligence continue to discuss the significance of May Day.

Most recently, a perfect example of the two camps in society that are developing, and that May Day concentrated, occurred. During discussion among several GIs about the need to more broadly and deeply get the RW into GIs' hands—one of them jumped out as several were being drawn closer to the paper—"You'll get burned. You'll lose everything you have if you get caught with that paper. I put four years into the army, I have food, I have a good life—stay away from that paper." A GI quickly responded, "We don't have shit, and what this country stands for is shit." Then a sergeant walked in. Seeing what was going on he said, "What the hell is going on here." Two GIs responded, "We are reading this paper about ending oppression." "You better not," the sarge advised. "This guy and this paper is using you. This is the greatest country in the world. We have more than any-

one else, and this asshole has no business among you guys selling this shit, it is illegal." An RW distributor told the Black sergeant he was nothing but a Judas goat—a Black man who was helping the imperialists plunder and rape the oppressed worldwide, including the children of Atlanta, and all for a few crumbs. The response from the troops was a hearty right on, and enthusiasm. The sarge couldn't take it, he yelled, "This is all fucked up. This is bull shit." He was totally blown away that the enlisted men were on the offensive and right in his face—trampling on the red, white and blue and joining ranks with the international proletariat. The GI who was happy with the army complained that all this debate was ruining his TV show. The others told him if he didn't like it he should leave because they liked the paper and they were gonna read it and keep it. The sarge signaled to another guy—like call the MP's—he was dumbfounded. As the RW distributor began to leave one GI stood up in the sarge's face who was still saying "they are using you" and firmly said—"Look sarge—we are gonna read this paper—the goddamn army has been using me and if you don't like it you leave. I'll read this and if it's the truth I'll decide. So don't sit there and tell me what I'm gonna do and not do. I'll decide." It is clear that the fight for the troops is continuing in the wake of May Day and the advanced have much work to do, as do all class-conscious fighters. It is also clear that any reprisal on the part of the army is only going to serve as still a further outrage, yet still another exposure of imperialism, and even more must be seen as a sign of weakness and responded to by making further strides in getting out the *Revolutionary Worker* and also discussing more deeply other revolutionary litera-

More Bail, Higher Charges

Post May Day Retaliation in Atlanta

Stung by the powerful internationalist actions on May 1st in Atlanta, the authorities there have launched an intensified counter-attack against all those arrested on May Day. On May 19, 13 people who had been busted appeared in Municipal Court for preliminary hearings. Judges, in two different courtrooms, at hearing's end, promptly threw all but one of them back into jail.

Four people, who had been arrested at the Techwood Homes housing projects on May 1st, and then released on OR (own recognizance) that same day, were each placed under \$250 bond as they appeared in the courtroom on the 19th. Eight others, arrested at Techwood the evening of May Day (after many had joined in torching American flags) and bailed out by paying \$1,000 apiece, were now slapped with a new \$1,000 bond— forfeiting all of the money paid to the state earlier. (This is called "double-bonding," and at least technically, it has been illegal in Georgia for 19 years.) The only revolutionary to walk out of court on May 19 under the original bond, an already exorbitant \$5,200, was the man arrested the day before May First for throwing red paint all over the offices of the Task Force (the police outfit supposedly "investigating" the child murders in Atlanta). But he was informed before he left that his charges had been jacked up. Now he is facing a possible 12-year sentence on two counts of aggravated assault on a police officer, and two counts of felony destruction of property. All the cases were then bound over to the State Superior Court.

This outrageous attack was no spontaneous act by some stupid, hot-under-the-collar municipal judges. Clearly, a very high level political decision had been made to make it extremely difficult for these revolutionaries to be out on the streets and to push the stakes

higher for all the others who had stepped forward on May First. One week earlier, in a related case, one woman had been 10 minutes late for court. She was arrested on the spot and told by the judge that jail is where he wanted to keep her. This "small" incident was faithfully reported in the *Atlanta Constitution*, in obvious preparation for the next round of hearings. Another one of the May Day activists, who is also a member of the Techwood Homes Bat Patrols, was also arrested a week after May Day on a warrant conveniently held in reserve by police for the occasion. Threats against revolutionaries were widely circulated that week by the media mouths, as they quoted the words of one backward woman from Bowen Homes (site of the day care center explosion), who whined: "They are gonna get hurt..." and then went on to attack the May First actions there.

May 19 was no business-as-usual day at Atlanta police headquarters, where the Municipal Court is neatly tucked away on the second floor. While uniformed and plainclothes cops generally swarm the area, there was an over abundance that day. More than a few were seen sitting in the back of the courtroom pointing at particular revolutionaries. The bailiff in one courtroom threw two defendants and one of the attorneys out of the court for talking before the proceedings were even called into session.

In the first hearing of the four activists charged with assault on police and noise ordinance violations at Techwood, one of the arresting cops admitted that they had received no complaints. And all three cops who testified that day, fessed up that they had prior knowledge that some sort of activity was to take place on May First. In other words, police had massed at the scene waiting for the first opportunity to strike. But of course, this was

nothing more than a "criminal" case, as the judge was quick to remind everyone, sermonizing: "We can't try them on ideas they hold dear—that's the reason we have a good legal system so that we don't have to go by ideas..."

The next case before this judge was the man busted for dousing the Task Force office with red paint on the day before May Day. One Georgia Bureau of Investigation agent (GBI) had the gall to actually try to blame the revolutionary for hampering "investigations" into the child murders. "We can't put a value on the information that was destroyed in the phone bins from people who had called in..." he innocently proclaimed. Just how much the Task Force investigates was exposed by a Black man who had actually gone down there several weeks ago with what he thought was an important clue. As he related his information he noticed that the cop wasn't even taking any notes. When confronted, the cop pulled out a crumpled piece of paper from his pocket and began writing. The man left, disgusted, as so many hundreds of others in Atlanta are. Of course, "investigation" of the murders has never been the job of the Task Force which, instead, has played a key role in the general repressive clamp-down in Atlanta.

It was disgust and outrage that was concentrated in the red paint that dyed the lies of the Task Force for all to see and sent the rulers into a frenzy to exact revenge for this powerful exposure. This is why this man was singled out for more serious charges, and issued death threats from Morris Reading, who not only heads the Task Force but was in charge of the investigation of this brother.

Down the hall, in another courtroom, 8 others, arrested for "misuse of the national flag"—in reference to the

scores of stars and stripes that were reduced to ashes by the masses at Techwood—were having their day in court. Here, in Judge Brock's court, the politics were right out there on front street. "The defendants were in the area and the activity all day centered around May Day," a cop testified. "I was there to make sure that no laws were violated." When he was pressed by defense attorneys why he and others were out of uniform and without badges when they pounced on the activists, he blurted out: "Look, every individual knew who I was because they had been under investigation for some months."

As the judge gavelled the bail once again to \$1,000 and ordered the defendants taken away, the strains of the *Internationale* filtered back inside from the hallway where they were being led back to jail. The judge freaked. Finding them in contempt of court and nailing them with an additional 5 days, he shrieked: "It is obvious that you don't have any respect for this nation, even less for this court. That's your prerogative. But many people have died, were maimed, widowed, for the freedom you have the right to express." He then turned his foaming jowls in the direction of an older white man standing defiantly before him. "And that one, that pulled down the American flag and the state flag and raised that communist flag at the State Capitol. One of these days the people of this nation will wake up and deal with you!"

Indeed, given the powerful effect that May Day had across Atlanta, and given the immediate response to these latest attacks in the form of bail money raised and in other ways, it is quite clear that many people are being awakened. But not to your alarm, judge. □

ON MAY 1st

ture.

Reports have come in that the brass has busted one person, charging him with communist activity and distribution of communist material. He has been dropped in rank, fined, given extra duty and further threatened. The feeling is that others are under investigation and still more reprisals may come down.

Once again, the response to all this is to be to go broader and deeper—for the class-conscious GIs and others to break new ground and develop new creative ways to build organization centered around the *RW*, and to insure that the prison-like isolation of life in the military can be dealt a blow, and realize the ability of the *RW* to become a weapon in the arsenal of the troops.

What Lenin wrote in *What Is To Be Done?* about peasants marching off to war with clubs, in regards to the need to professionalize the organization of revolutionaries, definitely holds true in 1981. A quick and decisive leap needs to be made and can be made. Let the hearts of finance capital tremble—let the heart of the international proletariat skip a beat.

Long Live Revolutionary May Day—
Make Proletarian Internationalism a Living Force.

A former Vietnam Vet
turned Revolutionary

Puerto Rican Activist

This letter comes from a Puerto Rican woman in New York who was active in the '60s with the *Young Lords*, a revolutionary organization.

After thinking it over quite a bit, I decided to participate with the comrades from the RCP in the building of May Day 1981 here in New York City. I thought it over a lot, not because of any question of principle (because since the '60s I began to become conscious that this system in which we live in this country stands for backwardness, abuse and oppression for the majority of the people) but probably more to the point is the feeling of powerlessness and even cynicism which during the '70s stood out in many of us who started to become conscious and awaken to political life during the '60s.

But just like last year, May Day 1980, I couldn't help but be impressed and moved by the seriousness and infectious revolutionary fervor demonstrated by the comrades from the RCP in the

building for May Day 1981 here in New York City.

And this is how May Day 1981 dawned, bringing to my mind more sharply all the doubts and contradictions that had been troubling me for weeks, doubts about whether this effort was actually worth it or not.

And this is how I went to the garment center that morning, where from very early in the morning the co-conspirators of the *Revolutionary Worker* had been preparing themselves for the tasks and opportunities the day would bring. And something happened in me: suddenly I lost all fear and doubts and became infected with the revolutionary spirit that shined through the whole day. All of a sudden I found myself raising a RED flag once again and openly distributing the *Revolutionary Worker* in the streets, something I had refused to do since May 1980.

And as the day went on, I began to realize the work that the co-conspirators of the *Revolutionary Worker* had been carrying out for a year in this place where day after day our brothers and sisters enrich more and more with their sweat those monsters who control the means of production in the garment industry. Particularly important to me was the experience of meeting up with a number of Latin American brothers who work there, who openly proclaimed to be regular readers of the *Revolutionary Worker* (it couldn't be an accident that among them were many Central Americans, especially from El Salvador). And I couldn't help but realize that we can't always depend on dramatic experiences to assess the subtle effect, but not less powerful, that a weapon like the *Revolutionary Worker* can mean in the hands and minds of the masses in these times.

And I couldn't but have more confidence that these imperialist monsters, not just from the U.S. but also the Soviets, can be destroyed from the roots and in its place actually develop a real proletarian revolution pushing history forward once and for all.

Long live the building of an eternal
May Day!

Long live the international proletarian
revolution!

(translated from Spanish by the *RW*)

May 1st Invades Quiet Coast Town

"Guerrillas Occupy Community Center May First!" announced the commu-

nity newsletter that was passed out in this little town of about 1,200 on a beautiful, isolated peninsula on the California coast. This town is a haven for artists, intellectuals, retirees and people who just generally want to drop out of the rat race and see something else besides concrete and smog out their windows. It is redwood forest, ocean and bird preserve, and the natives have ripped down the state sign pointing out the road into town so tourists can't find them. But May Day—in the form of showings of a revolutionary film—found them. And these "drop-outs" proved once again what Lenin said about "Communism emanating from all pores of society."

One of the "invading" "guerrillas" was a revolutionary who had shot a film about the Nicaraguan revolution in the mountains of the North during the last 3 months of the final offensive. It was a film about the life of the guerrillas showing the struggle from the side of the people, and not a handful of "stars." (One revisionist working with a Nicaraguan support group in San Francisco had asked, upon seeing the film when it first arrived in this country, "Where's Tomás Borge?") The filmmaker and the other cultural worker, an RCP supporter, had spent the day in San Francisco filming the break-outs and confrontation with the police in the Mission District. They brought *Revolutionary Workers* and May Day posters to the Center, where 30-40 people had gathered. Posters were immediately put up and one young artist said she was going to mount a poster on wood and varnish it to hang permanently.

First item on the agenda was a slide show of bamboo—many Bolinas residents are into alternative lifestyles and the man exhibiting the slides showed how durable, attractive housing and buildings can be constructed from the bamboo plant. It was his idea that underdeveloped countries could use bamboo as a resource more readily available and certainly much cheaper than steel and concrete. Then the Nicaraguan film was shown. The reaction was electric. When it was over, people rose and applauded emotionally; one woman immediately told how she had visited Nicaragua in 1955 and had seen a people so beaten down they could not walk erect, bent over both with the amazing loads they had to carry and the oppression they suffered. She saw no hope then, but now "They have stood up!" She was a poet and had written a

poem in '55 ending with the quote "These people will never rise up!" but she had recopied the poem to end it with a hand-written comment, "Little did I know!"

The people were thrilled by the film and it opened a floodgate of questions about revolution. First one, then another said, ok, this is great, this is inspiring, but what happens afterwards, why was revolution reversed in Russia and China? Is it human nature? Is it inevitable our leaders sell us out? One of the revolutionaries threw it back to him, is there nothing to learn from our reversals? Should people not arise for fear of a sellout? Precisely what can enable us to keep on making revolution, what more than the masses grasping revolutionary consciousness, taking history in their hands like in the cultural revolution? The discussion naturally got into May Day at that point, and the events of the day in San Francisco were recounted. "God, I haven't heard anything like that since the '60s," commented one man.

The question of May Day raised a contradiction among the viewers. All of them were 100% for revolution—in South America. They loved the film and wanted to know what they could do to aid the struggle there. But revolution here? One young artist who had taken a May Day poster and was all for revolution in Latin America, responded to the question posed by the RCP supporter, "What about here in the U.S., isn't the best way to aid the revolutions all over the world by making revolution here?" by saying "I'm a pacifist, I believe in non-violence!" Many of the others took that stand, yet they clearly stood on the side of the guerrillas. "They went into battle laughing, they died with flowers in their hair," their leaflet announcing the film had said. In fact, these pacifists asked question after question about weaponry, where the guerrillas got them (were they a "gift" from Cuba or are the people capable of dealing with the problem of obtaining weapons on their own?), how they were made, how they were confiscated, how they were smuggled in, how people learned to fight, etc.

Before the film showers left, they and a dozen others went to the home of one of the residents to eat and continue the discussion into the early morning hours. A bundle of *RW*'s was left and plans made to continue distribution.

Send May 1st
Reports Today

In countless ways, in countless places, the red flag was raised on May 1st. Now readers of the *Revolutionary Worker* must take up the serious task of reporting on these May Day actions. Some knowledge has already been accumulated, as this present issue indicates. But there is much more that has happened, there are more experiences to be popularized and lessons to be drawn. And this can only be done through the active correspondence of readers.

Accounts of May 1st will not only enable us to assess the situation, but will also further enable the *RW* to intensify the work of creating broad revolutionary public opinion. So, readers should send written reports, tapes and photographs right away to the *RW*, both on May Day events in this country and those around the world. □

West Germany

Continued from page 9

strategic missiles that are targeted for the U.S. Thus, besides the "theatre capability" of these missiles, they are designed to be a major part of the U.S. land-based strategic nuclear arsenal, positioned thousands of miles closer to the Russian heartland than the current Minuteman silos in the Great Plains of the continental U.S. The World War 3 planners inside the Pentagon and NATO's headquarters in Brussels are counting on these new missiles to be "more accurate" (i.e., to be able to knock out hardened missile silos and command centers) than weapons fired from the U.S. towards the USSR 5000-6000 miles over the North Pole, with its troublesome magnetic field. When deployed, these missiles will make a significant addition to the US/NATO first-strike capability against critical elements of the USSR/Warsaw Pact forces, and no one is even attempting to deny this.

The rulers of the Soviet Union have responded to these moves by NATO like the equally warmongering imperialists they are. At least one top Soviet general has issued a blunt warning that the USSR would "never allow" these missiles to be deployed in Western Europe. In a speech last week, Brezhnev turned up the volume on his attacks on the NATO decision to go ahead with these missiles, saying, "If necessary, we shall find impressive means to safeguard our vital interests."

Brezhnev and his fellow imperialist chieftains actually do have good reason to assume such bear-ish poses, for, as many military analysts have pointed out, the Soviets are much more dependent on their land-based missiles than the U.S. (which has most of its strategic warheads hidden on nuclear submarines or long-range bombers). Thus, the Soviets have stepped up production and deployment of the SS-20 to two a week; on the diplomatic front, they have proposed a moratorium on NATO's introduction of the new missiles into Europe, while offering to freeze their SS-20 force at current levels pending negotiations for "across the board arms reductions" in Europe.

With all the usual B.S. stripped away, this leapfrogging U.S.-USSR military buildup (some of which is exposed in the *Stern* article) and the West German imperialists' own buildup (much less of which is brought out in the article) is headed in one direction, and one direction only—towards a general imperialist war, to be fought over a new redivision of the world which all of the imperialist "great powers" desperately require.

Stern does show how tightly the West German army and air force is tied into the NATO forces there, describing the army's "quick reaction camps" which have soldiers on 24-hour alert and explaining that German F-104 Starfighters are in readiness day and night with nuclear bombs. However, much is left out. Over the past few years West Germany has been engaged in a big buildup of its own armed forces, the Bundeswehr, including the production of a new all-purpose fighter-bomber for NATO, the Tornado. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt led the way several years ago in fighting for adding the neutron bomb to the NATO arsenal (though this particular bit of "made in America" mass destruction is not as yet officially deployed); and he has since assumed the role of "pointman" in every major decision of NATO to beef up its forces since the 1979 decision on the new missiles. Besides accepting the largest number of Pershings and cruise missiles of any NATO country, the West Germans are working hand-in-glove with the U.S. in setting up an enormous stockpile of weapons, ammunition and logistical equipment throughout West Germany for the U.S. divisions to be flown over the Atlantic and for the 1.2 million German reservists they are counting on calling-up during wartime. They have also taken some important steps to whip up a patriotic prepare-for-war wind in West Germany, as witnessed by the mass induction ceremonies into the Bundeswehr last year and by Schmidt's

recent turn towards a more hardline anti-Soviet public stance, even telling members of his party recently that he would "stand or fall" with the NATO decision on stationing the new missiles in Europe.

Much has been made in the press about West German Chancellor Schmidt's recent visit to the U.S., where he poured praise all over Reagan, even making a point of saying he was going to do all he could to "correct this simplistic, childish cowboy image that a few people in Europe created." But the point here is not that West Germany's rulers have now simply started marching to the U.S. tune. As the *Basic Principles* document states, in referring to the imperialist states of Western Europe, Japan and elsewhere:

"They have their own interests which they pursue, including the need to maintain and expand 'spheres of influence,' spurred on by the same laws of imperialism, and it is in pursuit of these interests that they are confronted with the increasingly pressing need to seek a redivision of the world more favorable to them. The point is, however, that they do this in the overall context of being part of the U.S. bloc and in that sense through this bloc. In the present world framework, they all depend on the U.S. nuclear umbrella, even those which are developing (or may develop) their own nuclear weapons to one degree or another, and in any case they can pursue their own interests in the final analysis only as part of a military bloc headed by a nuclear superpower—none of them is strong enough to stand up to either nuclear superpower in a military showdown, nor is the likelihood of their trying to do so on their own, either separately or even all together, a serious one." (Paragraph 16)

Thus, the West German bourgeoisie—or at least the large majority of them—fully support the stationing of these missiles in Germany, but at the same time they are determined, to the extent possible, not to become the main "sponge" for the Soviet nuclear missile force. Like every other member of the Western imperialist alliance, West Germany will push to see that the war looming ahead shapes up in a certain way—that is, where and when it breaks out, how it then unfolds, and how to advance their own class interests before, during and after the war. This sort of maneuvering and jockeying for position among "allies" is in the finest imperialist tradition and went on throughout both of the World War 1 and 2 periods.

This helps place the most recent round of U.S.-West German talks in perspective. On the one hand, Schmidt and Reagan agreed to press ahead with these missile deployments and to insist that all NATO members increase their military spending in real terms by at least 3% a year. They also pledged to coordinate their overall alliance policies more closely in the future. On the other hand, there has been and continues to be West German insistence, and U.S. foot-dragging, on opening up European arms control talks with the Soviet Union (which among other things Schmidt hopes to use to defuse the growing anti-war and military movement at home). Closely related to this, the West German imperialists are continuing to insist that they should be able to work out their own independent agreements—limited as they may be—with the USSR and Eastern bloc countries on political-military affairs, as well as on trade and economic matters (which are of particular importance now to the export-oriented and increasingly wobbly West German economy).

All of this points to the highly unstable setting in which these accelerating war preparations are being carried out today in Western Europe. While it is not clear exactly which forces in the West German bourgeoisie were mixed up in this exposé in *Stern*, the appearance of such an article is a direct result of the turmoil that has been stirred up among West Germany's rulers

over how to best pursue their own imperialist interests within the U.S.-led war bloc.

This comes through in a number of places in the *Stern* article. U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger is raked for announcing a few weeks previously that the neutron bomb would be deployed in Europe by NATO. Special attention is devoted to pointing out that the Americans call the shots with the nuclear warheads in West Germany; every atomic bomb and warhead that the West German army and air force has is still U.S. property and is physically accompanied by U.S. officers, who are the only ones with the codes to activate the weapons. At one point, *Stern* informs its readers that the U.S. has secretly stockpiled several thousand nukes on West German soil and even quotes a U.S. official to the effect that, "If the Krauts don't use them (nuclear warheads) when we want them to, we have enough to take over their portion."

Such jabs at the U.S. are quite consistent with the West German imperialists' determination to assert their own interests within the bloc, especially at a time when the U.S. is insisting that its allies adopt the same basic economic, political and military strategy for preparing for and waging war as it has. (Our hunch is that it is not a coincidence that this article hit the newsstands in mid-February, just a month after the new Reagan administration took office amidst much fanfare about "asserting American leadership around the world again." Nor can it be ruled out that the article was affected, or even inspired to some degree, by the views of Willie Brandt and other "left-wing" critics in Schmidt's party, who have taken a position opposing the deployment of these Pershing and cruise missiles in West Germany.) Thus, Schmidt's recent threat to "resign" if his party didn't back him up on the missile deployments was in reality a threat hurled at these forces, to either fall into line or for them to get out.

With the stakes as high as they are, such infighting within the West German ruling class should come as no surprise. Likewise, regardless of the intentions of the editors of *Stern* or anyone else, this kind of exposé objectively has added fat to the fire of the anti-military movement that is springing up all over West Germany, as well as in neighboring countries. This once more underlines the fact that this unprecedented military buildup in Europe is being carried out in a sea of explosive contradictions which are constantly upsetting the imperialists' best-laid plans and are sweeping more and more people into active questioning and political life.

However, it would be wrong, not to mention misleading, to conclude without pointing out how "responsibly" the editors of *Stern* have handled themselves in the wake of this exposé. In the next week's issue, they ran an interview with a military affairs "expert" who supports the stationing of new Pershings and cruise missiles in the Federal Republic. According to this expert, you've got to be "realistic": the U.S. has had all these missiles around the country for years without having had a war yet; and more than that, the real problem is that the Russians are pushing ahead with the SS-20 and their Backfire bombers. So what else could NATO do?

The effect of this interview was to make *Stern* appear "even-handed" and objective, and to establish the Soviet threat so as to pave the way in people's thinking for accepting the new U.S. missiles and the overall NATO military buildup—even if reluctantly—as the only way possible to "defend the fatherland." As the old saying goes, there are more ways than one to skin a cat—and this exposé that appeared in *Stern*, followed by such a blatant attempt to channel growing anti-military sentiments into an acceptable pro-imperialist direction, demonstrate that this is constantly on the minds and pens of the imperialist press these days. □



This photo of New York Governor Carey and his wife reviewing 3,000 prison guards at a funeral for a guard, appeared on the front page of the *New York Times*. The obvious message here is that it's time to get tough in the prisons with more guards and more prisons. Past leniency in the New York prison system includes the murder of 33 prisoners (and 10 guard hostages) at Attica State prison.

The Reactionary Punishment of Billie Jean King

In the weeks since tennis pro Billie Jean King publicly announced that she had a homosexual relationship with her former secretary/hairdresser Marilyn Barnett, the bourgeoisie and their media have found serious sport in using King's revelations in response to the "palimony" suit filed by Barnett to slap down women athletes and more generally, the struggle of women to break free of the stereotyped roles and the oppression to which they are chained in capitalist society. The very day after the suit was filed in the California courts, even before King responded in a press conference, the *New York Times* was already pronouncing that "whatever the merit of the charges," there would be a setback for women's professional tennis. This was clearly less a prediction than a pronouncement. They were licking their chops. Of course their moral sensibilities must have been greatly offended, for one is immediately reminded that these very same gentlemen of the *Times* recently ran an article on the pornography and sex paraphernalia industry crowing about what a lucrative and legitimate business it is. And if there was any doubt that it would take very little these days to provide an opportunity to put women athletes in their place, the May 24 issue of the *Times* carried an article by race car driver Janet Guthrie exposing that despite the fact that she has set record times on the track including at the Indianapolis 500, she is unable to find backers for a car which can compete. "The worst thing of all," she said, "is that I have to carry the burden of, 'She can't win.'" It really does not require the revelation of a homosexual affair for the hypocritical vultures of bourgeois morality to go after women in any arena, but to give them their due they have more than amply shown that they are ready and eager to do so—in many forms and in so many words.

The press has poured out a deluge of commentary, stories and interviews to humiliate and make an example out of Billie Jean King. These have ranged from outright calls for action—such as the Chicago TV commentator who stated, "Last year tennis star Martina Navratilova was voted out as president of the Women's Professional Tennis Association because she flaunted her relationship with her roommate, a gay feminist activist. She was replaced by Billie Jean King."—to more "subtle" stuff such as the interview with Barbara Walters, whose attempts to conceal her claws and fangs under her designer feathers became more and more feeble with each passing question such as, "Do you think you will stay married," and "You said you made a mistake Billie Jean, what was it?" (This prompted the viewer to think that one mistake was certainly being interviewed by Barbara Walters, whose purpose was calculatingly and oh-so sensitively to make Billie Jean King crawl.)

Further coverage on the case of Billie Jean King has *Sports Illustrated* taking a "frank" look at homosexuality in sports. And while they admit for the record that there is widespread homosexuality among male athletes they go on to "candidly" speculate that it is much more widespread among women athletes and in the process draw some none too subtle conclusions. For example *Sports Illustrated* theorizes as follows: "Thus despite all the efforts made in recent years to lure them onto the playing field, some heterosexual young women persist in feeling that their proper place is on the sidelines as cheerleaders, a fact that may contribute to the disproportionate number of lesbians to be found among women athletes." *Sports Illustrated's* mission here is not an examination of the social relations in society, the warped and twisted and decadent capitalist relations between men and women, particularly male supremacy, which foster and

perpetuate homosexuality—rather their aim is to promote such relations. (Many a sportscaster has given ample proof on the air of their attitude toward the cheerleaders. But the particular exploitative relations they want to perpetuate are those most in line with god and country—and that means women in your place, on the sidelines.) And if you must venture into the arena, then you will especially have to toe the line on acceptable, respectable bourgeois behavior, or get out. Whether or not Billie Jean King is actually driven into retirement or not, the bourgeoisie has gone to great lengths to make their point and make an example of her.

Sports is a very important arena for the imperialists for promoting capitalist values, the division of labor between a handful of professional heroes and the masses, and instilling the sense of loyalty and blind obedience to country. As the *Programme* of the RCP points out, "Conformity is enforced as the price for success. Clean-cut models of Mr. and Miss America are enshrined, especially for the youth. The outlook of everything by the (play) book is supreme. In general there is no room for creative thinking, questioning, daring and innovation and what cannot be suppressed is co-opted and turned into its opposite. Not only is sports not separate from or "above" politics, it is a major political and ideological weapon of the bourgeoisie. While it is generally true that the slightest rebellion on or off the playing field among professional athletes has been met with sharp response from the bourgeoisie, the position of women in professional sports has been intensified by the fact that they are women. Thus, their entry onto the professional field has challenged the myth of male supremacy in an arena where it was the unquestioned rule, and male supremacy is after all a major prop of imperialism. The fact that women basketball players have now broken through the feudal rules of women's basketball and are now approaching dunking, is breaking through a major social barrier, far more than a physical one.

The upsurge of women against their oppression, and more broadly against imperialism, in the late '60s and early '70s in this country went a ways toward breaking down the barriers in sports, but the net is drawn tight for these

women. Billie Jean King has been the single most important factor in the success of the Women's Professional Tennis Tour. She was the founder of the magazine *Women in Sports* and she gained international attention when she took up the challenge and beat the pants off one-time tennis star and self-proclaimed male chauvinist pig, Bobby Riggs. But like many other women who entered professional sports in the '70s, Billie Jean King's own success and her promotion of women's sports served for a time as models of a kind of respectable feminism which was useful to the imperialists to co-opt the struggle of women against their oppression and channel the women's movement into bourgeois reformist pursuits such as the ERA. Now the '80s find the imperialists with new necessity to promote the reactionary ideology of "woman in thy place" in more blatant ways, reminiscent of the 1950s. A *People* magazine interview with King and her husband made the point that while the WTA refused to accept King's resignation as president and NBC had stuck to its contract to employ her as a sportscaster that, "how solid her endorsement contracts were (with Nike shoes, Yonex rackets and others) remained to be seen. Nor were the angels of the women's tour—Avon and Toyota among them—willing categorically to reaffirm their support. 'The Moral Majority is out there in force these days,' as one long time observer of the circuit put it last week. 'This is all Billie Jean and women's tennis need right now.'" What they meant to say was that this is not what the bourgeoisie needs right now, particularly in the sports arena where model Americans are supposed to show their prowess and their true colors to the world. The choice of the much hated reactionary fool coach Bobby Knight as most valuable player (!) in the NCAA finals this year is an indication of what the bourgeoisie wants as role models for the '80s. Alright, they're telling us something. And their message is no less clear with Billie Jean King.

King's response to these attacks is interesting in that it reveals more of what the terms are that the bourgeoisie has outlined in its public opinion barrage. While she has never recanted totally nor denounced homosexual-

ity—protesting against being put in a bag and stereotypical views of homosexuals as child molesters—King's response is limited by her own class position and class outlook—that of a bourgeois woman, who while objectively having played a progressive role in promoting woman's sports is still answering in the ballpark of the bourgeoisie. Homosexuality is not the heart of the issue here. The crux of the matter—and the target of the bourgeoisie—is precisely the woman question and the fact that in the coming period the imperialists want to promote a certain image of the respectable American woman. While King clearly recognizes that this incident is and will be used to attack women's tennis in general and not just herself, she misses the essence of the matter. Thus the interview in *People* magazine mentioned above spends considerable time on the question of the "family." Mr. King, who appears to have been quite content with their bourgeois business-partner marriage now laments that they should have had a few kids right after they got married. Billie Jean contemplates having children and makes the point that while it was difficult for her to have a family because she was a "pioneer" in women's tennis and the Women's Tennis tour did not start until she was 27, that now the way has been paved for the younger players to be career women and have families too. But the bourgeoisie doesn't give two hoots if she has been their star woman tennis player, internationally renowned—the star must fall; it is important for them to knock down Billie Jean King, at least several big pegs—an unfit model for all the young girls, and at the same time make use of whatever responses uphold the upright family image.

This is quite in line with the imperialists' offensive in the ideological sphere to promote the church-ridden morality of obedience and the role of women as breeders for replacements for the cannonfodder they fully plan on consuming in vast quantities in the near future. And they have seized on the case of Billie Jean King with a vengeance to make the point rather loudly that those women who do not conform to standard and play by the rules will certainly face rank humiliation and maybe something worse. □

Break the Chains!

Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution

Pamphlet by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

From speeches delivered at International Women's Day, 1979. And a solidarity message from the League of Fighting Women of Iran.

\$1.00
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TESTIMONY

Continued from page 8

Priest

To deny that there is increasing repression in the U.S.A. is to fly in the face of massive evidence.

Repression is both subtle and overt. I am a priest and have been working for 15 yrs. in (a New Jersey city) where there are thousands of struggling Hispanics. Year after year, war fever has increased and the insatiable pentagon swallows more and more dollars and human energy. And struggling people get less and less. The quality of life diminishes as housing, health care, education, fulfilling work opportunities are sacrificed to pentagon and multinational greed. The repression is no less real because subtle.

I have been a part of the peace movement for many years and have seen the increase in overt repression of folks seeking to reverse the suicidal arms race. Jail sentences are absurd for minor offenses. Six months for one friend for pouring ashes around the pentagon as symbol of a world in ashes after a nuclear holocaust. Six months for another friend, for trespassing and praying in a place dedicated to nuclear weaponry. A year for another friend for the same "criminal" activity. Several women brought in leg irons from the pentagon to a distant prison for blocking pentagon entrances to oppose the deadly works that go on inside that building. The list is fast becoming endless.

The charges against Bob Avakian are ridiculous—25 felony charges, 241 years in jail. They only serve to point up the repression on the part of the U.S. Government.

I think Bob Avakian clearly needs political asylum and ask you, please, to set in motion what is necessary to grant him such.

Thanks.

Sincerely,
XXX

L.A.P.D.

... On February 22, 1980 while selling the *RW* at 7th and Broadway in downtown L.A., some Los Angeles Police Department cops from Central Division came up to us, and without warning pulled out their clubs, grabbed for the newspapers, and began clubbing one of the other people selling the *RW*, and me. After I was handcuffed, I was choked to the ground with a LAPD chokehold, and later, repeatedly slammed up against the patrol car by Officer Curry. He said: "Shut up, Commie." Then said: "You're going to be in jail May 1st, lady, and so are all your friends," referring to the demonstration for that day which had been called for by Bob Avakian speaking for the RCP, several months earlier. Later, as we walked into the central division booking room, Officer Compton announced: "We got us some Commies." Then he elaborated: "Have you seen that poster of the Bobby guy with the beard? They are Bobby's people—the Revolutionary Communist Party." Later, another cop in the station house said, "We should do to these Commies what we're going to do to the Iranians." (At the time he said that, he was standing near a poster displayed on the wall of the booking room, which depicted the face of Khomeini, and appeared to have been used for target practice.) Another responded, "We should take them and drown them in the Los Angeles river." As one cop exited, he said "We got to go get us some more Commies tonight, they are 'Bobby's People,' referring to a call that had come in about the *RW* being sold near the central market. Similar statements about commies and the RCP were made when we were taken to the county jail. For this, my husband and I were originally charged with felony assault on a police officer, and another woman who had been arrested with us was charged with inciting to riot. It was very clear that the police were attempting to keep the *RW* out of the hands of the people who were crowding the streets of downtown, especially immigrants and Black people. At one point, they even had to run at the crowd, clubs swinging,

to prevent them from picking up the May Day buttons and newspapers that had been knocked to the ground by the cops.

On April 14, I was arrested in Watts, again while with the *RW*—this time as a photographer. The thing that stands out most about this arrest was not the brutality used by the LA sheriffs against members of the May Day Brigade (such as one cop who punched the woman sitting in the patrol car with me repeatedly in the face, or Hayden Fisher getting picked up and slammed down on the hood of the car) but the specific threats against Bob Avakian. During the booking, I was taken alone into a room where there were several officers, some of whom had confiscated our May Day buttons, and had fastened them into their uniforms, kind of as a way of counting coups. Those who had busted more had more buttons on. Officer Heal, who took me from the cell said: "Ready for the execution Commie? We are." Soon, a cop wearing badge number 4311 came over and held a knife in my face and said, "What we ought to do is have a blanket party." Then he walked around the table and sat directly across from me, and asked, "Do you know Bob Avakian?" Then he wrote Bob Avakian's name on a piece of paper, held it up, and began slicing it with the knife, while the other cops looked on approvingly.

Their actions weren't all in the arena of threats either. They took the men who had been arrested with us out of their cell, after singing the *Internationale*, and beat them severely. Then one of the cops came back into our cell, brandishing a can of tear gas, threatened us, and asked: "Do any of you know the next of kin of that short oriental guy? He tried to hang himself in his cell, and we're afraid he's not going to make it."...

It is striking that not only were these and scores of others in LA during the same time, political arrests and brutal beatings, directed at the *RW* and the RCP, but how these various police officers, in widely different areas of the city, from the higher officials down to the cop on the street were clearly trained in who Bob Avakian is, and had been unleashed to target him and the RCP. All of this points to high level government coordination of these attacks, and how thoroughly they have attempted to

set machinery in motion to try to wipe out this kind of revolutionary leadership. The situation in the world for the imperialists is all the more desperate now than it was a year ago. I am absolutely sure that Bob Avakian's life will be in serious danger if he is forced back into the United States....

XXX,
Los Angeles

Carl Harp—San Quentin

May 12, 1981

To Whom It May Concern:

My name is Carl L. Harp. I was a prisoner in the Washington State Penitentiary and am now confined in the California State Prison at San Quentin and in segregation here illegally and against my will solely for my political beliefs (anarchist) and for my legal and political work in prison for Human Rights and Justice in prison and the world. I am the founder of the Anarchist Black Dragon Collective, co-founder of the Creative Writer's Workshop and Men Against Sexism all in the Washington State Penitentiary and all smashed as organizations by the State for being political in the revolutionary sense and otherwise if not revolutionary sense. I have personally been politically and legally active as non-violently as possible my whole time in prison which is almost eight (8) years now. For my political beliefs and my legal and political work in prison I have been beaten repeatedly, maced repeatedly, isolated and segregated repeatedly, transferred repeatedly, starved repeatedly, harassed everyday in some way, lied to and about, had my mail and property "lost", tortured (with hot and cold blowers), threatened with violence and death repeatedly, raped with a riot baton, found pills, glass, dirt, bleach and cigarette butts in my food and am now here in San Quentin being Sexually Repressed. The majority of the above has been proven in two Federal Civil Rights Complaints (last year in one major one and this year by me in another one); that is the incident for (which) they will never admit in public it is political and done for being political.

As many know (documented) on May 9, 1979 I and two other prisoners in Washington State Penitentiary took over in the name of Human Rights and Justice and only after all else had failed repeatedly the Classification and Parole

Building in the penitentiary and for protection from violence held nine (9) persons hostage until we exposed all the inhumanity and injustice plus illegal stuff the penitentiary's Administration and staff were doing in the penitentiary (proven in Federal Court 1980). The take over was for all intents and purposes non-violent and not one hostage was even verbally abused by us. We surrendered peacefully, demanded criminal charges and a jury trial in a public court room. My two comrades later due to terrible pressure from the State and my near death pleaded guilty and are now in the General Population of the prisons they are in and can have, if married, family/conjugal visits. All criminal charges against me were dismissed and I have never been institutionally charged with anything, never plead guilty or been found guilty of anything, but am still in exile, still in segregation and still denied all family/conjugal visits in total violation of my due process rights.

As many also know (proven in Federal Court 1980) on July 8, 1979 while being held in segregation in the Washington State Penitentiary I was beaten half to death after being maced in the face and then raped repeatedly with a riot baton by guards putting me in an outside hospital for a week for my political beliefs, my legal and political work and for verbally demanding that guards cease beating prisoners especially while they were handcuffed to their cell bars (all of the prisoners were labeled political).

On July 20, 1979 I was against my will and without any due process transferred to San Quentin (officially the most racist, gang-run, violent, unfit for human habitation death trap in California where political have been murdered—George Jackson for one—and placed in segregation and denied contact visits for over a year. I was told originally I was being transferred for protection from guards and my transfer would only be temporary. Two years later I am still here. Here all mail except legal mail is censored. All phone calls are monitored and I am under a gun 24 hours a day and my cell is only 5 feet wide and 10 feet long. To my face no one denies that I am in this prison etc. for my political beliefs and legal and political work and it is here they hope I will be killed by other prisoners. Here after approving me for Family Visits all were denied first on the grounds of hostage taking and when that flopped on

Continued on page 19

Call to RW Readers to Testify in Connection with Bob Avakian's Demand for Political Refugee Status in France

Astounding though it may be, some people are unable—or unwilling—to recognize that the much advertised democracy in the United States is in reality no more than a big joke. This problem will have an important bearing on the procedure involving Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France. Already in the initial stages of this process it has been said that political persecution has not been proved—that it has not been established that the difficulties encountered with the authorities of his country of origin (the U.S.) were of political origin, in the sense of the Geneva Convention. As this case now moves into the next and more decisive phase, the *RW* is calling on its readers to provide from their own experience, and to help organize on a grand scale, information and evidence which will clearly demonstrate two basic facts:

1. That the U.S. ruling class (which has been responsible for the war in Vietnam, Pinochet in Chile, the Shah of Iran, South Africa, El Salvador and on and on) in fact exercises a vicious repressive dictatorship within the U.S. as well.
2. That, in particular, through its various government agencies (and in cooperation with various "private" reactionary forces) it is carrying out systematic and increasing repression aimed against revolutionaries in the U.S. and specifically against the RCP and its Chairman Bob Avakian.

This is a chance to testify about the so-called "democracy" in the United States and its true meaning for oppressed and class-conscious people

Statements that illustrate the above two points should be written down and, if at all possible, notarized* (A notary does not have to somehow approve or verify what you wrote; they are only certifying that you are the person who is signing the statement.) These statements should then be handed over to the local Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants in your area, or if that is not possible, be mailed directly to the National Office of the Committee (P.O. Box 6422 "T" Street Station, Washington, D.C. 20009). If necessary, statements can also be handed over to a regular *RW* distributor. The kind of statements needed are those pertaining to such things as firings and harassment, frameups, brutality, threats, murder, etc. at the hands of police or government agents and especially as these incidents relate to Revolutionary Communist Party members and sympathizers (including people who sell the *RW*) and above all as they relate to Bob Avakian. There is a certain amount of urgency about collecting these statements, and the bulk of them should be in the hands of the National Office of the Committee right away. Please note if your statement could also be used (with or without signature) for publication in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

* (This can be done in many cities at banks, currency exchanges, and many other small business offices).

Correspondence to the RW

Angry Punk Rockers Expose Media Attacks

Dear RW,

Last Wednesday the *Oakland Tribune* made a startling new breakthru, it discovered PUNK!

"PUNK ROCK—Does it promote racism? No one is ready to link the racial killings in Atlanta to punk rock music but many critics think this music has contributed to a resurgence of racism among teenagers..."

It ends up with "It's too bad many young punkers don't remember Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the civil rights movement or why affirmative action rules were written."

The MOTHERFUCKING nerve of these creeps, or as the Specials would say, "It's all a load of bollocks!" This attack on the new music which is diverse

in form and content and largely characterized by REBELLION, actually tries to pin the sickness and misery and murder of this system on one of the most rebellious sections of its slaves, the youth. Makes you want to puke.

That this article should appear so soon after May Day, in an area where there were about 4 May 1st concerts, not to mention the punks that marched in the Mission is probably no coincidence. Or that written in Washington for Field Newspaper syndicate, it ran in an Oakland paper, where thousands of black youth are coming into political life, many thru the Atlanta kkillings. And the Imperialists are still reeling from Brixton: black, white and brown youth fighting, not each other, but the scum-dogs of the state. (How horrible—could this happen elsewhere?) No doubt they become understandably nauseous when their spies tell them of

two-tone ska bands singing revolutionary songs to increasingly two-tone audiences, dancing to tunes like "Bristol and Miami" which link the righteous rebellions in these two geographically distant cities.

Different punkers expressed outrage to this article and some saw it as just one of the many attacks on new music and youth, which have included frequent police attacks at concerts not to mention the closing of more than a few progressive format radio stations. A small group of us, revolutionaries and revolutionary musicians, black and white went to the *Trib* office to expose their lies, demand a retraction and to say let this rebel music wail, from the suburbs to the ghettos busting thru national borders, shattering the sound barrier. This one nervous cop looked at our hair, sunglasses and clothes and then at the *RW's* under someone's arm

and got more nervous. Had to call in for reinforcements, one cop for each of us. The combination of punk rock and the MAIN WEAPON was too much for him. We had a paper banner with lines from revolutionary punk and ska tunes scrawled on it, some of the people on the street walked up and added their own opinions on just who was responsible for Atlanta. Oink, oink, the cops squealed at the predominantly black crowd, "don't block the sidewalk, don't walk in the street. Oink, haven't you read the article in this morning's *S.F. Chronicle* that tells of the link between the Tralsside killer and punk rock?" (Another article linking a suspected murderer with two young punks who were accused of bank robbery—*RW*) All the while hassling us for ID and generally making a bad smell.

Finally the editor of the "opinion" page on which the article appeared deigned to come down to talk to us, said she had only put the article in because it was an "interesting opinion." She had to back off enough to promise to print a reply from one of the punk musicians. I'm sure she will also find his opinion very "interesting."

CANTO DEPOVO

Testimony

Continued from page 18

the grounds that I was a long termer and *MIGHT* escape. It is a fact that many long termers with priors on escape and attempted escape are allowed Family/Conjugal Visits and that such visits take place inside the prison inside a compound that is virtually escape proof in a prison that does not recognize hostages (I *only* have one walk away from a prison farm 11 years ago and here they allow me to visit in the *main* visiting area with 100's of free people and prisoners plus staff all around me)!!!

For almost eight years for refusing to plead guilty to crimes the State knows I did not commit, for fighting back, for my political beliefs and my legal and political work I get no action from the Parole Board even when I legally have it coming. My first mandatory term expired officially in 1978.

While I do not personally know Bob

Avakian and have no personal knowledge of any plots against him I know he is for a fact political and for fact from personal experience and observation that if he comes to prison he will die in here for being political and as political as he is. If they do not kill him outright or suicide him the *whole* time he is in prison he will be harassed and so will his family and any friends who visit him. At *every* opportunity he will be tortured in some fashion, set up, isolated and segregated plus forever transferred. If he *ever* gets out of prison he will be a *very* lucky man especially if he comes out sane and uncrippled. I know for they are killing me now what they do to politicals in prison and I have seen what has been done to dozens of prisoners labled jail house lawyers and/or political. Many are and were my friends. I have scars all over my body inside and out from the State for wanting Justice. I know of prisoners and know personally prisoners who have had bones broken and teeth knocked out for being jail house lawyers and/or politicals. I know from reliable sources and the media of hundreds of prisoners in America labled political being

treated as I am and have been, some have been killed or suicided. Bob Avakian won't have a chance in prison. In here he is or will be like I am—totally at the mercy of the government and the gangs who will serve it. Gangs are rampant especially here in S.Q. (KKK, Nazis, Aryan Brotherhood etc.). France, a nation that had a revolution for Justice, must save Bob Avakian

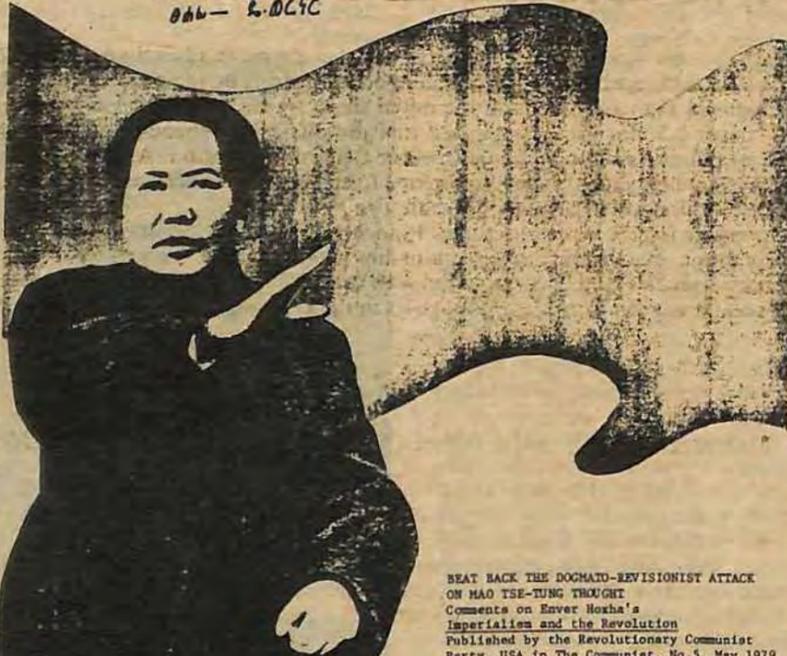
from the American Government or be accessories in his murder at worst and/or torture at least...

Sincerely Yours,
Carl L. Harp
San Quentin

P.S. Let me know you received soon. May Print anywhere and use my name. I am not afraid.

2.50

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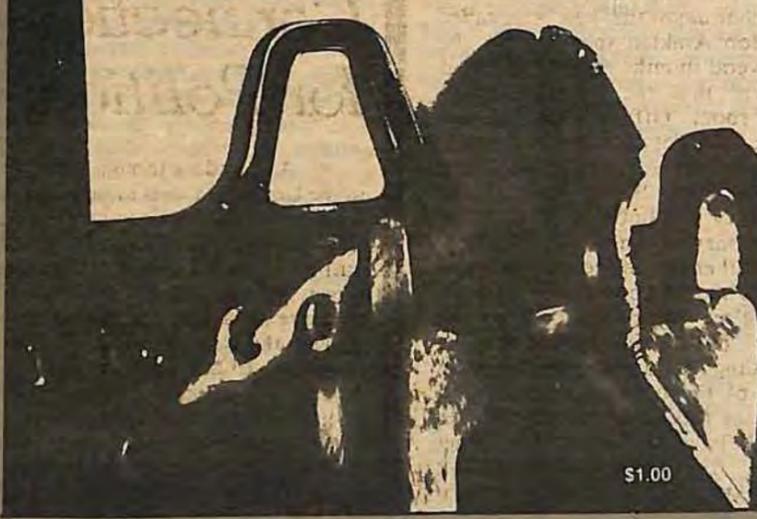


BEAT BACK THE DOGMATO-REVISIONIST ATTACK
ON MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT
Comments on Enver Hoxha's
Imperialism and the Revolution
Published by the Revolutionary Communist
Party, USA in *The Communist*, No. 5, May 1979

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Beat Back the Dogmato Revisionist Attack on Mao Tsetung Thought
Comments on Enver Hoxha's *Imperialism and the Revolution*
Order from: Liberation Distributors, P.O. Box 5341, Chicago, IL. 60680 \$2.50

Bob Avakian Replies to a Letter from:

"Black Nationalist with Communistic Inclinations"



\$1.00

A Black worker from California wrote a while back to Bob Avakian. In the letter he made some sharp statements about the RCP's line, particularly on the national question, armed struggle, and what revolutionaries should be doing now to move forward towards revolution.

Comrade Avakian's response addresses the important points raised in this letter—questions which are on the minds of thousands of revolutionary-minded people in this country.

—Originally published in the *Revolutionary Worker*.
—Now available as a new pamphlet

ORDER FROM: RCP Publications P.O. Box 3486
Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

Lenin

Continued from page 11

and ten-kopek pieces, but something far more important—the sum of combined, massed energy, the determination of *groups* to support a workers' newspaper, to disseminate and guide it, to bring it into being through their own participation.

The question may arise: were not the April contributions greatest *after* the 22nd, i.e., after *Pravda* had appeared? No, they were not. *Before* April 22, *Zvezda* reported 188 group contributions. Between the 22nd and the end of April, *Pravda* reported 39 group contributions. This means that during 21 days of April, before *Pravda* had appeared, there was an average of *nine* contributions a day, while the last nine days of April saw only four contributions a day by groups.

Two important conclusions follow from this:

Firstly, the workers were particularly active *before* the appearance of *Pravda*. By giving money "on credit", showing their confidence in *Zvezda*, the workers expressed their determination to have their way.

Secondly, it is seen that *it was the April effort* of the workers that brought the workers' newspaper, *Pravda*, into being. There can be no doubt as to the closest connection between the general upswing of the working-class movement (not in a narrow guild, narrow trade union sense, but with a scope affecting *all the people*) and the founding of the daily newspaper of the St. Petersburg worker democrats. We need something more than trade union publications, we need a political newspaper of our own—this is what the masses realised more and more in April; what we need is not just any political workers' newspaper, but a newspaper of the foremost worker democrats; we need a newspaper not only to promote our working-class struggle, but also to provide a model and a beacon for the whole people.

In May the upswing was still very marked. Group contributions averaged more than four a day. On the one hand, it was an indication of the general upswing in April-May. On the other, the mass of the workers realised that, although the publication of a daily newspaper had already begun, its position would be particularly difficult at first and group support particularly necessary.

In June the number of group contributions fell below the March figure. Of course, the fact has to be taken into consideration that *after* the workers' daily newspaper had begun to appear *another* form of assistance to the newspaper arose and acquired decisive significance, namely, subscription to it and its circulation among fellow-workers, acquaintances, countrymen, etc. The politically-conscious friends of *Pravda* do not limit themselves to subscribing to the paper but pass it on or send it to others as a sample, to make it known at other factories, in neighbouring flats or houses, in the countryside and so on. Unfortunately, we have no way of obtaining complete statistics on *this kind* of group assistance. . . .

IV.

The data in *Pravda* on all kinds of workers' contributions are, generally speaking, extremely interesting. They provide us, for the first time, with highly accurate data on the most diverse aspects of the working-class movement and the life of Russian worker democrats. We hope to return to the analysis of these data more than once.

At the moment, however, before we finish our survey of data on the contributions made by groups of workers for a daily newspaper, we must point out one practical conclusion.

Workers' groups made 504 contributions to *their* press, to *Zvezda* and *Pravda*. The workers had absolutely no other aim in view except the founding and maintenance of their workers' press. That is precisely why a simple truthful summary of these data for six months provides a most valuable picture of the life of worker democrats in Russia. The five- and ten-kopek pieces

collected and marked "from a group of workers of such-and-such a factory" have made it possible also to appraise the workers' sentiments, their class-consciousness, their unity, and their readiness to promote the working-class cause.

That is why this custom of group collections by the workers, brought into being by the upswing in April and May, should by all means be continued, developed and expanded, and it goes without saying that accounts of the collections are necessary too, such as have always been published in *Pravda*.

This custom is of vast importance from the standpoint of both the stability of the working-class press and the common interests of the worker democrats.

The working-class press needs to be developed and strengthened. And this requires money. Workers' newspapers in Russia can be satisfactorily organised through persevering effort only on condition that the workers constantly arrange massive collections. There is a workers' paper in America (*Appeal to Reason*)* which has *over half a million* subscribers. That Russian worker, we would say, paraphrasing a well-known saying, is a poor worker indeed if he does not hope to overtake and surpass his American fellow-workers.

What is very much more important, however, is not the financial aspect of the matter, but something else. Let us assume that a hundred workers in different shops of a factory contribute *one kopek* each on pay-day to the workers'

War and Revolution

Continued from page 7

cern—the corresponding rise of "anti-American sentiment" (since it is well known that the Marcos dictatorship there is backed by the U.S. to the hilt) threatens to throw a big monkey wrench in certain preparatory work. "American officials grant that the Pentagon attaches cardinal importance to the bases (Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Base—*RW*), particularly since the loss of Iran, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Soviet assumption, via Vietnam, of an active Southeast Asia role. Subic Bay has the best and cheapest naval repair and maintenance facility in the Pacific. Clark Air Base provides a Pacific reach and an alternative route across the Indian Ocean to the Persian Gulf and the Middle East." "Strategic concerns" pop up once again—funny how the demands of world war and the threat of revolution seem to plague our bourgeoisie wherever they look. Why, the author of this article—the *New York Times*' chief Asia diplomatic correspondent Henry Kamm—is forced to note that "some critics go so far as to draw vague parallels between the Philippines and El Salvador or Iran under the Shah." However, it is quite clear that these parallels are not "vague" enough for Mr. Kamm or his employers.

El Salvador

Continued from page 7

witnesses are required, there are virtually no incentives allowed under Salvadoran law for participants in the crime to turn state's evidence. Adding to the problem, intimidation and assassination of judges and attorneys working on politically significant cases is commonplace. . . . In local terms, the case against the guardsmen remains weak." In other words, don't get the idea that it is now acceptable for rank-and-file priests and nuns (or anyone else) to oppose the junta—or its masters—which was the main point behind the murder of the four missionaries in the first place. And just to make sure that the message remains intact in El Salvador, the U.S. government removed one of its own consular officials, a former nun named Patricia Lasbury, for having "such a high degree of visibility" around this case; apparently, Ms. Lasbury didn't fully appreciate the subtleties of "Salva-

dor law." For example, "under Salvadoran law" no witnesses are needed—or tolerated—for the junta to execute 20,000 people in the past year and a half; "under Salvadoran law," those who might possibly oppose the junta but manage to escape the executioner are held without trial or charges in prisons like Santa Tecla, where torture, starvation, etc. are commonplace; "under Salvadoran law," justice is dispensed from U.S. helicopter gunships or by U.S. artillery attacks and aerial bombardments throughout the countryside, led and supervised by U.S. "advisors," the most recent example being the junta's new offensive in Chalatenango Province, beginning with the forced evacuation of over 800 peasants (who incidentally, were robbed at gunpoint by the junta's security forces during the eviction). But this is all par for the course. As the four Catholic missionaries found out, joining millions from Iran to Chile to Guatemala to South Africa, Salvadoran law is under another higher authority—the law of U.S. imperialist domination. □

newspaper. That will add up to two rubles a month. Let us assume, on the other hand, that ten well-paid workers meeting by chance collect ten rubles at once.

The former two rubles are worth more than the latter ten. This is so obvious to any worker that it does not have to be explained at length.

It should be made a custom for every worker to contribute *one kopek* to the workers' newspaper *every* pay-day. Let subscriptions to the paper be taken as usual, and let those who can contribute more do so, as they have done in the past. It is very important, besides, to establish and spread the custom of "*a kopek for the workers' newspaper*".

The significance of such collections will depend above all on their being regularly held every pay-day, without interruption, and on an ever greater number of workers taking part in these regular collections. Accounts could be published in a simple form: "so-and-so many kopeks" would imply that so many workers at the given factory had contributed to the workers' paper, and if there were any larger contributions, they could be stated as follows: "In addition, so-and-so many workers contributed so-and-so much."

If this custom of a *kopek for the workers' newspaper* becomes established, the workers of Russia will soon raise their papers to the proper standard. Workers' papers should give more information, and of a more varied nature; they should have Sunday supplements and so on, and should have their

correspondents in the Duma, in all Russia's towns and in the major cities abroad. The workers' newspaper should develop and improve *steadily*, which cannot be done unless the greatest possible number of workers regularly collect money for their press.

Monthly reports on the *workers' kopek* will show everyone how the workers throughout Russia are shaking off their indifference and drowsiness, how they are awakening to an intelligent and cultured life—not in the official nor in the liberal sense of the term. It will be possible to see clearly how interest in the workers' democratic movement is growing, and how the time is drawing near when Moscow and the other big cities will have workers' papers of their own.

We have had enough of the domination of the bourgeois *Kopeika*! That unscrupulous, huckster-minded newspaper has reigned long enough. In a matter of six months, the workers of St. Petersburg have shown how tremendously successful joint collections by the workers can be. May their example and their initiative not be in vain. May the custom of a *workers' kopek for the workers' newspaper* develop and gain strength! □

* *Appeal to Reason*—an unaffiliated paper founded in Kansas in 1895 which propagated socialist ideas. Eugene Debs, who opposed the U.S. in World War I, contributed articles to this paper.

But, as a second feature article in the very same magazine demonstrates, the U.S.' worries are not limited to the maintenance of strategic neo-colonies. Here we have a piece on the escalating U.S. preparations for chemical warfare as a crucial part of its overall war preparations. Naturally, this "new" reliance on nerve gas and various other poisons is all put in the context of a U.S. response to a Soviet threat—which of course, was a Soviet response to a U.S. threat, ad nauseam. The article contains the standard bourgeois "objections" to chemical warfare—lack of dependability, opposition from the European allies whose turf will likely be the main arena for its use, great escalations in response from the Soviets—all the while pointing to the necessity of the U.S. maintaining superiority in this field. But the closing paragraph of this overall rather stock World War 3 buildup article reveals the real horrors that chemical warfare—indeed, their overall world war—preparations portend for the bourgeoisie: "There is unfortunately, one other factor. The army does not like to talk about it, but there is the lingering fear, seen in Vietnam, that the modern battlefield may already be such a horrible place that soldiers will simply refuse to fight. If a man feels he has a reasonable chance to use his wits and skills to survive mortal combat, he will probably try. But when such wits and skills seem irrelevant, he may mutiny. In Vietnam the reaction was called

'fragging'. The lieutenants of World War I who led the infantry attacks with .45 calibre pistols raised high—not to kill the enemy but to shoot deserters—are a specific nightmare to Chemical Corps planners. Like nuclear weapons, chemicals take the finesse out of war. By embracing new chemical weapons, America may ultimately push its young men out, as well."

There it is once again; our poor bourgeoisie not only has to worry about getting it together for world war, but the very source of this problem has created its companion—revolution all over the world, including, you will note, possibly in Europe and the U.S.A. Here in these two articles, is evidence that our ruling class recognizes (perhaps better than some revolutionary-minded people) the great potential for the advance of world revolution in the coming period—advance both in the national liberation struggles battering imperialism in the colonial and neo-colonial world and in the proletarian-socialist revolution in the capitalist and imperialist countries. Obviously, the bourgeoisie is doing some hard—and painful—thinking about its prospects vis a vis these forces in the coming period, and desperately trying to plan out ways to keep them in check. Those who rejoice in their misery—and can grasp the depth of it so much more thoroughly—have some very different planning most definitely on the agenda. □

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Dazhai: From Revolutionary Model to Revisionist Mess

Continued from page 10

ers in Dazhai led the peasants in constant education and sharp struggle to combat the spontaneous tendency towards capitalism and set up a conscious policy of restricting bourgeois right. To take one of many examples, a neighboring brigade in difficulty once offered to buy Dazhai's surplus hay at 10 times the regular state price of hay. It would have been perfectly legal under the commodity system for Dazhai to agree to the deal and make a tidy profit. But at a mass meeting called by the party branch, peasants stood up to denounce profiteering and decided to sell the hay at the regular price. Today, with capitalism being restored, the revisionists in a similar situation would probably jump at the chance to make a killing and demand 15 times normal price, and to top it off get written up in the *People's Daily* as a model of daring to "prosper first." The struggle to overcome narrow self-interest and close the gap in material conditions between different production teams or brigades was closely related to the question of moving to higher levels of collective ownership in the countryside. Liu Shaoqi and other revisionists tried to sabotage the further collectivization of the countryside at every step of the way. They claimed (and now claim) that raising the level of ownership had to await far greater development of industry and mechanization, and that in the meantime the capitalist forces should be let loose—which meant increasing the polarization not only within the countryside but also between the city and countryside, as well as workers and peasants. Mao vigorously criticized and fought against such views, arguing that politically mobilizing the masses of peasants to push towards higher levels of ownership was both necessary and possible to carry off in a relatively short time. He proved this in practice in the mass movements in the countryside culminating with the Great Leap Forward and establishment of the people's communes. Such a political movement was the best basis to further transform the outlook of the peasantry as well as to mechanize agriculture, which in turn formed the foundation for the transformation of peasants as a class into agricultural proletarians, and eventually eliminating the difference between city and countryside, workers and peasants.

The victories won by Mao in struggling for ever higher levels of ownership brought forth new contradictions. The capitalist roaders began to work in more subtle ways, like Hua Guofeng for a while upholding "learning from Dazhai" in name but in fact distorting its real lessons to be just "increased production." A revolutionary summation of Dazhai given at a hotly contested 1975 national conference on Learning from Dazhai in Agriculture warns, "...efforts to increase collective income are not necessarily all socialist efforts. Whether or not the road taken is socialist depends first of all on the question of what the production serves, and through what channels questions of production, supply and distribution are solved. If sideline production is to be taken up under the principle of making great effort to make big profit, less effort for small profit and no effort at all for no profit, and if questions of production, supply and distribution are solved by the method of free buying and selling, then it is quite possible for the socialist collective economy to degenerate into 'collective capitalist organizations.'" The same thing can be said of ownership by the state as well. Revisionists point to the existence of collective and state ownership in present-day China (or the Soviet Union) as proof that it is socialist, or at least something different from capitalism. But what is in the final analysis decisive is the content, not the form, of ownership. This means that whether a unit—and ultimately most important, the state—is led by a proletarian or a revisionist line determines whether it is socialist or capitalist, belonging to a new bourgeoisie.

Dazhai, under the leadership of a revolutionary line, often did things that, in the short run, seemed harmful to the collective at the brigade level, but in

actuality contributed to the overall development of socialism. For instance, one year when Dazhai was hit by severe drought but fortunately had access to water from a reservoir, the Dazhai peasants decided to concede the water to other brigades in an even more difficult situation, while they themselves carried water to the fields in buckets strung from shoulder poles. They also struggled, even in very lean years, to turn over as much grain to the state as possible to be used for the whole socialist society as well as to contribute to world revolution, even if this meant a slower rise in their own standard of living. While revisionist China may still retain collective ownership in name (although even the form of the people's commune is coming under increasing attack now), in fact the powerful spontaneous tendencies within the collective economy in the countryside, restricted under proletarian rule, are now being fanned into a full flame under bourgeois rule of the state.

Wages

Dazhai's advanced wage system also became a model for others. In the early days, Dazhai's system, just like in the other parts of China, was based on the strict adherence to work points for each particular type of work, calculated every day. There was much time and energy devoted to struggling out and hassling over the work points. In the end, physically stronger and more skilled members came out ahead, and also they even refused to work with weaker or less skilled members for fear of being dragged back in the figuring of work points. This is precisely what is happening today in the capitalist Chinese countryside. Through much struggle, the masses in Dazhai under socialism developed a wage system of "self-assessment and collective evaluation based on a unified workpoint standard." The question of work points, which used to involve daily hassles, was settled in a few mass meetings once a year, with each brigade member proposing his or her own wage which was then discussed by the rest of the members, taking into account not only the person's work but other factors as well, including their physical well-being, family, etc. Although disparities still existed, since bourgeois right could only still be restricted under socialism, the Dazhai system made steps toward narrowing the income differences as much as possible. Thus the system of collective welfare, like child care and health care, also contributed toward this end. From 1967 to 1970, for example, public welfare funds in Dazhai increased 4.5 times.

The contradiction between mental and manual labor is another of the "birthmarks" of the old society, that, if unrestricted, can serve as fertile soil for capitalist restoration. Dazhai's experience in tackling this contradiction included mass scientific experimentation by "three in one" combinations of cadres, peasants and agri-technicians. The "three in one" group made technical breakthroughs on experimental plots, and also gave advice on what crops should be grown as well as methods of planning and field management. Today under revisionist rule, scientific experimentation is solely in the hands of groups of expert technicians organized at the provincial level who sign contracts with peasants at the local level for their services. If there is an increase in output, the technicians get a cut of the profits; if there is a loss, they must pay out compensation. This means that the better-off peasants who can afford to contract the service of the technicians get further ahead. But more than that, the peasantry as a whole is shut out from mastering scientific knowledge and technical expertise, now the property of a handful.

One line of attack by the revisionists on Dazhai as well as on Mao's and the Four's line on agriculture is that the revolutionaries paid no attention to material conditions, arbitrarily outlawing such things as private plots, household sideline production and rural trade fairs, which were still necessary for the

livelihood of many peasants. The revolutionaries did in fact criticize and try to restrict these things, since letting them flourish would no doubt lead to capitalism, but they certainly did not shut them down cold without taking into account the actual conditions. In one commune in Liaoning province, the trade fair not only had become the center of black marketing, it was drawing the peasants away from collective production and farmland capital construction. At the same time, these fairs were still necessary since they provided products not normally available through existing channels and also supplemented the peasants' income. After careful study and ideological and organizational preparation, the commune leadership set up a "socialist big fair" where peasants could sell private goods through supply and marketing cooperatives. Instead of just restricting or shutting down the fairs, the socialist fairs established new exchange relations in the countryside, with individual bartering being replaced by planned acquisition and sale.

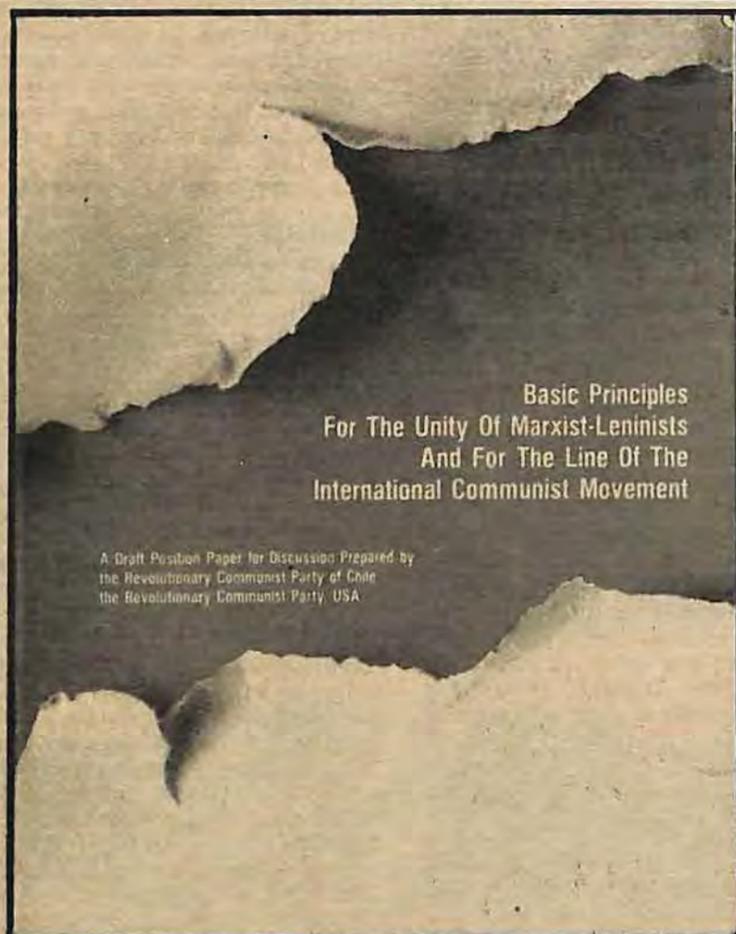
Contribution to World Revolution

The breakthroughs made by Dazhai in restricting bourgeois right, narrowing inequalities, and making strides toward communism were knocked down through decrees handed down from the top. Such advanced steps required the development of an advanced socialist consciousness among the peasants and the constant struggle against the revisionist line. When it was led by the revolutionary line, Dazhai's party branch often summed up that, "People's thinking has changed, the land has changed, farm techniques and outputs have changed. The change in thinking is a key to all else." Theoretical study classes and political night schools that linked study with the class struggle and the struggle for production and scientific experimentation were set up regularly. Narrow self-interest was sharply criticized, and the peasants were called on to set their sights on making revolution for the whole country and the whole world, in the spirit of one of the quotes

that Mao popularized in Dazhai—"China ought to have made a greater contribution to humanity."

One example of this was a peasant who was over 70, who never goes without a basket for picking up manure he finds on the road for the collective. Asked by a foreign visitor once why he worked so hard in his old age when Dazhai now harvested enough grain each year for three years' use, the old man replied, "We're not just working for ourselves, or for Dazhai alone!" The old man and his friends often remind themselves that, "Dazhai is linked with Asia, Africa and Latin America. We must construct Dazhai and bury imperialism, revisionism and reaction, in order to make more contributions to the Chinese and world revolution." Compare this with the puny vision of the revisionists' model peasant whose goal is a new television set and cash in the bank!

Undoubtedly backward forces have been unleashed in the countryside by the revisionist line to wreck socialist agriculture with vengeance and to praise the revisionist policies to the skies. The *People's Daily* has recently carried articles about peasants building private homes on sites assigned to them under their "responsibility system," and the rising phenomenon of well-off peasants hiring wage labor to increase profits for themselves. But the revisionists themselves admit that they are meeting some resistance. The April 15 *People's Daily* commentary on Dazhai warns, "To this point in some areas, the 'left' poison is still hindering the thinking of some comrades. For example, some comrades are still worried and hesitant over the various systems of responsibility that are being warmly received by the peasants, always fearing sliding toward 'capitalism' and 'turning the back on the socialist direction.' Dazhai and Xiyang have already started to get rid of the 'left fetters' and take a big 'new step.' Is it not possible to assimilate the experience from their change and increase our strength for moving forward?" The revisionists are finding that it is not so easy to break down the tremendous changes in the consciousness of the masses and relations among people brought on by Mao's line and the Cultural Revolution. □



A draft document from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA for discussion in the international communist movement and within their respective Parties. The document was submitted to the autumn 1980 international conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, which held that, "on the whole, the text is a positive contribution toward the elaboration of a correct general line for the international communist movement. With this perspective, the text should be circulated and discussed not only in the ranks of those organizations who have signed this communique, but throughout the ranks of the international communist movement."

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Pink Continued from page 1

au chômage" (Giscard to the unemployment lines) rang in the air accompanied by the blaring horns of tens of thousands of cars and motorcycles which, when not hopelessly entangled in the mass of humanity, careened madly through the city with occupants seeming to defy the laws of gravity as they hung out their windows and open sun-roofs waving and whooping it up in their excitement. In every crowd red was the prominent color as many people had obviously grabbed their favorite article of red clothing as they dashed into the throng and red flags were sprinkled in every direction not infrequently flying in friendly unison with the French Tri-color. Near the Bastille as many as 200,000 people rendered thunderous choruses of the *Internationale* and somewhat more subdued versions of the *Marseillaise* (the French national anthem).

Many French people from Calais to Marseilles wanted from the bottom of their hearts to believe the front-page editorial that appeared in the next morning's edition of *Le Matin*, a major daily newspaper with strong, if unofficial, ties to the PS. "After so many years of suffocation, life is full of friendship and fraternity. The heavy weight upon us has been shattered. In a single moment it has vanished in the distance. The future is today. Everything is changed, everything is possible."

What exactly has happened in France and how justified was the mass sentiment? Has France really changed? Yes, something has changed in France, but it sure isn't anything fundamental.

It is true that one of the most powerful countries in Europe and a significant imperialist power in the world has been forced to color itself pink, but in the light of class analysis, in the light of Marxism, it can be seen that the same bourgeois class interests are still controlling France, though the election does reflect their changing necessity and some of their tactical maneuvering. This recent turn of events is a significant reflection and an integral part of developments, not only in France, but the whole world. This article will attempt to analyze the reasons behind and the meaning of France's new "socialist" leadership.

Mitterand's History

Who is François Mitterand? He is the 64-year old walrus-faced leader of the Parti Socialiste (PS). He has been on the French bourgeois political scene for 37 years and held numerous high-level government posts during the 4th French Republic from 1945 til 1958, which included the years of France's murderous imperialist-military adventure and ignominious defeat in Indochina and its replacement there by the U.S. He was actually directly in charge of France's not insignificant colonial involvement and intrigues from 1950 to 1951 when he was a minister of Overseas Territories. And in 1956, while the French ruling class was frantically trying to attempt to crush the Algerian liberation war, our progressive Monsieur Mitterand was howling "The only negotiation is war, because Algeria is French." U.S. bourgeois commentator, Joseph Kraft, summarized him quite well in a recent column, "Mr. Mitterand is anything but the communist dupe portrayed by his enemies. Personally he is as bourgeois as Mr. Bovary. His record, at home and abroad, qualifies him as one of the most dedicated anti-communists in his country. He backed the Socialists in kicking the Communists out of the French government in 1947. He supported the Socialists crushing Communist-led strikes in 1949." As Mitterand himself put it in 1958, "I have always combated communism. I will struggle relentlessly to spare France from the horrors of the collectivist dictatorship."

In 1958, with the Algerian war straining France to the breaking point, with France's realization of the necessity of moving beyond only *naked* colonialism into *neo-colonialism* to maintain its empire, with conflicts intensifying between French and U.S. imperialism over who

would get to dominate and exploit what pieces of territory, especially in the areas of the traditional French colonial empire, and with international contradictions and unrest reaching crisis proportions, the French bourgeoisie turned to Charles DeGaulle. As part of DeGaulle's price for returning to power "to save France" he insisted on re-vamping the Constitution and creating the current Fifth Republic, with the outstanding characteristic of providing for an extremely powerful seven-year presidency which earned the envious praise of Henry Kissinger, who called it "an elective monarchy."

It is at this point in history that Mitterand began to play a role in France's loyal "leftist" opposition, and part of his claim to fame as a "left" leader comes from his long and bitter opposition to the political reign of DeGaulle, whom he often called a "dictator" and a "king without a crown." However, it is clear that Mitterand's only real point was that he himself could rule France in a more stable bourgeois fashion. He criticized DeGaulle for "maintaining disorder and fomenting civil war" and he argued, in effect, that he and his kind could quiet things down and restore a firmer capitalist dictatorship.

As for Mitterand's campaign itself, it was practically a textbook example of bourgeois politicking. His main tactic was to utilize the tremendous mass hatred for Giscard and the status quo among broad sections of the French people by focusing in on the deteriorating conditions of life in France, especially the persistent inflation rate of close to 14% and the officially admitted 1.7 million unemployed. When Giscard challenged him, in their nationally televised debate a few days before the final vote, to explain his solution to some of France's economic ills, Mitterand responded, "It is really very difficult to have a discussion when we stand for two different political beliefs because Monsieur Giscard D'Estaing wants me to put mine into his political setting. He reasons that I must exercise my politics within his framework, and if I did then I would certainly fail, just like he did." Mitterand, of course, is quite aware that not only is he in the same "political setting" as Giscard, he is very likely to fail as well. In fact, Mitterand's only hope of achieving his actual goals is in exactly the same setting, that is, on a worldwide scale in line with the rest of the Western bloc as it gears up for war. He does understand *that* very well, as we shall see.

To people in the U.S., where all sectors of the ruling class flaunt their capitalist nature, a few of Mitterand's proposals might seem radical, such as the plan to nationalize French banks, several industries, and some insurance companies. Giscard tried to scare up votes and support among true believers in private enterprise in France, but as Mitterand quickly responded, "I'd like to remind the people that it was General DeGaulle who in 1945 nationalized the bulk of what today is nationalized: coal, electric, gas, Renault, insurance, banks. I'd like to remind people that a country such as Portugal has nationalized its banks, and it's not a socialist country. I would also like to say that if one were to compare the extent of nationalization in Austria and in Italy with what now exists in France, one would be quite surprised." Don't forget England or West Germany, François, but anyway, thank you, we couldn't have said it better ourselves. The models for these future bits of heaven are France's nationalized Renault automobile enterprise and the state-owned *Aerospaciale* (aerospace) company, which happens to be directed by Jacques Mitterand, François' brother.

Mitterand's other promises include an offer to increase the minimum wage by an amount that won't even catch up with inflation (and besides Jimmy Carter did that and he doesn't even claim to be "socialist"). Another promise: the plan to reduce the work week over an unspecified number of years without reducing pay—in cooperation with employers, of course. All of these proposals fit into the category of "fine tuning" according to Monsieur Delors,

one of Mitterand's top aides. One senior French banker quoted in the *International Herald Tribune* explained why he wasn't too worried about France's turn to the "left", "Many influential socialists are clearly part of the well-educated, well-off bourgeoisie, and some maintain close links with the leading conservative French business and government leaders, links that could count heavily in working out the nationalization." Now there's a man who recognizes his own kind.

Specific Form of War Preparation

But be that as it may, the hopes and aspirations of the French bourgeoisie and of Mitterand himself are hardly confined to relatively mundane questions such as these. It is true that they want and need to keep the internal economic and social situation as together as possible, but they know that in the final analysis no amount of "fine tuning" can really do anything other than hold the fort while they prepare politically and militarily for the East-West imperialist world war, which their system is hurtling towards at ever-increasing speed. This question cannot be approached in the same way in France as it is in the U.S., where the rulers are brazenly kicking the dirt off their cowboy boots and all but openly calling to "man the trenches!", while aspiring patriotic heroes of America drive around with bumper stickers as outrageous as, "Nuke the Whales." The French people, like those of most other European countries, have seen plenty of wars up real close and they aren't exactly jumping at the prospect of another one on a qualitatively more vicious and bloody scale. Therefore, while war preparation is key to the French bourgeoisie's hope for survival, the word for the times is "quite and calm" military increases, careful tightening of the Western alliance, and healthy doses of national chauvinism, of a "decent sort." The French military is already as strong or stronger than any other Western European power and is sufficient for now, though continuing to augment it at a somewhat stepped-up pace will help to strengthen the overall Western bloc. The main question is ideologically and politically preparing the French people. It is exactly on these larger issues, particularly in the effort to build national chauvinism, that all the major candidates performed valiantly and played on a common theme, "Everything for France." The role of Mitterand as the representative of the "left" is to give this sort of a labor-populist thrust (everything for the French workers, for the French people) and to cast the relations of French imperialism and more generally of the Western bloc, with the "Third World" in a more "reasonable" peace-seeking light. This is in contrast, or is a tactical counterpoint, to "the get tough stand" of the U.S. with Reagan as head man. All of this is less than a whisper from leaping into the coming fray of "protect France's interests." After all, the argument will go, if France gets caught in a battle between two hostile superpowers it must choose sides, and "Western democracy" is better, isn't it?

Mitterand naturally has not been the least bit shy on this question, while keeping well within the overall game plan. He frequently lambasted Giscard for being soft on the Soviets, specifically accusing him of being weak and indecisive following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and he cited as particularly glaring Giscardian outrages the ex-president's trip to Warsaw to meet with Soviet President Brezhnev shortly after the invasion and the fact that the French ambassador was the only Western ambassador present at the 1980 May Day celebration in Moscow's Red Square. During the campaign, Mitterand occasionally made hostile noises to both military blocs but quickly added the bottom line argument, "I would like to disengage from them (the western alliance—RW) but if we did separate from this alliance we would find ourselves unprotected in a hostile world." In other words, the real interests of French imperialism are served, especially in today's conditions, by

being part of the bloc headed by the U.S. and given this, "it would be difficult to imagine the U.S. leaving Europe." It's no wonder that U.S. Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger said right after the elections, "I do not see any reason to suppose we will not have the same excellent defense working relations with France in the future as in the past."

Mitterand is right up there with the best warhorses in either superpower bloc. He advises expanding France's nuclear capability, "la frappe de force," which he, like other French imperialist spokesmen, considers the key element in France's "defense," and continuing "the modernization of our strategical and tactical forces." He insists that "it is necessary to unite the youth of our country for the defense of our country and for the national service."

In fact the more one looks at Mitterand's lengthy, odious and continuing record of staunch service to French imperialism, the more unlikely it seems he would be able to appear as some kind of "leftist" savior to large sections of the French people. It is not as if his past is buried and unknown, it is quite well documented, and, for any of those who might have forgotten or never knew, the back and forth during the campaign dragged much of it out into the public eye. And it is not as if his campaign itself didn't provide ample evidence of Mitterand's thoroughly bourgeois program and appeal. In fact, on top of everything else, the primary slogan for his campaign was "Mitterand, la Force Tranquille" (the Calm Force). This vibrant and captivating motto was most often seen on giant billboards containing a grotesque picture of Mitterand's head as he tried to look calm and distinguished in front of a placid scene of a peaceful little French village—white church and all. And another favorite slogan was "Pour la France Forte et Tranquille" (For a Strong and Peaceful France).

These are hardly the battle cries of someone meaning to challenge the old and conservative order, and yet the Mitterand campaign was able to attract millions of voters who were hoping for change.

To understand this situation, it is helpful to imagine a U.S. politician of the likes of Ted Kennedy in the social and political circumstances that exist in France. What we see in the U.S. on the bourgeois political stage for the most part is the liberals and conservatives, each openly and proudly defending championing capitalism with different appeals. In France however, there is another phenomenon with the same essence—there is the "left" and the "right," with the leaders of the "left" pretending to be anti-capitalist and even hiding under a "socialist" or even a "communist" cover.

In April 1980, Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the RCP, summarized this difference and the reasons for it:

"This country is about the only one coming out of World War 2 that openly talked about capitalism, bragged about 'free enterprise,' and the only one that didn't have to have some kind of social-democratic movement in the working class. That is a reflection of its position as top dog coming off that war. Even France, England, etc., they had to appeal to the masses on some kind of social-democratic basis, and often (as in France and Italy, for example) this role of reformist socialism appealing to broad ranks of the working class was played by the communist parties that went revisionist and gave up their revolutionary principles." ("Coming From Behind to Make Revolution," p. 8)

Role of the "Communist" Party

In the period since World War 2 the two main parties in France vying for this position have been the PS and the revisionist Communist Party of France (PCF). Of the two, PS actually has more of a liberal and progressive image, and despite (and in part because of) its thoroughly reformist character, the PS attracts many people with those general political inclinations, especially from

the students and intellectual strata. (Included within this are some who were the most active participants during May 1968 when the established order of France was deeply jarred and shaken by mass rebellions, street fighting, and strikes among broad sections of the French population.) The PCF, on the other hand, has its deepest roots in the more socialized and generally better off—and French as opposed to immigrant—sections of the industrial working class. It plays a role quite similar to the organized trade union movement in the U.S. The PCF makes every effort to keep large sections of the French proletariat focused on narrow economic and nationalistic concerns and often plays a vanguard reactionary role in society. The recent low point along these lines was their organization of vigilante squads who used bulldozers against housing for North-African immigrants in a city whose government is dominated by the PCF. (The mayor of the town championed the bulldozer attack.) Another fine example of their neanderthal nature was in May 1968, when George Marchais, the current head of the PCF and then a major leader of it, attacked the revolutionary students for being “the sons of the big bourgeoisie who despise students of working class origin...” (We can't have anybody disrupting class and keeping those hard working “upwardly mobile” students from making it, can we George? Especially disrupting it for anything so “bourgeois” as challenging the very nature and order of bourgeois society!)

In fact for all of its genuine efforts to be the staunchest defenders of the French nation—that is, French imperialism—the PCF is one of the most pro-Moscow of the European Communist Parties. It is exactly for that reason—and not because the PCF has anything to do with revolution—that one of the most important aspects of the presidential campaign overall, as far as the traditional French bourgeoisie was concerned, was to reduce the influence of the PCF. The PCF itself had already made some giant strides in the direction of unpopularity, with their support for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and their attempt to prettify the Soviet Union and the Polish revisionist ruling class in relation to the mass upheaval of the people in Poland, as well as their despicable position on immigrants. But the French bourgeoisie also made a concerted effort to convince the PCF's base that their only real hope for change was with Mitterand, not with George Marchais. One of the ploys along these lines occurred in the final days just before the first round of the election when the French media was full of rumors and speculation that Jacques Chirac (a right-wing Gaullist) who actually came in a distant third in the initial voting, had a real chance of beating Mitterand. In France, the election procedure involves a first round in which a fairly large number of candidates vie, with only the two highest vote-getters going to the final round runoff. While obviously false, these rumors had the effect of further lowering the PCF vote count. Significant numbers of its sympathizers were particularly susceptible to a ruse of this type after years of hearing the revisionists' “change things through elections” arguments, and many of them jumped to Mitterand's bandwagon in the first round. The combination of these factors, along with several others of less significance, were able to reduce the vote for Marchais to slightly more than 15%, the worst showing for the PCF since the 1930s.

The Present State of the Masses

In 1974, Mitterand's campaign was waged against Giscard as an open “unity against the Right” and he was the accepted candidate of a “united left”, whereas in the final round of this year's elections there was a de facto unity. In either case, when these two parties (the PS and the PCF) along with numerous other “leftist” parties including a number of Trotskyite groups form a “left-wing” in France, it is quite similar—though somewhat different in form—to the liberals of

the Democratic Party in the U.S. Mitterand is in many ways something like the Ted Kennedy of France, the most significant difference between the two being that Mitterand is now on the center stage while Kennedy's still waiting in the wings for the chance to place his elegant leather shoes on the necks of the people of the U.S. and the world in the name of saving them.

There is also another parallel to the U.S. situation that is in order here to help explain the mass enthusiasm for Mitterand. To quote from the recent Central Committee Report of the RCP which was excerpted in the *RW* No. 99:

“...it has been said that ‘the majority of U.S. workers today belong in the Democratic Party.’ Of course this latter statement should not be taken as a guide to revolutionary work—we should be finding every avenue to raise their level and break them out of it to genuine class consciousness—it is more like Engels put it in regard to the bourgeois state of the English working class: ‘For a nation which exploits the whole world this is of course to a certain extent justifiable.’ Engels wasn't seeking to ‘justify’ this politically, he was simply making a hard-nosed scientific and historically sweeping analysis.”

In this spirit, and keeping in mind what was quoted earlier from Bob Avakian's 1980 Talk on the difference between the U.S. and other imperialist countries, if it can be said that “the majority of the U.S. workers today belong in the Democratic Party” it can similarly be said the majority of the French workers and the progressive petty bourgeoisie in France today “belong in” parties like the PS and the PCF. Again this isn't to say that they can't be and shouldn't be broken out of that in a revolutionary direction, but it is true that right now for specific and historical reasons, the “left” in its various forms, even as thoroughly bourgeois as it is, matches the ideological and political level of large sections of the French masses. And to one degree or the other, it is able to appeal to their political aspirations.

It is important to point out however, that while the French working class is somewhat more homogeneous than that of the U.S.—that is the contradiction within the working class is not as great in France, while at the same time the standard of living of the “average” worker is lower than the U.S.—it is still the case that there are significant sections of the proletariat which have not benefitted to any marked degree from France's imperialist plunder and in fact have nothing to lose. This includes a large and growing number of immigrants who are extremely oppressed, exploited, angry and often have a high level of consciousness. It would not be wise to minimize the tremendous explosive potential of these proletarians, as the Queen's England so recently discovered in a place called Brixton. And further included are many frustrated, disillusioned and pissed off youth who are just itching for a way forward out of the dreary, miserable life all around them, and are often filled up with nothing but contempt for the whole of French society. This healthy attitude of alienation was naturally transferred to the recent elections and often prominent among the graffiti which appeared in Paris subways were such things as “l'élection piège à cons” (a trap for assholes).

“Left vs. Right” Circus

But even so, the fact is that the French “left vs. the right” political circus has been quite successful in helping to trap the masses within the bourgeois “change through elections” framework. This can be seen by looking quickly at the development of this year's presidential race. The momentum started several months ago as several dozen candidates of almost every political persuasion threw their hats in the ring. But “suspense” built up as the first round approached and the field was narrowed down, through a selection process carefully controlled by the French state apparatus, to 10 either completely bourgeois or basically irrele-

vant choices, ranging from the “far right” on through Giscard, Mitterand, the PCF candidate (George Marchais) and several other leftists including an ecologist and a Trotskyite.

After the first round the race was back down to a rerun of the 1974 battle between Giscard and Mitterand with all (or most) of the other groups and candidates falling into place in their respective wings for the big showdown. By this point the vast majority of the French people were suckered to one degree or another into the process and despite some not insignificant amounts of disgust (which was indicated, for example, by a poll before the first round showing that 10% of the vote would go to a well-known comedian who was running against all other “political jerks” in the role of a self-professed buffoon, which could be compared to 10% of the U.S. vote going to Alfred E. Neuman). An astonishing—by U.S. standards—86% of the eligible voters turned out on May 10. Coluche (the comedian) ended up supporting the Mitterand bandwagon.

The importance of the “right vs. left” humbug as well as the whole election process to the bourgeoisie was admitted almost straight up in *Le Figaro*, one of the more openly reactionary bourgeois papers. While pushing for the election of Giscard, they editorialized against the prospect of Mitterand being knocked out of the first round by Jacques Chirac, who was the top running candidate to the “right” of Giscard. This would undermine the electoral process, they argued, because the winner would lack a mandate to rule. Meanwhile, the entire “left” seemed determined to grant this “mandate,” as group after group fell into place either openly supporting Mitterand or—while pretending not to—expressed such a horror at the prospect of the election of Giscard that the conclusion of voting for the “lesser of two evils” was unavoidable. Particularly obscene were the endless Trotskyite groups, some of which are rather large and fit into what's called the “extreme left,” who appeared to be having a contest to see who could come up with the best sophistry for supporting Mitterand. “Chassez Giscard” (Get rid of Giscard) was the favorite slogan. And, unfortunately, this phenomenon did not confine itself to Trotskyites; it was also in evidence among some of the more genuine leftist groups and even some Marxist-Leninist forces in the country.

Beyond the close parallel between the French “left and right” and the U.S. “liberal and conservative,” there were also many other striking similarities between the two electoral processes, including the familiar national debate between the two top candidates, the ridiculous “debate over the debate” before and after the real debate, and, of course, the whole attempt to build the thing up to a fever pitch through the old horse race gambit—“Oh my god, Mesdames et Messieurs, it's just too close to call.” But the most fundamental similarity was that in France, as in the U.S., either of the two main candidates would have been just fine for the bourgeoisie. What they needed was a man for the times, a man who in the difficult and trying times of increasing imperialist crisis and impending world war, could keep France strong, united and calm. A man who could rally people around “La France” to keep the economic and social situation as together as possible while reducing the influence of the PCF, and meanwhile, quickly, but without great fanfare continue to build up France's not inconsiderable war machine.

There were obvious differences among the French ruling circles about the tactical advantages of one candidate over the other but in the final analysis, and in a perverted sort of way given the completely bourgeois nature of the whole process, they were willing to go along with “whatever the people choose” since after all, on all the essential points both had fundamental unity. The more pro-Giscard elements were pleased with the past 7 years of relatively stable rule and felt comfortable with what they had already had—and con-

cerned themselves with the notion that Giscard had not done badly in handling a crisis that hit the whole imperialist world. In addition, these forces reasoned Giscard wouldn't have that pesky PCF breathing down his neck and applying mass pressure to keep the “left” united, etc. There were further concerns that Mitterand's victory would actually de-stabilize things for a time, as he dissolved the national assembly and went through the several month process of consolidating his government.

But the Mitterand advocates had a persuasive argument of their own. There was widespread mass dissatisfaction with the status quo, represented by Giscard and a tremendous sentiment to change. Leaving Giscard in, they reasoned, with May 1968 still fresh in their minds, might just heighten the mass anger and confront the bourgeoisie with the worst prospect of all—the masses in motion and out of their control. According to this thesis, it was much preferable to confine any sentiments or motion for change to the electoral process and further, the apparent turn to the “left” might pacify people for awhile. And this line of thinking was not confined to those closely associated with Mitterand. In an almost hysterical and definitely exaggerated plea right before the final election, Phillip DeChartre, an advisor to the “rightist” Jacques Chirac, stated, “I continue to be convinced that 7 more years of the incumbent president would lead France to ruin and to revolution. As far as I am concerned, I would prefer that the changing of the guard not take place in the street. Today we have a democratic means for change—voting for François Mitterand.” As the *London Guardian* editorialized sympathetically, “Even a socialist president in the hammerlock of conservative assembly could do much to revive the hopes and enthusiasm of France's lost voters.” It was arguments like these that seemed to neutralize some of Giscard's support within the French bourgeoisie and helped to pave the way for Mitterand's final victory. But again, underlying all of this was the clear understanding on the part of the French ruling class that both Mitterand and Giscard represent the interests of French imperialism and will faithfully pursue their interests.

And in this sense, just as the French ruling class recognized their overall class interests would be served by either candidate—and that in any case the election of the one or the other would involve at most different tactical necessity (for example if Giscard was elected, perhaps more people would be immediately alienated from the bourgeois political set-up, whereas if Mitterand got the nod perhaps many who voted for him would become outraged and further radicalized as they began to see that the election would not bring the kind of change they hoped for)—so, from its standpoint, the class conscious proletariat must firmly grasp that there's nothing to choose between in an election such as this. It is not only useless, but harmful to try to determine which of these bourgeois politicians in office—that is the election of which one—would provide the more favorable circumstances and terrain for building opposition to the same imperialism represented by both.

The essential point is that, in the years ahead, the whole imperialist system will be gripped by deepening crisis, the developments towards both world war and revolution will be heightening throughout the world and both the ruling class and the working class and oppressed masses of all countries will be called on to face this situation. The recent experience of the French elections underscores what is a general principle that stands up all the more sharply and urgently in relation to the intensifying challenges and possible opportunities in the period ahead: what is needed and demanded in the face of bourgeois politics and its role in deceiving the masses and perpetuating slavery, is not the attempt to maneuver within this, but to break decisively with it and from that standpoint to lead the masses in taking independent historical action. □

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