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# ATLANTA SMOKESCREEN

Months before it even began, the trial of Wayne Williams in Atlanta was already one of the most publicized trials in history. Whatever his role in the Atlanta killings—if any—Williams has become the fall guy in one of the biggest smokescreens in history. The trial of the state's lone Black suspect is designed, of course, to bury the issue of the Atlanta murders, obscure the racist nature of the killings, protect the criminal ringleaders and especially, to blur the sharp worldwide focus on the oppression of Black people in the USA.

This is a difficult task and, as has become so glaringly apparent in the last few weeks, the state's "case" is shot through and through with contradiction. On January 21st the prosecution began to reveal the heart of its case against Williams. Called to testify was Dr. Larry Peterson from the Georgia State Crime Lab. Peterson had supervised a search of the Williams house that allegedly resulted in the much-heralded fiber evidence against Wayne Williams. Peterson also supervised the crime lab test of fibers allegedly found at the

house against fibers allegedly found on murder victims Nathaniel Cater and Jimmy Ray Payne.

It was up to Dr. Peterson to nail the case shut for the state. Instead, he came away from the courtroom with a throbbing thumb. The state came away once again facing the task of presenting some real evidence against their accused murderer.

The evidence Dr. Peterson revealed was nothing new. Not only does the state's case actually hinge on a few threads (actually nylon fibers), but

under cross-examination, this forensic expert did what several of the other expert witnesses had done in the several days before he had his turn on the stand. He blew it!

Through the gentle guidance of the District Attorney, Peterson elaborated on the huge photographs of some of the 89 fibers that he claims to have found to have "no significant differences," six groups found on the red bathing suit of Payne and five groups found from the hair of Cater. "In my opinion it is

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## Lessons from Iran on Coming From Behind to Build the Party

By Bob Avakian

Recently, Bob Avakian responded to a number of questions from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle throughout the decades of the '60s, '70s and into the '80s. The answers elaborate on a number of questions raised in the talk, "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will," just published as a special issue of Revolution magazine. These answers (edited from a tape) are being published in serial form in the RW. Previous sections ran in RW Nos. 136, 137 and 138.

**Q:** We are talking about revolution in the colonies and dependent countries and how it's not some kind of absolute law that it can only be led by the proletariat. How does that relate to the question of party building, the party and the masses?

**BA:** Take the Iranian revolution. We do say "the Iranian revolution"—it was a revolution. It did lead to the toppling of one regime, and it did lead to the coming to power—at least in the short run—of new and different class forces than were represented by the Shah. Now at this point that revolution has clearly been turned into its opposite and a new reactionary bourgeois (ultimately comprador bourgeois, pro-imperialist) force is consolidating, or one can basically say has consolidated, its rule for now. But that doesn't change the fact that there was a real revolution there. There was mass uprising, there were all the conditions that characterize a revolution.

If you want to make the argument that the only revolution in this era that's really a revolution is the proletarian revolution, and that can only be led by the proletariat—well, that's a tautology; it's a circular argument. To say that the proletarian revolution can only be led by the proletariat is obvious. But it's incorrect...to say that in this era the only real revolution is a proletarian revolution. So in that sense the Iranian revolution was a

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Iranian rebels on captured vehicle during the insurrection.

## Defendants File for Dismissal

# Gov't. Moves to Hide Spying on Mao Defendants

The January 20th hearing in the government's railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants was held as scheduled. Announcing that there were some "housekeeping matters" he wanted to take care of, D.C. Superior Court Judge Ugast insisted that the hearing take place. While any real "housekeeping" in this case would truly be a Herculean task and could only result in tossing out the entire house, Judge Ugast had different tasks on his mind.

The main items on the agenda had to do with the continued government maneuvering on the issue of disclosure of their records of electronic surveillance against the RCP. As we predicted, the courtroom on the 20th of January was not overflowing with government documents. In fact, after months, actually years, of continual stalling the only document produced by the government was a new motion asking for yet another extension on the deadline for turning over the material—this time they stated they would have their "complete response" no later than January 22nd. And, as an indication of just how "complete" this re-

sponse would be, the new prosecutor in the case, C. Madison Brewer, stated that the Attorney General had already signed the necessary authorization (that is, cover-up) forms for the "secret aspects" of the material—that is, the great bulk of the most politically explosive material in their files.

According to Brewer, the government has two main categories of material: a few, previously described as irrelevant and undoubtedly highly censored at that, documents that will be handed over directly to the defendants; and the "secret material." As further testimony of the highly political nature of the government's attack Brewer made it clear that the government had already begun the preparations necessary for using the Classified Materials Act of 1980 and the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 in order to suppress secret material. Under the Classified Materials Act any documents having to do with questions of national security, that is, the "national defense" and foreign relations of the United States, will be turned over to the judge in the case, who "alone" will make a decision

on the relevance of this material to the case. Of course, the judge is "urged" to follow the recommendations of the Attorney General that come along with the material. In this situation if the judge decides that the material is irrelevant, then no one else gets to even so much as see the documents. In the other category, the material suppressed under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, the government only has to claim that in a very broadly defined sense the material has to do with foreign intelligence and the documents are immediately taken out of the trial court and placed under the jurisdiction of a federal court. Once this court decides to suppress this material the very fact of its existence cannot even be brought up to prove a point in the course of a trial.

As the prosecution arrogantly pointed to the "elaborate procedures of the Justice Department" in these matters, the defendants immediately launched a counterattack. The defense attorneys announced that not only were the defendants going to challenge the constitutionality of the government's maneuvers, but more, demanded that the entire case be dismissed. The lawyers pointed out that the prosecution's continued maneuvering is nothing less than a cover-up and in complete opposition even to a 1979 court order in this case compelling disclosure of all material on electronic surveillance. Visibly shaken up by this, the judge announced that electronic surveillance may be the first decisive issue he has to take up in the case.

In other developments, although the judge avoided openly ruling in favor of the prosecution's demand that the defendants be ordered to personally appear in court, he did make it quite clear that he intended to have the defendants make an appearance at the "soonest, most convenient time" prior to evidentiary hearings. While the exact timing and terms of how this would be carried out was left unresolved, they will probably be battled out in the next scheduled hearing in the case, February 22nd.

### Dismissal Motion

At the same time as the judge conducted his "housekeeping," the defendants launched still another offensive. In a new motion filed just before the hearing the defendants demanded that the indictment against them be dismissed on the grounds of prosecutorial misconduct before the Grand

Jury. Because of the thoroughly political nature of the case, and especially because of the proven legally fraudulent and blatantly political basis of the government's prosecution, together with their more than proven fondness for trickery and deceit, the defendants' motion calls for the dismissal of the indictment on the grounds that it is more than likely that if the government did not resort to outright lying to convince the Grand Jury to indict the defendants then they could only have made a blatant political appeal to the Grand Jury to indict the defendants on the grounds of their political beliefs. Failing dismissal of the indictment, the defendants demand that the testimony before the Grand Jury be made a matter of public record.

The heart of the defendants' new motion is a sharp exposure of the thoroughly political core of the government's entire theory of prosecution as a crudely fashioned weapon designed to get Bob Avakian and the other defendants, not to mention possible future use more broadly. The prosecution's strategy is based on their assertion that all of the defendants, and for that matter all of the people who participated in the Jan. 29th, 1979 demonstration against Deng Xiaoping and U.S. imperialism "shared a common plan to engage in illegal activity on Jan. 29th" and acted "in furtherance of a joint enterprise."

Based on this the government claims that it is not only justified in its sweeping dragnet arrests, but need only prove that the defendants were present at the demonstration and arrested at the site of the police attack on it in order to convict them of the multiple felony charges against them. The defense motion points out, "It is and always has been the government's theory that any or all of the demonstrators could be prosecuted for any and all criminal acts that allegedly were committed in and around their march, including apparently those acts that were committed by unknown persons who may actually have been police agents." In essence, what the prosecution's theory boils down to is that anyone who participated in the demonstration could have been arrested and charged in the case solely on the basis of their participation in a political demonstration. The lynchpins holding this blatantly political theory together are the "creative" use of aiding and

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## Secret Inter-Agency Meeting Exposed

Included as Exhibit A in the defendants' new motion to dismiss the indictment is further proof of the involvement of the highest levels of the government, and all their political police agencies, in engineering the attack on the Jan. 29th, 1979 demonstration even days before the demonstration actually took place. According to a document from a highly censored "final situation report" that slipped through in a Freedom of Information Act request from the Secret Service, on Jan. 27th, 1979 a meeting was held between the "command officers" of the D.C. Police Dept., the U.S. Park Police, the Special Agent in charge of the Washington Field Office of the Secret Service and then chief U.S. Attorney Earl Silbert. No politics here! The purpose of this meeting was to discuss whether to revoke the permits for the demonstration. While the meeting decided to "let the permits

stand as they are at this time," a command structure for the more than 1000 cops assigned to the demonstration was set up, and, as the document states, "In the future any decision to revoke permits will be on a case by case basis by the above parties."

In addition to proving the involvement of very high government officials in the police attack on the demonstration, this document also serves as a further reflection of the political nature of the case and illustrates some of the contradictions and flagrant lies involved in the prosecution's attempt to wrap the case in a criminal cover. Interestingly enough, the document directly contradicts recent statements by the prosecution denying the existence of any inter-agency memoranda or that there was collaboration among several agencies prior to the events of Jan. 29th, 1979.

This document—as received by the defense—had whole sections edited out. What other political conspiracies by the government does it (and still uncovered documents) reveal? □

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# U.S. Sticks It to China with Taiwan Arms Deal

## It's No Fun Being a Running Dog

On January 11, the U.S. government announced its long delayed and disputed decision on arms sales to Taiwan. While putting the publicity spotlight on the decision not to sell the FX model fighter to Taiwan for now, the real substance of the U.S. decision was quite the opposite. Modern arms sales were to go ahead to the Taiwan regime just as before, including the modern F-5E jet fighter planes. State Dept. spokesman Alan Romberg said no limit has been placed on how many F-5E fighters Taiwan could buy or on how long Taiwan would be permitted to build the fighters, which are currently being built in Taiwan on license from Northrop. Romberg also left open the possibility that the F-5E could be improved later with new equipment such as better electronic systems, and that other weapons such as anti-ship and air missiles would be sold to Taiwan. He said, "Our policy on arms sales to Taiwan is unchanged," adding that "we anticipate further steps of this sort."

With this decision the U.S. once again demonstrated its basic policy these days toward those who have "come around" to following U.S. imperialism (as the Chinese revisionists in Peking have): "We won't let you stop at just capitulating to us; we're going to rub your faces in it and make you go *all* the way."

China immediately protested the U.S.

decision, but quite feebly, as might be expected from compradors — they protested the fact that they had not been consulted before the decision was announced, not the decision itself. This level of servility was in striking contrast to the quite considerable furor the Chinese government raised in the months while the decision was in the works.

Some of the highlights of this furor include:

—In September, 1981 the Soviet Union proposed reopening border talks with China over the Sino-Soviet border and the massive troop buildup by each side. These talks had first started after the revisionist coup in China in 1976, but had been broken off by China when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. China responded positively to the proposal in late December. In January, China's Vice Chairman Li Xiannian pointedly announced that there were "no preconditions whatsoever" to the start of such talks; he also criticized "U.S. hegemonism," and said, "It's wrong to say that the U.S. and China have a 'close relationship.'"

—In January, just before the decision was made, the Chinese government leaked out through Japan's Kyodo news agency that China and the U.S. have been conducting secret discussions over allowing the U.S. 7th fleet a permanent

port in the city of Darin (formerly Port Arthur) in Manchuria. This port has historically been very important strategically — it was one of the major points of struggle in the 1905 war between Japan and Russia, for example. The leak was certainly a message to the U.S. hinting at just what was at stake in the Taiwan arms deal.

—At the end of December, for the first time in several years, the Chinese revisionists began to criticize the United States as a superpower with its own aims for world hegemony.

—Specifically in relation to the Taiwan arms deal, China raised the spectre of downgrading diplomatic relations with the U.S. if the deal went through. They made references to the fact that they had actually downgraded diplomatic relations with the Netherlands for selling arms to Taiwan.

—China charged that any arms sales to Taiwan would "be a violation of Chinese sovereignty."

—In the midst of this flurry of bluff and real concern, China announced that their policy on U.S. arms shipments to Taiwan was an absolutely firm position in principle, "but at the same time we are reasonable." That is, come talk to us, allow us to save face, and we'll go along with the deal.

The U.S. decision, as noted, was quite

clear. The U.S. made it and announced it before consulting China, even letting Taiwan know what the decision was before letting China know. Taiwan gets the fighters. But Taiwan had asked for F-X fighters, the new generation, faster and more powerful than the F-5E. There was a debate in foreign policy circles in the U.S. over just this point, reflected in the pages of the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times* and the *Wall St. Journal*. This debate was in no way over whether or not to supply modern arms to Taiwan; the only real question debated was just how much humiliation can the U.S. expect China to "reasonably" take right now.

In the aftermath of the decision itself, the Reagan administration claimed that China got some real concessions (i.e. was thoroughly, but not totally, shafted by the U.S.), so China should be happy. The *New York Times*, in an editorial, praised Reagan for finally showing some finesse in diplomacy — sure he jumped on China, with his boots on, but at least he took off his spurs — he's not acting like such a cowboy any longer.

All this was done, certainly, to make clear the real boss in the U.S. bloc, including between the U.S. and China, and to serve the real strategic interests of the U.S. Since the decision, Chinese pro-

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## Gov't Spokesmen Bark Orders at Science Confab

An important part of the imperialists' war preparations is not only building up and improving its armies but also pulling together and preparing its scientific and technical army for the glorious tasks ahead. This was the central theme of presentations by two government representatives at the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) convention held earlier this month in Washington, D.C. The remarks by Dr. George A. Keyworth II, Reagan's advisor for science and technology and Vice-Admiral Bobby Inman, Deputy Director of the CIA, were aimed at the over 6,000 scientists gathered and many others not in attendance. Both were keenly aware of the unpopularity of recent government cutbacks in the funding of scientific research in what it terms "less productive" areas (that is, those not related to military pursuits) and the resentment among many of attempts to bring scientists more tightly under the scrutiny and control of the government. Consequently, they resorted to both open threats and bald appeals to patriotism and the "national interest" in their speeches.

Keyworth, a former weapons physicist at the Los Alamos Nuclear Weapons Laboratory, delivered the keynote address and a personal message from Reagan to the convention. Listing "research related to many areas of national defense" at the top of a list of "emerging problems" on the U.S. scientific scene, Keyworth said:

"We have made it abundantly clear that the administration considers two areas — industrial rejuvenation and national defense — to be critically dependent on near-term advances in science and technology. Specifically, we have proposed to increase the fiscal year '82 Dept. of Defense Research and Develop-

ment by 21% over 1981. Within that funding, we also plan an increase of 15% in basic research funding within the D.O.D." Addressing the discontent in this audience, he continued, "To those who may still hope for constantly growing budgets across the board, let me say this — that time has passed and we need the scientific community's best and most thoughtful judgment and advice to maintain the health of our science and technology base. To those who object to such undertakings, and to all my scientific colleagues, I must say that if we scientists do not make such choices, others will, but with less acuity." In other words, you scientists had better go along with our program to improve the "health" and "productivity" of the U.S. imperialist war machine voluntarily or we will force you anyway. Interesting what spokesmen like Keyworth consider as "healthy" and "productive," isn't it? This is truly the mark of a system whose time has long since passed.

But Keyworth had more to say. He tried another approach. It was time to make everyone proud to be Americans, proud to be from the land of the red, white and blue. Keyworth noted, "In the last ten years, American scientists have won or shared nine (Nobel) prizes in chemistry compared to six for all other countries. In physics, it is 19 U.S. awards to 9 foreign. In physiology or medicine, there were 20 U.S. awards to 8 for foreign scientists; and in economics the count was 9 to 5 in favor of the U.S. The total for the past decade: 57 Nobel prizes for U.S. scientists compared to 28 abroad, more than double the number for scientists from all other countries combined." Here, in his chauvinist attempt to prove that somehow Americans are so much smarter and better than all

the rest of the people of the world, Keyworth failed to mention that the reason U.S. scientists have won more of the imperialists' Nobel prizes recently has everything to do with the fact that over the last quarter century the U.S. has been the top robber and exploiter of the world's peoples, has appropriated unto itself an enormously lopsided proportion of the world's assets, including scientific talent, and on top of that has had an awful lot to say about who exactly gets certain prizes and awards based on its political supremacy among the imperialist countries. Fundamentally, its scientific achievements (both real and dubious) have been made while it plunders, crushes and squeezes hundreds of millions of people worldwide. Keyworth was most careful to choose his time frame of reference as the last decade. If he had taken the period from 1900 to 1930, for example, he would have found that Britain and Germany took the overwhelming preponderance of Nobel prizes, reflecting the fact that they had been the imperialist top dogs during those years.

Another eminent "scientist" to address the AAAS convention was Vice-Admiral Bobby Inman, Deputy Director of the CIA. Inman spoke on a panel addressing the "balance" between scientific freedom and national security. Supposedly at issue was a demand by the government that mathematicians writing papers relevant to cryptanalysis (the breaking of secret codes) submit their papers for "review" by the government before having them published in scientific journals. But the questions involved were broader.

Inman himself carried the issues far beyond mathematics, announcing that "there are other fields where publication of certain information could affect the

national security in a harmful way," and went on to list computer hardware and software, other electronic gear and techniques, lasers, crop projections, and manufacturing procedures as possible areas where scientists and government should work together to restrict information availability, to prevent a "hemorrhaging" of technical information to the Soviet Union. Inman added: "I think it should also be pointed out that scientists' blanket claims of scientific freedom are somewhat disingenuous in light of the arrangements that academicians routinely make with private, corporate sources of funding." In other words, many of you guys prostitute yourselves in the private sector all the time, so why beef about prostituting yourselves for us?

Inman too called upon those present to cooperate voluntarily or be forced to cooperate. "A potential balance between national security and science may lie in an arrangement to include in the peer review process, prior to the start of research and prior to publication, the question of potential harm to the nation." Then he warned those who opposed the government demand for control of scientific research that they are "about to have that way of thinking washed away by the tidal wave" of demands for formal censorship laws. Change the language and phrasing a bit on the addresses by Keyworth and Inman and you have a typical speech by a bull sergeant to his troops. Certainly the bourgeoisie wants and needs its corps of scientists to be another detachment in the war effort. □

# General Strike Hits Gandhi Regime in India

On January 19, a one-day nationwide general strike in India took place, involving several million workers. This massive strike was met by a wave of repression by the government of Indira Gandhi that left a dozen workers dead, scores injured, and nearly 25,000 workers and trade union leaders detained or arrested. The strike was called by 8 trade union federations, all affiliated with various pro-Western and revisionist opposition parties, and was aimed at two repressive laws enacted by the Gandhi government—the National Security Act (which allows the government to arrest and hold without trial for up to 3 years anyone suspected of being a "threat to national security") and a law outlawing strikes in key industries.

There has been rising opposition to these "black laws" among the workers and oppressed masses in India, and this, along with sharpening inter-bourgeois rivalries in the Indian ruling class, led to the call for the strike. In an editorial titled "On to 19 January, with Class Politics" (December 1981 issue) the Indian Marxist-Leninist journal *Mass Line* commented,

"It is no secret that faced with increasing onslaughts (economic and political), the working class and all sections of the labouring masses have been more and more taking to the path of resistance and rebellion. The possibility of a mass movement breaking out of the narrow confines of the purely economic struggle and developing into political battles is becoming increasingly real. Sensing genuine trouble, the ruling classes and the state are responding

too—they can think only of sticks now, carrots are put away.

"This sharpening of contradictions—as it always does—puts the trade union top brass to a lot of discomfort. If they refuse to act, the workers would move ahead, casting them aside. Whereas the bourgeoisie faces trouble, their hangers-on, the revisionists, opportunists and social-reformists see peril face to face—the ground is caving in from under their feet. So they must act, and their actions and acts are staged to prevent getting totally wiped out. They take much care to see that the people's energy is channelled along *non-revolutionary* paths, that independent political action is denied to the masses."

But when bourgeois forces who are out of power call the masses into motion, even if to serve their own reactionary aims, there is also the potential of things getting out of their hands, and this appears to have been the case in some areas according to the fragmentary news reports now available to us. The period leading up to January 19 and the day of the strike itself were the occasion of intense and complex struggle involving the government (led by Indira Gandhi's Congress-I Party); the bourgeois opposition forces (such as the pro-Western Bharateeya Janata Party and the pro-Soviet CP of India and CP of India-Marxist and the trade unions under their control); and millions of workers, predominantly unionized workers in the large state-owned industries. In the days prior to the 19th, as unions from miners to newspaper vendors announced they were going to join

the strike, the police in the many states controlled by Gandhi's party started arresting strike organizers, rounding up over 2000 in the southern states of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu alone. In Maharashtra (where Bombay is located) officials proclaimed a ban on the assembly of four or more persons throughout the state. In the northern state of Bihar, officials warned that "saboteurs" and people trying to prevent others from working on the 19th would be shot. In many industrial areas, the union hacks of the Trades Union Congress—which is directly run by Gandhi's Congress-I Party, and controls 3 million workers—stood alongside the police under party flags saying they were there to make sure no one wishing to work was prevented from doing so.

On the other hand, in the state of West Bengal, which is run by a "left front" government headed by the CPI-Marxist, the authorities officially supported the strike. These revisionists-in-power typically urged their followers to stay indoors to avoid "provocations" by Gandhi supporters. Nevertheless there were sharp clashes reported in Calcutta and elsewhere in West Bengal, leaving at least 4 dead and 60 seriously injured. According to the *New York Times*, "strikes in the southeast halted rail traffic by massing on the tracks at three locations...in several incidents the police fired on advancing mobs, and in several industrial centers, columns of strikers' supporters and opponents converged and fought." It is quite likely that many of these clashes involved rival squads of workers and goons of the Congress-I and CPI-Marxist, but such reports indicate that there were developments among the masses of workers that went beyond the bounds desired by the revisionists.

At the same time as these events have helped to peel away more of the façade of democracy from the face of India's

rulers, the various bourgeois and revisionist opposition leaders have worked overtime trying to steer the workers on to the reformist path and to utilize them as a mass pressure group in their inter-bourgeois rivalry. However, their attempts to pose as great friends of the people and foes of "dictatorship", while having some effect, are not bought by millions in India today. There are many who remember well the suppression of popular struggles carried out by the Janata Party and other pro-Western forces in the late 1970s when they controlled the central government; and many have first-hand experience with the repressive measures unleashed by "left front" governments in West Bengal (which has a long and infamous history of drowning revolutionary peasant struggles in blood), in Tripura (where the CPI-M state government works hand-in-glove with the army in conducting counter-insurgency operations against the liberation struggles that have arisen among the oppressed minority nationalities in the region) and in Kerala (where the "leftist" government had its own local version of the National Security Act on the books and outlawed singing the *Internationale* by revolutionary forces, claiming that this "creates enmity between classes"). Faced with more frequent and powerful outbreaks of struggle among the masses, including armed struggle among peasants and national minorities, large areas in states controlled by the Congress-I and the "left front" alike have been declared "disturbed areas" and turned into military and police camps. What all these bourgeois and revisionist forces have in common is the need to derail and crush the revolutionary struggle among India's 600 million people—a struggle to sweep away this decaying neo-colonial and semi-feudal system that masquerades as the "world's largest democracy." □

## Atlanta Smokescreen

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highly unlikely that any other environment (other than Williams house) could account for the fibers on Payne and Cater," he boasted.

But several hours into the extensive questioning by defense attorneys, the doctor was not so sure. He admitted that the homes of the victims had not been checked for matching fibers, that he had found no fibers from either Cater or Payne in the house or car of Wayne Williams, etc., etc.

Dr. Peterson also admitted that some of the "insignificant differences" between the "matching" fibers included such things as color and that chemical tests for identical dyes had not even been performed. And as for the German Shepherd dog hairs that allegedly came from the Williams' dog, the expert testified that the similarity could not be considered conclusive. All in all it was a bad day for the prosecution, coming on the heels of another bad day.

The preceding afternoon Dr. Harold Deadman, from the Washington, D.C. FBI headquarters (a textile expert who teaches at their academy), had attempted to instruct the jury in the general characteristics of the fibers and the science of fiber evidence. Part of his testimony included a little run down of how "82% of transferred fibers will be lost within a four hour period" and "within 32 hours, only 3% of the transferred fibers will remain."

Quite possibly forgetting where he was, the FBI agent went on to explain that if a garment were washed, probably all the fibers "would be lost in the washing machine." Both of the murder victims had been dead for almost a week by the time their bodies were pulled from the swollen spring waters of the Chattahoochee River.

As a coup de grace, Dr. Deadman was asked by the defense attorney to read

from the FBI handbook on Forensic Science. "Fiber evidence is circumstantial evidence and must be supported by other evidence." He said he agreed. This could possibly be the most damning legal argument in the case.

To date, there is no other evidence to back up the flimsy circumstantial fiber evidence. The D.A. did try to directly connect Williams to Nathaniel Cater through an eyewitness, an event in the courtroom which drew dramatic nationwide media attention. The witness, one Mrs. Carter, a neighbor of the Caters, did testify that she had seen Wayne Williams and Nathaniel Cater on some Friday before Cater was murdered. Not only could she not remember exactly when she had seen them together, but she got some other details wrong too. She said she saw them near a blue station wagon with a frisky dog. Williams' car is white and their dog 14-years-old.

The prosecution specifically did not call Mrs. Carter's niece to the stand. The niece was with Mrs. Carter last summer and both reportedly saw Williams with Nathaniel Cater. At that time, the women had conflicting identifications of the two men, a fact which renders the only story of the only direct contact between Williams and the slain youth even less credible.

As for any connection between Williams and victim Payne—it all boils down to the fact that Payne's body was found about 100 yards from the location of Cater's body. Only Payne was pulled from the Chattahoochee River a month before Cater was.

That alleged connection suffered a big rupture when Dr. Saki, a Fulton County medical examiner, was put on the witness stand two weeks ago. Dr. Saki had conveniently changed the death certificate on Payne after Williams had been indicted for the murder. The original death certificate

## Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

### Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and

need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the *Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party* as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* is establishing a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

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

had listed the cause of death as undetermined, possible drowning. The new version read that Payne had been murdered.

Another significant turn in the trial in the past week centers on attempts to link Williams to more than two murders. Prosecutors requested that they be allowed to introduce evidence in 7 cases other than those for which Williams was indicted. This naturally met with strenuous objections by defense attorneys who moved that any such discussion be banned from the trial. After holding out on any decision for two days, the judge ruled that the "new evidence" could be admitted. This is as unprecedented as the whole trial has been.

On the surface of it, this move appears to be a ploy to bolster an otherwise shaky case. But at the same time, there are concerns exposed here that reach far beyond an Atlanta courthouse. In fact, the judge's ruling illustrates the essential goal of the entire Williams trial.

All along the authorities have hinted that they would try to nail Williams for more than two murders. Long before the trial even started, this was part and parcel of efforts to pin the Atlanta killings on

one sole killer—and a Black one at that! The transparent purpose here has been to dispel widespread suspicion of the organized character of the murders and the full knowledge of the massive cover-up which has accompanied these hideous crimes at every step.

But the aim is to dispel even more than this. The ruling class was faced with a major outbreak among large sections of people reacting to the murders in Atlanta. Thousands marched in the U.S. and around the world, thousands more demonstrated their outrage in different ways. The murders in Atlanta became a truly symbolic testimony to the legacy of national oppression in this country. The spectacle now taking place in Atlanta was orchestrated at the top. It was Vice President Bush himself who initiated the final push last spring to arrest and charge Wayne Williams. And the FBI—which now has a direct hand in the trial itself—has stated that it has given more attention to this case than any other since the assassination of John Kennedy.

And now they seriously think that they can bury Atlanta by convicting Wayne Williams. □

# Why is China Silent on Poland?

The Polish clampdown, which has in the last month inspired a chorus of reactionary acclamations from pro-Soviet revisionists around the world, has been greeted by what *Time* magazine called a "deafening silence" from Peking, of all places. This is quite a departure for the Chinese revisionists, infamous for their advanced world levels of pro-U.S. policy. These are the same Chinese rulers who have worked for years to build a united front against Soviet hegemonism; who berated the Western European imperialists for not taking a militant enough stand in opposition to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan; and on and on.

It seems the U.S. is not very pleased with their vassal's unfortunate weakness around Poland. Among other things, the recent U.S. delegation to China to deal with the U.S. arms sales to Taiwan included a State Dept. expert on Eastern Europe, to apply some imperialist persuasion, no doubt. But there will have to be a lot of "persuading" done, because Deng and his cohorts are caught in a real vise around Poland, and their silence is a dramatic indication of the severe internal problems they face in trying to keep their revisionist system together.

China's silence is not really complete. They actually issued a four-sentence statement in the December 28 *Beijing Review* that called for the internal affairs of Poland to be "settled by the Polish people themselves." The last of the four sentences was, "We are resolutely opposed to outside interference in Poland's affairs, no matter from which corner." This last phrase, referring equally to the West and the Soviets, is clearly also a sign of the current dispute between the U.S. and China over the U.S./Taiwan arms deals.

China's silence on the Polish government's onslaught on the Polish masses was welcomed by a spokesman for the

Polish embassy in China, who announced, after the Taiwan arms deal went down, that his government recognized that China had "no comment" on the Polish crisis, and that China "understood" the situation in Poland. China is indeed itself in a bind that has certain similarities to Poland's (though less acute right now), and for the Chinese government to blast the Polish clampdown would be to blast Chinese revisionism and unleash forces both inside and outside China that the government has been working very hard lately to keep the lid on.

In addition to revolutionary forces this includes many pro-Western, bourgeois-democratic dissidents (who have gotten some support from the U.S. over the past few years). The fact that these forces in China have all along taken great encouragement and inspiration from the Solidarity independent union movement and their opposition to the revisionist government is hardly cause for Deng to sleep well.

The rise of Solidarity hit the Chinese government very hard. Something of how they took it was revealed in an internal party document issued on November 25, 1980 which was printed in the April 1981 issue of *The Seventies* magazine from Hong Kong and which was also printed by Kuomintang sources on Taiwan. The document, issued by a provincial party committee propaganda department, was entitled, "Once Again on Events in Poland." It is obviously part of a series of documents aimed at educating party members about how to avoid something so dangerous as "Polish events" and represents the views of at least a major section of the Chinese leadership. This particular document deals with the underlying causes as seen by the Chinese. It points to three major problem areas: 1) mistakes on economic policy; 2) corrup-

tion and bureaucracy in the top layer of the party; and 3) dependence on the Soviet Union.

In regards to economic problems, the document says that during the '70s, Poland set on the course of trying to "build another Poland" by importing huge amounts of capital from the West. The editor of *The Seventies* magazine points out in an introduction to the document that "this is precisely the problem China faces now." The second point, corruption and bureaucracy in the top of the party, points to what is bound to characterize any ruling Marxist-Leninist party gone revisionist, which also highlights China's own ongoing problems with bourgeois-democratic dissidents and intellectuals who have raised various forms of opposition to "party dictatorship." As for dependence on the Soviet Union, the document waxes highly indignant. "Communists should never, at any time, abandon the national banner." Besides being an exposure of these revisionists' nationalism, this is quite ironic coming from those crawling before the U.S. The editor of *The Seventies* comments that China is not now dependent on the Soviet Union but was very close to it during the '50s; beyond that, he mentions that even today there are proponents of closer ties with the Soviet Union in the party — even at the expense of national independence.

The authors of the document even presumed to give the Polish bourgeoisie lessons in Polish nationalism. They bemoan how the Polish party, by their ties with the Soviet Union, have handed the national banner to Pope John Paul II. They state that if Poland leaves the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet Union will surely send in troops — and then give advice on how to act more independent without really challenging the Warsaw Pact! It seems they feel they have learned some lessons about such things in their few

short years in power.

One of the things that freaks the Chinese the most about Poland is that Poland is a developed capitalist/revisionist country, while China is relatively quite backward, only just starting on the revisionist road. Poland has even been held up by some of these revisionists as a sort of unofficial model in China for forging the road of revisionism with extensive financial ties to the West. (Articles in the generally pro-Deng Hong Kong publication *Cheng Ming* put forward this view last year.) The document repeatedly stresses "raising the national banner" as if that can somehow save China from the internal crisis of imperialism (both East and West) and change the fact that revisionism in power is capitalism.

The document (written, remember, in November 1980) even indicates that there's a ray of revisionist hope in the events in Poland — if the Polish party admits its mistakes and changes its policies. It is even implied that China can learn some things from how the Polish party solves its problems. But that Poland actually has gone much further along the road China suggests than the document even imagines, even going so far as to throw out big sections of the old party leadership, is hardly any comfort to Deng and his friends and enemies in the ruling cliques in Peking. The Chinese revisionists can't help but look at the spectacle of their own aspirations hanging by the thread of blitzkrieg martial law — in a society that has "no antagonistic class contradictions"!

China's rulers, wracked by the bind of being an undeveloped country in the U.S. bloc at a time of international crisis on the one hand, and struggling to hold together the brittle pieces of their revisionist social system on the other, are proving quite disappointing, even embarrassing, to the U.S. in the Polish crisis. □

Revolution  
Special Issue, Number 50

# CONQUER THE WORLD?

The  
International  
Proletariat  
Must and Will

by Bob Avakian

## A Special Issue of

## Revolution Magazine

This special issue of Revolution contains the full text of a talk given recently by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Three short excerpts from it were published in the Revolutionary Worker newspaper.

Its sections are:

- Further historical perspectives on the first advances in seizing and exercising power—proletarian dictatorship—and embarking on the socialist road;
- More on the proletarian revolution as a world process;
- Leninism as the bridge;
- Some summation of the Marxist-Leninist movement arising in the 1960's and the subjective factor in light of the present and developing situation and the conjuncture shaping up;
- Some questions related to the line and work of our Party and our special internationalist responsibilities.

"In an overall sense, and to close with this, while we have to do everything possible toward revolution in the U.S., it's not just that we have to do. And it's not just that our greatest contribution to the world struggle is to make revolution in the U.S. Even that's too narrow, though in a more limited sense there's truth to it. We have to look at it even more broadly, in fact, even seeking to make revolution in the U.S., even that has to be done as part of the overall goal and with the overall goal in mind, of doing everything possible to contribute to and advance the whole struggle worldwide toward communism and in particular to make the greatest leaps toward that in the conjuncture shaping up."

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# Correspondence on Brecht

In RW 91 (February 6, 1981) we called on revolutionary-minded artists and others to debate within the pages of the paper the role of the playwright Bertolt Brecht—to contribute to an evaluation of his works and theories. Brecht wrote during the critical years surrounding the last world war, associating himself with communism and struggling to apply Marxism to the creation of revolutionary art. Today, as we approach another such critical juncture, his works are being widely performed and his methods and theories are being hotly discussed. The questions involved are far from resolved, either broadly or among communists and revolutionaries. At the heart of the struggle around Brecht lie overall questions of revolution vs. revisionism, particularly as applied in the sphere of art and literature. Such an evaluation necessarily confronts, for instance, the matter of the Popular Front pursued by the international communist movement during the period he wrote, and the legacy of that line today as it applies to the struggle in the cultural arena.

We urge those of you who are involved in doing Brecht or grappling with questions of revolutionary art and politics to assist in this evaluation. For earlier contributions, please see RWs No. 99, 101, 104, 116, 122 and 130. Following is the most recent contribution to this debate.

\*\*\*\*\*

Dear RW:

Enclosed please find a copy of Bertolt Brecht's poem, "To Those Born Later" and an original poem written by myself entitled "A Pretty Picture, Comrade Brecht." This poem was written before your call to evaluate the role of Brecht was put out, and I have hung onto it, not knowing whether it should be sent to the RW. However, with the encouragement of a friend I am sending it because even though it is not a critique

in the formal sense, it is a statement on the subject of Brecht.

The Brecht poem sent along with it should not be taken as the sole inspiration of my poem, it was more "the last straw" in a number of straws taken from Bertolt Brecht — *Poems 1913-1956*. Hopefully someone on your staff has had the opportunity to look into this anthology of his poetry. It is my understanding that Brecht refused to publish a number of these works because they were critical of or did not coincide with Party line. I suppose this could be interpreted a number of ways, since, in my opinion, Brecht was not the embodiment of revolutionary thought. Nevertheless the bourgeoisie does not pee with love and overexcitement when his name is brought up. His work belongs to the proletariat, regardless of his naive revisionism. Hence, although my poem is critical of his poetry, the title, "A Pretty Picture, Comrade Brecht," hopefully leaves one to understand that I do not think of Brecht as a counter-revolutionary jerk.

I must admit, my initial view of Brecht has been greatly tempered by the ongoing correspondence that other of your readers have sent in. I feel that my previous outlook was dogmatic and that a correct analysis of his work cannot be made without examining the entire body, including plays, essays, etc.

... I was in L.A. for the 1980 demo and never realized what a fearless fence jumper I could be. . . . The talks by Comrade Avakian on Proletarian Internationalism are so timely and have answered a number of disturbing questions on what role will Americans play in revolution. Your paper, the RCP and Avakian truly are an amazing thing.

Sincerely,  
DH

\*\*\*\*\*

## To Those Born Later

I

Truly, I live in dark times!  
The guileless word is folly. A smooth forehead  
Suggests insensitivity. The man who laughs  
Has simply not yet had  
The terrible news.

What kind of times are they, when  
A talk about trees is almost a crime  
Because it implies silence about so many horrors?  
That man there calmly crossing the street  
Is already perhaps beyond the reach of his friends  
Who are in need?

It is true I still earn my keep  
But, believe me, that is only an accident. Nothing  
I do gives me the right to eat my fill.  
By chance I've been spared. (If my luck breaks, I am lost.)

They say to me: Eat and drink! Be glad you have it!  
But how can I eat and drink if I snatch what I eat  
From the starving, and  
My glass of water belongs to one dying of thirst?  
And yet I eat and drink.

I would also like to be wise.  
In the old books it says what wisdom is:  
To shun the strife of the world and to live out  
Your brief time without fear  
Also to get along without violence  
To return good for evil  
Not to fulfil your desires but to forget them  
Is accounted wise.  
All this I cannot do:  
Truly, I live in dark times.

II

I came to the cities in a time of disorder  
When hunger reigned there.  
I came among men in a time of revolt  
And I rebelled with them.  
So passed my time  
Which had been given to me on earth.  
My food I ate between battles

To sleep I lay down among murderers  
Love I practised carelessly  
And nature I looked at without patience.  
So passed my time  
Which had been given to me on earth.

All roads led into the mire in my time.  
My tongue betrayed me to the butchers.  
There was little I could do. But those in power  
Sat safer without me: that was my hope.  
So passed my time  
Which had been given to me on earth.

Our forces were slight. Our goal  
Lay far in the distance  
It was clearly visible, though I myself  
Was unlikely to reach it.  
So passed my time  
Which had been given to me on earth.

III

You who will emerge from the flood  
In which we have gone under  
Remember  
When you speak of our failings  
The dark time too  
Which you have escaped.  
For we went, changing countries oftener than our shoes  
Through the wars of the classes, despairing  
When there was injustice only, and no rebellion.

And yet we know:  
Hatred, even of meanness  
Contorts the features.  
Anger, even against injustice  
Makes the voice hoarse. Oh we  
Who wanted to prepare the ground for friendliness  
Could not ourselves be friendly.

But you, when the times comes at last  
And man is a helper to man  
Think of us  
With forbearance.

From Bertolt Brecht *Poems 1913-1956*,  
Later Svendborg *Poems and Satires 1936-1938*.

\*\*\*\*\*

## A Pretty Picture, Comrade Brecht

Not a pretty face  
swarthy, from work  
or the emotion of thought.  
You understand and  
Xenophobic fast food franchise owners  
scream at the sound of  
speaking plain English

Not photogenic  
better read  
warrior midwife  
a fragile pair of wire frames  
a deck of cards, greasy and thick  
or a text?

Poker face with a fantasy  
On a dusty hill with the Kenyan bone digger  
a few ideas  
to mull over and offer controversy

He doesn't have a prayer  
in his head  
and has forgotten how to bow  
when into the lavish halls  
unannounced, undeodorized, and a spotty look  
a hundred boots softened by war  
echo, colliding against  
the silence of gold inlaid  
will glitter and tell him  
a priceless tale of misery

He will not apologize now  
or to progeny  
his bayonet or lack of manners  
or icepick wit  
He will not sigh  
when the fires blacken and gut  
to offer in a grey cloud their message

With an ax, a shovel  
a saw and hammer  
a heave of muscle  
He'll laugh out loud,  
At last!

D.H. 1981

# Famous Imperialist “Liberators”



One of the many faces of the imperialists' trickery and deceit has historically been their cynical attempts to portray themselves as the “liberators” of subjugated peoples especially in the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries—a phenomenon that has tended to become more pronounced in periods leading up to and during inter-imperialist war for the redivision of the world. And for obvious reasons, the objects of such attention by one imperialist power or another generally happen to be “possessions” of, or part of, the bloc presided over by its global rivals as each seeks to take advantage of the other's weakness, and the fact that the repressive dealing within the opponent's traditional sphere of influence is usually quite well-exposed.

For its part, the U.S. since WW 2 has mainly been noted for straight-up butchery and murder devoid of any “liberator” guise, since by 1945 it had already “freed” vast portions of the globe from the former great powers for inclusion in its own imperialist empire under the banner of “making the world safe for democracy,” etc. But before that, history is rife with examples of the U.S. rulers posing as the liberator of its rivals' colonies—from Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines in 1898, during the Spanish-American war, to the campaign to “liberate” Southeast Asia and the Pacific from Japan at the end of WW 2.

The U.S. now has need to expand again, while facing the challenge of its Soviet social-imperialist rivals, who in recent years have more frequently donned the mantle of “liberator,” as they have maneuvered to exploit some of the glaring contradictions the U.S. is facing in its now-traditional orbit. And the Soviet Union has been able to operate under a “socialist” cover (however tattered it may be by now) and often through the use of proxies like Cuba and Vietnam has been able to get over to a certain extent in places like Angola or El Salvador by presenting itself as the “friend and natural ally of the oppressed.”

With all this in mind, every so often we will be printing brief sketches from the long history of such heart-warming imperialist “concern” for the downtrodden and their freedom-loving efforts to “rescue” the people of the world from the oppressive clutches of their competitors. Below is one illuminating example:

\*\*\*\*\*

## Imperialist “Liberators” — Japan in WW 2

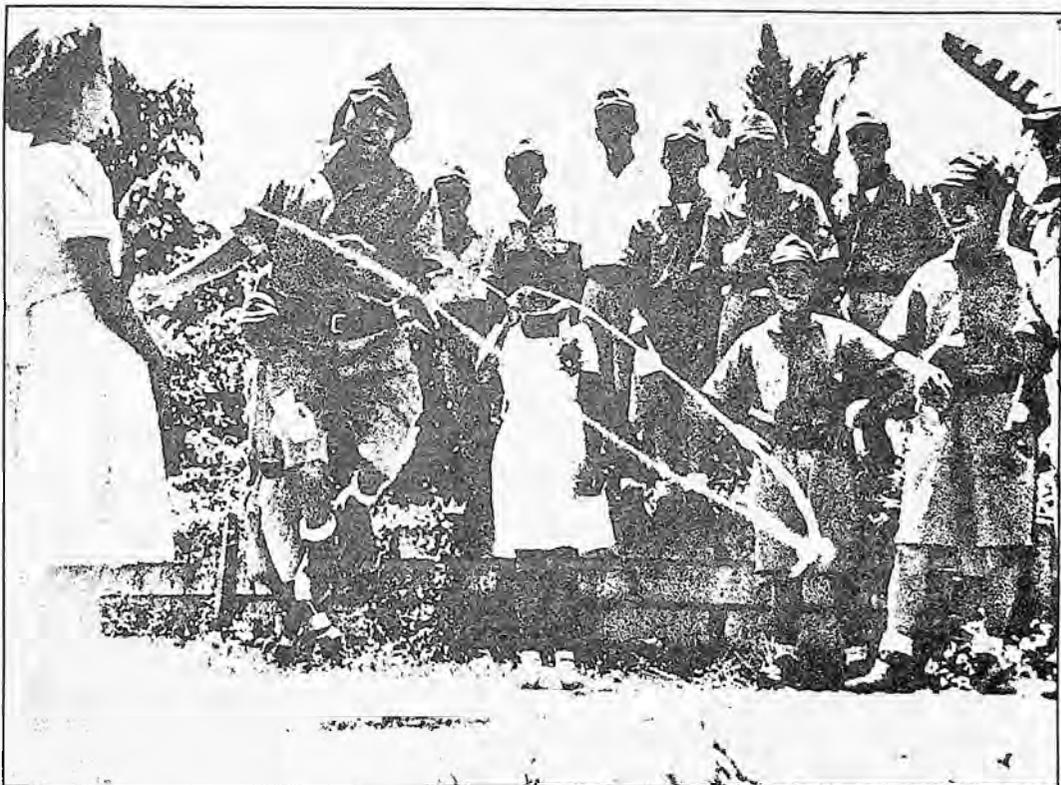
Prior to and during WW 2, the rulers of Japan set out to “liberate” most of the nations of the Far East which were part of the established empires of their Allied-bloc imperialist rivals. In 1938, they concocted a grandiose scheme known as the “Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere” that was intended, in the words of Japanese military planners, to “advance the national fortunes of the Empire” by freeing Burma, Malaya, Singapore, Vietnam, China, Indonesia and the Philippines, just to name a few, from the onus of U.S. and European domination.

Under the slogan “Asia for Asiatics,” the Japanese rulers proclaimed themselves to be the protectors and upholders of “national liberation” and “independence” for these nations—an outrageous claim considering the decade-

*Right: A boatload of pressganged Indonesian workers departs to be used as slave labor for the Japanese military.*



*Below: The Philippines under Japanese imperialist rule. This picture of Japanese soldiers and Filipino children was published in Japan shortly after their conquest of the islands. Pictured at the bottom is Manila, the capital city of the Philippines, or, more aptly, what was left of it after it was “liberated”*



long attempt, still in progress, by the Japanese army to subjugate the whole of China. This glaring contradiction notwithstanding, the Japanese worked feverishly to utilize the anti-imperialist sentiments of the masses—in particular, their desire to rid themselves of the yoke of Western colonialism—while at the same time pushing the time-worn imperialist theory that such “weak” nations could only exist under the protection of another great power—benevolent and freedom-loving Japan, of course!

In November, 1943, Japanese Prime Minister Tojo—the self-professed leader of the struggle of the oppressed peoples and races of Asia against the white European colonialists—presided over the opening of a Tokyo-sponsored Greater East Asia Conference at which he reiterated earlier promises that the nations

Continued on page 12





Left: Warsaw Pact troops training in chemical weapons warfare.

One of the U.S. government's latest efforts at exposure of its Soviet rivals as both feverishly prepare for world war has been an intensive media campaign around the purported use of chemical weapons in Laos and Afghanistan by the Soviet Union. We don't use the word "purported" here because the Soviet imperialists aren't either able or very willing to use these or any other form of weaponry in the pursuit of their aims, just as the U.S. is. In fact, it is quite possible that they actually are using these hideous chemical agents. But the problem is that the U.S. — in its haste and zeal to score a few propaganda points against the Soviets while failing to mention its own great crimes on this front — has managed to put together such a cheap and flimsy case so full of holes and fabrications that only those capable of swallowing whatever garbage they are told could believe it. It could even be argued that this latest flurry of exposures actually makes the Soviets look good in the eyes of those who are prone to question the steady stream of hypocrisy and lies churned out for public consumption in this country. We are referring here to the recent media blitz around Soviet "yellow rain" which the U.S. claims is being used in both Laos and Afghanistan.

The spearhead of this effort is a book by a "well connected" writer by the name of Sterling Seagrave appropriately titled *Yellow Rain* and an ABC-TV show called the "Rain of Terror." The story unfolds like a grade B movie plot, dripping with the cynical hypocrisy so typical of the imperialists, complete with crocodile tears for the innocent victims of Soviet terror, tears which come from the slaughterers and butchers of millions the world over, those who haven't the slightest qualms about drastically increasing their carnage and plunder. The scenario goes something like this: an "enterprising (and humanitarian) reporter" digs into charges of Soviet misdeeds which have somehow been ignored or swept under the rug by inept U.S. government bureaucrats. The reporter lets the truth be known to the people, spurring the government to greater action against the Soviet menace — prompted by public outcry, of course. The enterprising reporter, Sterling Seagrave, is perfect for his role, being an "old Asia hand" and the son of Gordon Seagrave, the "Burma surgeon" who operated a hospital in northern Burma three miles from the Chinese border and who was



Left: Aerial photo of a river in Vietnam

Below: Aerial photo of a river in Vietnam after U.S. Agent Orange attack.



months after the State Dept. made its first formal charge of Soviet "yellow rain" in Laos. Soon the propaganda wheels began spinning rapidly, culminating in a Berlin speech by Secretary of State Haig on September 13, 1981, charging that U.S. agencies "now have physical evidence from Southeast Asia which has been analyzed and found to contain abnormally high levels of three potent mycotoxins — poisonous substances not indigenous to the region and which are highly toxic to man and animals."

The next day State Dept. reporters

were called in for a background briefing by a panel of experts, but while the reporters could ask the "experts" questions, the State Dept. refused to give either their names or what agencies they worked for. On October 26, Seagrave's book *Yellow Rain* hit the bookstores, with reviews in the major papers. On November 10, Richard Burt, an Assistant Secretary of State, testified before a congressional committee on the State Dept.'s "firm evidence." And then on December 21 the movie version of *Yellow Rain* appeared on ABC television as an ABC News Close-Up entitled

# The Makers of Agent Orange Expose "Yellow Rain"

"Rain of Terror," presenting interviews with supposed victims and an "independent" chemical analysis of the twigs and leaves reportedly brought out of Laos with the "yellow rain" right on them.

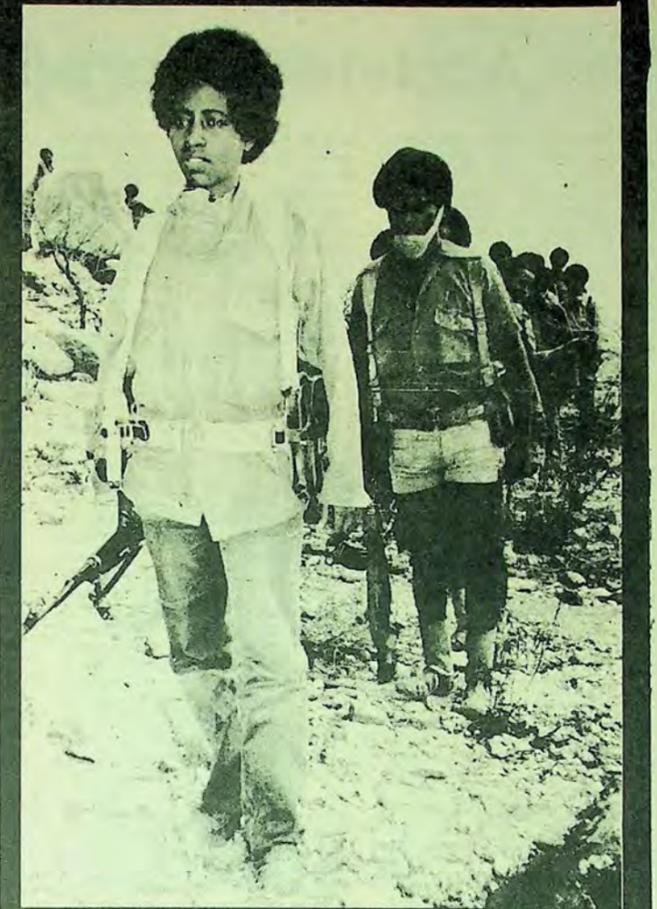
A number of skeptical scientists have pointed out the utter flimsiness of the State Department's "firm evidence" (see for example the Nov. 27, 1981 issue of *Science* magazine). Assistant Secretary Burt declares, "We now have the smoking gun. We have four separate pieces of physical evidence." Of these four separate samples offered as evidence in this "yellow rain" case one was provided to the government by the notorious mercenary magazine *Soldier of Fortune* and the other three apparently came courtesy of the Thai army. Not exactly reliable "independent" sources. They consist of nothing more than a leaf and twig and a water sample from Kam-puchea, and some gunk scraped off a rock in Laos.

When subjected to chemical analysis by the government's own hired scientists, the results were far from telling. The water sample was alleged by Burt to have caused severe illness when only a little was accidentally spilled on its bearer. Yet its mycotoxin content turned out to be so minute that one would have to drink eight gallons of it to get

sick. The leaf and twig sample was split in two and the two parts yielded analyses so wildly different that even *Science* magazine concluded that "the State Department apparently spiked sample B with T2 (a mycotoxin — *RH*) as a test of the analytic procedure." The "independent" analysis conducted by ABC fared no better. Mycotoxins were reported at levels that could be described only as trace impurities. And, as an illustrative sidelight, one sample provided to scientists in a glass vial with a rubber stopper was reported to contain a definitely man-made chemical (and by implication a dangerous toxin) called PEG. The principal industrial use of PEG, it turns out, is as a lubricant in the molding of rubber stoppers like the one used to seal the vial the sample came in! Brilliant work, boys.

The interviews provided for the TV watchers were equally unconvincing. It is certainly easy enough to find a few reactionaries from Laos or elsewhere to produce the desired testimony. And it should also be pointed out that the Hmong tribesmen with whom Seagrave visited in Laos were widely used by the CIA during the Indochina war. The CIA armed and trained them as a counter-revolutionary army for use by the U.S. against the Pathet Lao. According to Seagrave, these interviews provide the real clincher for his case. He offers as irrefutable and stunning evidence the remarkable similarity of symptoms reported by all those attacked by "yellow rain," and he produces a number of sample interviews with victims. For example, an old man from the Laotian village of Pha Na Khun is interviewed regarding an attack in 1978 in which most of the village and all of the animals were reportedly killed. The symptoms are described as follows: "The yellow and green powder made everyone feel dizzy, confused actions, blurred vision, difficult to move, people feel down, jaws were stiff (clamped shut), could not speak and had almost immediate vomiting and diarrhea before the red smoke came down. Red smoke caused all to start coughing, have massive nosebleeds within five minutes; blood came from nose and mouth and people fell down and were dead in less than fifteen minutes."

Now let us turn to an embarrassing document called "The Effects of Herbicides" in South Vietnam, prepared by the bourgeoisie's own bought and paid-for science pimps at the National Academy of Sciences. Here we find the effect of U.S. chemical attacks on the highlanders of Indochina compiled from similar interviews. In Chapter VII, Table B-11, we learn that the villagers of Long Djon experienced "abdominal pains, diarrhea, nasal irritation, coughs lasting more than a month." The village of Plei Ro-o reported "diarrhea, cramps, rashes, fever, coughing blood" and "38 children reported to have died as the result of eating sprayed crops." The village of Dak Siang reported "diarrhea and abdominal pains after drinking water from streams in sprayed area, dizziness and



Eritrean liberation fighters carry recently-issued gas masks in preparation for Soviet gas attacks.

vomiting after eating bamboo shoots from sprayed area." The village of Plei Kleng reported "about 50 adults and children died with these symptoms" within a day of U.S. spraying. And so on. It's little wonder that the U.S. is so swift at detecting the evidence of Soviet chemical attack — they are surely experts in the field in their own right. Perhaps those interviewed are simply obliging the U.S. by recounting the effects of U.S. chemical warfare in Southeast Asia and attributing similar effects to supposed Soviet use of these weapons. But even if the Soviets are indeed using chemical warfare now it doesn't change the fact that the U.S. has used it liberally and most viciously.

What is supposed to be conveniently and expediently forgotten or ignored while the U.S. is wringing its handkerchiefs in pretended anguish over the "yellow rain" supposedly falling on the mountain peoples of Laos is that the

U.S. is to this date the greatest manufacturer and user of chemical weapons in the world (though the Soviets do not intend to let the U.S. savor this distinction unchallenged). For the U.S. to raise a hue and cry over "yellow rain" in Indochina is especially outrageous because the U.S. alone dumped 64 million kilograms of poisonous chemicals on Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea (an amount equal to two-thirds of the chemicals used by all belligerents in World War 1 put together)! And this does not even include the fact that the U.S. dropped more bomb tonnage on Vietnam than it did in all of World War 2 in all theaters of battle.

In fact, from the very onset of modern chemical warfare in the first world war, the U.S. has striven for "excellence in the field." The U.S. manufactured mustard gas, phosgene, CS, and the other major chemical agents used in that conflict. Then in preparation for the second inter-imperialist world war, the U.S. stockpiled tons of poison gas and transported it to every major theater of that war even though it was ultimately not employed. At the end of World War 2 the victorious Allies confiscated the German imperialists' newly created nerve gas stock, and in the mid-'50s the U.S. manufactured an incredible 400,000 tons of nerve gas which it still has in storage today. It is also well known that the U.S. used bacteriological warfare in the Korean War.

But it was in Vietnam that the U.S. chemical warfare programs reached new depths of calculated destruction. From in the air "Operation Ranch Hand," 18 Air Force C-123's equipped for spraying drenched 5 million acres, principally with the infamous "Agent Orange" which contains the deadly byproduct dioxin — a chemical 50 times as toxic as the German nerve gases. Besides being a deadly poison in its own right, dioxin is also a cancer-causing and mutation-causing agent. The presence of dioxin, and its toxic effects, were well known and had been published in scientific journals before the spraying began.

In addition to "harmless herbicides" such as Agent Orange the U.S. used "harmless riot control agents" like CS

Continued on page 10

A poison gas attack in 1918. Both imperialist blocs made use of chemical warfare during World War 1.



# AIM Activists Convicted In Canada

**New Westminster, British Columbia—** On Monday, January 18, the case of "Regina vs. Butler & Butler" began in the Supreme Court of the Province of British Columbia for the County of Westminster. Dino and Gary Butler, two members of the American Indian Movement (AIM), are on trial for multiple charges of attempted murder, illegal weapons possession and reckless driving after spending almost a year in British Columbia's Oakalla Prison. This trial is but the latest chapter in the ruthless persecution of leaders of Native American resistance, particularly activists in AIM, in the U.S. and Canada.

The hounding of Dino Butler goes back to June 26, 1975, when FBI agents attempted to invade a spiritual camp on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota, the site of the Wounded Knee seizure two years earlier. The government attack on the spiritual camp resulted in a firefight which left two FBI agents and one Indian dead. Three Native American activists were singled out and charged with murder. Two of those charged, Dino Butler and Bob Robideau, were acquitted, their defense being based on, as Dino later put it, "our inherent human right to defend ourselves and our people." Needless to say, this was a verdict the government could not tolerate. So the prosecution and the courts then suppressed previously admitted evidence and manufactured new "evidence" in order to make sure the third defendant, Leonard Peltier, was convicted. Peltier, of course, is now in prison, where the U.S. government has repeatedly plotted to murder him.

While Bob Robideau remained in prison on other charges, the persecution of Dino continued, finally forcing him to Canada to request political asylum along with another AIM activist, John Trudell. The request for political asylum was formally denied in the spring of 1980, just as an earlier request for political asylum by Leonard Peltier had been denied by Canada. But in Leonard Peltier's case, the murder charges stemming from the FBI attack on the spiritual camp on the Pine Ridge reservation were still pending; Leonard's extradition was requested by the U.S., and he was delivered by Canadian authorities directly into the hands of the U.S. Dino, on the other hand, had been acquitted of charges stemming from the same incident, so somewhat different tactics were called for.

On February 23, 1981, Dino and his brother Gary, who had joined him in Canada, stopped to make a phone call in Vancouver, British Columbia. Police spotted Gary and Dino and ran a check on their car. By admission of the police, the check turned up nothing, but they

stopped the car anyway. According to the later police story, a high-speed chase followed, with Gary and Dino shooting from their car at the cops, until the car finally flipped over and Gary and Dino were arrested. The actual facts of the incident have not yet been revealed by the Butlers, but it is very likely that the police knew full well who they were stopping (police radio was later overheard announcing that "two AIM leaders" had been captured) and that the incident was an organized attempt to assassinate Gary and Dino.

The obviously political nature of the charges against Dino and Gary is clearly revealed in the outrageous treatment meted out to them since their arrest. First, there is the indictment itself — nine separate charges all stemming from this one incident, an obvious attempt to put enough charges on them either to force them to make a deal or to lock them away in prison for virtually the rest of their lives. At the time of their arrest, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) seized Gary's and Dino's Medicine Bundles, considered a sacred part of Native American spiritual ceremonies. The police not only held their Medicine Bundles but attempted to use them to blackmail Gary and Dino into pleading guilty. Only on August 6, over five months after the Medicine Bundles were originally seized, did a British Columbia court finally order them returned. Similarly, rights to hold a Pipe Ceremony and other traditional Native American ceremonies in prison were denied. Only after months of exposing this oppressive treatment were Dino and Gary finally allowed to attend a Sacred Pipe ceremony. But other Indian prisoners who have requested to participate in the ceremonies have been systematically denied by the prison administration.

Dino and Gary have been singled out for all manner of abuses and harassment. On Saturday, July 18, Gary tripped while holding a food tray. Guards immediately accused him of being under the influence of an "unknown substance." Gary was taken to the prison dispensary; some 15 guards attacked him, kicking and beating him and then throwing him into the prison "observation" (isolation) unit. Six days later Dino was thrown into the same unit. All other prisoners were moved off the tier Dino and Gary were on. Chains were welded onto each of their cell doors, which were padlocked shut. On August 24, Gary was taken to the Vancouver General Hospital for treatment of a back ailment. He was wrapped in chains, shackled and handcuffed, escorted to the hospital by the RCMP and guarded there by both Vancouver city police and prison guards. When the

doctor requested that the chain wrapped around Gary be removed so that his back could be examined, the guards refused. At one visit Gary was forced to sit handcuffed and with legs shackled through the entire visit, despite the fact that Gary and his visitor were separated by unbreakable glass and were talking over a phone.

Meanwhile, south of the border, Dino and Gary have both been indicted for trumped-up murder charges in Oregon. They are accused of the murder of a professional grave robber; a man who robbed Indian graves and then sold the "artifacts." This additional frame-up served to put Dino and Gary in double jeopardy: if they are acquitted for the charges in Canada, the U.S. can then request that they be extradited to the U.S., where they will then have to face trial for murder charges. A request for extradition was filed by Oregon at one point, but rejected by Canada because of a technicality, and the extradition request has not been refiled. Undoubtedly U.S. officials are waiting to see how the trial in Canada goes before attempting to have Gary and Dino sent back to the U.S.

The collusion between the U.S. and Canadian political police agencies was further indicated on October 29, 1981 when John Trudell was refused entrance to Canada at the Canadian-U.S. border. Not only was this action in direct violation of the Jay Treaty which supposedly guarantees Native peoples the right to free passage across the U.S.-Canadian border, but it indicated that John Trudell's movements were being watched by political police in both the U.S. and Canada. The direct cause of this refusal was clearly John Trudell's close involvement with Dino and Gary Butler as well as his active involvement in the Native American movement.

The trial has been a sham from the beginning. The judge, Chief Justice Allan McEachern, had already made it clear that virtually no defense would be allowed. Banned was any discussion of why the cops stopped the Butlers in the first place and what the police were really trying to do. Also banned was any discussion of the history of intimidation and murder of AIM members in the U.S. and Canada. A defense motion against the selection of potential jurors from voters' lists, which systematically underrepresent Native Americans and other oppressed nationalities, was quickly denied, despite the fact that the pool of 61 potential jurors in this case included only one person who was not white, a Malaysian Canadian.

The defense then made a second motion, to allow a Sacred Pipe to be present in the courtroom. The judge had

obviously made up his mind on this motion as well, and so the Crown Counsel (prosecutor) barely bothered to argue against the motion at all, saying only, "I do not see the need of it."

Dino rose and began to speak to the court about the significance of the Sacred Pipe, saying, "The Pipe represents my people's way of life." The judge quickly cut Dino off. Obviously worried about what the impact of this would be on the potential jurors and the press, the judge adamantly insisted that Dino's attempt to speak was "a dangerous and unfortunate thing to have happened" and quickly ordered a recess. After the recess the judge denied the motion to allow the Pipe in court.

This ruling, on top of all the other attacks, became the final insult. Defense lawyers announced that they had been requested to withdraw from the case, and that Dino and Gary refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the court. No defense would be presented. The judge, obviously becoming flustered, ordered another recess. When court resumed, the trial proceeded with no defense.

The remainder of the day became a non-stop railroad. The government presented a parade of RCMP witnesses, the first cop beginning his testimony by kissing the bible used to swear him in. Then, one after another in rapid succession, police gave their well rehearsed testimony, which carefully avoided any reference to AIM, to the beliefs of Gary and Dino, or to why the police might be after them.

As we go to press, the jury has just brought down a guilty verdict. Plans for an appeal are being drawn up, as are efforts to broaden exposure of the government in the case. Summing up the current trial, one AIM activist put it, "They weren't going to allow us to present any defense anyway, so now we've done away with all the frills. It's totally open exactly what's going on." □

## Correction

In last week's *RW*, the call to send statements of protest to Judge Brett in the case of the Salvadoran revolutionaries was mistakenly included as part of a statement by the Salvadoran Tour Legal Defense team. It is the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade which actually issued the call several weeks earlier. At this point, the RCYB is also calling for statements to be sent to INS Southern Region, District Director William Chambers, 1201 S. Elm St., Dallas, TX 75270, in protest of the scheduling of deportation proceedings against the two Salvadorans in Dallas on Feb. 9. □

## Yellow Rain

Continued from page 9

gas on a massive scale. A common practice was to pump it into quarters such as tunnels, where they caused the lungs to fill with fluid and caused death. Contained in the 9 million kilograms of chemicals used on the ground in artillery shells, rockets, hand grenades and portable chemical blowers used against underground fortifications of the Vietnamese, the U.S. employed the arsenic-based nausea gas DM, which is openly acknowledged to be fatal (it was called Adamsite when it was first used in World War I). The U.S. also experimentally used the psychochemical agent BZ, which was widely publicized in the U.S. in the late 1950s and was supposed to render the enemy harmless and disoriented. Finally, the Swedish press reported at least one incident of the trial use of the nerve gas VX, and GI's testified that VX and GB were a part of training for Vietnam conducted in Hawaii.

Having taken a severe propaganda beating over its "orange rain" in Vietnam (and a real beating from its military defeat), the U.S. suddenly rushed to sign the 1925 International Protocol outlawing chemical warfare, and the

U.S. renounced the use of biological warfare for the first time. With imperialists, however, such actions are the sure signs of intensified activity in chemical and biological warfare. Sure enough, the biological warfare staff of Fort Detrick, Maryland, was secretly transferred to the nerve gas proving grounds at Dugway, Utah, and Fort Detrick was thrown open for "international inspection." In the meantime, the U.S. began its own research in biotoxins.

So foul is the U.S. record on chemical warfare that even Seagrave is forced to review the duplicity of the U.S. track record in his book. Yet the effect here is one of seeking to appear detached and objective while at the same time sounding the clarion warning that the Soviets have developed a new generation of chemical weapons which the U.S. is presently unable to match. Seagrave makes a big point of the fact that the Germans had developed nerve gas in World War 2, unknown to the U.S.-British bloc, and could have easily defeated the D-Day landing in Europe with it since standard gas masks provided no protection against it.

Clearly, Mr. Seagrave and those he so dutifully serves are agitating for something here. Now what could it be? Perhaps a recent announcement by Reagan

provides a clue. On January 14 he declared a major budget increase to expand U.S. chemical warfare capabilities, citing the willingness of the Soviet Union to employ "yellow rain." In 1978, the U.S. chemical warfare budget was "only" \$11 million. For fiscal year 1983 which begins next October 1, the administration is asking for \$810 million and projects a fiscal year 1984 budget of \$1.4 billion. Already construction has begun on a new nerve gas plant in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and signs are that the administration intends to begin production of so-called binary nerve gas emissions in which the components are stored separately and do not combine nor become active until they are used. The hope here is that the "safe" binary weapons can undercut growing opposition to the mass storage dumps of U.S. nerve gas in West Germany, as the U.S. seeks to actually increase gas stockpiles close to the expected battle front.

Now it is well known that the Soviets are in fact stockpiling and developing chemical and biological warfare agents at a rapid pace and on a massive scale. It has been reported by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front that the Soviets and their puppet regime in Ethiopia are readying to use chemical warfare against the Eritrean people. Already both napalm and cluster bombs like the U.S.

used in Vietnam have been dropped in Eritrea. And, according to a report from the Eritrean Relief Committee since 1977, "About 500 Eritrean villages are estimated to have been destroyed in one attack alone. 54 villages were wiped out, 100,000 people made homeless and an entire season's grain crop destroyed. Animals, too, have been bombed, water poisoned, crops defoliated, and farms land-mined."

Actually neither the U.S. nor the Soviets are doing much to hide the fact that all-round preparations are being made for the use of these weapons along with nukes and all the rest of it on a grand scale. But when it comes to the subject of Soviet use of chemical warfare or any other exposures of the nature and actions of Soviet imperialism, the U.S. has absolutely no right to even open its mouth. The proletariat and oppressed people of the world, however, both have every right to speak on this subject and have a wealth of experience to draw upon regarding the hideous features of both U.S. and Soviet imperialism. And there is more than speaking to be done. Both superpowers and the rest of the imperialists in their respective blocs are going to be held fully accountable for their horrendous crimes in the course of ridding the world of every last trace of their foul stench. □

# Mao Defendants

Continued from page 2

abetting charges bolstered by the use of what the defendants' motion aptly terms "the joint enterprise myth" in order to attempt to paint the case as a simple question of "criminal assault."

In attempting to do this the government has run into some very sharp contradictions. And, it's in exposing these contradictions that the defendants' motion rips the "criminal" veneer off of the political motivations of the government's railroad. In a section of the motion entitled, "Aiding and Abetting According to the U.S. Attorney" the government's creative use of aiding and abetting charges to pile up felony after felony on top of the defendants, and to charge Bob Avakian with anything at all, is exposed as "purely and simply, a massive fraud." "Specific criminal intent" and "participation in a criminal act" are supposedly the necessary legal requirements for lodging aiding and abetting charges against the defendants. But what does the government offer up as proof of aiding and abetting in this case?

As the defendants' motion points out, the only evidence the government has offered up includes: evidence of violence during a November 1978 demonstration against the Shah of Iran; evidence of "trouble" (the Embassy 5 action) at the Chinese Embassy on Jan. 24th, 1979; evidence of the arrest of two *RW* reporters for disrupting the White House lawn ceremonies during Deng Xiaoping's visit on the afternoon of Jan. 29th, 1979; evidence of Bob Avakian's Jan. 25th statement at a press conference; evidence that the people arrested on the White House lawn were applauded for it in a rally preceding the Jan. 29th demonstration; and finally evidence that the defendants were present and arrested during the demonstration against Deng Xiaoping.

In other words, the prosecution's only "proof" consists of citing a political demonstration, political speeches and other political demonstrations at which the defendants were not even present.

And, even in attempting to cite these events as "evidence," the government's case falls apart. According to the government, the arrest of the two *RW*

reporters for disrupting the White House lawn ceremonies during Deng Xiaoping's visit and the subsequent applause for this disruption during a political rally prior to the Jan. 29th demonstration constitute "proof" of "a shared common plan to engage in illegal activity." As the defendants' motion points out, what the government neglects to mention is the "minor" fact that the people arrested were later tried and acquitted of the charges against them.

On top of this the government does not even attempt to prove that there was actual aiding and abetting involved in the supposed assault. The political strategy lying behind the aiding and abetting charges is most evident in the fact that Bob Avakian, the focus of the government's attack, is the only defendant charged solely with aiding and abetting and the only evidence entered against him are political statements he made prior to the demonstration. According to the motion, "Were this simply an assault case and not a political prosecution, Mr. Avakian never could have been arrested, charged or indicted since not a single government witness can identify or otherwise connect him to any criminal acts, and the only evidence to be offered against him are statements he made at a press conference and a rally preceding the Jan. 29th march. On both occasions Mr. Avakian spoke about the serious and important political reasons for condemning and opposing Deng Xiaoping's visit." Based on all of this, the defendants' motion calls out the government's motivations as clear-cut political harassment and persecution of the RCP, its leaders, members and supporters.

### "Joint Enterprise" Creation

Partly to bolster their sagging aiding and abetting charges, and to sharply focus their attack on Bob Avakian, the motion points out that the government has actually created a new category in "criminal law"—the joint enterprise myth. Essentially the joint enterprise myth is a delicate way for the government to charge conspiracy without actually having to use the term. Interestingly enough however, while the government has avoided the term conspiracy, all of the arguments used to legally back up their joint enterprise myth are taken from conspiracy cases. And here again, not only is the government unable to offer any real proof of a conspiracy, but the evidence they do of-



## Protest Rejection of Evidence for Bob Avakian's Refugee Status Appeal!

The French appeals commission overseeing Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status refused to accept the first batch of testimonials on political repression in the U.S. unless they were all translated into French. This is a clear attempt to prevent these and the many more testimonials from the masses from being submitted at all. It is also a blatant attack on all immigrants seeking refugee status in France.

We call again on people to send telegrams in protest:

**Stop Harassment of Bob Avakian  
Stop Blocking Demand for Refugee Status.  
Accept All Testimonials in Language of Origin.**

These telegrams should be sent to the appeals commission for refugee status in France:

Commission de Recours de Refugies  
99 Rue de la Verrerie  
Paris, 4, France.

A copy should also be sent to the Embassy of France in the U.S., 2129 Wyoming Ave., Washington, D.C. or to the French Consulate nearest your city.

Another copy should be sent directly to the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants—either one of the local committees or to the National Office at 1801 Columbia Road N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. □

fer up amounts to the political agreement of the defendants with the political statements made by Bob Avakian. In doing this the government's "legal" theory is fully exposed as a political frameup. In essence, the motion points out, by introducing the political agreement of the defendants as the key evidence of a conspiracy, the government is clearly putting the political beliefs of the defendants on trial rather than any supposed crime.

The defendants' motion to dismiss exposes the political history of the case over the last 3 years from the numerous flip-flops and contortions of the prosecution as they attempt to ram the railroad through as a "criminal case" to the

obvious involvement of the highest levels of the government in engineering the attack. This, together with the fact that it has been amply demonstrated that Bob Avakian is the primary target of these attacks, as well as the battle over the electronic surveillance material and the continued spying on and harassment of the other defendants and the RCP in general, basically means that only a blind man or a government agent could possibly stick to the charade of a "purely criminal case." As the defendants' motion states, it is clear that "the government is intent upon destroying Mr. Avakian and the political views he represents... that is the agenda and the subject matter of this prosecution." □

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# "Liberators"

Continued from page 7

occupied by Japan would be granted "self-determination" as soon as possible. He declared: "It is undeniable that the nations of Greater East Asia are bound by indissoluble ties of blood. (sic) I therefore believe firmly that it is our common goal to secure stability in the Greater East Asian area and to create the new order on a basis of wealth and happiness for all." Some brief examples of how Japan's rulers played "anti-colonial big brother to the oppressed" follow:

## Burma

As one bourgeois observer astutely noted, under British rule "Burma was not a human society but a business concern." Before the war, the Japanese had shrewdly taken advantage of the well-exposed nature of their rivals, vociferously supporting anti-British demonstrations and the independence movement. The Burma Independence Army (BIA) had been formed in 1941, recruiting its members largely from the Thakin Party—an organization of young Burmese holding strong anti-imperialist views whose manifesto in 1940 called for a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, nationalization of the means of production, abolition of the landlord class, and free distribution of land to the peasants. When the Japanese invaded, the BIA cooperated with them in driving the British out.

As the Japanese armies and the BIA took over the Burmese countryside, the Japanese declared that they were "Burma's protectors" and announced that they were there to liberate Burma from British colonial bondage. There were many who believed that what would prove to be no more than an exchange of masters actually represented the end of foreign rule. A supposedly autonomous Burmese central authority, in which a number of nationalist leaders took part, was set up under Japanese supervision. Its chairman, Ba Maw, ecstatically declared: "I have heard the voice of Asia calling her children, but this time it is not in a dream."

Meanwhile, however, it was becoming only too clear what Japanese "liberation" from the British meant. The BIA was quickly ordered to disband by the Japanese and a much smaller Burmese Defense Army set up under their tight control. Following Tokyo's general blueprint for Southeast Asia, the occupying troops confiscated British holdings not to turn them over to the Burmese people but for the Japanese to exploit themselves. Japanese monopolies swarmed in, chopping down the state forests and taking control of nearly the whole of agriculture and industry. When Ba Maw complained to Gen. Tojo of the brutal treatment the masses were receiving at the hands of Japanese soldiers, Tojo benevolently replied that he would instruct his troops "to respect the opinions of the natives and to take a true, fatherly attitude toward them."

In 1945, a group headed by the original founder of the BIA, Aung San, led a revolt against the Japanese occupiers which included elements of the Burmese Defense Army who killed many of the Japanese officers attached to it. The Japanese finally granted formal independence to make things more difficult for the returning British who, in turn, moved to crush the anti-imperialist forces and engineered Aung San's murder after the war.

## Indonesia

In Indonesia (known as the Dutch East Indies at the time), the Japanese had spent considerable effort in cultivating anti-Dutch sentiment before the war. As in other Southeast Asian countries, they tried to hook up with every manifestation of the national movements, including religious-based opposition to the Dutch colonial regime. In 1938, something called the Japanese Islamic Association sponsored a World Islamic Conference in Tokyo which was well-attended by Indonesian Muslims. (The long-run lack of success in exploiting Islam was later evident in the fact that two of the largest revolts against the Japanese occupation were Islamic-led.) In April 1942, the Japanese-sponsored "AAA Movement"

was launched under the slogan "Japan the Savior of Asia, Japan the Leader of Asia, Japan the Light of Asia". After this failed to generate much mass enthusiasm, the Japanese rulers secured the cooperation of a group of nationalists headed by Sukarno—the leader of the Nationalist Party which had put forward non-cooperation with the Dutch. They also worked through a multitude of mass organizations they had created among the different oppressed nationalities in Sumatra and Java.

After Indonesia was occupied, the Japanese invaders relied on the same bureaucratic, comprador aristocracy—the pangreh-pradja, literally "rulers of the kingdom"—which had served the Dutch and now obligingly cooperated in administering the Japanese system of forced labor (romusha) in which more than half a million Indonesians were sent to various parts of Southeast Asia to construct Japanese military defenses. Few ever returned alive. Meanwhile, Tojo promised reassuringly that, "It is our intention... to take measures step-by-step envisaging the participation of the native populations in government to the extent commensurate with the degree of their ability." But even nominal "independence" had never been in the cards for the "natives" since Japan needed to outright expropriate the bulk of Indonesian raw materials for the war effort.

As in the case of Burma, the Japanese only granted "independence" on their way out—arming the Nationalist forces as an added anti-Dutch measure. The British, however, retook Indonesia on behalf of the former Dutch governors (who, as one commentator sarcastically noted, would be forced to return "with contrition in their hearts and a spirit of democracy not previously shown this colonial race.") With Japan thoroughly defeated in the war and already preparing to enlist in the U.S.-led bloc, one "contrite" Dutch colonialist, Laurens Van Der Post, recalled what happened next: "I was sent by Lord Mountbatten to the Japanese General commanding the Japanese army to order him to take up arms against the forces of Nationalism he had helped provoke... if it had not been for the way the Japanese fought with us, their old enemies, at places like Bandoeng and Semerang (sic) thereafter, there would have been terrible massacres of Europeans..." Such Japanese participation alongside the imperialist armies of their "old enemies" in the suppression of the very same national liberation movements they had once promoted against their Allied-bloc rivals became standard operating procedure in Korea, Vietnam and elsewhere.

## Philippines

After nearly half a century of U.S. colonial rule in the Philippines, the Japanese found that they had a deep reservoir of anti-Americanism to build on among the masses. However, it proved somewhat difficult to translate this sentiment into one that was pro-Japanese. As one Japanese writer complained of the Filipino people well before the invasion: "... their ideology has not yet advanced to such an extent as to advocate the 'Asia for Asiatics' principle, because their aim is nothing beyond 'the Philippines for the Filipinos.'" How unfortunately narrow!

The Japanese did, however, have the support of some notable nationalists and former revolutionary leaders like Emilio Aguinaldo, who had led the three-year uprising against the U.S. after it grabbed the Philippines from Spain in 1898 and who declared: "I have been deceived first by the Spaniards and now by the Americans, nothing remains but to draw the sword... To oppose the white man and gain freedom and independence, the colonial races must join together." He was, however, to be thrice-deceived.

The Japanese imperialists dished up self-serving economic and ideological criticisms of U.S. colonial rule and put on a show of "restoring" Filipino traditions and ending "cultural subservience" to American colonialism. Tagalog was declared to be one of the two official languages (the other being, naturally, Japanese). Captured American troops were publicly humiliated in front of Filipinos to rid the masses of their "feelings of inferiority."

However, the modus operandi of the

Japanese in this effort had an all too familiar face—e.g., priests being brought in to persuade people that their good Catholic duty, which had formerly been to acquiesce to U.S. domination, was now to support their fraternal Japanese "brothers." Such efforts at exploiting religious beliefs and cultural traditions proved on the whole to be somewhat unconvincing—particularly considering Japanese insistence on things like Emperor-worship (Filipinos were forced to bow before Japanese sentries who were declared to be "symbols of the Emperor") and their practice of "face-slapping" any Filipinos who did not show the proper respect for their new-found benefactors.

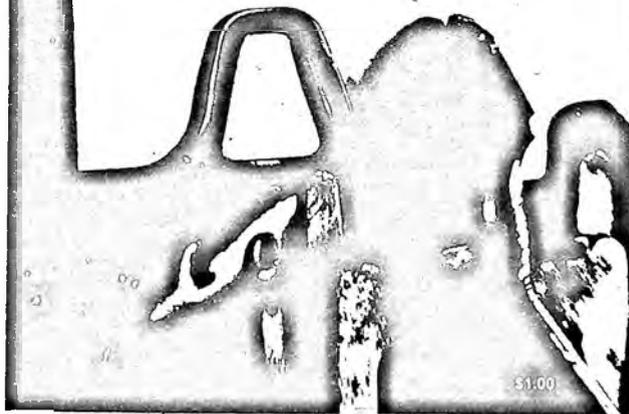
Meanwhile, the Japanese ruled through essentially the same comprador class that had served the Americans before them and who had little trouble switching over to collaboration with Japan. In 1943, the Laurel Republic was announced and the Philippines were declared to be "independent" i.e., subject, of course, to the authority of the Japanese commanders in charge of the occupation who supervised the confiscation of the largest Filipino commercial enterprises, mines, forests, sugar and textile mills, etc. In Manila, the Japanese command pounded American Cadillac and Packards, took over the air-conditioned homes of former American officials, and frequented the same coun-

try clubs that had catered to Westerners. By 1944, even the puppet Filipino Foreign Minister Recto warned the Japanese ambassador in Manila that: "It becomes an increasingly difficult task for the Filipino leaders to convince people of the noble intentions of Japan in waging the present war and of the sincerity of the pronouncements of the Japanese leaders that Japan came to the Philippines not as conqueror but as liberator."

Though there was a noticeable lack of enthusiasm for the Americans' return in 1945, hardly a finger was lifted by the masses in support of the Japanese (not to mention that many had resisted all along). The U.S., which had plundered the Philippines since the turn of the century, re-occupied its colony trumpeting the exact same nonsense about being "liberators" of the Filipino people. Gen. MacArthur's first words as he stepped ashore were: "People of the Philippines, I have returned... The hour of your redemption is here..." MacArthur promptly put the same ruling elite back to work for the U.S. rulers, engineering the appointment of Manuel Roxas (who had been the top official in charge of confiscating rice for the Japanese occupation) as the first post-war president. The Philippines were once again declared to be "independent" in 1946—this time under U.S. imperialist auspices. But that is another story. □

## Bob Avakian Replies to a Letter from:

# "Black Nationalist with Communistic Inclinations"



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.

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# Dennis Brutus

## VS.

# the INS

Chicago. Dennis Brutus, a black poet exiled from South Africa for his unbending opposition to the apartheid regime, is stepping up his fight against the U.S. government's brazen efforts to drive him from this country. After living and working here for ten years as an English professor at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, Brutus was ordered to leave the U.S. before February, 1981 by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). His deportation was postponed by a number of appeals. If deported, Dennis Brutus' life would be in grave danger from the same South African secret police who shot him in the back and then imprisoned him in 1964. In response to the year-long campaign to hound him from the country, Brutus announced on January 14 that he will seek political asylum in the U.S. There has been no decision by the U.S. government as yet on this.

The threatened deportation of Dennis Brutus has been engineered only under the flimsiest guise of "legality." The vigor displayed by the INS in this case is directly related to the U.S. government's efforts to tighten relations with its client-state, South Africa, and

to project the fictitious picture of a regime that is "making progress in its race relations."

That Dennis Brutus is regarded as a serious threat was recently confirmed in a book written by none other than an ex-agent of the South African secret police, Gordon Winters. Called *Inside BOSS*, the acronym for the Bureau of State Security, this recently published book devotes an entire chapter to Dennis Brutus and characterizes him as "one of the 20 most dangerous South African political figures overseas." Brutus was first arrested in 1963 for demonstrating against the participation of segregated South African teams in the Olympics and later imprisoned for 16 months. He was shot during an escape attempt and then exiled.

During his years in the U.S. Brutus continued his outspoken opposition to apartheid. Most recently, he urged a successful boycott of a Council on Foreign Relations conference held on university premises whose purpose was to rubber stamp U.S. policy toward South Africa. (Northwestern University President Robert Strotz has refused to protest INS efforts to deport Brutus, a

tenured professor, in a clear signal that this case is nothing but a routine matter due to Dennis Brutus' failure to follow proper procedures, but at every turn the agency has demonstrated that it will perform whatever legal chicanery is necessary to get him banished from the U.S. Although even the immigration district regional director has formally admitted in a letter that Brutus fell into violation of immigration law through no fault of his own, this was ruled irrelevant by U.S. Immigration Judge Irving Schwartz. This in itself is a blunt admission of the political motives involved in prosecuting Brutus.

The tangled chain of events leading to Brutus' order to leave the country goes back to the spring of 1980 when Rhodesia became Zimbabwe. As a native of Rhodesia, Brutus held a British passport which he used to renew his temporary visa every year. But when Zimbabwe gained its nominal in-

dependence he was to be issued a new passport by the new government. The delay in receiving the new passport is what caused Brutus to be unavoidably late in renewing his visa. Then for a period of almost six months the INS office in Chicago said it had "lost" his file. During this entire period the professor was assured both by INS and the Northwestern official handling his visa application that there would be no problem in gaining the routine extension. But then, Brutus was suddenly ordered to leave the country by February 6, 1981.

This decision, appealed to a higher immigration court, was upheld at a hearing on November 10. INS has continually insisted that to rectify his immigration status Brutus must leave the country and re-apply for a new visa. The catch here, of course, is that the professor could always be denied re-entry once having left. According to Nasif Mahmoud, Brutus' attorney, it is standard operating procedure in such cases for INS to issue a letter assuring re-entry, but officials have steadfastly refused to do this for Dennis Brutus.

A recent article in the *New York Times* hints at what could happen to the professor if he did leave the U.S. The author mentions the McCarran-Walter Act as "the unknown factor that lurks in the United States government's consideration" of Brutus' case. Passed in 1952 during the McCarthy era, this act enables (among other things) the U.S. to prohibit anyone from entering the U.S. who can be considered a "communist or a communist sympathizer." Since Brutus was arrested under South Africa's "Suppression of Communism Act" in 1963 for his protest against segregation in sports, he could be barred from the U.S. according to the McCarran Act. If Dennis Brutus' request for political asylum is turned down, the U.S. government would not hesitate to make the above scenario a reality by upholding the "legitimate" laws of South Africa, no doubt.

Evidence that the government is already moving to block the application for political asylum is the prosecution's statement that the designated destination of deportation for Dennis Brutus would be Zimbabwe, even though he hasn't lived there since he was three years old, not South Africa. The notion here is that since Zimbabwe is safe, there would be no reason to grant political asylum. (This is itself fallacious. Last July, Joe Gqabi, a former nationalist guerrilla who was imprisoned with Brutus, was machine-gunned to death in his driveway in a suburb of Salisbury, Zimbabwe. South Africa was implicated in the murder.)

Besides this frontal assault in the legal sphere there have been other forms of persuasion brought to bear against Dr. Brutus. While lecturing at the University of Pennsylvania last October, for example, seven death threats were phoned into the operator of the guest residence where the professor was staying.

These attempts to make Dennis Brutus the sacrificial offering on the altar of U.S.-South African relations have outraged many. INS has been hit with thousands of letters and telephone calls of protest. Dennis Brutus Defense Committees now exist in the academic communities of Boston, Chicago, Minneapolis and Amherst, Massachusetts where Brutus is spending a year as a visiting professor. The November 10 hearing in Chicago was attended by 150 supporters including Black and white Northwestern students and faculty, Black professionals, African students and others.

Dennis Brutus' tireless efforts to expose the barbaric nature of apartheid and to oppose U.S. support for it have obviously struck a raw nerve. □

## Running Dog

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tests have been extremely feeble. As mentioned, they've protested the way the decision was made, without even symbolic consultation. The article run by New China News Agency protesting the decision was first run under the headline "China Protests U.S. Decision to Sell Aircraft to Taiwan." The headline itself was retracted later in the same evening by New China and the word "decision" was changed to "plan," thus making it sound as if the issue is still alive and allows for further "consultations" to "decide." This line has become the theme of Chinese propaganda on the subject. It reminds us of almost a modern day replay of that familiar figure Ah Q portrayed in one of Lu Hsun's famous stories, who can always turn his humiliating defeats into psychological victories and thus comfort himself.

So why all the fuss? Since the U.S. did its imperialist thing to China and China has been going along with it (with some official protest, of course) for a few years now, what's the big deal? The truth of the matter is that the U.S.-Taiwan deal concentrates not only the real contradictions between the U.S. and China, but, through that, some of the difficulties the reactionary forces in the U.S. bloc are having getting together in the face of intensifying contention with the Soviet bloc.

China sees some opportunity within all this to bargain for a higher price for handing itself over to the U.S. to use as a "China card" against the Soviet Union. In a special essay summing up 1981, in the Jan. 7 *People's Daily*, China noted several "interesting new features" of the world situation: superpower contention is intensifying, but the ability of the superpowers to control the world is decreasing and "there has been a significant development in the third world countries' unity and cooperation, and the struggle against hegemonism." One aspect of this last "feature" is just pure wishful thinking — the fact is that the "third world" is increasingly wracked by contention and forced into one bloc or another and the only way out is major advance in revolution, which the revisionists are certainly not talking about,

but rather actively opposing. The other aspect of this "feature" is an expression of China's hope to increase its own value to the U.S. by emphasizing its importance and ability to draw other countries into the U.S. bloc. Certainly China's recent formulation of "opposition to U.S. hegemonism" also has to be seen partly in that light. As blatant as the U.S. has been lately in ramrodding its way around the world, it could certainly use an ally with an (anti-U.S. hegemonism) cover.

And the U.S. does value China, partly, but not mainly, for its ability to be political pointman for the U.S. bloc. China's sheer size and position have potential strategic importance in the event of world war, and in the maneuvering leading up to it. As *Newsweek* put it recently, U.S.-China ties have "enabled American forces to count out China as a potential enemy when they position U.S. forces worldwide." Less importantly, there are also some U.S. economic relations with China, which provide the U.S. with some profits and also a further political lever on Chinese policy. Another thing which China has recently started marketing are the rare metals titanium, vanadium and tantalum, essential, ironically enough, for advanced aircraft production, and which the U.S. now gets mainly from an even more unstable regimes in southern Africa.

But the U.S. also values Taiwan, and is hardly going to be willing to give it up. Taiwan is a long trusted lackey, completely attuned to the needs of the U.S. economically, politically, ideologically and militarily. One columnist in an article in the *Washington Post* recently called Taiwan an "unsinkable aircraft carrier," and it sits right in the sea lanes between Japan and northeast Asia on one side and southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean on the other. And this "aircraft carrier" is not only unsinkable, it is also capable of manufacturing fighters as it has been doing with the F-5E for a number of years — for use not just in Taiwan, but in the whole region. And certainly Reagan and his top aides are historic supporters of Taiwan, and one of Reagan's personal aides, Michael Deaver, was a registered lobbyist for Taiwan.

So the U.S. has a real strategic need to unite both Taiwan and China in its bloc, and China understands this well. A Jan. 11 *Beijing Review* article, after emphasizing how "firm" their "principles" are in opposition to the arms deal, says:

"The Chinese government always has global considerations in mind in handling its relations with the United States. In the matter of settling the issue of the United States arms to Taiwan, it has also given due consideration to global strategy, while upholding its own national sovereignty." China is still casting its lot with the U.S. in the coming period, because for now at least they think that's the way to advance the interests of the rulers in Peking.

For all this comprador broadmindedness, Taiwan is still a very sensitive internal issue in China, especially given the rising internal discontent. The last thing Deng wants to be accused of is the sell-out of Taiwan. More pro-Soviet forces in the leadership are bound to take advantage of this. Deng is identified as the chief architect of the alliance with the U.S., and the Deng clique even made reunification with Taiwan one of the three goals for the '80s (along with building the international anti-Soviet alliance and developing the national economy). Deng is certainly thinking that if he could by hook or by crook get Taiwan back, he would achieve something that even Mao wasn't able to do in his lifetime. And to achieve this lofty goal, he advanced in October '81 the 9-point plan for peaceful reunification, which differs from past plans in that now Taiwan is not only offered a right to keep its own economic system and its own government, but also its own army! And even this offer has not been enough to get the U.S. to give up Taiwan.

The Soviet Union could hardly miss fishing in these troubled waters, and their offer for reopening border talks with China is both a reminder of the army that hangs on China's border and the offer of how sweet it would be for China to switch masters. This is a continuation of the tactics they have been using for a while, for example in their journal *Far Eastern Affairs*, with articles attacking "Chinese hegemonism," but within that holding out the prospect of a sweeter imperialist deal than China gets from the U.S. — and there are forces within the Chinese party that want to take them up on it.

So while in a certain sense, nothing did happen and nothing much did change in the Taiwan arms deal, even the fact that so many strategic alliances got called into question and jolted by the U.S. need to send arms to an old and reliable ally testifies to just how closely bound together all the world contradictions are at present. □

# Lessons

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Iranian people occupy construction site during revolutionary upsurge.

real revolution.

Now it is true that in the world of today there are ultimately only two classes that can rule society—the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. And in these oppressed nations, the colonial and dependent countries, what that means is that either the imperialists will ultimately rule them having as their dependents the local reactionary forces, or the proletariat will rule them and make them base areas for the world proletarian revolution. But the fact that that's ultimately true doesn't deny or obliterate the fact that there are transitional steps in between. It is still correct to say that as a general rule (though not in an absolute way) there are two stages in the revolution in such countries, even though it's true that ultimately only the bourgeoisie or the proletariat are going to rule those countries—and that means not the *local* bourgeoisie or the proletariat, but either the proletariat or the *imperialists*.

In the course of work on the book *America in Decline* we've come to understand much more sharply that the relation between imperialism and these oppressed nations is also a production relation. It's a political relation, but it has a foundation as a production relation. Lenin insisted on the distinction between imperialist countries and the oppressed nations. And we've come to understand that the expression in the economic base, or political/economic expression of this, is that the economies of all the countries in the world of today are controlled by finance capital, by imperialism. But the distinction is that in the imperialist countries—and not only the U.S. and the Soviet Union, but the imperialist countries of Europe and Japan as well—in the imperialist countries it is the local bourgeoisie that controls that finance capital, whereas in the oppressed nations, and in the colonial and dependent countries, they do not. There it is not the local bourgeoisie that controls that finance capital; it is controlled by finance capital internationally, or different blocs of finance capital. That is, it is foreign imperialism which controls that finance capital. And as I said, that's the political/economic expression or the expression in the economic base of that basic distinction between imperialist countries and oppressed nations. So that when we say that only the bourgeoisie or the proletariat can control these countries (talking about the "third world," for a short-hand expression), we don't mean the local bourgeoisie or the local proletariat. In the final analysis either it will be the proletariat—and that has to be the proletariat representing the *international* proletariat, programmatically as well as ideologically, in terms of what it is fighting for and how it's contributing to the world revolution in the final analysis—or it will be the international bourgeoisie, if you will, or different blocs of it, that is, *imperialism* will control these countries in the final analysis. But in between, that is before the final analysis, other class forces can come to the leadership

of movements that are genuine movements that have at least an aspect of opposition to imperialism and its lackeys and that temporarily change the regime or even the relation of class forces in terms of who is in power. Iran is an example of that, where it was not the imperialists and the class forces that were their direct reserves that dominated power in Iran for a while; it was local bourgeois forces, but not the imperialists and their compradors who were in power for a period of time. And that is for a number of reasons which need to be looked at again.

This experience of the Iranian revolution is a very important experience in recent history that has a lot of lessons for the future, even the immediate future. The U.S. imperialists were on the horns of a very sharp dilemma in Iran; they had to decide whether to go down the line with the Shah and as a result risk being further exposed and having broader and deeper opposition rallied against them in Iran and internationally (even in the U.S.), or whether to try to cut the Shah loose and save their own appearance to a certain degree—that is, to cut their losses and try to work through other forces. They went back and forth and had very sharp struggle in their own ranks about this.

## Reactionary Army Held Back

At a certain point it was pretty clear that the Shah was going to go anyway, unless they were willing to go all out to save him, that is unless they were willing to at least give very forceful backing to the Iranian army and maybe even come in directly with armed forces themselves. At that point, given the overall developments and current situation in the world, they decided to cut their losses and not to throw everything in opposition to the fall of the Shah's regime and the coming to power of new and different class forces. Obviously they did that very calculatingly, with the aim of recouping their losses and of reestablishing and consolidating their hold over the country on an even more powerful basis if they could. That much is perhaps obvious. But, what struck me at the time was that the Iranian army was not being fully mobilized, to a certain degree it was being held on its leash, and the Shah was bitter about that, too. This doesn't mean that there wasn't a genuine mass uprising or that as a result of the whole revolutionary process there weren't divisions within the Iranian reactionary armed forces that expressed themselves at the time of the February uprising.

But still, the army was held back. And the question is why was that the case? I think it was because the calculations were made by the U.S. imperialists and those who were following their orders that if they threw that army in entirely they risked a chance of really losing even bigger, that is, of having that army defeated, splitting even more, cracking open even more deeply in its foundation, and having a much more thoroughgoing revolution and also having the kind of chaos that the Soviets could

come in and take advantage of more directly. So they decided not to do that, and for that reason a lot of, a large part of that army was held intact.

But that, you see, is the kind of thing which also pretty much guarantees that in the short run bourgeois forces, as opposed to proletarian forces, are going to be at the fore and are going to come to power. By that I mean bourgeois forces within the revolutionary camp as it shaped up at that time—the bourgeois or petty bourgeois forces or a mixture of them such as those grouped around Khomeini. That kind of revolution was only partial, but it was a real revolution and in terms of participation it was very broad. It really did almost engulf the whole nation in opposition to the monarchy. But that's the point. It was in opposition to the *monarchy*.

But as far as, for example, the peasantry being mobilized to carry out an agrarian revolution, as far as the proletariat being able to come to the fore, that's something that would have taken a longer and more deep-rooted—it's not so much a question of time—but more thoroughgoing revolution which also does take more time and more twists and turns. When Haile Selassie fell in Ethiopia in 1974 bourgeois forces there also came to the fore. And even though it was a much sharper and broader mass movement in Iran, including real mass armed struggle in that uprising, and there were legitimate defections of the army into the camp of revolution, it was precisely something that in its development and even in terms of the way the imperialists maneuvered was bound to, in a certain sense, in the short run lead to bourgeois forces being at the fore and coming to power.

It didn't go thorough enough for the proletariat to really win leadership and to carry out a thoroughgoing revolution even in the first stage—a thoroughgoing anti-imperialist democratic revolution in Iran. And that's important to sum up. Otherwise you can get demoralized: "well there's another revolution that turned into its opposite." But that revolution was a *real* revolution, and it was not led by the proletariat. Such things not only are possible theoretically but happen in practice.

This goes against the tendency that whenever anything happens in the revolutionary movement that's an advance, there is a tendency to turn it into a law in some absolute metaphysical sense. For example, the revolution in China was led by the proletariat, and every other class was summed up as proven incapable of leading a thoroughgoing anti-imperialist democratic revolution. That's true, and not only was it true in China then but ultimately it's true in general in countries like China. But *ultimately* is one thing and making some sort of automatic, metaphysical, absolute law out of this is another thing.

What were the class forces that led the struggle in Cuba? Wasn't the Cuban revolution really a revolution? I think it was. It was led by petty bourgeois forces that

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ultimately became a comprador bourgeoisie for new imperialists. But it was still a revolution. To say that the Cuban revolution was not a revolution, or that the Algerian revolution (to take another example) was not a revolution because it didn't ultimately lead to the proletariat seizing power is metaphysics. And that's the point I was trying to get at; if you say that, then you're not going to really grasp the profundity and the thoroughgoing character that has to be imparted to a revolution to *really* enable the proletariat to come to the fore and come to power, even in the short run. (I say in the short run because we know that power can be restored and the bourgeoisie can restore capitalism—a new bourgeoisie in particular.)

## Why Communists Didn't Lead It

There is also the fact that, because of the repression there and a number of other reasons, the Marxist-Leninist movement was not very developed inside Iran itself. Now there was the kind of thing that went on in the Russian revolution where a lot of the Marxist-Leninist development, the polemics, the clarifying and sharpening of line questions that went on in relation to the Marxist-Leninist forces in Iran actually went on outside Iran, among the students, intellectuals and others who were outside the country for a period of time under the Shah's regime. But there wasn't the development inside Iran of a powerful Marxist-Leninist movement. It was really having to try to come from behind, and in the short run was not able to take leadership in that struggle. I think in large part that's because of what the other side—in particular the U.S. imperialists—did, which made it much more difficult for them to be able to come from behind in that kind of accelerated way, because of what I was just talking about. The imperialists themselves took steps to see that the thing would sort of "get resolved" to a certain point, in the short run, and also to see that forces that they could both work with and also undermine more easily, put pressure on and hopefully win over or partly win over, would be in the forefront and would come to power.

That also was a very big factor in why the Marxist-Leninists were not able to win leadership, because Khomeini and the forces grouped around him had a real advantage over the Marxist-Leninists in the short run due to the way all the different forces were operating and the specific resolution of the contradictions that occurred (in a partial and limited sense) at that particular juncture. So, the limitations of the Marxist-Leninist movement also have to be understood in that light, not just in terms of the limitations of the Marxist-Leninists themselves, isolated from the rest of that. And that's not raised as a criticism of the Marxist-Leninist forces in Iran. It's just trying to draw some important lessons, because that revolutionary movement and that revolution of a kind there have been extremely rich in lessons, and we should draw all the lessons we can from this.

All this ties up with the question of the party. Mao talked about three magic weapons that they had: they had a revolutionary army, they had the united front, and they had the party. And these were the three magic weapons of the Chinese revolution. And correctly (not mechanically applied) those are three basic principles or three magic weapons of any revolution. But they are not magic weapons in a metaphysical sense. In other words, the question in Iran was not whether they had a group that called itself a party, or even was a party objectively. They didn't have it, but if they had had it that wouldn't have changed everything drastically either, just in and of itself. For example, in the U.S. there is such a party; there is our party. But what I was trying to get at with the lesson of Iran is when a revolutionary situation does emerge, how strong the party is will be crucial at that point. We can come back to this later in terms of the qualitative/quantitative aspect, because both are important, but quality is the principal aspect and the key link—even in building the quantity. But how strong the party is qualitatively and quantitatively is going to be crucial at that point.

## Can't Pull a Party Out of a Hat

Precisely what the experience of Iran shows is that you can't just create that all of a sudden. How strong the party is then has everything to do with what it has done and how it has been built, which is the element we continue to underestimate, not give enough attention to. It is very important to pay attention overall to what gets carried out and how much and in what way (that is, the quantity and the quality) the party has been built, all the way up, all through the process of preparation.

Let's take the question of the proletarian Black masses, for example, one of the most crucial forces for revolution in the U.S. Not to separate them out in any kind of an overall sense, but just to isolate that particular very important force for a second. Does anybody really think that just because their objective interests lie in proletarian revolution that there's not going to be any other major tendency among them at the time when a revolutionary situation develops? Or that even among the most advanced there won't be a constant pull back and forth and a struggle over which tendency to support and rally behind and help build? And it's going to come down to life and death questions of how to influence and win over at that time literally thousands of people at a time. When we talk later about quantity and quality in party building, one of the things we will talk about and

get into is this whole revisionist policy carried out, for example, by some parties we can see right around us, who give you a piece of literature and say "Join up with the Communist Party. Send in the form and you're in the C.P." And that's also what they basically do in the U.S., all these revisionist parties. They've had a history of it for years before; they've gone down this counter-revolutionary road even in the '30s with the C.P. in the U.S. So it's not a question of quantity in the abstract, numbers in an absolute way, but how much you are able to bring people forward to the banner of the revolutionary communist party in a large-scale way in a period of revolutionary crisis. Then it is correct to win over thousands, maybe not to joining your party literally on the spot, but maybe to joining it very quickly because everything becomes telescoped and accelerated in that kind of period.

And how are you going to do that? How are you going to win those people? There are going to be people out on the street; there will be real genuine mass debates, which will be precisely promoted by and in the service of the overall class struggle. How are you going to influence those people? How are you going to be able to get up and concretely win them away from bourgeois and nationalist forces among the Black people or just demagogues of one kind or another generally representing the bourgeoisie among the masses?

Social democrats, all kinds of forces are going to be in the field. Ron Dellums will be out there maybe pulling out all of his old speeches to prove he's always been a socialist and for revolution—and if not him somebody else. Maybe even Tom Hayden, we don't know. There are those types that will be out there, and their representatives will be out there. And how much we are in a position to influence that, to win people concretely, will be decisive.

Even in the imperialist countries, while the stage of revolution is a proletarian revolution, you can have something that starts out as a revolution and, as we have pointed out, ends up in a constitutional crisis. That is, a revolutionary movement develops but because the leadership falls into the hands of or remains in the hands of bourgeois forces, or forces ultimately serving the bourgeoisie, the revolution is aborted.

## The Party—A Leap

Again the question is not just quantity, how big a party you have, but *quality*, how trained people are. We have done a lot and have to even go further and more deeply into the process of overcoming to the degree possible the distinction between the party and the masses, not in the sense of trying to obliterate that distinction but trying to open up the questions that the party is thrashing out to the masses as broadly as possible; still there must be a distinction between the party and the masses, not only organizationally, but even ideologically and politically. The way in which questions are gone into, the depth in which they are gone into, is much fuller, much deeper in the party than more broadly, and it can be and it has to be because of the very reasons and contradictions that make a party necessary in the first place.

There is a leap to becoming a conscious communist and that leap has to organizationally be expressed in terms of joining the party and taking part in the life of the party. However much we advance and even make real breakthroughs in terms of opening these questions up to the masses and involving the masses in them, if the way in which those same questions are treated is not on a more advanced level in the party, then we are making mistakes on the other end. Then we are obliterating the role of the vanguard, and we are not going into those questions as deeply with the people in the party as we should be and can be, and we are reducing the party down to not a vanguard in the name of involving the masses or even in the process of seeking to genuinely involve the masses. Even as much as the masses have to be involved, party members have to go into the same questions from different angles and much more thoroughly and deeply and they have to thrash them out in a much more profound way because that corresponds to what the party is, what the level of consciousness is that's required, and the com-

mitment based on that consciousness that's required to be in the party. And if you are not doing that you are downgrading the role and the importance of the vanguard, and then ultimately downgrading what the masses can do and how they can be involved and the ways in which they can take up and fight through these questions as part of the overall class struggle.

So, it's not enough to be selling the newspaper, reading the newspaper, and even maybe writing correspondence to the newspaper and contributing on that level, and being involved in the process of thrashing and grappling with these questions and fighting it through, in that kind of way and on that level—outside the party. For people who have gotten to that point, they need to take a further leap; people in the party need to keep on developing, too, but there is a very crucial qualitative leap to when you've gotten to that point, then you have to come into that arena where you can do this in a much more thoroughgoing way and through the course of it get trained in a much deeper way than you can do outside. The party is an arena where those questions are, have to be, thrashed out in a much deeper, more profound, and more all-around way than it is possible to do at this stage of society outside the party exactly because of what the party is and why it is needed; what it is that gives rise to the need for a party also makes it the case that the party can and must take those questions up much more thoroughly and train people much more deeply. And people have to see the connection between all that and what we are aiming for, that is, our objective, our long-term objective in the more limited sense, that is, to make revolution, to carry out the "seize power" part of it.

## Preparation Key

If people see that at a certain point things are going to come to a head, at whatever time that is, and that everything we are doing is preparation for that, including the building up and strengthening of the party, qualitatively and also quantitatively, then they can grasp more deeply how important it is that they get into that whole process and be part of that whole struggle in that arena within the party. They'll see they need to get that kind of training, and not just get that kind of training but on the other side of it also contribute to the struggle over what kind of line and direction we are going to take. The question of whether or not we are going to carry out this line of "Create Public Opinion... Seize Power" is not a settled question absolutely in the party. It's settled in the sense that that is our line and we've fought it through to a certain degree. It's not a settled question. At each point in which we run into serious difficulties there are going to be people not only on the outside who attack, but people who jump out inside on various levels to oppose that in various degrees.

People who understand the need for revolution, who want revolution and more than that, begin to see what's involved in revolution, have to get in and be involved in that struggle too; and get trained through the course of that, so that they are able to deal with all the complexities and twists and turns; so that they are able to carry out the work of preparation, and specifically so that they are able to deal with what all of that preparation is preparing for—that is when the revolutionary situation does ripen that they are able to make the biggest contribution. And if they are sitting, maybe not on the sidelines in one sense, but in another they are staying outside of that arena, then they are not going to be able to contribute. And the lack of that contribution, if you multiply it by the numbers of people who are in that situation, could result in victory or defeat. And that's how important it is. It's not a question of trying to hype people, but it is a question of their really grasping that very deeply.

That has everything to do with grasping the line around the whole central task and everything that's concentrated in that, and the whole question of preparation, as active preparation. We're carrying out revolutionary political work now, but it's aimed towards something and we are preparing for something, including in the way we take up the question of the party and how to build the party, and whether or not we pay enough attention to that and in what way we pay attention to it, with what line.

These are some of the lessons we can draw from recent experience internationally, particularly in Iran—and not only there, but that's a very concentrated example. If you see these things then the conclusion can and has to be drawn much more sharply around the question of the party, of people joining the party, the struggle to build the party, and of that aspect of preparation. You can see much more clearly how important that is; you can see it in a much sharper light.

(Continued next week)



Two articles from the *Revolutionary Worker*—"Support Every Outbreak of Protest and Rebellion" and "It's In Your Hands—100,000 Co-Conspirators NOW"—Which address major questions of orientation for the revolutionary movement in breaking with the influence of reformism and in beginning serious and all around preparation for proletarian revolution.

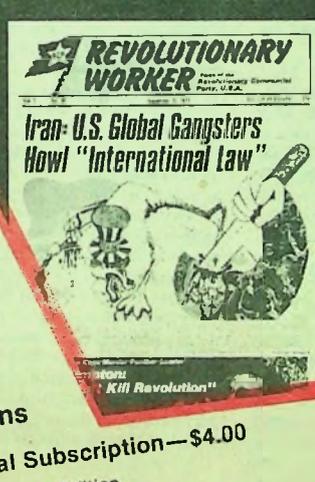
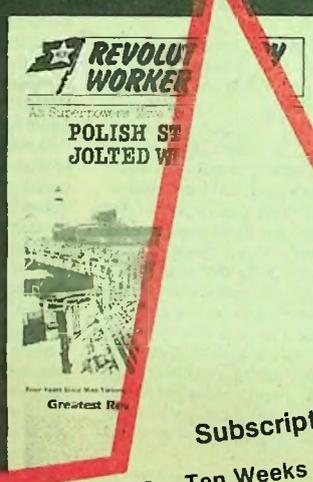
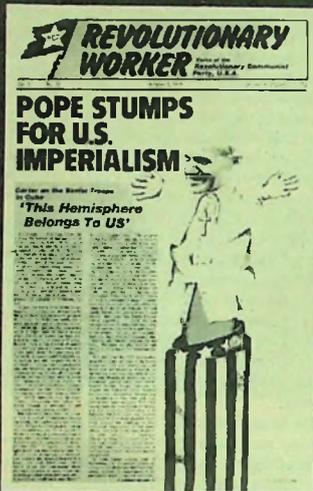
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Even a quick glance at the front page of the *Revolutionary Worker* for the last few months (Crisis in Poland; neutron bomb go-ahead; U.S. attack on Libya; rebellion rocks England...) underscores the urgency of the *RW* getting consistently into more hands every week. And its theoretical articles and in-depth analysis of various trends play an important role in the advance of the revolutionary communist movement here and even in other countries. The RCP is launching a central subscription drive to the *RW* as part of continuing to spread and strengthen the influence of the *RW* among the many varied forces who are being drawn into political life throughout the country and to enable thousands who are only able to buy an issue periodically to receive the *RW* every week, hot on the heels of the events of the day—a necessity with the accelerated pace of world events.

There are many areas of the country—major urban centers, university towns, reservations, more isolated cities, etc., where there are forces for revolution but that do not now have regular access to the *RW*. All of these areas and forces will be affected by (and in turn can help affect) the developing historic conjuncture, including a revolutionary situation possibly unfolding in this country. The question remains, under which banner will sections of the masses be mobilized and in whose interest will they fight? The *RW* has played and must continue to play a crucial role in making the proletarian internationalist trend a powerful force throughout society. The penetrating analysis and exposure in the pages of the *RW* is vital, as Lenin said, in creating the ability in the proletariat, "to find practical solutions for great tasks in the great days in which twenty years are embodied."

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