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ATLANTA: AN OFFICIAL STORY FULL OF HOLES

Atlanta. With the shifting of the spotlight in the Wayne Williams trial from the prosecution table over to the defense, the news media has shifted its coverage towards simply omitting what's going on. And given what's been going on, this development is far from surprising.

As we noted in the last issue, the new "startling evidence" presented by the prosecution boiled down only to a new collection of inconsistencies, contradictions and flat out lies. And when the state got down to the end of its case last week, Atlanta headlines advertised the District Attorney's final summation: "Williams Hated Poor Blacks." After 2 1/2 years of denials, it was finally proclaimed that the "racial issue" has had something to do with the Atlanta murders after all—and Williams is the racist! After the less-than-startling case presented by the state, there were clearly straws being grasped at, but decidedly with the same design and purpose that has clouded the whole effort.

More than a few holes became apparent as the state presented its "theory" that the Atlanta murders are the work of a lone, crazed Black man (check that... a lone, crazed and racist Black man). It

grew leakier still in the last week with the presentation by the defense. And while Williams' part, if any, in the whole affair remains murky, the role of the state is getting clearer every day.

The defense called several witnesses, some of whom, curiously, have worked with or for the authorities to various degrees. Many of these witnesses apparently contacted the defense on their own for different reasons. One of these witnesses was David Dingle, a U.S. Weather Service hydrologist who had previously worked directly with the Task Force—the police structure in Atlanta responsible for the "investigation" of the murders.

The state's story is that Wayne Williams dropped victim Nathaniel Cater's body off a bridge into one side on the Chattahoochee River on May 22. Months ago, Dingle co-authored a report for the Task Force with one Dr. Kittle of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. Based on an analysis of water flows and geological cross sections of currents in this particular section of the Chattahoochee River, this initial report implies that it would have been impossible for the body (given where it was found on the bank) to have been dropped into the river on the side the state later claimed it was.

There was obviously a little problem with Dingle and Kittle's original report, but a problem easily enough solved, like so many other problems get solved in Atlanta. Kittle simply re-wrote the report months later without Dingle's knowledge or permission. The altered version corroborates the police and FBI story. Dingle also revealed that Kittle had admitted to him that the report was rewritten under pressure from none other than Asst. Fulton County District Attorney Gordon Miller.

Dingle later did a follow-up series of tests using both floating and submerged simulated bodies and concluded that the original results were correct. He has been constantly harassed on his job since he quit cooperating with the Task Force and started working with Williams' defense.

Dingle's testimony was followed by that of a senior member of the Fulton County Fire Dept. Scuba Diving Team. The diver's testimony was damaging. On May 23 he and his team were called out to search down stream, though they were not informed as to what they were searching for. The next day Cater's body was found 1-mile downstream. Soon afterwards, this diver was called into a meeting with three of the assistant District Attorneys to find out his opinion as to whether or not Cater's body could have travelled that one mile down the Chattahoochee River in the two days the police were claiming it did. As he said in court, "That was out of the bounds of likelihood..." And he went on to say it could have gone no further than 200 feet.

One of the first witnesses in the defense case was an ex-Atlanta Police Bureau

The Trial of "In The Belly of the Beast"

One need look no further than the chief evidence presented by the prosecution in the recent "murder trial" of Jack Henry Abbott to comprehend the true aims of the government, and the fact that this was truly a major political trial. Abbott was formally indicted for the stabbing death of a waiter during an early morning argument outside the Bini-Bon, a restaurant on New York's Lower East Side; yet the heart of the prosecution's case consisted of carefully pruned excerpts from the book Abbott had written while in prison, *In The Belly of the Beast*. (See book review *RW* No. 115)

The prosecution's case rested, quite simply, on this: the fact that Abbott had put pen to paper to write about the pervasive brutal and dehumanizing state-instigated violence of the prisons is tantamount to a crime, or at least compelling evidence of a psychopathic propensity to crime. Nor does the government even pretend to restrict its indictment to Jack Abbott:

"Defendant's book is replete with descriptions of violent acts. Indeed, the introduction by Norman Mailer indicated that defendant initially wrote to Mailer in order to instruct him about violence in prisons. Defendant has set himself up as an expert on prison violence..." The government has taken full advantage of the murky circumstances of what

amounts to a back-alley incident to launch what has begun to take on aspects of a cultural pogrom. A special *Time* essay in the aftermath of the trial, "The Poetic License to Kill," concentrates the campaign's main themes. An all-out drive to destroy the reputation of Norman Mailer for his role in sponsoring Abbott's work, as an example to others that getting tagged with the "radical chic" label in today's political climate can be the kiss of death. "Attempting to spook the bourgeois sensibility, of course, has been Mailer's vocation for a quarter of a century. He has rarely done it so effectively, perhaps because now the blood is real..." A fierce outrage cascaded down on him last week. It was common to hear New Yorkers say that he should be tried as an accessory to murder."

But why, after all, should Mailer be "tried as an accessory"? Not, surely, because anyone really believes Mailer had anything directly to do with the waiter's death. Nor even simply that "Mailer got that bum Abbott out of prison." Mailer actually had very little to do with "getting Abbott out of prison." But the charge of "accessory" does stick to Mailer once it is understood that the real "crime" for which the bourgeoisie is demanding vengeance is the publication of *In the Belly of the Beast*.

Another feature of the *Time* essay was

a protest against the "soft verdict" Abbott received — the jury did not convict Abbott of second-degree murder, but of first-degree manslaughter, concluding that Abbott "acted under extreme emotional disturbance." Actually, though the prosecution went through the motions of pressing for a conviction on the second-degree murder charge, the manslaughter conviction suited the needs of the ruling class in every particular. But the *Time* essay is calculated as an appeal for a "tough" sentence (sentencing is scheduled for later this month) and a polemic against Mailer and others who "dare" to suggest that Abbott should not be locked up for the rest of his life. In a remarkable concluding paragraph, *Time* concedes that "If Mother Teresa of Calcutta should commit murder, any court might weigh her amazing life's labor against the evil of the one deed." But Jack Henry Abbott, apparently, falls short of the *Time* editors' criteria for leniency in sentencing. And once again, it is *In the Belly of the Beast* which is tossed onto the scales to damn Abbott forever: "But Jack Abbott's vividly ranting book, brutal and brutalized, should have made the jury wonder which was more charac-

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Explain That Crisis, Revisionist!

Last week's *RW* article on Gus Hall's Poland speech touched on rather than closed major questions in the confrontation between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. One aspect that is worth examining again from a slightly different angle, is the way the whole world situation, and the events in Poland in particular, are raising the long-standing debate over the nature of the Soviet Union to a new, higher and more intense level.

For decades now, when the revisionists couldn't ignore Mao Tsetung's conclusion that capitalism had been restored in the Soviet Union and that the Soviet-led bloc was an imperialist bloc, they simply ridiculed it—relying on half-truths and spontaneous "wisdom" about the nature of socialism. The Soviet bloc—capitalism restored? Soviet social-imperialism? How ridiculous! they would say. Has the state plan been abolished? Is there suddenly a stock exchange? How can anyone dare to talk about Soviet imperialism in any scientific sense?

The revisionists would demand: Where is the anarchy of capitalism? Where is the eruption of overproduction? Where are recurring 7-year economic cycles? "No-where!", they would answer their own rhetorical question. "Because, despite all its shortcomings, the Soviet bloc is the land of the harmonious planned unfolding of the productive forces, and the harmonious collaboration of all social strata (never, never say 'classes'): the workers, the peasants and the 'intelligentsia' (which of course includes the likes of Brezhnev & Co.)."

And the revisionists would brush away any analysis of the profound antagonism between exploiter and exploited throughout the Soviet bloc, the crisis in Soviet agriculture, the oppression of nations, the declining rate of profit in the Soviet Union; they would dismiss a million and one proofs of the parasitism of capitalism reborn. And demand, "No, no, show us real crisis!"

And now life itself has conjured up this "real crisis". Sometimes, as Marx noted, reality slices through the knotted entanglements of theoretical disputes like a razor-edged sword—and places these disputes on totally new ground. Perhaps even more sharply than ever before the events in Poland have spoken to major issues in this debate, and spoken with a voice of authority.

Whatever else may be claimed or denied: here is crisis. Full blown crisis. And it is not the cyclical, country-by-country, once-every-decade-type of crisis that characterized capitalism in its "classical" pre-imperialist phase. Here is imperialist crisis, of the twentieth century variety: a concentrated outbreak of a broader and deepening world crisis. And while the crisis of Western imperialism is clearly involved in events in Poland, it is clear that this is intersecting there with a growing crisis—economic and political—internal to the revisionist imperialist bloc of countries.

And in that light, Gus Hall's remarks reflected new problems in defending the revisionist line. Life has spoken, and the

CPUSA can't deny crisis. Now they must explain it.

As we pointed out last week, the essence of Hall's response is that these were mistakes of the Polish leadership. "The weaknesses and errors of the Polish leadership," Gus recently wrote, are not weaknesses of the system and they "are products of conditions unique...to Poland."

Ah...we see. This is a well-known line. It is the familiar, in fact the dominant, bourgeois theory of crisis: crisis is born of mismanagement. There are never crises of systems, only crises of policies. It is the line of every bourgeois political party, simply and directly placing blame for the deepening crisis of imperialism at the foot of whatever other clique of bourgeois politicians they oppose. Just as Reagan blames "left-overs" from Carter for the present recession in the U.S. And (come to think of it) just as Gus Hall himself blames Reagan and "Reaganomics" for the deepening economic crisis of U.S. imperialism.

Well, then, if both Reagan's crisis and Poland's crisis come from similar roots, mismanagement, we can only ask the CPUSA, "Where then does the difference between capitalism and the CP's so-called socialism come in?"

Gus Hall can only fall back on circular—and revisionist—logic. Because ownership (at least of industry) is concentrated in the hands of the state, that state can have no fundamental interests in opposition to the masses. This is a system that may be led by incompetents but never by demons. Reagan may be the embodiment of "demonic" avarice, sadism and racism—but Poland's leaders...

well, they are another story. And central to Gus Hall's analysis was a rambling recitation of his personal contact with these various figures (Gierek, Jaruzelski, etc.) and his homey opinions of their personalities; all blended with a constant refrain about their underlying motives: "The weaknesses and mistakes are not the product of any evil intent. In fact the mistakes of Poland's leadership flow from the very best of intentions." "Some people ask: why did good intentions and drive for maximum industrialization get out of touch with reality? One reason is lack of good, sound planning. Another is some wishful thinking..."

Reassuring...profound... And now back to the real world. For twenty-five years, the debate over the nature and the role of the Soviet Union in the world has raged, as a concentrated theoretical expression of the confrontation between revolution and counterrevolution. We knew, of course, that in the face of Poland, revisionism would retreat, not recant. What we want to point out is how much they reveal in their attempt as they try to portray this state-capitalist regime, this martial law, this rebellious working class heavily influenced by clericalism and Western liberalism, this profound economic and political crisis intertwined in countless ways with the crisis within their bloc and world imperialist crisis generally—as they try to portray all this as various temporary and minor "problems" of an otherwise (and fundamentally) harmonious worker-run socialism.

Life itself will certainly present them with new and ever-more challenging realities to distort and explain away.

But as life presents revisionists with the necessity for new acrobatic feats, to spread new mists of theoretical confusion, it also presents all people worldwide who sincerely want revolution, with new political challenges. If nothing else, the events in Poland have underlined that the nature of the Soviet Union is no academic question, but a decisive one for people everywhere. And it is certainly an extremely important task for genuine revolutionaries to step up the pressure on revisionism, to deepen and promote a genuinely Marxist analysis of the Soviet brand of state-monopoly capitalism. What is at stake is nothing less than the ability to make revolution: any political movement that cannot tell whether the Soviet Union is a friend or a foe of the world revolution certainly will not be able to distinguish between capitulation and revolutionary opportunity in the intense and complex storms that are building. And any revolutionary movement that cannot tell the difference between socialism and one of the major forms of imperialism in the world today (revisionist-style state-monopoly capitalism) may be able to topple this or that regime, but it will be totally incapable of overthrowing the dead hand of exploitation itself and taking the road to a completely new and higher form of society.

The events in Poland cast a sharp light on the entire Soviet bloc, and linked with the approach of world war, they help push the debate over the class nature of the Soviet bloc toward the center of the political stage. This debate is a question of life or death within the world revolution. Let's turn up the heat. □

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Recently, Bob Avakian responded to a number of questions from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle throughout the decade 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. 136-141.

Q: I had two questions: One was to get more into the question of the party being the key aspect of organizing forces and how that relates to developing the dialectic between being able to feel the pulse of the masses and actually being able to quicken it; and then I'm still somewhat confused about the actual relationship here between organizing forces—developing the party quantitatively and qualitatively—and the work that goes on in these mass upsurges, these struggles, which while not ultimately revolutionary in and of themselves are very important and are more and more going to come to the fore.

BA: There is a relationship between quantity and quality, not only in terms of building the party but also in terms of the party being able to carry out its overall line (which in one sense can be viewed as a qualitative question, that is, a question of line). There is also a quantitative aspect of that which enters in, which is how many forces the party can directly command under its leadership. Now there is, of course, the related question of the broad forces that rally around the party to one degree or another and carry out its policies in that kind of way, that is, not being part of the party but still sympathetic with it or supporting it and helping to carry out its policies. But still there is a qualitative difference between that and people who carry out the party's policies as members of the party and as part of its organization and division of labor, and with that degree of consciousness and therefore that degree of commitment. We talked a little earlier about how that is a higher level and how, if it is not, then the party is not really carrying out its role.

There is a relationship between how many forces the party can marshal as party members, as part of its own ranks, and how broadly it can carry out its line among the masses and also therefore how much it can really apply the mass line in a correct, that is not tailist, sense. In other words, how much you can actually feel and quicken the pulse beat of the masses. As we have stressed for some time now, carrying out agitation is, along with spreading the party's line, actually also the most effective way of getting to know the masses politically, of really understanding where they are at. That's a point Lenin made which was stressed a couple of years ago in the Thoughts paper.* And it's a very important principle to grasp. Ultimately quality is crucial there, too, because what kind of line party members are carrying out is going to be decisive in an overall sense, even in terms of bringing more people into the party. But within that quantity plays an important role. How many forces you can marshal, even if it's not ultimately decisive or the principal aspect, still has everything to do with how much you can both feel and quicken the pulse of the masses, how much you can influence them, and how rich and diverse

MORE ON THE PARTY AND MASS MOVEMENTS RELATION TO THE REVOLUTIONARY GOAL

By Bob Avakian

the material is that you can gather to concentrate in order to be able to further sharpen your agitation, your propaganda, your exposure.

The mass line should not be understood narrowly: that we go out and we find out what the ideas of the masses are and we just concentrate them in the most limited, direct, one-to-one sense, and take that back—just a little bit higher level concentration of what the masses themselves are saying. That's still tailism; it's still a form of empiricism. But there is a relationship. In order to carry out agitation among the masses you do have to know what's on their minds, how they are seeing things. You can learn from it, which is very important and that's not something you have to say because it's a moral principle that you should learn from the masses. You actually can learn from it and you can learn all the more when you actually have a revolutionary and not a tailist approach to this question. So you can learn from it. But also you cannot carry out effective and sharp exposure if you don't know what's on the minds of the masses, and first of all

*"Thoughts on Points for Discussion", a report by Bob Avakian to the Second Plenary Session of the Second Central Committee of the RCP, USA in 1978.

the advanced masses, especially among the proletariat and the real solid social base for a revolutionary line, but also more broadly.

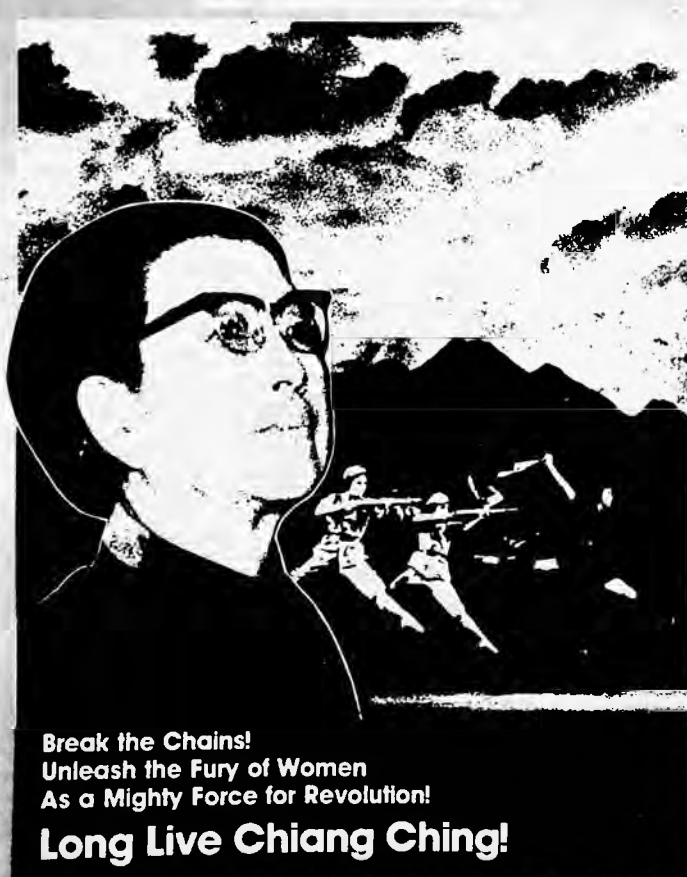
So, the party has to learn and lead, and not just at the time when a revolutionary situation is maturing and ripening and a revolutionary struggle to seize power becomes possible—but all the way along this is so, through the whole period of preparation for revolution, as well as in carrying it out. In other words, all through the whole process that is comprehended and described by the formulation Create Public Opinion... Seize Power, the more the party can marshal its forces into the field according to its organizational principles and with its division of labor, the more it can both learn from and the more it can affect and lead forward the class forces that can be most firmly rallied to the revolutionary banner, and also the masses more broadly. On the one hand, maybe it seems very simple, but it's also a very important point to emphasize, and again, it's been underemphasized and not firmly grasped.

But as far as the other point... the relationship of building the party to the mass struggles, was that the point you were raising?

Q: Yeah, well like you said we're going to jump into these currents and streams of struggle. It's not that we shouldn't do it, but we should do it with our head up, not down. So how do you see building the party in relationship to that—even particularly right now in this period that we are in?

BA: Well, earlier I raised the thing about being sectarian, right? What we were always concerned about and

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International Women's Day Poster Dedicated to Comrade Chiang Ching

This vibrant, colorful poster produced last year for International Women's Day is still available and still very relevant for International Women's Day 1982.

Throughout the storms of the Cultural Revolution and the subsequent reactionary coup d'état, Comrade Chiang Ching has provided revolutionary proletarian leadership and inspiration to millions worldwide.

The foreground photo of Chiang Ching was taken as she defiantly entered the courtroom on the day the revisionists sentenced her to death. The background scene is from the revolutionary Peking Opera "Red Detachment of Women" in which Wu Ching-hua, an escaped bondsmaid who joined the Red Army, and her comrades battle the Kuomintang reactionary troops head on in a mountain pass. This opera is one of the most well-known of the model works produced during the Cultural Revolution under the leadership of Chiang Ching.

All those who want to distribute this poster in various ways and through various channels can contact the RCP in the following cities: Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington D.C. (for phone numbers and addresses see page 2), or can write to RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Illinois 60654. Those who would like to print this poster can obtain printing negatives from the same locations. Posters are 17"x22".

LEADER OF PHILIPPINE WORKERS MOVEMENT BEGINS TOUR

Ernesto Arellano, Secretary-General of Pagkakaisa ng Manggagawang Pilipino (Solidarity of Filipino Workers), will be arriving in Hawaii this week on the first leg of a speaking tour through the U.S. and Europe.

Arellano is also head of the May First Movement (Kilusang Mayo Uno), which has merged with the two-million strong Solidarity of Filipino Workers. On May 1, 1981 the Kilusang Mayo Uno led a mile-long procession of workers through Quezon City, Philippines, protesting worker oppression and murder of labor organizers.

Arellano has been imprisoned three times and severely tortured by the U.S.-backed Marcos regime. Under martial law aimed at the revolutionary movement since 1972, workers' strikes and demonstrations are banned in the Philippines. The Kilusang Mayo Uno has been targeted for its resistance to the Marcos dictatorship and U.S. imperialist domination.

This speaking tour comes at a time of revolutionary upswing in the Philippines, where the New People's Army, led by the Communist Party of the Philippines, has liberated numerous base areas in the countryside, in alliance with the Bangsa Moro Army of the oppressed Moro people in the south. It is also a time when the increased desperation and frenzied maneuverings on the part of the U.S. in the Philippines heighten the importance of the unity of the international proletariat with the Philippine revolution.

The tour is sponsored by the National Organization of Friends of the Filipino People. For further information, contact them at: 110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. (202) 543-1093.

HONOLULU:

Feb. 17 noon: Hemenway Theatre, University of Hawaii
Feb. 19 7:30 pm: Harris Methodist Church

SAN FRANCISCO:

Feb. 26

U.S. Seeks Double Profit From Nuns' Murder

Suddenly—a "solution" to the rape and murder of three nuns and a Catholic layworker on December 2, 1980 in El Salvador. What a coincidence—especially when stepped up military shipments and plans for greater U.S. escalations are the subject of so much turmoil right within the U.S. itself. Here the U.S. government has been telling us that the junta is quite "moderate," and here the junta is arresting 6 of its very own national guard troops. A supposedly telling blow against the "extreme right," which the U.S. has never failed to point to as one of the bitter opponents of the junta's U.S.-style "democracy" in El Salvador. Of course, the six guardsmen all happen to be *enlisted men*—not a high-ranking

Salvadoran official, not a U.S. "advisor," nor still less a top-level U.S. official in the bunch. Nevertheless, U.S. puppet José Napoleón Duarte went on Salvadoran TV to assure those in the U.S. who would read the accounts in the following day's newspapers that all "those guilty of the assassination are suspects already mentioned." Case closed—the murderous Salvadoran regime has captured the few brutes who dared murder *Americans* and has thereby given itself a clean bill of health "human rights" wise, so the U.S. can merrily go about sending more massive military aid to its junta in its efforts to make El Salvador safe for democracy by slaughtering thousands more *Salvadorans*. All that's missing is the stamp on the case file—"made in U.S.A."

Breathes there a soul who can still naively doubt the absolute subservience of the Salvadoran junta to the exigencies of U.S. imperialism after this? This case, from murderous beginning to rotten end and all the way in between has been as American as Old Glory, with the stench of American democracy permeating it throughout.

The Act

Certainly rape, murder and savage butchery at the hands of the Duarte regime is hardly unusual in El Salvador—over 30,000 have been killed in the past 2 years alone. But these were nuns, and *American* nuns at that. No two-bit rank-and-file national guardsmen are going to murder any American nuns without top-level Salvadoran and U.S. approval. Indeed, the driver of the national guard vehicle reported in the days following the murder that there was a ranking U.S. colonel involved in the incident, but the driver soon disappeared and has not been heard from since. When a State Department spokesman was asked about this at a press conference last week, he told reporters to check with the Defense Department, since the colonel was "an employee of Defense." When reporters responded that the Defense Department had already told them to ask the State Department, the spokesman acted flustered and said he would have nothing more to say.

Why did the great upholders of God and country order the murder of these religious women? Simply because they were an active part of a broad trend

within the Catholic church in El Salvador and in the U.S. that was supporting the struggle against the Salvadoran junta. The fact that they were nuns—and American ones—made them perfect vehicles for sending the particular U.S. government message that no part of the opposition in El Salvador was *sacred*, including the clergy. This came just one week after the murder of some top leaders of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), including some who had formerly supported the junta. In addition it was a direct message to those in the Catholic church in this country who had thoughts of going to El Salvador to aid in the struggle against the U.S.-backed regime and fight to get the U.S. out, that they better think again. This had everything to do with the U.S. drive to clampdown in Central America.

Immediately after the nuns' murder, the State Department spokesman reiterated the same weakly worded "We deplore violence once again," as had been delivered after the FDR leaders' murders. The message was unmistakable—so much so that all hell broke loose in the U.S. especially among a large section of Catholics. By the following day, the State Dept. was suspending "aid" to the junta (for a grand total of 4 weeks, with no military appropriations having been affected at all), and promising up-and-down that they would "investigate" the murders. Shortly thereafter, a massive escalation of U.S. weapons and "advisors" took place.

The "Investigation"

From the moment this "investigation" began, it had all the elements of a U.S.-style police murder case. It dragged on for months on end; FBI crime-fighting experts were called in to conduct extensive forensic lab tests, lots of "inconclusive" evidence was unearthed against low-ranking guardsmen, and so on—the sort of thing that goes on in the U.S. when mass outrages are sparked off by the boys in blue just doing their jobs. In May, two low-ranking guardsmen were arrested (and four more were subsequently added to the docket), but just in case there were some who might begin to think that it was now safe to go to El Salvador, the U.S. press began to speak about the "idiosyncracies" of Salvadoran law. The *Washington Post* put it best at the time, "The judicial system here, as one analyst put it, re-

quires 'practically eyewitnesses in broad daylight at high noon' to obtain a conviction. And while witnesses are required, there are virtually no incentives allowed under Salvadoran law for participants in the crime to turn state's evidence. . . . In local terms, the case against the guardsmen remains weak."


Sounds just like the Ron Settles' case in Signal Hill, California or the Ernest Lacey operation in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, doesn't it? There's a good reason—the *modus operandi* for all of them was designed in Washington, D.C. Because of the international stakes involved, the U.S. had to at least make this kind of legalistic charade to cool things out as they do so often in the U.S. itself. So a few national guardsmen were picked up as possible suspects while all this "investigation" was going on.

The "Solution"

But the U.S.' situation in Central America worsened, and something had to be done. The administration decided to step up military shipments to El Salvador—and plan for greater escalations in the near future, prompting widespread opposition in this country and turmoil within the bourgeoisie's own ranks. Suddenly, as if from out of nowhere, there is "motion" in the nuns' murder case—this after a year-long "investigation," the resignations of two different judges who feared for their lives, and in spite of the "slowness," etc. of "Salvadoran law." According to the *L.A. Times*, about three weeks ago two of the guardsmen arrested were "quietly released"—their places taken by two other "suspects," described as "cooperative." These latest two have apparently "confessed" to the killings and are testifying against the other four as well. These six will no doubt get a slap on the wrist and be quietly let free just as happens with pigs in the U.S. who are involved in similar charades.

What a "break"—for the U.S. bourgeoisie. This is nothing but the most transparent and cynical attempt to cool out a certain section of U.S. public opinion and help lay the basis for stepped up military moves in Central America. Now everything is supposed to be fine. After all, the murderers of the *Americans* have been found. Now it's time to get down to the business at hand, drenching El Salvador in more blood. Perhaps, they figure, the murder of these nuns can turn out to be a double plus for them.

Maybe there are a few who will find all this sufficient to overlook the tens of thousands of Salvadorans whom the U.S. has murdered, and to rally to support the butchery already being planned and carried out; certainly, those forces in the ruling class that have jumped into liberal opposition will be encouraged by any such developments. But to millions in the U.S. and worldwide, this whole rotten incident has only further exposed what many already knew and many more are coming to realize with every passing day about the nature of the beast that is U.S. imperialism. □



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

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IS THERE IMPERIALIST LIFE AFTER NUCLEAR WAR?

As the imperialist war-blocs, headed respectively by the U.S. and the USSR, prepare for the unleashing of a third world war for the redivision of the globe, many serious problems and contradictions confront them. Judging from the numerous think-tank studies, committee reports, magazine articles, etc., etc., one problem that stands particularly high upon their list is the question of "the survivors." What will the masses of people around the world do to us?—these criminals ask and re-ask themselves. One report, entitled *The Effects of Nuclear War*, warned in a candid moment: "...it is unlikely that the survivors would simply take it in stride." But there the question was left to dangle like the sword of Damocles—menacingly. Now, a recent publication by Arthur M. Katz called *Life After Nuclear War*, details from a number of different angles just what *not* "taking it in stride" might mean to the rulers' ability to maintain political control over a situation characterized by economic dislocation, political crisis and war. This 422-page study is an attempt to make an evaluation of potential economic and political upheaval as a result of the war being brought right onto U.S. turf, and its effects on the imperialists' ability to wage such a war and win it, including (despite its gingerly and understated treatment by Dr. Katz) the development of a revolutionary situation and revolution itself.

Life After Nuclear War does not mainly fall into the category of a treatise designed to create broad public opinion for world war. Nor is it meant to. No, this book, an expanded version of a report Dr. Katz submitted to the Joint Congressional Committee on Defense Production, is the bourgeoisie's way of broadening the debate and posing these questions among their own ranks and the ranks of their various political representatives and war strategists. It is a debate that is clearly becoming more urgent for them to engage in—a fact reflective of the ever more rapid international developments towards war. Indeed, it becomes readily apparent *Life After Nuclear War* is about how to extend the life of U.S. imperialism which is going to be at the very least given a severe test in the near future.

This study takes as its starting point the highly interdependent nature of an advanced industrialized society like the U.S. And it is on the question of grasping the inter-relatedness of the economic, political and social effects of world war that Dr. Katz prides himself and chides his predecessors: "The previous estimates of damage to society have seriously underestimated the true extent of these effects because of their narrow focus. They are often based upon crude physical measures of destruction, such as human fatalities and casualties, number of cities destroyed, or damage to overall economic capacity. These indicators alone do not exhaust the direct and indirect effects of nuclear weapons on society. Particularly, they do not identify the 'interactive effects'—effects of one part of society upon another—for example, the impact of damage to one industry on the productive capacity of other industries. In addition, they underestimate the impact of social and political reactions to nuclear war."

The International Dimensions of the National Interests

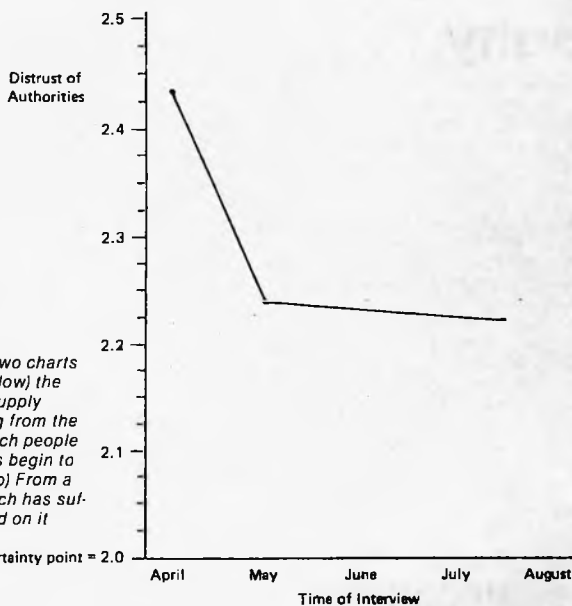
It should be noted that this study deals solely from the point of view that world

war has already broken out, and therefore, does not address the idea of a political crisis or revolutionary situation developing in this country *before* world war. But nevertheless, some of his observations are even applicable to such an eventuality. What Dr. Katz does address explicitly from various angles is the impact of world war being fought for the first time in history on U.S. turf. (Despite all their think-tank calculations this still holds much unpredictability.) In fact, Katz even postulates that just the *threat* of U.S. soil being embroiled with bombs and missiles in the course of war could provoke massive uncontrolled evacuations out of the major cities, causing all manner of dislocation upon society: food and water shortages, overcrowding, clashes between urban and rural populations (more on this later), political infighting in the ruling class, strains on the forces of "law and order," etc. And he concludes even under the best of circumstances—i.e. no nukes immediately forthcoming—"that it would take one to two years to return to a normal economic situation if all went well." And while this book almost entirely focuses on the U.S. (there is one chapter outlining similar problems for the Soviets during world war), all the calculations and evaluations made here take as their overall perspective the international situation. After all, imperialism is a worldwide system of exploitation and oppression and it's the

Continued on page 10

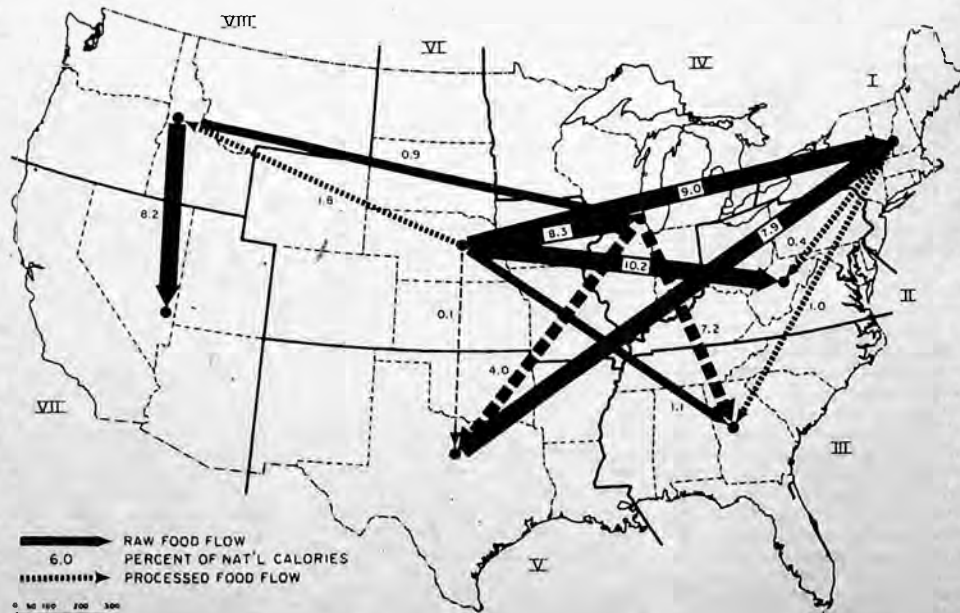


Figure A-1. Change of Distrust of Authorities from April to August 1979 in General Population Area of Three Mile Island.



Imperialist planning—and imperialist worries. Two charts from *Life After Nuclear War* purport to show (below) the vulnerability of the highly developed U.S. food supply system; and (right) a beginning attempt, learning from the Three Mile Island incident, to figure out how much people are going to distrust their authority as the nukes begin to fall. Of course, there are other plans as well: (top) From a 1950s civil defense book, captioned: "A city which has suffered an A-bomb attack will have controls placed on it similar to martial law—"

Figure 6-8. Simplified Food Transportation Flow.



Source: Stephen L. Brown and Ulrich F. Pilz, "U.S. Agriculture: Potential Vulnerabilities" (Menlo Park, California: Stanford Research Institute, January 1969), p. 64.

On Friday, February 5, the government suddenly reversed its long-standing position and granted a change of venue to Los Angeles for the deportation hearing against Salvadoran revolutionaries, David Mendez and Emilio Henriquez, on the Salvadoran revolutionary speaking tour. The hearing had previously been scheduled for Feb. 9 in Dallas. The action took place only hours before a lawsuit was to be heard in federal court to prevent the hearings from proceeding in Dallas. The District Director of the INS Southern Region, William Chambers, had made a highly unusual personal intervention to deny such a change of venue on Jan. 7, and had then repeatedly rebuffed defense requests to reconsider. His sudden reversal does not at all mean an end to the imperialists' efforts to deport these two brothers—in fact, they could schedule the hearings in L.A. as early as Feb. 22 (by jumping the docket in L.A., which would entail a blatant—though hardly unprecedented in this case—violation of their own established legal procedures). Rather, this move represents a maneuver in the government's continuing attack—a maneuver it decided to make in light of several factors. These same factors contributed significantly to the government's recent acquittal of two other members of the tour who had been charged with felony transport of "illegal aliens" in this case.

The INS has been forced to make this move both by the broad outrage and protest which has been unleashed against this attack and by recent developments in the world situation, particularly in El Salvador. As was said in the last issue of the *RW*: "The deportation hearings are

In The Belly

from page 1

teristic of the man: literature or murder... Mailer's formula is a shallow little mechanism. 'Culture is worth a little risk,' he says. The world of that sentence is upside down: you defend culture do you not, by locking up the people who try to kill it."

A curious formulation: you "defend culture" by "locking up the people who try to kill it." We take this to mean that in America, the chief defenders of "our national culture" are the prison guards. How appropriate. When we consider the population of the prisons of the United States, we find that those guilty of "trying to kill our culture" are overwhelmingly very young members of oppressed nationalities and the poor. Certainly this is true of those on death row. Jack Abbott had been locked up ever since he was 9 years old; and Abbott is by no means an unusual case. The strip cell, the blackout cell, the hole, murder and terror on a routine basis instigated directly by the prison administration; this is the regimen imposed by our "cultural guardians" on the hundreds of thousands of inmates of the U.S. prison system. In addition to the striking exposures contained in *In the Belly of the Beast*, Abbott testified about his own experience of prison violence for three days during the trial. The state was willing to allow this at the same time as pains were taken by the press to insure that it all was construed as a plea for "pity" and "understanding." But of course if any message is intended by the state to sink in through their efforts around the "Abbott affair," it is that raising the veil to expose and denounce the horror that clogs every pore of U.S. imperialism is in the end itself a crime punishable by imprisonment.

Especially disturbing to the bourgeoisie in the early reaction to *In the Belly of the Beast* last summer were the pointed comparisons drawn by many between the world of the prison system and the world "beyond the prison walls" — so-called "free" American society. Norman Mailer's introduction to the book suggested that "the underlying horror may be that we all inhabit the swollen tissues of a body politic that is drenched in bad conscience, so bad indeed that the laugh of the hyena reverberates from every TV set, and is in danger of becoming our true national anthem... The measure of the progressive imprisonment of all society is to be found at the base — in the state of the penitentiaries themselves." The boundary between the maximum security prison and the streets of, say, New York

Change of Venue Granted in Deportation Hearings

El Salvador Tour Makes Waves in L.A.

happening at a very bad time for the U.S. imperialists, and one which shows prospects of getting even worse for them." Indeed, the situation in El Salvador is deteriorating rapidly, compelling the U.S. to grant the junta massive infusions of military aid, even threatening that the U.S. will do "whatever is necessary" to keep their hands on El Salvador, while at the same time there is great turmoil even within their own ranks on exactly what is "necessary" to do in the context of a sharpening international situation. Even a small piece of the mountain of murderous repression that is routine for the Duarte butcher regime is finding its way into the media here. Some forces in the ruling class are pushing for some kind of negotiations with the opposition forces in El Salvador. Events in Central America are threatening to widen rifts between the U.S. and its West European allies. Clearly what happens in this deportation case is both affected by and in turn has an effect on this developing situation. In such a complicated and fast-breaking scene, the U.S. government has found it necessary to re-group and to plot how to continue their attack on the tour, now focused on using their Migra to deport

City, is only relative and indefinite — and shifting. Both "sides" of American society are run by the same depraved class of animals, and compose one unified and seamless structure of violent oppression.

But the bourgeoisie has declared in no uncertain terms that exposing U.S. prisons to draw broader conclusions about U.S. society as a whole is a very dangerous and counterproductive occupation for anybody with any ideas of "getting along" and moving up in the bourgeois intellectual cultural world. Thus, for example, at a recent forum sponsored by PEN, a writers' group, on "The Convict and the Artist," various participants felt free to posture as "critics" of the prison system for its deficiencies in "training convicts to resume their place in society" — always assuming, however, that there does exist some desirable "free society" that prisoners can and should be encouraged to adjust themselves to. Myron Farber of the *New York Times* provides an especially silly example of this point of view:

"Abbott has one living relative, a sister in Salt Lake City. She lives a couple of minutes from downtown. It looks like maybe a cross between Ridgewood, New Jersey, and Scarsdale. It's a nice looking area, green lawns, what-have-you... There is no question he should have gone to his sister."

So, Mr. Farber, Abbott should have gone to Salt Lake City. Why? Because Salt Lake City represents a closer approximation to the American paradise than the halfway house in the Bowery where Abbott lived during his six weeks in New York? Or, perhaps more plausibly, a closer approximation to the conditions he was accustomed to from his years in prison? Or maybe Farber's real point is that Abbott should have gone off and faded into some suburb rather than hanging around the Big Apple promoting his book; he should have played it smart and stayed out of trouble. Farber also attacked Mailer — after, of course, leading off with "I didn't come here to give Mailer a hard time" — for being stupid enough to go out on a limb and offer Abbott a job.

It has been fascinating to watch the various actors and puppets in this reactionary passion play attempt — with no great success — to conceal their delight over the death of Richard Adan, which provided them a fortuitous and unexpected opening for this counteroffensive, under slick layers of crocodile tears. But if one steps back and considers for a moment the extent, the sheer lengths to which the bourgeoisie has gone in prosecuting this bizarre propaganda campaign, one is inevitably impressed by how jittery they are about the loyalty of important sections of artists and intellec-

the Salvadorans into the clutches of the death-dealing junta.

Their worries are seriously complicated by the swell of anger and protest which has hounded them and which has been so crucial in preventing them from carrying through their previous deportation efforts, as well as in Dallas. It is significant that it was a lawyer from the National Immigrant Rights Project (a coalition of 90 groups) who filed the lawsuit in L.A. seeking to prevent the INS from going ahead in Dallas with their plans. Even more, opposition to the government's policy of deporting Salvadorans is itself becoming an increasingly volatile issue. Most recently, for example, a group in New York, consisting of five Salvadorans, a Haitian and three people from the U.S., began a hunger strike demanding an end to aid to El Salvador's junta, an end to deportation of Salvadorans, and due process for immigrants.

The tour itself has gone forward, amidst sharp battle, to appear before

tuals in this country. They have had to resort to an extraordinary amount of intimidation in order to achieve, at least partially and temporarily, a "restoration of order" among certain restive strata.

But it must be said that these efforts at intimidation could not themselves have been successful without an accompanying blizzard of obfuscation. We have already commented on the irony of the central contention in the "case against Abbott," both in and out of court: because *In the Belly of the Beast* exposes and condemns with vivid intensity the violence of the prison system, its author is damned as "violent by nature." Civilized, "cultured" men do not commit the unpardonable impropriety of protesting the barbarism that throbs at the core of U.S. imperialist society. "Abbott is an animal because he was raised by the state; Abbott was raised by the state because he is an animal; he is a prisoner because he is sub-human; he is sub-human because he is a prisoner" — can such preposterous "terms of the debate" really be allowed to dominate the discussion?

Of course a section of so-called liberal intellectuals has heaved a sigh of relief and leapt at the chance to adopt an openly reactionary position which the incident at the Bini-Bon seemingly afforded. Others, however, (while unwilling to join the chorus of howling "intellectual" hyenas whose comments on the Abbott affair have sounded like *New York Post* editorials with an upgraded syntax) have spontaneously found themselves apparently forced into a defensive position, clinging to a stereotypical, "creed of the social worker" and earnestly insisting that prisoners can be rehabilitated.

But it is neither necessary, nor wise, to fall into such an untenable trap. To pose the issue in this banal way, as if the key question all along was whether Abbott's literary talent could salvage him as a "functioning productive member of our society" — when his book itself is remarkable for its ability to fill the reader with profound revulsion for this same society — requires levels of naivete most of us are simply unable to sincerely muster these days. Why then is the incident at the Bini-Bon being gnawed over as a portentous symbol, fraught with significance for parole board ethics? As for us, whenever we hear the term "rehabilitated ex-con," the image of G. Gordon Liddy makes a boorish intrusion. Ah, yes: "convict author" who at least knows how to read a wine list — and who only kills on orders from the bourgeoisie. But we imagine we can understand why Mr. Liddy was granted a presidential pardon for his crimes: in fairness, he does rather remind one of Mother Teresa of Calcutta.

over 400 people in the Southern California area. Tour members spoke in San Diego at a political hang-out known as Che's Cafe before 200 people, among them a number of punks and revolutionary immigrants, including from across the border in Tijuana. The tour appeared in L.A., at Cal Arts and then at UCLA where, only an hour before the scheduled program, the administration suddenly announced that the event was being cancelled. Why? As an administration spokesman put it, "Because of the political nature of it and because there were foreign-language leaflets posted all over." Then, baring their ivory-tower fangs, they announced that campus cops would be present to enforce the cancellation.

This provoked an on-the-spot storm of protest, including immediate calls to the administration from professors and the quick establishment by a number of outraged students of "the Committee for Free Speech." A few days later, this same administration spokesman had become quite defensive, now proclaiming—as the authorities have throughout this attack—that there was no political repression here at all, that "it could have been three elves from Disneyland wanting to speak and we would have approached it the same way!" No—you probably would have given them honorary PhD's. This fantasyland script became even more ridiculous when it turned up that the only other event to be cancelled like this was when an Iranian student group had also put on a program about the revolution in El Salvador. It also came out that the foreign language leaflets they were so wrought up about were in Farsi. Why, they couldn't have all these "foreigners" — Iranians no less — running around writing things that red-blooded American administrators can't read but can pretty well guess what they might be saying. What a fine illustration of what the bourgeoisie has feared about this whole tour of Salvadoran revolutionaries, prompting it to lash out viciously with its repressive state hoping to stop the revolutionary message from being spread. To the chagrin of the UCLA administration, exactly what they sought to prevent did in fact happen as they were forced to back down and re-schedule the program a day later, which, despite the resulting confusion, was attended by 75 people.

The government's efforts to prevent this revolutionary internationalist tour from taking place have failed. They have been forced to grant this change of venue for the deportation hearing to Los Angeles—more favorable turf from which to wage the battle to keep the Salvadoran brothers from the bloody clutches of the Duarte regime. But the very factors that drove them to attack in the first place, and that have forced them to maneuver with the change of venue, mean that they will certainly continue trying to carry through these deportations. As the ante goes up in El Salvador in particular, so do the stakes in granting political asylum to these revolutionaries who have consistently defied and exposed them. But, as was concluded in the last *RW*, the Salvadorans have undertaken this tour "knowing full well the risks involved, because they saw the pressing necessity for the national speaking tour and because they were absolutely confident of others stepping forward against U.S. imperialism. For those many people in this country who despise and seek to end the rule of the U.S. over vast sections of the globe, and who refuse to behave like 'typical chauvinist Americans,' learning from, struggling alongside, and defending these revolutionary brothers is of the utmost importance." It is now necessary to take every advantage possible of this latest turn in the government's attack to force them to grant political asylum.

Telegrams demanding an end to the deportation proceedings and the granting of political asylum to the Salvadoran revolutionaries, David Mendez and Emilio Henriquez, should be sent to:

Michael Landon
INS District Director
8th Floor
300 North Los Angeles St.
Los Angeles, CA 90012

New Gov't. Agency Plots

First Aid for State Power

Readers may recall an article which appeared in the January 29 issue of the *RW* titled "Nuclear War no Worse than Bubonic Plague: U.S. Experts Say." It dealt with some of the current activities of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) in spreading the word, to all who would lap it up, that nuclear war is not only both thinkable and winnable but really not all that bad a deal. Since that article appeared we have learned some more about the varied activities of this rising new agency which has been allotted a projected 1983 budget of twice what it spent in 1982.

Established only in 1979 at the end of the Carter administration, FEMA constitutes a special new agency, reporting directly to the Office of the President, which is responsible for all domestic emergency preparedness and response activities in the event of war or other declared national emergencies. It pulls together under one administration office the implementation of most of the emergency powers granted to the government under the Federal Civil Defense Act, the National Security Act, the Strategic and Critical Stockpiling Act and the Defense Production Act. FEMA provides the administrative support for the new Emergency Mobilization Preparedness Board (consisting of representatives

from 22 federal agencies) which was established in December by executive order to handle overall war mobilization preparations.

Interestingly, Franklin D. Roosevelt took similar steps in the period leading up to the U.S. entry into the last world war. It was in May, 1940 that Roosevelt established the first Office for Emergency Management as a division of the White House staff. In June of that year, the Alien Registration Act was passed, in October the first men were conscripted into the army, in November Congress approved an appropriation to build 200 new warships, and in December Roosevelt established the Office of Production Management to mobilize the entire economy for war production.

Operating behind the façade of administering national flood insurance and running a national academy for firemen, FEMA has quickly moved into a large new office building across the street from the Dept. of Education and already boasts a staff of 2,500. Its activities take in not only all of the old Office of Civil Defense but a whole new network overtly aimed at preserving the machinery of the bourgeoisie's dictatorship in all eventualities. For example, FEMA operates a secret national command center dug out under Mount Weather in northern

Virginia to provide a secure bunker from which government leaders can carry on during war-time. It operates another facility in Culpeper Virginia which stores duplicates of the bank records of the ruling class. FEMA has its own elaborate telephone system linking key agencies and FEMA is also preserving duplicate records on persons believed to pose a threat to government.

FEMA literature modestly describes its own role as "development of federal program policy guidance and plans to insure that government at all levels is able to cope with and recover from emergencies. *This includes arrangement for succession of office...* FEMA develops plans and programs necessary to maintain effective protection for the population of the United States and key governmental and industrial components against the effects of enemy attack, to mitigate natural and technological hazards, and to *minimize the negative consequences resulting from civil disturbances and terrorism.*" (emphasis *RW*)

Showing, in fact, increasing uneasiness over the problems of civil discord, FEMA has created a new "Disorder Consequences Division" as part of its National Preparedness Program Directorate. Some clue as to just what they have in mind was shown by a January conference

sponsored by FEMA in Vancouver, Washington on the subject of "rioting and terrorism." A featured speaker at the event was Col. Hussein Toga, head of the Jordanian Royal Guard, who described how the Jordanian regime dealt with the PLO! Whether the presentation contained film footage of the September, 1970 massacres of Palestinians by the Jordanian pretorian guard, we couldn't determine.

FEMA director, Louis O. Giuffrida, is certainly well fit for his new job. As a colonel in the U.S. Army military police, Giuffrida was appointed first in 1971 by then governor Ronald Reagan as head of the California Specialized Training Institute, which "specialized" in training cops from all over the U.S., Mexico and Canada in "counter-terrorism", riot control and how to operate martial law during civil emergencies. We don't know what it was about Giuffrida that first attracted Reagan's attention, but perhaps it was the paper he wrote in 1970 at the Army War College entitled "National Survival—Racial Imperatives."

In his little "make believe" school assignment, Giuffrida takes up the question of: just suppose it were necessary to incarcerate all the Blacks in the U.S. in a situation of "racial tension"—for their

Continued on page 13



Frankfurt, West Germany

15,000 Battle
U.S. War Preps

Over the weekend of Jan. 30-31, 15,000 demonstrators battled 5,000 West German police in an attempt to occupy the building site for a new runway slated to be built at Frankfurt International Airport/Rhein Main Airforce Base. This airport—the U.S. Army's "Gateway to Europe"—has for years been a key part of the U.S. bloc troop and supply apparatus; it is an open secret that the new 2.5 mile runway is being built for the purpose of handling the massive airlifts required for war. As the authorities have actually moved toward starting up construction, a longstanding campaign of popular opposition to the new runway has escalated, becoming an important battle-front in

West Germany's anti-war movement.

The photo above gives some idea of the intensity of the fighting that took place in the woods near the airport as large groups of helmeted demonstrators (right) attempted to break through lines of police (left, with shields) massed outside the 15 foot-high concrete and barbed wire wall that has been built around the new runway site. Vicious police charges into the woods, which injured scores of demonstrators, were met with hails of stones, branches, fireworks and molotov cocktails. In the aftermath of the fighting unprecedented heavy charges were brought against arrested demonstrators, including that of "attempted murder."

The sensitivity of the West German imperialists had already been greatly increased by the situation in nearby Poland, and, apparently, this demonstration touched an exposed nerve. Here West Germany's rulers were trying to make the most out of the martial law clampdown in Poland, here they were attempting to contrast the repression in the Soviet imperialist bloc with the "democratic West"—and the evening news shows a several-battalion size West German police force going into action against thousands of demonstrators opposed to U.S. bloc war preparations. Why, people might even get Gdansk and Frankfurt confused with each other!

Further evidence of just how deeply troubled the West German bourgeoisie and their Western imperialist allies are by such developments was supplied by the Feb. 1 edition of the *International Herald Tribune*. Pointing out that the fighting at the airport was but one of many other miniature "civil wars" in West Germany of late, the lead editorial lamented, "What has happened to the old German motto 'Ruhe ist des Burgers erste Pflicht' (Quiet Obedience is the Citizen's First Duty)?" □

The Rocky Road of Historic Compromise

Soviet/Italian CP Spat

In recent weeks the bourgeois press has given considerable attention to an exchange of polemical statements between the Soviet and Italian revisionist Communist parties, billing the mutual recrimination as a virtual excommunication of the Italian party and hailing the development as yet another symptom of the breakup of the Soviet-led bloc. But while the Western media may find it useful to promulgate this one-sided interpretation in order to help make it come true, the reality is a bit more complex.

As real as the contradictions between the Soviets and the Italian revisionists are, they are at the same time contradictions which flow directly from the Italian party's pursuit of the strategy of "historic compromise," a program which ultimately rests on the power and support of the Soviet Union. It is exactly because the Communist Party of Italy (PCI) is the most powerful revisionist party in the West and because Italy is a relatively weaker imperialist power — in other words, the very conditions favorable to the advance of the "historic compromise" in Italy — that the contradictions have exploded so sharply.

In a major editorial responding to new positions taken by the PCI, the Soviet Party paper *Pravda* roundly denounced the PCI for adopting a programme "opposed on all the major issues to the policy of the CPSU, the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist community, the overwhelming majority of the communist and entire liberation movement." The editorial went on to accuse the PCI of giving "direct aid to imperialism" and making "a truly sacrilegious" attempt to equate the roles of NATO and the Warsaw Pact in Europe. For its part, the Italian party had denounced the imposition of martial law in Poland, and at a recent central committee meeting adopted a report declaring that the "phase of socialist development that began with the October Revolution has exhausted its propulsive capacity." The PCI report further declared that the "Soviet model" was neither the correct strategy for the attainment of socialism nor even an attractive example to hold up, and that the international working-class movement had now entered a new, historic "third phase" in which the focus of the fight for socialism had shifted to the workers' movements of Western Europe. In reply to the Soviet attack in *Pravda*, the PCI complained that the spirit of Khrushchev's 20th Party Congress was being violated, and charged the CPSU with being the one actually siding with imperialism by "giving an alibi to imperialism" through its invasions of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan.

Strong words. But what do they signify? Certainly all this talk about socialism, imperialism, etc. can't be taken at face value, for the Italian party long ago made itself famous as one of the most enthusiastic about the destruction of socialism and the emergence of imperialism in the USSR under Khrushchev. In fact, PCI leader Palmiro Togliatti served as an attack dog for Khrushchev during Khrushchev's assault on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

The PCI emerged from World War 2 as a considerable force on the Italian scene. Through its leadership of the armed struggle against Mussolini it held political power within much of the country. Yet in accord with the division of Europe agreed to by the Soviet Union on the basis of a wrong line on the relationship between the defense of socialism and the advance of world revolution — and very much in accord with the views and

interests predominating within the Italian party — the PCI literally handed over its guns and instead took up a call for a "pact of common action" with the Socialists and the newly formed Christian Democrats for the "economic, political and social regeneration of the nation." Not without justification, the PCI prides itself on being an architect of Italy's post-war bourgeois-democratic constitution. Even after being ousted from the coalition cabinet in 1947, the PCI continued its dogged pursuit of an arrangement with the Christian Democratic party while steadily increasing its own electoral strength at the local level.

While its social base radiated out from a hub of unionized workers in major industry, the PCI succeeded in establishing itself most strongly in the so-called "solid center" of the Italian peninsula, where there is a heavy concentration of medium-sized mercantile interests, more prosperous farmers and small manufacturers who also became an important part of the social base of this "anti-monopoly" party whose control of the Bologna city government became famous for "clean government." Eventually the PCI was able to gain control of municipal governments in Genoa, Turin, Florence and Rome.

However, with the rise to power of revisionism in the Soviet Union and the emergence of the USSR as an imperialist power, there was a corresponding development and change in the nature and aims of the pro-Soviet revisionist parties. As the RCP of Chile notes in the article "Some Particularities of Contemporary Pro-Soviet Revisionism" in the current

leverage of the Soviet Union.

In 1974 the PCI issued its call for a "historic compromise" whose programmatic form was to be an attempt to form a governing alliance between the PCI and the Christian Democrats. According to the PCI, echoing the self-serving lies of the Soviets, it was the lack of such an alliance that was the downfall of the Allende government in Chile. As they well know, the strategy promoted by the Soviets in Chile illustrates quite well the real nature of this historic compromise as an attempt by the pro-Soviet revisionists to gain a share of power in exchange for their ability to put the brakes on the mass movement and for their willingness to "compromise" — that is, temporarily accept the hegemony of the U.S. in the areas of the world where it is most difficult to challenge — in hope of a drastic change in the world balance of forces, such as produced by world war. Thus they seek to "unite with sections of the bourgeoisie on the basis that their common interests are best served by moving toward accommodation with the Soviet bloc." (*Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement*, a draft document prepared by leaders of the RCP of Chile and the RCP, USA, para. 145). The PCI's formal renunciation of "the strategy and tactics of the Great Russian Revolution of 1917 or even 1905", which the Soviets find it convenient to be shocked by today, dates from 1975 and was issued to further this "historic compromise" strategy, along with a "Marxist-Christian dialogue" and other innovations that the USSR might

One of the essential aspects of this strategy (the historic compromise) is the attempt to reconcile or "merge" the "national interests" of their countries and of the Soviet Union... All of this, of course, involves sharp contradictions. There are sections of the bourgeoisie which the revisionists must seek to oust and replace, and in general there is the objective fact that the bourgeoisie on the whole in countries of the U.S. bloc has its interests strongly interwoven with those of the U.S. imperialists and the bloc overall.

Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists And for the Line of the International Communist Movement

issue of the international journal *A World To Win*: "The strength of the revisionist movement in the post-war period, along with the hegemonic policy of social-imperialism rapidly becoming a superpower, as well as the growing crisis of the capitalist world, were some of the factors which determined certain changes in the role of the revisionists in the present period, as compared to the past. Obviously, as we have pointed out, as far as holding back the revolution and defending the bourgeois state, they continue to be in essence agents of the ruling bourgeoisie in its opposition to the proletariat and the people. However, their role as mere tools of traditional bourgeois rule, which they played in the pre-war period, has been modified considerably. At the present time, the revisionist pro-Soviet leaders don't aspire to be mere agents of the ruling bourgeoisie in exchange for a few crumbs, as they did in Lenin's time, but rather to transform themselves into the ruling bourgeoisie." This requires alliance with some sectors of the bourgeoisie against others. And above all it requires the international

have (but chose not to) labeled "sacrilegious."

In that year, propelled by popular sentiments in the wake of the worldwide 1974-75 recession and the ever-deepening economic crisis, and offering the bourgeoisie "social peace" as its dowry, the PCI won a stunning advance in regional elections throughout Italy, taking over local governments in a number of northern industrial cities for the first time. In 1976 the PCI scored its major triumph, polling 34% in the national parliamentary elections, only 4% behind the ruling Christian Democrats. The PCI 1976 election platform declared "a possibility is emerging that never existed before in Italy and has few parallels in other countries: the possibility of collaboration among various forces that, without abandoning their own ideologies... set out to work for common political and social goals in the common interest." Common political and social goals and common interests indeed! Vigorously pumping the national banner, the PCI campaigned "to make Italy a really modern country in which to live." It hailed "the dynamic

sectors of capital," attacking only the corruption of the state-owned enterprises operated on the patronage system by the most venal and exposed CD politicians.

One Compromise Leads To Another

The road of historic compromise led to more compromises. The PCI had pledged to keep Italy in NATO. Pleading that the U.S. would never stand for it, the CD said it was impossible to take the PCI into the cabinet but that the PCI could become part of the "programmatic majority" in parliament, that is, part of a five-party center-left coalition supporting the government of Christian Democratic Premier Andreotti. They also offered the PCI the chairmanship of seven important parliamentary committees. This was an offer the PCI couldn't refuse. Had they not campaigned long and loud for just such an opportunity? The rub was that while they would have no real power to set government policy, they would be tagged with the responsibility for the bourgeoisie's economic austerity programs since they supported Andreotti on key votes of confidence.

Drawn inexorably into the web — or perhaps spinning its own web, for here both sides play spider and fly — the PCI took the next step in February of 1978 by engineering a programmatic merger of the three major Italian trade-union confederations (with historic ties to the PCI, Christian Democrats and Socialists). The PCI's union programme known as the "Lama line," named for the PCI hack who proposed it, called for an end to "wages as an independent variable" (that is, they called for the freedom to cut wages to protect capital accumulation), increased "labor mobility" (that is, decreased job security), and increased "management prerogatives" (to fire and discipline workers). But some of the contradictions inherent in the PCI's success began to unravel.

First there was the problem of the PCI's immediate social base, which was not all that happy with the state of affairs. As a weaker imperialist country, Italy's economy suffered even greater dislocations and mass unemployment than many other countries. The utter corruption, callousness and incapacity of the PCI-

supported Christian Democratic government to even provide minimal social services was dramatically underlined when a series of earthquakes led to a series of scandals — as government bureaucrats and various capitalists from the biggest financiers to the smallest profiteers fattened on the misery of tens of thousands of homeless people.

Then there was the problem of the other side of the compromise. Among the Christian Democratic chieftains most inclined towards bringing the PCI into the government at this ticklish moment was former premier Aldo Moro. Moro's sudden kidnapping by the Red Brigades now sent the PCI into an utter frenzy, denouncing the pro-Soviet Red Brigades as CIA agents and calling even louder than the other bourgeois parties for the strongest possible police action. The more firmly pro-U.S. elements within the Christian Democratic party piously declared that this was no time to give in to terrorism and refused to heed the emotional appeals by Moro's wife that the party pay the required ransom. The U.S., too, whatever its actual role in the kidnap-

ping, was widely reported to refuse to help find him. The Red Brigades were left to carry out the threatened execution of Moro.

In desperation the PCI now shifted gears, pulled out of the government coalition, brought down the government and forced new elections. Both on the part of the PCI and the government, the desperation was mutual: millions of unemployed, strikes and political demonstrations, tens of thousands of earthquake refugees living in camps where they threatened to explode, almost daily gun battles between police and all sorts of groups calling themselves revolutionary. Still, the U.S. and at least the dominant forces in the Italian bourgeoisie were determined not to let the PCI advance further. All sorts of plots were hatched and a few carried out to contain the PCI by any means necessary. "Scholarly" articles in the U.S. foreign policy establishment dispassionately considered the pros and cons of a coup if the PCI grew too powerful. A political bombshell last year revealed the links between Alexander Haig (when he was head of NATO) and a secret Masonic

lodge which schemed to function as a shadow government, including representatives of all major political parties except the PCI, which was the target of this coup-contingency coordinating council. But no such confrontation proved necessary. In the 1979 elections, the PCI slipped by 4% — going backward for the first time since World War 2 — while the Christian Democrats held on tight.

As the *Basic Principles* document points out, this Eurocommunist course of combining the defense of imperialism in one's own country with support for the Soviet social-imperialists "involves sharp contradictions. There are sections of the bourgeoisie which the revisionists must seek to oust and replace, and in general there is the objective fact that the bourgeoisie on the whole in countries of the U.S. bloc has its interests strongly interwoven with those of the U.S. imperialists and the bloc overall." That sections of the Italian bourgeoisie could find it in their interest to move towards the Soviet bloc is not at all inconceivable, especially during or after a world war. After all, as a weaker imperialist power long forced to pursue its own imperialist interests under another imperialist power's protection, the Italian bourgeoisie has in the past found switching an effective way to up their share of the world's loot. One of the last European powers to achieve unification as a bourgeois state and to acquire foreign colonies, Italy delayed its entry into World War I, waiting for the best offer, which eventually came from the British, who promised Italy Ethiopia among other things. Resenting its share of the spoils in the Versailles Treaty, Italy joined the German-led bloc in World War 2, but when Britain and the U.S. invaded, at least a good part of the Italian ruling class backed moves against Mussolini and switched to the U.S.-British bloc. Since it is only in the course of another such switch that the PCI could hope to fully realize its "historic compromise" strategy, it absolutely can't burn its bridges to Moscow. Yet the historic compromise is really a compromise — it really does rest on conceding that such a switch can't be pulled off at the moment. The PCI has no choice but to do everything it can to modify its demands in accordance with the present interests of the Italian bourgeoisie, which are tied up with the U.S.-led bloc.

Imperialist "Inconveniences"

Really, the PCI has done a remarkable job, under these circumstances, of representing the common interests of Italian and Soviet imperialism, even in the field of foreign policy where there are some of the sharpest contradictions.

Thus in a happy coincidence of interests, both the Italian and Soviet imperialists have supported the crushing of the liberation forces in Eritrea, a former Italian colony with which Italy still has many ties. Here the PCI had not the slightest difficulty in hailing the bloody Mengistu pro-Soviet junta in Ethiopia and dropping its previous support for the Eritrean People's Liberation Front like a hot potato. In yet other arenas of the world where Italian interests are not threatened, the PCI could likewise adhere closely to the Soviet line. It fully supported Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea, it has supported the Cuban occupation of Angola. In fact, the PCI received a formal delegation from the Soviet stooges of Iran's Tudeh party the very same week that it was publishing its critique of the Soviet model.

On the other hand, in situations where Italy's obligations to the U.S. are called

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Left—Brezhnev, Right—Enrico Berlinguer, PCI Secretary General. Background scenes from Afghanistan and Poland.

Rocky

Continued from page 9

in, the PCI adheres to its own ruling class, often departing sharply from Soviet policy and with a clear degree of Soviet understanding. For example, the PCI loudly denounced the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, for which it was hardly excommunicated. An even clearer picture of this process can be seen in the more recent PCI denunciation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Polish crackdown on Solidarity. Because of the sharpening pace of U.S.-Soviet contention, the U.S. put on a full-court press over Afghanistan, and the Italian bourgeoisie fell into line immediately, suspending a \$1 billion trade credit to the USSR it had just negotiated. The PCI likewise fell in line with the Italian ruling class, denouncing the invasion. By contrast, the French bourgeoisie, which is more independent of the U.S. politically, economically and militarily, denounced the Soviet move, but categorically refused to join in any U.S.-organized sanctions or actions. Invited to an emergency meeting of Western foreign ministers in Bonn, the French refused to come, causing the cancellation of the session. They also boycotted a regularly scheduled meeting of the Western foreign ministers held the next month in Rome. In such a situation, the French Communist Party (PCF) was able to come out in support of the Soviet position without threatening a rupture with the French bourgeoisie.

Over Poland the same phenomenon was repeated. Certainly both parties were faced with pressure from their quite similar social bases to support bourgeois democracy and trade unionism. Yet in the end, it was the strength and ability of their respective imperialist bourgeoisies to maneuver within the U.S. bloc, and the revisionists' own necessities based on their different positions in the government that was decisive.

Looked at from these angles, it's clear that if the PCI had refused to condemn the Soviets over Poland it would have led to a situation in which its effectiveness would be in danger. This includes, of course, its effectiveness for the Soviets. There is certainly more than play-acting involved in this dispute; there are real, sharp contradictions but there are still convergent interests. The PCI's outcry could hardly have been a comfort to the Soviets in their hour of need and undoubtedly has done what the U.S. media says — encouraged forces within the Soviet bloc and the pro-Soviet parties which represent grave problems for the Soviet revisionists and their allies. No doubt, other pro-Soviet parties, which for various reasons could and did support the USSR over Poland or tried to overlook it, didn't find their task made any easier by the Italian party's behavior, especially in view of the extremely bad taste this whole affair left in the mouths of the masses who are taken in or confused by the Soviet Union. That is no small matter. But still the PCI, with its 1.7 million members, is the largest revisionist party in the West and in many ways the most successful, and the Soviets are not about to give up on their Italian comrades.

Thus there really is an element of "divorce of inconvenience" here. It is impossible for the two sides to kiss and make up, for what has happened has its causes and consequences independent of any will. But really it is, so far, a divorce based on these inconveniences which, after all, might not last forever. Thus, for its part, the PCI has denounced the Soviets *only* for their violations of bourgeois democracy and sacred European national boundaries. Of course, they have breathed not one word about the Soviet Union as an exploitative, capitalist, imperialist superpower. The PCI could hardly criticize state capitalism, since this is precisely the system it aspires to introduce in Italy with itself at the helm of state. Not once has it even hinted that the USSR might be anything but socialist — its criticisms are reserved for the "inconveniences" of imperialism and not imperialism itself.

From the Soviet side, while the PCI is attacked for "aiding imperialism" through its untimely criticism of Soviet policy in Poland, nowhere is the PCI as a whole condemned, nor are pro-Soviet diehards in the PCI called upon to revolt

or form a new party. The *Pravda* editorial goes out of its way to single out three members of the PCI central committee for attack, but leaves PCI chairman Enrico Berlinguer, the architect of the historic compromise theory, virtually unscathed. The most immediate result of the current PCI-Soviet polemic has been a warm round of praise for the PCI in the Italian press for "standing up to the Soviets," to which the PCI leaders have modestly bowed, saying, "Thank you, thank you."

Here it should also be noted that the PCI made a special point of publicizing the "dissent" of PCI leader Armando Cosutto. A member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, Cosutto was allowed prominent space in the name of supporting the Soviet Union. There were reports that a section of the workers in the PCI refused to pass out the PCI leaflet denouncing the imposition of martial law in Poland. A party spokesman, talking to the *New York Times*, dismissed this element in the party, saying: "They are the ones who, during the war and the resistance, fought in the name of Stalin. They are mainly members of the working class and peasants from the south." In fact, not only has the PCI made no real move to quell such "dissent" from pro-Soviet elements in the rank and file, but even leading members of the party who flaunt their pro-Sovietism, including the so-called "Leninist faction," have not been touched. These are bridges neither the PCI nor the Soviets want to burn. And while the PCI-Soviet contradictions are sure to become even sharper and more complex as the international situation heats up, such "bridges" are but another indication that if the historic compromise strategy is to be fully realized, it will be in accordance with the overall international interests of the Soviet Union. □

Nuclear War

Continued from page 5

U.S.' empire—a product of the last imperialist revision of the world as a result of WW2—that is on the line and must be defended and expanded, as the following quote illustrates:

"An additional and important question not often addressed in crude estimates of postattack physical damage relates to the more general postattack international situation. A nuclear exchange of the magnitude addressed in Part III of this book (all-out nuclear war—*RW*) implies serious damage in the Soviet Union, the United States, and probably Europe, Japan and China. Major political upheavals and contests for hegemony in various regions of the world are possible consequences of large-scale nuclear attacks and may significantly affect responses to requests for immediate or long-term recovery assistance."

Here this war-planner worries over the fact that in the course of a world war which sees damage visited upon the U.S. itself, the rulers may not be in too good a position to keep the outlying regions of their bloc from either falling into rivals' hands or being ripped away from them through revolution, and that their ability to conduct the war on a global basis will be seriously hampered.

Indeed, Katz wonders aloud whether in this type of international upheaval and political chaos the imperialists might be better off throwing the theory of limited nuclear war out the window—especially if the survival of the U.S. as an imperialist power is called into question by global developments.

"Complicating this problem further is the possibility that the nation as a whole or its leadership may decide that a limited attack is highly destructive to its international standing. Under these circumstances it may believe that accepting an even implied subservient postattack status would jeopardize national survival. Such a decline in status could precipitate a loss of faith on the part of its allies and their withdrawal to a less dependent or friendly relationship. In return, this could result in an accelerated international realignment, eventual isolation, and thus, greater future vulnerability. Therefore, to redeem this potential prestige loss, a more extensive level of retaliation may be seen as needed."

And further on: "Therefore, in the

Science Probes Religious Relic's Authenticity

Lyons, France. The recent report by a panel of internationally known scientists upholding the antiquity of the famous "Shroud of Turin," has sparked interest in yet another ancient religious artifact, the so-called "Loincloth of Lyons." Partisans of the Lyons relic's authenticity claim that the unusual linen cloth was the actual (and sole) garment of the Blessed Thomas of Lyons, a fourth-century ascetic monk revered for his good works and common sense.

A prosperous merchant of Southern France, so the legend goes, the Blessed Thomas buried all his wealth at the time of the Visigoth invasion, adopting the life of a monk. Gathering about him a devoted following of ruined merchants and traders, the Blessed Thomas is said to be the founder of the Redemptionist and Restorationist Order which prospered under Papal protection well into the 7th century A.D. The circumstances of the martyrdom of the Blessed Thomas are the subject of dispute. Some scholars claim that the limbs of the Blessed Thomas were broken across a wagon wheel when he refused to disclose to the Visigoth chieftain Tumaric the location of the order's sacred treasure. Others, less reliably, claim that the Blessed Thomas was murdered by members of his own order in a religious dispute.

The Loincloth of Lyons, whose existence is first mentioned in eighth century manuscripts, has long been the subject of veneration by peasants in the

locality of Lyons. Said to be the source of miraculous cures for scabies and eczema, the relic has been the focus of annual peasant pilgrimages since the year 1279. Yet studies compiled in the 18th century actually found a higher incidence of scabies, eczema and another very bad disease among peasants after they had touched the sacred relic.

The relic itself consists of a narrow strip of linen approximately one foot wide and three feet long. The markings on the relic consist of a series of mysterious brownish impressions in the center near one end. A scientific panel headed by Prof. Philippe D'Merd of the Institut d'Etudes Hautes de Paris concluded, on the basis of extensive microscopic and spectrographic analysis, that the cloth was indeed of the antiquity claimed for it. While the panel would make no claims as to whether the cloth was in fact the actual garment of the Blessed Thomas, their study did conclude that the weave of the linen was of the type used by peasants in Southern Gaul between the 2nd and 5th centuries. They also said that the brown streaks were consistent with those that would have been made by a 4th century monk.

The release of the new finding was greeted with enthusiasm in Lyons, where the Archdiocese of Lyons has increased the price of admission to the Shrine of the Blessed Thomas which houses the celebrated relic. □

context of a limited nuclear war, the first issue to be considered is not national survival but the political acceptability, in domestic and international terms, of the damage inflicted by a counterforce (military targets only—*RW*) nuclear attack."

Despite the seeming muddle here, national survival (and this so-called loss of prestige) is *synonymous* with what's politically acceptable—making sure that the U.S. remains the Number One imperialist power in the world. And if it takes escalating into an all-out nuclear war to maintain that status, then by-golly, that's what it'll take! The imagery of "an accelerated international realignment" away from the U.S. raises profound questions among the war-strategists about the emergence of the U.S. as victor or vanquished—which is exactly the terms for the imperialists in inter-imperialist war. And it is this, regardless of all their efforts to couch war preparations in the cloak of "defense of U.S. territory", that is the bottom-line for the bourgeoisie and why they have calculated into all their scenarios the prospect of all-out global war using nuclear weapons.

Dislocations, Bottlenecks and Social Upheaval

It is in this context that Dr. Katz turns to the political situation internally. And even their most favorable scenario—that of war limited to military targets—is fraught with dangers for the imperialists. For the rulers well understand that the unleashing of world war, and the war itself, will be a tremendous exposure of the nature of imperialism and of the worthlessness of their whole political setup to millions here and around the world. In the U.S., a highly-integrated and industrialized society, the snaps and jolts in the social fabric will be intense, as will the sudden and swift changes in the mood among the masses of people.

Predictions of 16.3 million deaths and an equal number of injured have been made by the Department of Defense and are admitted to be conservative at best. Pictured too are mass evacuations—controlled and uncontrolled—out of the cities, with all the contradictions noted earlier, complicated by the devastation of war. Economic disarray, ranging from loan defaults and banking collapse to industrial destruction and idle factories as workers abandon "their posts" are also described. Indeed, 25% industrial disruption in any single region could have such profound "bottlenecking" effects (i.e., the ripple effect on other sectors of

the economy) that havoc would be wreaked upon the entire national economy. Food production and distribution are also pointed to for their extreme tenuousness and potential for fomenting problems for the authorities (85% of the foodstuffs used in the Northeast come from other parts of the country—see map). The prospects of food lifelines being ruptured by actual bomb destruction and radioactive contamination is underscored by the fact that the overwhelming bulk of the U.S.' land-based strategic nuclear forces is located right in these key food producing regions. Indeed, Strategic Air Command's (SAC) headquarters is in Omaha, Nebraska, a central food processing and distribution point. And one only has to strain the imagination ever so slightly to picture just what such dislocation would do to the war effort itself as the requirements of troops at the front and of allies are cut back or not met at all.

Quite clearly, in such dramatic circumstances, the imperialists' ability to line people up behind them and their war effort will be severely strapped and tested—and they know it. In fact, uppermost in the minds of analysts like Katz, *et al.*, is the fear that political support among broad sections of the people—even among many traditionally loyal, or at least complacent with the status quo in society—will be undermined as millions are jolted awake by the events shaping a world convulsed by war. Even short of rebellions and revolution the imperialists know that trust and faith in their rule and in their institutions which stand so awe-inspiring in normal times can corrode rapidly and disintegrate and turn into opposition—and they don't like the idea at all. Drawing on their experiences with the accident at the Three Mile Island (TMI) nuclear facility, Katz, by way of analogy, vividly describes the process (see chart) involved and issues a warning for his masters to take heed of:

"In the final analysis, the key finding of TMI was, directly or through the media, in a very real sense, that the U.S. generated its first nuclear 'survivors.' The result was that while the highly emotional initial reaction faded, the experience was serious enough to shake the trust of even staunch supporters of nuclear power, and by implication, the trust of individuals in the federal officials that controlled and supported it. . . .

"Translating these findings into the context of nuclear war, one can easily

Continued on page 14

Last Pontiac Brother Convicted

Bloomington, Illinois—On January 25, authorities seized the opportunity to exact retribution for the 1978 Pontiac prison rebellion. Willy Hardy, the last of the 30 brothers charged in connection with the uprising, was convicted of arson. He will be sentenced next month. Although there were "inconsistencies on both sides," wrote Judge James Knecht of the trial, still the prosecution had "met its burden of proof."

As Knecht was not troubled by these "inconsistencies," Willy Hardy may face some heavy additional time. The sentence for arson, a 3-7 year prison term, may be doubled in Willy's case because of his previous felony conviction. He is also still facing a second trial on additional arson charges.

With its 83% Black and 7% Latin population, Pontiac Correctional Center, like most maximum security institutions across the country, is a crumbling dungeon reserved overwhelmingly for the oppressed nationalities. When the lid blew off on July 22, 1978, it threw a glaring light on the conditions of national oppression and the degradation of prisoners in general. In no uncertain terms the state made it clear that this slave revolt would not go unpunished. Seventeen (including one who later turned state's evidence) faced the death penalty for the deaths of three guards; 14 were charged with lesser crimes. After an intense legal and political battle, the Pontiac 16 were found not guilty of murder last May in a victory for the prison rebels; but of the 14, only five have been acquitted while nine have been convicted. Willy Hardy, the only defendant to be tried after the state's dismal failure with the Pontiac 16, faced extra added pressure for conviction.

The state's prosecution of Willy Hardy followed the standard operating procedure used against all of the Pontiac Brothers. The witness "cooperation" neces-

sary for convictions was obtained by a combination of terror tactics against the prisoners on the one hand, and bribes, promises and goodies on the other hand, all of which took place within the context of an unbearably long seven-month deadlock.

All three witnesses who testified against Hardy were recipients of the state's beneficence in one form or another as a reward for their cooperation. James Brackett was transferred to a minimum-security prison, Vienna, immediately after the grand jury met to indict the Pontiac Brothers in February 1979. Later he was transferred to Sheridan, a medium-security institution, to be closer to his family. Upon his release he was showered with a total of \$2600 in "living expenses" by the state. Charles Cole's sentence was shortened by 50 days and he

too was paid several hundred dollars for "rent." James Hubbard had a full six months chopped off his time.

In interviews with defense investigators, two of the three witnesses admitted fearing they would be prosecuted themselves if they refused to testify. In the case of Jimmy Brackett, his statement was tape-recorded and played during the trial of the Pontiac 16. Brackett not only admitted that he lied in his statements against the 16, but that he did so after Illinois Dept. of Law Enforcement interrogators strongly hinted that he would be charged with burning down the cold storage building. Hubbard was beaten by twenty guards and hospitalized after the rebellion and feared he would be prosecuted for assault.

The evidence was circumstantial and unconvincing. Hubbard, the state's only

eyewitness to the supposed arson, claimed he saw Willy Hardy take a plastic bag full of newspapers and light it, but admitted this did not set the laundry center, called the R and D Building, on fire. Charles Cole supposedly saw Hardy throwing clothes together in a pile, but mysteriously did not volunteer this information until seven months after the rebellion when the grand jury was convened. As for Brackett, whose credibility was demolished in the trial of the 16, the fact that he was even put on the stand to testify how he overheard Hardy asking for matches is an indication of the paucity of state witnesses in this case. This is the string of "inconsistencies" — to say nothing of outright lies, bribes and threats used to coax and coerce the witnesses — that Judge Knecht was untroubled by. []

Judge Baker's "Concession"

Ironically enough, just before Willy Hardy's trial opened (see accompanying article), the Federal Government was casting itself in the role of benefactor of the Pontiac prisoners. In a November 3 ruling, U.S. District Court Judge Harold Baker of Danville, Illinois declared that making two prisoners at Pontiac share a cell built for one constituted "cruel and unusual punishment." He ordered prison officials to reduce by half the number of Pontiac inmates sharing cells by June and to provide single cells for 490 prisoners by the end of the year. The Illinois Department of Corrections has appealed this decision stating that if it was applied throughout the state it would mean building seven new prisons to house 5600 inmates at a cost of \$350 million.

While the outcome of this particular

case remains to be seen, the feds' tactic of declaring prisons overcrowded in order to spur new prison construction is nothing new. The "concern" displayed for prisoners here has nothing to do with leniency or benevolence and everything to do with active preparation for the suppression of the masses in the period ahead.

The "overcrowding" ruse was used by the feds starting in the late '60s and early '70s as the struggle of prisoners mounted in order to pressure state governments to shoulder their part of new prison construction, in as much as they often resist allocating the large sums of money necessary. In part because of these federal court orders, the last decade has seen an unprecedented building boom in new prison construction. Of the 42 states involved in building new prisons, 17 are do-

ing so under court order. A total of 557 new jails, state prisons and federal penitentiaries are planned at a total cost of almost \$5 billion. And meanwhile, as the new prisons are built they become overcrowded as rapidly as the old ones because of a wave of new, repressive laws and harsher prison sentences across the country (see *RW* No. 113). Illinois is already building two new prisons with a capacity of 750 each, but even this is not expected to keep pace with the skyrocketing prison population.

While Judge Baker's ruling against double celling at Pontiac is made to appear as some kind of concession to the struggle of prisoners there, in fact the opposite is the case. []

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Recently we received word, and several newsclippings, from a prisoner at Nebraska State Penitentiary, who won a civil rights suit in the Lincoln, Nebraska courts and forced the authorities to back down after they had banned the *RW* in the prison since the Feb. 6, 1981 issue, which included articles on the Pontiac trial and Walla Walla prison. The brother also wanted us to say that this was a real victory, and included the names of 8 new subscribers to the *RW*.

Dear *RW*

Would you please start sending me the *RW* so some light can start shining through.

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Atlanta Teach-In

Only the People Can Close the Case of the Black Youth Murders

The two-day teach-in held in Atlanta last week—"Only the People Can Close the Case of the Black Youth Murders"—produced a powerful and all-sided indictment of the crime of the Atlanta murders and of the system which thrives on national oppression. A wide variety of analyses along with vivid exposure of the state throughout these murders sparked intense interest and debate. The numerous speakers at the teach-in provided a sharp contrast to the authorities' attempts to rivet the attention of the masses on the farcical Wayne Williams trial.

The teach-in was a product of struggle. The ruling class has waged a broad campaign to both spread reactionary public opinion and suppress and ridicule exposure, coming from many sources, of

their bloody hand in the murders. The bourgeois press, which has flooded Atlanta to cover the Williams trial, thoroughly blacked out the teach-in and people were arrested on the Atlanta University campus for "criminal trespass" for building the teach-in there. Beyond that, certain opportunist forces, wrapping themselves in the cloak of "concern for the people," opposed the teach-in, arguing the line that the only real question was "Who did it?" and it was "irresponsible" to target and expose the bourgeoisie. But many more came forward to actively build for the teach-in and bring forward the kind of broad participation that was called for.

The meeting was intended to be an arena of struggle over different views, revolutionary, progressive, and even reactionary, and it was in that arena that the teach-in flourished, going late into the night at each session. Among the par-

ticipants were: Venus Taylor, a founding member of the STOP committee and mother of Angel Lanier, one of the murdered youth; Chimurenga Jenga, an organizer of the Ron Carter Techwood Homes Bat Patrol; Walter Collins, a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) and longtime activist jailed in the 1960s for refusing the draft; Michael Langford, project Director of the United Youth Adult Conference, the group that organized the weekend searches during the height of the murders last spring; Charles Thornton of the National Conference of Black Lawyers who has been monitoring the Wayne Williams trial; Columbus Keepler of the National Black Student Association; and Wayne Webb of the Revolutionary Communist Party. There were also messages of endorsement, including from the Student Government Association at Howard University in Washington, D.C., taped

presentations were heard from Dr. Sondra O'Neale of Emory University, who has been investigating the murders, and Flo Kennedy, a longtime activist in the Black liberation struggle and women's movement. In the hall was a wide range of people on both nights. Around 150 turned out from the communities that seethed with struggle last spring, Atlanta University students, revolutionary nationalists, Muslims, anarchists, revolutionaries from Africa and Iran, and others who had been closely following the events in Atlanta.

There was debate over the overall meaning of the murders, the nature of the state (including particularly the significance of the role of the Black officials), and the tasks of the advanced in both broadly exposing the bourgeoisie's crimes and struggling to lead timely and powerful responses from the masses. Participants in the second day of the teach-in decided to work broadly to spread through various means the different speeches and discussions, including printing transcripts, and to work to develop other ways to further the exposure and target the system. A tape will also be made for use with the media and more broadly.

The next issue of the *RW* will feature a full report of this important event. □

ATLANTA

Continued from page 1

recruit, Ken Lawson. Last fall when his name went on the list of defense witnesses, someone fired shots into his car. This last week, after the testimony, his car was run off the road. As of this writing his pregnant wife is still in serious condition in a local hospital. The same truck had attempted to run him off the road several days earlier and failed. Of course none of this came out in the courtroom.

What did come out was a particularly revealing story. It was very harmful to the credibility of one of the state's key witnesses, the cop on surveillance under the bridge on the night Williams allegedly dropped Cater's body into the river. This cop's story is that he was wide awake, he heard a splash and he looked up and saw Williams' car on the bridge.

It turns out that Lawson was a friend of this cop. Not long after the night in question, the cop had confided in Lawson that in fact he had been *asleep* under the bridge in a pup tent and was awakened by some noise—hardly the picture this key witness has painted for the prosecution. Lawson also told the jury about this fellow's alcoholism, and how he had actually been kicked out of the police academy the first time around for getting drunk.

Other defense witnesses have blown holes in the state's case. One television news reporter testified about his interview with another of the state's key witnesses, a Mrs. Carter, who has said she had seen Wayne Williams with Nathaniel Cater near the time of Cater's death. In the trial she couldn't exactly remember when she had seen them together. But last fall she told this reporter she had seen the two men together on Memorial Day. He pointed out that Memorial Day was the day *after* Cater's body was pulled out of the river.

Another witness, Dr. Stowers, an expert in pediatric pathology from Utica, New York, testified to his review of the autopsies of some of the youths linked to Williams. He said he was "incensed" at the poor quality of the reports as well as their failure to do many of the routine tests. Despite this, it was his professional opinion that Cater's body had been in the river from 5 to 7 days by the time it was discovered—the exact estimate that Fulton County Medical Examiner, Dr. Stivers, had given last summer when the body was first discovered. But, of course, Stivers' original opinion didn't square with the police story—that Cater had been dropped into the river on May 22 and found on May 24, only *two* days later. And, typically, things were easily enough squared as Stivers had testified at the trial for the prosecution that he was currently of the opinion that the body was in the river only two to five days, with the emphasis on *two*.

In other significant developments, the defense has subpoenaed a number of past

and present government officials who met together at the mansion of Georgia governor Busbee two days before the arrest of Wayne Williams. This meeting occurred at the insistence of Vice President Bush, and was held to force the arrest. Those subpoenaed have been: Governor Busbee; Dorothy Kirkley, former U.S. Attorney; John Glover, FBI Special Agent in charge of the Atlanta area; Phil Peters, head of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation; former Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson. Each and every one of these people has sent attorneys to argue that they should not appear on the witness stand, generally on the grounds that Williams' is a simple criminal case in which the testimony of important officials would be frivolous. Judge Cooper is expected to rule on the question within the next few days.

Actually, they would rather have this particular meeting be forgotten altogether. Obscuring the high level interest in nailing Williams—and thus the attempt to close the case on the murders—also obscures the broad implications of the last 2 1/2 years in Atlanta, or so they think. With the arrest of Williams (despite whatever conflicts among the authorities may have resulted), they wanted to arrest the whole ride of outrage which was swelling up over the Atlanta murders. And so now with the trial.

First Aid for State Power

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own protection, of course, from outraged white vigilante groups. Good scholar Giuffrida first begins by reviewing U.S. military operations against the Native Americans. Then he takes up the internment of Japanese Americans in World War 2, looking for more helpful pointers. The measures used at that time were inadequate for what Giuffrida has in mind: "When the evacuation of the Japanese Americans was at its peak level, 3,750 people were being moved each day from their homes to assembly centers for relocation in camps. Given the same processing organization and techniques, it would take more than 14 years to process the 21 million American Negroes." Finally he concludes that you have to boil the problem down to the hard core militants, "about 500,000 people—none of whom is likely to go peacefully to an internment camp." Here the model Giuffrida finds most appropriate is the operation of wartime prisoner of war camps. "A civilian internee (PW) camp can handle 12,000 internees. Given 500,000 in-

ternees it would take two military police PW commands, each supervising ten such internee camps. In addition to the headquarter elements for two PW commands, it would require 22 MP battalions..." It is clear that what concerns Giuffrida and his boys at FEMA is something a little more than putting out absurd pamphlets on how to treat burn victims after a nuclear exchange—wouldn't you say?

The hallways of FEMA's headquarters all display a large sign reading "Security Is Everybody's Business." For FEMA, the security of the state machinery—its ability to continue to rule, to dispose its forces, to protect communication links, to command production, to isolate and destroy resistance, and to preserve the social order—this is FEMA's special business. Working directly for the Office of the President and the National Security Council, the gearing up of this structure is yet another indication of the all-around preparations of the ruling class for a worldwide showdown with its Soviet rivals. □

A Special Issue of Revolution Magazine

This special issue of Revolution contains the full text of a talk given recently by Bob Avokian, 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 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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Revolution

CONQUER
THE
WORLD?

The
International
Proletariat
Must and Will

After Nuclear War

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foresee two to three hundred potential situations similar to TMI occurring around U.S. urban centers."

And, further: "Interestingly, an unusually large number of individuals said they were politically active in the TMI dispute even nine months after the accident. This could indicate that there is a basis to believe the traumatic effects leading to a loss of trust would indeed be translated into concrete political actions. This conclusion, however, should be interpreted cautiously."

Katz goes on to pose the image of traditional bourgeois institutions crumbling as a result of the devastations brought on by war, thus pulling vital ideological foundations of their rule out from under the imperialists. Listing factors like death, injury, separation through evacuation or forced military and labor conscription, he warns that the nuclear family (no pun intended by the good doctor) will be dealt serious blows in its role as indoctrinator of societal "norms". "One can only speculate," he explains ominously, "on the 'philosophical changes' after a nuclear exchange, but the outcome of even the smallest of the hypothetical attacks discussed bodes ill." Then, turning to a book by Barbara Tuchman called *A Distant Mirror*, Katz offers a chilling scenario to his imperialist masters:

"In Siena, (Italy—RW) where more than half the inhabitants died of the (black—RW) plague, work was abandoned on the great cathedral, planned to be the largest in the world, and never resumed, owing to the loss of workers and master masons and the 'melancholy and grief' of the survivors...." (emphasis by Katz)

The imagery is all too clear. Suddenly, with the world in the throes of war, U.S. society is thrown into chaos and turmoil as never before, the result of the meshing and interaction of all kinds of political, economic and social snaps and jolts. And it's not "melancholy and grief" which really is the concern here but anger and rebellion breaking out among important sections of the basic masses. In a situation like that big questions become starkly and dramatically posed. Even (to use Dr. Katz's examples) things like religion and the family (that normally act as such a conservative brake upon broad sections of the people no longer measure up and provide answers. What is the cause of this war and in whose interests is it being fought anyway become major social questions of the day—and there will be no shortage of answers put forward, as a number of forces will take the field offering a multitude of banners to follow. Different sections of the people, different classes, and their representatives will clash and struggle to push things in one direction or another as millions are brought into political life. The ranks of the imperialists themselves are wracked with vicious and increasingly desperate infighting. As Katz puts it, "The national government or the state government could easily be paralyzed by this dissension, leading to major organizational disruption lasting a significant period of time.... The demoralizing and administratively debilitating effect of repeated governmental reorganizations in wartime Japan has already been noted." It is with this whole vision of the future in mind that Katz is prompted to offer the reader this poetic excerpt on the very first page of *Life After Nuclear War*:

"Turning und turning in a widening gyre
The falcon cannot hear the falconer,
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity."
("The Second Coming," by William Butler Yeats)

Central Cities Explicable

Significantly, Dr. Katz leaves no room for misunderstanding just who among

the population he sees as "the worst," and what their being "full of passionate intensity" could mean for the political rule of the bourgeoisie. Delving more deeply into his evacuation scenario, Katz reveals that his concerns about the inevitable stresses in such a situation involve far more than simply disruptions of the social services system.

"If the central city population is evacuated to the suburban and rural areas, the racial composition of the population will change. Almost 25% of the population in the central cities of the 157 SMSAs discussed (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas) above is nonwhite, while only 6% of the suburban and rural population is nonwhite. Moreover, the income is very different, with inner cities generally being poorer. Thus a combination of class and racial conflict may exacerbate the social tensions.... Equally as serious in an untempered war situation would be the symbolism of a decision not to evacuate (especially given the common knowledge that plans exist for the selective evacuation of personnel vital to the imperialist war effort—RW). It could be interpreted by minority groups and the poor in the central cities to mean that they were expendable—a situation that would hardly be acceptable."

But what the good doctor finds really "hardly acceptable" is the fact that there is plenty of potential for struggle—rebellion against the system—in sections of the oppressed nationalities and more proletarian elements concentrated in the urban centers. He finds this so unacceptable that he offers a possible solution to the contradiction—a solution he finds "ironic" in more than one place in the book:

"Ironically, the impact of nuclear war may be greater for the social structure if large numbers of casualties and evacuees are forced to migrate into rural areas, instead of dying in the initial attacks."

As noted in the past (see RW No. 99, "Report From the Central Committee"), groups like the KKK and the Christian Patriot Party and similar reactionary paramilitary organizations have been actively working on strategies of "surrounding the cities" and using the suburbs and rural areas as base areas for fighting a "race war." Now, here comes a plan along the same lines but taken all the way to: Let them get nuked, let 'em burn in the inner cities and make sure these people never make it out to the suburban buffer areas! In other words, Dr. Katz baldly puts forward the plan that perhaps it would be much better for the imperialists' ability to rule if the lower sections of the proletariat and members of the oppressed nationalities weren't told about in-coming nukes and not evacuated at all. The fear of war unleashing open rebellion amongst these sections of the people is further driven home by an example that Katz uses from 1977:

"Even a short period of electrical supply interruption (in Katz's example caused by a radioactive-induced electromagnetic pulse or EMP—RW) could create the kind of chaos seen in New York City in 1977, a situation that lasted only two days."

This was a situation, readers may recall, of a power blackout in which the masses of people (predominantly Black people) used the opportunity to lash out at their oppression. Even during this minor, two-day crisis, people moved in a very intense fashion against the authorities and the system which daily holds them under its boot; Katz is telling his masters to take serious heed of what a war could produce among this stratum of people—rebellion on a scale and intensity that could dwarf the 1960s. In fact (and, as previously demonstrated, this is hardly lost on Dr. Katz and his imperialist employers), given the past history of upheaval in the U.S., rebellion—or rebellions—by sections of the oppressed nationalities, joined by others in society, could very well lead to an actual insurrectionary attempt. This quote from RW 99 and the "Report From the Central Committee" cited above stresses:

"...the potentially important role

that the Black masses can and do play, both in their own right and as a potential lever to move others. What if an insurrection began with a sharp struggle of a section of the masses that was overwhelmingly from the oppressed nationalities starting the battle? ... An insurrection is not a rebellion, or even many rebellions. But it is possible that under turbulent overall conditions, perhaps world war, that maybe the fifth rebellion could be the spark for an insurrectionary attempt. Here our work of 'diversion' would be tested severely. It is not possible to say in advance that this couldn't happen, nor even that it could not succeed particularly if the vanguard carried out its work correctly."

"Gifted Opportunists" and Revolutionary Opportunists

Once again, and this time in no uncertain terms, the bottom-line of this study *Life After Nuclear War*, and what all the facts, figures and scenarios have been marshalled to zero in on, stands nakedly exposed—the imperialists' fear of a revolutionary situation developing in the U.S. And within this, Dr. Katz offers up an extremely sober assessment (albeit somewhat oblique and buried among the footnotes) of the role that relatively small numbers of conscious advanced revolutionary forces can play in such dramatic situations:

"The literature of social and political disintegration under extreme stress indicates that many of those who assume leadership are gifted opportunists." (And, accompanying this, a footnote—RW): "This is borne out, for example, in studies of German politics and society after World War I, at the end of the Weimar Republic, and again at the close of World War 2 as well as in studies of Russia during the period of consolidation of the Bolshevik Revolution between 1917 and 1920."

Interestingly, Katz makes the following comment based on an examination of Japan in WW2:

"...radical opposition awaited its opportunities... a small number of radical secret societies operating below the surface who would like to see the Allies win because it would discredit the ruling groups and give themselves a chance to develop political power."

"Radical secret societies," "enemy agents," "gifted opportunists," and we might add "international terrorists" to use current U.S. phraseology—all terms used to slander revolutionaries and especially to paint them as Soviet agents. They have even suggested that the term "proletarian internationalist" is a synonym for "Soviet agent." Implied in these quotes is that this line of attack is precisely what they will be using all the more as things sharpen up. But more important is that in their own way the bourgeoisie is acutely aware of the role those they call "gifted opportunists"—that is those carrying out a revolutionary defeatist line—can play in the course of the upheaval of world war. Gifted revolutionaries who do take full advantage of every defeat and reversal for the ruling class to advance the revolutionary struggle and act to win the advanced forces in society to their banner will in fact play a decisive role in being able to make the maximum advances in such a situation, including possibly actually seizing power. There will indeed be many cracks and openings—many, many new opportunities to turn such a crisis into a victory for the international proletariat and oppressed people worldwide and not a victory for one imperialist government or another. But more can be drawn out of Mr. Katz's observations. There will in fact be many opportunists with the gift of demagoguery hawking their wares in such an upheaval along with a wide variety of political forces all vying for the allegiance of the masses. The bourgeoisie will have its agents and representatives in all kinds of garb; there will in fact be pro-Soviet revisionists like the CPUSA working overtime to turn things to their favor, attempting to sidetrack, mislead, and derail the revolutionary struggle; there will be a million and one saviors and consolers whose sole purpose is to prevent the only solution to not only the horrors of imperialist world war but to all the daily horrors and misery of imperialism itself.

Yes, the bourgeoisie and its political agents of all stripes will be working overtime, and so will the armed forces of the

state, the bottom line of the imperialists' rule. Citing a 1971 report from the U.S. Army's Office of Civil Defense, Dr. Katz makes it quite clear that when push comes to shove, all types of counter-revolutionary violence and terror will be fully unleashed on those in revolt.

"...an increase in conflict between sections of the country, between advocates of varying war policies, and between urban and rural populations... such conflict would pose serious problems... and many participants in the study predicted racial and class conflict as well. Such conflict, most panelists noted... would necessitate the imposition of martial law or other authoritarian systems in many localities, and the widespread use of troops to maintain order." (ellipses in original—RW)

It is quite obvious in reading *Life After Nuclear War* that the intimate connections between war and revolution have not escaped the imperialists. The very complexities that Katz points up for his masters' attention and preparation, by way of exposure, illustrates that the international proletariat has much to prepare itself for as well. For in the no-holds-barred struggle for power, things will not fall easily into place and instead, many very unexpected events will inevitably arise. At the same time, as daily the imperialist war-blocs ready their arsenals—conventional, chemical, nuclear, etc.—Katz's book actually stands as a confirmation of these profound words of Lenin's as he argued against the social-chauvinists of his time (so-called "socialists" who, intimidated by the imperialists' seeming invincibility and corrupted by their bribes, sided with their own rulers in WWI against the international proletariat):

"When, two months after the declaration of war, Kautsky wrote that 'never is government so strong, never are parties so weak as at the outbreak of a war', this was a sample of the falsification of historical science which Kautsky perpetrated to please the Sudekums and other opportunists. In the first place, never do governments stand in need of agreement with all the parties of the ruling classes, or of the 'peaceful' submission of the oppressed classes to that rule, as in time of war. Secondly, even though 'at the beginning of the war', and especially in a country that expects a speedy victory, the government seems all-powerful, nobody in the world has ever linked expectations of a revolutionary situation exclusively with the 'beginning' of a war, and still less has anybody ever identified the 'seeming' with the actual." ("Collapse of the Second International," *Collected Works*, Vol. 21)

With such a view in mind, the key role of the advanced, class-conscious forces making urgent political preparations stands out sharply. Indeed it would be criminal for these forces not to become as "gifted" as is possible in order to be able to seize every opportunity that may present itself in the course of the worldwide conjuncture now shaping up. Mr. Katz should be thanked for inadvertently driving this home all the more in the course of his study on how to prolong U.S. imperialism's life before, during and after nuclear war.

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MORE ON THE PARTY AND MASS MOVEMENTS RELATION TO THE REVOLUTIONARY GOAL

Continued from page 3

what is sometimes the caricature conjured up by opportunists now attacking us is that we go in the midst of the mass struggles, and say "Join the party." Frankly, I wish there was more truth to that caricature than there is. But on the other hand, that is not the essence of what we should do. The essence of what we should do is to carry out the line of Create Public Opinion... Seize Power. I don't want to repeat everything that is said, for example, in the article "Support Every Outbreak of Protest and Rebellion"***; it should be studied over again in terms of what we are talking about now. I think the principles there are important and also in some of the excerpts from the letter*** that speak to the same question—what should be the way in which we relate to mass struggles.

This is going to be increasingly important because there is going to be growing turmoil and struggle in the period ahead, whether or not a revolutionary situation fully ripens in the U.S. As we have stressed over and over again, if you take the world as a whole there will certainly be revolutionary situations developing in various places, and in the U.S. the situation will certainly be a much sharper one, full of a lot more turmoil and upheaval, whether or not a revolutionary situation fully matures and ripens there. So it's going to be all the more important to grasp and apply those principles that were stressed for example in those articles.

Our work is not to go in and say, "Join the vanguard." In other words, the contradiction we want to deal with is not whether you should put everything into the immediate struggle or whether you should build the party. Those are opposite poles of the same stupidity in a certain sense. Obviously if you just go in and just make the immediate struggle everything that's erroneous. But it would also be erroneous just to go in and carry out that caricature, saying, "forget the immediate struggle, join the party." The point I'm trying to make when I say opposite poles of the same stupidity is that those aren't even the right terms. The right terms, the correct approach and method, is to carry out the all-around work of Create Public Opinion... Seize Power, with exposure being the key link, including particularly in important struggles.

No recipe can be set forth to cover everything; you have to actually make a concrete analysis of the overall situation and the role of particular questions and struggles. In some cases you should *not* put any significant number of forces, maybe none at all, into the organizational and tactical aspects of that particular mass struggle or mass movement. In some other cases, such a method will lead to the conclusion that it's very important to put one or even quite a few forces into that kind of work. But at all times this has to be seen as a subordinate part of carrying out the task of Create Public Opinion... Seize Power. And in a general way, even when you devote a number of forces to the organizational and tactical aspects of a struggle, still the most important thing you have to do is the all-around political work to raise the consciousness and build this struggle as part of the overall preparation for revolution in that kind of way, that is by still making exposure the key link of your all-around work. That still remains the most important thing that you have to do, even where you do go into particular struggles.

Seizing Power Central

When there are more and more of these mass struggles there is going to be the pull to fall back or become defensive in the face of that opportunist caricature. That comes with seeing the contradiction in terms of either you put everything into the immediate struggle or else you just try to build the party, like "doing your own thing to the side." The reason I'm stressing this is that if you accept those as the terms you are bound to go wrong. Those are not the terms. The question to bring to the fore, and the correct terms in which this has to be posed, is in what way does this particular question and struggle or movement or organization, etc., fit into the overall process of preparing for and then carrying out the seizure of power. That's the way we have to fight to present the question and it's a question of struggle within our own ranks and more broadly even to sharpen up that this is the question. We have to grasp it that way ourselves and win others to that kind of an approach and to carrying it out. If we can grasp that, then the question of the party again can be put in its proper perspective, and we

shouldn't be defensive in that framework about the importance of building the party, and yes, building it right in the context of these immediate struggles, but again in a more general all-around way as part of the Create Public Opinion... Seize Power and as the most important aspect of organizing forces. Once you grasp that the real question is how does this particular struggle or movement or organization fit into that overall process, then you can also see the importance of the party and you can also treat it in a way that isn't the opposite pole of the stupidity of putting everything into the immediate struggle and treating it as an end in itself and in fact raising it above the overall process and the revolutionary objective.

So it seems to me that the question is fighting to more deeply grasp the correct line on the central task, and in that context be able to therefore deepen our understanding and our practice around building the party. On the one hand it should be our objective to draw the advanced forces generally in society and particularly among the proletarian masses toward the party; that should be our general objective and we shouldn't see that as something we do mainly in relation to particular struggles. But on the other hand, it is also something we *should* do in relation to particular struggles including those we decide to devote forces to working in the tactical and organizational terrain. We should try and draw the advanced forces toward the party, as a very important part of our overall work in general and even our overall work in relation to those specific struggles. The idea that somehow that's sectarian could only really have any currency if you are not carrying out that work as part of the overall process of Create Public Opinion... Seize Power, as part of the preparation for revolution. If you are, carrying out such work, well then how, in what sense, could it possibly be considered sectarian?

So, again, it comes back to that same crucial question: With what line and as part of what process are you approaching and carrying out work in relation to different particular aspects of that process? Owing to the continuing influence of reformist tendencies and wrong thinking on how to approach particular struggles, there still remains to a certain degree this tendency to be defensive or to think this is sectarian to build the party. And, again, I feel very sure that that sort of tendency is going to assert itself very strongly the more there is mass struggle, mass

movement, organization and so on. This question will sharpen both because we are going to be attacked for it and also because of the tendency to tail spontaneity, the influence of some of these old Menshevik, or at least incorrect, influences and lines. There's going to be a certain defensiveness and a certain tendency not to put enough emphasis in fact on the aspect of building the party.

Lasting and Important

Our strategy is not "Build the Party, Make Revolution." It's Create Public Opinion... Seize Power. But if you look at that as an overall process and you grasp some of the points that I have been trying to stress here, then you can see how important building the party is all the way through and as part of that overall process. Party building does not mainly take form and become concentrated in relation to particular struggles, it's more as part of the overall process. But it does also pose itself in relation to particular struggles, including those where you do decide to devote some forces to working within a mass organization and striving to play a role organizationally and to give tactical leadership as well as (and mainly) carrying out the overall political work. And we're going to have to fight these questions through. But the more that we grasp what all of our work should be guided by and is part of, and what the whole process that the central task relates to is part of, then the more and also the more correctly we can take up the question of building the party, both qualitatively but also quantitatively. That means drawing forces not only close to the party and struggling to win them to its line, but struggling to bring them *into* the party.

Just to sharpen it up, if you understand this correctly and dialectically, the building of the party is more important and more lasting than the building of any particular struggle. That is not the same thing as saying that our objective in relation to any immediate struggle is either to put everything into the immediate struggle or just to build the party. Again, that's the wrong question or the wrong terms. But if we see our role and approach to any particular struggle or any particular aspect of our work as how it fits into this overall process, which corresponds to the work of Create Public Opinion... Seize Power, or prepare minds and organize forces, if we grasp that correctly, then we can see how and in what way it's a very basic truth that the building of the party is more lasting and more important than what happens in any particular struggle or any particular aspect of our work. It is a subordinate part of our overall work to build the party, in the sense that it's one part of it and in that sense subordinate to it. But it's not subordinate to whatever we do in any immediate struggle. Specifically we have to say it's not subordinate to the tactical and organizational aspects of what we might do in any particular struggle. And the building of the party is more lasting and more important than the outcome of, or the particular work we do in, this or that particular situation or particular struggle. But on the other hand, building the party is a subordinate part of the overall task of Create Public Opinion... Seize Power, even while it's the most important aspect of organizing forces. That may sound contradictory, which it is, because the reality that's involved there is contradictory. But it's not contradictory in an eclectic sense. I believe that does describe the correct relationship of those different aspects.

(Continued next week)



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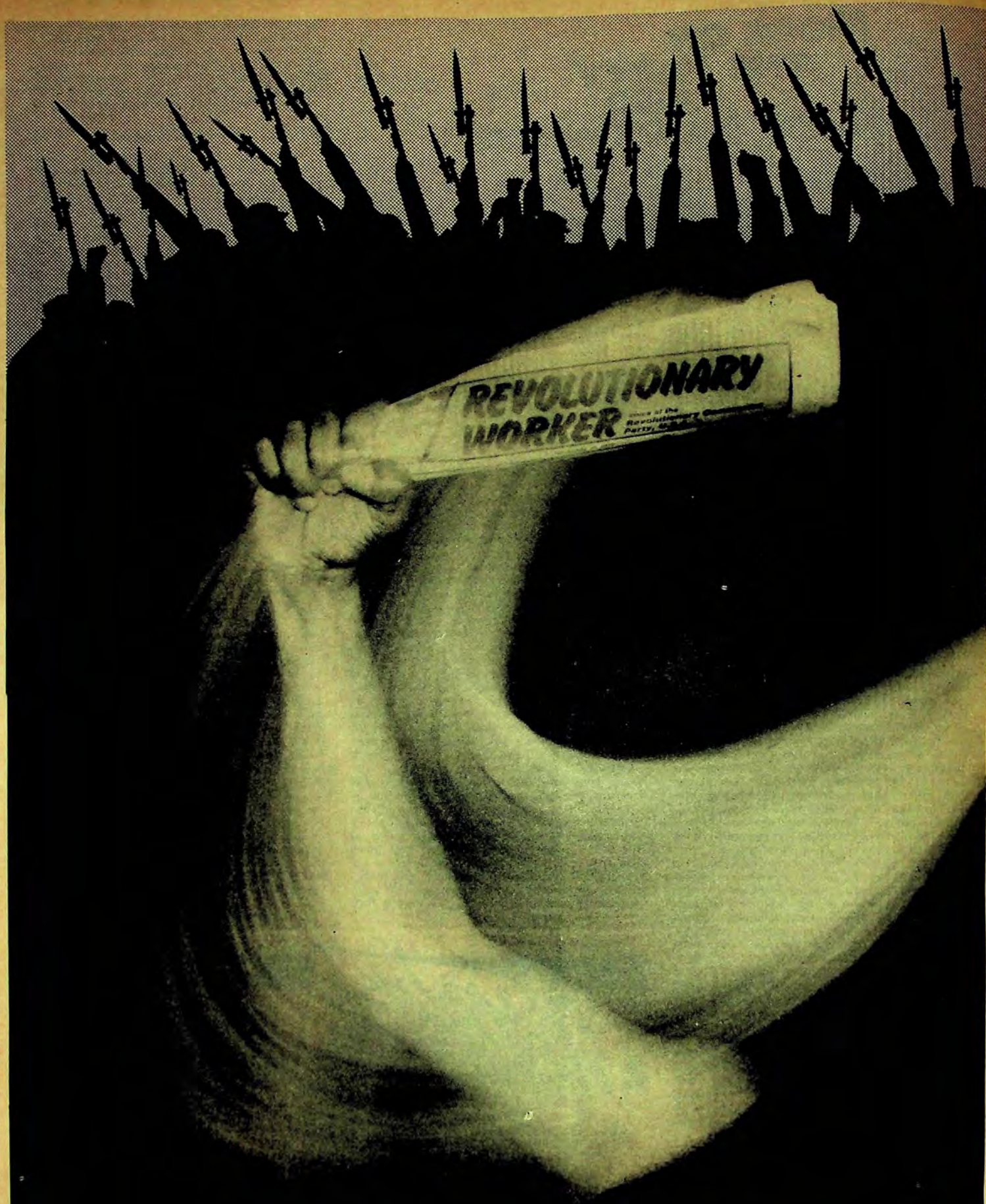
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