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Atlanta Conviction: Ruling Class Finds Itself Innocent

Like the murders of the Black youth in Atlanta over which the Wayne Williams trial was staged, the verdict last week was met with utter scorn, hatred and contempt. This trial and verdict was more than a cover-up — it was a perverse extension of the very murders which are now purportedly "solved."

The masses of Black people in Atlanta have been face to face with a loaded double-barrel. One hand of the oppressor has stalked the streets, striking down Black youth — 30, 40 or more, and this possibly continues today — in the vile tradition of pogrom, while at the same time the bestial crimes have been officially

greeted by the authorities with white-wash, even veiled approval, and attempts, using the armed might of the state, to crush any potential outbreak sparked by these crimes. As the summer approached last year, hundreds of thousands of people around the country — and the world — had already ridden over the cynical posturing of politicians and priests that there was no "race issue" involved in the Atlanta killings, that "everyone in Atlanta cares about the children," and that "faith must be put in the legitimate agencies responsible for solving the crimes." A significant crisis confronted the bourgeoisie.

By now, the story is well known. In order of the highest ruling circles, a meeting was held in the mansion of Georgia Governor Busbee, initiated personally by Vice President Bush, and attended by a number of key local Atlanta officials. A few days later, Wayne Williams was arrested; shortly thereafter, he was indicted for two of the Atlanta murders and "implicated" in many others.

Before our eyes, the predictions of America's most reliable soothsayers and psychics had materialized. There was no conspiracy here, the story went, there is no racism. Why, the crimes were only the work of a lone, confused, middle-class Black man, Wayne Williams — alternately termed a "Hitler type," a "sex criminal," and even, paradoxically, a "racist" — had been nailed. The charade reached fruition last week. The "nightmare has come to an end."

The depravity which surrounded the outcome of this trial was actually aimed at bolstering the verdict. Themes stressed throughout the last two and one-half years were restressed. "What Atlanta had," wrote the *Atlanta Journal*, "was a twisted deviant killer who preyed on those available to him. That they were available to him was a crime of extreme magnitude . . . It was an absence of family and neighborhood structure that allowed children vulnerability, that left them unfed and unsupervised, that encouraged them to roam the streets." No racism in this issue, is there?

There was a necessity on the part of our rulers to convict Williams and perpetuate the general fantastic scenario of the murders invented earlier. The Atlanta murders have had national — moreover, international — significance. There was an image to rescue, impossible as the task may be, bloodstained as the image is. For two and one-half years, the murders of

Continued on page 19



**Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao
on the Liberation
of Women**

**She Craves Not Spring
For
Herself Alone**

See Centerfold

The World Travels of the Dalkon Death Shield

For much of the several weeks of hearings held on her suit against the A.H. Robins Company in January, Rosemary Warner was absent. She was in the hospital, suffering from pelvic inflammatory disease. Rosemary was one of thousands of victims of the Dalkon Shield, an intrauterine device (IUD) the Robins Co. manufactured and distributed between 1971 and 1974. Her case was one of the few that has made it to court. Dozens of witnesses, largely "medical experts" of different kinds which were hired by both sides, testified for days on end about the history, testing and design of the Dalkon Shield while being questioned by six different lawyers.

Rosemary was one of thousands of women maimed by the Dalkon Shield. For her it has been recurring bouts with pelvic inflammatory disease which have sent her to the hospital several times. The pain is so great that she has been unable to work and must spend much of her time in bed. The repeated infections have in all probability left her sterile, and it is likely that the only treatment which will actually cure her is to have a hysterectomy (removal of the uterus) and to have both of her ovaries removed as well.

To excuse this maiming and torture of women, Robins brought in a crew of medical henchmen. One of them, a Seattle doctor who himself has been sued by a patient who had a Dalkon Shield inserted by him, went so low as to say that his "professional opinion" was that the recurring infections were caused not by the Dalkon Shield, but by Rosemary "changing sexual partners." If this attempt to blame her condition on herself wasn't disgusting enough, it later came out in court that this doctor—when he examined Rosemary in preparation for the trial—discovered all the symptoms of her latest attack of pelvic inflammatory disease, but said nothing to Rosemary, her lawyers or her doctor, and even failed to turn over the results of blood tests which indicated the infection—an "oversight," he explained in court. In the end the jury was deadlocked, eight in favor of awarding Rosemary damages, four opposed, and since it takes 10 jurors to find in favor of a plaintiff in Washington state, the case was lost. Lawyers later announced the case would be refiled later this year.

All of this is just a small part of the infamous story of the Dalkon Shield which is part and parcel of the development of new forms of birth control during the 1960s and '70s, a history which includes the development of forced sterilization programs and other genocidal "population control" schemes, and the widespread production and distribution of dangerous and untested drugs and devices which were foisted on women all over the world as "birth control." In fact, the advances in science which offer the potential of women controlling their

own bodies, rather than being slaves to the dictates of nature, became in the hands of the imperialists the means of perpetrating new and greater atrocities on women throughout the world. The Dalkon Shield, manufactured by the A.H. Robins Company (the makers of Robitussin cough syrup), came onto the market in 1971, when IUD's were the fastest growing method of birth control in the U.S. While most IUD's were often expelled from the uterus of women who had not had children, and caused severe

cramping, bleeding and other even more serious medical problems, the Dalkon Shield was touted as the IUD for women who have not had children. Between 1971 and 1974, when distribution of the Dalkon Shield was halted in the U.S., over two million had been distributed, making up one-third to one-fourth of all IUD's sold in the U.S.

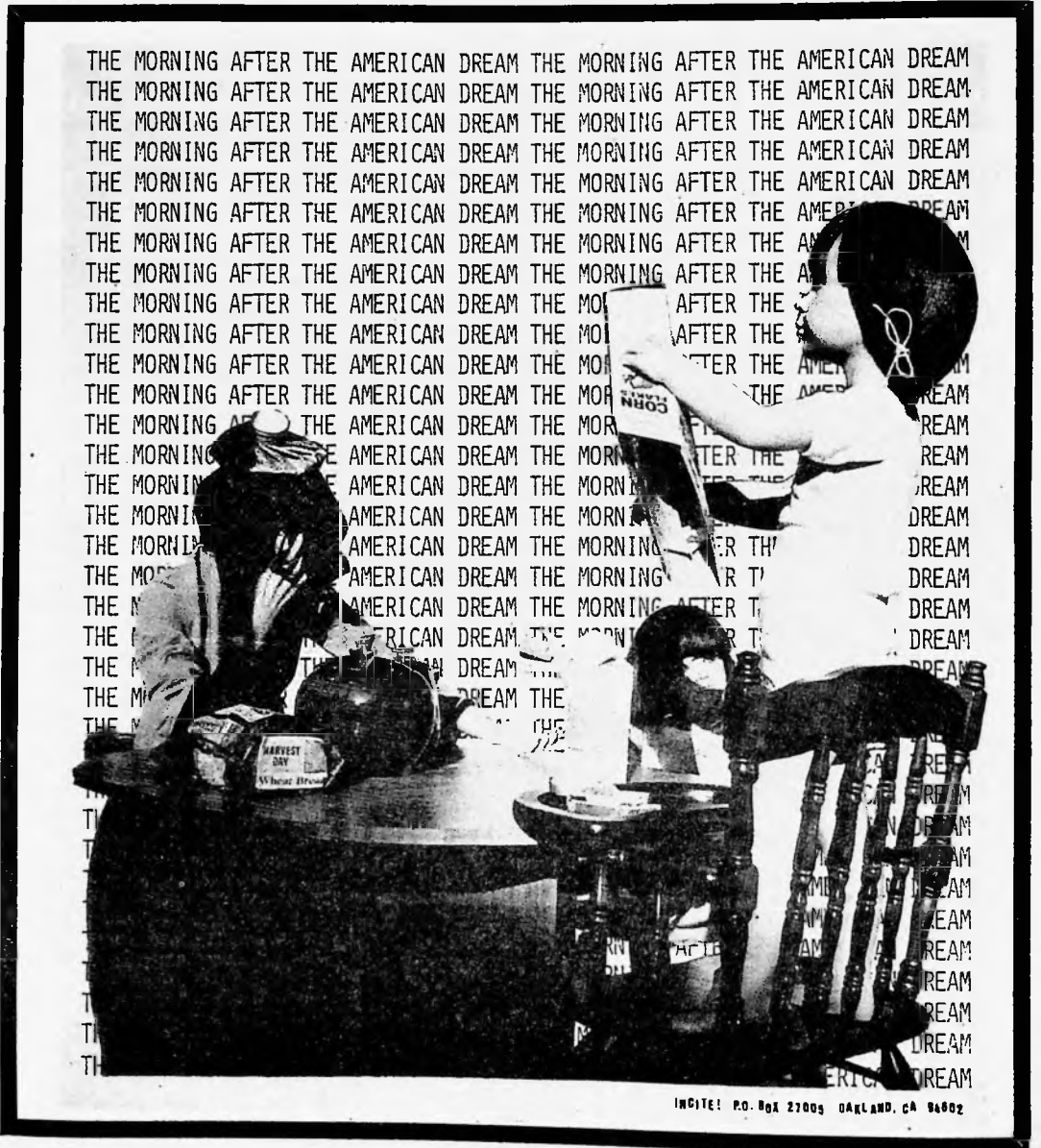
But for women the problems with the Dalkon Shield were readily apparent. Most obviously the shield was extremely difficult and painful to insert and remove. In 1971, just months after the shield was on the market, a doctor wrote the Robins Company: "I have found the procedure to be the most traumatic manipulation ever perpetrated on womanhood, and I have inserted thousands of other varieties" (of IUD's). But women who were the victims of the Dalkon Shield were soon to find that this was the least of the problems. Septicemia (blood poisoning), septic abortions (abortions caused by a poisoned fetus), ectopic pregnancies (pregnancies with the fertilized egg in the Fallopian tubes instead of the uterus), pelvic inflammatory disease (an infection of the uterus which

can spread to the Fallopian tubes and the ovaries), perforations of the uterus by the shield, death—all these were among the effects of the Dalkon Shield on thousands of women.

These problems were by no means limited to the Dalkon Shield, though it was one of the worst IUD's on the market. By 1974 twelve different IUD's had been marketed in the U.S., and all but three of them had been recalled by the Federal Food & Drug Administration (FDA). But in 1971 the FDA was actively engaged in covering up the IUD scandal, claiming that the effect of IUD's on the market was unclear and that more studies were needed, while at the same time saying that its authority to control IUD's was limited because they were a "device" and not a "drug."

Throughout 1972 the public exposure of the dangers of IUD's, and of the Dalkon Shield in particular, grew, despite the best efforts of the FDA and the drug companies. In May, 1973, the FDA was finally forced to order the recall of one IUD, the Majzlin Spring—100,000 had already been distributed. At the same time, the

Continued on page 10



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Bob Avakian Responds to Anarchists' Letter

There's Nothing More Revolutionary Than Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought

Recently, Bob Avakian responded to a number of questions from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle throughout the decades of the '60s, '70s and into the '80s. The answers elaborate on a number of questions raised in the talk, "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will," published as a special issue of *Revolution* magazine (issue No. 50). The first part of these excerpts (serialized in RWs 136-144) dealt with the question of the party. The current excerpts (which will continue) take up some points about anarchism. These remarks are edited from a tape.

Q: Why don't we talk about some specifics of a trend, which right now is more focused in Western Europe, and that's the anarchist trend. Especially in Europe there are uprisings going on that have an anarchist trend within them. In "Conquer the World?..."* you were talking about the role of the party and diverting and channeling all these different trends toward proletarian revolution; you said that particular orientation would cause us to ask the question, how could anarchism be more revolutionary than Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought? And you answered that by saying that nothing could be more revolutionary than Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought if it was really that revolutionary synthesis. But why don't we get into this, as well as this particular trend. I know you see the anarchist A written on a lot of walls and buildings here and it is a particular thing that is rising.

BA: Something important that was pointed out in the document "Basic Principles..." the joint document prepared by the RCP, USA and the RCP of Chile in discussing anarchism was Lenin's statement in *Left-Wing Communism* that frequently infantile leftism or left-wing communism was payment for the opportunist sins, and by that he means the right opportunist sins, of the Marxists. In other words, where and to the degree that the Marxists themselves were really social democrats in the sense of what social democracy means today—that is that they were reformists, revisionists and capitulators to the bourgeoisie—they gave life to, strengthened, fostered and gave more ground to the anarchists in opposition to them. Now left-wing type errors in general, infantilism and so on, including at least certain kinds of anarchism, were and are opposed to revisionism and social democracy, but their opposition divides into two. To a degree and in some cases it is based on revulsion and repulsion against the open reformism and betrayal of these revisionist parties and contains a significant element of revolutionary opposition to them. It's a recognition that these people are traitors to the cause of the revolution, that they are just despicable lackeys of one particular bourgeoisie or another and therefore of the bourgeoisie and the imperialist system in general.

So that's on the one hand. On the other hand their opposition is ultimately the expression of a viewpoint and a program other than that of the proletariat, and in particular of that of the petty bourgeoisie in a general sense. And it is ultimately itself not revolutionary in a thorough-going way and even ends up in reformism. I think that this is an important point to grasp. We have to divide it into two that way. Even the best of these trends contain those two aspects. Some of the anarchist trends are principally the one or principally the other. Some of them are principally a form of rebellion that should be upheld against this revisionist betrayal, but even the best of them, even

those that start out as that kind of rebellion, will become reformist and end up themselves accepting, even reinforcing to a certain degree, the system that they start out rebelling against. And, ironically, in the final analysis they will even end up aiding the revisionists to a certain degree because they enable the revisionists to point to them and say, "you see where all this leftist opposition to us leads." Now that's not to blame the anarchists for the revisionists. I think Lenin is correct; the dialectic is much more the other way. The revisionists are much more to blame. Not only are they accountable for their own crimes and their own right opportunism, but also, as Lenin said, it is their sins which help to foster these incorrect tendencies as well as actually provoking the more correct and righteous rebellion of left-wing communism—anarchism included. That's a general point that's important to grasp if you want to successfully carry out the method of diverting and channelling these currents into the general overall stream of the proletarian revolution.

The Rotten Left

So, that's kind of an introduction to the point. To go directly into some of the more concrete manifestations of that today—I was just reading over the article in *RW* No. 129 on the reports from people who had done some investigation in England and Ireland. This one was about the "unruly gravediggers" in England, in particular the youth and especially the black youth and the black people who were taking part in the rebellions that swept over England. One of the things they point out here was that especially among the white youth many have adopted the anarchist A while there are different political trends of various kinds among the blacks and the black youth in particular, many of which are also in conscious opposition to one degree or another to the disgusting buffet of rotten garbage that's the Left in England, from the Trotskyites to the CP to the Labour Party and so on and so forth. But it was noted that especially among the white youth there are strong anarchist tendencies and many of them had adopted the anarchist circled A as their symbol, and you see it written on walls everywhere and this is a phenomenon generally throughout Europe. Here's a concrete living example of how these tendencies have arisen in opposition to the disgusting panoply of capitulation and revisionism, reformism and chauvinism that characterizes the Left in England and the Left, especially the official Left but also much of the "Opposition Left" throughout Europe.

I mean, it's obvious for example if you take any European country where there's a major CP and other major Left parties, that they are not only *not* for abolishing the capitalist system and for advancing to a whole different epoch in the world, the communist epoch, but they are the most perverse promoters of the chauvinism of their own imperialists. In particular talking about the youth, although it's uneven and there's different characteristics in different countries, you can see how any youth who have any real desire to rebel against the status quo, to rebel against the system, to rebel against the society are going to reject these Left parties. Youth especially tend to want to break with all this in an all-round way. Take the rebellions in England, they try to say: "Well what is it? Is it like the Black rebellions in the U.S. in the '60s? Is it lack of jobs? Is it the police? Is it the question of the insulting racism?"... and so on and so forth. And the answer that the people who have actively participated and even sympathized with these rebellions have always given is that it's *all* of that. Of course, the police will quite frequently be singled out as the most important factor in the sense of being a concentrated sharp edge of all that. But it's

always that it's the whole thing.

The youth want to rebel and do rebel against the rottenness and the hypocrisy and the corruption and the just absolute worthlessness of the dominant society and its values in every sphere—culturally, in terms of the educational system, in terms of their actual situation and the sharp way in which that is expressed in the treatment by the police, and all the rest of that. But it's the whole thing; the youth want to rebel against that while the revisionists and the official Left simply want to uphold it and perhaps alter it in form in some ways to more suit their *own* bourgeois interests. But the furthest thing from their minds is a thorough, radical rebellion against and a radical rupture with all this. It's very obvious that they have no intention of making Marx's two famous radical ruptures with all traditional property relations and all traditional ideas. That's the furthest thing from what they want to do. They just want to tinker with them in order to reinforce the same property values and the same ideology, the same culture and the same political system under slightly different forms more suited to their particular bourgeois interests, their particular structure, and the particular camouflage that they use in order to get over with this. They might favor more state capitalism in place of more "free enterprise." They might favor a little bit more "left rhetoric" in place of more openly bourgeois politicking; so on, so on, so on. But in essence, it's very clear that they want the same thing. This is very obvious to the youth, and to others, but especially the youth—the youth who look and see "no future" in the whole rotten thing. It's clear that the official Left is "no alternative" for the youth, and they are quite correct, their actions quite righteous in rebelling against that as well, like in Switzerland and other places where they rebel openly against the official Left. And it is not just in Switzerland. So that's one thing.

On the other hand, what you can see more clearly from some actual, more close-up observations are the activities of the Trotskyites particularly in countries where maybe they have a little influence, or at least slightly more than they do in the U.S. For example, in England or France and so on, the Trotskyites have more influence and the absolutely putrid character of the Trotskyites stands out all the more sharply. It stands out especially the more there is a stronger official Left in these countries—that is, the more the social democratic and/or pro-Soviet revisionist trend has influence, as is the case in some European countries. The more that the pro-Western social democratic socialist trend, and the pro-Soviet "communist"—that is, revisionist—trend have real strength and influence, the more you can clearly see the very right-wing essence, and even in many respects the openly right-wing *form* of the Trotskyites' program and stand.

In a number of these situations, the Trotskyites' program in a lot of ways consists of putting up posters demanding that the pro-Western so-called "socialists" and the pro-Soviet so-called "communists" get together—the "unity of the Left." And here they are talking about the "unity" of forces which are all pro-imperialist. Even if they disagree about or differ over which imperialist bloc they support, they are all pro-imperialist, they are all obviously opposed to a real revolution, a real restructuring of society. They all obviously want to impose from the top, to one degree or another in alliance with the traditional bourgeois ruling classes, a system of exploitation and oppression which is only different in name. This is all very evident. They all want to continue to represent the imperialist interests of their nation, as the ruling class of that nation. And yet

Continued on page 20

* "Conquer the World?—The International Proletariat Must and Will", *Revolution*, No. 50.

FAMOUS "IMPERIALIST LIBERATORS"

Britain and the Arab Revolt in WWI

As part of our continuing series, here is another brief historical illustration of the duplicity of the imperialists in picturing themselves as the "liberators" of oppressed peoples and nations.

When Turkey's Ottoman rulers entered World War I in November, 1914 on the side of Germany, they were hoping to shore up their vast and crumbling feudal empire which had ruled throughout the Middle East and Southeast Europe for over four hundred years. Ottoman rule was hated and exposed among the Arab masses in the Middle East and the British, facing off against Germany in the first imperialist world war, moved to take advantage of the Ottoman's weaknesses in order to eventually seize the traditional Turkish possessions.

While the most important theatre of the war was in Europe, the Middle East was nevertheless an area of vital importance, both for the prosecution of the war itself as well as for Britain's longer-range plans. The underground potential of what was then Mesopotamia (now Iraq), where the British already had some footholds, was a coveted prize as Britain was becoming more and more dependent on oil. But more, as British Prime Minister Lloyd George put it in his memoirs: "The Turkish empire lay across the track by land or water to our great possessions in

the East..." The British envisioned hooking up their African possessions with their long-standing possessions in India and the Far East, thus creating one great and uninterrupted colonial belt that would stretch halfway around the world. As George put it, "The importance of a speedy victory over the Turks for the security of the British Empire was undeniable."

In 1914, a British expeditionary force was sent to Basra on the Persian Gulf to guard the installations of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. on nearby Abadan Island. A proclamation in Arabic was ad-

ressed by the British government to the Arabs and Kurds of the area: "Let it be known to all that from times of old the British Government has had many millions of Mohamedan subjects, more than any power in the world, more even than Turkey... We have no enmity or ill-will against the population, to whom we hope to prove good friends and protectors... The British flag has been established, under which you will enjoy the benefits of liberty and justice, both in regard to your religions and your secular affairs..." This bragadaccio was underscored by the fact that the bulk of

the cannonfodder the British used to plant the Union Jack firmly in the Gulf and then push northward in a long series of bloody battles were Indian troops imported for this purpose from Britain's colony further east.

The Arab Revolt

However, the British forces did not get off to a very auspicious start in the Middle East. A British attempt to sever Turkey in early 1916 was thrown back by the Turks and suffered over 200,000 casualties. Meanwhile, British forces pushing toward Baghdad from the Persian Gulf had advanced slowly, taking Kut ul-Amara and then falling victim to a siege by the Turkish armies. But even before these setbacks, the British had already decided that exploiting Arab dissatisfaction with Ottoman rule—in order to, as one historian put it, "attack the Turkish empire through its Arab subjects"—would be key to a British takeover of the Middle East.

Certain Arab groups had been planning a revolt against Ottoman rule since 1914 and had requested British assistance. But it was not until the British realized it would be absolutely necessary that they finally gave the go ahead in secret communications with Arab leaders in what is now Saudi Arabia in early 1916. This "invitation to revolt" was extended to a number of Arab leaders, notably Sharif Husain of Mecca, leader of the "Arabs of the Hejaz", and the Bedouin tribes under Faisal. It was agreed that "Great Britain is prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs in all the regions within the limits demanded..." (with the exception of one or two "modifications"). Although there were differing and rival concepts among Arab leaders of Arab independence and who would rule, the Arabs were generally led to believe that they would be able to establish some sort of independent Arab Confederation encompassing most of the territory of what is now Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine and Iraq.

The nature of these British promises, however, was soon to be seen. In May, 1916—one month before the Arab re-



British troops entering Baghdad in 1917 as they "liberated" Mesopotamia from Ottoman rule. Three years later they would drown a rebellion against their own overlordship in blood.

Map attached to the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement between Britain and France carving up anticipated plunder in the Middle East.

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE AGREEMENT OF 1916.



Press Communique by the Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India (ML)

First All-India Conference of the Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India (ML) was held in the last week of January 1982. The conference lasted eight days and was held at a time when RC had already made significant advances in the reorganisation and rebuilding of the CPI(ML), facing grave challenges thrown up by the developments at the national and international level. It was held in underground conditions in rural Maharashtra with the full cooperation and support from the people of the surrounding villages.

Forty-five delegates and four observers, representing different states participated in the conference. They had been elected by the respective state conferences. Fraternal delegates representing Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, Nepal Communist Party and Ceylon Communist Party attended the conference and addressed the delegates conveying fraternal greetings from the respective parties. One representative of a friendly organisation in India also participated in the conference as an observer.

The conference commenced in a revolutionary atmosphere after hoisting the red flag and commemorating the martyr comrades. The rostrum of the conference pandal (shed—RW) was decorated with a huge red banner on which the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung and founder leader of CPI(ML) martyr comrade Charu Mazumdar were prominently placed. After the opening speech, the secretary presented the document on approach to the developments at the international level. In the discussion delegates, observers and fraternal delegates actively participated reflecting the high level of consciousness achieved by the comrades in the intense ideological struggle for upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought including the lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and in the fight against the new variants of revisionism represented by the present leaderships of China and Albania, and the counter-revolutionary theory of three worlds.

In this atmosphere marked by a high level of political awareness which pervaded all through the conference, the following documents were presented and lively discussions took place. The political and organisational report presented a summing up of the experience after the formation of the RC in November 1979. RC was formed with the merger of Kerala state committee and Andhra Pradesh State Reorganising Committee with the task of reorganising and rebuilding the Party at the all-India level on a correct ideological, political and organisational basis. During the last two years state level committees could be organised in Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Assam. Numerous struggles in all those areas were taken up and in Kerala and AP armed struggles could be developed linking with the establishment of parallel political power at the local level. Thus the work during the last two years succeeded in laying a firm foundation for reorganising the party at the all-India level. During the discussion on this document state units presented their detailed report approved in their respective state conferences.

The document summing up the fourteen years of experience after the Naxalbari struggle evoked a keen and vigorous two-line struggle and discussion on it continued for two days. Vast majority of the delegates while upholding the great contributions of comrade Charu Mazumdar and the essence of his revolutionary line stressed the need for rectifying the mistakes committed by him and the party under his leadership and firmly put forward the need for developing all other forms of struggle and thus developing a revolutionary mass line complementary to armed struggle. The conference accepted the ideological and political evaluation put forward in the summing up documents with amendments strengthening the positions taken in it.

After detailed discussion the conference accepted the amendments to the Party Programme and Constitution adopted in the 1970 congress, the Political and Organisational Report and the document on international developments. The conference empowered the new committee to redraft the document on "Tactical Line" based on the approach in the summing up document.

The working papers on work among peasantry, workers, students, women and on cultural front were discussed and it was decided to redraft the papers incorporating the suggestions put forward by the delegates and to circulate them for further discussion at various levels before finalisation.

It was resolved by the conference that reflecting the organisational development achieved, the name of the committee be changed to Central Reorganisation Committee. The conference elected the new committee which in turn elected Comrade Venu as its secretary.

Statement from the Central Committee, RCP, USA to the Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India (ML)

To the Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India (M-L)

We congratulate you on the occasion of your All-India Conference and the formation of the Central Reorganisation Committee which is an important step forward in reorganizing the CPI(ML). Bringing together revolutionaries from many parts of India, this meeting summed up the lessons of the Naxalbari movement and devoted serious attention to pressing problems of the world revolution facing the international communist movement, both of which are essential to the advance of the revolutionary movement in India and worldwide. As you have declared in your resolutions, revolutionaries have stood up for and fought for Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and the ideological struggle that is going on in the international communist movement has really enriched and enhanced the understanding of the international communist movement and its ability to take further strides. Taking place as it does as imperialism moves towards global convulsions and the world's proletarian revolutionaries face the most grave responsibilities and opportunities perhaps without precedent, this conference is especially significant and welcome.

Central Committee, RCP, USA

After the resolution commemorating the martyr comrades was adopted another resolution calling on the Marxist-Leninists all over the world to wage a determined struggle against the new variants of revisionism on a wider scale and to take effective steps to build up a revolutionary platform of the international communist movement was adopted. The conference hailed the working class who participated in the 19 January all-India strike and called up on it to come forward and take up its historic role in the New Democratic Revolution. It declared solidarity with the struggles waged by the minority nationalities. The conference also greeted the Polish workers who have dealt a severe blow to international revisionism and called up on all freedom-loving people to actively support their heroic struggle in the face of military crackdown by the social fascists and cautioned the Polish people to be vigilant against the machinations of U.S. imperialism and its agents too.

The conference concluded with the entire participants and volunteers joining in singing the *Internationale* and they departed to different parts of the country with the firm determination of carrying forward the reorganisation of the party and developing revolutionary struggles on the basis of the new understanding achieved.

After the successful conclusion of the conference, a public meeting was held in which the people from the nearby villages enthusiastically participated.

10.2.1982.

K. Venu, Secretary
CRC, CPI(ML)

Resolutions Adopted by the All-India Conference of Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India (ML)

1. In Memory of Martyr Comrades.

During the decades-long liberation struggle of the Indian people, and during the course of the armed agrarian revolution led by our Party, CPI (ML), hundreds and thousands of our dear comrades including our respected and beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar laid down their lives most heroically in service of the people. With the blood of those comrades the red flag has become still more red.

This conference while commemorating the martyrdom of these comrades takes the vow that we shall spare no effort and shall march forward with death-defying spirit of self-sacrifice keeping aloft the red banner, handed over to us by these martyr comrades.

2. Call to the Marxist-Leninists all over the World.

After the death of Mao Tsetung and the consequent developments in China, the International Communist Movement faced a very serious crisis. The new variants of revisionism propagated by the leaderships of the CPC and PLA, created confusion among the Marxist-Leninists all over the world and sowed the seeds of disruption in many Marxist-Leninist Organizations. But, in spite of such serious setbacks, many Marxist-Leninist Organizations, and the rank and file in some other organizations have stood up and fought against these new variants of revisionism emerged in the International Communist Movement and have held aloft the red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought. And the ideological struggle that is going on in the International Communist Movement has really enriched and enhanced the level of ideological understanding of the International Communist Movement and so the movement is actually on the threshold of a new qualitative leap forward. In this circumstances, it is high time that all the Marxist-Leninist forces at the global level should come together and exchange their ideas and experiences so that an effective struggle against the new variants of revisionism can be waged at all levels and the struggle for socialism and communism can be carried forward further on a wider scale. This conference calls upon all the Marxist-Leninist forces all over the world to take up this urgent task and strive hard for building

up a revolutionary platform of the International Communist Movement in the immediate future.

3. Storm Centres of World Revolution.

Rising waves of fierce National liberation wars against imperialism, social imperialism and their flunkies mark the contemporary world. The U.S. and the Soviet Union, the two modern-day monsters in their desperate bid to save themselves from extinction are creating more and more gory spots on the world map. The oppressed people of Africa, Latin America, Central America and Asia are resisting those barbaric onslaughts heroically. While social imperialism finds the going tough in a host of countries, particularly Afghanistan and Kampuchea, their rivals in crime headed by U.S. imperialism are receiving resounding blows in El Salvador among many other countries.

This conference greets the fighting people in all the continents and calls upon the world's people to resolutely march forward along the path of liberation, and give the death blow to the global imperialist system.

4. In Support of the Struggle of the National Minorities.

In spite of the fascist terror and military suppression resorted to by the Indian state the armed struggle waged by the peoples of Manipur, Nagaland and Mizoram is surging ahead. And these struggles are inspiring the other national minorities like Tripuris, Sikhimese and Kashmiris also to wage struggle by taking up arms for their right of national self-determination.

This conference hails the heroic armed struggle of the Manipuris, Nagas and Mizo peoples and declares solidarity with these struggles.

Continued on page 16

Report from Iran

Uprising in Amol

In RW No. 141, we reported that according to accounts in the press towards the end of January, the city of Amol in northern Iran was liberated for more than a day by guerrillas from a group called Sarbedaran. This was one of a number of new and significant outbreaks of revolutionary struggle against the Khomeini regime. Since then we have received a statement released by Sarbedaran that provides a vivid account of what was in fact a mass popular insurrection in Amol involving various forces that had an electrifying effect throughout Iran. The People's Mojahedin has also recently issued a statement concerning the role of the Mojahedin and other resistance forces in the Amol uprising.

By way of background, Amol is a medium-sized city of around 100,000 near the Caspian Sea which has been a traditional stronghold of various leftist groups and the Mojahedin. For a number of reasons, the hold of Islamic fundamentalism has been weaker there than in the central areas of the country. For instance, women in this region do not generally wear the full chador, and when the new regime tried to impose a ban on coed swimming, it was virtually unenforceable. During the revolution in 1978, the whole area around Amol was in a state of high ferment, and the city was actually taken over by the masses in October for nine days and a "Republic of Amol" proclaimed—a harbinger of what was in store for the Shah's fascist regime only several months later.

Over the past few years, there have been numerous militant peasant struggles reported in the area around Amol; and after the IRP and Khomeini launched their bloody campaign of suppression last June, several hundred armed youth sacked the IRP headquarters and bookstore in Amol and drove the regime's forces out of the city for a period of time. Since then, Amol and the surrounding region has continued to be a hotbed of activity involving different revolutionary forces. On November 28, a government plane was reportedly shot down in the area, and in December several expeditions of Pasharan were sent into the dense, semi-tropical forest of this area to ferret out groups of revolutionaries who have been operating there.

The following are excerpts translated from Farsi from the statement recently issued by Sarbedaran, "The Manifesto of the January 25th Insurrection in Amol" dated Jan. 31:

"Political power comes from the barrel of a gun." Without the use of revolutionary violence, no class and nation will be able to gain their trampled rights from the claws of tyrants...

The 5th of Bahman (Jan. 25) insurrection in Amol was a great step in this direction and made a magnificent example for all those who do not want to give in to captivity and enslavement and are determined to obtain liberty at the expense of their blood...

The Sarbedaran of Iran, who believed from the first day of their movement that the treacherous regime of Khomeini must be buried in its grave through insurrection in the cities, chose the month of Bahman—the month of bloody insurrection of the people, the month of the overthrow of the rotten and obsolescent monarchy—as their insurrection date in Amol.

After a military maneuver and breaking loose from the regime's blockade and inflicting a miserable defeat on Khomeini's forces on Nov. 13 (referring to a military operation by Sarbedaran in the region near Amol last year—RW). Sarbedaran entered Amol for the second time at 4:30 in the morning of Jan. 25 and positioned themselves throughout the city till about 9:30 pm.

Our battle with the enemy forces began before 12 midnight and within less than one hour the heroic Sarbedaran cleared off the entire city from the filth of Khomeini's mercenaries. The entire city street patrols, all Islamic Association elements and the entire nest of treacherous ruling authorities were wiped out in a short time and all criminals received the well-deserved wrath of the people for their treachery. Those who resisted, faced the violent fire of Sarbedaran and those who were captured alive were brought to



revolutionary trial where the final verdicts were issued by the people. From the latter group 23 were executed by our firing squad on the spot according to the vote of the people.

Exactly one hour after our action had begun, the entire city of Amol was cleaned off from the filth of all Hezbollahi and Pasdars. Unusual excitement and joy ruled over every street and alley throughout the city; for the masses could no longer feel the suffocating suppression of Khomeini's agents around their neck. We were determined to demolish the Pasdar headquarters, Mobilization Corps "revolutionary" courts, and the public relation center and bring them down on the heads of those decayed mercenaries who had nested there, but because of political prisoners who were kept in all these command centers and the possible harm to them, we only besieged these outposts and punished those who entered or exited these places. At 2:30 a.m. all guards and protectors of these reactionary institutions met their deserved treacherous fate. The Mobilization Corps watch tower and its operator with his nest was blown off by an R.P.G. rocket and no longer could sounds be heard from any of these centers.

From then on we stationed ourselves in a few crowded neighborhoods of the city; Ghadi Mahaleh and Espah Kalavar Rezvanieh, to do agitation and propaganda work. Very quickly the walls of Islamic Association House, streets and neighborhoods were stripped of pictures of the Islamic Republic's cunning dogs—Khomeini, Beheshti, Rafsanjani, Rajai... and their entire supply of propaganda literature, and posters were burned to ashes in the streets. Slogans of "Death to Khomeini," "Long Live Liberty," "Either Death or Liberty" were painted and posted on every wall, and loud shouts of "Death to Khomeini" began to echo in the streets.

The warm reception of the heroic people of Amol and their active participation was beyond our belief. To cite an example, absolutely none of the barricades in the streets and neighborhoods at which we were stationed, were made by us. All of them were put up by the people, particularly the youth. From the very beginning the youth demanded for us to arm them, and we did so with the significant amount of arms we had liberated from the mercenaries a few hours earlier. The joy and enthusiasm about the arrival of

Sarbedaran to the city could be seen everywhere. Practically everyone was wholeheartedly willing to assist and cooperate with us. Several youth joined us and became our permanent comrades-in-arms...

From the very beginning the people of Amol formed a news network for us by which we were immediately supplied with the news of every event throughout the city. This network closely followed the remnants of neighborhood goons, agents, and spies of the regime and their activities. In addition to making the barricades, the youth threw T-rails, reloaded the guns of our comrades who were behind the barricades, etc. and nobody withheld any assistance to us. That was why Khomeini's professional murderers and goons treated the people of Amol savagely after we had retreated; a treatment which would have made Genghis Khan and the Russian Cossacks look like cream puffs!

When the enemy heard that their mercenaries were totally wiped out in Amol, they hurriedly gathered as many Islamic Association forces, goons, Hezbollahi and Pasdars as they could from all neighboring towns and villages such as Babol, Mahmoud Abad, Babolsar, Sari, Ghaemshahr, Behshahr, Shirgah... and dispatched them toward Amol by pick-up trucks, minibuses, etc. The extensive funeral procession for their dead mercenaries was an indication of how vastly they had mobilized and brought in people to participate in mournings. Their mad dog Hadi Ghafari (head of the Hezbollahi—RW) flew in with 300 professional club-wielding goons. Their forces exceeded 3,000 well-armed hoodlums inside and around Amol. They began their so-called assault on us by intimidating, burglarizing and burning peoples' homes...

The enemy forces put up barricades on the entrance of every main street, and started shelling indiscriminately and aimlessly with G-3 and 50-caliber machineguns. Under heavy fire, the Hezbollahi attacked the city of Amol and its residents. As a routine maneuver, first they threw grenades in the houses as a result of which many homes were either set on fire or blown up. Then, when they were certain about their own safety, these reactionary mercenaries swiftly broke through the doors and rushed toward the roofs, putting up barricades and shooting in every direction. In quite a few instances

they machine-gunned those who refused to let them into their homes including a 70-year-old woman. The crimes of these mercenaries around the area where we were positioned truly surpassed those of the Mongol barbarians.

On the afternoon of Jan. 26 their barbaric attacks and indiscriminate shootings escalated. Since our numbers (quantitatively) were far less than the enemy, we decided to draw the enemy into the orchards around Amol... After this retreat the real combat began in the orchards and Hezbollahi and Pasdaran began to impotently cry: "Hezbollahi retreat," "Hezbollahi retreat." No Hezbollahi would help another and every one of them were running away like injured blind rats. We were retreating and they were fleeing! From here (the southern orchards) we did not return to the neighborhoods. By the next morning we had wiped out a few more of the enemy's barricades, and by the morning of Jan. 27 we safely returned to the forests.

During the two days from the evening of Jan. 25th to the morning of Jan. 27th some of our comrades (including those who were executed on the morning of Jan. 27th) were martyred by the Khomeini regime. Those who were executed had resisted and fought to their last bullet and all of them had severe injuries; that was why Islamic "justice" had to position them on chairs and execute them. They heroically faced the firing squad as they had promised to ignore death in defense of the people...

In this combat, as far as we have counted so far, around 230 Pasdars, mercenaries, Mobilization Corps and Hezbollahis plus a 3-man patrol of the Islamic Association which came to the regime's rescue have been killed by us and their injured are over 500.

Our action in Amol has not only touched Amol, the state of Mazandaran, and the entire northern section of Iran, but has also touched all of Iran...

And exactly because the reactionaries want to downplay what happened in Amol and demoralize the masses they continuously talk about this episode as "insignificant," "our ignorance," "our total destruction," and "us being foreign agents." The 25th of Jan. became the 26th of Jan., (the date the Shah launched the White Revolution in the early '60s—RW). The month of Bahman which is the month of insurrection became the month of the "Shah's White Revolution" and our numbers were said to be "between 60-100." The people were "not alongside us," rather, "They were against us," and all of us were supposed to be "either killed or captured." Lacking normal intelligence, these slow-witted reactionaries unskillfully lied and made up contradictory stories about the Amol insurrection...

The super mad-man, treacherous Khomeini said: "Did you see what the people of Amol did to you?" and he complained: "The imperialist mass media ignored this matter and kept their silence. They did not report that the regime had retaken the town and that it ended to our benefit."

Exactly like the Shah in his last days, Khomeini plays it stupid, as if this is an integral concluding part of every blood-sucker's fate. The Shah also labelled the Tabriz insurrection (in Feb. 1978—RW) as the work of a bunch of foreigners who were carrying alien passports in their pockets and had crossed boundaries over into Iran. Khomeini wants to pretend that the reason for imperialist silence about the Amol insurrection was that it ended to his "benefit." But he himself keeps his silence about some of the questions of this insurrection. Is this for the same reason? (It wasn't beneficial to the imperialists!?)

Iran's Sarbedaran have so far issued a few military statements and declarations, and have explained their goals and position and have stated their lines of demarcation from other political forces. And the Union of Iranian Communists have explicitly announced that it is the founder and initiator of this revolutionary and democratic organization Sarbedaran. And here again we announce that while supporters and members of a few other groups have joined with us, as yet no

Continued on page 10

An Internationalist Call to May First Action

In our February 19 issue, we first published this call to May First action by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. As we said at the time, it is a call to the proletariat and oppressed people from whatever part of the globe who are presently living in the U.S. to carry the struggle forward to the maximum this year within the belly of this beast as a component part of the worldwide struggle toward the common revolutionary goal. So far, the text has been translated into Aleut, Arabic, Chinese, Creole, Dutch, English, Farsi, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Oromo, Polish, Sinhalese, Spanish and Turkish. We ask for help in translating it into more languages. (The call has been reprinted in English this week for those who want to help translate it.)

This call is a first draft. We hope many different people and organizations will circulate it in different languages, make criticisms of it and collect suggestions for it and forward them to us before the end of March so that it can be republished in final form—all contributing to even more powerful internationalist actions on May First.

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in Sinhalese

මැයි දින අරගලයට ජාත්‍යන්තර ආරාධනායි!

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May Day 1980

ሎካሎታን ወይን!

ከግልጽ ጊዜ ጋር ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ጋር የሚደባኑ ሰው ጉዳይ የሚከተለው ነው። ይህ ደጋግቶ ለሕዝብ ግልጽ ጋር ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ጋር የሚደባኑ ሰው ጉዳይ የሚከተለው ነው።

RCP, USA, Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654, USA.

WAMICA HOJEETTOTA ADUGNA MEYI TOKKAKFA

in the Oromo language

Hojeettotaf, Chunqurfamootaf akasumas wara raga fula duraf lolanif:

Sababin waranisa adugnaf waraqisa, walti bu'iitin Chunqurisaf Chunqurfama dhiyeegna Meyi Tokkafa, guuya hojeettota adugna akeekacisa. Kunis sadarika wara qittota hojeettota biya maraf humu. Meyi tokkofan guuya dafiyan bultoota adugnati. Giti kun waraqisa keesati wan dhabu hinqabu, garu, sansalata garbumma hara baleesa malee. Guuya kun guuya kutata chunqurfama, kan garboomari--ireesan kasan waraqisa adeemisisuf, sirna jjala qajeelcuf, tarkanif hara agarisisuf kan it ka'aan--guufa afan, hamif qoomoo buqisun gita maraf gargaba'uuma gittoota baleesuf, chunurisa sagni tokko sagni birara geesisu barbadeesuf, akasumas kan dhiri dubartirati geesisu, lolaf, mottuma baleesuf kan it ka'aanidha. Karan dhuga guuya kuna itn ayaneefamu--walaniso goocuf, bitamu diduf, alaba dima qabacun waraqisa fuula dura dhufuti qopha'udhan.

Seenan booqona malee adeema, takin walika'aa, takin gadi bu'aa, kunis bayee kuufamee dho'uuf. Jala wali dida hara adugnara, wali moorma lafa tocosutu jira.

Humni mara samitoota lacu kan U. S. A., kan Soviyitin geegeefaman waranisa newukilarif qopha'aa jiru. Kunisimo aka mara samumman hindigameef. Jari lacu maqa "ilaf ilameef" maqa "soshalizmn" uumatasan goowomsun aka isan wali fithan gocuf yala guda gooca jiru.

Wanti tokko isanif hingalee--afuri waraqisaf walaniso saba bala'aa--kan aka abida fura qabatee Gadaniski kasee ama El Salvadoriti, ama ariyatamoota Haiti Florida keesati, iya dargagoota sagalee walifakatumn kara Englandif, tuulu Eritrea jala--sirna tortorarati bala qeesa'aa jira. Biliqeeitin bilisumma duukana keesa bili bili jica jirti. Waraqisi--adiba dima chunqurfamoota lamoota adugnaf hojeettota biyoota mara samitoota keesan kan adeema jiru, kan walti dhufeegna dafiyan bultoota damaqan biya maran kan deemudha.

Wali jifacun humnoota waranisa mara saama adugnaf humnoota waraqisa giduti ijarahama jiru dandi fuliduri irati akeekamudha. Meyi tokkofati, humni waraqisa cheeumisa haraf qoppha'utu ira jira.

Gafa sana wa mulacu qabidi: quqaan damaqina dafiyan buula, kan bifa dafiyan buulumma adugna uufatee, kan teela harkisa mara jifatuf, kan ga'aa seena irara eegamu kan fithan basu mulacu qabidi. Wan hojeettoti adugna hojeeccu qban waliduka lucheesun gara fula durati kutatan ka'udha. Aka Lenin jeedhu, "Yada biyakko gofa jecun utu hinta'in...garu kara ga'aa qoopheef rara egamu, kara pooropogandaf, kara jabeesu waraqisa dafiyan buulo adugna jeeccun."

Qophee akan kana jabinaf, dafani rawacuf, Meyi tokkofati gara fula durati dhibutu namati jira. Ijaf hodheenee warafisan, teelati hafumma darban chabsun saba balaati taliga biyasan keesati dari utu hingoodhini kan adugnasa aka ta'uuti beekisisu feesisa. Dafiqee buulan ilalishisa adugnamma qabacu qaba, huminasa waliti gumeesee aka kuuta humina warana tokkoti hojeeccutu isara jira. Kana biya tokko keesati yokis biya bayee keesati thumurun sirna saama amajajoota chabisuun kara waraqisa adugna bana. Afuura kanan, akeeki kanan damafina gitoota qabacun, qophee, strateegif gurmu yada tokko qabacun, gurmu waraqa adugna koministoota gara fula dura adeemu humu.

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Revisionist Tête à Tête



As General Wojciech Jaruzelski arrived in Moscow last week, he was bear-hugged, kissed on both cheeks and feted by Brezhnev in an engaging display of official Soviet approval—as if it were unexpected—of the actions of Poland's martial law regime. But Jaruzelski's expected pronouncements that "normalization" is proceeding according to plan and that "stabilization is setting in" were doubtless unaccompanied by any illusions on the part of either revisionist chieftain that their "Polish troubles" are anywhere near being resolved. Just before his trip, a dour and shaky-looking Jaruzelski took the podium at the first Central Committee meeting held since martial law was imposed to deliver a progress report: "It will not be possible to lift (martial law) restrictions to the extent to that we had intended. . . ."

Some of the problems faced by Poland's revisionist rulers were alluded to recently in a rather interesting metaphor served up by government spokesman Jerzy Urban, commenting on the popular slogan spraypainted all over Poland—"The winter is yours, the spring will be ours." Likening martial law to the capture of an imp in a sorcerer's bottle, Urban remarked that "If the slogan 'The spring will be ours' is put into effect in any form whatsoever, the cork is bound to be pressed harder and deeper." That pressure is indeed building up on the cork has been revealed in the recent arrests of 200 demonstrating youth in Posnan and in the massive police sweep in the Warsaw area that netted no less than 145,000 martial law violators (a sweep which the government in its penchant for wishful thinking and turning reality upside down labeled "Operation Calm" and insisted was merely "a routine operation against criminals, racketeers and hooligans," in other words, law and order—"socialist" style!) And in an attempt to release some of this pressure, as we go to press, the Polish Press Agency (PAP) has just announced that those interned under martial law who wish to leave the country may do so—permanently.

But if anything was clear from the exchange of remarks between Jaruzelski and Brezhnev, as well as other comments in the media the past few weeks, it is not only that the internal situation in Poland is anything but stable, but more, that the

actions of Poland's rulers are increasingly being shaped by the press of sharpening contradictions in a much larger world context. The main reason for Jaruzelski's Moscow jaunt, and an indication of just what defines this context overall, was apparent from Jaruzelski's assurance to Brezhnev that: "The Soviet Union's well-being, might and world position meet the interests of the Polish Peoples Republic while the interests of your country are suited by the existence of a strong independent socialist Poland on which one can rely." The question of just what the Soviets and their Polish partners will be relying on each other for—i.e., waging war against their U.S. imperialist bloc rivals—is one that can be seen to be more and more determining the moves of Poland's new Pilsudskis.

Brezhnev's expression of relief at Jaruzelski's assurances about in which camp Poland stands was revealing of some of the contradictions here. He remarked that: "I want to express profound satisfaction with the fact that the entire course of our negotiations is marked by an identity of views and an identical understanding of current and coming tasks." But while there may be a mutual understanding between the Soviets and the Polish rulers of "current and coming tasks" (and even this is contradictory, given the international volatility of the coming period) there is by no means necessarily an "identity of views" on how such tasks will be accomplished—especially as far as the question of putting Poland's house in some semblance of political order and best containing the proverbial imp. It must be said that Jaruzelski's perfunctory claim to Brezhnev that "The seventh Central Committee plenum (of the PUWP) held recently proved to be a major step in the way toward strengthening of the party" was ridiculous in the extreme. It is a secret to no one—least of all Brezhnev—that there has been an increasingly sharp struggle going on between opposing factions within Poland's ruling circles over such questions as how and whether to lift martial law, whether Solidarity will be allowed to exist, and, if so, in what form, etc.

As one major Western paper reported, "Before the Communist Party Central Committee meeting, 'hardliners' and

'moderates' within the party skirmished with anonymous letters and newspaper articles, debating whether to maintain some semblance of 'socialist renewal'." But the Central Committee meeting itself (and the following session of Parliament) was, according to Western observers, "surprisingly tame" with uniform applause for Jaruzelski's speech which was noticeably vague and non-committal on such questions.

This rather transparent attempt to paint a face of iron-willed ruling class unity on the martial law clampdown serves to underscore *not* that divisions among Poland's rulers aren't daily sharpening and threatening to burst open at any time, but rather that, especially in the light of Jaruzelski's tête à tête with Brezhnev, there is a strenuous effort afoot to temporarily subordinate these conflicts to the "higher interests" of a common show of unity in the Eastern war bloc.

While questions of how best to proceed internally are the subject of some down and dirty (and, for the most part, hidden) infighting, it is interesting to note some of the themes with which Poland's rulers appear to be increasingly occupied publicly. For example, the Polish army newspaper, *Zoinierz Wolnosci*, in one of its routine blasts at Solidarity, recently complained that the union had a "dangerous scenario" for seizing power—one it reportedly said bore "a surprising resemblance to a 1979 book by Gen. Sir John Hackett of Britain and other NATO generals called 'The Third World War' which spoke of plans for an insurrection in Poland." (The Polish generals seem to be doing some rather interesting reading these days!) This was followed by Jaruzelski's remark at the CC meeting in which he railed that the U.S. has tried to use Poland as "a fuse under the edifice of the peace" forged after WWII. "We have foiled this attempt," he continued, "The state of war in our country has become an anti-war state. History may be able to say one day that while WWII began because of Poland, no third world war was started over Poland."

Among other things, this is one-sided. After all, if a "state of war" can be transformed into an "anti-war state," then, on the other hand, an "anti-war

state" can be transformed into a "state of war." And although the question of WWII starting *over* Poland is hardly the point, it appears that the good general doth protest too much and that, in fact, anticipation of the coming war and "Poland's role" in it is weighing most heavily on the minds of the Polish ruling class. This was revealed in a similar vein by Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski in an interview by Oriana Fallachi in which he remarked: ". . . So many among you (the West—Ed.) believed that Poland could somehow get out of the military and political order established since the end of the war. In that, not considering that there are two blocs in the world and we simply have to accommodate with it. What did you expect?"

In response to Fallachi's assertions that the martial law crackdown was obviously Soviet inspired, Rakowski defensively exclaimed, "Believe me. Please believe me, on the internal matters we are more free than you think!" But that Rakowski knows as well as anyone that internal matters are very much conditioned by external considerations was apparent as he subsequently whined: "Didn't they (Solidarity—Ed.) know where Poland is placed. Didn't they know how the world is divided? One has to see freedom in the framework of a situation, of a reality." This "reality" has everything to do with how the world is divided and how it is to be redivided, at least in the vision of these people.

This returns to the separate but closely related question of the imp in the bottle—i.e., those who the rulers of both blocs must keep well corked down if they are to maximize their *own* freedom to broaden the horizons of their respective imperialist frameworks. In this regard, given the events of the last couple years in Poland, Jaruzelski must have wondered if Brezhnev was either inebriated or being sly when he toasted the PUWP for its "firm orientations of long standing for raising the political activity of the working people, to rallying the popular masses." Jaruzelski departed from Moscow leaving a trail of assurances that any attempts to resume actions aimed at "resumption of anarchy, disturbances, at changing the social and political system will be cut short most resolutely in the future, too."

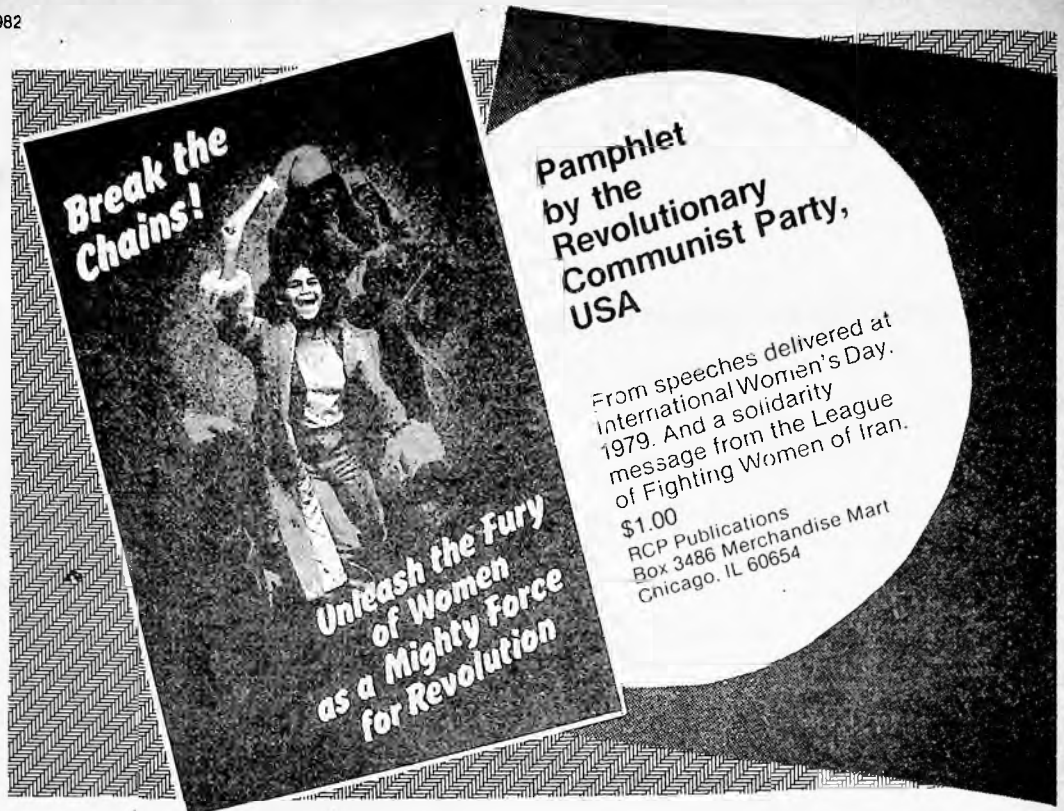
That these kinds of "anarchy and disturbances" are of great concern generally speaking was indicated by a rather pointed remark made by British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington which, while obviously coming from a Western strategic perspective, nevertheless had relevance. At the recent Madrid conference, he told the delegations of both East and West that in Poland "repression will inevitably breed violent change, which could be dangerous for us all." □

Uprising

Continued from page 6
political group has participated organizationally in the Sarbedaran movement. In spite of this, Khomeini, Rafsanjani and the two-bit fascist Pasdar hoodlums and various lackeys have said whatever they wished and shut up whenever they desired.

The truth is that Khomeini, his decadent regime, and the imperialist media have all kept their silence about the Amol insurrection, for it harmed them all. It wasn't that it harmed one and not the other. This insurrection wasn't a move by a band of monarchists, so the treacherous Bakhtiar, Oveissie's radio or Voice of America would welcome or brag about it. This insurrection wasn't a desirable move for the Khomeini clique, not an occasion for Moscow, Baku radio or the National radio to praise the regime to the sky, like the ill-reputed Tudeh spies and the Fedayeen-Majority (who dug rifle-pits in Amol for the Pasdars). This insurrection wasn't a move by this or that wing of the Islamic Republican Party which one or the other superpowers find in their imperialist interest; not a ray of hope for the plunderers East or West.

This insurrection belongs to the heroic working class of Iran; it belongs to the oppressed and plundered toilers and to the entire people of Iran. This insurrection belongs to all those who would not exchange their independence and freedom with anything else. And it is natural that neither Western nor Eastern imperialist superpowers can see any hope in it and therefore they shut up and there was silence! And you, Mr. Khomeini, you and others (imperialists and reactionaries) have only one position in regard to the Amol uprising! You are all



equally the enemy of our people. Your silence and mud-flinging are both worthless. Your behavior and comments neither can deceive anybody nor extend a ray of hope to you. The Amol insurrectionists have begun a march which according to history's judgment and toilers'

verdict must be traversed and its finish line is the total unavoidable annihilation of this infected remains of the era of Nasseredin Shah (one of the corrupt monarchies under the Qajar Dynasty 100 years ago—RW).
The victory flag will be raised un-

doubtedly over our disaster-stricken homeland and the mighty arms of Iran's Sarbedaran will contribute greatly to this goal. This is a promise which we have concluded with every one of our martyrs and this is what we owe to the toilers of our land.

Dalkon

Continued from page 2

FDA said there was "no evidence of harm to wearers of other types of intrauterine devices." It was a blatant lie. The following month a congressional hearing on the IUD scandal gave new publicity to the facts about the IUD's that were on the market. It was reported that the FDA had received complaints about the dangers of the Majzlin Spring as far back as 1970, but acted only when the congressional hearings were to be held. Doctors also testified that the Robins Company's claims for the effectiveness of the Dalkon Shield were greatly exaggerated, and they told of the medical dangers that were becoming only too evident.

But the distribution of the Dalkon Shield continued, and the cases of serious illness and injury, and of death, continued to mount. In May of 1974, one year to the day after the FDA recalled the Majzlin Spring, a small article buried on page 49 of the *New York Times* revealed that earlier in the month the Robins Co. had sent a letter to 120,000 doctors cautioning them about the shield and suggesting that an abortion be offered to any woman who became pregnant while wearing the shield. The same day, Planned Parenthood ordered its clinics to stop distribution of the Dalkon Shield while warning, in a sly reminiscent of the FDA's comment when the Majzlin Spring was recalled, that the halt of distribution of the Dalkon Shield should not lead to "widespread panic and unjustified abandonment" of other IUD's. But it was now far too late to halt the flood of damning information about the Dalkon Shield. The following month the Robins Co., prodded by FDA officials increasingly alarmed by the public controversy, announced it was halting all sales of the Dalkon Shield.

The mammoth proportions of the coverup maintained by federal authorities, the Robins Co. and other IUD manufacturers is readily apparent as statistics on the number of deaths and septic abortions caused by IUD's began to be reported. In July the National Center for Disease Control reported that five deaths had been found which were related to the use of IUD's, one of them related to the Dalkon Shield. By August 11, it was eleven deaths and 209 septic abortions attributed to the Dalkon Shield alone. By December the figures had been revised again: 39 had died from IUD's, 14 of the deaths were related to the Dalkon Shield. In addition, 287 septic abortions caused

by IUD's were reported, 219 of them caused by the Dalkon Shield. While these figures are no doubt far from complete, and while they do not include many other injuries and diseases caused by the Dalkon Shield and other IUD's—such as perforations of the uterus and pelvic inflammatory disease—they serve to give at least a hint of the carnage wrought by this "revolutionary new form of birth control" foisted upon women.

In August of 1974 a special panel of outside experts chosen by the FDA recommended that all sales of the Shield continue to be banned. This finding was all the more significant in light of the tremendous pressure brought on the panel by the Robins Co. One member of the panel later commented on the hearings held by the panel, "Throughout the proceedings, the halls of the FDA were crawling with Robins men. It was disgusting." Yet, despite the finding of the panel, in December the FDA announced that it would lift the ban on the prescription of the Dalkon Shield in the U.S. Two members of the FDA's panel protested the decision to lift the ban. One of them resigned from the panel. The renewed controversy forced the FDA to announce in January of 1975 that the ban would continue although the Robins Co. said they planned to market a "new model" of the Shield later in the year. But fearing that the controversy and new hearings around the whole affair would reveal more information that could be used in lawsuits, the Robins Co. finally announced that they were abandoning plans to re-market the Dalkon Shield. In October, 1975, the Robins Co. matter of factly reported that they had paid \$1,548,000 in legal expenses, settlement of litigation and other costs in the Dalkon Shield controversy. There were other statistics which Robins chose not to announce. For instance, it is estimated that for each one million dollars the Robins Co. made in profits from the Shield, women have spent some \$20 million in medical expenses on injuries and illnesses caused by the Shield. Meanwhile the FDA had said they were considering requiring a warning be given to all women who received IUD's. At the time only two drugs had such a warning required by the FDA—one of them was the birth control pill.

But the sordid story of the Dalkon Shield does not end here. Back in 1972—when the public exposure of the Dalkon Shield had begun to quickly mount—the Robins Co. moved to unload its Dalkon Shield. Robins offered a special discount to the Office of Population of the Agency for International

Development, a U.S. government agency which had a budget of \$125 million for the purchase and distribution of contraceptives internationally.

"Population explosion, unless stopped, would lead to revolutions," explained the head of AID's Office of Population. Continuing, he explained the naked imperialist logic behind the AID program in a 1977 interview, by saying it was "the normal operation of U.S. commercial interests around the world... Without our trying to help these countries with their economic and social development, the world would rebel against the strong U.S. commercial presence. The self-interest thing is the compelling element." Guided by this vicious reasoning, the distribution of Dalkon Shields abroad by the U.S. government took an exceptionally brutal turn. Not only were these deadly shields shipped off to maim women around the world, but to top it off, the Dalkon Shields bought by AID were shipped out unsterilized with only 100 inserters for every box of 1,000. Each inserter was to be used to insert Dalkon Shields in 10 women, greatly increasing the risk of infection.

Supposedly AID recalled the Dalkon

Shield after their sale was banned in the U.S. But, by then, the Shields were in 42 different countries and even AID admits it had no way of getting them all back, even if they tried. *Mother Jones* magazine, in an article on the AID's genocidal practices, reported that Dalkon Shields were still being distributed in Canada in 1977 and in Kenya in 1979. And in 1975 the Robins Co. bragged that it was still distributing the Dalkon Shields internationally, after the ban was in effect.

There is no way of telling how many women have been killed and maimed at the hands of these merchants of death, which include the drug industry, countless agencies of the federal, state and local governments in the U.S., Planned Parenthood and its affiliates (which distributed the Dalkon Shield around the world), agencies of the United Nations, and a host of regimes allied with and dependent on U.S. imperialism. What is clear is that for these Western imperialist medicine men, the women of the world are just so much dust. Is it any wonder that whenever and wherever the oppressed rise up, the fury of the women heads straight for the front lines?

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Ruling in Mao Defendants' Case

JUDGE'S BUG COVER

On February 23rd, U.S. District Court Judge Smith issued a court order which declared that the government's "foreign intelligence and national security" wiretaps against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants were legal and therefore should not be disclosed to anyone for any purpose.

Judge Smith's impersonation of a rubberstamp was an award-winning performance. He even went so far as to simply xerox and sign an order that the prosecution had included in the legal documents it submitted to the federal court. There was no recognition that the defense had made arguments. In a case of this magnitude, and one in which the decision issued is so sweeping and its effect far-reaching, such a move is indeed highly unusual. It would even be unusual given the particulars of this case, the numerous complicated legal questions involved including the defendants' argument that the federal court had no business at all even poking its nose into the case. Not surprisingly the judge did not even comment on all of this. This is completely in line with the government's track record of response to this case and, more broadly, the attitude being struck these days toward all exposure and challenge to the government's right to spy, carry out covert action, plot and generally do what they damn well please to try to stop anyone who would dare oppose them.

On January 22nd the prosecution had submitted an absurdly tiny amount of material concerning its "classified foreign intelligence and national security" wiretaps against the defendants. (see *RW* No. 140) Claiming that this, together with an equally tiny amount of unclassified material they had turned over to D.C. Superior Court Judge Ugast, was the sum total of what they had on Bob Avakian and the other defendants since 1968, the government quickly moved into federal court to suppress the classified material. By declaring the government's wiretaps "legally clean," despite the fact that by the government's own admission it was carried out without even the charade of a warrant, means that, if the prosecution has its way, the classified "foreign intelligence" material will remain and will be returned to the

files of the political police and declared legally non-existent since it could not even be referred to in the course of a trial. (In a separate proceeding, D.C. Superior Court Judge Ugast still has to rule on the relevancy to the case of the material he has received. Without a doubt the government is also hoping to achieve the same results in this procedure.)

In attempting to nail down a blanket of political suppression on the case, the ruling class has actually cast a quite revealing light on the politics it is trying to hide. According to Smith's decision, the government's spying was legally carried out and therefore must be suppressed in order "to protect against actual or potential attacks or other hostile acts of a foreign power, to obtain counter-intelligence (including foreign intelligence) information deemed essential to the security of the Nation and/or protect national security information against foreign intelligence activities..."

FISA

The ruling class's suppression of the information on its political spying against Bob Avakian and the other defendants was carried out by invoking the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA). This law, passed by Congress in 1978, has been billed as one of the major "reforms" to have emerged out of the mid-1970s' exposure of the crimes of the political police domestically and internationally. According to the U.S. rulers and their various apologists, FISA is an attempt to "regulate" the political police by placing their surveillance activities under the jurisdiction of the federal courts. But with FISA they have designed a mechanism to aid them in covering up, streamlining and intensifying their political spying. The FISA law actually sets up the means by which the ruling class can carry out its "foreign intelligence and national security" spying in the securest way possible—that is, secure from the threat of any and all public exposure. The secrecy involved in FISA is immense. A special top-security court (the only secret court in the country), consisting of 7 regular and 3 appeals-level judges, hand-picked by the chief justice of the Supreme Court, car-

ries out all of its work in a specially designed, windowless, vault-like room. The purpose of this special court is to rubber stamp the government's requests for warrants authorizing "foreign intelligence and national security" wiretaps, and, interestingly enough, in the three years since FISA took effect this special court has not turned down a single request by the government. Even the court's decisions are never written out or published. One decision, however, was published. This decision concerned the chief justice of the FISA court reversing three earlier secret decisions by FISA judges involving the authorization of "black bag jobs." The chief justice reversed the FISA court's authorization of "black bag jobs" at the request of the Reagan administration in order to clearly establish presidential authority as "the authority" in this area of political police work.

In addition to all of the secrecy tied up with FISA, it also contains very broad and sweeping definitions of just who can be "legally" bugged and for what reasons. These definitions include defining a "foreign power" among other things as a "group engaged in international terrorism or activities in preparation therefor; or, a foreign based political organization not substantially composed of United States persons." In line with this, an "agent of a foreign power" is essentially anyone who "aids or abets" a "foreign power." With its heavy emphasis on "non-U.S. persons" and blather about "international terrorism" it is quite clear that one of the main targets of FISA is revolutionary internationalism and internationalists.

Also included as part of the FISA law is a detailed separate procedure to be followed in the event that any of the government's wiretaps are challenged in the course of a criminal trial. According to FISA, all challenges of "foreign intelligence and national security" wiretaps must be heard before a federal district court judge without any participation from the defendants challenging the wiretaps. This judge is responsible for "reviewing the material" and deciding if it is "legally clean." All wiretap information submitted to the judge by the government is "for his eyes only," and, when he decides that everything is "legally fine" the material is immediately returned under seal to the political police. A decision by a federal judge on these matters can be appealed. The Mao Defendants in fact have already appealed the decision in their case. This is the process that the government invoked to suppress the disclosure of its classified wiretap material in the Mao Defendants' case. And it's here that the broader ramifications of the federal court's decision are starkly revealed. The use of FISA to

cover up the spying that it admitted to in the Mao Defendants' case presented the government with what they themselves described as "constitutional problems." According to their own claim, the wiretaps they admitted to conducting against Bob Avakian and the other defendants all occurred in a period of time prior to when FISA took effect and therefore were not covered by the provisions of this law. To resolve these problems the government contended that while technically the letter of the law doesn't cover these wiretaps, the essential content and thrust of FISA does "by analogy." The federal court's upholding of this "analogy" argument not only blows more holes in the pretense of FISA being a hot, new "reform and regulatory mechanism," but it's also a blatant attempt by the ruling class to set up a broad and sweeping legal precedent, both in terms of who the FISA law can be used against and especially in terms of the declaring that all of its political spying done in "the interests of national security"—past, present and future—is "legally" fine and justified under the terms of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act.

The government's fear of political exposure—both in this case and in general—comes blaring through in all this legal cover-up.

As it stands now, the defendants have already appealed the federal court's decision and a number of different organizations have notified the committee that they want to join the appeal on the side of the defendants. On March 10, in the D.C. Superior Court, the defendants will be demanding that the entire case be dismissed on the grounds that the prosecution has consistently and steadfastly refused to comply with the 1979 court order compelling them to turn over all of the information on their electronic surveillance to the defendants. In addition to the years of stalling by the prosecution on this issue, the defendants will also be raising the fact that not only did the prosecution turn over absolutely nothing to the defendants and then moved to suppress even the tiny amount that they did turn over to the judges, but in their "tedious" search they completely neglected to search the files of one of the top political police agencies in the country—the National Security Agency, the agency primarily concerned with foreign intelligence "intercepts."

Also included as a big issue on the agenda on the March 10th hearing is Judge Ugast's order requiring the defendants to make an appearance in court prior to the beginning of the pre-trial hearings. Ugast recently filed a written order demanding that the defendants make such an appearance "at their convenience" supposedly to let the court review their bail and financial status. However, the real purpose of this move, the fact that is a sharper focusing of the attack on Bob Avakian, was made quite clear when Judge Ugast, during a December 18th status hearing (10 days before the prosecution filed a motion to require the defendants to appear) openly threatened to "order Bob Avakian to appear in court." □

Revolution
Special Issue, Number 50

CONQUER THE WORLD?

The
International
Proletariat
Must and Will

by Bob Avakian

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

Its sections are:

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

"In an overall sense, and to close with this, while we have to do everything possible toward revolution in the U.S., it's not just that 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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Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao on the Liberation of Women

She Craves Not Spring For Herself Alone

Anybody who knows anything of history knows that great social changes are impossible without the feminine ferment.

Marx to L. Kugelmann, cited in "Working Women's Struggle Against Confucianism in Chinese History," *Peking Review* No. 10, 1975 reprinted in *And Mao Makes 5*.

According to the materialistic conception, the determining factor in history is, in the final instance, the production and reproduction of the immediate essentials of life. This, again, is of a twofold character. On the one side, the production of the means of existence, of articles of food and clothing, dwellings, and of the tools necessary for that production; on the other side, the production of human beings themselves, the propagation of the species. The social organization under which the people of a particular historical epoch and a particular country live is determined by both kinds of production: by the stage of development of labor on the one hand and of the family on the other.

Engels, 1884, "Preface to the First Edition", *Origin of the Family, Private Property and The State*.

The first class opposition that appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage, and the first class oppression coincides with that of the female sex by the male. Monogamous marriage was a great historical step forward; nevertheless, together with slavery and private wealth, it opens the period that has lasted until today in which every step forward is also relatively a step backward, in which prosperity and development for some is won through the misery and frustration of others. It is the cellular form of civilized society, in which the nature of the oppositions and contradictions fully active in that society can be already studied.

Engels, 1884, *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*.

What is the method of synthesis? Is it possible that primitive society can exist side-by-side with slave-holding society? They do exist side-by-side, but this is only a small part of the whole. The overall picture is that primitive society is going to be eliminated. The development of society, moreover, takes place by stages; primitive society, too, is divided into a great many stages. At that time, there was not yet the practice of burying women with their dead husbands, but they were obliged to submit themselves to men. First men were subject to women, and then things moved towards their opposite, and women were subject to men. This stage in history has not yet been clarified, although it has been going on for a million years and more. Class society has not yet lasted 5,000 years. . . . In a word, one devalues another, one overthrows another, one class is eliminated, another class rises, one society is eliminated, another society rises. . . . Socialism, too, will be eliminated, it wouldn't do it were not eliminated, for then there would be no communism. Communism will last for thousands and thousands of years. I don't believe that there will be no qualitative changes under communism, that it will not be divided into stages by qualitative changes! I don't believe it!

Mao Tsetung, "Talk on Questions of Philosophy," August 1964, *Schram, Chairman Mao Talks to the People*.

In the old communistic household, which comprised many couples and their children, the task entrusted to the women of managing the household was as much a public and socially necessary industry as the procuring of food by the men. With the patriarchal family, and still more with the single monogamous family, a change came. Household management lost its public character. It no longer concerned society. It became a *private service*; the wife became the head servant, excluded from all participation in social production. Not until the coming of modern large-scale industry was the road to social production opened to her again—and then only to the proletarian wife. But it was opened in such a manner that, if she carries out her duties in the private service for her family, she remains excluded from public production and unable to earn; independently, she cannot carry out family duties. And the wife's position in the factory is the position of women in all branches of business, right up to the medicine and the law. The modern individual family is founded on the open or concealed domestic slavery of the wife, and modern society is a mass composed of these individual families as its molecules.

Engels, 1884, *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

However terrible and disgusting the dissolution, under the capitalist system, of the old family ties may appear, nevertheless modern industry, by assigning as it does an important part in the process of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young persons, and to children of both sexes, creates a new

economical foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes. It is, of course, just as absurd to hold the Teutonic-Christian form of the family to be absolute and final as it would be to apply that character to the ancient Roman, the ancient Greek, or the Eastern forms which, moreover, taken together form a series in historic development. Moreover, it is obvious that the fact of the collective working group being composed of individuals of both sexes and all ages, must necessarily, under suitable conditions, become a source of humane development; although in its spontaneously developed, brutal, capitalistic form where the laborer exists for the process of production, and not the process of production for the laborer, that fact is a pestiferous source of corruption and slavery.

Marx, 1867, *Capital*, Vol. I.

In the great majority of cases today, at least in the possessing classes, the husband is obliged to earn a living and support his family, and that in itself gives him a position of supremacy, without any need for special legal titles and privileges. Within the family he is the bourgeois and the wife represents the proletariat. In the industrial world, the specific character of the economic oppression burdening the proletariat is visible in all its sharpness only when all special legal privileges of the capitalist class have been abolished and complete legal equality of both classes established. The democratic republic does not do away with the opposition of two classes; on the contrary, it provides the clear field on which the fight can be fought out. And in the same way, the peculiar character of the supremacy of the husband over the wife in the modern family, the necessity of creating real social equality between them, and the way to do it, will only be seen in the clear light of day when both possess legally complete equality of rights. Then it will be plain that the first condition for the liberation of the wife is to bring the whole female sex back into public industry, and that this in turn demands the abolition of the monogamous family as true economic unit of society.

Engels, 1884, *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

The theses must emphasize strongly that true emancipation of women is not possible except through communism. You must lay stress on the unbreakable connection between woman's human and social position and the private ownership of the means of production. This will draw a strong, ineradicable line against the bourgeois movement for the "emancipation of women." This will also give us a basis for examining the woman question as part of the social, working-class question, and to bind it firmly with the proletarian class struggle and the revolution. The communist women's movement itself must be a mass movement, a part of the general mass movements; and not only of the proletarians, but of all the exploited and oppressed, of all victims of capitalism or of the dominant class. Therein, too, lies the significance of the women's movement for the class struggle of the proletariat and its historic mission, the creation of a communist society.

Lenin, 1920, quoted in *My Recollections of Lenin*, "An Interview on the Woman Question", Clara Zetkin.

But you Communists would introduce community of women, screams the whole bourgeois in chorus.

The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women.

He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.

For the rest, nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our bourgeois at the community of women which, they pretend, is to be openly and officially established by the Communists. The Communists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial.

Marx and Engels, *Communist Manifesto*.

Throughout the history of society all the oppressed and exploited classes have always been compelled (their exploitation consists in this) to hand over to the oppressors, first, their unpaid labour and, secondly, their women to be the concubines of the "masters".

Slavery, feudalism and capitalism are alike in this respect. Only the *form* of the exploitation changes, the exploitation remains.

Lenin, "Capitalism and Female Labour," *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, 1913.



Painting entitled "She Craves Not Spring for Herself Alone," published in *Chinese Literature*, March 1974.

Ladies! We are women. We have sunk even deeper into the ocean of misery! Since we are also human beings, why are we not permitted to take part in politics? Since we are also human beings, why are we not permitted to have social contact? We gather in holes and cannot step out of the front door. The shameless men and the hoodlums consider us as playthings. force us into long-term prostitution, and destroy the freedom to love! "Chastity" is limited to women! There are many shrines for chaste women, but where are the temples for chaste men? Some of us gather in women's schools, but those teaching us are the shameless men and hoodlums. All day long they discuss "virtuous wife and good mother." It is for no other purpose than to teach us to specialize in long term prostitution. They are afraid that we will not accept control. What misery! God of

Freedom, where are you? Please rescue us! We have awakened! The women must unite and sweep aside all the evil ghosts violating us and destroying our physical and spiritual freedom! Mao Tsetung, "Great Union of the People", 1919, Hsiang-Chiang Ping-Lun, *Collected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Joint Publications Research Service, Arlington, Va.

A man in China is usually subjected to the domination of three systems of authority: (1) the state system (political authority), ranging from the national, provincial and county government down to that of the township; (2) the clan system (clan authority), ranging from the central ancestral temple and its branch temples down to the head of the household; and (3) the supernatural system (religious authority), ranging from the

King of Hell down to the town and village gods belonging to the nether world, and from the Emperor of Heaven down to all the various gods and spirits belonging to the celestial world. As for women, in addition to being dominated by these three systems of authority, they are also dominated by the men (the authority of the husband). These four authorities—political, clan, religious and masculine—are the embodiment of the whole feudal-patriarchal system and ideology, and are the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly the peasants. How the peasants have overthrown the political authority of the landlords in the countryside has been described above. The political authority of the landlords is the backbone of all the other systems of authority. With that overturned, the clan authority, the religious authority and the authority of the hus-

ODE TO THE PLUM BLOSSOM
December 1961

*Wind and rain escorted Spring's departure,
Flying snow welcomes Spring's return.
On the ice-clad rock rising high and sheer
A flower blooms sweet and fair.*

*Sweet and fair, she craves not Spring
for herself alone,*

*To be the harbinger of Spring she is content.
When the mountain flowers are in full bloom
She will smile mingling in their midst.*

Mao Tsetung

band all begin to totter. . . . The old rule barring women and poor people from the banquets in the ancestral temples has also been broken. The women of Paikuo in Hengshan County gathered in force and swarmed into their ancestral temple, firmly planted their backsides in the seats and joined in the eating and drinking, while the venerable clan bigwigs had willy-nilly to let them do as they pleased. . . . As to the authority of the husband, this has always been weaker among the poor peasants because, out of economic necessity, their womenfolk have to do more manual labour than the women of the richer classes and therefore have more say and greater power of decision in family matters. With the increasing bankruptcy of the rural economy in recent years, the basis for men's domination over women has already been weakened. With the rise of the peasant movement, the women in many places have now begun to organize rural women's associations; the opportunity has come for them to lift up their heads, and the authority of the husband is getting shakier every day. In a word, the whole feudal-patriarchal system and ideology is tottering with the growth of the peasant's power.

Mao Tsetung, "Report of an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," March 1927, *Selected Works*, Volume I.

A person's suicide is entirely determined by circumstances. Was Miss Chao's original idea to seek death? On the contrary, it was to seek life. If Miss Chao ended up by seeking death instead, it is because circumstances drove her to this. The circumstances in which Miss Chao found herself were the following: (1) Chinese society; (2) the Chao family of Nanyang Street in Changsha; (3) the Wu family of Kantzyuan Street in Changsha, the family of the husband she did not want. These three factors constituted three iron nets, composing a kind of triangular cage. Once caught in these three nets, it was in vain that she sought life in every way possible. There was no way for her to go on living; the contrary of life is death, and Miss Chao thus felt compelled to die. . . . If, among these three factors, there had been one that was not an iron net, or if one of these nets had opened, Miss Chao would certainly not have died. (1) If Miss Chao's parents had not had recourse to compulsion but had yielded before Miss Chao's free will, Miss Chao would certainly not have died; (2) if Miss Chao's parents had not resorted to compulsion but had permitted Miss Chao to explain her point of view to the family of her future husband, and to explain the reasons for her refusal, and if in the end the family of her future husband had accepted her point of view, and respected her individual freedom, Miss Chao would certainly not have died; (3) even if her parents and the family of her future husband had refused to accept her free will, if in society there had been a powerful group of public opinion to support her, if there were an entirely new world where the fact of running away from one's parents' home and finding refuge elsewhere were considered honourable and not dishonourable, in this case, too, Miss Chao would certainly not have died. If Miss Chao is dead today, it is because she was solidly enclosed by the three iron nets (society, her own family, the family of her future husband); she sought life in vain and finally was led to seek death. . . .

Yesterday's incident was important. It happened because of the shameful system of arranged marriages, because of the darkness of the social system, the negation of the individual will, and the absence of the freedom to choose one's own mate. It is to be hoped that interested persons will comment on all aspects of this affair, and that they will defend the honour of a girl who died a martyr's death for the cause of the freedom to choose her own love. . . .

The family of the parents and the family of the future husband are both bound up with society; they are both parts of society. We must understand that the family of the parents and the family of the future husband have committed a crime, but the source of this crime lies in society. It is true that the two families themselves carried out this crime; but a great part of the

Continued on page 14

She Craves Not Spring For Herself Alone

Continued from page 13

culpability was transmitted to them by society. Moreover, if society were good, even if the families had wanted to carry out this crime, they would not have had the opportunity to do so...

Since there are factors in our society that have brought about the death of Miss Chao, this society is an extremely dangerous thing. It was capable of causing the death of Miss Chao; it could also cause the death of Miss Ch'ieh, Miss Sun, or Miss Li. It is capable of killing men as well as women. All of us, the potential victims, must be on our guard before this dangerous thing that could inflict a fatal blow on us. We should protest loudly, warn the other human beings who are not yet dead, and condemn the countless evils of our society...

Mao Tsetung, 1919, "Miss Chao's Sulicide," Schram, *The Political Thought of Mao Tsetung*.

Our demands are no more than practical conclusions, drawn by us from the crying needs and disgraceful humiliations that weak and underprivileged woman must bear under the bourgeois system. We demonstrate thereby that we are aware of these needs and of the oppression of women, that we are conscious of the privileged position of the men, and that we hate—yes, hate—and want to remove whatever oppresses and harasses the working woman, the wife of the worker, the peasant woman, the wife of the little man, and even in many respects the woman of the propertied classes. The rights and social measures we demand of bourgeois society for women are proof that we understand the position and interests of women and that we will take note of them under the proletarian dictatorship. Naturally, not as soporific and patronising reformists. No, by no means. But as revolutionaries who call upon the women to take a hand as equals in the reconstruction of the economy and of the ideological superstructure.

Lenin, 1920, quoted in *My Recollections of Lenin, An Interview on the Woman Question*, Clara Zetkin.

Women comprise one half of the population. The economic status of working women and the fact of their being specially oppressed proves not only that women urgently need revolution but also that they are a decisive force in the success or failure of the revolution.

Mao Tsetung, quoted in *Peking Review* No. 10, 1974.

Education, culture, civilisation, freedom—all of these high-sounding words are accompanied in all the capitalist, bourgeois republics of the world by incredibly foul, disgustingly vile, bestially crude laws that make women unequal in marriage and divorce, that make the child born out of wedlock and the "legally born" child unequal, and that give privileges to the male, and humiliate and degrade womankind...

Down with this lie! Down with the liars who speak about freedom and equality for all, while there is an oppressed sex, oppressing classes, private ownership of capital and shares and people with bursting bins who use their surplus grain to enslave the hungry. Instead of freedom for all, instead of equality for

all, let there be *struggle* against the oppressors and exploiters, *let the opportunity* to oppress and exploit be abolished. That is our slogan!

Lenin, 1919, "Soviet Power and the Status of Women," *Collected Works*, Vol. 30.

A certain bourgeois observer of the Paris Commune, writing to an English newspaper in May 1871, said: "If the French nation consisted entirely of women, what a terrible nation it would be!" Women and teen-age children fought in the Paris Commune side by side with the men. It will be no different in the coming battles for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian women will not look on passively as poorly armed or unarmed workers are shot down by the well-armed forces of the bourgeoisie. They will take to arms, as they did in 1871... there will undoubtedly arise, sooner or later, but with absolute certainty, an international league of the "terrible nations" of the revolutionary proletariat.

Lenin, Sept. 1916, "Military Programme of Proletarian Revolution," *Collected Works*, Vol. 23.

These are, in fact, the first beginnings—weak as yet, but beginnings, nevertheless—of the "proletarian revolution" which the Basle resolution spoke of and which will *never* become strong suddenly, but will inevitably pass through the stages of relatively *weak* beginnings.

Support for and the development, extension and intensification of revolutionary mass action and the revolutionary movement; the creation of an illegal organisation for propaganda and agitation in this direction, so as to help the masses understand the movement and its tasks, methods and aims—these are the two points that any practical programme of Social-Democratic activity in the present war must inevitably boil down to. All the rest is opportunist and counter-revolutionary phrases, no matter what Leftist, pseudo-Marxist and pacifist contortions those phrases may be disguised with.

Whenever exclamations like the following are made in protest to us—all this in the usual fashion of the diehards in the Second International: "O those 'Russian' methods!" ("*The Russian Tactics*"—Kap. VIII bei David), we reply merely by referring to the facts. On October 30, 1915, several hundred women demonstrated in front of the *Parlament*, and sent it the following message through a deputation: "Today with the existence of a big machine of organisation, it would be far easier to distribute *illegal leaflets and pamphlets* and to hold *banned meetings* than it was during the Anti-Socialist Law. There is no shortage of means and methods, but there seems to be a lack of determination."

I suppose these Berlin women workers must have been led astray by the "Bakuninist" and "adventurist", "sectarian" and "reckless" manifesto of the Russian Party's Central Committee, dated November 1.

Lenin, written at the end of 1915, "Opportunism, and Collapse of the 2nd International", *CW*, Volume 21.

The whole of social life is now being militarised. Imperialism is a fierce struggle of the Great Powers for the division and redistribution of the world. It is therefore bound to lead to further militarisation in all countries, even in neutral and small ones. How will proletarian women oppose this? Only by cursing all war and everything military, only by demanding disarmament?

The women of an oppressed and really revolutionary class will never accept that shameful role. They will say to their sons: "You will soon be grown up. You will be given a gun. Take it and learn the military art properly. The proletarians heed this knowledge not to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries, as is being done in the present war, and as the traitors to socialism are telling you to do. They need it to fight the bourgeoisie of their own country, to put an end to exploitation, poverty and war, and not by pious wishes, but by defeating and disarming the bourgeoisie.

Lenin, September 1916, "Military Programme of Proletarian Revolution," *Collected Works*, Vol. 23.

Today the imperialist bourgeoisie militarises the youth as well as the adults; tomorrow, it may begin militarising the women. Our attitude should be: All the better! Full speed ahead! For the faster we move, the nearer shall we be to the armed uprising against capitalism. How can Social-Democrats give way to fear of the militarisation of the youth, etc., if they have not forgotten the example of the Paris Commune?

Lenin, September 1916, "Military Programme of Proletarian Revolution," *Collected Works*, Vol. 23.

Without the awakening of the women who comprise half the Chinese population, China's War of Resistance will not be victorious.

Mao Tsetung, 1939, quoted in *China Reconstructs*, June 1975.

Genuine equality between the sexes can only be realized in the process of the socialist transformation of society as a whole.

Mao Tsetung, 1955, Introductory note to "Women Have Gone to the Labour Front," *The Socialist Uprising in China's Countryside*, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1.

Of course it was necessary to give women legal equality to begin with! But from there on everything still remains to be done. The thought, culture and customs which brought China to where we found her must disappear, and the thought, customs and culture of proletarian China, which does not yet exist, must appear. The Chinese woman does not yet exist either, among the masses; but she is beginning to want to exist. And then to liberate women is not manufacture washing machines...

Mao Tsetung, 1958 quoted by André Malraux, *Anti-Mémoires*.

Democracy, even democracy for those who were oppressed by capitalism, including the oppressed sex, *is not enough for us*.

The chief task of the working women's movement is to fight for economic and social equality, and not only formal equality, for women. The chief thing is to get women to take part in socially productive labour, to liberate them from "domestic slavery", to free them from their stupefying and humiliating subjugation to the eternal drudgery of the kitchen and the nursery.

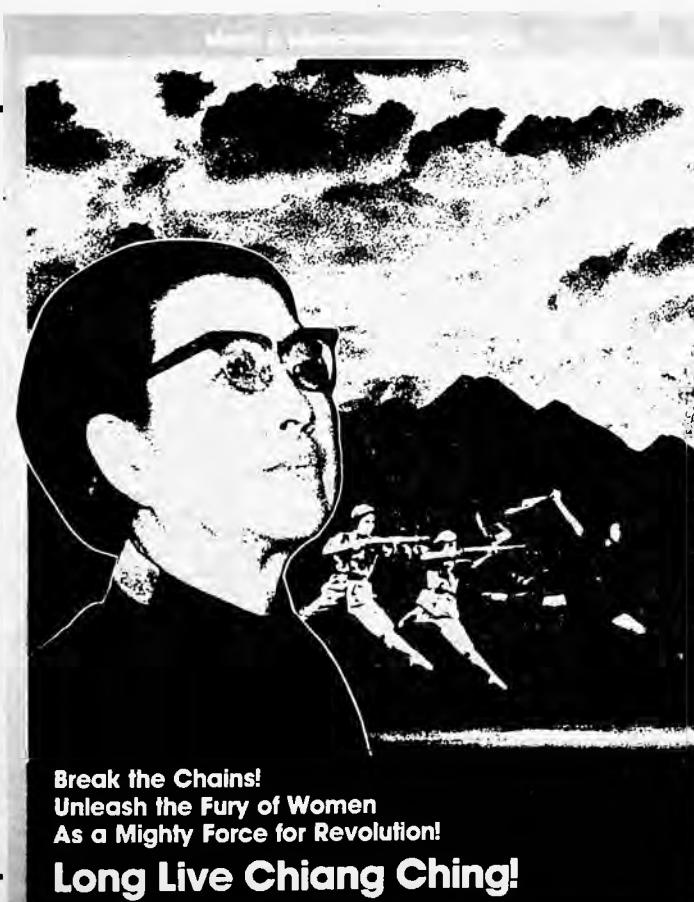
This struggle will be a long one, and it demands a radical reconstruction both of social technique and of morals. But it will end in the complete triumph of communism.

Lenin, March 4, 1920 "On International Working Women's Day", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30.

The emancipation of working women is inseparable from the victory of their class as a whole. Only when their class wins victory can they achieve real emancipation.

Mao Tsetung, quoted in *Peking Review* No. 27, 1974.

In order to be active in politics under the old, capitalist regime special training was required, so that women played an insignificant part in politics, even in the most advanced and free capitalist countries. Our task is to make politics available to every working woman. Ever since private property in land and



International Women's Day Poster Dedicated to Comrade Chiang Ching

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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".

factories has been abolished and the power of the landowners and capitalists overthrown, the tasks of politics have become simple, clear and comprehensible to the working people as a whole, and to working women as well. In capitalist society the women's position is marked by such inequality that her participation in politics is only an insignificant fraction of man's participation. The power of the working people is necessary for a change to be wrought in this situation, for then the main tasks of politics will consist of matters directly affecting the fate of the working people themselves.

Lenin, September 25, 1919. "The Tasks of the Working Women's Movement in the Soviet Republic", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30.

As long as women are engaged in housework their position is still a restricted one. In order to achieve the complete emancipation of women and to make them really equal with men, we must have social economy, and the participation of women in general productive labor. Then women will occupy the same position as men.

This, of course, does not mean that women must be exactly equal with men in productivity of labor, amount of labor, its duration, conditions of labor, etc. But it does mean that women shall not be in an oppressed economic position compared with men. You all know that even with the fullest equality, women are still in an actual position of inferiority because all housework is thrust upon them. Most of this housework is highly unproductive, most barbarous and most arduous, and it is performed by women. This labor is extremely petty and contains nothing that would in the slightest degree facilitate the development of women.

Lenin, September 25, 1919. "The Tasks of the Working Women's Movement in the Soviet Republic", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30.

How bright and brave they look, shouldering five-foot rifles On the parade ground lit up by the first gleams of day. China's daughters have high-aspiring minds, They love their battle array, not silks and satins.

Mao Tsetung, "Militia Women", February 1961. *Mao Tsetung Poems*.

Wherever there are landowners, capitalists and merchants, women cannot be the equal of men even before the law.

Wherever there are no landowners, capitalists or merchants, and where the government of the working people is building a new life without these exploiters, men and women are equal before the law.

But that is not enough.

Equality before the law is not necessarily equality in fact.

We want the working woman to be the equal of the working man not only before the law but in actual fact. For this working woman must take an increasing part in the administration of socialised enterprises and in the administration of the state.

By taking part in administration, women will learn quickly and will catch up with the men.

Elect more working women to the Soviet, both Communist women and non-party women. As long as they are honest working women capable of performing their work sensibly and conscientiously, even if they are not members of the Party—elect them to the Moscow Soviet!

Send more working women to the Moscow Soviet! Let the Moscow proletariat show that it is prepared to do everything, and is doing everything, to fight for victory, to fight the old inequality, the old bourgeois humiliation of women!

The proletariat cannot achieve complete liberty until it has won complete liberty for women.

Lenin, "To the Working Women", *Pravda* No. 40, February 22, 1920. *Collected Works*, Vol. 30.

When women all over the country rise up, that will be the day of victory for the Chinese revolution.

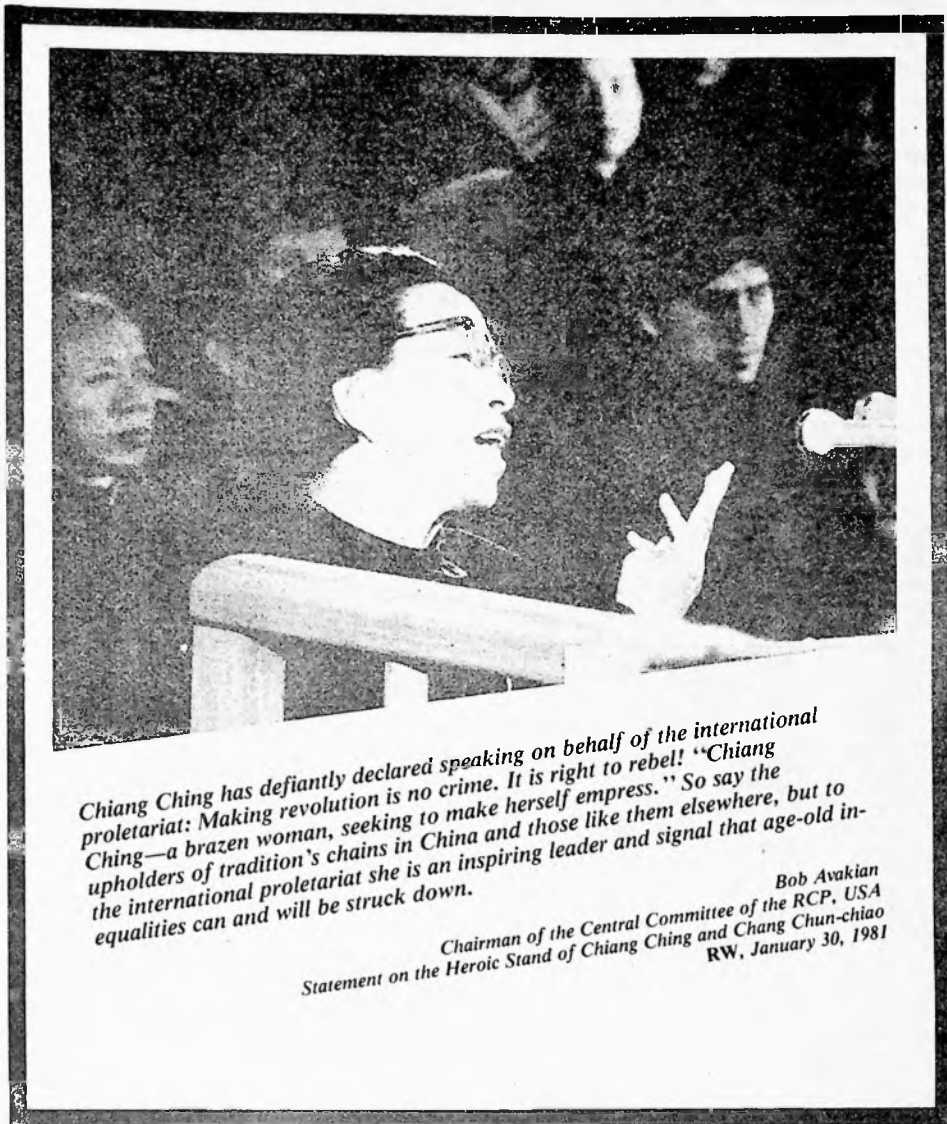
Mao Tsetung, quoted in *Peking Review* No. 14, 1974.

Notwithstanding all the liberating laws that have been passed, woman continues to be a domestic slave, because petty housework crushes, strangles, stultifies and degrades her, chains her to the kitchen and to the nursery, and wastes her labor on barbarously unproductive, petty, nerve-racking, stultifying and crushing drudgery. The real emancipation of women, real communism, will begin only when a mass struggle led by the proletariat which is in power is started against this petty domestic economy, or rather when it is transformed on a mass scale into large-scale socialist economy.

Do we in practice devote sufficient attention to this question, which, theoretically, is indisputable for every Communist? Of course not. Do we devote sufficient care to the young shoots of communism which have already sprung up in this sphere? Again we must say emphatically, No! Public dining rooms, *crèches*, kindergartens—these are examples of the shoots, the simple everyday means, which assume nothing pompous, grandiloquent or solemn, but which can in fact emancipate women, which can in fact lessen and abolish their inferiority to men in regard to their role in social production and in social life. These means are not new, they (like all the material prerequisites for socialism) were created by large-scale capitalism; but under capitalism they remained, first, a rarity, and, second, and what is particularly important, either profit-making enterprises, with all the worst features of speculation, profiteering, cheating and fraud, or the "acrobatics of bourgeois philanthropy," which the best workers quite rightly hated and despised.

There is no doubt that the number of these institutions in our country has greatly increased and that they are beginning to change in character. There is no doubt that there is far more organizing talent among the working women and peasant women than we are aware of, people who are able to organize in a practical way and enlist large numbers of workers, and a still larger number of consumers, for this purpose without the abundance of phrases, fuss, squabbling and chatter about plans, systems, etc., which our swelled-headed "intelligentsia" or "Communist" always suffer from. But we do not half-baked "Communist" always suffer from. But we do not nurse these new shoots with sufficient care.

Look at the bourgeoisie! How well it is able to advertise what it requires! See how what the capitalists regard as "model" enterprises are praised in millions of copies of their newspapers; see how "model" bourgeois enterprises are transformed into objects of national pride! Our press does not take the trouble, or hardly takes the trouble, to describe the best dining rooms or *crèches*, to secure by daily exhortation the transformation of



Chiang Ching has defiantly declared speaking on behalf of the international proletariat: Making revolution is no crime. It is right to rebel! "Chiang Ching—a brazen woman, seeking to make herself empress." So say the upholders of tradition's chains in China and those like them elsewhere, but to the international proletariat she is an inspiring leader and signal that age-old inequalities can and will be struck down.

Bob Avakian
Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA
Statement on the Heroic Stand of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao
RW, January 30, 1981

some of them into models. It does not give them enough publicity, does not describe in detail what saving in human labor, what conveniences for the consumer, what a saving in products, what emancipation of women from domestic slavery and what an improvement in sanitary conditions can be achieved with exemplary Communist labor for the whole of society, for all the toilers.

Lenin, June 28, 1919. "A Great Beginning", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29.

They regard agitation and propaganda among women and the task of rousing and revolutionising them as of secondary importance, as the job of just the women Communists. None but the latter are rebuked because the matter does not move ahead more quickly and strongly. This is wrong, fundamentally wrong! It is outright separatism. It is equality of women *à rebours*, as the French say, i.e., equality reversed. What is at the bottom of the incorrect attitude of our national sections? (I am not speaking of Soviet Russia.) In the final analysis, it is an underestimation of women and of their accomplishments. That's just what it is! Unfortunately, we may still say of many of our comrades, "Scratch the Communist and a phillistine appears." To be sure you have to scratch the sensitive spots,—such as their mentality regarding women. Could there be any more palpable proof than the common sight of a man calmly watching a woman wear herself out with trivial, monotonous, strength- and time-consuming work, such as her housework, and watching her spirit shrinking, her mind growing dull, her heartbeat growing faint, and her will growing slack? It goes without saying that I am not referring to the bourgeois ladies who dump all housework and the care of their children on the hired help. What I say applies to the vast majority of women, including the wives of workers, even if these spend the day at the factory and earn money.

Very few husbands, not even the proletarians, think of how much they could lighten the burdens and worries of their wives, or relieve them entirely, if they lent a hand in this "women's work". But no, that would go against the "privilege and dignity of the husband". He demands that he have rest and comfort. The domestic life of the woman is a daily sacrifice of self to a thousand insignificant trifles. The ancient rights of her husband, her lord and master, survive unnoticed. Objectively, his slave takes her revenge. Also in concealed form... I know the life of the workers, and not only from books. Our communist work among the masses of women, and our political work in general, involves considerable educational work among the men. We must root out the old slave-owner's point of view, both in the Party and among the masses. That is one of our political tasks, a task just as urgently necessary as the formation of a staff composed of comrades, men and women, with thorough theoretical and practical training for Party work among working women."

Lenin, 1920, quoted in *My Recollections of Lenin "An Interview on the Woman Question"*, Clara Zetkin.

Marx said that the proletariat must emancipate not only itself but all mankind. Without emancipating all mankind the pro-

letariat cannot achieve its own final emancipation.

Mao Tsetung, quoted in *Peking Review*, No. 11, 1972.

What we can now conjecture about the way in which sexual relations will be ordered after the impending overthrow of capitalist production is mainly of a negative character, limited for the most part to what will disappear. But what will there be new? That will be answered when a new generation has grown up: a generation of men who never in their lives have known what it is to buy a woman's surrender with money or any other social instrument of power; a generation of women who have never known what it is to give themselves to a man from any other considerations than real love, or to refuse to give themselves to their lover from fear of the economic consequences. When these people are in the world, they will care precious little what anybody today thinks they ought to do; they will make their own practice and their corresponding public opinion about the practice of each individual—and that will be the end of it.

Engels, 1884, *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

The family, which emerged in the last period of primitive communism, will in the future be abolished. It has a beginning and will come to an end... Historically, the family was a production unit, a consumption unit, a unit for the procreation of the labour force of the next generation, and a unit for the education of children. Nowadays the workers do not regard the family as a unit of production; the peasants in the cooperatives have also largely changed, and peasant families are generally not units of production. They only engage in a certain amount of subsidiary production. As for the families of government workers and members of the armed forces, they produce even less; they have become merely units of consumption, and units for rearing and bringing up labour reserves, while the chief unit of education is the school. In short, the family may in the future become something which is unfavourable to the development of production. Under the present system of distribution of "to each according to his work," the family is still of use. When we reach the stage of the communist relationship of distribution of "to each according to his need", many of our concepts will change. After maybe a few thousand, or at the very least several hundred years, the family will disappear. Many of our comrades do not dare to think about these things. They are very narrow-minded. But problems such as the disappearance of classes and parties have already been discussed in the classics. This shows that the approach of Marx and Lenin was lofty, while ours is low.

Mao Tsetung, "Talks at Chengtu", March 1958, Schram, *Chairman Mao Talks to the People*.

The Communist Revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*.

Chemical Leak in Silicon Valley

At the end of January, a San Jose, California newspaper article reported that a toxic chemical storage tank had been leaking 1, 1, 1 trichloroethane (TCA) for at least one and one-half years, and that the chemical had polluted Well No. 13 of the Great Oaks Water District. The tank belonged to Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corp., one of the major manufacturers of integrated circuits, and other components of the electronics industry. While the electronics industry has a local reputation for occasional noxious chemical spills and poisoning its workers, this was the first time it was linked to the poisoning of a major public water supply.

Residents of the neighborhood served by Well No. 13 immediately began to make a link between the leaking TCA and what seemed like a high incidence of birth disorders—miscarriages, birth defects and stillbirths—in the area. A few days later, one woman reported nine cases she knew about (including her own) to the Santa Clara County Public Health Director who told local papers that, "There has been no similar cluster of birth abnormalities reported to the county since the late 1960s." In the weeks since this story broke, the number of birth disorders reported in the area has jumped from 9 to 19, then 31, and now the Public Health Department is studying "somewhere between 75 and 80" reports from the area of birth defects and miscarriages, all occurring within the last 3 years.

The South San Jose Fairchild plant is nestled right alongside a giant IBM facili-

ty, and holds down the southern edge of "Silicon Valley," a major center of the semi-conductor industry. The plants in Silicon Valley, despite the current recession, are thriving, turning out the nerves, spine and brains of the electronics battlefields of WW 3. This gives added necessity to the industry's efforts to carefully cultivate an image of benevolent patriarchs—heads of one big happy (nuclear) family, bestowing economic blessings on the community and their low-paid, mainly woman production workforce. As the Mayor of San Jose put it recently, "I remember being so happy that we were having clean industry come to our community. I remember thinking about the smokestacks at other industries around the country." (Cleanliness, incidentally, actually is a big concern of the industry. The newer plants have been built on three-inch-thick lead walls to keep production clean if, by some chance, there should be a sudden explosive burst of radiation in the vicinity.)

This same concern for cleanliness led Fairchild to publicly offer to "clean up" the poisoned water from Well No. 13, at the projected cost of several million dollars. No doubt it was the same concern that led officials of the Health Department, the Water Resources Board, the local Water Department, and a San Jose City Councilman to all "spontaneously" say, when interviewed, that "this is not a Love Canal," and "this industry is very clean." Because there is some controversy over just how long the TCA had been

leaking out of Fairchild's tank, the *San Jose Mercury News* had a 3-year-old bottle of water stored by local Mormons and drawn from Well No. 13 tested for TCA. Banner headlines! It was clean!

However, Steve Nelson, Sanitary Engineer for the State Department of Public Health, told a somewhat different story about the Mormon water and the TCA: "I have no confidence whatsoever in that data; from what I've seen in doing organic sampling we have difficulty keeping a corked sample of TCE or PCE—we have difficulty keeping stuff in a solution in a bottle that sits around in the laboratory. The solvent migrates; you can't keep it out and you can't keep it in. It could have been there and evaporated; conversely, had they found 1, 1, 1 trichloroethane in the sample there's no way of showing that it was there initially..." And exactly for that reason, there is no way of knowing just how deeply into the underground water supply the TCA has already penetrated.

Just what effect TCA has on humans is also a wild card. TCA came into use in recent years as a replacement for its close relative, TCE (trichloroethylene) which was proven to cause cancer in mice; in humans, it poisons the liver, and causes dizziness, nausea, fatigue, facial paralysis, and psychotic behavior. TCE also binds with DNA; its long-term genetic effects are not known. TCE was used for decades as an industrial solvent, and dumped into the ground when the process was finished; so it has penetrated into water supplies across the country, wiping out the entire underground water supply for the San Gabriel Valley in Southern California, and ruining the only underground fresh water on Long Island. TCA is considered a safe replacement for TCE apparently because no one yet knows what TCA does to humans. It does not cause damage to the fetuses of pregnant mice; neither did thalidomide.

For all the supposed "safety" of TCA, it looks like it is going to take more than a few million dollars of Fairchild's money to clean up the image of the electronics industry. In the few weeks since the birth

defects in the area around Well No. 13 hit the news, a picture of what the industry has been doing on the chemical poisoning front has begun to emerge. Though no doubt still the tip of the iceberg (and certainly only a minute fraction of the chemical poisoning of the whole world that U.S. imperialism has unleashed), it is clear why so many public officials have felt compelled to deny that this is a Love Canal. On February 19, the Regional Water Quality Control Board released information that there were 37 recent cases of leaks and spills from underground storage tanks and lines in the area around Silicon Valley. What leaked? Hydrochloric or hydrofluoric acid, whose burns are so familiar to electronics production worker? More of the cyanide previously dumped into open fields behind Micro Metallics Corp.? Something related to the release last year of radioactive Krypton-85 gas from an Intel plant? The Board hasn't said what leaked, or where.

It hasn't yet been proven just what caused all the birth disorders in the area around Well No. 13. According to the County Board of Health, the rate of birth disorders there might even be typical of the whole county. And, as local officials who were attempting to deflect blame from Fairchild pointed out, whatever is causing the problems might have come from the air, or soil, or food, or anywhere. This hardly makes electronics industry officials, their military buyers, or the parade of political apologists very comfortable, since probes into environmental poisoning of any kind will find the industry a fat target. The only "safe" suggestion was made by a Sanitation Engineer, who hazarded that perhaps all the expectant mothers smoked grass!

No doubt more sophisticated explanations are forthcoming. But they are only bound to stand in sharp contrast to the damage already done by the electronic battlefield—even while it's still in Wafer Fab, as production areas in the semi-conductor industry are called. □



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Resolutions

Continued from page 5

5. Condemn the Atrocities on Dalits.

In recent months, the landlords and their goondas, aided by the state have unleashed a wave of atrocities on Dalits (so-called "untouchables"—RW) in Sadhupur, Mainpuri, Deoli, and other places all over India. This tyranny is part of the repression that the feudalists have let loose against the rising tide of people's resistance. This conference calls upon the people to resist this butchery of their class brothers in the name of caste.

6. Condemn the Social Fascist Repression in Poland.

In spite of the massive military crackdown the Polish working class is in no mood to yield to the social fascists. The developments in Poland have exposed the gaping structural contradictions in which the social imperialist camp is engulfed and it is a big blow to international revisionism. It is once again shown to the world that the working class can not and will not be fooled by empty slogans. But at the same time the Polish people should be vigilant against U.S. imperialism and its agents who are trying to divert the movement to their advantage. This conference calls upon all freedom-loving people to actively support the heroic struggles of the Polish workers.

7. To the Workers Struggling Against Fascism.

This conference hails the workers who participated in the 19 January All-India strike against fascist black laws of the ruling classes.

We call upon the Indian proletariat to take up its historic role in the New Democratic Revolution, upholding class politics and marching in the van of the People.

Minalibata kun abiju fakata...Ba'eesaf garidha! Abijudha hooma miti--abiju kun wanta wa jala dhookatee kan mulisu--kan jala dhookatan buurqa dubbi kan basu barbacidadha. Lenin abijoota jeedhamee bara 1917 ti hinkasasaminee? Maonis bara 1966 ti? Hata'uu malee, abijusani fuula adugnaf jireegna ilman nama hindidree? Kara booresituf suphitu harka mara samtoota adugna jala hinba'uu. Harra, charan warafisa banama jira. Nusi kara Leninif Mao hawun nura hinjiru?

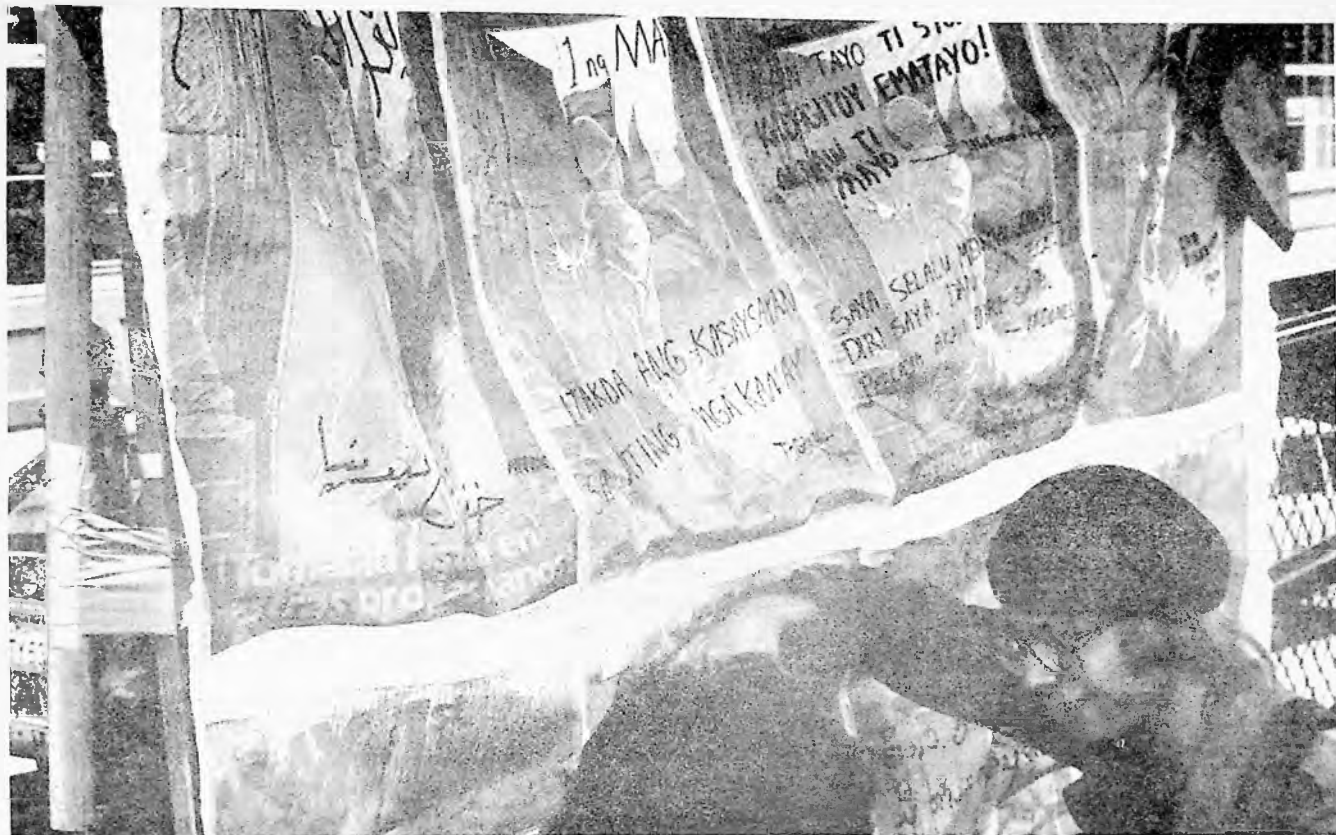
Kun wamica, Parti Waraqa Kommunisti, USA..

Mee Meyi tokkofati raga habanu. U. S. matasa keesati, gungumun warsha keesaf mana barumisa, warafitoota parti taliga, mana hidha keesaf karara; asi qoofa utu hinta'iin, kuma kumatamitooti biya adugnara "qoophee mataf humina warafisa" mara saama adugnarati gumeesa jiru.

Chalati, Meyi tokkofan, 1982, abiju tokkumma dafiqaan buula adugna, biyoota mara saama adugnan chunqurfamani kasee ama biyoota mara samitootati taliga fuula dura mulisa; dafiqee buulan kara mara saama adugna jala ba'uu kan it yaludha. Ega Meyi tokkofan aduusa alaba dima waraqisarati basa, humina hinmoaminee sira du'uuf torotrarati huma.

- Parti Waraqa Koomunisti, U. S. A.

Wamici kun hooja chaliqabati. Aka humatif gurmun ada ada yada kana afan ada adan fachasu, gorisa yada kanarati keenamus funanani dhuma Marci dura nuti ergani, keesa deebinee rawatama guneee bareesinu abidi goona. Ga'aa keesan guuya adugna Meyi tokkofi keena. RCP, USA, Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654, USA.



May Day Poster display, with posters translated into a number of different languages.

国際主義的メーデー 統一行動の呼びかけ

in Japanese

全ての抑圧された労働者と未来のために戦う人々へ：

世界大戦と革命... この両者の間にある衝突は、全ての国々の革命的労働者の行動に、準備された舞台であるメーデー国際労働者の日に向っている。

メーデーは、現代の奴隷と殺人にからめられたシステムの中で、失うものは何一つ無い世界中の労働者階級の革命的な祭日である。メーデー本来の意味は一つである。私達、搾取され奴隷化された労働者は、革新と飛躍に編成し決断し、全ての帝国主義的反動に対して行動を起します。言語、国家、民族 また全ての階級の違いを支配、従属している国、男性に従属した女性、また戦争を無くし国境をも取り払い、全ての封建的悪習をも粉砕します。そして、そこには、一つだけの本当に祝う祭日があります。戦いと解放、世界中いたる所にはたたく赤旗、革命的な未来へ前進できるだけ戦う。

歴史の動きは休む事のない爆発のようです。燃え上がり消え、一増燃え上がる為に静かになる。現在の不安定な状況のもとには、大地を揺り動かす為に十分な、そして、現実的闘争の広がりがあります。

同時に帝国主義勢力は、アメリカ帝国主義ならびに、ソビエト社会主義に導かれる両体制は、互いに、帝国を守る為に倒れかけた経済に鞭打

ち、核戦争に向って準備を進めている。これらの過程は、帝国主義の間違いに論理によって促されている。さらに、西側帝国主義スタイルである。「自由と民主主義」若しくは、ソビエト社会主義帝国主義的な「正義と解放」の旗のもとに、相互に殺し合う狂った論理でさらに進行しています。

それらに対して、大衆の革命的闘争精神の地下で燃えさかる火は、グダニスクからエルサルバドルへそして、フロリダに於けるハイチ人難民収容所へと広がっています。イギリスの街角やエリトリアの丘からの若者の叫び声と同じ様な強さをもって聞くことが出来るでしょう。そして、解放の光輝やく未来が真赤に燃える空に写っているのを見る事も出来るでしょう。鼓動の中にもっと力強い行進の音聞き、聖像の打ち砕かれた響きを感じてでしょう。

帝国主義戦争と社会主義革命との間に起りつつある衝突は、今、まさに我が振られようとしている。メーデーに革命を起すかは、準備結集され私たち労働者の力で、メーデーに於ける未来を光輝やかせねばならない。今まさに伸びつつ、また団結しつつある国際共通としての労働者意識は、この伸びまた団結を阻止しようとするいかなる敵対、また反発行為をも打ち破って進まなければならない。また、同時に、この労働者意識と行動を世界

中の異なる地域に注ぎ込む決断は、今下されなくてはならない。
レーニン曰く、私の国からだけの見方ではなく、世界中に進行する労働者革命
に向けて、準備宣伝活動を進めることで、どのような役割を果たせるか。

活動的により早くこれらの準備をする為には、とりわけメーデーに於いて
急進的に準備される中で、古い過ぎた帝国主義を打ち砕く事を必要と
される。革命的な視野と精神は、労働者階級の下部にあるべきである。苦
闘の後、一体何が我々の手にやってくるのか。形而上的で、革命的な躍
動が、彼らの国の国境にあることを、彼等はすでに知っていることを大衆に語り
かたう。偉力は簡単である。しかし、それはどんな苦闘でも全く間違っ
た方法なのだ。真に、革命的苦闘である。世界革命は、また革命的レー
ニン主義の継承分亨となく捨て、各国人民の意志の疎通にある。とりわけ
世界的規模の激しい危機等は、労働者階級の大局的見地と解決法
は、一つの軍隊の分遣隊ほどのかに等しい。いくつかの国々に於いて行な
れる、革命的行動は、墜落した敵組織に拡大する世界革命的行動によ
て開かれる。この精神と階級意識 勢力は、緊急に世界の革命的共産主義
国際労働主義による国際主義的・共同綱領・国際戦略を打ち立てなく
てはならない。

多分、眼に映る全ての事柄は夢のようでしょう。すべてがすばらしい
のです。未来像以外何もない—未来像は、毎日を隠そうとする物を
貫く、また外見上 明らかなき様相を呈す現実の主因の元にこそ、今日
必要とするものがある。レーニンは、1917年に呪われた夢想家
ではなかったか。毛沢東は、1966年には そうでなかったか
ろうか。彼らは、未だに彼等の世界と人類に対する夢を、そして、
「より小さな悪」と「より現実的」から選り出される事柄が、お菓実であ

ることを立証する事を変えなかったか。この修正社会主義と改良主義は、現
実主義である。そのはね返りである帝国主義体制と現状も決定させる。

そしてまた、世界的な出来事は栄冠が溝に転がり込む様に、革命的な偉大な
好機が始まろうとしている。まさにその時々のである。我々は、レーニヤ
を沢東と同じ様に高いレベルで熱望すべきである。

アメリカ革命的共産主義党からの呼びかけ:

5月1日、アメリカ国内で、工場、学校 あるいは 刑務所や街角、
中心地から、すべての層にわたる人々が、色々な異なる方法で、革
命的政治活動をする。いや、国内だけでなく、世界中で行なわれる。
現在もなお、「準備された精神と組織化された勢力」が革命の為
に、この帝国主義の皆の中で増大している。

しかし、1982年5月7日に、国際労働者階級の団結をより一層強
め、統一行動を拡大することによって、我々の夢を具現しよう。資本家
自身の安全な避難所である帝国主義によって、国々は抑圧されている。
しかし、労働者階級が、土地を解放し、力を奪い取るのは遠い日では
ないだろう。1日でも2日でも、準備する道を助けよう。それらは、今、背
後から押すことにより高まり、それ以上に前進し、帝国主義の絡みあ
った鎖から世界を解放放すことができるだろう。そして、それは、政治的
前兆となるだろう。

5月1日 メーデー、太陽の光は至る所に降り注ぎ、死にかけて朽
ち落ちる互に互に、コンクリートをも打ち破り 咲き誇るバラの様に革
命の赤旗をはためかせよう。

RCP, USA, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654

An Internationalist Call to May First Action

in English

To the Workers, the Oppressed and All Who Dare Fight for the Future:

World War and Revolution. . . The clash of these two trends marks the
approach of May First, International Workers Day. This sets the stage—and
the stakes—for the actions of revolutionary workers in every country.

May 1st is the revolutionary holiday of the international proletariat, a
class which truly has nothing to lose but the chains that hold it to a world-
wide system of modern day slavery and murder. There is but one authentic
meaning to this day: the determination of all who are exploited and enslaved,
of all forces embodying the new and rising, to carry out revolution against this
twisted order; the determination to leap forward—crossing barriers of
language, nation and race—toward the abolition of all classes and class
distinctions, the wiping out of the subjugation of one nationality to another
and of women to men, toward the extinction of wars and of nation-states
themselves, and the shattering of all tradition's chains. And there is but one
way to truly celebrate this holiday: in struggle and rebellion, holding the red
banner to the skies in every corner of the globe, and fighting as far forward as
we can to the revolutionary future.

History moves in restless outbursts that flare up and then subside, on-
ly to erupt again, still more intensely. Beneath today's tremors lies a conflict
of profound and literally earthshaking dimensions.

On one side the imperialist powers of both the U.S. and the Soviet-led
 blocs prepare for war, thrashing in quicksand of their own making, trying to
 hold their empires together while lurching toward nuclear conflict. Impelled
 on this course by the madman's logic of their system, they are also impelled
 to further infect "their" masses with that logic and line them up to kill each
 other off under the banner of "freedom and democracy" (Western imperialist
 style) or "justice and liberation" (Soviet imperialist style).

And against them? The one thing they never reckon on—the revolu-
 tionary spirit and struggle of the masses, spreading like underground fires
 from Gdansk to El Salvador to the Haitian refugee camps of Florida. You can
 hear it in the shouts of the youth—the same accents echoing in England's
 streets and the foothills of Eritrea—defiantly pointing to the emperor's
 nakedness and challenging his empire. You can see it in the eyes that once
 again shine with a vision of liberation reflected in the fires of night-time skies.
 You can feel it in the heartbeats once more pulsing to the rhythm of charging
 feet and the echos of shattering icons. Revolution—a red flame burning in the
 oppressed nations of the world and stirring even in the central fortresses of
 the imperialist countries themselves, with the decisive link being the revolu-
 tionary role and leadership of the class-conscious proletariat in every coun-
 try.

The clash now building between the forces of imperialist war and
 social revolution will be the forge on which the future is cast. On May 1st, the
 forces of revolution must make a leap in preparation.

On that day a vision must shine forth: the embryo of a proletariat con-
 scious of its international character and its antagonism to all forms of reac-
 tion and of its historic mission to do no less than conquer the world. Infusing
 the workers' common actions in different quarters of the globe must be the
 determination to proceed, as Lenin put it, "not from the point of view of 'my

country. . . but from the point of view of *my share* in the preparation, in the
 propaganda, and in the acceleration of the world proletarian revolution."

To actively and urgently carry out such preparations now, and to find
 the ways on May 1st especially to push this process forward, demands a rup-
 ture with the dead hand of the past. Revolutionary eyes and hearts must be
 set above the miserable level of tailing after whatever struggle comes to
 hand, telling the masses what they already know and keeping them spiritually
 and politically bound within the confines of their nation. The deceptively sim-
 ple but thoroughly wrong arithmetic in which the struggles—even revolu-
 tionary struggles—of the people of each country "add up" to a world revolu-
 tion must also be thrown off for the revolutionary calculus of Leninism.
 Especially in an acute crisis that will be global in its dimensions, the pro-
 letariat too must be global in its outlook and approach, coordinating its
 forces as detachments of a single army. Breakthroughs even in one or several
 countries lead to a weakening of the whole rotten enemy edifice and open up
 still wider world revolutionary possibilities. In this spirit and direction class-
 conscious forces must urgently go forward toward a common program, a
 common strategy and a common organization on an international scale of
 the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend.

Perhaps all this seems like dreaming. . . even visions. Well and good!
 Nothing less than visions—visions that pierce the veil of the everyday and
 seemingly obvious to reveal the real mainsprings lying beneath—are re-
 quired today. Was not Lenin in 1917 accused of being visionary? Was not Mao
 in 1966? Yet did not their dreams change the face of the world and humanity,
 and prove more real than the appeals to choose the "lesser evil" and "be
 realistic"? This revisionism and reformism is a "realism" whose bounds are
 determined by the framework of imperialism and the status quo. . . and again
 today it comes at a time when world events will set crowns to rolling in the
 gutters, opening up great opportunities for the revolutionaries. Must not we
 too aspire to the same lofty heights scaled by Lenin and Mao?

This call then from the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA:

Let May 1st witness, within the U.S. itself, breakouts from factories
 and schools, and revolutionary political activity of many different kinds in
 housing projects, prisons, street corners and every sacred sphere and strong-
 hold, signaling to millions not just here but around the world that there is in-
 deed a growing section even now "preparing minds and organizing forces"
 for revolution in this bastion of imperialism.

But more, let May 1st, 1982 reveal the dream of international pro-
 letarian unity coming to life in unified actions stretching from the nations op-
 pressed by imperialism into the very citadels of capital itself; let it politically
 foreshadow, if only for a day or two, and help prepare the way for, the not-too-
 distant days when the proletariat will liberate territory and seize power now
 here, now there, pushed back only to surge further forward, emancipating as
 much of the world as possible from the twisted chains of imperialism. Let
 then the May 1st sun shine everywhere on red flags of revolution, blooming
 like roses pushing up the concrete, unconquerable life amidst the rubble and
 decay of the dying.

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

This call is a first draft. We hope many different people and organizations will circulate it in dif-
 ferent languages, make criticisms of it and collect suggestions for it and forward them to us
 before the end of March so that it can be republished in final form—all contributing to even more
 powerful internationalist actions on May 1st. RCP, USA, Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654, USA.

Atlanta

Continued from page 1

Black youth in Atlanta thrust before eyes everywhere the open sore which festers in the heart of this "land of freedom." From the day an explosion ripped through the Bowen Homes Day Care Center in October, 1980, the point at which broad attention began to focus on the outrage developing in Atlanta, a crucial weapon in the arsenal of imperialist rule was — yet again — mercilessly revealed. And this unfolded in Atlanta — the "city too busy to hate," the showcase

of the alleged advances possible for Black people under this system. But Atlanta instead became symbolic of the real life-long experience of Black people in the USA — an experience of repression and murder.

And now, all this is to be buried with the conviction of Wayne Williams.

The trial in particular? What a graphic exposure of the inner workings of the "democratic process": "eyewitnesses" whose stories were riddled with contradiction and lies; forged documents and key reports rewritten to strengthen the state's case; fiber evidence, the famous fiber evidence — so ridiculous that even a Georgia Supreme Court judge was com-

pelled to remark that it should be thrown out of court. Wayne Williams, it is true, was convicted with no evidence. But no evidence was needed because the verdict was decided long before the trial and Wayne Williams himself — his guilt or innocence real or imagined — had, from any point of view, long since ceased to be the issue.

At issue was closing the case on the Atlanta murders. This point was demonstrated best by Public Safety Commissioner Lee Brown, who after the verdict declared that Williams was responsible not only for the two murders he was charged with, not only for the ten or so additional murders suggested in the trial, but for at least 23 more murders. Lee Brown was so confident of this that he also announced that no further legal charges needed to be filed against Williams! He then noted that Atlanta's Special Task Force was no longer necessary and would be dismantled.

There is, however, some compelling "evidence" which strips the mask from the authorities' public face. It is very likely that the murders have continued. The *RW* reported on this last December, and it has been the continuing subject of investigation by many people. During the trial, a well known Atlanta lawyer, Ed Garland, told a radio talk show host that he had been informed by trusted sources that 14 murders since Williams' arrest had fit the pattern and that there had been a systematic effort to cover this up. Camille Bell and others from the STOP Committee have reached similar conclusions. Following the verdict, Bell stood on the courthouse steps and denounced the District Attorney, whose closing statement to the jury had insisted the murders had stopped: "He knew it was a lie when he said it."

Of course, it immediately became obvious that delivering the verdict from Atlanta would be no easy project. While the eagerness with which nationwide commentary towed the official line seemed almost intended to prove that the courts are but one department of the reactionary superstructure of this country, still there was a pronounced uneasiness in the reportage, a constant addressing of the "instant skepticism" wrought by the Williams verdict, and a parade of personalities whose calm reassurances were a quick tip-off that things are far from calm in Atlanta or anywhere else.

Reverend Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, assured us, among other things, of the divinity of the verdict: "God has moved in his own way in his own time

... we must be careful not to set up ourselves as all-knowing, as God, and speak what we do not know..." Lowery's worries were underscored by Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, who cautioned, "I think those of us who only read about the case or who only heard the evidence as it was reported to us second hand really are not qualified to second-guess" the jury. And there were cruder expressions of the same concerns. A leading columnist for the *Atlanta Constitution* asked, "If this nightmare is over, does that mean that Camille Bell's moments before the cameras and crowds are over 100? Is that why she was standing in front of the courthouse making unfounded charges and ridiculous statements...?"

But two events which prove that these "unfounded charges" and "ridiculous statements" are being made everywhere escaped much press notoriety. First, there was the formal retraction of the order to dismantle the Task Force. This was brought about by pressure from reformist groups undoubtedly feeling more than a little pressure themselves. Second, and more importantly, there was — get this — a six-month extension of curfew provisions for Atlanta, a curfew enacted in late 1980 supposedly to "protect youth" but actually to suppress them and anyone else who stepped out of line. The verdict was delivered: now it will be enforced.

On March 2 the *Washington Post* editorialized that "... some people seem reluctant, even in the face of this conviction, to give up the fear that a kind of racist conspiracy lay behind the murder of the children. These people are not reassured by the fact that Mr. Williams was apprehended by a team headed by Atlanta's black police chief and a black FBI agent. He was convicted by a majority black jury, before a black judge. Doubtters find no solace in the assurance of Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young and former mayor Maynard Jackson that justice has been done."

Indeed, we find no solace whatsoever in the reassurances from any imperialist hatchman — white, or Black. And as for the Black jurors — are the editors at the *Post* aware that Black people in this country get killed for far less than challenging the kind of stakes that were raised by the state in the Williams trial?

"This story will not die easily," lamented an Atlanta reporter. Undoubtedly, and all the more so since the colors of the fibers which tie Atlanta together are no longer a mystery — red, white, blue. The nightmare can only end when the imperialist system is overthrown. □

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RCP

There's Nothing More Revolutionary Than Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought

Continued from page 3

here's the big "left-wing" Trotskyites, and what is their program? To beg this official Left to get more powerful in order to do this more effectively, so that there can be an arena in which the Trotskyites can be the left critics of this whole garbage pile.

Also the chauvinism of the Trotskyites—their Eurocentric, pro-imperialist chauvinism—is extremely manifest. You go around and you look in these European countries where the bourgeoisies are carrying out all kinds of atrocities in relationship not only to the people of their own country, but even more and in more extreme form, right today, they are right today carrying out atrocities in Africa, in Asia, together with the U.S. imperialists and on their own and you will search in vain for any real exposure of this from the Trotskyites. Maybe you'll find an occasional mention of this or that, but for any real and consistent exposure of this on the part of the Trotskyites you will search in vain. And what you will be inundated with is demands for the 35 hour week, that this or that so-called socialist government or government of the Left actually implement this or that petty reform, that the trade union hacks actually be more effective in carrying out their treason, and so on and so forth. You can pick up any Trotskyite paper or observe any Trotskyite group in action, and this thing just strikes you very sharply.

The Rightist Essence of Anarchism

So, it's not surprising that anybody who has any sentiments that the whole thing is rotten, that they have no future under this system and that the whole thing needs to be just, as Marx said, sprung into the air and overturned, would be driven to repulsion not only at the established order, but at all the Official Opposition to that established order, from the Trotskyites to the revisionists, to the Official and more influential Left, in or out of power. And seeing this enables one to unite with and to see more clearly the positive thrust of a lot of the youth revolts and even of the anarchist character and sentiments that a lot of them assume and express. But on the other hand, I think one of the really strong points that was brought out in the article in *Revolution* on the Spanish Civil War* is that, for the first time that I can remember in any kind of thoroughgoing way, the criticism that was made of the anarchists there by communists was a criticism that revealed the rightist essence of anarchism. To put it another way, when it examined their errors it showed the rightist essence of those errors and how they were ultimately reformist and worked against revolution, rather than what the whole history of the international communist movement has been, specifically in relation to Spain, which is to simply attack the anarchists for some of the left forms of their errors, and to in fact attack them from a position that is at best no less erroneous and in many ways is even worse and openly rightist. This has been the traditional policy beginning with the initial Comintern policy itself in Spain and every attempt to defend that policy has had to, by the logic of facts and events and of reality, attack the anarchists for being too revolutionary and too left. They put forward a position which is worse than that of the anarchists in many ways.

This so-called criticism, or actually real criticism but of a right-wing character, only reinforces the anarchist viewpoint among people who have genuinely revolutionary sentiments. And it was very important that that article didn't just sort of say that anarchism is an expression of petty bourgeois thinking, which these right-wing critiques that I've just criticized also will say, but it was shown concretely how that is so. It was shown that the anarchists' viewpoint was not one of really radically transforming all of society, and that in terms of the concrete material forces, they represented certain strata of petty proprietors or petty bourgeois working people who had more or less a sort of artisan outlook. They expressed the viewpoint—a radical petty bourgeois viewpoint—but ultimately only the viewpoint of a radical democrat or radical petty bourgeois. That view did not lead to and did not stem from a class whose material position corresponded with the need for the radical transformation of all of society, which is only true of the proletariat as a class. While the proletariat may spontaneously tend toward other viewpoints, still its position in society does, and its interests do correspond to a radical restructuring of society. Anarchism, however, was more the viewpoint that took root among and found its base among sections of working people who were more petty bourgeois, whose viewpoint was not the restructuring of all society, the radical rupture with all previous property relations and all traditional ideas, but was much more a petty bourgeois desire for control over their own situation and work and related questions.

This comes out for example also in a letter that was sent in during the period when the pages of the *RW* were opened up to letters on the draft *Programme and Constitution* of the Party; this one was written in the December 5, 1980 issue, No. 83 of the *RW* (reprinted on page of this issue—*RW*). This letter is written by one

person but it is signed by 32 people, according to the letter, and it makes a number of criticisms of the draft *Programme and Constitution* from the point of view of, as they call themselves, "We of the Anarchist Eclectic." I think you could say that this letter is both anarchist and also eclectic. I use this letter because in certain ways it's typical of the anarchists, although anarchism itself is a trend with many diverse tendencies within it and because of that whenever you pick out any particular expression of it and criticize it, it can always be said, "Well, that's just that particular viewpoint, that's not a fair characterization of anarchism in general." But I think it is. And I think if we get down to the universal of anarchism that is expressed in these particularities, we can see that it is. For example, one of the things that comes out directly in the letter, which I referred to in "Conquer the World . . ." is the following: "Ownership of the means of production should rest in the hands of those who work in the individual factories, as it is thier sweat, blood and tears which have built the north american industrial megagolem."

Well, a number of things right away strike me in that sentence: Ownership of the means of production should rest in the hands of those who work in the individual factories." Now the word "individual" is even inserted there to make the point and the writer openly says in the letter that he's "an anarcho-syndicalist" to make it very clear what's being said. In other words, he doesn't even say "the hands of those who work in the factories." Now even that in context would be incorrect, because the context is the anarchist line of denying the need for a state and that the interests of the proletariat are represented through its state. And, as we know, this line opposes struggle for the proletariat to actually be the masters of the state. Now it is certainly true that simply the state which has a label "proletarian" on it is not enough to solve the problem. But neither can it be solved by denying the need for or undermining the rule of the proletariat through its state and including its control over the means of production through the medium of its state as the decisive factor in that.

Conquering the World vs. Running Individual Factories

And we know what the practical result will be if for example, the ownership of the means of production is in the hands of the workers in the different factories without the state. The best expression of what could happen, which is in these days even less workable, would be the sort of thing that happened to the Owensite experiments* where they simply are not able to be maintained and their utopian character bumps up against the real world and the whole thing collapses. But much more likely, and what also is happening in cases where workers under capitalism for example have taken over factories (either bought them out or even taken them over in certain cases and tried to run them), is that because of the material conditions and the actual contradictions in society, including between the workers themselves you'll get capitalist relations right back. This will happen because, as Marx said, even if you tried to eliminate the state right away you would still be dealing with a society that bears all the birthmarks of the old capitalist society from whose womb it emerged. You will have the marks of the division of labor, the unevenness between the workers. And you will have still left-overs of commodity production and so on. These things will exert their influence, whether you want to think so or not. The result will be that within the individual factories and between them you will get capitalist competition, stratification, and you will have bourgeois relations immediately—and I mean almost literally immediately—reemerging and these factories will be run along a bourgeois basis. And in fact a bourgeois state will be reconstituted to enforce the interests of those bourgeois forces who float to the surface, so to speak, or who step on the others to get to the top. Because along with things in the material sphere, ideologically the people will still be bearing the birthmarks of the old society.

Without a vanguard party to lead them, and in fact without a state to represent the proletariat in, yes, enforcing the policies which represent its revolutionary interests and the revolutionary transformation of society, it will not be possible to go forward. In fact you'll be dragged back rather quickly. And to say it again, it is true that the viewpoint that more and more was put forward under Stalin's leadership, especially from the '30s on in the Soviet Union was that as long as the state and the party called themselves socialist or communist or Marxist-Leninist they *ipso facto* represented the proletariat and therefore, by circular logic, everything they did was in the interests of the proletariat. With this outlook it became less and less of a question whether or not the proletariat would really control the state, would really have the dominant control over the means of production. It was not seen as a question of contradiction, of motion and development. It was seen statically, ab-

solutely, metaphysically, and that contributed greatly to the fact that the proletariat lost state power and control over the means of production. That's a real question; we've learned about that and there is much more that will have to be accomplished and learned in the realm of practice and theory as the transition through socialism to communism is carried out throughout the world.

But, with all that, one of the lessons that has been learned much more deeply and confirmed by practice and by theoretical development is the need to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. Not a state apparatus which merely calls itself a workers' state or the dictatorship of the proletariat, but a state which actually and increasingly is mastered by the masses of proletarians and the formerly oppressed masses who are drawn into the process, as Lenin emphasized, of administering affairs of state. In other words they must increasingly take up the questions of society and the world, transforming society in any given country, but even that as a subordinate part of contributing to and advancing the world revolution and transforming society throughout the world toward the epoch of communism.

Now, simply trying to have the workers in the individual factories own their own means of production runs up against that problem. It will lead very directly to the restoration of capitalism and to all the economic, political, social and ideological relations and conditions that are characteristic of capitalism. But there's also another problem which is reflected in this letter. Later on the author takes what he considers to be a very strong stand in support of the "Native American nation." First of all he talks as though it is a nation, which isn't true in the scientific sense, and second of all, as though it is *one* nation rather than many different peoples who have historically suffered many forms of oppression in common but nevertheless are different peoples with different developments too. But leaving aside that particular problem in the viewpoint of the author, they nevertheless express a very strong sentiment in support of the Native American peoples, or the "Native American Nation" as they formulate it. However, in the same sentence I was reading from before, they say that "Ownership of the means of production should rest in the hands of those who work in the individual factories, as it is their blood, sweat and tears which have built the north american industrial megagolem."

Now, first of all, it is *not* simply the workers who at the present time are working in the factories who have built this up, even if you just consider the U.S. itself. There is the whole *history* of the development of the U.S., even just taking its borders. There is the whole history of Black slavery, of the genocide and theft of the land of the Indians, of the theft of the land and the oppression of the Chicano people in the Southwest. There is the whole history of immigrant labor both from Asia and from Europe — for example Chinese and Irish. And, that's just taking the U.S. itself. When we look at the present-day reality, especially with the development of imperialism, to argue that it is the workers in the individual factories in the U.S. who built this industrial "megagolem" (whatever that means exactly) is itself a very sharp expression of chauvinism. Whatever the intentions of the author may be, they end up in this chauvinist kind of position. But the reason I cite their later statement in support of what they call the "Native American Nation" is that obviously they don't *want* to be chauvinist, but their anarcho-syndicalist outlook *forces* them in that direction. Because once you start admitting that there are larger questions than the workers in the individual factories, and that the wealth produced has not been produced by just those workers in those factories, and there is both an historical dimension and an international dimension that has to be considered, then you come even more sharply up against the limitations of the anarcho-syndicalist view of turning the means of production over piece-by-piece to the workers in the individual factories.

In this light you can see much more clearly the need for there to be a proletarian state which can in fact not only represent the interests of the proletariat as against those of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting forces, or newly arising bourgeois forces inside a particular country, but which can serve as an instrument to promote and advance the proletarian revolution internationally. And just as the article in *Revolution* pointed out in the concrete reality of the Civil War in Spain, that to deny the need for a centralized leadership, as the anarchists did, was actually to concretely aid the forces of counter-revolution; just as that was true in the civil war within Spain in that period, it's true on an international scale in the international civil war, if you will, proceeding through different forms and in different stages but as an overall world process. To deny the need for the state in a country where capitalism has been overthrown, to deny the need for a state to operate in the world in such a way as to advance and promote the proletarian revolution can only in fact aid the forces of counterrevolution against the process of proletarian revolution internationally. And once again, this does not deny but even brings into sharper relief the fact that there must be and will be a tremendous struggle over what the character of that state is and what will be the character of its actions internationally. Will it really be one in which the particular interests of the proletariat in that country are subordinated to the interests of the international proletariat and the building of socialism there as subordinated to the advance of the world revolution overall, or will it be the opposite? That's going to be an arena of tremendous struggle, and there's obviously a very close

* Utopian socialist communities and organizations set up in the early 1800s in England by former factory owner and socialist reformer Robert Owen and his followers.

* "The Line of the Comintern On the Civil War in Spain," *Revolution*, June 1981.

Continued from page 20

and sharp dialectical relationship, our understanding of which will be deepened a great deal as both practice and theory advance.

We can already see and sum up from experience that there is a very clear and sharp interconnection between the class struggle over the question of who controls the state, who controls the means of production, what direction is society being transformed within a particular socialist country, and whether or not that particular country and that particular state is actually treated as a subordinate part of the world revolution and subordinated to the overall interests of the international proletariat. But it becomes even clearer from looking at it that an anarcho-syndicalist line, an anarchist line in general can in no way lead to the correct position on this and can in no way lead to that kind of line in command. That line can in no way lead to the victory of the proletariat and the revolutionary aspect of that contradiction, and in fact would rather quickly and directly contribute to the opposite, despite whatever the intentions might be of those who put forward that anarcho-syndicalist position, or anarchist positions in general.

Is Individual Rebellion the Highest Goal?

So that I think is one very important dimension, and I think the thing to understand is that there's an ideological dimension to this too. Rebelling against the status quo obviously has a very positive side to it, and will have. This is something I emphasized a lot in that "Communists are Rebels" article. I emphasized that this will play in certain ways maybe even *more* of an important role in the socialist transitional period, and that even under communism there will be rebels and rebellion. There will never be a time when that will not be important. But ideologically, just as ultimately this anarcho-syndicalist outlook is a petty-bourgeois outlook, it is an extremely individualist outlook, whether it's the individual literally or the individual as expressed in the "individual factory." The use of "individual factory" by the author of this letter is not accidental. In a certain sense you might say the word "individual" was redundant or unnecessary, but it was in there and I don't think it's irrelevant. I think it reinforces the *individual*. In other words even that factory unit is being looked at as individual as opposed to the society as a whole. It is an expression of individualism, which is in turn an expression of the petty-bourgeois position and outlook. And this is an important ideological feature of anarchism even for those people among whom at any given time it doesn't take a conservative expression, but more in fact a progressive or even sometimes is a revolutionary expression — one of rebellion against the system, the status quo, and all the rotten corruption and the old and decaying and the repressive character of this society and ways in which it stifles any kind of development and change and the way in which it represses the masses of the people. Even when it assumes its most positive form like that, there still is ideologically within that the kind of outlook that ultimately is reformist. It's somewhat tied up with the existentialist outlook, which is, at least from my reading of Sartre and other people, also an open expression of individualism.

For example, I read this thing by Sartre where he said he's not opposed to Marxism and that Marxism is correct as far as it goes, more or less. I'm paraphrasing, obviously, but according to him Marxism in a general way correctly describes social phenomena, classes and their relationship and the struggle of the classes, but what it doesn't deal with and what existentialism does deal with is the role of the individual. And of course, it's profoundly mistaken that the role of individuals is not mentioned or more than mentioned, is not treated in a significant way in the body of Marxism, including by Marx from the beginning. In fact Marxism and Marx's own development grew out of a form that put more emphasis on the role and also the alienation and rebellion of individuals. But Marxism took a leap, and Marxism comprehends this, precisely by showing how this takes place within a certain social context and, particularly in the epoch of class society, is included within and integrated within the social relations and in particular the struggle between social classes. The role of the individual is important, which Marxism far from denies, but nevertheless it is ultimately subordinate to and integrated into the process of the relationship and struggle between social forces and social classes. This existentialist outlook is in that sense an expression of individualism, and so is even the most rebellious anarchism, even when it does take at least in a significant way a revolutionary expression. There is a viewpoint that the important thing is to rebel against whatever the established order is, and rebellion becomes an end in itself.

Now this is a complicated question, because at every point there is a need for rebellion against the status quo. Under socialism and even under communism that will be true. So, that's on the one hand. On the other hand, however, the outlook that the most important thing is that the individual be able to express himself, or that the individual be able to rebel, or even that there be, in a larger than the individual sense, rebellion, more or less for its own sake, is individualism. In other words, if the highest principle is that, whatever the constituted authority is, you criticize it, oppose it and rebel against it, that is ultimately an expression of individualism, because in the epoch of classes, every action, including rebellion, assumes a class character and contributes to the interests of one class or another. There is no

rebellion or form of opposition or criticism which can escape that general truth and that general relationship. And even when the epoch of classes has been superseded and surpassed and there is communism, there will still be — not in terms of class expression but still in social expression — rebellion, criticism, actions and ideas in general representing either progress or retrogression. And it will not be possible for ideas or actions or individuals to escape that general framework and that basic truth either. And so the *content* of criticism, rebellion, of action, is ultimately the most important thing, not the mere act of doing it.

There is also content to whether you rebel against or accept the status quo, because there is a class content to accepting the status quo and there is a class content to rebelling against it; but that further divides into two. In fact everyone does act upon the society of which they are a part. No one merely passively reflects it and accepts it in that sense. You ultimately either act to reinforce it and contribute to what's backward and holding back the development of things and what is old and dying, or you contribute to advancing beyond the present stage and to supporting the new and arising. There is no kind of action which *in fact* does not have a content, either reactionary or revolutionary, either advanced or backward, either progressive or conservative. It's impossible for any action to escape having that kind of content. So the question is not most fundamentally to rebel or to accept things, but it is to act in the interests of one class or another class in society, or even beyond class society, to act in the interests of progress, advance, revolution, or what's conservative, backward and reactionary.

A Loyal Rebellion or A Whole Society Sprung In the Air

The outlook that the most important thing is to rebel against whatever it is, while it may, even under socialism, lead to many actions which are positive, ultimately is a reformist outlook, and an individualist outlook. The reason I say it is ultimately reformist is because it will end up actually accommodating itself to whatever the status quo is. On the surface that might seem not at all true; that might seem like a paradox. But let me give you an example. I read an interview with Jean Genet. He considers himself very, very radical, and he criticized a lot of communists for being "bourgeois" and so on in the course of it. And at one point he was asked, well, what society does he think is most opposed to what he is all about. This was an interview that was done in the mid-'70s and he said, "China." He went on to make clear that he was talking about the China of Mao and the Cultural Revolution. Here is a guy who considers himself very radical, with a thoroughly radical critique of everything, and here he's referring to a society which has gone through the greatest upheaval and the most conscious uprising and upheaval and conscious struggle of the masses so far in history. Not that it wasn't full of contradiction and backward along with the advanced forces, even among the masses. Obviously it was. But still the society was seething with this kind of revolt and upheaval and the most conscious rebellion and conscious revolutionary struggle in the history of mankind so far. And he finds *that* most opposed to what he is all about, the reason being, as he puts it, not only the fact that he is a homosexual and he sees that under the dictatorship of the proletariat that would be struggled against, but much more basically than that, here's a society where his individualism would be struggled against and opposed. What comes out in this interview is that what he wants is a society that he can be the extreme left-wing loyal opposition of. And that's where ultimately the reformism comes out. Even in the terms he puts it in, he wants a society that will allow him to rebel, and will leave room for people like him.

Well obviously this is the outlook of someone who considers himself a rebel but wants a constitutional guarantee that there is going to be a role for rebels has some real limitations even on that level. But more than that, what comes through is that he really wants a bourgeois-democratic society where there is this so-called pluralism, or diversity, but really where bourgeois pluralism reigns and where people like him are tolerated and their role is to be rebels and to be critics. He does not want a society that is completely sprung into the air, as Marx and Engels said in the *Communist Manifesto*. He does not want a society that is radically transformed and where there is a radical rupture with all traditional ideas and property relations. In fact ultimately he wants to preserve at least parts of those traditional property relations and those traditional ideas, and he wants to be able to be a critic. Ultimately his position is one of wanting to be a loyal opposition. And in a somewhat different, but basically the same, way the anarchist outlook is an expression of individualism and ultimately is an expression — if you want to put it that way — of the "rights of the individual" as the highest principle. This is ultimately a reformist viewpoint. In fact in the real world there is no society where the rights of the individual can be elevated above the interests of society, if you take society as a whole. When society divided into classes, the interests of classes were going to prevail over the interests of individuals. Even individual members of a ruling class will find their interests subordinated to the overall interests of that ruling class. And certainly the members of the oppressed class will find their interests subordinated to those of the interests of the oppressing, the ruling class. Even under communism the interests of individuals, where and to the degree that they come in contradiction to the interests of society as a whole (and there always will be that contradiction), will have to be subordinated. That's part of what it means to be in society.

So at times this desire to rebel, even in an individualistic way, can make a contribution, sometimes a very positive contribution, and can assume a very radical, even revolutionary aspect especially when you are living under a society which is based on the exploitation and oppression and suppression of the masses in every sphere, economically, politically, culturally, ideologically and so on. But ultimately it's going to end up putting one in opposition to the overall interests of the proletariat, of the revolution, and the interests of advancing society. And it's going to end up serving reaction and conservatism, what's backward and what's reactionary. That's where the ideology of rebellion for rebellion's sake leads. Now maybe that sounds a little bit like "Father Knows Best," or "Leave It To" . . . Mr. Cleaver or something like that; maybe it sounds very conservative, sort of like "Now, now, let's not have any rebellion without a cause." But that's not the point I'm making. The point I'm making — put in a positive way — is that there's nothing more revolutionary than Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought because Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought stands for rebellion, but it stands for more than that. It stands for actually transforming society in a thoroughgoing way. It doesn't stand ideologically for simply rebelling against whatever the status quo is, but it stands for radically transforming society at every stage and continuing to do that, continuing that process, although it advances in a spiral-like motion and not in a straight line. It stands for continuing that process endlessly, even under communism. And that's a much more, and a much more thoroughly, radical viewpoint than the anarchist viewpoint, which ultimately reduces itself to a bourgeois-democratic, petty-bourgeois radical, petty-bourgeois democrat and in the final analysis, individualist outlook. □

(To be continued)

Letter from the Anarchist Eclectic

Comrades:

I wish to bring up a few points dealing with contradictions in the proposed line of the RCP.

I submit the following: (pages refer to the *draft* Program & Constitution—RW)

1) pg. 14, 3rd paragraph: "eliminating the mad *anarchy* of capitalism. . . ." This confuses Kapital Fascism with Anarchism, Anarchism being revolutionary (that is, true, or progressive, Anarchism; as opposed to kapitalist fascism, which only outwardly resembles the militant phase of Anarchism, and then portrays it in reverse).

2) pg. 15, parag. 2: "the progress to socialized state ownership—" implying control and stewardship to be placed in the hands of the party leadership. This is bad medicine—we have already seen what happens when industry is placed under the control of a small group of political zealots (even my *own* group of political zealots should be suspect in this situation). Ownership of the means of production should rest in the hands of those who work in the individual factories, as it is their blood, sweat, and tears which have built the north american industrial megagolem.

3) pg. 34, parag. 1: "and the majority of criminals are themselves victims of this system who can and will be remolded through this . . . revolutionary struggle."

and again, pg. 34, parag. 2: "In the process of seizing power, the revolutionary movement will storm the prisons, guns in hand, break open the prison doors and offer the masses of prisoners the chance to join the revolutionary army; . . ." All I can say is that any mother fucker I see endangering the lives of the families of the revolutionaries, let alone the revolutionaries themselves by releasing all prisoners indiscriminately from their incarceration is going to find out first hand how well Uncle Sam taught me to shoot back in 'Nam. I wholeheartedly support the release of political prisoners, but will fight to the death to protect my three daughters from the murderers, rapists, and psychopaths one often finds in incarceration.

4) pg. 36, parag. 2: first 5 lines: And just how do you tell the advanced from the backward during full military revolution? Do revolutionaries wear a particular uniform? You're being too goddamn vague!

5) pg. 40, parag. 1&2: dealing with the question of post-revolution leadership. You seem to take the opinion that the RCP is the sole possessor of the truth, the light, and the way. I have yet to hear Chairman Bob's mantra, but I

Continued on page 22

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Mi Compañero,

I am a Cuban Brother incarcerated here and have read your paper (Revolutionary Worker) and have found it very interesting and inspiring. Enclose you will find a check for the sum of Seven (\$7.00) dollars for the purchase of ten weeks' trial subscription (Revolutionary Worker), also, the documents New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA...

A Brother In The Struggle

I received your published literature and party Programme and also your Constitution and wish to thank you personally for making this literature available to me and my brothers inside these prison walls...

If there is anything I can do to show support of your beliefs then just ask, I will be getting out of prison in June of 1988 and be willing to work full-time at anything you wish, but in the meantime if there's anything I can do then I would be more than willing.

I also wish to thank the people whose contributions make this weekly publication possible for it's kept us in tune with our fellow brothers in struggle. Please keep up the good work and I will be working with X on recruiting people who have the same beliefs as us and your party.

Is there anything we can do to support or help Bob Avakian like a hunger strike or anything to tell the world what they are doing is wrong. Then if we are able we will.

Dear Sir,

I am an inmate at X State Penitentiary and I am previously in the hole for a period of 24 months. I have no way to support myself financially and I'm not receiving any financial support from home. So I would like to know is it possible that I could be donated (Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism). If so it would be highly appreciated.

Very Respectfully Yours,

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* has established a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:



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

Letter

Continued from page 21

feel assured that there is someone, yet to come, who will be more politically astute, and furthermore, will carry a more correct line. Just please don't turn into the Marxist Catholic Church, and don't turn a great revolutionary leader into an unnecessary Ikon. The same thing happened to a fellow named Jesus a while back, and you see what it did to his line.

6) pg. 43 & elsewhere: you speak venomously of "counterrevolutionary crimes." I'd really appreciate a set guideline as to just what you mean. Without this, crimes against the revolution could be anything from "aiding and abetting the enemy" to "having one ear longer than the other"... Clarify, goddamnit, CLARIFY!!

7) pg. 45, parag. 2: see notes numbered "2."
8) pg. 51, parag. 2: "... just as the... bourgeoisie was able to 'surround' the farmer through control of the input and output sectors, so too the proletariat (read party controlled) state will be able to use its control... to influence (accent on 'influence') the farmers in the direction of socialization." This is coercion, plain and simple. "... meet the new boss, same as the old boss."

9) pg. 54, parag. 2: "The prolet. state, in nationalizing the land... will also take account of and make provision for the right to land of the Native American Peoples..." I will settle for nothing less than the handing over of state power over the Pacific West and Southwest to the Native American Nation.

10) pg. 55, parag. 2: "... planning cannot be left to planners..." Some individuals have years of training behind them in planning, unification, and low-level leadership. To waste this talent would be both counter-productive, and counter-revolutionary in its implications.

11) pg. 56, parag. 2: "Upon coming to power, the U.S. prolet. will renounce all wars of (imperialist) aggression and plunder in word and deed." Sounds nice on paper, but it will take massive effort to refrain from war, being the only revolutionary state in an imperialist world.

12) pg. 67: Please identify exactly who you mean as capitalist flunkies.

13) pg. 71, parag. 3: dealing with the question of education—Will students be instructed in disciplines other than Marxism-Leninism/Mao Tsetung thought? Or are the students to meet the same oppression as before, simply from a different ideological standpoint? "meet the new boss..."

14) pg. 73, parag. 3: "... the criteria for admission to colleges will be based first and above all on the demonstrated devotion to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, as determined through discussion of the masses UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY." Acceptance to college, therefore, hinges on parroting the party line—this is fascism! I, as an Anarcho-Syndicalist, would be barred from receiving an advanced education. We have already shown our loathe for the restrictive educational practices of imperialism. Don't hand us a re-run of Columbia University.

15) pg. 73: on sending high school students directly to the factories: NO! The student has the inalienable right to demand, and receive, an advanced education, within the limits of her or his own personal capabilities. We shall not stand for student oppression.

16) pg. 83, parag. 2: "... the most basic right of the masses... is the right to be the masters of society, in every sphere, and to transform it in their interests." I do hope you are guaranteeing the right of the people to petition for the redress of grievances and the twin right of the people to decide their leadership via the process of election/selection (the old "one man-one vote" concept of government).

17) pg. 83, parag. 2: "... views and opinions expressed by the masses that are contrary to those of the party will not be suppressed, unless they represent the attempts of actual counter-revolutionaries to bring about the overthrow of the prolet. political power and restore kapitalism." You also say that you shall "make an example of" opposing viewpoints; how dare you assume that all opposing lines will be anti-prole... if a more correct line should be formulated, and taken up by the broad masses, what right would the party have to belittle this superior line, let alone belittle the voice of the people?

18) pg. 84 (very fitting) Do you intend to blatantly hand pick the prole leadership? Are you

going to use the same criteria as for hand picking college students?

19) pg. 84, parag. 2: "the masses will have the right... to criticize their leaders on any level, to organize demonstrations, put up posters, pass out leaflets, and so on... again, with the exception of actual attempts to promote counter-revolution." This sounds very familiar... I wonder if this is the way the U.S. imperialists would word it. Constant struggle between opposing political ideologies, and nothing else, will ensure a nearly correct line for use by the people, and the people's party alike.

20) pg. 85: "... the bourgeoisie and their agents... and all proven counter-revolutionaries..." Just who the hell gets to decide who is "counter-revolutionary" and who is not?

21) pg. 93, parag. 2: "The genuine communist will lead the masses in this decisive battle to revolutionize the party... as part of the process of... advancing toward the goal of abolition of all class distinctions, and with them the need for the party itself," i.e., Anarchism, is the party a lemming? Will the party elite commit political suicide? Tune in again tomorrow for another episode...

22) After seeing the effect of the poster and graffiti guerrillas, I have a question: Is Bob Avakian going to become our answer to "Big Brother"?

23) Why does the party refrain from speaking out on progressive Anarchism, and why do the individual party membership denounce Anarchism & Anarchists generally, without admitting that there is a majority of progressive, revolutionary Anarchists? Contrary to your practices, we of the Anarchist Eclectic unite wholeheartedly with the correct segments of the party's draft line. MORE POWER TO REVOLUTIONISM! DOWN WITH IDEOLOGICAL EXCLUSIONISM! DEATH TO IKONS!

We, the undersigned, do hereby support the RCP, and unite for revolutionary struggle over the revolutionary line. UPHOLD MAO AND THE GANG OF FOUR! DEATH TO IKONS, AND THE PUPPET LACKEYS OF IKONOKLASM! FORWARD TO REVOLUTION!!!!

your comrades in struggle
(signed by 32 people)

"Liberators"

Continued from page 4

volt began—the British sat down with the French and negotiated the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement—a cynical blueprint for imperialist plunder which divided up the entire Middle East into outright possessions and "spheres of influence." Britain would annex most of Iraq and eventually Palestine. France was to get most of Syria, including that part which had been promised to Sharif Husain, and Lebanon. The areas in between were designated to be part of an "independent Arab State"—however, this section was also divided into "spheres" that would fall under British or French domination and control. And such "independence" was to be qualified by "the obligatory presence of foreign advisors." As British Secretary for Foreign Affairs Arthur Balfour candidly pointed out: "Now, by an 'advisor', these documents undoubtedly mean—though they do not say so—an adviser whose advice must be followed; and assuredly no state can be described as really independent which has habitually and normally to follow foreign advice supported, if the worse comes to the worst, by troops, aeroplanes and tanks."

The Real Lawrence

Meanwhile the British had for some time been laying the groundwork for maneuvering the Arab independence movement towards its own ends. As Lloyd George admitted in his memoirs: "Our agents among them (the Arabs), who included men long skilled in the arts of Oriental diplomacy, encouraged this attitude of rebellion, and promised them arms and ammunition..." Among this select group of "Arab-ologists" who served under various guises as operatives of British intelligence was one T.E. Lawrence (later to become known as "Lawrence of Arabia"). According to one biographer, Lawrence "hated to see this gentle and beautiful land and its kindly hospitable people living under the heel of the Turkish tyranny. The 'Garden of Enchantment', as he called it, should be cleansed of alien thorns and scorpions and allowed to blossom in freedom." Uh huh...

To this end, one of Lawrence's first assignments was to reconnoiter the vast and largely unmapped Sinai peninsula

which would have to be crossed by British forces pushing across the Suez Canal for Egypt (which was annexed from the Ottomans in December, 1914 and declared a British protectorate in what was basically a *fait accompli* since British troops had occupied the area even under Ottoman rule). This advance job was accomplished under the guise of an archaeological expedition formed by something called the Palestine Exploration Fund to study "the itinerary followed by the Israelites in the course of the famous forty years they spent in the desert." Lawrence spent the year "exploring" and torturing captured Turkish soldiers to pinpoint the enemy's troop concentrations and then wrote up a military guide for the use of the British army.

By the time of the outbreak of the Arab revolt, Lawrence had ingratiated himself into the confidence of the Bedouins and become Faisal's principal adviser, manipulating him for British ends in the full knowledge that the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement meant Britain's promises to the Arabs would be "dead paper" after the war. As Lawrence confessed: "I risked the fraud, on my conviction that Arab help was necessary to our cheap and speedy victory in the East, and that better we win and break our word than lose." British and French money and military equipment poured into the hands of the Arab forces and they began to attack Turkish held cities and harry the Ottoman supply lines, moving northward to eventually link up with British forces advancing from the Sinai toward Palestine and from the Persian Gulf toward Damascus, Syria—a link that would have been difficult to accomplish without the Arabs.

These Arab victories are all, of course, attributed in contemporary historical fantasy to the "daring and flamboyant" exploits of Lawrence of Arabia, the noble white man who "led" the cause of Arab independence, "risking his life," blowing up railway lines, etc., etc. Much of this derives from the fact that Lawrence was a notorious liar whose own account of this period ("Seven Pillars of Wisdom") is riddled with fairy tales exaggerating his own role in these campaigns. Lawrence was a rabid colonialist à la Kipling who wrote, among other things, that "Syria was by nature a vassal country." This "staunch exponent" of Arab independence, who for years whispered poison in Faisal's ear, always maintained in his private communications with the Foreign Office that "the Arabs should be Britain's first brown Dominion and not our last brown colony."

As for Lawrence's reputation as a soldier, it turns out that he only chose to fight in one actual pitched battle, generally preferring to keep well in the rear of the action surrounded by a contingent of nearly a hundred bandits and mercenaries he employed as bodyguards (when other British officers disapprovingly called these men "cutthroats," Lawrence shot back, "Yes, but they only cut throats to my order"). His much-lionized British "guts and gumption" was mainly exhibited in his habit of shooting his own wounded Arab officers in the head—ostensibly so as not to leave them prey to Turkish atrocities. Indeed, Lawrence's deep-felt "horror" at the enemy's brutality was exhibited after one battle when he ordered several hundred captured Turkish prisoners machinegunned after discovering one of his own men had been tortured. His renowned skill as a desert fighter was demonstrated at the battle of Aba el Lissan where, after the enemy had already been safely routed, he bravely spurred his mount forward firing at the backs of the retreating Turks—in the process, shooting his own camel in the head and, spending the rest of the battle unconscious from the fall.

Imperialist Diplomacy

As the British continued to consolidate their fortunes in the Middle East with Arab help, there was, however, a rather more public embarrassment. In November 1917, just after the successful proletarian revolution in Russia, the Bolsheviks found in the archives of the Russian Foreign Office the text of the Sykes-Picot Treaty and, in keeping with their promise to reveal all secret im-

perialist treaties, published it. After the Turks communicated this to the Arab leaders, the British Foreign Office hastily whipped off a communique to King Faisal which whined: "It would be superfluous to point out that the object aimed at by Turkey is to sow doubt and suspicion between the Allied Powers and those Arabs who under Your Majesty's leadership and guidance, are striving nobly to recover their ancient freedom... His Majesty's Government and their allies stand steadfastly by every cause aiming at the liberation of the oppressed nations, and they are determined to stand by the Arab peoples in their struggle for the establishment of an Arab world in which law shall replace Ottoman injustice... His Majesty's Government reaffirm their former pledge in regard to the liberation of the Arab peoples..."

However, these imperialist reassurances were not particularly convincing given that the very same month the British also issued the Balfour Declaration which promised "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." This move was designed not only to rally Zionist support in the allied nations and in Germany for an allied victory, but also to begin working toward the creation of a bogus and imperialist-sponsored "national Jewish entity" (finally consummated in 1948)—a process which would be used to *attack* the Arab national liberation struggles that Britain so sonorously claimed to support.

On September 30, 1918, Turkish rule came to an end in the Middle East in Damascus as Faisal's forces were the first to enter the city and hoisted the Hejaz flag of Arab liberation. On the same day, an Arab government was also formed in Beirut. However, Allenby, the commander of the British army which followed, quickly notified Faisal that Britain would be responsible for the administration of these territories—despite the numerous British proclamations since the publishing of the Sykes-Picot Treaty that "territories liberated from Turkish rule by the Arabs themselves" would be given "complete and sovereign independence" etc., etc. ("The Declaration to the Seven Arabs") Shortly thereafter, the Arab national flags in the liberated cities were hauled down and French marines waiting off the coast moved into Beirut.

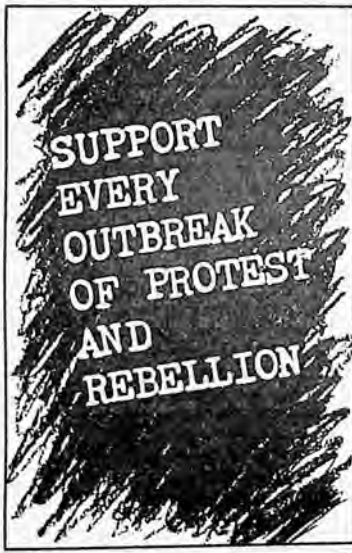
What followed was several years of imperialist negotiations in which the Arab leaders were given the runaround while the British and French military administrations established their rule by armed might over and above any nominal Arab governments. (Faisal was temporarily put off when the imperialists proclaimed him king of a powerless "United Kingdom of Syria.") Nevertheless, at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, Faisal still held out for a united Arab nation, basing his request for recognition "as independent sovereign peoples under the guarantee of the League of Nations" on U.S. president Wilson's 14 Points which had hailed the principle of self-determi-

nation and declared that "There shall be no annexations... Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned." The U.S., however, refused to answer Faisal's communique.

The real "principles" involved here were becoming painfully obvious to the Arabs now that Britain and France had control. After all, Balfour had concluded, "Overlordship is not alien to the immemorial customs and traditions of this portion of the Eastern world." And Lloyd George had summed up that "Our Arab, Syrian and Palestinian policy has not landed us in any great difficulties, and has, on the other hand, given us a considerable return on prestige, booty and enemy casualties..." By the time the negotiations were over, both the British and French had been formally "granted" their possessions more or less as they had originally been laid out in Sykes-Picot—only now they were not called "colonies," but rather "mandates" by the League of Nations, entrusted "to be administered in the interests of their inhabitants and with a view to their eventual independence." Sir Mark Sykes—one of the authors of the now notorious treaty—noted hopefully that, "The Syrian Arab has long had the knack of falling in with the plans of a successful conqueror."

However, the Arabs in Syria and elsewhere were not properly demonstrating this "knack" as anti-imperialist sentiments spread like wildfire throughout the Arab world. In Syria, demonstrations broke out, and rebel bands began to attack the foreign occupiers—many of them declaring Faisal a traitor for not launching a national resistance earlier. Exercising its mandate, in July, 1920 the French sent an army supported by tanks, heavy artillery and planes which crushed the resistance of Faisal's army and consolidated their hold on the Syrian cities as Faisal fled. Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, expressed Britain's "shock" at this development: "... it was extremely painful to British opinion and to British officers who had served the Arabs, to see those who had been our comrades such a little time before and our Allies, and who looked to us for protection and to see their wrongs righted, to look on while they were thrashed and trampled down... that has been a deep source of pain to politicians and to the military men who have been concerned. However, we have these strong ties with the French and they have to prevail and we were not able to do anything to help the Arabs in the matter..."

Cynical words, indeed. And all the more cynical considering that the very same month the French moved on Syria, the British themselves unveiled their own naked fist of imperialist "liberation" as Mesopotamia (Iraq) exploded into full-scale rebellion against British rule—a rebellion in which at least ten thousand Arabs were slaughtered. □



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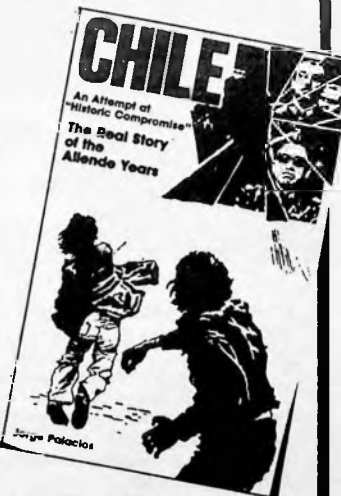
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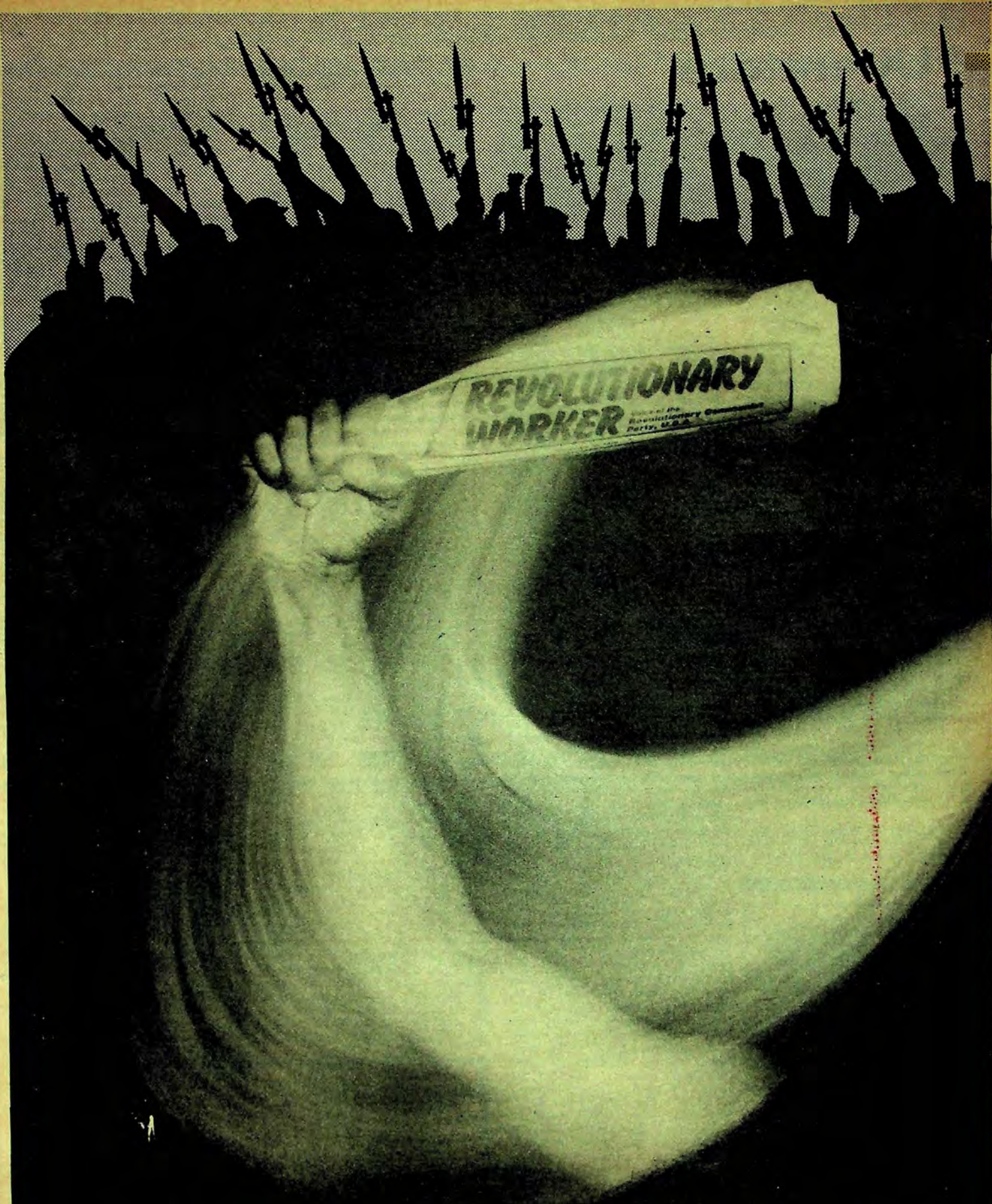
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