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V.P.'s African Safari

Bush Goes Gunning for Namibia

Over the last few months a significant shift in U.S. policy with regard to southern Africa has publicly unfolded. In early November Vice-President George Bush took off on a 7-nation safari throughout Africa which included stops in Nigeria, Cape Verde, Senegal, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Kenya and Zaire. Ostensibly billed as an "economic aid" tour, the real gist of Bush's mission was to lay down the law as to what the future holds for Africa—at least insofar as U.S. imperialism sees the future. And, although Bush was empowered to, and actually did, dole out hundreds of millions of dollars in "aid" to regimes whose economies are teetering on the brink of collapse, this was but one aspect of the overall purpose of his trip. The message carried by Bush to Africa was straight-

forward and direct. It signalled the launching of a new offensive by U.S. imperialism in southern Africa, an offensive which entailed both the open throwing down of the gauntlet to their Soviet imperialist rivals and somewhat of a leap in the overall hammering together of the U.S. bloc in Africa politically, and to no small degree, militarily.

The framework in which the latest U.S. move has occurred is quite clearly the intensifying contention between both of the major imperialist powers and their respective blocs. While all of their various moves have been conditioned, and, in fact, determined by this contention, especially over the latter half of the last decade, its intensity today dictates an

even greater need for both the U.S. and the Soviets to rustle up their blocs and put them on a definite war footing.

The unveiling of this latest shift during Bush's tour of Africa focused up around the issue of a Namibian settlement. As the next to the last stop on his tour, on November 19th Bush arrived in Kenya, a well-known stronghold of U.S. and Western imperialism on the African continent. Speaking at a state dinner just hours after his arrival and in a setting described by the *Washington Post* as designed to "strengthen his message," Bush officially announced the new twist to the U.S.-led Namibia negotiations. "The withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola in a parallel framework with South Africa's departure from Namibia is the key (emphasis ours—RW) to the settlement we all desire... My government is not ashamed to state the U.S. interest in seeing an end to the Cuban forces in Angola. Their introduction 7 years ago tore the fabric of reciprocal restraint between the United States and the Soviet Union in the developing world. Such restraint is vital if African regional security and the global balance are to be maintained."

After years of "unofficially" attempting to hinge a Namibian settlement on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola (at most the U.S. position in the past has simply been to demand a sort of official but unconnected parallel agreement on Namibia and the withdrawal of the Cuban troops), the U.S. has shifted to the official adoption of the position that the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola is an absolute condition for any conceivable settlement.

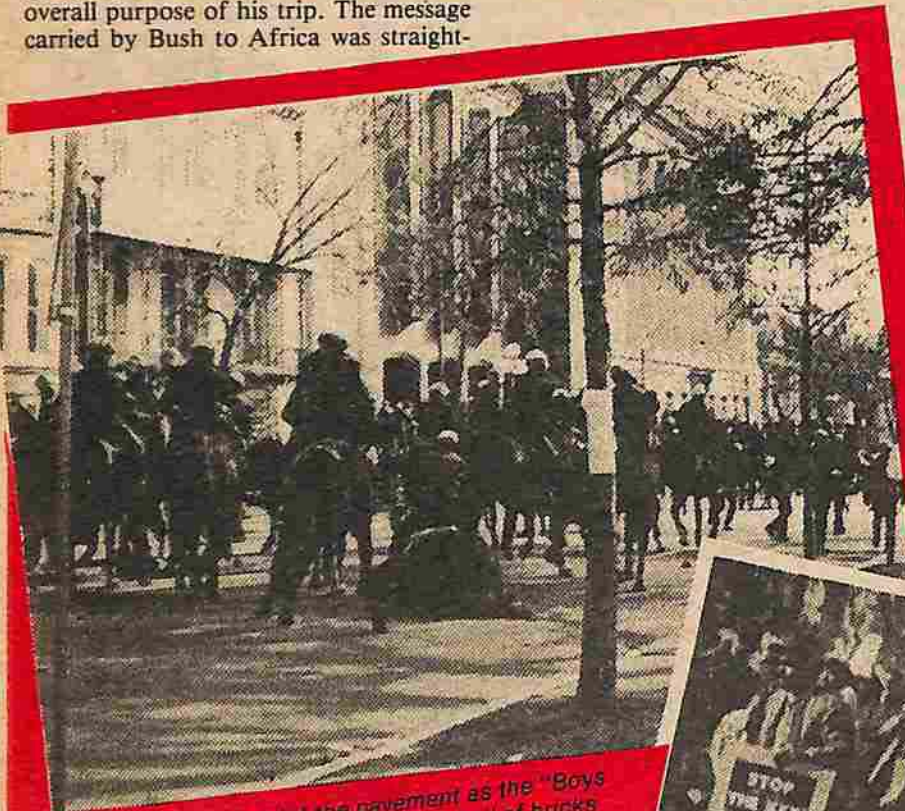
The Soviets have an entire military garrison perched in Angola, a garrison which is composed in large part of no less than one-sixth of the entire Cuban army.

Because of this the Soviets possess a very significant military/strategic outpost both in terms of putting themselves in the best possible position for world war and in terms of making important inroads into an area of the world which is of vital interest to both the U.S. and the Soviets. Given this, it is highly unlikely (to put it mildly) that the Soviets are simply going to agree to any attempts to dismantle this outpost in exchange for, at best, a long shot at implementing their historic compromise strategy in Namibia. And it is exactly because the U.S. recognizes this that they have moved to pose the demand for the dismantling of this garrison in exchange for a Namibia settlement. In other words, what the U.S. is saying when it gets translated out to the real world is, plain and simple: there is not going to be any Namibia settlement, when such a settlement could only amount to a further strengthening of the Soviet hand in southern Africa.

And, it is quite clear that this message is the work of every one of the various imperialist powers in the U.S. bloc, not just the U.S. alone. It is actually quite interesting to note that although the other members of the so-called Contact Group (the negotiating team composed of Western European imperialists, Canada and the U.S. which spearheaded the maneuverings around Namibia for at least the last 4 years), particularly France and West Germany, always claim to have significant differences with the U.S. and South Africa over the question of Namibia, yet not a one of them has so much as uttered a peep of protest against this latest U.S. move. In fact, the view of these other Western bloc imperialists was concisely summed up by the French foreign minister, Claude Cheysson, when he recently stated, "The work of the Contact Group is over."

While Bush attributes this new official U.S. position to a desire to mend the torn fabric of "reciprocal restraint," in actual fact the public announcement and adop-

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(Left) Cop and horse hit the pavement as the "Boys in Blue" beat a hasty retreat under a hail of bricks and bottles.

Rude Surprise For D.C. Cops at KKK March

Saturday, November 27th — hundreds of people charged through the streets of official and respectable downtown Washington, D.C. engaging the police in roving street battles, showering them with bricks, bottles and sticks, laughing, cheering and clapping hands, dispersing when hit by teargas, only to regroup and charge the police again. There were large numbers of Black youths and Black people of all ages, small groups of Black Vietnam vets, some dressed in combat

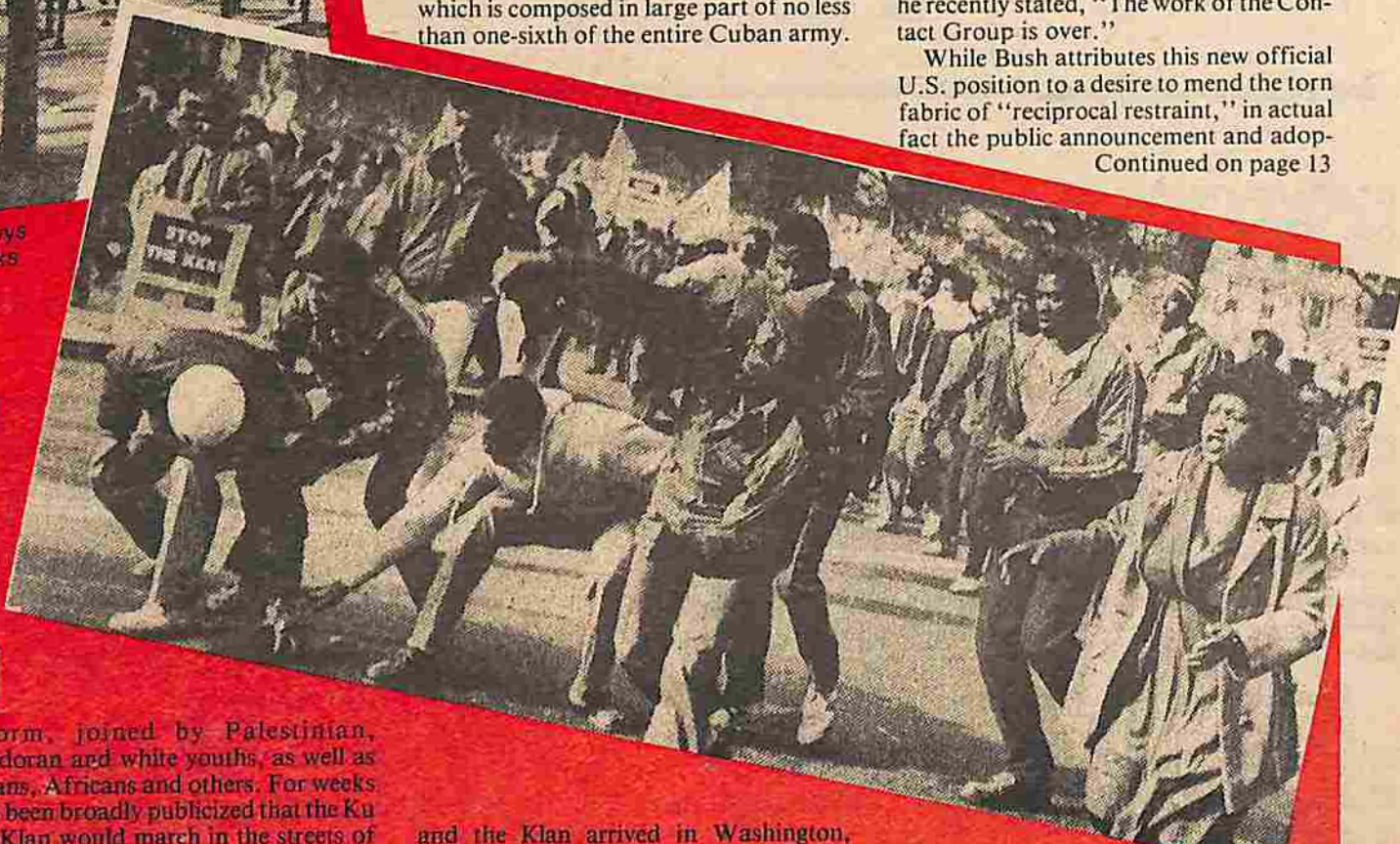
uniform, joined by Palestinian, Salvadoran and white youths, as well as Iranians, Africans and others. For weeks it had been broadly publicized that the Ku Klux Klan would march in the streets of Washington. Numerous political groups had been organizing, holding press conferences and planning counter demonstrations and confrontations similar to many such events which have occurred whenever the Klan announces a march. But when November 27th came

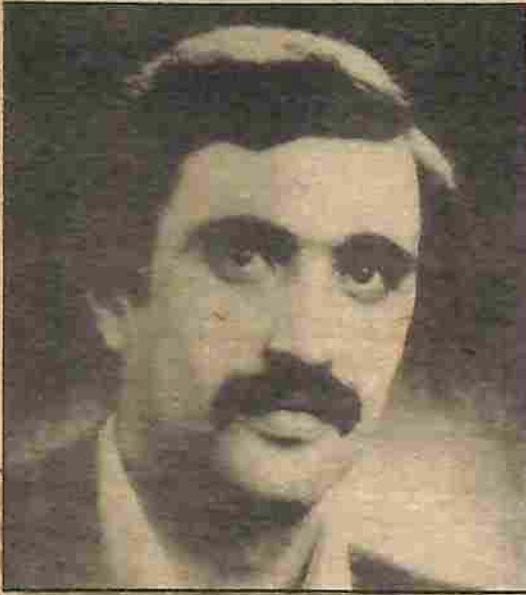
and the Klan arrived in Washington, what happened was different than what anybody had expected.

The Klan had announced their intentions to march on Washington at a Labor Day meeting in Stone Mountain, Georgia, which brought together 6 or 7 of the scores of different Klan factions to

form the Confederation of Klans. This confederation drew together such sordid elements as J.B. Stoner, convicted of the church bombing in Birmingham where

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Revolutionary from Turkey Murdered in Holland

The attacks which have filled Turkish prisons and torture chambers and stretched to Europe with the arrest of Hüseyin Balkir and other revolutionaries from Turkey now include the murder of Nubar Yalim in Holland. Nubar was shot dead Nov. 5 when his home was surrounded and attacked in a full-scale assault thought to have been organized by the MIT (Turkish secret police). Two details in the sketchy initial reports we have received mark the cooperation of Dutch authorities in this murder: first, Nubar's residence was not publicly known; and second, after killing Nubar, the attackers rather casually cleaned up the evidence under the astonished and horrified eyes of the neighbors without any apparent fear that they would be interrupted. As we reported at the time of Hüseyin Balkir's arrest (*RW* No. 173), the Turkish military junta has recently published a wanted list of revolutionaries and leftists abroad. Now we have received a quote from the Turkish daily *Hurriyet* which calls for widening the campaign against revolutionaries within Turkey's borders by striking at revolutionaries abroad as well, pointing to the Israeli Mossad's assassination of PLO figures in Europe as an example of what's required. There is a thick stench of a

NATO-wide campaign, in both "legal" and "illegal" forms, to rid the U.S.-led bloc of the threat of revolution in Turkey and the revolutionary contagion in Europe.

A mass protest march against Nubar's murder and this whole murderous campaign took place in Paris Nov. 20. It was organized by a coalition of forces, including a contingent of revolutionary workers from Turkey. Several hundred people, many of them wearing Nubar's photo pinned to their clothing, swept down one of Paris' main boulevards as thousands of immigrants and French on-lookers lined the streets. Some of the on-lookers argued vigorously about the nature of the Turkish government, others were provoked by the portrait of Mao Tsetung included in a giant banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, and still others could be heard joining in when the Internationale was sung. Vanloads of French riot police stationed nearby were kept out of sight until the marchers stopped in an intersection for a final rally. Then suddenly a dozen vans converged on the intersection, in a sinister reminder of France's own membership in the Western imperialist alliance. Similiar demonstrations were to be held in W. Germany. □



Stop the Extradition of Hüseyin Balkir!

In the last two weeks the *RW* has received copies of petitions sent in support of Hüseyin Balkir to W. German and French authorities signed by:

- “42 internationalists in Houston, Texas from Iran, Lebanon, Palestine, Mexico and El Salvador”
- “51 progressive people of all nationalities riding on buses from Michigan to Washington, D.C. for the demonstration in support of the Palestinian revolution on Palestine Day, Nov. 27”
- “21 people at the premiere of *Yöl* in San Francisco”
- “20 Indian comrades residing in West Germany”

It is extremely important that these authorities continue to receive a stream of letters, petitions, telegrams, etc., demanding that Balkir not be extradited and that he be freed. Balkir, a leading revolutionary from Turkey, was stripped of his citizenship by the Turkish junta. He was given political refugee status in France and a passport under the UN Convention. While visiting W. Germany he was arrested Sept. 13 by W. German authorities, supposedly at the request of the junta. He has been held since then in a Cologne prison awaiting extradition despite the fact that such a move would violate the UN Convention, W. German-French accords on refugees and even W. German-Turkish treaties which forbid extradition in death penalty cases. Balkir will be killed if he is shipped back to Turkey. (See *RW* Nos. 182 and 173.)

Send protests to:
Oberstaatsanwaltschaft
Reihenspergerplatz
5000 Köln 1
W. Germany

Ministère des Relations Extérieures
Quai d'Orsay
Paris 7^{ème}
France

Copies should be sent to the *RW* and to:
Committee in Solidarity with Political Prisoners
Kaiser-Wilhelm Str. 252
4100 Duisberg 11
W. Germany
Phone: 0203-407244

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Reflections and Sketches by Bob Avakian



This is the fourteenth in a series, "Reflections and Sketches," by Bob Avakian. It has been transcribed and edited from a tape.

In "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism" Lenin wrote that: "Nothing in our times can be done without elections; nothing can be done without the masses. And in this era of printing and parliamentarism it is impossible to gain the following of the masses without a widely ramified, systematically managed, well-equipped system of flattery, lies, fraud, juggling with fashionable and popular catchwords, and promising all manner of reforms and blessings to the workers right and left — as long as they renounce the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie." (Vol. 23, p. 117) What Lenin was emphasizing here is especially important in times of war, especially world war when the defense of the fatherland is made a fervent call for the masses and the waves of chauvinism are especially whipped up. And this emphasizes that especially in these times it is extremely important to go against the pull of tailing spontaneity and not to trail along in the wake of the spontaneous sentiment of the masses which, as Lenin pointed out, at any given time, taking the majority, could be a sentiment for pogroms. This is also related to how a revolution goes down and Lenin's point also emphasized in "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," as well as in other places, of the actual split and the existence of two opposed camps within the working class itself, broadly defined, and his point more generally that a major aspect of revolution especially in the imperialist countries, but not only there of course, is that of a civil war between two sections of the people.

This leads up to or touches at least on an important related question. What is there in common between, as well as what is different about, proletarian revolution as compared to all previous revolutions, and in particular bourgeois revolutions, in history? First of all, all proletarian revolutions that have actually been successful up to this point have occurred as a result of transforming, at one stage or another and in one form or another, a bourgeois-democratic revolution into a proletarian socialist revolution. This obviously has very important implications in terms of what it reflects about the material conditions of say Russia or China, and in terms of the political and ideological content and influences that existed and exerted themselves in those revolutions. Second of all, it is true that not only in the imperialist era, as Lenin said "in our times," but even in making its own revolution the bourgeoisie too was required to mobilize the masses to a significant degree. Even if not with the same consciousness that the proletariat must and does carry this out, the bourgeoisie was to a significant degree forced to mobilize and even in certain ways politically arouse the masses and involve them in political life in order to carry out their revolutions, the bourgeois revolutions.

It is also the case (although it's in a qualitatively different way) that the proletariat, and particularly the class-conscious and advanced section of the proletariat, is in contradiction to the rest of the masses and this in itself lays the possibility that a proletarian revolution can be turned back into, at best, a bourgeois-democratic affair, whereby the advanced section, like the advanced bourgeois leaders of previous times, install themselves as the ruling group and the masses remain relatively passive. This is *not*, as a lot of social-democrats like to present it, simply as a result of the manipulations of this leadership but because of the objective contradictions and some of the inertia of the masses as well as the bourgeois influences on the leaders. Because of all this it can come about that the masses remain or quickly fall back into a more passive position and the advanced section is pushed in a direction of becoming a ruling group above the masses of people in a class sense, ruling over them. In other words

Nothing In Our Times Can Be Done Without the Masses:

A Scientific Not Romantic Understanding

what's focused on here is the much longer and more difficult process; even if the masses are constantly aroused under the leadership of a class-conscious vanguard there still remains the longer, more difficult ebbing and flowing and twisting and turning process of actually transforming society and the world as a whole in making the famous two radical ruptures spoken of by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* — the radical rupture with all traditional property relations but also with all traditional ideas.

So "nothing can be done without the masses" is a fundamental truth and it has qualitatively different implications for different classes just as every question in class society does. But at the same time it has to be understood in one sense anew, not romantically but with a deep and scientific understanding. And what all this makes clear and re-emphasizes is indeed the long tortuous process and the fact that proletarian revolution and the transition to communism throughout the world is in fact full of twists and turns and will be inevitably characterized by advances and then setbacks and then new leaps forward. It also makes clear again the importance of making the greatest advances yes, at all times, but especially at those times when the possibilities for advances are most concentrated, and in particular at those world historic conjunctures when the world contradictions of the imperialist system are, as Stalin said, tied together in a single knot and thrown on the scales for resolution. But beyond this and with all these difficulties there are after all the fundamental interests of the masses of people throughout the world who are after all exploited and oppressed under the present system and who are the victims of the age-old division of labor in society and who do have an objective and fundamental interest in overturning all this and making those two radical ruptures.

So, perhaps in this context it's appropriate to end with another quote from "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," and in fact with Lenin's conclusion of that very important essay: "Engels draws the distinction," Lenin wrote, "between the 'bourgeois labour party' of the *old* trade unions — the privileged minority — and the '*lowest* mass', the real majority, and appeals to the latter who are *not* infected by 'bourgeois respectability'. This is the essence of Marxist tactics!"

"Neither we nor anyone else can calculate precisely what portion of the proletariat is following and will follow the social-chauvinists and opportunists. This will be revealed only by the struggle, it will definitely be decided only by the socialist revolution. But we know for certain that the 'defenders of the fatherland' in the imperialist war represent only a minority. And it is therefore our duty, if we wish to remain socialists, to go down *lower* and *deeper* to the real masses; this is the whole meaning and the whole purport of the struggle against opportunism. By exposing the fact that the opportunists and social-chauvinists are in reality betraying and selling the interests of the masses, that they are defending the temporary privileges of a minority of the workers, that they are the vehicles of bourgeois ideas and influence, that they are really allies and agents of the bourgeoisie, we teach the masses to appreciate their true political interests, to fight for socialism and for the revolution through all the long and painful vicissitudes of imperialist wars and imperialist armistices.

"The only Marxist line in the world labour movement is to explain to the masses the inevitability and necessity of breaking with opportunism, to educate them for revolution by waging a relentless struggle against opportunism, to utilize the experience of the war to expose, not conceal, the utter vileness of the national-liberal labour politics." (Vol. 23, pp. 119-120, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism") □

IF NUCLEAR WAR

The following article is in response to a letter signed "Revolutionary Anarchists, Communists, and Internationalists" which was printed in the Revolutionary Worker No. 165 as part of our correspondence and debate on nuclear war. We are reprinting the letter here together with our response. We again encourage readers to make further contributions to this ongoing debate on these crucial questions.

Revolutionary Communists:

The current position of the Revolutionary Communist Party (as presented in the *Revolutionary Worker*) regarding nuclear war appears to be as follows:

1. Nuclear war, or the threat of it, will create revolutionary conditions; either

the war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent the war.

2. Nuclear weapons are paper tigers.

3. After nuclear war there will be a struggle to organize society and revolutionary communists must be a force in that struggle.

4. If nuclear war is thinkable, then revolution is thinkable; therefore let's think of revolution.

We feel this position is mistaken. Our reasons are as follows:

1. The actual occurrence of a nuclear war will not create revolutionary conditions. It will destroy any revolutionary opportunities because it will destroy the material bases of human life and society.

What will create revolutionary conditions are the preparations for and the imminent danger of nuclear war.

2. Mao claimed the atomic bomb was a paper tiger in connection with the U.S. threat to use nuclear weapons during the Korean War. Perhaps he was right then, but today he would be wrong. The capitalist crisis, which has been caused and perpetuated by all imperialist states, is now deep enough to show that capitalist contradictions lead to nuclear genocide, unless a world revolution destroys capitalism first. Today nuclear weapons are not paper tigers.

3. There will be no struggle to organize society after nuclear war. It will bring instant death to countless people, and debilitation from burns, shock, radiation, disease, famine, etc. to everyone else leading to a slower but no less certain nuclear death — nothing else. To think otherwise is to share the imperialists' belief that nuclear war is survivable.

4. This is an irrelevant idealist argument. The relevant argument is this: *Nuclear war is inevitable unless there is a revolution; so let's prepare for revolution!*

In short, the choice is between life and death, revolution or the last war. We hope the RCP will sharpen its position regarding nuclear war.

Revolutionary Anarchists, Communists, and Internationalists

Response to "Revolution Or The Last War" Thesis

While we can certainly unite with the urgency expressed by the comrades in their letter and its stress on the fact that only revolution can prevent another world war with all the very real horrors it would entail, the essential thrust of the letter promotes some very wrong views and advocates a strategy for revolution that will ultimately lead in quite the opposite direction if not broken with. Specifically what becomes clear through a close reading of the letter is that the comrades are arguing that: it is a given that "the capitalist crisis, which has been caused and perpetuated by all the imperialist states, is now deep enough to show that capitalist contradictions lead to nuclear genocide, unless world revolution destroys capitalism first" and therefore "what will create revolutionary conditions are the preparations for and imminent danger of nuclear war." In other words, the main and overriding question facing the masses of people of the world is preventing a nuclear war through revolution — as the comrades put it, "the choice is between life and death, revolution or the last war." One can hardly argue that nuclear war is not a major contradiction of our time, a giant crime of imperialism. But what is being argued here is something different. In their view, nuclear war is basically presented as the *only* (at least the only relevant) contradiction and, further, once everyone is convinced that it's either overthrowing im-

MEGADEATH

LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR

AIR BURST

DISARMAMENT

COLLATERAL DAMAGE

DETERRENCE

COUNTER VALUE ATTACK

CIVIL DEFENSE

ELECTROMAGNETIC PULSE

LAUNCH ON WARNING

FRATRICIDE

NUCLEAR FREEZE

FIREBALL

POPULATION DAMAGE

THROW WEIGHT

PREEMPTIVE STRIKE

MUTUALLY ASSURED DESTRUCTION

FLEXIBLE RESPONSE

GROUND ZERO

IS "THINKABLE",

perialism or the end of humanity, they will choose the former. Thus with the closer approach of the actual outbreak of world war, when it is on the verge of being unleashed, everyone around the world will stand up all at once and say, "ENOUGH!" And the job of revolutionaries then is to convince people today that this is really the case and, when the time comes, to lead this world uprising. Whether the authors intend to paint exactly this picture or not, this is basically the scenario their letter runs out, and it is based on some very incorrect analysis of the world situation and the contradictions which underlie it as well as an incorrect understanding of the actual process of revolution.

Is it true that the threat of nuclear war in and of itself is the thing that is going to lead the masses of people worldwide to overthrow imperialism because they are presented with a choice between the survival or extinction of humanity? The immediate threat of nuclear war (or escalated nuclear war) might be the precipitating contradiction leading to revolution in some major and strategic parts of the world. But the comrades' argument is much too simple; not only does it close off a variety of other possible ways that revolution could be sparked, but it presents a wrong and misleading view of this one. Even on the surface of things, you can see that if it were the case that the preparations for nuclear war and the belief that this means the choice between the survival or extinction of humanity would automatically lead people to a revolutionary position, then there would be a hell of a lot more revolutionaries right now, because in fact, this view is the dominant one among millions of people who are expressing their opposition to nuclear war today.

Certainly the fact that world war looms ever closer is a very powerful reason to make revolution. And the threat of such a truly towering and unprecedented crime against the people of the world is impelling large numbers of people from broad strata especially in the imperialist countries into political life and varying degrees of opposition to imperialism, with a whole range of political outlooks. Definitely the approach of this global conflagration is itself a profound indictment of the imperialist system and its basic nature, which provides revolutionaries with the freedom and necessity to expose precisely this and point to the only solution to this and all of the horrors and evils that the imperialists are responsible for. But it is still *only one* of many things which are bringing people, even these broader forces, into opposition to imperialism and everything that flows from it. World war itself is only one expression, though a very acute one, of the deeper underlying class contradictions in the world and the anarchy of capitalism.

To separate the question of nuclear war from these more basic contradictions and to really place it above them — which the comrades actually do with their focus on the choice being between the survival of humanity vs. its inevitable destruction in a nuclear war — can only obscure and cover over these deeper and more fundamental contradictions, in particular the class contradiction. To put it more directly and provocatively, does the fact that nuclear war is now on the horizon — threatening even to engulf the territory of the imperialist citadels in massive destruction — suddenly simplify everything for the revolutionary forces? Should they now devote their main energies to building a mass revolutionary anti-nuclear war movement worldwide and not waste their time focusing on more minor matters such as the struggles (including revolutionary struggles) of the people of the oppressed nations which are battering and weakening the imperialists of both blocs and are bound to do so even more in the future? Or, for example, are the struggles of the oppressed nationalities in the imperialist countries

themselves, which are a powerful force for revolution and a major front of the struggle to overthrow imperialism, now a side issue at best as far as revolutionaries should be concerned? Are all of the struggles of the proletariat and oppressed people throughout the world only important insofar as they can be diverted into a mass movement aimed at preventing a nuclear war? The logic of the comrades' letter ultimately leads to exactly this conclusion, even though it is not their intent. It is easy to see how this could be turned into a simple recipe for economism and reformism, narrowing the scope of revolutionary work and in the imperialist countries straight-up chauvinism. And in the storm and stress of a sharpening world situation, with the dangers of war looming ever closer, the pressures to follow this recipe and others with the same essence will be all the more intense.

Lenin said, "Communism springs from every pore" of society. The proletariat and oppressed masses worldwide come into opposition and struggle against imperialism and reaction on many fronts. They wage revolutionary struggles against the imperialist system which stands in the way of eliminating all of the horrors of life under its reign, including world war and innumerable "local" wars in between. All of these diverse streams of struggle are brought forth by the fundamental and irreconcilable class contradictions in the world. It is the task and duty of revolutionaries — the class-conscious proletarian internationalist forces — to support and assist in every way possible all of these struggles against the enemy and to help draw together these diverse streams into a torrent aimed squarely at the walls of the imperialists' bastions. When a revolutionary situation actually does emerge, no matter what the immediate cause, such diversity — and the task of leading it all toward insurrection — will only be magnified. It is the responsibility and task of the class-conscious revolutionary forces and the revolutionary communist parties to spread the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist understanding and to organize forces in an all-around way and prepare for this.

The view expressed in the comrades' letter narrows the scope of these urgent tasks and ironically could even lead to a sectarian approach toward uniting and struggling with the broad forces who are coming into motion against the imperialists' war preparations. It could lead to demanding that these broader forces, who are mainly involved in supporting various plans and programs for disarmament and wrangling over the question of the way forward and even revolution, become revolutionaries right now or be rejected as reactionaries or hopeless

cases. It could lead to a rather narrowly focused strategy of trying to convince people that the broad and loosely defined movement against nuclear weapons and nuclear war must be turned into a revolutionary movement. This cannot and will not happen, but this doesn't lessen the significance of this broad movement or make it less important for revolutionaries to unite and struggle with people in it. Quite the opposite. Some of these forces can be and will be won to a revolutionary understanding through the work of revolutionaries on many fronts, and through engaging in struggle against imperialism in a more all-around way, and many more can and must be won to a position of supporting revolution (or of "friendly neutrality" toward it) as things develop. But this, like many other aspects of revolutionary work, is a complex and protracted process and how it all unfolds has everything to do with major and diverse political developments in the world.

In any case, what marks the comrades' viewpoint is its rightist essence. Whether it leads to certain "left" errors or not, the strategy of convincing the masses that it's revolution or the death of humanity echoes the straight-up reformist argument that even the ruling classes (or important sections of them) can and must be convinced not to unleash a nuclear war since they too are part of humanity and even they don't want to see its destruction. This is so even though the comrades would argue against such reformism. Still their strategy is wrong and doesn't really break from the reformist view. Even if revolution in important parts of the world is precipitated by the imminent threat of a nuclear war, this "left" version of the "humanity vs. the bomb" argument is going to run smack up against a very complicated political situation. Revolution, whenever and wherever it occurs, is a complex process and the masses of people have a sense of this. The threat of nuclear war, no matter how destructive it portends to be, does not present anyone with the magic key to solving all the problems of politically winning forces to a revolutionary understanding and defeating the all-around efforts of the imperialists and their defenders and apologists to line people up behind their plans to divide the world, sow confusion among the masses, and smash and subvert the revo-

lutionary struggle. Overthrowing the enemy in any country, to say nothing of on a world scale, is not a simple matter of lining up the masses of people on one side and a handful of imperialists of various stripes on the other side and then having it out.

In an imperialist country like the U.S. this is all the more the case. There will be, and already are, many forces in the field both on the progressive and reactionary side of history. The imperialists of both blocs have their agents in many guises and disguises. They are going to rally their social base for the war effort and against revolution and they are going to vie for the allegiance of the great mass of intermediate forces in society, as they are already doing. The battle for the seizure of power and the civil war which will follow will at many points take the form of warfare between two sections of the people — those mobilized by the progressive and revolutionary forces and those mobilized by the imperialists and reactionaries. There is no way to get around these facts. No matter how much it is argued that the choice is between life and death for the human race and that this is the overriding issue facing the world, the underlying class realities and class contradictions assert themselves in one way or another on every front. This is why revolutionaries must prepare the people for complex and difficult struggle, arming them with a clear and sober analysis of the world situation and the tasks ahead.

There is No "Humanity"

As to the rather commonly held view that humanity must be united against nuclear weapons: It must be said straight up that there is no single "humanity" at this time, at least when it comes to political reality, only humanity polarized and split into oppressors and oppressed, exploiters and exploited, united only by the many chains to which the proletariat and other oppressed masses are shackled and which the imperialists and other reactionary classes hold in their hands. The interests of these opposing classes are in the final analysis irreconcilable and diametrically opposed. Only when the imperialist and reactionary classes within humanity are completely eliminated by the struggle of the proletariat and all the oppressed in the world, only when all forms of exploita-

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THEN WHY ISN'T REVOLUTION THINKABLE?

L'Affaire des Généraux... Or Begging Mr. Mitterand's Reactionary Pardon



"Heal the wounds," "bring about national reconciliation," "bury the divisions of the past." Sound familiar? This time, however, it is not Ronald Reagan or General Jimmy Stewart talking but the Socialist government of France. The wounds they want to heal are those caused by the Algerian War which divided not only the masses of people but also the reactionary ruling classes themselves.

Recently a big flap has taken place in France over the Mitterand government's decision to grant a full pardon to eight fascist generals of the French army. Of course these generals were never busted for having played a key role in killing over a million Algerian men, women and children in France's losing effort to maintain their north African colony (*l'Algérie française*) nor were they ever brought to trial for the widespread and well-known use of torture. Most of the war criminals guilty of these crimes and others (like the gunning down in cold blood of several hundred Algerians who were peacefully demonstrating in the streets of Paris) are still occupying important positions in the Army and State or have retired with full honors. No, the crime of these generals was having tried to topple the DeGaulle regime when the latter was finally forced to pull out of Algeria.

It is not surprising that the Socialist government, and Mitterand in particular, is so anxious to close the last page on the Algerian war. For Mitterand himself, at that time the Minister of the Interior and thus directly responsible for "law and order" in colonies as well as in the Metropole, waded up to his neck in the blood of the Algerian people. In fact the entire French left, Communist Party of France (PCF) included, would like to forget the Algerian war which remains the most shameful page in its history of pro-imperialist politics.

When the Front for National Liberation (FLN) launched armed attacks on French colonial authorities and published a declaration of war on November 1, 1954, the response of the "left" government of Mendes-France then in power was quick — and predictable. Mendes-France, the recently deceased "grand old man" of the French left, declared that "Algeria is France" and Mitterand added "The only negotiation possible is war."

One year and two governments later the situation had gone from bad to worse for *l'Algérie française* as increasing num-

bers of Algerians joined the insurgency despite the Draconian measures of the succeeding left governments. The newly elected Socialist government of Guy Mollet demanded a virtual *carte blanche* from the Chamber of Deputies to take "whatever measures necessary" to put down the rebellion. The PCF voted the war measures.

In 1957 it was still the Socialists at the helm when the famous Battle of Algiers took place — a battle which was won by the French army by the massive recourse to torture.

While unleashing the army to kill and burn and working the guillotine overtime (a particularly unmentionable point in France where the Socialist Party just made a big deal about abolishing the "morally objectionable" death penalty), the "leftists" in power would occasionally make pious proclamations about doing away with "injustice" in Algeria and giving "equal rights" to the long-oppressed indigenous majority. In any event, it was a hypocritical two-faced game that couldn't go on forever, and in May 1958 the generals of the French army in Algeria staged a military rebellion and threatened to send paratroopers to Paris. Their central demand: that Charles DeGaulle be returned to power. Faced with an offer they couldn't refuse, the Chamber of Deputies voted DeGaulle's conditions: rule by decree for six months and a new constitution. The arrival of DeGaulle to power was hailed almost universally by the bourgeoisie, who saw it as a means of strengthening the state apparatus and resolving the Algerian problem. The socialists themselves were no doubt relieved to have DeGaulle take over, as they would no longer be responsible for the conduct of an increasingly unpopular and losing war.

DeGaulle realized that France could not win in Algeria and that the war was damaging the overall interests of French imperialism. He thus embarked on a program of intensifying military operations, hoping thereby to break the back of the FLN, while at the same time pursuing a negotiated settlement that would leave France's imperialist interests as much intact as possible. DeGaulle had to be careful about presenting his Algerian policy since the *coup d'état* that brought him to power had been waged under the banner of *l'Algérie française* and the big colonialists in Algeria, bitterly opposed to any form of independence, represented a powerful force in French political life.

Nevertheless, bit by bit DeGaulle's "peace plan" emerged and direct negotiations were begun with the FLN. Not surprisingly this led to more and more open discontent among powerful sections of the bourgeoisie and the army who were still deluded into thinking that the Algerian war could be won (or were willing to accept a state of perpetual war) and who believed that the "loss" of Algeria would do irreparable harm to France's interests.

As the war grew to a close the disgruntled generals led another military rebellion, this time aimed against DeGaulle, who was accused of "selling out" *l'Algérie française*. But unlike the earlier and successful *coup d'état* that brought DeGaulle to power, the majority of the bourgeoisie was resolutely opposed and the rebellion was quickly put down. In the aftermath, a number of top generals formed the O.A.S. (*Organisation de l'Armée Secrète*). The O.A.S. carried out a terrorist campaign directed against the Algerian masses (which in itself was no great crime in the eyes of the bourgeoisie) but O.A.S. also carried its murderous activities into France itself and began blowing up houses of pro-government politicians and even mounted a serious effort to assassinate DeGaulle.

In France the traditional left, which had never lifted a finger in favor of Algerian independence, found itself rallying around DeGaulle in an unspoken "united front against fascism." Thus the terms of the political debate were shifted away from the question of whether or not to support the armed struggle of the Algerian people and onto the safe terrain of supporting the "republican" bourgeoisie against the "fascists" of the O.A.S.

While the O.A.S. was roundly condemned by the great majority of French bourgeois society, it did enjoy considerable support among the extreme right-wing forces (or "ultras" as they were called at the time) and, especially, among the

over one million French colonialists, big and small, who fled Algeria after the loss of their paradise. These repatriated colonialists (or "*pieds noirs*") have continued to this day to provide an important base of support for reactionaries of all stripes. For many years after the Algerian war the question of *l'Algérie française* continued to divide the right-wing political parties in France between those who supported DeGaulle and others who considered the peace settlement a "betrayal." Not surprisingly, the Socialist Party also got into the act, also striving to build a base of support among the *pieds noirs* and supporting many of their demands for amnesty.

Actually, it was DeGaulle himself who amnestied the rebellious generals and others in 1968 when, in the face of the massive revolutionary upsurge of workers and students, he needed to unite the "ultras" firmly around his banner. Many of the remnants of the O.A.S. were integrated into DeGaulle's own semi-official paramilitary force which was given the names of tens of thousands of revolutionaries and opponents to be rounded up if "extralegal" methods were required to quell revolutionary upsurge.

But while DeGaulle let the remaining generals out of jail and welcomed others, who had gone into exile, back into the country, and even restored their pensions, he stopped short of a full pardon. In France, perhaps more than any other Western state, the question of "historical verdict" is an extremely important and often intensely debated subject. Thus, even though the generals were now free to go about their reactionary business, as long as they did not have the full honors due to servants of French imperialism the question of a full pardon continued to surface from time to time.

During his election campaign Mitterand had promised to eliminate the "last remaining consequences of the Algerian war" without ever clarifying if he was talking about the rebellious generals. In October of this year Prime Minister Mauroy proposed a law which would grant a full pardon to all those who had been convicted of a crime during or in the wake

of the Algerian war and would specifically pardon the eight generals and restore them to reserve status, assure them of a full military funeral, and so on.

The surprise came when the Socialist deputies, who make up the majority in the Chamber of Deputies, refused to go along and adopted an amendment eliminating the provision in the law concerning the generals. The Mitterand government found itself in the unenviable position of not being able to deliver on its promises to the reactionary *pieds noirs* community because some Socialist Party parliamentarians were using the issue to do some further grandstanding about their commitment to democratic principles.

The solution came on November 23 when Mauroy invoked a rarely used provision of the constitution which allows the government to adopt measures *without a vote* providing the government is not censured within 24 hours (which would require the Prime Minister to resign and/or the dissolution of the National Assembly and new elections).

The famous provision of the constitution that allowed this maneuver (Article 49, clause 3) is one of several such provisions, insisted upon by DeGaulle, which give the head of the French state more direct authority than in any other advanced bourgeois-democratic country. The Socialist Party, not to mention Mitterand himself, has been on record numerous times as opposing this "undemocratic" measure. Actually the Socialist deputies (and those of the PCF as well) were relieved by this measure, which allowed the government to have its way without forcing them to take the humiliating posture of reversing their vote. Needless to say, no censure motion was made.

So now everyone is happy — the generals will have their military funeral; the French army will have several experienced generals to step forward to active duty should war require it; the Socialist deputies have reaffirmed their dedication to republican principles; national reconciliation has been fostered; and Monsieur Mitterand has shown again his "firm hand" on the ship of state. Yet another example of imperialism colored pink. □

Megalithic Monoliths for Posterity

It is rare to find the U.S. imperialists contemplating their own mortality. As they would have it, their reign on the planet should last practically forever as long as they can maintain the will and gumption to keep it going. However, certain practical problems of the day have compelled the government to commission the Analytic Science Corporation to do an exhaustive archeological study of the great monuments of civilizations past in order to design the most lasting and clearly decipherable marker to inform posterity about one of this system's immortal contributions to mankind. In the study, Stonehenge, the Pyramids of Egypt, the Acropolis, The Great Wall of China, the Nazca lines in Peru, and the Serpent Mound of the Adena Indians (located in what is now Ohio, USA) were all subjected to a thorough analysis taking into account the factors of cost durability, resistance to theft and vandalism, and comprehensibility. The conclusion reached was that the ideal type of monument would be a series of "megalithic monoliths" like Stonehenge though in an advanced modern-day design bearing clear inscriptions as to what they meant in the 6 languages used in the United Nations along with scientifically devised universal symbols. The monoliths would be sunk five feet into the ground and be 20 feet high and made out of "hard, dense nonporous rock, like granite or basalt."

Before anyone accuses these imperialists of excessive vanity, however, let us

assure them that these historic monuments are only being designed with the sincerest interests in the well-being of future society in mind. You see, the purpose of the markers is to delineate the boundaries of nuclear waste sites. This act of concern for future generations is necessary because radioactive waste takes tens of thousands of years to decay, and even the U.S. must contemplate not being around quite *that* long. But even as they consider a future without them in it, today's rulers are undoubtedly taking heart that their remains will still be poisoning the world long after they are gone. Each site will be marked by about 30 of these "megalithic monoliths" bearing the following profound inscription for civilizations to come: "RADIOACTIVE WASTE — DO NOT DIG HERE DEEPLY." There will also be a picture, patterned after international driving signs, of a human figure digging in the ground with a diagonal line through it, along with the currently familiar sign of radiation. We are sure that the members of future society will heartily thank the Human Interference Task Force of the Office of Nuclear Waste for wisely deploying such great man-made megaliths, leaving posterity with a lasting legacy of their concern for humanity past, present, and future. Upon stumbling across these fitting monuments to an ancient and moribund society, the people of the future are sure to be slightly amazed, but will no doubt quickly decipher their deeper message: STAY AWAY FROM THIS SHIT FOREVER!" □

Socialist Construction and Class Struggle In the Field of Economics

By the Writing Group of the Kirin Provincial Revolutionary Committee

The following article was published by Chinese revolutionaries in early 1970. It originally appeared in Hongqi (Red Flag) and was reprinted in Peking Review, No. 16, 1970. We are reprinting it now as a contribution to the debate on the Soviet Union as it is a sharp polemic and rebuke against a line which can be considered the "conventional wisdom" of revisionist political economy — both Chinese and Soviet.

This article — as well as others which appeared around the same time — was a product of the struggle and transformation of the Cultural Revolution. It is very advanced theoretically, especially in terms of coming to grips with the law of value and the nature of its operation in the socialist period. "In socialist society," say the revolutionaries, "there are commodities and there is the law of value. We use the latter as a tool in planning and business accounting, but we are firmly opposed to making it the basis for regulating production or working out our plans." Proletarian politics must be put in command. The revisionists, on the other hand, exaggerate the role of the law of value and "want to use it to regulate all social production." In their efforts to restore capitalism, they want to put "profit in command." (Incidentally, it was later revealed that Lin Biao, mentioned in the text, advocated a line thoroughly opposed to that fought for here by the revolutionaries.)

Later on in the mid-'70s, the advances concentrated in this article were further developed and integrated into a more comprehensive theory of the bourgeoisie under socialism. The economic base of these capitalist roaders, or new bourgeoisie, was then identified as being the "capitalist relations of production which have been vanquished but have not yet been eliminated." (See, for example, "Capitalist-Roaders Are The Representatives Of The Capitalist Relations Of Production," by Chuang Lan, reprinted in And Mao Makes Five and RW No. 120.)

For comparison — and as a "teacher by negative example" — we are also reprinting some selections from the Soviets as an appendix to the Chinese article (see page 8). These brief selections make plain precisely the overall role of "profit in command" and the law of value as a regulator "of all social production."

The struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines on China's economic front is deepening. Using our great leader Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line for socialist construction to criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi is a motive force pushing the new upsurge in China's socialist construction forward along the course of Mao Tsetung Thought, and an important measure for attacking the handful of class enemies who try to sabotage socialist ownership and for consolidating and developing the socialist economic base.

The counter-revolutionary Sun Yeh-fang, former director of the Institute of Economics of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, was a representative of Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the field of economics.

Revolutionaries vs. Revisionists: Politics vs. Profit In Command

found question, my greatest support. I have always advocated running the economy by economic methods."

There was an international background to the "economics" that Sun Yeh-fang came up with. After the Khrushchov renegade clique threw open the flood gates of modern revisionism in 1956, Sun Yeh-fang went there several times to "pay homage" and acquired "supreme enlightenment." Apart from writing a number of articles and making many reports, he also concocted a series of "restricted research reports." He shamelessly declared that his "basic views" were merely copied from the modern revisionists. When the scholar hireling of social-imperialism Liberman popped up in 1962 with his big poisonous weed *Plan, Profit, Bonuses*, which has as its essence "putting profits in command," Sun Yeh-fang shouted for joy: "I'll take risks," "fight desperately" and "be more thorough than Liberman."

A Prescription of "Running the Economy by Economic Methods"

In his attempt to restore capitalism, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi for a long time did his utmost to oppose Chairman Mao's great teaching "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work" in the course of socialist construction. He touted for "running the economy by economic methods," raved that "our country also runs factories to make profits, otherwise we wouldn't run them," and urged "do whatever brings profit." Sun Yeh-fang gleefully echoed this: "I give all this, which raises a pro-

found question, my greatest support. I have always advocated running the economy by economic methods."

What "basic views" did Sun Yeh-fang pinch from modern revisionism?

1. He preached that economic plans should have profits as their basis. He uttered such absurdities as: "There may be thousands of laws, but the law of value comes first"; and "planning is based on the law of value."

2. He proclaimed profits as the objective, declaring: "I have doubts about the

statement that 'capitalist society produces for profits, but socialist society produces for use value, not for profits'; and "we raise labour productivity and technical standards for the purpose of obtaining profits."

3. He alleged that profits were the motive force and profits "can push business management forward"; "once you get hold of profits, you are leading an ox by its nose and its legs (other quotas) naturally go after. Otherwise, you will be carrying the legs."

4. He claimed that profits were the hinge. He proposed: "Let profits be the main quota in planning and statistics," and "in its relations with enterprises, the state only has to get a grip on value quotas (profit quotas); it shouldn't bother with anything else but leave it to the enterprises."

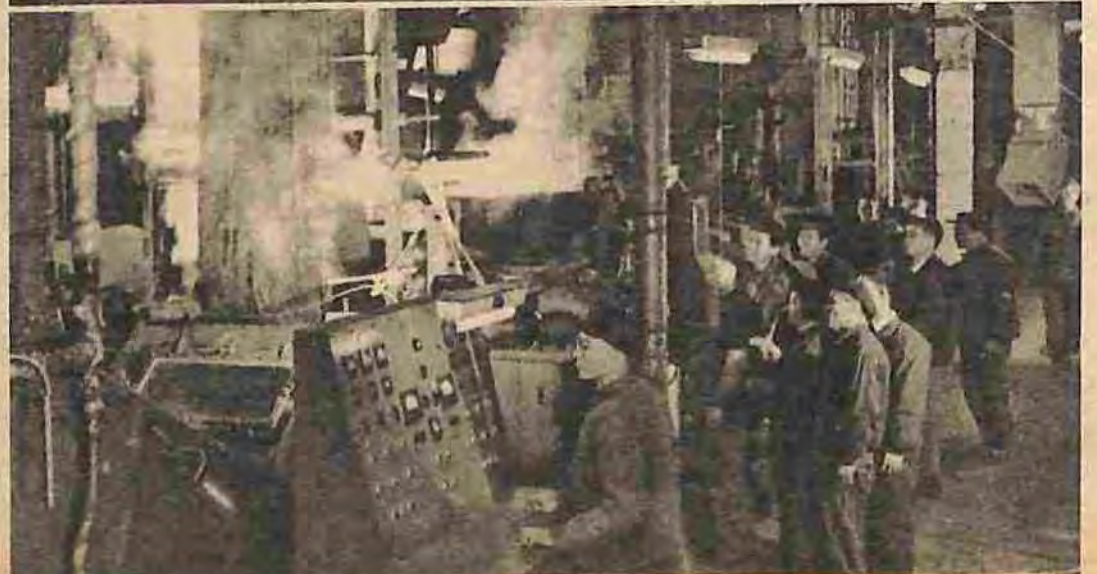
5. He yelled that profits were the sole index for judging whether an enterprise was being run well or poorly. He said: "The amount of profit should be the most sensitive index for an enterprise's technical progress and the effectiveness of its management." He also babbled: "Socialist economy must have the profit rate on invested funds and the production price," "the average social profit rate on invested funds is the level that every enterprise must attain; those surpassing it

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"The proletariat pays attention in management of an enterprise, first of all, to politics, the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, and revolutionizing the leading group's thinking. It educates the workers, cadres and technical personnel in Mao Tsetung Thought and turns the enterprise into a great red school of Mao Tsetung Thought."

1970 (above) the Worker's Philosophy Study Group of the Shanghai No. 22 Bleaching and Dyeing Works. (Right) Revolutionary workers and staff members of the Bleaching and Dyeing Works successfully create new technology unique in the world to print and dye fabric in one step.



Socialist Construction and Class Struggle In the Field of Economics

Continued from page 7
are advanced enterprises and those falling short are the backward ones."

In a word, to Sun Yeh-fang, the purpose of planning and developing the economy is making money and factories and enterprises are set up and operated for that purpose. By getting hold of the "ox's nose" or profits, revolving around them and going after them, the enterprise can develop, techniques can be advanced and society can go forward. Though Sun Yeh-fang's "economics" sounds mysterious, it turns out to be nothing but a fraud once it is seen through.

The basic characteristic of capitalist society is that everything is done in order to make money — "do whatever brings profit." Marx pointed out that the mission of bourgeois society was to make money, and "production of surplus-value is the absolute law of this mode of production." Making money propels everything, money means vitality and the more one makes, the more vitality one gets; exploiting, plundering and waging wars of aggression in order to make money, this is the nature of the bourgeoisie. Engels said: "For it [the bourgeoisie] nothing exists in the world, except for the sake of money, itself not excluded. It knows no bliss save that of rapid gain." Sun Yeh-fang's "system of political economy" was devised from this bourgeois world outlook.

Regarding the money incentive as the panacea and something absolutely indispensable — this reflects the rotten and declining mental world of the modern revisionists, China's Khrushchov Liu Shao-chi and his henchman Sun Yeh-fang as well as the poverty of their economics.

After the proletariat seizes political power, there are two diametrically opposed lines for economic construction: Should politics be put in command of the economy or should "economic methods be used to run the economy"; should proletarian politics be put in command consistently or should "profits be in command"? In guiding our socialist construction, Chairman Mao has always put proletarian politics in first place, using politics to command the economy, and grasping revolution and promoting production. This is the Marxist-Leninist line for consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. From Khrushchov in the Soviet Union to China's Khrushchov Liu Shao-chi, from Liberman to Sun Yeh-fang, all advocated "running the economy by economic methods" and putting "profits in command." This in fact means putting bourgeois politics in command and using it to undermine the socialist economic base. This is an out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist line to restore capitalism.

Though he called his "economics" "socialist," Sun Yeh-fang could not disguise the reactionary essence of his theory of "putting profits in command": "Profits in command" was counterposed to putting proletarian politics in command in an effort to transform the unified socialist ownership by the whole people into separate "independent kingdoms" and turn every enterprise under ownership by the whole people into one under ownership by the bourgeoisie. In his own counter-revolutionary words, he wanted "this sacred garden of inner relations under the ownership by the whole people" to be "wide open." We shall

now expose this reactionary essence from various aspects.

Socialist Planned Economy Versus Capitalist Free Economy

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Man has been developing for hundreds of thousands of years, but in China it is only now that he has secured conditions under which he can develop his economy and culture according to plan. Now that we have these conditions, the face of our country will change from year to year."

The planned and proportionate development of the national economy is characteristic of socialism and is an important indication of socialism's superiority over capitalism. By first undermining the planned economy, Sun Yeh-fang tried to disintegrate unified socialist ownership by the whole people.

His "basic views" on the question of planning are: "Let profits be the main quota in planning and statistics," and "planning is based on the law of value." What does all this mean? It means that in making plans the state and the enterprises should all proceed from "value" and "profit." To put it more plainly, it means proceeding from making money, or, as Liu Shao-chi put it, "do whatever brings profit." The state works out a big plan for making money, while the enterprises formulate plans of a smaller nature for making money.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought holds that politics is the concentrated expression of economics, and that planning is subject to politics. There are socialist plans as well as revisionist "plans." The fundamental difference between them is: on which class' politics are the plans based and which class do they serve?

Ours is a socialist country under the

dictatorship of the proletariat. On the basis of poverty and blankness and through decades of arduous struggle we are going to build a great and powerful socialist country with a modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and culture, and create a solid base area for the world revolution of the proletariat. Our national economic planning must serve this great political goal of the proletariat and should proceed from the needs of the domestic and international class struggles and our country's socialist construction in each period. In working out plans, we must adhere to the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism" and the series of great principles, including "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people," "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts," and "take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor," laid down by Chairman Mao. The requirements of preparedness against war and natural disasters and of doing everything for the people are our basic starting point in working out plans, doing work and considering problems. Confronted by the threat of a war of aggression launched by U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism, it is of special importance now to fully implement Chairman Mao's great principle "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people."

If "planning is based on the law of value," the state could not develop the unprofitable national defence industry; heavy industry or industries in the interior could not be built; a given area, province or city could not set up a diversified industrial system with a view to getting prepared against war; industries supporting agriculture but yielding low output value and bringing temporarily low returns could not be developed and the state could not engage in and increase those people's daily necessities which must be subsidized for a time; and it would be impossible to produce the goods necessary to support the struggle of the world's revolutionary people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. In short, what Sun Yeh-fang advocated would make us abandon our great task of building a powerful socialist country and depart from the victorious road charted by Chairman Mao. Such "plans" are nothing but revisionist plans needed by Liu Shao-chi for capitalist restoration. These are simply plans to drag us back over to the old semi-feudal and semi-colonial road and undermine our Party and country.

In socialist society, there are commodities and there is the law of value. We use the latter as a tool in planning and business accounting, but we are firmly opposed to making it the basis for regulating production or working out our plans. In their efforts to restore capitalism in the economic field, the modern revisionists share a common feature: they theoretically exaggerate the role of the law of value, and want to use it to regulate and control all social production. This is the way they try to pull economic construction out of the socialist orbit based on putting proletarian politics in command and into the capitalist orbit based on "putting profits in command."

"Actually the law of value is another way of saying the general line," and "there may be thousands of laws, but the law of value comes first." By making such absurd statements, Sun Yeh-fang seemingly found justification for the trash he peddled, such as "planning is based on the law of value" and using the law of value to regulate all social production. This is the most shameless and despicable distortion of the Party's general line for socialist construction.

Planning on the basis of the law of value and planning in accordance with the general line represent two diametrically opposed lines in construction. The Party's general line for socialist construction formulated by Chairman Mao himself is the Marxist-Leninist line which mobilizes the enthusiasm of hundreds of millions of people for building socialism, the revolutionary line which competes in time and speed with imperialism and social-imperialism, and the life-blood that enables the proletariat to completely defeat the bourgeoisie and all class ene-

A Revisionist Economic Primer

Two selections from the Soviet revisionists follow. The first is taken from Political Economy: Socialism, Chapter 8, Progress Publishers, 1977.

...In the post-war years when the economy had been restored, and technique and the economy had been raised to new heights, new industries developed, the scale of production grew, the social division of labor was extended, the scientific and technological revolution began to develop, the existing autonomous organization of production ceased in many ways to meet the needs of further development of the productive forces. It became necessary to find new forms of direction of the economy corresponding to the present-day level of the Soviet economy.

As already mentioned, the September 1965 Plenary meeting of the Central Committee adopted decisions, confirmed in many later decisions of the CPSU, which were aimed, in conformity with the level of development of the productive forces reached, at improving methods of economic management in combination with centralized state planning and the development of profit and loss accounting with broader use of commodity money relations, the law of value and value categories (profits, prices, prime costs, profitability, etc.). Such combination encourages raising of the efficiency of social production, progressive development of economic relations, primarily between the body of workers of the enterprise and society as a whole...

In practice, profit and loss accounting operates as a method of managing the economy associated with central planning, the essence of which is that each enterprise assesses its outlays on production and the results of its economic operations in money form, covers its expenditure by its cash income and insures profitable production. The most important features of the method are its self-covering nature and profitability...

Achievement of maximum results in the interest of society with the least ex-

penditure of labor and means of production is the infeasible law of thrifty management which is realized through consistent use of profit and loss accounting at all levels of the socialist economy. This applies to both individual enterprises and their sub units, the state-owned industrial associations and industrial ministries...

Another principle of profit and loss accounting is that of material incentives. This means economic stimulation in enterprises and material encouragement of the organized work force and of each of its members. For this purpose such levers as profit, prices and bonuses are used. The material encouragement of workers takes the form of various bonuses and other rewards from the incentive funds. Enterprises that fulfill their state plan assignment and insure a profitable production are eligible for material encouragement. In fact the net income of an enterprise depends on the quantity and quality of its output realized. As the quantity of realized output increases and its quality improves so the net income of an enterprise increases. What is more, it depends to a considerable extent on the amount of expenditure of production and marketing. The lower the enterprises' production outlays per unit product the greater at a given price its net income is.

This second excerpt is drawn from an article entitled "Economic Accountability in a Mature Socialist Society" Pravda Publishers, 1977. This latter article also appeared in the May 1978 issue of Problems of Economics, a journal of English translations.

The policy of creating associations* also determines other directions in the development of economic accountability. Given the increased influence of associa-

* This refers to the Production Associations, instituted as a new form of economic organization in 1973. These are unions of capital not unlike corporations and trusts. "The number of obyedineniya (Production Associations)

tions on production, sales, and investment, in our view it is legitimate to evaluate the performance on the basis of general criteria reflecting all aspects of management and not only some of them, as was the case with enterprises, which necessitated the use of only partial incentive indicators.

The indicators of gross output and reduced enterprise cost of production were used as general evaluative criteria before the transition was made to the new planning and economic stimulation methods. Under the new conditions of management they have been replaced by sales profit indicators that reflect society's recognition of the product, that stimulate the improvement of product quality, etc. Of the new indicators, the profit indicator—which detects increases in sales volume, reductions in production costs, and improvements in product quality (since they are accompanied by price rises or markups)—most nearly approximates final effectiveness.

If net profit rather than balance sheet profit is used as the evaluative criterion, then in addition to the enumerated economic performance factors, it will in our opinion also reflect such factors as: the use of productive capital (through capital charges); the return on credit resources (through loan interest); the effectiveness of extraction of natural resources (through rent payments); payment to the budget of the part of the profit that results from relatively high current prices, from planning decisions of state agencies that favor enterprises with regard to the organization of transport communications or the production of a highly profitable mix (through fixed payment); profitable payment of sums due the budget or the bank; and discipline in the settlement of accounts between economic partners.

has been rising steadily, and it is intended that they cover the bulk of industrial output within the next two to three years. In 1978 they were responsible for 43.6% of total output." (Soviet Economic System, Alec Nove, 1980).



Smash Economism! A poster from the earliest days of the Cultural Revolution.

mies. "Of thousands of things, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line comes first" is the conclusion drawn by the revolutionary masses from historical experience. Through his ridiculous statements, Sun Yeh-fang fully exposed his reactionary essence of being hostile to great Mao Tsetung Thought and his fierce countenance of trying to put the cause of socialist construction into the counter-revolutionary revisionist orbit.

Sun Yeh-fang attacked China's socialist planning, which is subordinate to proletarian politics, as "taking too much upon itself and exercising too rigid a control." He wanted the state to hand over more power to the enterprises. He insisted: "In its relations with enterprises, the state only has to get a grip on value quotas (profit quotas); it shouldn't bother with anything else but leave it to the enterprises."

What he meant by "anything else" is, first of all, that the proletarian state should not determine the political orientation of the enterprises, much less stipulate what they are to produce and how they are to distribute their products; and that enterprises would even "have a free hand in the buying or selling of fixed assets." Obviously he was demanding that

enterprises divorce themselves from centralized and unified state leadership and declare their independence and autonomy.

In asserting that the state "only has to get a grip on the profit quotas" of enterprises, Sun Yeh-fang tried to fundamentally change the socialist relations between enterprises and the proletarian state, which subordinate the former to the latter, into the purely money relations characteristic of capitalism. The entity of socialist ownership by the whole people would thus be disintegrated and competition and anarchy in production would run rampant and socialist planned economy would become capitalist free economy. Such a change is precisely what Sun Yeh-fang worked day and night to achieve. When he screamed that the system of planning "is inferior to the free economy," he exposed his diabolical ambitions.

Chairman Mao points out: "Without a high degree of democracy it is impossible to have a high degree of centralism, and without a high degree of centralism it is impossible to establish a socialist economy."

There is only one master of the multitudes of enterprises under socialist own-

ership by the whole people — the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by our Party. Only this state can represent the fundamental interests of the working class and the masses of labouring people and determine the principles and policies to be followed by enterprises, the orientation for their development, the production and distribution of their products and the disposal of their assets. In dealing with enterprises, the state practises democratic centralism, that is, centralized power on major issues and decentralized power on minor issues, centralized leadership and level-to-level administration. This is necessary for consolidating ownership by the whole people and for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader is the sole centre of leadership of the entire Party, the entire army and the people of the entire country. Firm implementation of the national economic plan approved by the Party Central Committee is the fundamental guarantee for the high-speed development of socialist construction in our country.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In our

economic and financial set-up, we must overcome such evils as disunity, assertion of independence and lack of co-ordination, and must establish a working system which is unified and responsive to direction and which permits the full application of our policies and regulations." Every enterprise should foster the concept of considering the country as a whole, keep overall interests in mind, take a long and broad view and give priority to the overall interests. They should firmly and unswervingly rally around the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, attain "unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action" on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought, fulfil and overfulfil the state plan in an all-round way and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.

Should Proletarian Politics or Profits Be Put in Command in Running Enterprises?

The line followed in managing enterprises after the establishment of socialist ownership by the whole people is a question of vital importance. It determines whether the proletariat can firmly hold leadership in the enterprises and whether the dictatorship of the proletariat can be consolidated. The bourgeoisie, which is deprived of the means of production, invariably tries for a break-through in management in order to disintegrate ownership by the whole people and restore capitalism. Sun Yeh-fang's sensitivity as a counter-revolutionary led him to make a big to-do over this question.

He said: "The amount of profit should be the most sensitive index for an enterprise's technical progress and the effectiveness of its management" and profits "can push business management forward." This is simply looking at and running an enterprise from the capitalist viewpoint.

The capitalist's immediate aim in running an enterprise is to make the maximum profit with the minimum capital and, therefore, the amount of profit is the sole yardstick he uses in measuring the success of an enterprise.

Is it true that the capitalist method of "putting profits in command" can "push business management forward"? On the contrary, it only leads to worse and worse troubles. In managing enterprises, those whose minds are commanded by profits will substitute counter-revolutionary economism for the lofty ideal of doing everything for the revolution, freely change the direction of the enterprises, go all out to do whatever brings big profits, make little effort to do what brings small profits and refuse to undertake anything that cannot yield profits. They will use the capitalist method of intriguing one another and shifting difficulties on to others to replace communist co-ordination between enterprises. They will also use "material incentives" to corrupt people's souls and sap their revolutionary will, and change socialist relations within enterprises into employment relations of a pecuniary nature. In short, the more an enterprise goes in for "putting profits in command," the more it departs from the socialist direction; it will degenerate and the proletarian position will be turned into a revisionist pillar. This is an objective law of class struggle independent of man's will.

"Living instances" of profits "pushing business management forward" are supplied by countries where modern revisionism rules. There, monsters of every sort collaborate: capitalist roaders, capitalists, speculators, illegal contractors, new kulaks, grafters, swindlers and embezzlers. From production to distribution and from economic branches to government organizations, the forces of capitalism run wild in town and countryside. Speculation, cornering the market, price rigging and cheating are the order of the day; capitalist roaders in enterprises and government team up in grafting, embezzling, working for their own benefit at the expense of the public interest, dividing up the spoils and taking bribes. Socialist ownership by the whole people has degenerated into ownership by a privileged stratum, and is directly manipulated by a handful of capitalist roaders and new bourgeois elements. The national economy is in a state of utter chaos, the labouring people are again in dire straits and the fruits of socialism won by the proletariat at the cost of their blood have been for-

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Socialist Construction

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feited. This has been a painful historical lesson!

"Historical experience merits attention." "Putting profits in command" absolutely cannot "push business management forward," as Sun Yeh-fang alleged, but it does push the enterprises to "move" against the socialist current and in essence abolishes socialist ownership by the whole people while keeping it only in name.

A socialist enterprise is where the three great revolutionary movements — class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment — are carried out. In judging an enterprise, the proletariat first examines it by the political criteria, that is, it sees whether the enterprise holds high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, whether power is in the hands of true Marxists, whether it conscientiously implements Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, principles and policies, whether it helps revolutionize people's thinking and trains and brings up an army of revolutionized industrial workers, and whether it proceeds from its specific work while taking the whole into consideration and fulfils in an all-round way the production tasks assigned by the Party and the state with greater, faster, better and more economical results, thereby contributing to socialism.

We do not depend on "putting profits in command" or "material incentives" in running an enterprise; we depend on putting proletarian politics in command and on the proletariat's fundamental programme for running enterprises — the great Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company.

Chairman Mao teaches: "Management is also socialist education." The proletariat pays attention in management of an enterprise, first of all, to politics, the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, and revolutionizing the leading group's thinking. It educates the workers, cadres and technical personnel in Mao Tsetung Thought and turns the enterprise into a great red school of Mao Tsetung Thought. It has to conscientiously get a good grasp of management in production, planning, technique, finance and labour; but a good job can be done in management only by giving prominence to proletarian politics, mobilizing the masses, learning to do ideological and political work and doing things in accordance with the Party's policies.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Ideological work and political work are the guarantee for accomplishing economic work and technical work; and they serve the economic base. Moreover, ideology and politics are the commander, the soul in everything. If our ideological work and political work slacken even a little, the economic work and technical work will inevitably go astray." Only by putting proletarian politics to the fore, undertaking the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought and revolutionizing people's thinking can the correct political orientation be maintained, soaring revolutionary enthusiasm stimulated and the potential initiative and creativeness of the masses for socialism erupt like a volcano, thereby giving a powerful impetus to production. This is the fundamental line we must adhere to at all times.

Initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has cleared away every obstacle on the road for the proletariat to run industrial enterprises and all other economic undertakings. The great Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, long blockaded by Liu Shao-chi and his gang, is now being directly grasped by the revolutionary masses, and has displayed and is displaying enormous strength beyond estimation. Guided by the tremendous force of Mao Tsetung Thought brought on by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, many enterprises with "long standing, big and difficult problems" and once seriously poisoned by "putting profits in command" and "material incentives," have leapt forward and become vigorous, advanced enterprises. Unsolved for a long time under the rule of capitalist roaders who tried to tackle

them by "putting profits in command" and "material incentives," many difficult technical problems have been successfully solved by the heroic working class which "keeps Chairman Mao in mind." Tens of thousands of enterprises are going forward and becoming better and better along the road of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and making bigger and better contributions to socialism. By always persevering in putting proletarian politics in command, strengthening business management and working meticulously, we will certainly be able to win even more brilliant victories.

Drawing a Clear Line Between Increasing Production and Practising Economy and "Putting Profits in Command"

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Corruption and waste are very great crimes." "A socialist economic enterprise must do its utmost to make full use of manpower and equipment, improve the organization of labour, improve management, raise labour productivity and use manpower and materials economically, and must launch emulation drives and practise economic accounting, so as to reduce production costs and increase personal income and public accumulation year by year."

The statement that "calculating the cost of production means putting profits in command" is a muddleheaded viewpoint, to say the least. The essence of "putting profits in command" lies in opposing putting proletarian politics in command and in restoring capitalism. This is what we firmly oppose. We must unwaveringly persevere in putting proletarian politics in command. However, giving prominence to proletarian politics should never be taken as not doing economic work, adopting business accounting, lowering production costs and increasing accumulation. If it is thus erroneously understood, we shall be taken in by the class enemy's tricks. Profits of enterprises constitute an important source of socialist state revenue. In our budgetary state revenue, about 90 per cent comes from payments (profits, taxes, etc.) by the state sector of the economy. If the enterprises fail to completely fulfil their payments plans for profits and taxes on time or even sustain unnecessary losses, this will affect state revenue and planned socialist construction. In business management, we must give prominence to proletarian politics, mobilize the worker masses to vigorously grasp revolution and promote production, and unfold the movement to increase production and practise economy in a down-to-earth way, "saving every copper for the war effort, for the revolutionary cause and for our economic construction." We are opposed to the phenomenon of not paying serious attention to production and financial management and the erroneous tendency of indifference to state property and indulging in extravagance and waste on the pretext that "no matter how much we spend, the benefit is there." We should foster the new socialist mode of "regarding economy as honourable and waste as shameful," handle finance and wield financial power for the revolution and accumulate more and more funds for the state so as to speed up socialist construction.

Exposing a "Secret"

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The revisionists deny the differences between socialism and capitalism, between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What they advocate is in fact not the socialist line but the capitalist line." Sun Yeh-fang's reactionary economics adopted this commonly used revisionist trick.

His reactionary economics started with seeking "the common characteristics" of capitalism and socialism. With ulterior motives he said: "While negating the specific laws of capitalist economy in socialist society, we have denied all the general and common characteristics of economic laws . . ." After racking his brains, Sun Yeh-fang found that value and the law of value were the "common characteristics," and on this basis he built his "system of political economy" which has as its core "putting profits in command."

Sun Yeh-fang boasted of having discovered "the secret of all economic questions." He said: "Man differs from animals in that animals live on nature's

bounty, but man lives by his own labour and by conquering nature. Whether people lead a good or bad life depends on their labour efficiency, or, in other words, on the degree to which man conquers nature. Therefore, the secret of all economic questions lies in how to produce more with less labour." "The secret of developing production lies in how to reduce the average social necessary labour."

So, here lies the difference between man and animals, but in this respect there is no class difference between man and man. All the blood suckers — the slave owners, landlords and capitalists — become people who "live by their own labour." Sun Yeh-fang wrote off in one stroke the class antagonisms of thousands of years and the history of the working people soaked in blood and tears. By saying "producing more with less labour," he negated the fundamental difference in "all economic" systems of human society and regarded the systems of exploitation on the one hand and of socialism and communism on the other as the same. Sun Yeh-fang turned history completely upside down.

"Man conquers nature" according to specific modes of production, and in a class society this is done on the basis of definite class relations. It is sheer deception to say that whether people "lead a good or bad life" is determined by their "labour efficiency"! In all societies dominated by the exploiting classes, the determining factor is the amount of slaves, land or capital they own, while the labouring people, the peasants and the workers, lead a life of utter misery. Chairman Mao points out: "True, the United States has science and technology. But unfortunately they are in the grip of the capitalists, not in the hands of the people, and are used to exploit and oppress the people at home and to perpetrate aggression and to slaughter people abroad." This is true in imperialist countries and in the social-imperialist country today. There, the "labour efficiency" created by science and technology can only mean heavier exploitation of the people, and cannot reduce their burdens of life a bit. The labouring people can build a new life only by overthrowing the reactionary rule and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The secret of capitalist economy is definitely not "producing more with less labour," but maximum exploitation of the labour of the workers. When it comes to labour, capitalist society is least economical; it economizes only on capital. And for the capitalists, getting maximum profits with minimum capital means "business acumen."

Only socialist society is most economical as regards labour. It is an important principle of socialism to economize on manpower, materials and funds in producing more and better products to meet the needs of society. However, classes and class struggle exist in socialist society and whether the proletariat or the bourgeoisie wins out remains a question for a long time. Because of this, it is necessary to proceed from the basic fact of class struggle in understanding and dealing with all economic questions. The role of socialist political economy should be that of expounding in the light of class struggle the objective laws governing the relations between production and the productive forces as well as between the economic base and the superstructure. "Grasp revolution, promote production," as put forward by Chairman Mao, is a great Marxist-Leninist truth which expounds such laws. Vice-Chairman Lin points out: "Grasp revolution, promote production" — this principle is entirely correct. It correctly explains the relationship between revolution and production, between consciousness and matter, between the superstructure and the economic base and between the relations of production and the productive forces." The understanding and grasping of this great truth means finding the basic way to promote the rapid development of socialist construction. Glib talk about "producing more with less labour" separated from class struggle means benumbing the revolutionary will of the people and serving the restoration of capitalism. If the proletariat does not defeat the bourgeoisie, it will be working for the bourgeoisie by "producing more with less labour." But Sun Yeh-fang described this so-called "more — less" formula as "the secret of all economic questions." He even went

further in saying that "the red line running through the works of socialist political economy should be to produce in a planned way the maximum amount of products to satisfy the social needs with the minimum consumption of social labour." This is how he concealed the class struggle in the socialist society and tried to oppose the red line of great Mao Tsetung Thought and tamper with the proletarian political economy with his sinister line.

In dealing with revisionism, Lenin said: "The content . . . did not have to grow and take shape, it was transferred bodily from bourgeois to socialist literature." Sun Yeh-fang's "secret" in denying classes and class struggle was not his new discovery, but something picked up from the bourgeoisie's rag pile. The Frenchman Jean Baptiste Say, the father of vulgar capitalist economics, tried to prove in his writings that "man" lived entirely by his own labour. He said: "The labour of the entrepreneur or factory owner is productive, although he performs no actual manual work." Moreover, capitalists' labour is a "superior kind of labour"! When Sun Yeh-fang said: "Man lives by his own labour," he was singing the same tune as Jean Baptiste Say! Say declared: "Make less labour the requisite for producing the same amount of produce, or, what comes to exactly the same thing, get a larger amount of produce from the same amount of human labour. — And this is the grand object and the acme of industry." Thus we see that Say also used the same "more — less" formula. What Sun Yeh-fang reveals as "the secret of all economic questions" in effect is "the grand object and the acme of industry" in Say's *A Treatise on Political Economy*. After Sun Yeh-fang came up with the theory of "putting profits in command," he had to devote a lot of thought to fabricate his "essential difference" between the "profits" he advocated and capitalist profits. Though he covered his face, he still showed his true colours. His theoretical basis of "putting profits in command" was all copied from the defender of the bourgeoisie Say and his like.

When the mask is removed, the ferocious ghost is revealed. The essence of Sun Yeh-fang's "secret" is to negate the fundamental difference between socialism and capitalism, hide all sorts of capitalist rubbish behind the so-called "common characteristics" and label them socialist "precious things" and thrust them into socialist society. For instance, "putting profits in command" is clearly a special feature of capitalism, but he alleged that profit was "the central link which leads everything forward" in the socialist economy. Average profit is obviously the regulator in capitalist free competition, but he insisted that it was the basis for determining the direction of development in socialist national economy. Production price is undoubtedly what exists under the capitalist system, but he deliberately described it as the "tool for economic comparison" in socialist production. Using such "secret" methods, Sun Yeh-fang attempted to drag people on to the evil capitalist road. Doesn't this clearly show his counter-revolutionary criminal aim?

The "economics" that Sun Yeh-fang concocted under the pretext of opposing "traditional dogmatism" urged people to seek profits, not to make revolution and to give up power for the sake of money. His "economics" was ardently welcomed by those capitalist roaders who wanted the restoration of capitalism, grafters, embezzlers and bourgeois elements undermining socialism. His "economics" is out-and-out economics for capitalist restoration. An important part of revolutionary mass criticism is the thorough criticism of the revisionist economic theory, centred on the theory of "putting profits in command"; this is an important task in the struggle-criticism-transformation on the economic front. Whenever the standard of the bourgeoisie and revisionism flies, we will haul it down and raise the banner of the proletariat.

Let us hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and carry through to the end the socialist revolution on the economic front along the course charted by Chairman Mao. In the spirit of "seize the day, seize the hour," we will strengthen preparedness against war, accelerate the pace of socialist construction, and forge ahead victoriously in the world-shaking storms of revolution! □

"Someone once said, 'A wise man does not hurry history.'" So stated Fred Zeder, U.S. Ambassador to Micronesia, as he summed up the 35 years the U.S. has hung onto the Trust Territory (TT) of the Pacific which was "mandated" by the UN after World War 2. "But on the other hand," he went on, "it takes a wise man to know when to make history." With this, he announced the signing last month of a compact of free association between the U.S. and three Micronesian nations which, if it is ratified by Congress and by plebiscite in Micronesia, will end the trusteeship. It will, however, end little else.

Micronesia is a string of over 2,000 tiny islands and coral atolls, home to some 140,000 people. It spans an ocean area the size of the U.S. — stretching almost to Japan in the north and the Philippines in the south and straddling the whole Central Pacific. The Trust Territory is made up of four nations of Micronesia: the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), and the Republic of Belau, all three of which have just signed the free association compact, and the Commonwealth of the N. Marianas, which voted to become a U.S. territory patterned after Puerto Rico in 1975. Guam, the largest island in the Marianas, has never been part of the TT — it has been an unincorporated U.S. territory since the Spanish-American war.

Just a glance at some of the present uses of Micronesia and plans laid out in the compact give a hint at how important the area is to the U.S.

Guam is a Communications Area Master Station coordinating all military communications from Australia, Japan and Southeast Asia. It is the largest home base in the Pacific. A top secret Trident base is planned for Belau, which has the only naval station in the Southwest Pacific with immediate access to deep water and in line with deep-water straits into the Indian Ocean. 28% of Belau's land will go to a 2,000-acre weapons storage depot, a jungle combat training base, and airfields. Belau will likely be the home base for MICPAC, a joint U.S.-Japan military command in which Japan has anti-sub warfare responsibility.

Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshalls contains the missile testing range responsible for all predictions of ICBM accuracy; also situated here is the anti-satellite Altair radar, the most sophisticated in the world.

In the N. Marianas, 2/3 of Tinian and parts of Saipan will become bases; the whole island of Farallon de Mendinilla is now a bombardment range.

Can anyone seriously imagine that the U.S. would risk all this? The so-called free association relationship is only the latest ruse which the U.S. hopes will cool out some of the resistance to the trusteeship, stabilize its control over the area, and clear the way for a massive military build-up in the region.

How free will the region be under "free association"? The compact says the U.S. has "full authority and responsibility for defense and security matters" — including whatever the U.S. determines is necessary in foreign or domestic affairs to exercise authority. The compact extends for 15 years; while it can be terminated earlier, U.S. military authority cannot. Separate military use agreements continue for 15 to 50 years and likewise cannot be terminated. And the U.S.' right to deny the whole territory to any other power is permanent.

"We're just not about to give them up," as the House Chairman of Internal and Insular Affairs put it candidly in the 1950s. "If there's a war on or otherwise, they're the buffer zone."

Indeed, the entire history of Micronesia, notably since the advent of imperialism, has been that of buffer zone and military outpost to whoever is currently the strongest Pacific power.

Spain claimed the islands in 1520. But outside of Guam, all its missionaries kept getting killed off. In the Marianas, Spain wiped out a population of some 70,000 fiercely independent Chamorros and moved the 4,000 survivors to Guam to control them. The U.S. seized Guam in the Spanish-American War, and Germany took over the remainder. Then, in World War 1, Japan captured these islands from Germany and was awarded Trusteeship by the League of Nations.

The islands became a decisive battlefield of World War 2. Ten percent of the population was killed in the crossfire. The U.S. firebombed entire islands, destroying all buildings and native plants. In Saipan, 8,000 people were forced, or

leaped in fear, over the Suicide and Banzai Cliffs.

After the war, the victors proclaimed the Pacific an "American lake." A new type of "strategic trusteeship" was created by the UN to accommodate the U.S. demands for military use of the islands. The U.S. wrote its own Trusteeship Agreement and John Foster Dulles then told the UN Trusteeship Council that if its proposal was rejected, the U.S. would ignore the UN and continue occupation.

Throughout the '50s the Trust Territory was bombed by 64 atomic and hydrogen weapons tests (see *RW* No. 168), and a CIA base on Saipan trained the Kuomintang army to attack China. Since then, the UN has made an effort to appear the principal protector of "little Micronesia," beginning in 1960 with a platoon resolution calling for an end to all 11 trusteeships established after the war (though, needless to say, not an end to imperialist domination). Since 1975, only Micronesia remains in this particular relationship with the U.S., a relationship succinctly summarized by a U.S. Senator in the '50s: "We fought for 'em. We won 'em."

So why, then, is the U.S. working so hard to end the trusteeship now, and offering \$4 billion over 50 years to sweeten the free association deal?

Back in 1962, Kennedy ordered a major reassessment of U.S. policy in Micronesia. Conditions of health, education and economic development, along with the nuclear horrors of Bikini and Enewok, had given rise to a widespread anti-U.S. and anti-military feeling, and demands for an end to trusteeship among the traditional leaders, although these were still diffuse and disorganized. The secret Solomon Report ordered by JFK pointed to the "anti-colonial movement that has just about completed sweeping the world," which was bound to strengthen the independence trend within Micronesia. The trusteeship form of rule would soon become a liability, it warned: "We cannot give the area up, yet time is running out for the U.S." The new strategy was to head this development off by preparing to win a plebiscite which would make the area a permanent territorial possession of the U.S. by 1968. "Patriotic rituals" and "U.S.-oriented curriculum changes" were to be introduced in schools, college scholarships to the U.S. extended; a wave of Peace Corps volunteers was recommended "because it is of critical importance to the plebiscite attitudes." Food stamps, government employment, and capital improvement projects flowed in.

The message of this bounty was concentrated in the example of a Christmas pageant generously staged for the slums of Ebeye in 1975 — a giant piñata shaped like a bomb, burst and rained U.S. dollars down upon the children.

The Solomon Report predicted quick victory, boasting with typical myopia, "It can be stated quite unequivocally that the masses of Micronesians are not only not concerned with the political future but also are not even aware of it as a question. They simply live in the present reality of the 'American time' that has replaced the 'Japanese time.'" Ah, a general's "Fantasy Island"!

But in fact U.S. efforts to push their plebiscite for territorial acquisition further unleashed the already deep discontent. As soon as the Congress of Micronesia was formed in 1967, the plan for becoming a U.S. territory was rejected, and an organized independence movement was launched, linked to a Pacific-wide movement for independence and against nukes. (It is not our purpose here to analyze the contradictory features of this movement.)

Greatly alarmed, Kissinger ordered the CIA in 1973 to study "the possibility of

New Ruse in the American Lake



Constitution Day in Belau, 1982. U.S. Seabees join the parade. They have recently been paving roads destroyed by the U.S. when it first took over the island 35 years ago and building new ones. Why? For the U.S. military.

exerting covert influence on key elements of the Micronesian independence movement where necessary to support U.S. strategic objectives." The CIA admitted to recruiting agents among the negotiating teams and among government officials. Continuing opposition to U.S. domination and U.S. nukes in particular conditioned American maneuvering and led most recently to the free association scheme. Just how freely chosen such an association is was indicated last summer in the Marshall Islands. The U.S. and Marshalls had jointly set August 17 as the date for a plebiscite on free association. Then the occupation of Kwajalein Missile Range by some 1,000 evicted landowners broke out in protest against the compact. Suddenly the U.S. decided that August 17 was too soon for a plebiscite. Further, a week later, the U.S. rejected the idea of any ballot which included independence, insisting that the only two alternatives must be free association or continuing the trusteeship. When the Marshalls government, in an attempt to cover itself, protested that this went against all agreements, the U.S. canceled the plebiscite, suspended all election laws, withdrew funds to hold the plebiscite, to print ballots and translate information packets. A memorandum previously signed by Marshalls Foreign Secretary Tony deBrum and Ambassador Zeder, "promising" independence to the Marshalls if free association was not ratified by October 1, was now categorically rejected by the U.S. as "insane."

ON TRIAL / FOR OPPOSING AGAIN / ATLANTA MURDERS

Last week, Webster Brooks and Greg Johnson, members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, were back in court in Atlanta on trial for "criminal trespass." They were arrested on this charge at Atlanta Jr. College last March, several days after the conviction of Wayne Williams as the "sole perpetrator" of the murder of over 28 Black youth in Atlanta. The trial last week was their second trial resulting from several arrests centering around the distribution of a proclamation signed by the RCYB and RCP which blasted the Williams trial and conviction as "not just a coverup. It was in fact a perverse extension of the very murders themselves." The proclamation called on people

A recent issue of the British magazine *The Economist*, for one, pulls no punches on the principle American concern in Micronesia: "The main value of Micronesia is military." But on the economic side of things it notes, among other things, that "... the compacts of free association would open up an entirely different economic perspective. They would place most of Micronesia within the American tariff zone. In anticipation, representatives from the textile industry have put out feelers about establishing finishing plants in the area." Nukes and sweatshops—there is evidently no end to the benefits bestowed by the U.S. with the free association compacts.

At present, plebiscite dates for Belau and FSM have not been set, and will not be for about a year to provide time for "voter education." In the Marshalls, election laws are still suspended. However, in mid-October the Kwajalein Atoll Corporation signed a new lease for the missile range, in return for increased annual rent, some improvements on overcrowded Ebeye and a reduced U.S. option on Kwaj from 50 to 30 years. This probably clears the way for a new plebiscite. Although KAC leaders called for an end to the five-month occupation of the missile range, the contradictions which led to it, and to similar occupations in '68, '78 and '79 remain, and the mass resistance to the free association compact that was shown has had reverberations throughout Micronesia. □

throughout Atlanta to take action.

Webster and Greg have faced a battery of over a dozen charges for repeated arrests after the Williams verdict and in the weeks leading up to May 1st, 1982. At their first trial some months ago, they were convicted and sentenced to 6 months. They were jailed for 6 weeks, then bailed out after an outrageous appeal bond was finally lowered. So, they still face possible jail time from the first trial (depending on the results of the appeal), jail time from the current trial, and jail time for additional charges not yet tried. And why? For opposing the Atlanta murders and exposing the hand of the bourgeoisie in these murders. □

Nuclear War

Continued from page 5

tion and oppression are completely eliminated from the entire planet will it be possible to truthfully speak of the interests of the whole human race. And even then there will be contradiction — but no class antagonism. And then too, under communism, mankind will rejoice in burying all the weapons of death and destruction used for the slaughter of man by man. Then all of humanity will celebrate the elimination of any basis for wars on this planet. It is only with forging this future in mind that we can talk today about the interests of humanity in general. To speak of the common interests of all of humanity today on *any* matter, including nuclear war, can only lead away from developing the understanding necessary to accomplish the major historical tasks before the great majority of the world's peoples — tasks which centrally involve doing away with a distinct minority of human society in order to forge the future.

Revolution and Imperialist Peace Plans

In essence, although in a "left" form, this view of "humanity vs. nuclear weapons" is what is presented in the comrades' letter. And in practice their view is going to be forced to go one way or the other on the question of revolution — either toward a fully revolutionary understanding or toward an openly reformist orientation. Up to this point we have dealt mainly with one aspect of where these comrades are mistaken in their arguments. For the sake of clarity, we have focused on the point that even in light of the unprecedented threat of nuclear war, revolution is, as always, a process of class struggle on many fronts, and requires leadership on its many fronts. In order to concentrate on this important point we have somewhat artificially separated this aspect of things from the highly important, and at times decisive, role that the threat of world war and war itself (if not prevented by revolution) play in influencing the overall class struggle on other fronts. In reality revolution and world war are integrally bound up with each other and in historic periods like the one up ahead the question of world war and its solution is an especially decisive and central one for revolutionaries, the masses of people, and the imperialists as well.

The threat of nuclear war is already a major question of the day in many countries. It is exerting a powerful effect on the struggle on other fronts. The imminent threat of its outbreak could, in combination with other factors, dramatically change things in many parts of the world and impel large numbers of people into direct opposition to the imperialists, playing a major role in triggering open political crisis in various countries, even possibly in the imperialist citadels themselves. But even under these circumstances, it won't be simply a matter of advancing a peace slogan and having everyone fall in line. In fact this will fail as a revolutionary approach. All kinds of class forces will have their peace slogans. Take, for example, the Russian revolution, which was forged in the course of World War I. Overall, the question of war and its resolution was a central one for the Bolsheviks and the masses of people in Russia and the war greatly accelerated the process of revolution. Yet the triumph of that revolution was still a tortuous and protracted process with many ups and downs and zigzags. There were struggles on many fronts among the workers, the peasants, the oppressed nationalities and so forth. As the war dragged on it heightened the class struggle on

every front and the question of ending it came more and more to the fore in the midst of great tumult. But as everything sharpened up and the situation favoring revolution ripened, everyone did not automatically become convinced that the Bolsheviks' proletarian internationalist solution to it was correct and flock to their side. It was not just a matter of who was for peace and who wasn't. Everyone was for peace — in words, anyway.

What did happen is that the struggle over how to obtain peace and on what terms became the central question of the day. In the course of this and in the struggles led by the Bolsheviks on many fronts, large numbers of people learned an awful lot of political lessons in a short period of time. Through the treacherous actions of the Tsarists, the Russian bourgeoisie, and a host of opportunists and with the decisive role of the proletarian revolutionaries in exposing this and advancing people's understanding of what had to be done to forge the future, large forces became convinced that there was no other solution — not only to the imperialist war, but to a host of sharp contradictions — than waging and supporting a proletarian revolution. As one aspect of this, Lenin and others, while definitely bringing forward a program for pulling Russia from the war, delivered fierce polemics against pacifism, imperialist peace plans, and other ways in which the imperialists and other class forces couched their political programs in order to win support for them. In the course of *all* of this, large forces swung over to the side of the Bolsheviks and followed them in insurrection and civil war.

This is a general picture of what a political crisis brought on by the threat of nuclear war would be like, though obviously it would have many different specific features in a country like the U.S. and given the world situation today. There is no way to get around the fact that turning such a political crisis into a successful revolution is going to mean intense and tenacious class struggle on how this crisis will be resolved. There will be a wide variety of more "realistic" and "sensible" solutions than revolution for preventing a nuclear war being foisted on the masses of people. This kind of political crisis will mean splits and intensifying contradictions within the ruling class itself over how to end it and pursue the war effort. Various sections will try to win people to their solutions. The imperialists of the opposing bloc will be trying to take advantage of the crisis to the maximum possible degree, working with their political front men not for revolution but to advance their own political interests, even hoping to unite with and bring to power forces more favorable to their interests through such things as coups d'état. The revisionists, social-democrats, and other imperialist apologists will advance their "realistic" plans for peace and disarmament "to save humanity" and all the rest of their political programs, as they are doing today. All of these solutions boil down to having people pin their hopes on this or that "peaceful" ruler or section of the ruling class and their supporters and defenders. As the comrades themselves sense, such "realistic" solutions don't solve a thing for the masses of people and they certainly won't prevent a nuclear war. They are cynical maneuvers and are an integral part of the imperialists' political arsenal used in conjunction with less subtle forms of persuasion to help them obtain peace on their terms, i.e., winning a world war and consolidating a new world order with them on top.

Precisely in such a situation where preventing the imminent outbreak of a nuclear war is such a decisive question, the role of the class-conscious vanguard in

arming people with a proletarian internationalist stand and orientation and leading diverse fronts of struggle toward seizing power will be crucial. Exactly at this point it will be so essential to show the advanced forces and the masses of people broadly that the key and overriding question is proletarian revolution and supporting it all over the world as opposed to other so-called solutions for the "survival of the human race." But the view put forward in the comrades' letter will lead in the opposite direction if stuck to in this kind of political crisis, if and when it develops, whether before or in the midst of a world war. Its economist and reformist essence will manifest itself all the more strongly, mainly in open reformist activity (or possibly in forms of desperate "left" activity).

Once the contradiction is presented as simply the survival of humanity or its extinction, a lot of people are going to seem to have more realistic solutions than the comrades'. Posing the problem in this way is really to set yourself and the masses up to be eaten up by this kind of realism in one way or another. It will lead to tailing rather than advancing the political understanding of the masses — many of whom will be caught up in these other plans for peace — exactly at the time when there will be a tremendous basis for the proletarian forces to win large sections of the people to their side and to help them see through the maneuvers of the imperialists and their political representatives of various types. And even if those who hold the view expressed in this letter stick by their revolutionary guns and don't flip over into openly rightist activity they will not be able to win people over to their position on the terms they set. The champions of realistic solutions for the survival of humanity will attack them and all revolutionaries for wanting to provoke a catastrophe (a charge which Khrushchev actually leveled at Mao Tsetung!), even as these so-called defenders of humanity plot coups, conspire to smash revolution and plan world wars.

Should nuclear war break out, only focusing on "nuclear survival" will lead to missing opportunities for revolutionary advance and failing to seize the time in a situation of growing weakness for the enemy. World war is not likely to be a mere push-button affair, but will have phases and stages and a process of development. This is also likely to be the case even when the use of nuclear weapons is initiated. In the chaos that will be unleashed in such a period (some cities or areas destroyed, others not, threatened new escalations, invasions, etc.) it could possibly be that some outbreak (or combination of outbreaks) — a rebellion of the oppressed nationalities, or something else — could become the decisive turning point, even though the context for this would be set by the war. The comrades' view does not even comprehend such a possibility and in any event overlooks the wide range of struggle among the proletariat and oppressed masses that will be going on even in a situation where the question of world war is overall the main aspect of things.

A Lesson From Recent History

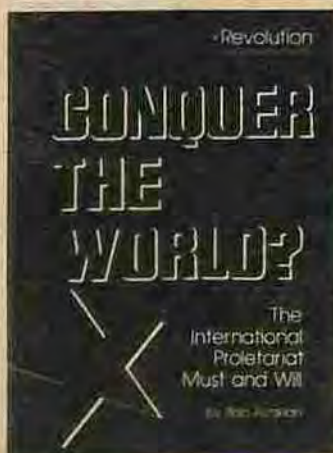
There is much to learn by negative example from a similar line to our comrades' which existed in the international communist movement going into and during World War 2. Exponents of it, like R. Palme Dutt in England to pick a sharp example, advanced the thesis that capitalism could only lead society rapidly into a state of literal barbarism, and therefore, it was the communists' task to convince the masses of people of this (in particular by leading their daily struggles) and then they would rise up and make revolution. He argued that all of the bourgeoisies were headed toward fascism like that of the Nazis in Germany and were bound to dump bourgeois democracy and completely smash all advancement in any field — be it science, culture, or the development of the productive forces of society. They were in a permanent crisis which they could not escape from in any way and could only destroy civilization (really all the "wonderful" things about bourgeois democracy) step by step, reducing humanity to a state of barbarism pure and simple. Once the masses were convinced of this they would do away with capitalism and that would be that.

As events unfolded and reality asserted itself, the rightist essence of this "left"

line came out. It led to promoting much the same kind of activity as more openly rightist lines such as the United Front Against Fascism line which dominated the Comintern after 1935 and was embraced with open arms by the revisionist communist parties in the imperialist countries of the U.S. and Europe. Dutt himself "criticized" his earlier formulation and supported this one. These lines led to seeking the most shameless kind of unity with every kind of so-called "progressive" or "anti-fascist" person, section or "wing" of the ruling class imaginable. Of course, as things turned out some of the ruling classes did not have to turn to a fascist form of rule and, more to the point, fought for their own imperialist interests against the bloc of powers that had. Since the central question had been posed earlier as humanity vs. barbarism and fascism and since it *turned out* that some ruling classes opposed fascism, *well*, they should be united with. This is a profound example of what could happen to the comrades' "left" version of "humanity vs. nuclear weapons." If the central contradiction is posed wrongly, nothing good will result.

But, it may still be raised, isn't it true that *now* the imperialists actually *do* have the power to destroy all human life on earth? Here we don't want to engage in a debate over whether under some conditions a full-scale nuclear war could conceivably wipe out the human race or not except to say that it is definitely *not* a foregone conclusion. Perhaps it is possible that such a conflagration could conceivably spread such massive fallout around the world, burn off enough of the ozone layer above the earth and flood the planet with deadly ultraviolet radiation or some such thing to such an extent that all human beings would be killed. But it would take the "experiment" of a full-scale nuclear war to decide the question. The problem is that, more often than not, such debates are based on some very dangerous political assumptions which, more often than not, they are designed to further; most especially the idea that if it can be statistically proven to the imperialists that they will destroy the world, they will be deterred from using their nukes. The fact that a massive nuclear war would result in death and destruction on a scale unprecedented in history should suffice as a reason to overthrow them before they can put the statistical calculations to their ultimate test. And if this isn't something that makes revolution thinkable and something to urgently prepare for, then it would be hard to imagine what would. Even the fact that serious debates are going on over whether all human beings will be killed or not stands as an absolutely stunning argument why these monsters have got to be overthrown at the soonest possible time. This is the only road forward. No matter what the imperialists bring down, they have got to be overthrown. Nothing else will deal with the problem. So resolving this debate is really not the crux of the matter *unless* one thinks that proving the inevitability of the end of the human race is the last hope for convincing those who wield these weapons to reject using them or is the magic key to convincing the masses of people to rise up and make revolution.

In any case, as long as oppressors and oppressed remain on earth and certainly in this historical period, there is going to be class struggle. While it cannot be guaranteed when, where, or exactly how revolutionary situations will develop, it can be guaranteed that the period up ahead spells great peril for the imperialist system and great convulsions in society all over the world. This is what has to be prepared for now in an all-around way. Meeting the great challenges ahead requires a different analysis and strategy than that presented in the comrades' letter — one that comprehends all-around class struggle and in this context grasps the importance of the broad movement against nuclear weapons and nuclear war. In light of all this, we fully agree with the comrades' letter: "so let's prepare for revolution." And let's do so with the orientation that no matter what the enemy brings down on the world they cannot stem the tide of history, they cannot overrule revolution. Though we obviously do not agree that Mao Tsetung and our party are mistaken in their views on this question, we do agree that further struggle, debate, and development of a deeper understanding are vital and crucial. □



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.

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Namibia

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tion of this position is based on anything but "reciprocal restraint." In fact it marks a sort of nodal point in the intensifying contention between the U.S. and the Soviets in this region. It was based on and is the crowning point of a whole period of fairly intense U.S. maneuvering and jockeying in relation to Namibia over the last 6 months in particular.

In the six months prior to Bush's announcement there was a whole series of meetings between high-ranking State Department and Angolan government officials over Namibia and the Cuban troops issue. These have included at least 2 visits by Asst. Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker to Luanda, the capital city of Angola; talks in Paris between Crocker and Angola's president, Joe Eduardo dos Santos; two visits by Crocker's chief deputy, Frank Wisner, to Luanda and at least two visits by "America's roving ambassador" General Vernon Walters to Luanda for discussions centered on the same issue. And, far more significant than the contacts between the U.S. and Angolan officials during this time, is the fact that as recently as September high-level State Department officials were holding formal meetings with their Soviet counterparts on the very same issues. On September 20th Crocker held talks with the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Leonid Ilychev, in Geneva and one week later U.S. Secretary of State Schulz met with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Gromyko. Of course, these meetings amounted to nothing more than each imperialist power attempting to outmaneuver the other and gain the upper hand for themselves.

To set the record completely straight, it must be pointed out that while the Soviets have attempted to score a lot of points off of their "support and aid" for the end of "classical colonialism," as they so often put it, the truth of the matter is that they only oppose it to the degree that they can actually usher in their own specific version of Soviet neo-colonialism—Angola and Mozambique being cases in point. In Namibia, however, favorable prospects do not exist for the Soviets being able to bring it under their complete domination today, and here the Soviets have carried out their imperialist aims and designs through the strategy of historic compromise, that is, attempting to bring a Soviet dominated Southwest African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) into some kind of power sharing arrangement with the pro-Western imperialist/South African forces. The continuous series of diplomatic maneuvering, the creating of international public opinion and the small degree to which the Soviets have encouraged and promoted some form of armed struggle in Namibia—all of these Soviet tactics have been solely designed to facilitate, and limited to serve, the advance of this historic compromise strategy. What is most clear is that this has nothing to do with the genuine liberation of Namibia, or any real national liberation struggle, in Namibia or anywhere else, no matter how much the Soviets cry out against colonialism or how many resolutions they manage to get passed in various international bodies or how much guns and ammunition they may dole out. And this is true whether the Soviet imperialists carry it out to the tune of historic compromise like in places such as Namibia or Chile, or whether they carry it out in the "go-for-it-all" style of the Soviet takeover in Angola. In Namibia, the only genuine national liberation struggle is one which would involve the masses of people rising up in armed struggle to drive out the Western imperialists and the South African colonialists and free of all the binding ties to Soviet social-imperialism.

U.S. Pointman in Africa

During the almost five years of U.S.-led negotiations around a settlement in Namibia, actually more aptly characterized as jockeying by the U.S. and its bloc to impose a settlement that would favor both them and South Africa, it has almost been a given that each time these negotiations fail "South African intransigence" would invariably be pointed to as the main obstacle to achieving any settlement. And undoubtedly, this latest U.S. position will be construed by some as just one more example of how the U.S.

is once again caving into or "lending a sympathetic ear to" the demands of the apartheid and settler-colonial regime in South Africa. However, the truth of the matter is that while South Africa undoubtedly has its own special interests in maintaining its colonial hold over Namibia, in the main its role has been to serve as a literal pointman for the interests of U.S. imperialism in connection with this issue. This has been sharply evident in the South African maneuverings concerning Namibia during the periods preceding and immediately following the announcement of the latest U.S. position—none of which could have been carried out without the full consent and backing of the U.S. In October Dirk Mudge, the leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and the current head of the South African colonial government in Namibia, appeared in Washington for close quarter talks with the State Dept. about the situation in Namibia. A few weeks later, on November 4th, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) approved a \$1.07 billion loan to the South African government. And, although the loan was ostensibly granted in order to help the ailing South African economy (a story which obviously has some truth to it), some sources have also reported that the amount of the loan was "coincidentally" the same amount as the South African government has to spend in order to maintain its military occupation of Namibia. Then, on the day of Bush's announcement, South Africa's Prime Minister, P.W. Botha, Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, and Defense Minister, Magnus Malan, accompanied by several South African generals flew into the capital of Namibia to announce a whole series of sweeping changes in South Africa's plans for Namibia's future. On the day immediately following the Bush announcement, these South African officials stated that they had decided to retain the Mudge government in Namibia, to abandon their scheme of replacing Mudge with a black-run puppet government, to cancel the upcoming election scam they had orchestrated and to replace their administrator general in Namibia. In other words, South Africa was quite clearly in Namibia to stay. Less than 6 days later South Africa's Prime Minister was received as an honored guest by the State Department in Washington, D.C. for talks centering on "regional security problems in the whole of Southern Africa."

South Africa's Strategic Role for U.S. Imperialism

And indeed there is a much wider context and broader implications of the current U.S. move in Namibia. The move itself hinges on the overall war preparations of the U.S. and its entire bloc. In this light it is quite revealing to look at what it actually means for the U.S. bloc to have the South African colonial regime remain firmly entrenched in Namibia. First of all, the continued direct rule of South Africa in Namibia actually does contribute to the removal of one domestic threat to the South African regime itself, since a necessary side effect of bringing to power a black regime in Namibia, even to a certain extent a straight up puppet regime, would lead to the further destabilization of the South African regime inside Azania. Beyond this, it also means that no less than 30,000 troops from the South African Defense Force who are stationed all along the Angola-Namibia border are literally staring down the throats of the Soviet military garrison named Angola. In addition, the fact that South Africa will continue to have access to, free transit through, and numerous military bases peppered throughout Namibia will figure big in its ability to actually play out its role in the U.S. bloc with regard to the security and waging of war in the rest of the region. And, South Africa's continued easy access to Angola through Namibia, together with the fact that it borders directly on Mozambique, another Soviet stronghold in the region, increases its ability today to both pose a formidable threat to further Soviet advances in the region and to maintain constant military pressure on the areas where the Soviets have already made inroads. At the same time, this whole geographic positioning does actually lay the groundwork for a quick strike scenario by the Western bloc against these Soviet strongholds in the opening days of a

world war.

All of this actually takes on even greater significance when viewed in light of the fact that one of the primary roles assigned to South Africa within the Western bloc is the safeguarding of the regions of southern and central Africa, an area known as the Persian Gulf of minerals since it is the site of one of the richest mineral beds in the world. It is on this region that the U.S. bloc is heavily dependent, and in many cases singularly dependent, for the supply of strategically important minerals necessary for the production of everything from nuclear weaponry to conventional bombs, ammunition and jet planes. This region is the only source for many of these minerals outside of the Soviet Union. And, on the flip side of this coin, the Soviets too are very interested in this region as one of the areas of the world in which they have concentrated on making inroads before the outbreak of war with the ultimate aim of attempting to stop, or at least disrupt, the flow of these materials to the U.S. and its bloc during the war.

But South Africa's overall role within the U.S. bloc can in no way be totally confined to just its role on the continent proper. In fact, perched as it is at the juncture of the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans, a very crucial aspect of South Africa's role in the bloc has to do with the protection of the NATO shipping lanes (both a question of protecting transport and providing refueling bases) and with the overall defense of and waging war in the Indian Ocean and especially in the South Atlantic. And once again, South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia, with its long South Atlantic coastline and the modern deepwater port of Walvis Bay, enhances South Africa's ability to carry out this task. Of course, even without Namibia, South Africa by itself would still be assigned this task — one for which it is both well-prepared and equipped.

While we cannot say for certain at this point exactly what form and shape South Africa's role in the South Atlantic will take, there have been several developments which strongly indicate which direction things are moving in. One very significant development along these lines has been the stepped-up military and political ties between South Africa and a number of the pro-U.S. South American countries. These growing ties can be seen in the well-publicized alliance-type relationship between Argentina and South Africa during the Falklands war last spring and in the increasing efforts to tie such countries as Argentina and Chile into the huge South African military and intelligence complex at Silver Mine. Another key component in the development of this South Atlantic alliance is Brazil.

The significance of Brazil's role is considerably enhanced by the fact that over the last 20 years or so, Brazil has developed quite an extensive network of ties, military, economic and political, throughout the entire continent of Africa. On the basis of these developments it certainly seems reasonable to speculate that the U.S. is attempting to engineer some kind of NATO-type alliance between the countries of the Southern Cone of South America and South Africa as a force for the U.S. bloc in the South Atlantic region.

Yet another development that should be pointed out in this regard is the increasing attention being paid to the highly sophisticated and developed military intelligence complex at Silver Mine. This complex includes the central naval system there as well as area headquarters at Durban and Walvis Bay (Namibia's only seaport). According to *New African* magazine, this system alone allows the South Africans to maintain constant surveillance of, and control over, literally all of the "air and sea space from the South Pole to the Tropic of Cancer — including surveillance of over 50 countries; the statistics of around 20,000 war and merchant ships of 85 states are computerized at Silver Mine." Added to this is the fact that the naval base at Silver Mine has recently been expanded and P.W. Botha went out of his way to make sure that it was clearly understood that this port was open for use to any Western bloc imperialist who wanted to do so. And further, the entire communications setup at Silver Mine is based on a NATO

model communications system which is readily adaptable to NATO use whenever it becomes necessary to do so.

South Africa's role is very important to the U.S.-led bloc, in fact, it is a cornerstone of any full-scale preparations for war in the region in general and to a large extent on the continent as a whole. All of the moves to increase the ability of South Africa to play a full and open role within the bloc, including the recent moves around Namibia, are actually dictated by the necessities facing the U.S. bloc today. This is the reality that lurks just behind the systematic attempts to remove the so-called "polecat status" of South Africa over the last few years. And, in today's world, it is necessary that South Africa play its role for the U.S. bloc not as some sort of ostracized "polecat" — although it certainly does have its own interests and certain contradictions within the bloc — but as a full-fledged member of the bloc. And, the current moves of the U.S. in Africa reflect this ever increasing necessity.

Another feature underlined by the newly-stated, official U.S.-Namibia policy is the further development and pressing together of the U.S.-led bloc on the entire continent. This is no small undertaking, especially since an important component of this task is the forging of a working alliance, in whatever form or fashion it takes, and with its own particular tasks and specific divisions of labor, between pro-Western neo-colonial Africa and the settler-colonial regime in South Africa.

It was certainly no accident that the U.S. decided to debut its new Namibia policy while taking a tour through many of the key pro-Western neo-colonial states. In a sense it was a sort of communique to these various regimes — a communique that declared that there is a more overriding necessity facing the bloc as a whole, including the future of these neo-colonial regimes themselves, than the working out of some kind of "internationally acceptable" neo-colonial settlement in Namibia, especially one that might favor the Soviets or even give them some increased maneuvering room. This same message was also delivered from yet another angle during Bush's tour. In an attempt to further spell out the "law of the land" and make sure that all fingers clearly point to the role of the *Soviet bloc* in Africa and a hard line be drawn by all of pro-Western neo-colonial Africa, Bush's aides informed these various regimes that South Africa was not the only source of instability in southern Africa. In fact, they emphasized that a major source of this instability is the various pro-Soviet African governments offering sanctuary to the Soviet backed "liberation" groups.

And, while many of these pro-Western regimes actually publicly sounded their "disagreement" with this new stance on Namibia, at the very same time as Bush was laying it out, the bottom line reality of the situation is that all of these regimes actually have no other choice than to privately uphold the U.S.-Namibia declaration. So, although the Vice-President of Nigeria bluntly stated to Bush that Nigeria "utterly rejects" the linking of Namibian independence with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, the real deal was sharply revealed in the snide comment of the U.S. State Dept. official during the visit of South Africa's Prime Minister Botha to Washington. According to this "non-attributable" source at the State Dept., people should "not be deceived by the rhetoric" of these different regimes and that "of necessity many leaders have to state their rejection publicly, but practically all... support our efforts for a negotiated settlement."

In a certain sense this should not be too surprising since many of these same countries, including Nigeria which has built a reputation off of the fact that a major focus of its foreign policy has supposedly been against apartheid and for a Namibian independence, even when they did get involved in the Namibia issue in the past, primarily acted as arm-twisters and influence peddlers for the Western imperialist powers. And while this is indeed a leap for some of these countries, it is precisely such leaps that are being demanded by the imperialists today as they face the necessity of tightening up their blocs and moving towards a redivision of the world. □

KKK March

Continued from page 1

four little girls were killed, Ed Fields, editor of their inflammatory rag, *Thunderbolt*, Sam Bowers, convicted of the murders of three civil rights workers in Mississippi in 1964, and Don Black, whose history also goes back to close involvement with attacks on the Civil Rights movement of the '60s and who recently was convicted of attempting to lead a band of mercenaries to overthrow the government of Dominica, a small Caribbean nation.

The march was originally called for Nov. 6th and various political trends and forces organized to oppose the granting of permits and called for counter demonstrations. Suddenly without more explanation than that they couldn't get their people together, and pleading that they were "too poor" to make the trip to D.C. the Klan cancelled out in Washington. Instead, Imperial Wizard, Bill Wilkerson (not invited to Stone Mountain because he had openly bragged about his cooperation with the FBI) held a small "Support your Local Police" rally in nearby Montgomery County. Counter demonstrations were held there and in D.C. Not a week later, the Confederation of Klans was heard from again and this time they declared that they intended to bring 200 of their scum to march in Washington on Nov. 27th. Within days they had their permits signed, sealed and delivered for a march down Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol to Lafayette Park right across from the White House.

Their stated purpose for coming to D.C. was to oppose the Simpson-Mazzoli Immigration Bill in Congress. This bill, in actuality a sharp attack on immigrants and an attempt to exert political control over this potentially revolutionary section of the people, is being opposed by the Klan for promoting "colored immigration." The following quote from *Thunderbolt* speaking to this question, echoes the very real concerns and preparation being made by the bourgeoisie for dealing with the foreign-born proletarians and oppressed and points to the usefulness of the Klan to the U.S. imperialists in rallying a section of their reactionary social base for the possibility of civil war in the future: "It will not be long before Mexicans are strong enough to annex back these parts of America (the Southwest). Of course the greatest danger is that they will unite with all the other colored groups and simply take over the country." A little taste of this potential danger to the All-American way of life so typified by these Klukkers was felt on the streets of Washington that day.

The bourgeoisie made massive preparations to insure a safe welcome home for the Klan to Washington, D.C. where they had not marched in 57 years. Miles of storm fencing were erected along the march route and large sections of the Capitol and White House areas were barricaded off entirely. All leave for D.C. police officers was cancelled and there had even been talk of bringing in the National Guard. Even the FBI got into the act, personally ordered by Attorney

General Smith to assist D.C. and U.S. Park Police by coordinating "logistics" directly with the Klan. D.C. Police Chief Turner warned ominously of "possible violence" and called on everyone to stay home. A group of Black politicians and clergy, including D.C. delegate to Congress, Walter Fauntroy, who builds his reputation on being a former SCLC member, got together to form the Coalition for Community Unity. They publicly warned of the potential for violence and planned prayer services, a "Jobs Day" and other "positive alternatives" like handing out *free butter*(!?!?) at churches to keep people pacified and off the streets.

The Trotskyite Progressive Labor Party and the Spartacist League each called pickets and rallies near the Capitol to stop the Klan from marching. The night before the march, PL's spraypainting went up in Black communities, and about 100 people came out to picket with them on Saturday. PL is known for their history of leading militant reformist confrontations with the Klan wherever they march and tried unsuccessfully to confront their march in Montgomery County on Nov. 6th. The Spartacists had pulled together a labor/Black coalition of lower level union officials and mobilized several hundred to come to D.C. Warning of the danger of the "rise of the right", they called on people to "Stop the Klan" because their programme is the same as Reagan's program and if the Klan is not stopped in D.C. they will march anywhere and everywhere.

There were also non-confrontational rallies planned at other sites in the city. The Communist Workers Party (CWP) had made clear from the beginning when organizing for their Nov. 6th counter demonstration that they had no intention of confronting the KKK. At a press conference at that time, they assured the press that they would do everything possible to prevent disruptions from taking place, and boasting that the Afro-American Policeman's Association was part of the coalition they had pulled together, they praised the D.C. police for being the "best in the world" at the rational handling of demonstrations. They made the thrust of their work petitioning that permits not be granted to the Klan "in our nation's capital," and demanded that Reagan speak out against the Klan. They called for pickets at the Capitol and the White House but in the midst of all the activity they hardly had a visible presence. The All People's Congress which had united with the Black United Front and a number of other organizations, planned a rally at McPherson Square, a block from Lafayette Park. Also warning of the "rise of the right" they called for a Popular Front Against Fascism and calling Reagan the biggest member of the Klan, they included the fight against the Klan and racism in their program of fighting Reagan's increased military spending and cutbacks in social programs. These forces were joined by the Nov. 29th Coalition who had moved their rally marking the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people from New York to D.C. in order to link up with the anti-Klan demonstration. They held a separate rally in the morning and then marched over to join the All Peoples Congress. In all, these two groups brought together about 1000 people from D.C. and around the country.

By 10 o'clock in the morning, hundreds and hundreds of people from D.C. and the surrounding area, mainly Black youth, began to gather near the Capitol and the White House — the scheduled starting and end points of the KKK march. Not drawn by any particular organization, they drifted in and out of the various different rallies, grabbed up flags and signs with anti-Klan slogans, but mainly they pressed up against police barricades and waited tensely for the Klan to show.

By noon only 35 Klansmen had gathered. It is not clear why more Klan had not shown up. Perhaps it was a political decision involving consultation at the higher levels of the ruling class, perhaps it was infighting in their ranks or fears about whether they could really pull it off. But it was clear that the Klan had not mobilized to bring their forces out (and it certainly was not because J.B. Stoner couldn't afford the buses). They held a brief press conference near the Capitol, safely away from the eyes of the demonstrators. Summing up the turnout

and the mood of the masses on the streets, a mutual decision was apparently made by police and Klan that the Klan would not march down Pennsylvania Avenue. Instead they all got into a car and a bus and the police smuggled them secretly over to Lafayette Park where they rallied briefly in a corner with their sheets in bags tucked under their arms and then were hustled quickly out of town.

Meanwhile blocks away at the Capitol, more than 1000 people who had gathered to confront the Klan were still waiting. Well after the Klan had been safely hustled away, the police suddenly withdrew the barricades and people went into the streets. It was apparent that the Klan was not going to march and some people split. Others started marching along Pennsylvania Avenue to Lafayette Park with the Spartacists in the lead chanting, "We Stopped the Klan." But before this group from the Capitol arrived, things started getting hot at the police barricades at Lafayette Park where hundreds more people not part of any demonstration had gathered. By this time they had begun to get the sense that the "unofficial" pigs in the sheets were not going to show their face but the "official" pigs in blue were in their face at the barricades. From all appearances quite spontaneously, hundreds of people surged through the barricades and descended upon the police. The police responded with teargas and charging horses and the people fought back, using the wood from the police barricades and anything else they could get their hands on. An unmarked police car was trashed and overturned and James Madison's house, sitting just opposite the White House, was stoned and trashed.

For close to two hours the masses managed to stay on the offensive by dispersing and then regrouping at another intersection nearby. Many people left the site of the All People's Congress rally which was still going on and joined in or watched excitedly along the edges. A good number of young Palestinians (some were later seen being rebuked by their elders) deserted the rally and jumped into the fray, sharing tactics with the Black youth from D.C. Groups of Vietnam veterans and others schooled in the '60s shouted out tactical guidance and prevented the fighters from getting encircled: Rocks went smashing through the windows of the bank. Several other classy downtown shops were targeted and there was some rearranging of the distribution relations—bicycles being a particular favorite. Whenever police would chase down and grab someone, bold groups of youth would chase after and liberate the prisoner. A number of taxi drivers drove their cabs in front of the cops to prevent them from arresting people and picked up and transported injured people to safety. Some people were heard to remark that they hadn't felt like this since the '60s and one older Black man shot back, "This ain't the sixties, it's the '80s." While overall this outbreak was a very spontaneous outpouring of protest against national oppression, in the midst of everything, there were small pockets of sharp debate about the necessity for revolution. Many questioned how it could actually be done "since they have all the guns and we have only rocks." But there was a strong sense of impatience and the feeling as one brother put it that, "Black people can't wait for 20 years—we need revolution now." The militant Spartacists and other local "firefighters" urged people to go home but nobody cared.

At one point the masses asked a brother who was speaking about the need for revolution to get up on a trash can so that the whole crowd in the area could hear what he was saying. Exposing the role of the Klan for the imperialists, he spoke about the need in these times for preparation for a real struggle for power by the proletariat and its allies and called for people to take up the Programme and Constitution of the RCP and wield the *Revolutionary Worker*. Many people clapped and cheered and some went to get newspapers right away.

Eventually police were able to disperse the crowd and regain control. Their main tactic had been to keep things contained in the downtown and prevent it from exploding into the Black neighborhoods nearby. Thirty-eight people were arrested and charged with looting, destruction of property and several other charges. The police and media also collaborated after

the fact and used "tipsters" to arrest more people for looting based on TV and newspaper photos.

The bourgeoisie was stunned and horrified. "Blind, senseless rage," shrieked police chief Turner at a press conference that evening. It was instigated by "opportunists and misfits hellbent on crime." Pictures of broken windows and of youth grabbing bicycles were splashed all over TV news along with interviews of merchants and tourists who had been supposedly "terrorized" by rampaging mobs. "Shame!" cried the *Washington Post*: "Even to grace those mindless rock and bottle throwers and looters with the label of 'anti-Klan protesters' gives them a status they don't deserve to enjoy." How familiar are these sanctimonious howls from the whores of the U.S. godfathers of "civilization" in defense of their official and unofficial armed thugs when the masses come out to stalk them, revealing all the hatred and contempt seething under the surface in such "uncivilized" and "impolite" fashion. And the Klan? Why according to such civilized bourgeois gentlemen, these perpetrators of reactionary violence against the Black people that have been openly built up in the press and not so openly supported and utilized by the imperialists in enforcing *systematic* national oppression, these pigs, whose presence on the street is an insult and provocation to any progressive person, are just harmless individuals.

Then came the inevitable liberal and equally stomach-turning fingerwagging from various reformists and opportunists who wailed, "The Klan won." And according to such types, the masses had brought it upon themselves: this was not a respectable political protest; if they'd only gone to church and prayed; how could they have turned on the police. Everyone searched for an explanation: It must have been the unemployment and Reagan's inhuman policies of cutbacks in social services. (Shades of the liberal handwringing that went on after the rebellions in England last year.) Apparently it is inconceivable to people like this that the imperialist system has anything to do with it.

Then Mr. Community Unity Fauntroy led the charge against the "outside agitators": calling for an investigation into possible conspiracy to incite a riot, he condemned the "Communist Party" and "Trotskyites" as "Tarzans who swing through the jungle of Black experience in America and exploit it for their own purposes." While Fauntroy retracted his remarks a day later and retreated to patting himself on the back for his constructive exercises in passing out butter, the police and media echoed his remarks, stating that they planned to initiate such an investigation and began a campaign against agitators who stirred up the Black masses. One TV station, flashing pictures of the demonstration against Deng Xiaoping on the screen said that conspiracy charges had not been used in D.C. since the RCP marched in 1979. (This of course was not true: in fact the Mao Tsetung Defendants, which this rather pointed and blatant "news item" was referring to, did not face conspiracy charges, although the government used the term "joint enterprise" to conjure up the image of political conspiracy.) While it is not clear where the authorities will go with such talk, what is quite clear is that such charges of "outside agitators" riling up the masses on Nov. 27 are plainly ridiculous and in fact it was quite unnecessary for anyone to "incite" the people to do such things. The "way things are" is reason enough.

For many oppressed people as well as the more rebellious among the petty bourgeoisie and those who were active in the '60s, the events of this Thanksgiving weekend were rather inspiring. People were talking about the major rebellion in Washington in 1968. And for quite a number of foreign-born, it was the first time they had ever seen the Black masses in this country engaged in the streets. Among the youth who took to the streets, there was a definite sense of pride in seeing the pigs in retreat, if only for a few hours and for the more revolutionary minded, newly impelled into political life, these events have raised very sharp questions of how to raise their political level and how to go beyond such activity to actually dealing with the whole system and what kind of leadership is actually necessary to make revolution. □

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Round Three To Come

Round Two: Kiko Martinez Acquitted

On Nov. 20, the scene in a Denver federal courtroom, where Chicano activist and attorney Francisco "Kiko" Martinez was being tried for alleged mail-bombings in a decade-long attempted government frameup, suddenly burst into joyous pandemonium. A crowd of more than 60 of Kiko's supporters leaped up onto their seats, wildly cheering and applauding as the jury read out its verdict: NOT GUILTY of all charges.

As Kiko was carried from the courtroom by triumphant friends and supporters the standing ovation continued until the last of the jurors (four of whom themselves were in tears) had also left the courtroom.

The government's special prosecutors, brought in from Chicago to try this case, left the courtroom, refusing to make any comment to the press. The jury had deliberated less than 4 hours in coming to their unanimous verdict of acquittal after the five-week trial. One juror later stated that she was so determined that Kiko be acquitted that she had first played "devil's advocate," arguing for conviction in order to draw out any jurors who

were really for conviction so they could then be taken on and defeated.

While summing up this latest trial as a victory, a spokesperson for the defense committee also cautioned that "It's over, but it's not over — people can't sigh in relief because there's more to come." In 1981, a mistrial (and acquittal) was declared on similar charges against Kiko. And still, yet a third set of mail bomb charges against Kiko remains outstanding. The head of the Denver U.S. Attorney's office stated: "As for proceeding on, we intend to do that and with the appointment of the Chicago prosecutors who would continue on the case." (According to this same U.S. attorney they cannot, however, appeal the acquittal.)

The charges against Kiko originally stemmed from indictments in 1973 for alleged attempted mailbombings against a cop and a motorcycle shop (these are the two sets of charges on which Kiko has now been acquitted). Those indictments were part of the government's repression directed against the Chicano people and attempts to crush the upsurge of struggle

that grew especially sharp in the '60s and early '70s. Kiko Martinez was an activist in this struggle and, as an attorney, defended many people arrested, as well as many other political activists including members of the American Indian Movement (AIM). The indictments were — and still are — a desperate government effort to "neutralize" Kiko Martinez, and it was understanding this that led Kiko to choose political exile in Mexico City over facing "justice" at the hands of the state.

When Kiko was finally arrested in 1980, the government added the third indictment — 7 years after the fact — for an alleged attempted mail bombing of a school board member in 1973. This stands as the only remaining charge in the wake of the current acquittal. The state itself was forced to request a mistrial in the previous railroad attempt in 1980 after searing exposure of the government's plotting behind the scenes to rig the outcome at secret meetings between the judge and prosecutors, cop "witnesses", even court clerks, etc.

As a result of these exposures, the state's charges (which duplicated the three sets of federal charges) were dropped after the first federal mistrial. Special "untainted" prosecutors were then brought in from Chicago and a new "fair judge," Frank Theis, was brought in to salvage the federal railroad and try to bury the political essence of this case.

In fact, the prosecution took every opportunity to label Kiko a "terrorist and mad bomber" with the Denver press obediently mouthing these lies at every turn. The prosecution's two key witnesses were

the same Denver cops exposed for participating in the earlier government conspiracy (both have been caught several times lying about evidence—in particular, claiming to have Kiko's fingerprints on bombs, and never producing any). Their case was exposed at the trial. The "evidence" the police claimed to have taken from the packaging of a mail bomb (which itself is known to have existed only because the police and some reactionaries in a motorcycle shop say it did) turned out to be a shred of paper authorities say is a fragment of the bomb which they "accidentally" exploded. They even admitted that the dubious fingerprint supposedly found on it could have been put there up to 7 years before it was supposedly mailed.

The government is still quite determined to press ahead on the last set of charges. The Denver U.S. Attorney said that they are depending on new rulings that will allow them to bring in new "evidence." They want to bring in information about all the alleged bombings that took place in Denver in the '60s and '70s. According to prosecutors, this is in order to portray the "tenor of the times." The strategy is simple: guilt by association. The Francisco "Kiko" Martinez Defense Committee's immediate plans are to continue fundraising for the legal defense and to force Denver area newspapers to print an article exposing this now decade-long frameup attempt and demanding that no third trial be held. □

Student Editor Gets The Axe: "TOO MUCH POLITICAL ADVOCACY"

On November 9, two days before Veterans Day and in the midst of nationwide efforts to etch into stone the rewritten history of the Vietnam war as a supposedly honorable one, a special Veterans Day issue of the North Seattle Community College (NSCC) weekly newspaper, *Polaris*, hit the campus. Within hours the editor, Michael Cosgrove, was fired.

The centerfold of the special issue contained several articles dealing with Vietnam vets along with two large cartoons. While the articles stayed within the bounds set by the bourgeoisie on Veterans Day, the cartoons and the overall headline — "Commemorating the Horrors of War and Those Who Waged It" — all specially requested by editor Cosgrove, were decidedly not what was being called for. One cartoon pictured rows of tombstones in a forbidding graveyard. The other showed the Grim Reaper standing amid a host of corpses of soldiers strewn on a desolate battlefield.

Even more provocative was a set of ads that appeared in the paper (at left, bottom, right). The first was your routine Selective Service System announcement of the requirement that 18-year-olds register for the draft. The headline read: "One of the easiest parts of becoming 18", and at the bottom it stated, "It's quick. It's easy. And it's the law." Side-by-side with this was another ad designed by the *Polaris* staff "for balance, vis-a-vis the ad at the left, as required by responsible journalism." It displays Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman's scathing exposure of the role of U.S. imperialism in Indochina and calls on those who are about to become "army-bait" to educate themselves in order to learn "whether or not the real power in this country is in the hands of a greedy and corrupt bunch of real jerks."

Besides this Cosgrove also featured two editorials. One responded to an editorial in the *Seattle Times* entitled "Suharto, Reagan—Compatible Pair" which portrayed them both as great "statesmen." Cosgrove used some of the exposure in Chomsky and Herman's book to show a very different kind of compatibility than that drawn by the *Times*. Among other things he noted Suharto's bloody execution of over 300,000 members of the Communist Par-

ty of Indonesia in the '60s and the ruthless annexation of East Timor in 1976. Capping off the issue was a second editorial lambasting the administration's efforts to censor the *Polaris*; a week earlier Cosgrove had received a warning reminding him that all copy must be submitted for approval to the paper "Adviser," Mary Jane Merry, who had made no secret of her displeasure at the course Cosgrove was steering, and that his "personal opinion" must be reserved for the editorial page.

When the Vets Day issue appeared, the administration took action. A meeting of the school's Board of Publications, the arm of authority for Adviser Mary Merry, quickly met, cited and then fired Cosgrove. He was charged with 4 errors: 1) Use of his power as a journalist for selfish or otherwise unworthy purposes; 2) promotion of private interests contrary to the general welfare; 3) violation of the provision that headlines should be fully

warranted by the contents of the articles they surmount; and 4) misstatements of fact.

The nitty-gritty was certainly the charge of pursuing "unworthy purposes." Cosgrove had already led the paper in covering anti-nuclear war events, the struggle against women's oppression, the U.S. in El Salvador. He also opened the pages of the student paper for debate on the U.S.-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Certainly the likes of Mary Jane Merry and her superiors found all this—not to even speak of the satirical challenge to the Selective Service and the other Vets Day salvoes — a most "unworthy purpose" threatening the campus' "general welfare." As for the Vet's Day headline challenged in point 3 — fully unwarranted, naturally.

What the fourth point—"misstatement of fact" — refers to is that, following his second editorial challenging the administration's censorship efforts, Cos-

grove changed Mary Jane Merry's title on the *Polaris* masthead from "Adviser" to "Adviser/Censor." Since Cosgrove had to submit all copy for Merry's approval, he somehow drew the conclusion that she was indeed a "censor," a not too audacious conclusion. As if to prove the point, the next issue's front page presented the Board of Publication's rationale for firing Cosgrove and an editorial defending it entitled "Too Much Political Advocacy." Also featured was a letter from a vet and naval reservist decrying Cosgrove's "yellow journalism," appropriately overlaid on a large gray American flag. Adviser/Censor Merry no doubt considered *this* a quite "worthy purpose."

Fittingly enough, at least two reporters for the local media put together stories about Cosgrove's firing. Before they made TV or press, they were summarily spiked by their own "Adviser/Censors," a.k.a. "editors." □

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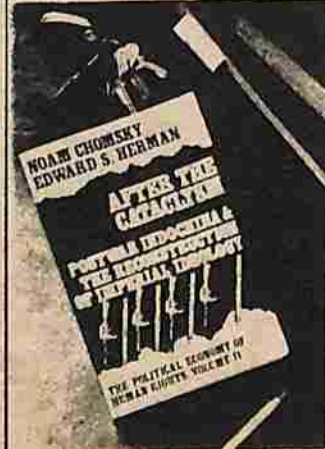
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