



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A.

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Sección en Español

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## Appeals Court Puts Bob Avakian Railroad Back on Track

On October 21, the U.S. ruling class—acting through the Washington D.C. Court of Appeals—renewed and *escalated* its attack on the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, Bob Avakian. The Appeals Court overturned a lower court's dismissal

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### Hostage Deal in Works

## U.S. Gangsters Lean on Iranian Gov't.

As the Iraq-Iran war enters its second month, the U.S. ruling class is stepping up a blackmail operation that would put Al Capone and Bugsy Malone to shame. Supplied and backed up by the U.S.'s client states in the area, Iraq continues to press in on Khorramshahr and Abadan, stopped only by the heroic resistance of the Iranian masses defending these cities. With these Iraqi guns pointed at Iran's head, the U.S. is undertaking "negotiations" with the Iranian government. The subject of these gunpoint negotiations is the release of the 52 CIA agents and other U.S. embassy personnel held hostage for nearly a year, and forcing the Iranian government to capitulate to the U.S. across the board, bringing Iran back under the domination of the U.S. imperialist bloc.

That a settlement of the "hostage crisis" is in the works has been the subject of a deluge of "optimistic speculation" in the U.S. press and numerous exchan-

ges between presidential candidates Carter and Reagan as hurried behind-the-scenes dealings are going on. With the trip of Iranian Prime Minister Rajai to the UN and his very conciliatory statements regarding the hostages in a press conference given in New York, and clear signals of general agreement on the return of the 52 from leaders in Tehran, the U.S. is clearly smelling vic-

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Special Pull-out Section:  
Letters on the  
Draft Programme

"Do something on Election Day"???! Yes...

# SPIT ON THE IMPERIALISTS' CON GAME

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# Cook County Attacks Abortions: Does Feds One Better

Chicago. More than 200 angry women and some men jammed a meeting of the Cook County Board on October 21 to testify and demonstrate their fury over Board president George Dunne's recent ruling to stop all abortions at Cook County Hospital, the city's only public hospital. For an hour and a half Dunne and his cronies attempted to ignore the angry demonstrators and conduct business as usual. But this was difficult, as people shouted, "We want to be heard! This is a life and death issue for us!" After one of the commissioners threatened to call sheriff's deputies to remove the "disrupters," finally the women were able to testify.

The Cook County Hospital House Staff Association, an organization of interns and residents, presented a resolution condemning the ban on abortions and calling for the decision to be reversed. A Black woman recalled the days before 1973 when County Hospital maintained an entire 40-bed ward called "the septic abortion ward" reserved for women who had been butchered in back alley abortions or in desperate attempts to abort themselves, stating that this is what could be looked forward to once again. Many other organizations including Black feminists, women's health care groups

and more denounced the decision, forcing Dunne to agree to hold public hearings on the question next month.

This ruling has provoked widespread outrage not only because it is a blatant attack on Black people and other oppressed nationalities who are forced to rely on County Hospital, but because it lays bare the reality of women's oppression. Despite the tender statements of concern for "women's equality" from Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan on down, this ruling represents the bottom line—"Keep 'em barefoot and pregnant, and if they should wind up dead in a septic abortion ward, too bad." This ban on abortions is a good indication of exactly what the bourgeoisie has in store for the masses of women in the 1980s—more degradation and more oppression. All this was loudly applauded by the handful of "Pro-Life" forces, about 30 in all, who were given equal time at the microphone. Joseph Scheidler, director of Pro-Life Action, praised the decision as "wise and humane." Another fool gushed over County Board President Dunne as "a modern day St. George" for his decision.

The green light for Dunne's order came on June 30 this year when the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the Hyde



Over 200 people crowded into a meeting of the Cook County Hospital board on Oct. 20th to denounce the recent ban on abortions.

Amendment. This law, passed in 1976, states that no state needs to fund abortions unless the mother's life is in danger or if pregnancy results from rape or incest. Many states, including Illinois, followed suit with similar laws. While claiming that he is "just upholding the law," Dunne has actually gone one better by also denying abortions to rape and incest victims. He has also attempted to win support for his decision by saying that abortion cases are occupying too many hospital beds and wasting the precious time of the staff. This touching concern over the health care of the poor certainly comes as a surprise, however, since the County Hospital's budget has been cut back year after year down to the bone.

It's impossible to say exactly how many women will be affected by the abortion cutoff. In Illinois, where abortions have been severely restricted since 1978 to only those that are "medically necessary," many women, from young teenagers to older women, have been forced to bear unwanted children. The situation has already resulted in the admission of at least one woman into

County Hospital with heavy bleeding from a self-induced abortion.

During the time it takes a woman to raise the money, the risk to her health increases drastically. According to a study by the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, "For each week of delay, the risk of complications after legally induced abortions increases approximately 20%; the risk of death increases approximately 40%." For the woman who can't prove that her life is in danger, but only that her health might suffer, this is no longer grounds for an abortion under the Hyde Amendment. The criteria of "endangering the life of the mother" is totally deceitful anyway, as the seriousness of complications and risks often manifest themselves later in pregnancy and by then it is too late to safely have an abortion.

This attack on women in Chicago—which is part of a larger offensive directed by our rulers nationally—has drawn many into active opposition. The denial of abortion is another link in the chain of women's oppression and must be opposed. □



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1 Million Copies of This Leaflet Have Gone Out Nationwide

“Do Something on Election Day”???!!! Yes...

# SPIT ON THE IMPERIALISTS’ CON GAME

You flick on the TV. On one channel Donny Osmond sings the praises of Ronald Reagan, on another Charlie Daniels is stumping for the prez. And yet few of the people you know carry songs in their heart for any of the candidates. In fact, rarely have so many people felt so sick and disgusted. Even as the media attempts to whip up interest in this farce, most people cannot make up their minds whether the 1980 elections are high tragedy or unintentional comedy. In truth, they are neither; there is a method to this madness...

But first, maybe you'd like to hear a fairy tale. Strangely enough, many adults who don't believe in the Easter Bunny still can't shake this one loose. It concerns a country where—though there are rich and poor, industrialist and worker, bankers and farmhands, mansion dwellers and ghetto residents, generals and foot soldiers—there exists a Great Happiness because Lo! the government is “by, for and of the people.” Political leaders are chosen fairly and equally by all; in this way the future course of events is shaped by “the will of the majority.” Blah, etc., blah.

And just as fairy tales are used to send the little

tykes off to a charming and serene slumber, this particular fairy tale is resurrected on a grand scale every four years to suck masses of people into political dreamland. There is one particle of truth to the tale, however. When you step into the voting booth, your vote is equal to David Rockefeller's. *Because neither of them are worth the paper they are printed on.* No serious questions have ever been decided by these elections. The real reins of power are held by the monopoly capitalists, who formulate policy along with their think-tank experts and advisors. The wind-up toys they run as candidates merely carry out their will. While political office holders come and go, this imperialist ruling class remains the real “incumbent.”

Think about it—this same ruling class has never hesitated to topple governments around the world and set up their own tin-horn dictators. Assassinations, torture, massive repression—they've never hesitated to use all this and more whenever their precious interests have been threatened in the slightest degree. But here, back in the good old USA, you think they actually give a flying fig about obeying “the mandate of the

people”? Be for real!

Yes, there is a mandate—the mandate of the ruling class to hold onto their archaic and barbarous system by whatever means necessary. Ask anyone, even in this country, who's stood up in a real way to their oppression and abuse, just how quickly the smiling lips of “freedom and democracy” curled back to reveal the jagged jaws of their hell on earth. And today, the “mandate” of the ruling class includes war—world war with their equally imperialist Soviet rivals—in order to maintain the subjugation of people here and around the world under their boot.


These elections change none of this. Carter's attempts to label Reagan as a “war monger” and a “racist” (which everyone knows anyhow) are transparently hypocritical coming from Mr. “Commander-in-Chief” himself, currently supervising U.S. military build-up in the Persian Gulf, beating the war drum loudly in his own campaign (and who by the way, started his campaign in Tusculum, Alabama, giving the sly wink to the good ole boys of the

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## Cast This Ballot:

Join With Others Who Understand That It's None Too Soon  
For the Oppressed To Stop Waiting On The Oppressor For Salvation!


**BALLOT**



Pull Handle

DEMOCRATIC PARTY  
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 INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES & OTHER ASSORTED SAVIORS

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**THIS WHOLE SYSTEM IS PUTRID,  
I DON'T BELIEVE IN ANY OF  
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**BALLOT**



Pull Handle

DEMOCRATIC PARTY  
 REPUBLICAN PARTY  
 INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES & OTHER ASSORTED SAVIORS

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Check Box

**THIS WHOLE SYSTEM IS PUTRID,  
I DON'T BELIEVE IN ANY OF  
ITS CANDIDATES!**

**KEEP THIS ONE AND DO SOMETHING CREATIVE WITH IT YOURSELF ON ELECTION DAY.**

Send one of these ballots to the Revolutionary Communist Party and we will find something dramatic to do with all of them together at election time. Keep the other one and think of something creative to do with it yourself on election day.

# UN 2 APPEALS TRIAL BEGINS

The appeal of the conviction and sentencing of the UN 2, Steve Yip and Glenn Gan, will be heard Thursday, October 30 in federal court in New York City. Much more than fine tuning fine points of law before an "impartial" panel judges, the stakes are high in this appeal for both classes. Indeed, the railroad of the UN 2 has been from the very beginning a most political attack by the U.S. ruling class. But try as they desperately have to erase the vivid political message of this action, it has not been so simple as the showers vanden Heuvel and Troyanovsky took shortly after the incident.

It has been five months since this action took place, and far from its significance diminishing, its importance has been greatly heightened. The UN 2 action took place in the midst of a rising chorus of patriotism and only five days following the U.S.'s attempted raid into Iran. It took place in the face of the imperialist superpowers' attempts to keep the masses of people here and around the world trapped, thinking that their only role was to line up behind them and their interests. The pre-World War 3 rumblings have grown louder. The action at the UN and the battle that has ensued to free

these brothers is a microcosm of what is to come, a rumbling of revolutionary opposition to both the United States and the USSR, and of what is to be done in the face of World War 3. This battle is important right now because of the effect it will have on the future. What is at stake in the defense of the UN 2 is the defense of internationalism. This stand has been given continued and deepened expression as illustrated both by the recent statement of solidarity sent by the UN 2 to the Iranian people's struggle against the U.S.-backed Iraqi invasion, and by the many statements and actions of others that have been inspired and unleashed by the UN 2 action.

The UN 2 action, the dousing of brilliant red paint on the faces of the U.S. and Soviet UN representatives before the people of the world had an electrifying impact. Right in this den of superpower intrigue where the U.S. calls the Soviets "aggressors" and "warmongers" and the Soviets respond with like accusations, and they're both right, this veil was ripped off. Right where the superpowers sit and meet spewing out vicious, poisonous lies to give the image that if peace is to be sought, seek it under the emblem of the dove, the

The UN 2 have marked the two nuclear superpowers as terrorists who hold our world, our children and all of life hostage to cupidity of life and violence. In a sane society their action would be unnecessary. In America or Russia, their action is inevitable.

Daniel Berrigan  
10-4-80

read at the Program to Free the UN 2 upon their return to New York.

shouts of "Our Flag is Red, Not Red, White and Blue! Down with U.S. and Soviet War Moves!" rang out. Neither the U.S. nor the Soviet representatives can sit in the Security Council of the United Nations today with quite the same bloated posture.

Glen Gan told the judge on the day of the sentencing of the UN 2 that what the government feared is that the UN 2 have become the UN thousands. And thousands have come forward in this battle, as expressed in the striking and inspiring letters and statements, the signing of the statement of support by over 9,000 people, and the raising of over \$26,000 in a 12-week period. The UN action had a profound impact on the political consciousness of a broad section of people in this country. From all walks of life, people responded on many levels to the government's vengeance. Soldiers were one section of the population jolted and inspired by this action. GI's in Europe wrote statements of support, soldiers and sailors met with the UN 2 in large and small gatherings around the coun-

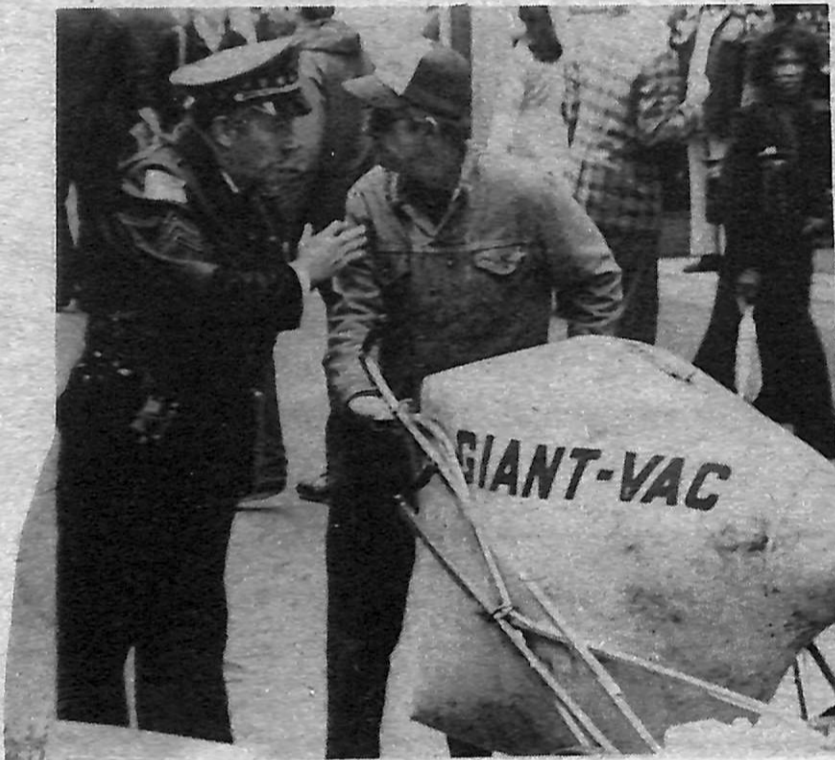
try, struggling over the questions of the action—and other events in the world posed. One Marine recently called in to a radio station that had previously aired a talk show with one of the UN 2. As another political activist, Laura Brown, recently returned from Iran, was on the air, he said, "I joined the Marines to fight communism and the Soviet Union, but after I heard him (one of the UN 2) explain that the Soviet Union isn't communist, I began to wonder why I joined the Marines. And now I want to know if the Soviet Union is not communist, what is communism?"

It's this kind of response from the masses of people, uniting with the stand of the action, and the questioning among broad sections of people as to what their interests are in the midst of a rapidly sharpening world situation that the ruling class wants smashed. Whereas Judge Robert Ward put it when he sentenced the UN 2, "This (felony convictions, 1 year and 1 day jail terms, 5 years probation and 3 years suspended

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## Attempt to vacuum up revolutionary ideas fails.

Downtown Chicago: A street corner where the RW is sold and which is the scene of frequent large mass debates over revolutionary ideas becomes the object of intense clean-up efforts by the city.



● Giant-Vac arrives on the corner, chats with cop—one hint that the object of the clean-up campaign was more than gum wrappers on the sidewalk.



● Further clues—Not only did the terrifically noisy Giant-Vac follow the RW agitators around, vacuuming the same spots for several hours, but in a transparently pre-planned move some misguided flag-waving youth appeared with flags conveniently provided by "local merchants" (some of which were used to decorate the Giant-Vac). The cops also turned up, surprise, surprise!



● Far from busting up the street corner debate, the Giant-Vac, misguided flag wavers and several arrests of revolutionaries served to swell the numbers of people crowded around the agitators. Many people were angered by this blatant attempt to crush public debate, and a number stepped forward to defend the revolutionaries and buy RW's right under the nozzle of the Giant-Vac and its companions.

## Debate on 100,000 Campaign

# LET 100 FLOWERS BLOSSOM: LET 100 SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND

RW:

Here is a question I've been trying to understand more deeply as I've been going out with the Co-conspirator campaign: What is the dialectic that exists between the developing objective situation and the masses—particularly the advanced?

The objective situation sets the stage for there to be advanced forces. Not in a static way but in a developing way, through repeated crisis revealing more and more the true nature of this system for those who have eyes to see it. How do those advanced forces who begin to understand this—how do they in turn react on the objective situation? And what is our role as class-conscious forces to accelerate this process?

Like Bob Avakian says in "Coming From Behind to Make Revolution" the advanced are not out there frozen in time waiting to be thawed and given political direction. They have come into being off of their life's experience, a certain strata of people within the working class—the oppressed minorities, people who came out of the '60s movement, Vietnam vets, women who were part of the women's movement, etc. We meet up with these people at a certain point in their more or less (mainly more) spontaneous development. (This spontaneous development will become more conscious as our movement grows and gains more influence.) They have a certain (but not thorough) understanding of imperialism, of the necessity and possibility of revolution, of the need to be applying a scientific, *conscious understanding in order to make revolution happen.*

While the objective situation may make them revolutionary, the pervasiveness of bourgeois ideology generally leads them into reformism, nationalism, economism as the way to struggle against this system. The advanced develop through their experience their own analysis of the situation and how to resolve it. When we class-conscious forces meet up with these advanced the struggle takes place for them to become scientific and class conscious themselves. Our task is to divert their attention from the usually narrow reformist struggle that they are involved in, or the cynicism that usually sets in after repeatedly beating their heads against the wall. They need to see the revolutionary opportunities that are opening up before us and they need to see what their role is in hastening it along.

We have to present it to them in both the general overall view that comes out in the *Draft Programme and Constitution* and Bob Avakian's talk, "Coming From Behind..." but they also have to see the necessity and possibility coming out of every event that goes on in society. They have to begin to look beneath the surface of spontaneous struggles that break out and see the laws of capitalism that force the ruling class to intensify exploitation and oppression and at the same time force the masses to rise up in resistance against them. They have to look at the maneuverings of the ruling class in this country and the Soviet Union in the same way. This kind of understanding will come only after repeated (always at a higher level) discussion and struggle. Of course these discussions do not move forward in a straight line either. The bourgeoisie is always throwing roadblocks to impede the progress of the advanced. The pull of spouses who disagree, threats from bosses, ridicule from fellow workers. But what is it that will keep them on the revolutionary road is not mainly the struggle to convince all these other guys that the advanced are right (though that struggle must also go on), but for the advanced to know that he has a correct understanding of the world. This kind of understanding can only come through the *Revolutionary Worker*. Without a concrete materialist assessment, we are calling on people to put their asses on the line for some high-sounding ideas, or out of hatred. Moralism and hatred may work for a time but will not sustain people through the twists and turns in the struggle.

As the advanced get a clearer understanding of U.S. imperialism and its ever-weakening state, and as they begin to grasp their own role and the impact they can make they will consciously go out there with the intent to foil U.S. imperialism at every turn. When the ruling class tries to use Iran to whip

up national chauvinism, the advanced will stand alongside our Iranian brothers and sisters and expose U.S. imperialism. When the ruling class is forced to register youth for the draft, the advanced will expose their war preparations and in whose interest the war will be fought. The exposure of U.S. imperialism and that these are workers taking this stand, will have a profound impact on both the desperation of the rulers and the development of revolutionary consciousness among the broader masses. The U.S. rulers hate and fear the exposure and will move to stop it exposing their reactionary rule even more and putting themselves in an even more untenable situation—who are they going to get to fight for them when they have to go to war? The broad masses will begin to see that yes indeed there is a real alternative to the world war that the two superpowers have in store—there is a conscious and revolutionary movement that aims to put an end to the whole system that gives rise to these wars. Others will begin to move in this direction themselves.

The struggle with the bourgeoisie for the loyalty of the masses will not be easy, they are masters at distortion, confusion, bribery and outright repression. But the scientific and timely analysis in the pages of the *RW* will train the masses to see through the twists and turns and lessen at each point the freedom the ruling class has among the masses.

L.M.

RW:

It said, in the article "Wanted 100,000 Co-Conspirators" that "the key question is the real urgency and possibility of mobilizing the advanced, including many of you who are reading this paper, to take up this battle as your own, wage it with enthusiasm and *understanding.*"

I agree that that's the key question, and I don't think we're going to get to 100,000 at this time, because I don't think enough of the advanced can be won to that understanding. Besides that, I don't see how even winning the advanced to that understanding will help us sustain the tens of thousands of street, factory and other broad sales.

There's a number of people who see the need to fight, more than just for themselves individually. Mostly they have a line that you have to fight, but not for the revolution, at least not right now. There are more who hate this system to their bones and want revolution, but mostly keep it to themselves or struggle among a narrow group of friends. The advanced are saying "unless there's masses of people involved, it doesn't make much difference what you do." I think what's mostly going to convince people like this to come forward is a leap in the situation which does draw large numbers into struggle.

As Chairman Avakian said in "Crucial Questions," the Party is lagging "in the ability to give political guidance and leadership... specifically to the interests and requirements of the advanced workers." That "unless and until they are armed with the line and programme of the Party and the Marxist-Leninist principles and method on which they are based, as well as an all-around view of society and the different class forces," the advanced will have difficulty answering the sharp and deep political questions holding back them and the broader masses.

But I think that systematically arming them is not something we can just do on the streets in a few minutes. I think it can be done, but not in enough numbers in the time we have, because exactly those questions are holding back many from even seeing the need to be armed.

I think this work being done now centering on the *RW* needs to be done, that great advances are possible and that some are already being made especially in this newspaper becoming the center of controversy and debate broadly over the Party's line toward revolution. But I don't think it will add up to 100,000, and I think some more emphasis must be given to propaganda work, too.

Q.Z.

Revolutionary worker

"Hundred Flowers Campaign"

Comrades and readers,

Let me begin by drawing attention to a comment made in a recent letter about the Party's *Draft New Programme*. The writer had been inspired by the article reprinted in the *RW* by Lenin entitled "Picking Up the Pen." They noted that the bourgeois way of looking at newspapers, the way we're taught, and how we spontaneously have looked at the *Revolutionary Worker* is "they write—I read," but that the way we *should* look at the revolutionary press is "we write and read." I thought that was a rather concise and useful way of stating a profound idea, a particular idea which contains within it the kernel of what is meant by revolution in this era of history, namely, bringing into play the conscious dynamic role of the masses. Also, one other thing that I've found (which wasn't spelled out in Lenin's article, although it may have been obvious to everyone but me) is that letters from readers will often provoke thought and discussion among other readers in a way that articles cannot do. Lenin seemed to be emphasizing the role that correspondence plays in giving a comprehensive view to the leadership. That is certainly a vital function, but I think this other aspect needs to be mentioned also. It came to mind when I visited a reader recently and asked if he had checked out the letters. He said, "Oh yeah, I thought those were the best part. They talk in regular language." (He didn't say that, by the way, because he has trouble with reading.) He had already been busy putting down some of his own ideas on paper. Hopefully he will send them in. I've also noticed comrades commenting about this or that letter. It made me think my own ideas through—do I think the writer was right or wrong?

What follows is my contribution to the struggle around the 100,000 Co-conspirators Campaign. I hope it pisses somebody off enough to respond.

Do I believe there are 100,000 possible regular readers of the *Revolutionary Worker*, that is 100,000 revolutionary-minded people in the cities where the RCP is? I don't think there's any question about that. And we're not talking about revolutionaries; we're talking about people who hate this system and what it does to people. Yes, I don't think there's any question that there are 100,000 people like that out there. Anyone who has been involved in the RCP's campaigns from the Mao Memorial Meetings, to the Houston Rebellion struggle, the Teng Hsiao-ping demonstration in Washington, D.C., the May Day campaign and May Day itself, or anyone who has been selling the *RW* for the past year-and-a-half would have to be blind or a stone cynic to say these people are not out there. They *are* out there in various degrees of agreement and understanding of the Party's outlook. What I *do not* believe however is that there are 10,000 people out of that 100,000 who understand deeply enough the question of networks and creating public opinion to take 10 papers each week and sell 9.

Let me break these figures down. I'm basing this 10-copies-per-person figure on my own experience and consider it a fair *average*. Going by the number of cities listed in the *RW* address box (28) and dividing that into 10,000 (the total number of distributors nationwide needed to get out the 100,000 papers at 10 papers each), you get an average of 357 distributors in each city. That's 357 people taking 10 papers week in and week out, and struggling against all the backwardness and flak they'll get in trying to distribute the paper. If we put together every last name taken down in the city I'm from since May 1st, 1979, we *might* hit 350. And well over half of those names didn't pan out (either wrong numbers were given or the people found out we were talking about the real thing and when we went back they were never there or made it clear they didn't want to get into it.) Everyone has gone through all this, I'm sure. And I don't think this contradicts my previous point about there being 100,000 revolutionary-minded people out there.

So what's my point? Well, I think we can learn something from the May Day campaign, and that is that in the period we're in now (and I think I

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Local Demonstrations — Do Something on Election Day?! Yes . . .

# Spit On the Imperialists' Con Game

This Whole System Is Putrid!  
We Don't Believe in any of its Candidates!  
Down With U.S.-Soviet War Moves!

**Detroit**—Rally and March assembling at Grand Circus Park, Woodward and Adams, Detroit 10:30 A.M. (313) 893-0523 or 893-8350

**San Francisco Bay Area**—Rally and March Time and Place to be Announced (415) 638-9700

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KKK, who still wave the Confederate flag).

But the silliness and oily hypocrisy of this campaign takes place in a situation that is hardly funny. And the elections are much more than an "insult," that can be rejected just by looking in the other direction. Because the elections are one of their greatest advertising techniques in selling their "mandate" to the people. Through the election campaign, they have tried to open up a broad "public debate" over their war preparations—a stacked debate where heads they win, tails we lose. The arguments over do "we" need "only" MX missiles and Stealth bombers or the B-1 bomber too are all geared to drown out any thought of the real question—just *what* are we being asked to defend in this war they are preparing? And the answer to that question—an empire of an imperialist class based on a world-wide system of slavery, robbery and extortion—all this is the sacred cause to which Carter, Reagan and Anderson are all loyally pledged.

And further, they want to make us all accomplices in their crimes, using the sacrament of the elections to consecrate their program as the "people's choice." After all, it's not only your right but your *duty* to vote—and over the next four years you can blame only yourself and others who voted, or didn't vote for that matter, for the consequences. In this way, the elections are the linchpin of their much-vaunted democracy—which is the shabby camouflage that masks their very real dictatorship, backed up by the gun.

Some say, "Sure it's a crock, but still there is a choice here, between the lesser of two evils. It's not much but it will have to do until there's something better." Or, "I just might get a better shake if HE is in office instead of HIM, you don't lose anything anyway." This is a very realistic attitude to take, *except that it has nothing to do with reality whatsoever.*

Choosing between one of their "lesser evils" is like the prisoner awaiting execution who has learned that the warden can't decide whether to use gas or electrocution. There is no difference of course—still it seems to be the only matter over which the prisoner "realistically" might have any choice. He thus spends his final months agonizing over whether he'd prefer to be gassed or electrocuted. All along, another choice remains, the only real choice—to resist, to fight to escape. But the more he is consumed by his mythical "lesser of two evils," the more the seconds tick by, more and more foreclosing his opportunities to break free.

And so it is that in this country, every four years the "warden" sends down from on high candidates new and old, who cynically leech off the political aspirations and dreams of the masses of people, only to "execute" these notions the minute they take office. History shows this repeatedly—take the 1964 elections. Johnson vs. Goldwater. A worried electorate breathes a little easier as "peace candidate" Johnson stomps all over "Bomb 'em back into the Stone Age" Goldwater. Within months, Johnson uses the phony Tonkin Gulf incident to launch an escalation of the Vietnam War which attempts (unsuccessfully) to do just what Goldwater had called for.

Today their deceit is more desperate, their maneuvers more frantic. The ruling class knows that many people are nauseated by the choice of Reagan and Carter. So they give John Anderson the nod as a legitimate third party alternative; the Anderson Difference is that he's the "lesser of three evils." This, they hope, will bring some back into the fold.

But as we enter into the home stretch, more of their media turns sour on Anderson, and begins the big build-up for the Carter/Reagan showdown. The media plays up Reagan's ties to the "New Right," the cretinous activities of the "moral majority" groups—not only to give them encouragement, but to scare the more progressive-minded people into hopelessness, into thinking the only, realistic possibility is to hide behind master Jimmy's benevolent smile and hope for the best. All those millions of people who six months ago said "anything would be better than this shit" are now being told that even Carter is preferable to what just *might* happen. And some, if grudgingly and disgustedly, are nonetheless falling for this time-worn charade. But, tell us, is there any difference between marching off to World War III under Jimmy Carter's "soulful resignation" rather than under Ronald Reagan's more crudely expressed jingoism? The bottom line is that they offer to preside over *exactly* the same future; because the imperialist system they front for is headed in no other direction.

1980. The stakes are higher all around. Millions in this country no longer "keep the faith" in the lie of American democracy. Lessons that have been so painfully learned over the past 20 years and more, are not

so easily forgotten. The same is true a hundred times over around the world; the old bald eagle does not fly so high, as revolutionary flames against U.S. imperialism have alternately smoldered, flickered, and raged in many parts of the world. The masters of the U.S. empire, like their fellow Godfathers in the Soviet Union, desperately need continued expansion—otherwise, they risk collapse. The criminal logic of their system demands that each ultimately throw everything on the line in order to be top dog of the world. They're not just woofing—a showdown is impending, and they need to sucker the masses into believing that they actually have good reason to go along with it. The propaganda they heap on us constantly, with the elections as a focus, are a vital part of their war preparations—they too understand that despite all their weaponry, it is people that have to fight these wars, it is people that are decisive.

This is why their election deceit is a *desperate* deceit. And it is but a reflection of the overall weakness of this imperialist ruling class. They are a class which has long since outlived their stay on this planet—their time is up and the future is heading up for grabs. Now is the time for all those oppressed by this system to take independent historical action—to seize the time of this election to strike out in a direction that illuminates a different choice for people, the possibility of a different future worth fighting for.

People are getting jolted, awakened by today's events. Many of these same people only yesterday thought they had it made—now they are not so sure at all. The few crumbs and petty privileges the system has

thrown their way to blind their eyes to a different future are being ripped away. Today people are more restless, dissatisfied and questioning. All this points to the great possibilities of taking dramatic action now. The actions of those who *are* breaking with this whole con game will awaken still more people. The significance of these people's actions on election day will far outweigh the half-blind voting motions of those, today numerically larger, who try to follow the "line of least resistance" and chase the wisp of painless progress.

If this system could be reformed or a couple of "new, honest leaders" of this system could make such a difference, it would have happened long ago. The great revolutionary Mao Tsetung observed, "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it it won't fall. It is like sweeping the floor; where the broom does not reach, the dust never vanishes of itself." Just falling asleep and dreaming it will all go away (or hoping someone else will work it out) isn't going to cut it. In fact, indifference to politics ends up being very political—it supports the politics of those who rule since it leaves them a free hand. It will take revolution led by the working class to put what is sick and dying in its grave.

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is issuing a call to transform the widespread sentiment of disgust at these elections into united action. On election day we are calling for broad forces to unite in demonstrations in the San Francisco Bay Area and Detroit, Michigan and we are calling on many, many people to cast this ballot. "This Whole System Is Putrid, I Don't Believe In Any Of Its Candidates."

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA



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JIMMY CARTER

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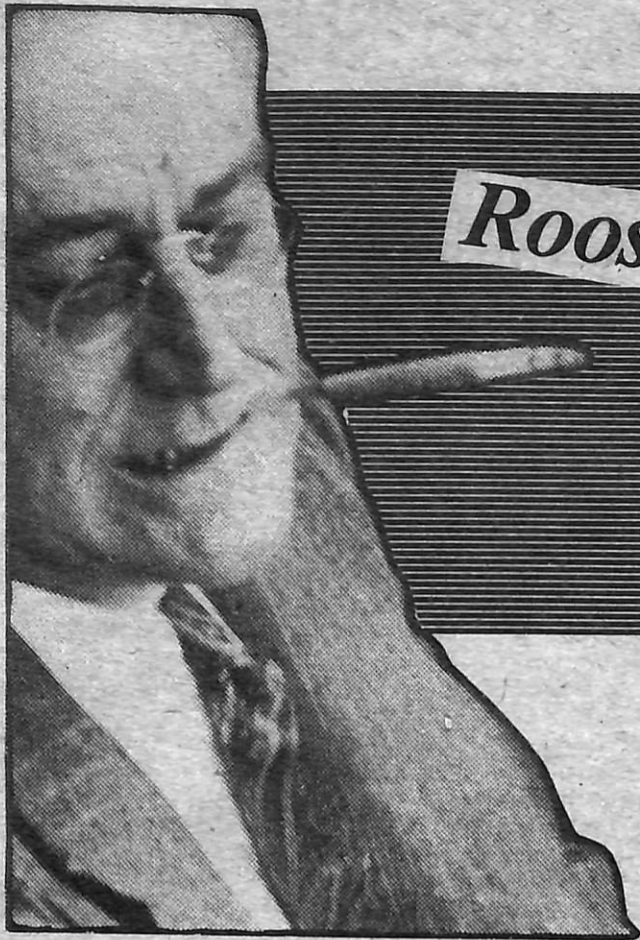
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"Add excitement to the tension"—an ad recently run in the Herald Tribune (European edi-

tion) concentrates the "horse race" atmosphere that is built up around the election con game.



Roosevelt:

The Mantle

And

The Myth

As election day approaches and the get-the-vote-out hype reaches a crescendo, all of the candidates in one way or another have strived to wrap themselves in the mantle of Franklin D. Roosevelt, promising by implication a "New Deal" for the people, and reminding the voters of the alleged importance of previous elections to getting the country out of crisis. Ronald Reagan has even tried to play it both ways, invoking the words and myth of Roosevelt when speaking to workers, while denouncing the "big government" of Roosevelt's New Deal as disguised "fascism" to appeal to his "anti-big government" followers. They toss around the mantle of Roosevelt this way because of the past success of his legend, a very useful myth for the bourgeoisie.

What was Roosevelt anyhow? A friend of the working people? A fascist? Or was he just a slick talking imperialist politician who, in a moment of crisis for the capitalist system, took those measures which his class found absolutely necessary by expanding the power of the state to intervene more directly in the economy and take steps to quell the growing struggle of the masses of people at the time both by crushing strikes and so forth and by trying to come off as a savior of the people by granting a few necessary concessions to the struggle. His actions included saving the core of the banking system at the expense of smaller banks and the life savings of tens of thousands of people. They included preserving the private ownership and the profitability of key monopoly corporations at the expense of thousands of smaller firms and the living standard of the working class. And he moved to channel a great deal of the rebellion of the masses into

the harmless lightning rods of the ballot box and contract unionism. And he directed a massive armament program in preparation for U.S. entry into World War 2.

And it is interesting that Reagan of all people is charging Roosevelt with basing his program on fascism. However, what Reagan means here is not what it seems. He is simply catering to the sentiments of those who feel threatened and squeezed by the big monopolies and see "big government" controlled by the monopolies as "creeping socialism" or alternatively "fascism". These petty business interests want to be free to do their own thing. They look at the web of government regulations and tax structures which hem them in and favor the big boys and scream, "This is tyranny—a violation of what America stands for. After all this is supposed to be a "free enterprise system." And Reagan's little accusations of "New Deal fascism" are definitely not aimed at the vicious use of the armed force of the state against the masses of people and other attacks that those wearing the Roosevelt mantle now somehow fail to mention. These aspects of the imperialists' rule during the "New Deal" are conveniently left out of the fairy tale stories we are fed by the bourgeoisie's mythmakers.

The moves made by the rulers of this country (the same class of parasites who rule today) during the "Roosevelt years" were the result of their desperate necessity. They were faced with the worst economic crisis in their entire history, millions of people were out in the streets opposing them. And the only way that they would be able to deal with the sharpening contradictions that their whole set-up was becoming embroiled

in was to expand their empire or die—grab up a bigger share of the world or be gobbled up by another imperialist power. In short, world war, or to be more precise *winning* a world war, was fundamentally the only way they were going to be able to maintain their rule. And they were quite conscious of this. Drastic steps had to be taken. In preparation for war, steps to temporarily stabilize the economy at the expense of the masses of people and even smaller businesses had to be taken, the struggle of the working class and other sections of the people had to be cooled out, and faith and allegiance in "this great and freedom loving country" had to be strengthened. And this was the job that FDR was entrusted with. And this was the job that he carried out on behalf of and with the help of the rest of his class.

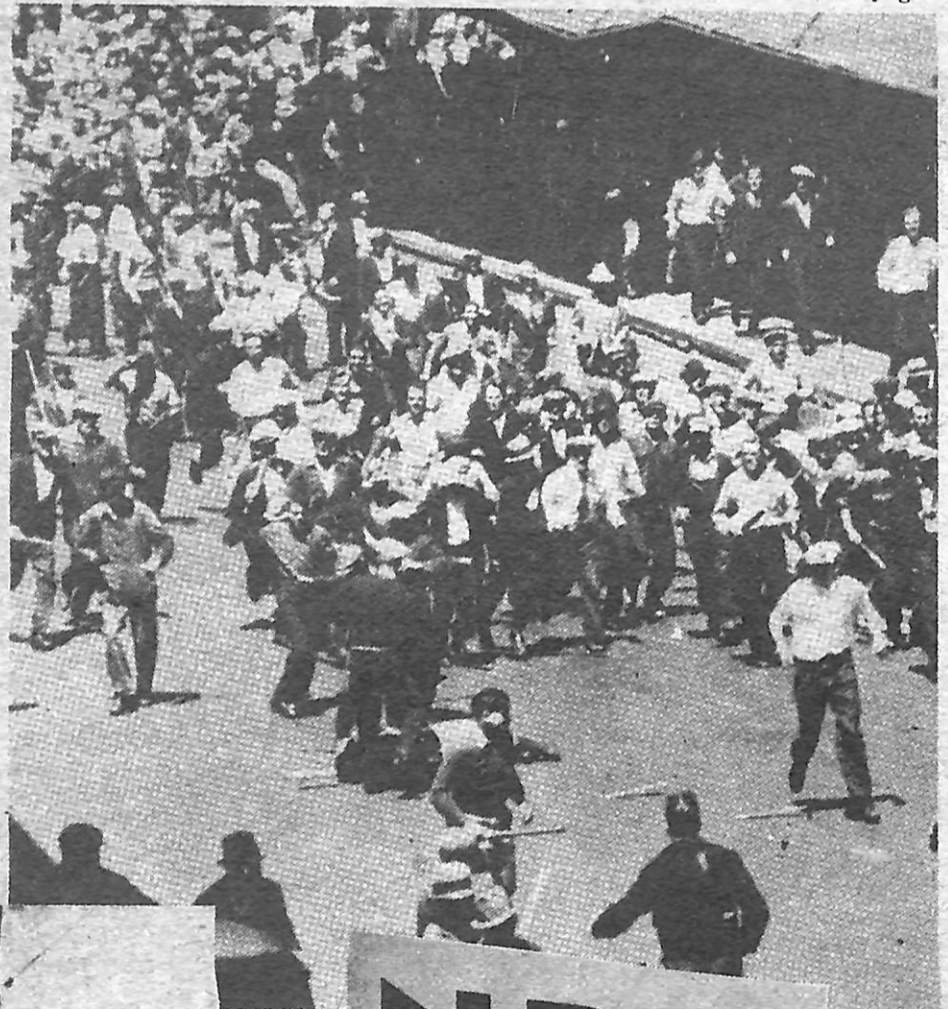
And contrary to popular belief, Roosevelt was no instant hit with the masses of people. In fact, because of the actions he took toward the beginnings of his presidency, quite the opposite was true. It was only with the build up to and outbreak of the war—with the U.S. stepping up arms production and ac-

tually supplying both sides with war materials while sitting out the first part of the conflict watching the other imperialists fight it out among each other, and hoping that they would attack the then socialist Soviet Union—that the economy began to recover and that certain concessions could be given to the masses. It is the granting of these concessions (which were politically necessary for the capitalists to make) and the fact that the U.S. went on to enter the war and win it, becoming the biggest imperialist power in the world, that laid the basis for the propagation of the Roosevelt myth. And the bourgeoisie was greatly aided in this by the Communist Party USA and others who fell right in behind Roosevelt and completely betrayed the working class, capitulating to the bourgeoisie and joining in the imperialists' crusade saying that "Communism is 20th Century Americanism."

It was not FDR who ended the Great Depression with his "wise and compassionate leadership," it was World War 2. And the winning of that war and the two decades of relative prosperity after

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**The National Recovery Administration (NRA)—Roosevelt's first attempt to revive industrial production. Wages were slashed even lower under the NRA's "minimum wage" provisions while prices began to rise. Workers responded with a massive strike wave, forcing the NRA to be "withdrawn." Below, National Guard faces a hail of bricks as it attempts to break the Auto-Lite strike in Toledo, 1934. Right: striking Minneapolis teamsters armed with clubs rout police and scabs.**



## U.S. Supreme Court Rules:

## "Women, Know Thy Place"

Jacqueline Jarrett was living in sin; or so the Illinois State Supreme Court ruled three years ago. And on October 20, with their 6-3 decision to refuse to hear her case, the highest judicial body in the land, the U.S. Supreme Court, upheld their ruling. The state court had declared that her living out of wedlock with one Wayne Hammon was "a troublesome relationship." And that because of this, her seeking custody of her three daughters was denied on the grounds that, "it (the relationship—RW) contravened statutorily declared standards of conduct and endangered the children's moral development." In plain language, Jacqueline Jarrett broke the law—the law of the state of Illinois—and definitely the law of "woman know thy place and stay in it!"

Four years ago, when Jacqueline and her ex-husband, Walter Jarrett, got divorced, the custody of their children was awarded to her. That is, until her boyfriend moved into the house. Her ex-husband sued for custody rights, claiming that "the live-in arrangement would harm the moral and spiritual development of his daughters." A Cook County Circuit Court agreed and turned the children over to the father. And upon the heels of that decision he made an offer that sums up exactly what kinds of relationships this

capitalist society breeds—exploitative; where people are only pieces of property to be bought, sold, or otherwise bargained for. He offered her the children back if she would agree to throw her boyfriend out of the house. "Moral and spiritual development" be damned; this was a case of someone trespassing on his private property! Here was a graphic example of the man, infected with the dominant ideology of the ruling class, playing the role of the bourgeois in relation to his wife and children.

Jacqueline Jarrett refused the terms "offered" her and tried another legal appeal. The Illinois State Court of Appeals ruled in her favor this time, but even before the ink on the decision was dry, the State Supreme Court ruled that she had broken the law—those "statutorily declared standards..." That was three years ago. Since that time she has been awaiting the case's appearance on the U.S. Supreme Court's docket, no doubt holding onto the hope that surely the nation's most powerful court would see the antiquated thinking behind these previous rulings. And no doubt the court did. It's not that these nine robed cadavers, surrounded by their tomes of bourgeois "justice" and deep in the bowels of the marble-columned mausoleum, are seeking to turn back the hands of time to the Victorian era. Oh

no, their rulings fit very nicely into the needs and requirements of modern-day imperialism.

In another custody hearing, in a local Chicago divorce court, another smelly foot-binding was being added to the bourgeoisie's systematic oppression of women. There, a judge ruled that Mildred Milovich could not retain custody of her two children—they would have to be remanded over to her ex-husband. "...the children are entitled to a stable environment," the judge huffed. And just what was contributing to an "unstable" one? The fact that Mildred Milovich held a full-time job that took her out of town for a few days each month. A full-time job! Such bald-faced hypocrisy is stunning. Here these capitalists hold the home and family in front of women, pushing it as the pinnacle of virtue and fulfillment: if you fail to reach "these heights" you are less than dirt. Then in the same breath, in order to meet the needs of their profit-thirsty system, they tear the family apart and impel women into the lowest of the low-paying jobs. They even sometimes build up the idea of the "independent" career woman. And then they turn around again and snatch this woman's kids away because, they say, she's got a job... torture the Inquisition could be proud of.

And that's exactly the contradiction this rotting and therefore desperate im-

perialist system finds itself in. Their needs, in the midst of their decline, require that they intensify all this reactionary crap about "traditional family values" and "traditional moral values" to further reinforce the oppression of women that forms one part of the foundation of their rule. This is where these court rulings fit in. They affect far more than just two women struggling to maintain custody of their children. This is where the stone-cold Hyde Amendment fits in too—the Supreme Court ruling that banned federal funding for abortions—forcing poor women into unwanted pregnancies or into the closet for a coathanger. And, at the same time as all this "traditional family morals" crap is being spouted out, pornography, films like "Dressed to Kill," etc. are produced that glorify and encourage all forms of violence against women. The very workings of the system rip and tear in contradictory, but all oppressive, directions.

While imperialism can and does mobilize women into economic and political life, even into war, it can only do so blindly, viciously and in the service of such great "traditional" capitalist values as these that the Highest Court has just upheld. If there were ever a demonstration that it is time—and past time—to bury this system deep, these gentlemen of the court have provided it. □

## Reactionary Strike In Coalfields

On October 15, a few reactionary fools instigated a strike at Armco Corporation's Robin Hood No.8 mine in Boone County, West Virginia. While the demands of this three-day strike were never clear to many of the miners, at the heart of it is that these few backward were playing right into the company's hand in an effort to drive out another miner, O.V. Hirsch. Hirsch is well known in the area for being an active supporter of the RCP and distributor of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper. The strike jumped off the day he came back to work after being off on a disability for nine months.

As much as it is supposed to appear like some kind of spontaneous outpouring of anti-communism on the part of the rank and file, the attack clearly is being orchestrated from the company offices, acting on behalf of their whole stinking class. It was a set-up from the start. It is widely known that although Hirsch was off on a legitimate disability, he used his time off to join up with the May Day Brigade, had gotten busted several times, and had spent time in jail. It was fully expected that Armco would challenge his excuse, since this kind of harassment is standard fare for the companies, especially against miners they consider "troublemakers." But to everyone's surprise, Armco didn't raise an eyebrow; in fact, the company even bent over backwards to set up a special re-training session for him so he could return to work (yearly safety retraining is federal law, and Hirsch had missed both the regular session and the make-up when he was away on the brigade). The intended effect of this "special treatment" was to create a climate of suspicion around Hirsch—especially among the more militant miners—and set the stage for the conscious rumors that "Hirsch is actually in cahoots with the company."

This method of attacking revolutionaries is not new in the coalfields. It is a variation on the crap that the bourgeoisie used to spread about the Miners Right to Strike Committee (of which Hirsch was an active member) during the wildcat strikes. When "these guys are Russian or Chinese agents" couldn't get over anymore, they spread that the Right to Strike Committee was really sponsored by the coal companies to wreck the union. This played on

many miners' righteous hatred for the capitalists in another concerted effort to isolate class-conscious fighters and communists. In fact, after the 1976 anti-injunction strike, FBI agents made personal visits to a few miners who were active in the strike and told them that the Right to Strike leaders had sold them out to the companies!

Although the strike was short-lived, the attack on Hirsch has taken another form and is bound to intensify. Pro-company stooges who led the walk-out (including one "militant" with his eye on union office) have taken their campaign into the union and have gotten enthusiastic support from district and international officials who are promoting the scheme that the local throw Hirsch out of the union based on a little known anti-communist clause in the UMWA constitution. Harrison Combs, UMWA's General Counsel at the International Offices in Washington, D.C., and a top union mouthpiece under the corrupt Tony Boyle regime and Arnold Miller, promised district officials that if Hirsch were thrown out, and he fought it, the International would provide the legal work and manpower to make sure the expulsion stuck. And just in case the tactic of kicking him out of the union doesn't work, a district official put out a thinly disguised call for thug attacks and lynch justice.

It is clear that these attacks are not aimed simply at Hirsch as an individual, but exactly represent a planned and deliberate move now to stamp out the influence of the RCP and class-conscious fighters as the bourgeoisie heads into a period of tremendous turmoil, especially in a very volatile section of the working class.

## Situation in Coalfields

It is essential to have a correct analysis of the situation that exists in the coalfields now in order to understand where this attack is coming from, what it represents, and most important, the opportunity it presents to the advanced forces to take it head-on and use it to expose the system behind it even more sharply.

On the surface, things seem relatively "peaceful" now compared to the powerful strike movement which began in the late 1960s and persisted through much of the '70s. Between 1974 and 1977, there were 5500 unauthorized

strikes, from individual locals to strikes involving tens of thousands. Described in the *America in Decline* chapter published in *Revolution* magazine, it was a movement "which cut deeply into the operators' profits and became an inspiration to workers throughout the country. Yet and still, this was conducted within a trade-unionist framework ("we miners vs. the coal bosses"). By the mid-1970s, it began to run up against the limits of spontaneity that marked it from the beginning: knee-jerk resistance to economic attacks by the coal operators which, though powerful and significant in the militancy of the rank-and-file, could not sustain a movement as workers saw that what was being won was being snatched back in other ways." Especially sharp since the end of the 1977-78 contract strike, a severe recession hit the coalfields. There have been many mine closings and shutdowns; unemployment has increased markedly, and the coal operators have seized on the situation to tighten the clamp on those still working and intensify attempts to "boost productivity."

The new contract was heralded as ushering in a new era of "company-union harmony" and company and union hacks alike have been patting each other on the back about how docile their workers have become. Earlier this year, union head Sam Church even thought it was politically safe to float the idea that the UMWA will extend the contract and not strike when the current contract comes up in March 1981.

But this is a very uneasy peace. Despite all the election hype which is being pushed in the coalfields around "get the industry on its feet" and "why not coal?", the recession has been stubborn and protracted. Tens of thousands of miners in West Virginia alone are still laid off, with no upturn in sight. Beyond that, the pervasive unemployment which has caused deep uneasiness and disgust among masses of miners, exists in the context of the overall economic and political crisis in the system. Although most miners live in rural towns and hollers, they are not isolated from the rest of the world. Many, of course, are vets. And today miners are being dragged into political life like the rest of the working class—around Iran, Poland, the

presidential elections, the rebellions in the cities, and the ruling class's promotion of the KKK.

And most important of all, the bourgeoisie is driven by the necessity to enlist the miners as a strategic section of the working class in their more and more blatant moves toward war.

In a recent speech in Charleston, West Virginia, the head of the National Association of Manufacturers stressed that initiatives around coal handling and synthesizing (advances in coal processing for electric power) "have to be worked on now in order to be ready when needed" and complained that "there's insufficient recognition of what we must do to have it in place when we need it." He might as well have said "when we need it, meaning when the oil tankers from the Middle East are stopped by world war—when we (i.e., the U.S. imperialists) start slugging it out with our Soviet counterparts to see which one of us gets to rule the world!"

Although the ruling class needs increased coal production to fight World War 3, more coal production will not necessarily mean more jobs. In fact, even in the current recession, with fewer miners working, actual production and tonnage went up by increasing the pressure—overtime, speed-up, etc.—on working miners. To enforce the required labor discipline, the bourgeoisie must viciously clamp down on any opposition. But even more important, the bourgeoisie cannot tolerate political—class-conscious—opposition. They need coal miners, who have set an example as strong fighters and militants in the past, to set an example of passive and loyal slaves now.

## Greatest Fear

What the bourgeoisie fears most of all is workers breaking through the bounds of trade-unionism and acting in their internationalist class interests. And the seeds of this have already been planted with the increasing role and influence of the RCP and the advanced, class-conscious forces. May Day 1980 was widely debated among miners—especially the "red flag arrests" when 18 members and supporters of the May Day Brigade were busted in Beckley, West Virginia last March on the charge of waving red flags (based on the "red flag

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# "BATTLE FOR THE TROOPS" IN AUTUMN FORGE

As part of Autumn Forge '80, NATO's massive war maneuvers, thousands of GI's have been taken to the borders of East Germany to see the so-called iron curtain. Here, the officers who serve as tour guides proclaim, is graphic evidence of the difference between "Western democracy" and the "imprisoned people of the Soviet bloc." Here, they say, as if talking to lambs they are preparing to slaughter, is the reason you are here. (Of course, the brass does not find it necessary to take the GIs on tours to see the fences around their own barracks—which are more designed to keep the GIs in than anyone out.) These tours, along with the whole nine yards of patriotic garbage that is constantly being run on the GIs, are just as crucially a part of the imperialists' war preparations as the latest weapons system.

But other forces have been dealing with this "why you are here" question from a very different angle—exposing and bringing out the real, revolutionary interests of the world's people, including the soldiers who will be called upon to fight. Though it is still early to completely sum up the effects of the demonstration held against the maneuvers in Hildesheim on September 20th (See Sept. 23, 1980 issue of *RW*), it is known that it did make a great impact on tens and maybe hundreds of thousands of GIs who were in Europe at the time.

In most cases GIs were told by their officers that the demonstration was against them. But this often turned into its opposite as this increased their interests toward the demonstration and the campaign. For instance, a large group of brothers from the 82nd Airborne were allowed into Hildesheim the day after the demonstration. They told some supporters that the brass had

warned them about "demonstrators" and they wanted to find out what was going on. They returned to their unit with stacks of *FightBacks*, leaflets and posters to set the rest of their unit straight.

The bourgeoisie undoubtedly was pretty worried about the effects on the troops of the strong internationalist statement made at the demonstration. Not only did they try to condemn the demo from the start with their major newspapers, including the *Army Stars and Stripes*, but they also placed GIs hundreds of miles away from where the demo took place on alert. One supporter who wasn't even involved in the maneuvers, in Munich, 300 miles from Hildesheim, reported that he had to pull extra guard duty on the weekend of the demonstration.

This "battle for the troops" began during the summer, when *FightBack*, a revolutionary GI newspaper in Europe, put out a call for the GIs to take up the campaign to expose the Autumn Forge maneuvers as preparation for imperialist war. Taking place under the three slogans, "To Hell With Autumn Forge '80, Dress Rehearsal for World War 3," "Down with NATO," and "Down With U.S.-Soviet and All Imperialist War Moves," the campaign flew directly into the face of the chauvinist barrage being aimed at the troops. Since this campaign has begun, thousands of GIs have read, discussed and debated the revolutionary literature that is circulated in their ranks. Struggle has been sharp over big and vital questions. There has been much struggle over exactly what kind of war the U.S. is gearing up for, that it won't be like a repeat of Vietnam somewhere but a world war including most likely the involvement of U.S. territory for the first time. Many who oppose U.S. intervention in other countries draw a line when it comes to the U.S. being attack-

ed. (Hey, when it comes to my family, I'm going to defend them.) And many still think that they will be able to find some individual solution either before or during war. But the sharp struggle and debate has snapped many GIs awake and more than a few have stepped forward.

One brother, just two days before going to the field as part of Autumn Forge '80, read the *FightBack* Autumn Forge poster and the section from the "Pledge of Internationalism" that it included and leaped up and said, "This thing is shouting. It's going right up on my wall." This feeling and action has been repeated in units throughout Germany—GIs putting the poster up in their rooms or on their doors or above their lockers, and fuck what the C.O. or "Top" (First Sergeant) says—and even more, taking it out to their fellow GIs. One group of supporters who had poster outside the barracks' areas in the Heidelberg area (where the headquarters of the U.S. Army in Europe is located) said that on their way home they saw a GI proudly carrying a freshly glued poster in his hand that he had peeled off one of the outside walls and was undoubtedly going to stick up somewhere inside the barracks' compound for more of his comrades to see. Even today, posters, stickers and literature keep turning up in barracks, shops, and out in the fields.

In one unit, some guys got up early one day and literally covered the barracks with posters and copies of *FightBack*. The question of the maneuvers and what stand to take on them and the coming war became the subject of debate. This was further heightened when, in response to this action, the entire company was called into a session with a G. Gordon Liddy type from military intelligence. This fool began the session by tearing up a poster and proceeded to warn the GIs to stay

away from this type of literature, saying that those that distribute it only want to use them for information, implying that they are Russian spies. While this clown act failed to intimidate the active elements (just who is using who is pretty clear), nevertheless this type of tactics show that the stakes are very high indeed, and the implication is that if you take this stuff up, you will be considered a spy too. The present trial of Pfc. Robert Garwood for "aiding the enemy" which is being given wide coverage in the army media is a constant reminder of how seriously the ruling class takes all this. To some extent, the brass is able to hold people back from taking up the campaign against Autumn Forge '80 (and revolutionary politics in general) through their reign of terror. But they cannot stop it, and in fact, the more they try to suppress it, the clearer the real nature of their "democracy" they are calling on the troops to defend becomes, and the more determined those who have been stepping forward become.

Wherever the GIs go, the campaign against Autumn Forge '80 shows up. During the maneuvers, support troops and transportation units are forced to drive for days on end hauling supplies to the combat units. This has been turned into its opposite, where GIs in these units have used the opportunity to take revolutionary literature to different areas they are being sent to. When the brass loaded up the troops on buses to take them to the Oktoberfest in Munich to try to take the edge off the maneuvers, the edge was put right back on when GIs returned to the buses and found copies of *FightBack* and the letter to the troops in their seats. In these ways and others, GIs have carried out the "battle for the troops" right under the noses of the brass. □

## Roosevelt

Continued from page 7

it provided the material basis for the Roosevelt legend.

The core of the Roosevelt legend can be summed up as follows: 1) in contrast to the do-nothing attitude of the Republicans and President Hoover, the New Deal of Roosevelt brought America out of the Depression, 2) Roosevelt could do this because he sided with the working people and was willing to use the power of government against big business, particularly in granting legal status to trade unions, 3) the reforms of the New Deal not only got us out of the Depression, but have successfully prevented the recurrence of another major economic collapse, 4) Roosevelt was particularly beneficial to the Black American, and 5)

Roosevelt conducted a "democratic" foreign policy applying the good neighbor policy in this hemisphere and trying to keep America out of war.

Not a single one of these propositions is true.

The first symptom of the Great Depression was the sudden collapse of the stock market in October of 1929. With the U.S. appearing to be riding the crest of an unending prosperity, stock prices were bid up by speculators far above their real values, but with the beginnings of a downturn in production the whole thing came crashing down. Over the next 3 years industrial production and foreign trade continued to shrink, unemployment continued to climb, wages fell far faster than prices, and at the end of 1932 as Roosevelt was about to take office, banks began simply closing their doors with depositors losing their life savings.

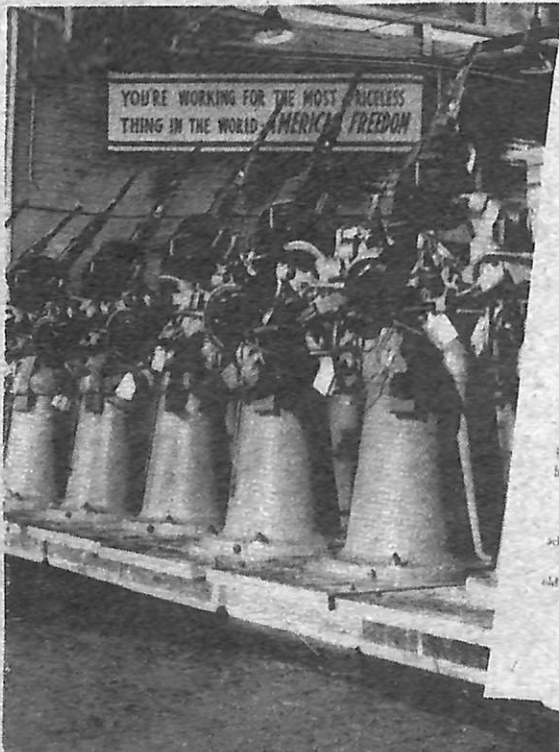
The first 3 years of the depression oc-

cured during the administration of Herbert Hoover. In contrast to the Roosevelt myth, quite a number of government actions were taken by the Hoover administration including a big tax cut, an expanded public works program, and most significantly, the creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation with the authority to loan \$3.8 billion to faltering banks, insurance companies and agricultural credits

associations. The sudden and extreme actions taken by Roosevelt immediately upon taking office, came not so much as the result of Hoover and Roosevelt, but because the banking system collapsed in the first 2 months of 1933 just before Roosevelt was sworn in. On March 4, 1933, the day of Roosevelt's inauguration, the states of New York and Illinois declared bank holidays, closing all the remaining banks as well as the major commodity and stock exchanges to prevent further bankruptcies.

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**The concessions granted under the New Deal were for the political purpose of cooling out the struggle of the masses of people and getting them in line in preparation for WW2. Massive patriotic and war propaganda were a key part of this. And it was war production and its partial revival of the economy that made the granting of these few reforms possible. Even so it wasn't until the U.S. entered the war that the economy dramatically improved.**



## The Rights we Fight for

THE BILL OF RIGHTS, December 15, 1791

CONGRESS shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising on the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself.

self, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusations; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE STATE OF THE UNION, January 11, 1944

IN OUR DAY these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have recognized as a sacred Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all, regardless of station, race, or creed.

Among these are:  
The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops or farms of the Nation;  
The right to adequate food and clothing;  
The right to adequate housing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a reasonable price and his family a decent living;  
The right of every businessman, large and small, to operate in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and discrimination by monopolies or trusts;

The right of every family to a decent home;  
The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to address and cure physical illness;

The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment;  
The right to a good education.



All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won, we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

America's own rightful place in the world depends in large part upon how fully these and similar rights have been carried into practice for our citizens. For unless there is security here at home, there cannot be lasting peace in the world.

NATIONAL POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE CIO

## Greece Rejoins Western Military Command

# War Chain Tightened on NATO's Southern Flank

On Oct. 20, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) headquarters in Brussels announced another major step in preparing the U.S. military alliance for war: the re-entry of Greece into NATO's military command structure. The importance which the U.S. attaches to Greek participation in NATO's military wing is shown by the fact that the re-entry was personally negotiated by General Bernard Rogers, who is both commander of U.S. military forces in Europe and NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe. For six years, Greece remained a member of NATO but did not participate in NATO's military command which integrates the armed forces of the NATO countries into a single U.S.-bloc military machine. Greece withdrew from the NATO military command structure in protest of the invasion of Cyprus in 1974 by Turkey, also a member of NATO. A few years ago when Greece, under U.S. pressure, expressed its willingness to rejoin NATO's military wing, Turkey then announced that it wanted to revise the system of NATO command to give the Turkish military more authority over the Aegean Sea and continental shelves, and control of the island of Cyprus. The dispute between the competing ambitions of the Turkish and Greek rulers has been an obstacle in U.S. plans to cement its military alliance in the region.

But with events moving rapidly towards world war, the U.S. has reacted to this squabbling among its junior partners with increasing alarm. The U.S. pressed Turkey to abandon its demand of redefining the areas of Greek and Turkish authority in the Aegean Sea and the Turkish government, dependent on U.S.—and especially on West German—economic and military aid, was in no position to disagree. Discussions to resolve the dispute were held in June of this year under U.S. supervision. But at the same time, the political and economic crisis within Turkey had intensified to the point where the Turkish government, beset by splits and backstabbing within the ruling class over how to deal with

the crisis and with the upsurge against them among the Turkish people, was virtually paralyzed. But the pressing need for the U.S. to attempt to stabilize its political and military hold on the southern flank of Europe could not tolerate any more delays, and the desire on the part of the U.S. to do so—including bringing Greece back into the NATO military structure—dictated efforts to resolve the situation inside Turkey. The U.S. then instigated a military coup that brought to power some of those in the Turkish ruling class most subservient to U.S. imperialism and to the NATO alliance, including the new top man in the Turkish government, General Kenan Evren, who commanded an artillery regiment that fought alongside the U.S. in the Korean war, a man well known for his strong pro-U.S. views. (For more on the coup see the article "Pro-U.S. Fascists Topple Pro-U.S. Fascists," *RW* No. 72). The U.S. press then showered praise on the new military government. On the day of the coup, the State Department revealed that a senior Turkish military officer phoned the U.S. military assistance group in Turkey only 75 minutes before the coup to reassure the U.S. The State Dept. also announced that there would be no interruption to the flow of economic and military aid to Turkey.

The Greek government also announced its support the same day as the coup occurred. "We have every hope that the thaw in our relations that began at the NATO meeting in Ankara last June will expand," said Greek foreign minister Constantine Mitsotakis. "And we have indications that this is also the desire of the new government in Turkey."

So the stage was set for the final act. General Rogers visited Ankara, Turkey's capital, no less than 4 times in recent weeks negotiating the final arrangements for Greece to return to the NATO military apparatus. In a move that signals U.S. intentions to keep firm control of the situation, the dispute over the arrangement of the military command in the Aegean Sea was left unspecified in the new agreement. Decisions on the authority of Turkish

and Greek military commands will be made on a case-by-case basis by an overall NATO commander, most likely the American admiral who heads the NATO Allied Forces Southern Europe Command.

The NATO alliance forms an arc surrounding the eastern European members of the Soviet imperialists' rival Warsaw Pact and part of the USSR itself. Greece and Turkey make up the southeastern tip of this arc and are clearly shaping up as a key theatre for both the U.S.' and Soviets' plans for war. Together, the Aegean Sea, the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus control the passage of the Soviets' chief fleet to the Mediterranean Sea. Facing off against the Warsaw Pact in southeastern Europe and the Soviet Union itself is the large U.S. Sixth Fleet stationed in the Mediterranean, the string of U.S. airbases and other military installations located in Greece and Turkey, the 180,000-manned armed forces of Greece and the massive armed forces of Turkey with over 1/2 million men (not to mention the Zionist military machine of Israel). Further, the U.S. is no doubt planning to use its military forces in the area to strike at the Soviet forces in the neighboring Middle East in the event of war. Speaking of the role Turkey could play in the rapid deployment force, an advisor to former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara recently said, "We don't seem to have noticed that Turkey is the only NATO country in the Persian Gulf region." (U.S. troops, incidentally, were present in Turkey during NATO's Autumn Forge maneuvers and were put on alert for possible action in the Persian Gulf.)

The return of Greece to the NATO military structure was greeted gleefully in the U.S. The day after the announcement, the *New York Times* published an editorial titled, "Back in the NATO Family" which not only celebrated Greece's return, but also expressed the hope that the Greek and Turkish regimes would put aside their rivalry over the jurisdiction of the Aegean Sea and over Cyprus in order to face the

bigger challenges facing the U.S. war bloc: "The war in the Persian Gulf, the upheaval in Iran and the Soviet thrust into Afghanistan have helped wonderfully to draw the long-quarreling Turks and Greeks a step closer." "We're all delighted," gushed a member of the NATO defense planning committee after they approved the plan bringing Greece back into the military command structure. "It has stitched up a hole in NATO's fabric."

But while the U.S. has won some success in getting its junior partners in step with its war preparations, there are signs that things are not going all that well. The *New York Times* reported that the military rulers of Turkey were "extremely sensitive" about the issue. Of concern in particular here are reactionary nationalist political forces opposed to any concession by Turkey to Greece. This was indicated by the fact that Greece's move was timed to coincide with a Moslem holiday, Bayram, when, in Turkey, no newspapers are published for days.

There is certainly opposition among the masses of people in Greece to the country's re-entry into NATO's military structure; although the nature of this and the political forces in motion are not yet clear. And the U.S. faces a developing revolutionary movement in Turkey as well.

Greece's move represents a significant development in the breakneck U.S. military buildup in the area. The U.S. will be pushing Greece, Turkey and the rest of its "allies" even harder to approve other plans it has to tighten up NATO.

But more importantly, the U.S. imperialists' accelerating moves to tighten their grip on their allies and prime them for war also carry with them the potential for political crisis and upheaval among the masses of people of these countries on a far greater scale than ever before. The southern flank of Europe could very well become a "war front" very different from what U.S. war planners now envision. □

## Press Convicts Pontiac Brothers, Judge Denies Mistrial . . . Again

Chicago—In the midst of dramatic testimony showing the impact of malicious media slanders against the Pontiac Brothers, Judge Ben Miller has again refused to declare a mistrial. As the fourth week of jury selection drew to a close on October 16, a 24-year-old white suburban man, Mr. Andrews, was called in for questioning as a prospective juror. In response to the standard questions concerning what he had seen and heard about the case, Andrews suddenly blurted out, "I'm concerned over my own personal safety if I serve on the jury." Where did he get this idea? "Just seeing that piece of news on Channel 7, it made me think about what I'm getting involved in. It's scary," he told the judge.

Jury selection has been underway since September 18 for 10 of the 16 Black Pontiac Brothers charged with the murder of three white guards during the 1978 prison rebellion (each defendant is charged with 3 murders). This five-week period has been sprinkled with various news items and features which directly or indirectly make the point that the Pontiac Brothers are dangerous, street gang-related criminals. The Channel 7 ABC news item that scared this prospective juror out of his wits was the latest of these. This news item, aired on October 9, reported with virtual certainty that the Pontiac Brothers were responsible for the shooting of a state's witness who was injured by a bullet to his arm. Naturally, there was not a shred of evidence offered to

back up this lie. But this was nothing new, since all the publicity which has surrounded this trial, as well as the entire case of the prosecution, has been predicated on the most blatant and ridiculous falsifications and lies imaginable.

As reported in last week's *RW*, Judge Miller had ruled this vicious little story totally inconsequential and denied defense attorneys' motion for a mistrial. And now, faced with first-hand evidence of the effect of this media hysteria, the defense once again argued for a mistrial. "What else do you want to have happen, judge, before you admit that we can't get a fair trial with this kind of publicity out here? Are you trying to kill us all?" asked Black lawyer Leo Holt. "Motion denied," was the reply. Judge Miller's only action was to dismiss six other prospective jurors after Andrews confessed to discussing his fears with them.

But no matter how hard the judge tries to maintain the fiction that all the hysteria whipped up by the media is unimportant, it keeps popping up again right in the courtroom. On October 22, a white woman broke down on the stand sobbing that she could not give a fair trial and was excused from jury duty. When questioned outside the court by defense attorneys she admitted that it was the news of the witness shooting that had upset her. At the insistence of the defense, further questioning of the jurors in her pool revealed that all had discussed this and some admitted they

were scared to death.

Once more the defense moved for a mistrial and once again, as if a tape recorder clicked on inside him, the judge ruled, "Motion denied." Miller hypocritically assured the defense that he, in his benevolent, legal wisdom, will weed out all jurors who have been prejudiced by the media. As we go to press Miller has also denied a motion to move the trial out of the county or state away from the poisonous publicity; he has yet to rule on a motion for a lengthy delay in the trial, but there is little doubt when this ruling will be.

This is not the first time Miller has refused to declare a mistrial despite publicity that flagrantly smears the Pontiac Brothers. Early in October, the *Sun-Times* ran a series on Chicago street gangs featuring a picture of one of the Pontiac 16 who was labeled a gang leader. Throughout the 19 months of pre-trial hearings and during jury selection, Judge Miller has proven again and again his single-minded determination to keep this railroad on a straight track without deviating as much as one degree. This was clearly borne out by another incident early in the jury selection process. On October 3, Judge Miller refused to hear the testimony of a suburban salesman, Benjamin Rudnick, who had already been eliminated as a juror due to his claustrophobia. Attorney Paul Brayman made a motion to hear testimony from Rudnick, who had stated that the jurors had been instructed *not* to be expansive

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in their answers to the judge's questions. This is a point that defense attorneys have been protesting ever since the judge announced his decision that only he could interrogate the prospective jurors.

At Miller's refusal to allow Rudnick to testify, five of the Pontiac Brothers jumped to their feet in protest, refusing to be intimidated by threats of being held in contempt of court. "Man, you don't scare me," Pontiac Brother Michael Evans told the black-robed hater as a dozen sheriff's deputies were ordered to remove all 10 defendants. One of the brothers later told the *RW*, "At first I thought we'd get justice in the courtroom, but now I seriously doubt it. I would like the people to come to court and see what's happening. They'll see just how the system works, just how the system commits justice. Let the people be the judge of what's happening here." □

Rita Silk-nauni

# Two Life Terms in Jail for Resisting Oppression

September 19, 1979, 8:30 a.m., Oklahoma City. Oklahoma County Airport policeman Garland Garrison prepares what is to be his last trip out from police headquarters, his last venomous attack on a Native American, attacks for which he is well noted. Together with a partner, lights flashing and sirens blaring, he races down S. Meridian Road two miles out of the airport to "apprehend" a couple of "littering" suspects who have "given the police some trouble" earlier. Rita Silk-nauni, a Sioux, and her 10-year-old son, Derrick, having dumped off some clothes to lighten their load are making their way toward town.

Braking to a halt, the two cops bolt from their car. Garrison grabs Derrick by the wrist throwing him to the ground and then up against the squad car. His partner, gun drawn, grabs Rita. The boy screams for help, his mother struggles to break free and wrestles the gun from her assailant's hand. Garrison drops the boy and draws his revolver leveling it at Rita. Then a bullet rips through the pig's chest, he drops. Three wild shots, his partner drops—a bullet lodged in her thigh. This time, the tables are turned.

August 15, 1980, Oklahoma County Courthouse: never before a scene like this. Three hundred supporters have packed the courtroom for Rita's sentencing—Native Americans from all over the state and country, representatives of women's groups, and many others. 195 letters of support from 36 states, England and British Columbia, many detailing cases of police brutality against Native Americans and other oppressed people—all collected in a period of three days—sit menacingly on Judge Joe Cannon's desk.

On the other side, the tightest "security" ever seen in the courthouse—chain barricades and metal detectors, thorough searches, at least 20 Oklahoma cops and FBI agents in the hallway and another 20 inside the courtroom and many more visible on the street outside. The Judge's gavel slams down the sentence—100 years for the death of Garrison, and 50 more for the shooting of his partner, to run—consecutively. As this robbed hangman of American justice said, he "wanted her to spend the rest of her life in prison" and "if it were up to me I would have given her more"! But the death penalty had been eliminated as the all-white jury could only unite on reducing the

charge from murder to manslaughter. With the massive support shown for Rita Silk-nauni's righteous act of defending herself and her son, Judge Cannon made the point, "Someone has to defend the system, and I intend to be the one to do that."

This "defense of the system" took many forms in the course of the trial of Rita Silk-nauni. Many reports have been lodged with the Native American Center in Oklahoma City chronicling airport police brutality and harassment of Native Americans and other oppressed nationalities, including incidents involving Garrison. Yet none of this nor similar testimony was allowed by Judge Cannon as evidence in the trial. No evidence was allowed showing the history of oppression of Native Americans at the hands of the Oklahoma authorities nor nationwide like the battle the Sioux are waging to take back the Black Hills in South Dakota, land stolen from them by the U.S. government. No evidence was allowed about the oppression of women, about beatings at the hands of cops like Garrison. In short, no evidence was allowed that would show that what Rita did was not only an act of self-defense—but an act of resistance to oppression. And it was this, fundamentally that brought hundreds to her trial day after day and won broad support from the women's movement, Native Americans and many others.

The Oklahoma authorities went hog wild to set the matter on their terms. The press cried that what Rita did was a vicious murder of innocent cops "just doing their job" on the one hand, and the "irrational workings of an obviously disturbed mind" on the other. Claims of her "insanity" made banner headlines along with accounts of her "psychiatric evaluation."

It was a trap. Oklahoma law demands that if one pleads "insanity" in a murder trial, then no evidence implying "self defense" is allowed. If one pleads "self defense," then no evidence concerning one's "mental state" is allowed. The terms set by the authorities for the trial amounted to this: Plead self defense, and you will get the death penalty hands down. Plead "insanity," and maybe you'll avoid execution at the hands of the state. With the death sentence in the balance, and the nature of the forthcoming trial already forecast by the press, the defense chose "insanity" as the legal

strategy. In the end, 11 jurors voted for First Degree Murder (and therefore death). One held out for "insanity." A "compromise" was struck: conviction of manslaughter and a 150-year sentence. The press went on the offensive to prove that Rita's (or for that matter, anyone's) resistance was "insane" and punishable by law (even execution), while the brutality of pigs like Garrison was lauded throughout.

On September 19, 1979 Rita was fleeing a husband who had been beating her. Her reaction to this led to her being termed "mentally unstable." She had been put into and then taken out of a mental hospital. Resisting—or fleeing from—brutality at the hands of her husband later became further "proof" of her "insanity." On her way to Lawton, Oklahoma (where the father of her son lived—not her husband at the time), she was forced off a TWA jet in Oklahoma City by airport police because of a mixup in the ticket sold to her in southern California. She and her son, without the money for even a bus ride, had set out on foot to their destination some 75 miles away when they were set upon by police. Was she "insane" to defend herself and her son? Ask the families and friends of the four Native American men "mysteriously" hung in the Oklahoma City Jail cells in the four years prior to her trial. (One of the 4 was a well-known Native American activist, Larry Black, Jr. whose life had been threatened repeatedly by jailers. The murder of these 4 was a concentration of the daily harassment of Native Americans in this area and a continuation of the murders and longstanding brutal oppression of Native American people—of course no jailer has been charged with these crimes either, officially termed "suicides".)

In an editorial titled "Justice Served" the Oklahoma City Journal summed up their view of the trial: "There were many tragedies in the recently completed Rita Silk-nauni trial but racism was not one of them, as several Nauni supporters claim...the only racism in the trial was exhibited by some supporters of Nauni," and "she escaped the death chamber, which a truly racist jury could easily have given her." To the Journal, having tried and convicted her in the pages of their paper, the real tragedies here were the exposure of the system that came out of it, the broad support for Rita, and that

the trial did not end in a sentence of execution.

Not that there weren't strenuous efforts in this direction. The jury was carefully picked. Defense attorneys were not allowed to question jurors as to their opinions on wife-beating. The jury was "death qualified" meaning that there were no "moral objections" to a sentence of death. In reference to the support demonstrations outside and supporters inside the courtroom, Judge Cannon told the jurors "don't let anything turn your head except what you hear in this courtroom." The authorities had even threatened Derrick's father. They told him that if he didn't convince Derrick to testify against his mother, then the boy would also be charged in the crime and taken away. When the man refused to do this, they then threatened him with jail.

At one point the Judge ordered all spectators except the press (that is, all Rita's supporters) out of the court threatening that their activities in and out of the court "might jeopardize Mrs. Nauni's right to a fair trial"! Later he ordered that "t-shirts, armbands and literature—either for or against the defendant (really!)—be barred from the courthouse and adjacent county buildings"—which included across the street and outside (even literature opposing the death sentence in general was banned). Supporters were found in contempt of court for refusing to stand when this robed thug entered the courtroom; even Native American religious pipes and other implements were ordered out at one point. Especially through the press, Native American culture and religion were attacked. The protests against Native American oppression, women's oppression and support for Rita, as well as the Native American dress and religious activities were called a "carnival" in the Journal. In his sentencing the judge called it "a movement to create an Indian 'cause' that never existed."

As part of the continuing exposure and struggle over this outrage, the conviction has been appealed and the Rita Silk-nauni Defense Committee is planning a speaking tour to start in Los Angeles the week of November 10.

Contact:  
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Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73103  
(405) 232-2512

## Coalfields

Continued from page 8

law" passed in 1919 when workers in this country, including miners, were raising that revolutionary banner inspired by the newly born socialist Russia). The distribution of the *Revolutionary Worker* was increased in the area, and in the midst of the Iraq/Iran war, 26 miners signed a statement targeting U.S. imperialist backing of the Iraqi invasion and supporting the Iranian revolution. (See *RW* No. 75)

The bourgeoisie's need to politically isolate the class-conscious forces is what is behind this attack, and it is coming down in the context of increasing repression nationwide, including the arrests of two RCP supporters in Atlanta on charges of plotting to "overthrow the government" and the new attempt to railroad Chairman Bob Avakian into jail. What better way to push this attack than to have it appear to be coming from "good old boys" jamming the company and the union to "get the commie." This is aimed at confusing the true nature of this attack, and especially at demoralizing and intimidating more advanced miners and other workers who see through this shit.

That it is just the "good ol' boys" of the ruling class that are behind this attack can be seen, as well, by putting this attack together with other attacks in the coalfields recently. For example on

September 26, several West Virginia papers ran a UPI story titled (in one paper) "Huntington Mayor Would Also Like to Bust Some RCP Heads" which began "The mayor of West Virginia's largest city felt like calling in some muscle from a rough part of town to 'bust some heads' when he saw two supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party in town recently."

"Mayor Bob Bailey, Jr. made the observation when a veterans group came to City Hall to protest the lack of support for police when they arrested two avowed communists in town."

In another example, a Beckley, W. Va. paper a little while ago ran an election interview with all the candidates for Raleigh County Sheriff. The two biggest questions each of them addressed were drugs in the high schools and how they would have handled the Red Flag arrests before May Day.

All this, of course, not only makes clearer just who is behind all these attacks, but shows the fact that revolutionary politics are no small question, and no small concern of the ruling class, down in the coalfields.

It is crucial that the advanced step into the fray and break wide open the opportunities this desperate attack has presented. Every time the bourgeoisie speaks—either directly or through the mouths of their agents within the working class—they can't help but "show their ass." At Hirsch's local union meeting, when one district representative

babbled the well-worn lie, "Communists are behind all the trouble and layoffs in the coalfields," it totally turned reality on its head and provided more ammunition for the advanced forces to expose the real source of the crisis and the criminal nature of this system.

What's coming down here is spoken to very sharply in the draft *New Programme & New Constitution of the RCP*: "In the years ahead, as millions and tens of millions are drawn into political life, into sharpening debate and struggle, what road they take—and whether they fight and sacrifice in the cause of preserving their own enslavement and that of the world's people or in the historic battle to abolish that enslavement—will depend not only on the objective conditions but also to a significant degree on the stand and actions of the class-conscious workers, all along the way as well as at the decisive

hour. The banner of the working class will be increasingly claimed and contested for by both the class-conscious proletariat and the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, for both the representatives of the proletariat and those of the imperialists recognize, with opposite viewpoints and opposite aims, the potential role of the working class to cripple and ultimately overthrow imperialism. Within the working class, two camps, representing two roads, will be increasingly shaping up and facing off: those, a privileged aristocratic minority, who cling to the bribes imperialism affords them and fight to keep U.S. imperialism supreme in order to insure the blood-soaked spoils; and those, representing the great majority, who lead the masses in fighting for their real interests—to forge a revolutionary way forward out of this outmoded and barbarous system." □

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Party, U.S.A.

# Brutal Double Murder At Hands Of Chicago Pigs

After three white plainclothes cops beat Richard Ramsey—a 51-year-old Black man—to death a couple of months ago for smoking on the loading platform of an el train, Chicago's finest, in the face of mass outrage, were falling all over themselves, promising that this kind of murderous behavior would be looked into, and blubbering that "We are all very much concerned" as they contemplated the possibility of another Miami. On the night of Wed., Oct. 22, as if to prove that they are definitely "looking into" this kind of thing and to emphasize that Chicago police are not blinded by racial prejudice with respect to carrying out their sworn duties, another group of these blue-coated scum stood by while one of them viciously beat another man to death—this time Paul Pierce, a white—when he allegedly interfered with their attempts to break up a domestic quar-

rel.

According to a number of witnesses this murdering pig administered a non-stop beating to Pierce for a full five minutes after he already lay unconscious on the ground. One woman, a 23-year-old waitress who for obvious reasons was reluctant to give her name to the press, said she saw this cop climb on top of the helpless man, repeatedly "banging his head on the pavement." When she approached the other uniformed officers and angrily told them "Enough is enough," they told her to move on while the pig who was beating Pierce got up and continued kicking his nearly lifeless body. After following the police van to the hospital, she was again told to "move on," but refused. As she helped get Pierce into a wheelchair, she saw blood and mucus coming from his eyes, nose and mouth. A short time later, when Pierce's mother was in-

formed of her son's death, she suffered a massive seizure and died within minutes from a heart attack.

True to form, the Chicago police authorities wasted no time in "looking into" this latest incident of police brutality. Joseph Curtin, commander of Area Homicide Division, said it did not appear that the injuries suffered by Pierce were serious enough to cause his death—something only a complete idiot would swallow. Dr. Robert J. Stein, the Cook County medical examiner, followed suit, declaring that early tests on Pierce had shown "only superficial bruises and no broken bones," and that further tests would be necessary to determine the cause of death. The next night, while managing to keep a straight face, Stein announced on TV that his verdict was that Pierce had suffered "emotional death" due to "too much adrenalin causing the heart to require

massive amounts of oxygen"—in other words, he died of stress, not the beating! However, Stein assured reporters he was working closely on the case with the State's Attorney's office and the police's Office of Professional Standards—after all, these cops probably should have been a little more "professional" about doing their job of terrorizing the people. But on the other hand, since the animals who beat Paul Pierce to death and essentially killed his mother to boot are—as of this writing—still walking the streets as if the events of Wednesday, Oct. 22 never took place, perhaps the view of the State Attorney, the Office of Professional Standards, the Cook County medical examiner and the rest of the agencies and individuals charged by our rulers with maintaining "order" in the streets, is that such conduct is not only professional—but mandatory. □

## Iraq/Iran

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tory and salivating all over itself in its expressions of "guarded optimism" that a settlement is at hand. Speculation is that the hostages could be returned as early as this Monday. There is still a remote possibility that this imperialist apple cart could get upset by the ever-present threat of an upsurge of the Iranian people, but it seems that the Iranian rulers are set this time on the course of giving up the hostages. This step by the Iranian bourgeoisie would be much more than simply a symbolic act, but would in fact symbolize a big turning point in their capitulation to the same imperialist gangsters that the Shah so dutifully served and who have spared no effort to force Iran to submit to them ever since the masses of Iranian people overthrew the Shah.

In order to explain how the U.S. could be so heavily involved in this latest imperialist savagery and still stay "neutral," a "new" policy has been announced by Secretary of State Muskie: the Muskie Active Impartiality Principle: "to be impartial is not to be inactive; to declare that we will not take sides is not to declare that we have no interest at stake."

In order to appear more even-handed and to more aggressively pursue U.S. imperialism's overall interests in the Persian Gulf, Muskie and Carter have as of late made a number of conciliatory statements toward Iran, labeling Iraq's drive into Iran an "invasion" and saying they're opposed to the "dismemberment" of Iran.

Far from being a sudden change of heart on the part of these imperialist statesmen, these are cold, calculated moves to accomplish concrete political objectives—the most immediate of which is to force the vacillating, bourgeois Iranian government to come to terms with them or to overthrow them and bring an openly pro-U.S. regime to power. This is of central importance in the U.S. imperialists' all-out drive to buttress their military and political stranglehold on the oil-rich Persian Gulf region in preparation for war against their imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union.

Under cover of "protecting" the West's oil supplies and "defending" Saudi Arabia and other supposedly neutral states, over the last month of fighting between Iraq and Iran the U.S. military buildup in the Persian Gulf has reached an unprecedented level. The U.S., France, Britain and several other NATO bloc countries have marshalled a large armada of ships in the Indian Ocean, within striking distance of the Persian Gulf, in a NATO "show of strength" designed to emphasize "Western solidarity." Although France remains formally outside of NATO, French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has recently made several belligerent statements regarding the "security of the Gulf." France

maintains 14 ships in the Indian Ocean now on a permanent basis. The Soviet Union itself maintains a force of 20 ships, including three destroyers, mine sweepers, and 6 tank-landing craft as well as a number of missile launchers. All of this is in addition to the powerful naval presence of the U.S. in the Gulf itself; the Gulf and the Indian Ocean are rapidly becoming the site of an ever more massive concentration of military might by the two opposing imperialist blocs.

Meanwhile, the U.S. buildup on Saudi soil continues to accelerate. Remember how those U.S. AWACS command control crafts were supposed to be "loaned" to Saudi Arabia on a "temporary" basis to guard against a possible "Iranian attack"? Well, now the Saudis are planning to buy them. The U.S. is also "studying the Saudi request" to upgrade its entire fleet of F-15 fighter craft. The ultimate objective of U.S. military policy vis-à-vis the Saudis, the *New York Times* reported on October 22, is "to persuade the Saudi government to give the United States forces access to military bases in Saudi Arabia, enhancing the United States' military and diplomatic posture in the region." It now appears that formal Saudi approval for this may not be far off; "American officials," says the *Times*, are reported "optimistic."

### U.S. "Concern" For Iran

Thus, at the same time as the U.S. imperialists continue to pour military forces into the Gulf, and Iraq carries out its assignment of putting the squeeze on Iran directly, they are extending the olive branch of peace to the Iranian government. This requires, at this point, putting some distance between themselves and Iraq's reactionary rulers (who know very well what the U.S. is up to, and also understand that the U.S. could turn off its supply pipeline from Jordan, Saudi Arabia and other U.S. client states in the area if they go too far beyond the rules of the game laid down by the U.S.). In this way the U.S. is positioning itself to broker a gangster's "peace settlement" that will advance its overall interests in the region—or, as Muskie put it recently, "to bring this needlessly prolonged conflict to an early end."

While this statement of Muskie's is mainly an attempt to cover the fact that the U.S. planned out, launched and has prolonged the Iraqi invasion of Iran, it is also true that the U.S. imperialists are concerned about it continuing needlessly—that is, continuing for any longer than they need to accomplish their objectives. In recent weeks, National Security Adviser Brzezinski has warned repeatedly of the danger of a "political collapse" in Iran that could lead to civil war and the possibility of the Soviets gaining influence in the country. Brzezinski, of course, has also been widely reported as being "particularly" favorably taken with the idea of Iraq's role as a pro-U.S. gendarme—all of which shows there is no contradiction between "concern" for Iran and having un-

leashed and backed Iraq's action.

The U.S. is well aware that the longer the war goes on, the more massively the Iranian people will be being drawn into battle, threatening to upset their current "negotiations" with the capitulationist forces in the Iranian government. In addition, in Iraq, they are concerned that a prolonged war could lead to increased instability and mass upsurges that the Soviets could exploit, especially with their history of involvement in Iraq. While counting on turning the military and economic destruction wrought by this war to their advantage by generously offering "aid" to rebuild both Iran and Iraq, the U.S. imperialists are calculating that if the war were to continue much longer, it could only give the Soviets new opportunities to fish in troubled waters. All this serves to underline the U.S. imperialists' attempts to keep the situation under control through their various phases of escalation and negotiations.

The U.S.'s "peace plans" were first unveiled by Muskie in a speech in Chicago on October 20, where he advanced two points for bringing the fighting to an end: that "territory must not be seized by force of arms" (directed against Iraq) and that "neither side should seek to interfere in the internal affairs of the other" (this is seen as backing Iraq's complaints about Khomeini's calls on the Iraqi people to rise up and overthrow the Hussein dictatorship in Iraq, as well as other U.S. lackeys in the Middle East). How even-handed and reasonable! Three days later, the U.S. presented a three-point plan to the UN Security Council that called for Iraq to withdraw from Iranian territory, after which the evacuated zone would become a demilitarized zone patrolled by UN "observers"; negotiations to settle the border and land disputes presided over by a "neutral third party" (the U.S. is already touting such pro-Western Moslem states as Tunisia, Bangladesh and Pakistan to take on "neutral" tasks); and for both countries to pledge they won't interfere in each other's affairs.

Thus, the U.S. appears to be moving in the direction of arranging a "package deal" to de-escalate and eventually end the war on U.S. terms. It would allow for Iraq to pull back its forces victoriously; for Iran it would provide for the release of the hostages and new moves toward the Western imperialists on the part of the Iranian government, while allowing them to camouflage their capitulation with their own claims of having "defeated" the Iraqi aggressors.

### Rajai Trip

That this is the direction things are headed in became all the more clear with a recent flurry of diplomatic activity on the part of the Iranian government. This was highlighted by the trip of Iranian Prime Minister Rajai to New York to address the UN Security Council on October 18.

Just the fact that Rajai was making

this trip to the UN at all was significant. The Iranian government had been boycotting the United Nations since the seizure of the U.S. Embassy in November of 1979, and had consistently exposed its role as a pliable tool of the U.S. in its attempts to isolate the Iranian revolution as a prelude to destroying it. On September 28, the UN Security Council had once again shown its obsequious subservience to the U.S. imperialists, passing a resolution on the war which urged "an end to the conflict" without mentioning the flagrant Iraqi aggression or calling for the withdrawal of Iraqi troops.

The decision in Tehran to send Rajai to state Iran's case—while it is not necessarily wrong in principle to make use of such "international forums" as an arena of political struggle—reflected the greatly increased capitulationist tendencies within the government for a "coming to terms" with the U.S. imperialists and the release of the hostages (and all that this "symbolic gesture" implies). Further, the timing of this move, coming as it did after it became clear that the military struggle against Iraq and its U.S. backers was bound to be difficult and protracted, was related to an assessment on the part of the Iranian bourgeoisie that such a war could not be waged without, at the very least, seriously jeopardizing their ruling position within Iraq, their effective economic control of the country's oil and other resources, and their base of support in the regular armed forces.

Rajai's address to the Security Council, taken by itself, appeared to be a ringing condemnation of U.S. imperialism, its role in plundering Iran over the past 35 years, and an exposure of the U.S. collaboration in the Iraqi invasion. Rajai swore that Iran would never yield and that if necessary the Iranian people would wage a "people's war" against imperialism and foreign domination.

But it would be a mistake to take Rajai's official UN address—which was designed not only for its impact on world opinion but, importantly, for consumption by the Iranian masses—at its face value. This became clear the very next day, when the Prime Minister held a hastily summoned press conference which was *not* rebroadcast in Iran. There, Rajai, for all practical purposes, abandoned his stance of "refusing to strike bargains" on the hostage issue and sent out a number of impromptu signals of an unmistakably conciliatory tone. Rajai commiserated with the "grief of the families of the captives." He displayed his own wounds at the hands of the SAVAK (in order to show that he "understood suffering too")—as if torture at the hands of the U.S.-trained SAVAK goons had anything in common with the detention of the American hostages. When asked if the Iranian government persisted in its demand for a U.S. apology for its past crimes as a condition for the hostages' release, Rajai made the preposterous statement that "from the passage of

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# IS NEWSWEEK BLATANT ENOUGH?

In the past several weeks, a flood of war propaganda has been unleashed by the U.S. press. The nightly news is crammed with images of advancing tanks, streaking war planes, squadrons of war ships. Pentagon correspondents dredge up one "controversy" after another on subjects ranging from the Stealth aircraft program to the readiness of the army to nuclear missile targeting strategy. Meanwhile, newspapers print dozens of investigations of U.S. military preparedness, taking their lead from influential sources such as the *Los Angeles Times* and the *New York Times*, which both ran week-long series titled "U.S. Forces: Are They Ready?" and "Defense: Is the U.S. Prepared?" And last Monday on CBS radio, the dean of the anchor lackeys, Walter Cronkite, announced that the question of war had become the "pivotal issue" in the presidential election campaign.

Now comes the latest addition to this jingoistic barrage, an 11-page spread in *Newsweek* magazine titled "Is America Strong Enough?" *Newsweek's* "special report" is a concentrated dose of all the lies, distortions and half-truths which the press has been relentlessly peddling for the past several weeks. Because *Newsweek* is so typical of the bourgeoisie's war propaganda, it is worth analyzing in some detail, for this propaganda reveals—in its own distorted and one-sided way—some of the outlines of the crisis the U.S. ruling class finds itself in, a crisis which puts the U.S. on the front lines in a future global war with its Soviet rivals.

"Seldom in time of peace," opens the *Newsweek* report, "has the United States been so troubled by talk of war—and so concerned that the country is incapable of waging it. . . . And for the first time since the missile gap scare of the 1960 presidential campaign, a feeling that American defenses have slipped—so badly that the nation may no longer be capable of protecting its interests abroad, or containing Soviet expansionism." (*Newsweek*, of course, would never talk of "American expansionism," the U.S. only has "interests abroad.") *Newsweek's* apocalyptic rhetoric is one clear indication of just how seriously they view the situation. America is at a crossroads, they stress again and again, and they don't waste any time in explaining—in their own misleading and distorted way—what kind of bind the U.S. is in: "A 'window of vulnerability' that threatens to subject the United States to nuclear blackmail, if not Soviet first strike, by as early as 1982." Further, "the American conventional forces may be too slow and stiff in the joints after Vietnam to reinforce Europe and reassure Japan and guard the vital oil lanes of the Persian Gulf—let alone inhibit Soviet adventurism in Africa or

Afghanistan."

Here, the source of not just *Newsweek's*, but the whole ruling class's, concern stands out starkly. Their empire is so vast, ranging from Japan to the Middle East, from Europe to Africa, and the war they are preparing to wage calls for the use of weapons of unparalleled destructive power. The effort needed to mobilize for such a war, a war that will involve U.S. troops in massive numbers from the very start, is something the U.S. cannot afford to postpone. Of course, these concerns are masked by the typical blather about "Soviet first strike," "Soviet adventurism," and "containing Soviet expansionism," etc., etc.

This is the essence of *Newsweek's* con game—to win people to the American imperialists' war mobilization plans. "The country," moans *Newsweek*, "still seems unwilling to confront such problems. Until it does, the defense muddle is bound to persist—for unless the nation has a clear sense of what its global interests are, it is unlikely to know for sure whether its military is capable of protecting them." *Newsweek* is all too eager to help us "confront the problem," and willing to do its part in instilling a clear sense of the "global interests" of U.S. imperialism and what kind of "military is capable of protecting them." In taking on this job, *Newsweek* has a delicate task. It must convince its readers that the U.S. must beef up its ability to wage a worldwide, predatory war, while painting the U.S. as the innocent victim of Soviet imperialism. It must exaggerate the weaknesses of the U.S. military machine—so as to convince the reader of the need for dramatic improvement—while at the same time instilling in the potential cannonfodder the belief that the U.S. military is not fundamentally flawed, and with prompt action to bolster U.S. military might, would certainly be victorious. It is a task *Newsweek* takes up in a point-by-point review of the American war machine.

First we have the section called "Nuclear Vulnerability." The title itself is a dead giveaway; the point is to convince us that the U.S. needs more, better and bigger nuclear bombs. To start this, *Newsweek* tells us that Defense Secretary Brown has discovered that "dramatic improvements in Soviet missile guidance technology have made it possible for the Soviets to destroy the land-based leg of the (strategic nuclear) triad, the 1053 ICBM's (intercontinental ballistic missiles) poised in silos across the Great Plains." This new threat to U.S. missiles is supposed, according to *Newsweek*, to be the reason for the new MX missile which will be mobile and concealed in order for it to be impossible for the Soviets to target and destroy. But what is completely left

out of *Newsweek* is the main reason for the MX program: to provide the U.S. with a new, highly accurate missile that gives the U.S. an even greater possibility of blowing up Soviet missiles on the ground. The fact that the MX is much more accurate than any Soviet missile, despite the "dramatic improvements in Soviet missile guidance missile," is conveniently side-stepped. The key concern in the Pentagon is not how to protect U.S. missiles better—though they want to do that too—but how to destroy more Soviet missile silos.

*Newsweek* then goes on to explain how "the Carter administration is reviewing U.S. nuclear doctrines as well as hardware," and needless to say, *Newsweek* gives us a completely distorted picture of this as well. Presidential Directive No. 59 is explained as "something which simply allows the U.S. to carry out smaller, more selective nuclear attacks. But the main point of this directive was to target U.S. missiles on Soviet military targets, particularly on Soviet missile silos and underground command posts, a point which *Newsweek* barely bothers to mention. (Actually, the retargeting of U.S. missiles began some time ago. This lends strength to the argument that Directive No. 59 was specifically intended for public consumption.) This strategy is partly aimed at giving the U.S. the ability to strike first—and wipe out a substantial part of the Soviet nuclear arsenal, thus gaining a decisive advantage in the war. But *Newsweek*, naturally, never mentions the possibility of a U.S. first strike, even though among other things, the MX missile, the new submarine-launched Trident missile, and Presidential Directive No. 59 are all designed with this in mind. But *Newsweek* attempts to conceal this exactly because it does not want the actual nature of U.S. war preparations to be revealed. Instead of the U.S. responding to a Soviet threat, as *Newsweek* wants us to believe, both the U.S. and the Soviet Union are preparing their nuclear arsenals in order to wage a war to determine which superpower will dominate the world. The U.S. feels very real needs—not the need to defend against new Soviet "breakthroughs" in weaponry—but the need to wage nuclear war against its Soviet rivals, and wage it to win.

To disguise the nature of U.S. imperialism's war aims, *Newsweek* prints the blatant lie that "the strategic bomber force is made up of B-52's vulnerable to surprise attack." On the contrary, a large number of B-52's are constantly kept on alert and would be in the air before the Soviet missiles could reach their bases, and in a period of crisis, the number of B-52's on alert would be increased. Moreover, B-52's are being armed with the new cruise missile—a missile capable of being launched from the bomber, penetrating Soviet radar because of low altitude flight, and hitting targets deep in Soviet territory. Purely a defensive weapon!

In the second section of *Newsweek's* report, an incredible number of U.S. war preparations are casually passed over, always with the implication that "this is good, but it's not nearly enough." The U.S. Sixth and Seventh Fleets are spending 20 to 25% more time at sea; 50 to 60 new ships will be added to the U.S. fleet by 1985; the number of weeks in basic training has been increased, and so has the number

of hours of training each day; reserve units recently were given orders telling them where they will be deployed in wartime, and in the next few years, the reserves will be getting large amounts of equipment as hundreds of new armored personnel carriers, tanks, and helicopters come into active-duty army units. Compare these far-flung military moves to *Newsweek's* own ludicrous description of the U.S. military in the opening paragraphs of its article:

"The Army Chief of Staff, General Edward C. Meyer, complains publicly that he presides over a 'hollow army,' undermanned and underfunded. . . . The Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Thomas B. Hayward, protests that he has to carry out a 3-ocean mission with a '1 1/2-ocean navy.'"

But the thrust of this section, titled "The Manpower Drain," is to make the point that even though more people are joining the military, and more non-commissioned officers are re-enlisting, the military still isn't getting its hands on enough bodies. While *Newsweek* sidesteps the issue of reinstating the draft in this section, the basis is obviously being laid for trying to win popular support for conscription. A few pages earlier, *Newsweek* complained that "less than half of the voters favor a return to a military draft," but later in the article they cheerfully comment that "the registration of 19- and 20-year-olds has already improved the prospects for full-scale mobilization in time of war." This last comment cuts to the heart of the imperialists' concerns about military manpower: their need to move rapidly to put the armed forces on a war footing. And the ruling class knows full well that there is only one way that they will be able to raise and reinforce an army capable of waging a sustained world war, and that's by drafting it.

As far as the much-talked about shortage of non-commissioned officers, the ruling class has that base covered too. Non-commissioned officers who do not re-enlist are on inactive reserve status; they are kept track of on a new computerized system, categorizing them as to where they should be sent in time of war.

But more insidious and fundamental than *Newsweek's* attempts to swing public sentiment in favor of the draft is their attempts to set the terms from which the U.S. and the Soviet war preparations are viewed. Take, for example, the "poll on defense" published in this issue of *Newsweek*. Which candidate, they ask, is "best able to protect U.S. interests overseas"? Obviously, the purpose of such questions, which are designed much more to mold public opinion than to measure it, is to obscure the class content of these "U.S. interests" to hide the predatory imperialist nature of these interests, which consist of the continuing domination and expansion of the U.S. empire. For all the talk about giving "the nation a clear sense of what its global interests are," *Newsweek* does not dare openly define these interests. *Newsweek* attempts to picture U.S. war preparations as lagging hopelessly behind the Soviets', so it can portray the U.S. war effort as "defensive" while the USSR is painted as the "aggressor." Sorry, *Newsweek*, but both superpowers are preparing to wage a predatory war, a war to carve up the world, and each of them is trying to obscure this fact by pointing to the war preparations of the other and branding it the aggressor.

The U.S. imperialists—like their counterparts in the Kremlin—are driven more and more openly to prepare for war. The need to revamp their nuclear weaponry and doctrine, and the drive to reinstate the draft, are just two examples of the very real problems the U.S. faces in gearing up its military machine. At the same time, they are forced to try to enlist public opinion in support of their war preparations and their war itself. As the imperialists strain every effort to enlist the masses of people in their war drive, their attempts to obscure the actual class content and nature of their war preparations will intensify, and their lies and distortions will become increasingly blatant. This recent barrage of war propaganda is only a small taste of what's to come. □

# Appeals Court

Continued from page 1

last November of 26 charges carrying 241 years of prison time (!) against Comrade Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants and reinstated the indictments. This grew out of a police attack on a demonstration in January 1979, led by the RCP against the U.S. visit of Chinese revisionist chief Deng Xiaoping and the enlistment of China in the U.S. war bloc.

Beyond "simply" returning the case, however, in the language, the tone, and the specific legal rulings this Appeals Court has sharpened the spearpoint of the ruling class attack. More than anything, what is concentrated and reflected in this latest decision is that the stakes of the battle have gotten higher since last November's "retreat and maneuver" as we then described it, that the bourgeoisie is even more compelled to lash out even at the expense of dropping some of their flaking democratic cover—and revealing their real dictatorship—and that the class conscious proletariat and Party more than ever must rise to the challenge, unite broad numbers of people against this attack, defeat it, and continue to forge forward on all fronts to meet the revolutionary opportunities of the coming decade. And to immediately respond to this attack, not only must the struggle to get the *Revolutionary Worker* into 100,000 hands a week be carried through, but the call from the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants "to rise to the challenge and send letters and telegrams in protest of the outrageous decision to the D.C. Court of Appeals, contribute money needed to fight this railroad both in the courts and out among the people and step forward and build political opposition to this railroad" must be answered swiftly and decisively.

The Appeals Court decision stems from the November 19, 1979 dismissal of the charges by D.C. Superior Court Judge Carlisle Pratt on the grounds of "prosecutorial vindictiveness". This decision was a tactical retreat, one dictated not by the legal niceties involved, but by the political struggle that had been built against the blatant railroad of Comrade Avakian and the 16 other defendants. Thousands had stepped forward in opposition to this attack and with the trial at that time still 2 1/2 months away from its scheduled beginning, the potential of many thousands more doing so was tremendous. Further, among many of those who had taken up the battle, the question had become one of not only defeating this attack but beginning to take up the overall work of building for revolution in unity with the worldwide revolutionary movement. It was this strength, the strength of those already mobilized and the potential strength of many thousands more, that forced the ruling class into its temporary retreat and maneuvering.

Shortly after the dismissal, the prosecution appealed. And while the brief sat in the higher court, the ruling class went about the business of laying the basis to either get the Chairman in some other way or to bring back this particular attack on a more favorable basis for them. This began shortly later with a Secret Service investigation of Comrade Avakian based on an *L.A. Times* article with a so-called quote proven—even later admitted—to have been false, concerning a threat against Carter, continued through the 800 arrests of Party members and supporters in the course of building for revolutionary May Day 1980 and the murder of Damian Garcia just a week before it; and recently intensified both with a concentrated media campaign to brand the RCP as terrorists and with the arrest of 2 revolutionaries in Atlanta on the charge of advocating the overthrow of the government—carrying a 20-year jail term—with the main piece of evidence a poster publicizing the *Revolutionary Worker* with a quote from Comrade Avakian on it.

The decision of the Appeals Court

Tuesday signals a leap in all this.

## Court's Blatant Politics

The Appeals Court decision focuses on a legal concept known as "prosecutorial vindictiveness", which was the legal basis Pratt used to dismiss the case. The strategy of the defense had been to consistently expose the political basis of the government's attack, from the original police assault and the focus on Comrade Avakian from the very beginning to the outrageous charges and their doubling and redoubling. As an aspect of this, the defense brought out the legal question of prosecutorial vindictiveness—a term referring to any action of a prosecutor in response to the assertion of a legal right by a defendant which can appear to be a reprisal against the defendant for asserting that right. The prosecution had originally indicted the Mao Defendants in two separate groups of 9 and 8, with one group charged with 11 felonies and another with 15 (this itself was an escalation from the original charges of one misdemeanor and one felony). When the defendants asked for a joint trial and won—a move that clearly signaled the intent of the Party and the defendants to treat this as the political trial it was and is and to take every opportunity to expose the politics behind it—the prosecution responded by upping the charges against all 17 to 25 felonies, one misdemeanor and a possible 241 years of jail time.

Plainly this was and is a case of prosecutorial vindictiveness, a violation of supposed fair play of the bourgeois courts. What made them rule it in this case however, was not the violation of a fairness, which doesn't in fact exist anyway, but as a way to cover a political retreat with legal language.

But once prosecutorial vindictiveness was dragged on stage a way had to be found to usher it out when it's outlived its usefulness. And here we have the recent opinion of the Court of Appeals. The first thing to note in the opinion of the 2-judge (out of 3) majority is that they are forced to reinvent prosecutorial vindictiveness, to take this seemingly simple concept and invest it with limitless subtleties. Yes, the judges so much as admit, prosecutorial vindictiveness seems to exist and true, they allow, all that is necessary for such a finding is the *appearance* of it—but, they hasten to add, there is more to all this than meets the eye. In a footnote directly before they unload their bomb these judges say that all past opinion has been inadequate in defining prosecutorial vindictiveness. To "fill this chasm" they descend deep into the sewers of law and come up with an obscure *dissenting* opinion from another court, proving again that if they haven't got a law to fit your offense, they'll make one up.

What they come up with is "a set of criteria", a "balancing" test to replace the simple appearance of prosecutorial vindictiveness "in determining whether the government has met its burden (of dispelling the appearance of prosecutorial vindictiveness—*RW*) the trial court should consider the government's explanation in conjunction with several factors." And of course first among these factors is the "nature of the case."

This stuff about "nature of the case," "the circumstances of the case," and "the setting of the case" is a point repeated numerous times throughout the decision as the basis for the decision. In other words, given what we need to do here, we're going to have to bend the rules to fit. And sure enough, in outlining their set of criteria that they have invented they find that the prosecutor should be allowed to add charges when dealing with alleged multiple criminal acts and before a trial—criteria which just happen to fit particular prosecutors' cases like a glove.

But still the judges must deal with the problems that the defendants exposed in their appeal—that the prosecution had first maintained that the two sets of charges were based on different evidence and different alleged crimes in arguing *against* joining the cases, and that later, after explaining why now each defendant was charged with the additional crimes of aiding and abetting

**"This decision doesn't just mean that we are back to square 1 in the case, but represents a serious escalation in their railroad. A serious escalation which must be met in exactly the way that forced the government to back off the case last November, with an outpouring of support by thousands of people from all walks of life. Specifically, we're calling on people to rise to the challenge, and send letters and telegrams in protest of this outrageous decision to the D.C. Court of Appeals, contribute money needed to fight this railroad both in the courts and out among the people, and step forward and build political opposition to this railroad in their local areas."**

## Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants

every *other* defendant, the prosecutor claimed that the original division was not due to different evidence at all but rather to the prosecution's consideration of the interests of the defendants, and that when they had the extra charges piled on, the prosecution was only "giving the defendants what they asked for." In short, the prosecution changed their story to fit their upping of the charges.

"So what!" say the robed hatchmen of the Appeals Court. In all their pompous legal exactitude, they find it "unreasonable" "to hold the government to pinpoint accuracy and steadfast consistency in regard to every statement it makes though such a responsibility may be imposed at other stages in the progression of the case, such is not the case at this stage." In other words, go ahead and lie.

Finally, the judges claim that in fact the right to join the trials was really no right at all, at least not one of any benefit to the defense—therefore while the prosecution may *appear* to have acted vindictively, because the appellate judges feel there would be no reason for them to do so, they really didn't! But there is yet more to all this. The Appeals Court want to make clear the political policy of the ruling class in this case, so in an extraordinary move they included a footnote concerning 3 other motions that the defense hasn't even had heard in *trial* court yet, saying that "we must note that we find them to be of little merit." In other words—we don't want to see this case again—do it right this time and nail them!

To top it off, and make their blatant political message perfectly clear, the last page and a half of the Appeals Court decision is listed literally verbatim from the prosecution appeal! As the *RW* pointed out at the time, the appeal by the government went to a new stage in openly declaring the political nature of the case, outlining not only their version of the politics of the defendants and the demonstration, but putting straight out that in fact this was nothing but an old-time political conspiracy case ("prearranged and concerted attack," they said) that, due to the circumstances, had to be dressed up in simple, criminal clothes and that in considering "the nature of the case" *this* fact, the politics, was to be foremost. Obviously this court got the message, and to make sure there was no mess up they lifted their wording right from the prosecution.

Alongside the majority decision is what the *Washington Post* in an October 22 article called a "strongly worded dissenting opinion by Judge Julia Mack." Mack stated: "I find the analysis of the majority troubling and it's holding contrary to the established law in this jurisdiction. I can think of no more compelling combination of circumstances for invoking the due process doctrine because of prosecutorial vindictiveness than that presented here... I do not see how on this record an appellate court can conclude there is no realistic likelihood of vindictiveness. If the rule against prosecutorial vindictiveness is to mean anything in this jurisdiction it must be applied here." Whatever Mack's intent, the objective effect of this is to actually underscore the message of the court decision—that, yeah, the law says one thing, but screw the "majesty of the law", there's big stakes here!

The Mao Defendants will at this point demand a rehearing of this case

by the whole Court of Appeals. Should the bourgeoisie grant this, it would represent a tactical retreat on their part, coming as it does after an escalation represented by this decision, and is only conceivable as a concession to redoubled political support for Chairman Avakian and the rest of the defendants. Should the court refuse to rehear the case, a trial date will be set for the near future. This again brings home the urgency of working to answer the call sent out by the Defense Committee to put the revolutionary movement in the best possible position no matter what tack the enemy adopts.

## World Situation Heightens

This renewed and intensified attack reflects just how much things have changed and developed since last November. For the bourgeoisie it has been a year of becoming more deeply and inextricably embroiled in their political and economic crisis. People may remember that in November 1979, at the very time the bourgeoisie was forced to retreat and maneuver in their attack on Chairman Avakian, they were attempting to unleash a wave of national chauvinism in this country and counter-revolution in Iran, and, it must be said, they basically met with failure on both fronts. In the intervening months they have come forward with a threat of war moves, highlighted by the reinstatement of the draft and a big public relations campaign around nuclear war, which show both the desperate straits they are in and the desperate measures they must resort to to deal with them.

In the face of all that, the revolutionary movement has gained strength. Not only have the masses erupted in powerful rebellion against national oppression in Miami and other cities, and in resistance to the war offensive of the bourgeoisie, but the possibility to influence and lead that resistance in a revolutionary direction has taken a leap too, most notably through the campaign for revolutionary May Day 1980, but also through the increased distribution of the *Revolutionary Worker* and the concrete internationalist actions of the Party in exposing the war preparations of the imperialists and supporting the liberation struggles of the masses, especially that of the Iranian people. And further, the Party's activities in uniting with Marxist-Leninist forces around the world now, in preparation for a period which may well bring revolutionary situations in a number of countries, have been part of an important advance for the international proletariat.

In a sense, the bourgeoisie's efforts over the last year to prepare public opinion to bring back this case on terms more favorable to them, their resort to a blatantly political decision on the appeal, and their efforts to move ahead with the railroad show that in fact they take the explosive potential of the current situation very seriously indeed, and are reckoning with the real possibility of a revolutionary situation developing and the need on that basis to go after the potential leadership of the masses in that kind of explosive situation. Comrade Avakian pointed out in his opening remarks to the 1979 Central Committee meeting:

"... I think one of the things that has to be recognized... is that what goes on between the ruling class and our Party is not some abstraction without any relation to the class struggle. Rather it is in fact not only a part of but in an impor-

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# The Stakes Are Up—For Them and Us

Following are some excerpts from the speech given by Comrade Avakian at the rally in Washington, D.C. which followed the temporary dismissal of the charges against the Mao Defendants last November. They originally appeared in the November 23 issue of the RW under the above title to answer the question, "Why They Backed Up and What They've Got in Store."

## Retreat, Maneuver

And do you think it was accidental? Everything they do is calculated. They are fighting to save themselves from extinction. Do you think it was accidental that they maneuvered and brought out this decision three days before these rallies and demonstrations were called here and on the West Coast? If you do, you got to be a fool. They said to themselves, "Well, here's what we'll do, we'll bring out this dismissal, we can appeal it, we can put it up to a higher level, a higher political level, we can stick it up there in the appellate court and wait and see what we want to do with this. Maybe by the time we want to bring it back we'll have a lot of other sharper weapons to go after them with, legal or otherwise."

So they said, "Let's call this thing off right now. Let's, you know, make it look like our court system is fair, that if you can point out the inequities, if you can point out the injustices, if you can say that there was some vindictiveness here, then you can get a fair trial, you can get justice under this system. Yeah we may

have subjected you to brutality, you may have lost your job, you may have been forced to come back here and suffer the degradation of being run through these courts time and time again and having to suffer the brutality and indignation of being run through this court system from one end to the other. But nevertheless, when all is said and done, if your cause is right," so this line goes, "if it's unfair what's being done to you, then it will sooner or later come out in the wash, and it will come out clean and fair, you can get justice under this system."

And the government thought, "Maybe we can run that old tired number out there again and maybe if the RCP don't believe it, we can get other people who are starting to come forward to support this, maybe we can get at least *them* to believe it and drive a wedge between them and the RCP. Maybe we can even make people think that after all we weren't so serious about going after the RCP and Bob Avakian. Maybe we can make them think that after all they shouldn't have come forward and sacrificed, stepped to the front lines and joined in this battle. Maybe it isn't so serious after all. Maybe it's not really worth it to stand with the Revolutionary Communist Party, maybe they aren't really capable of doing something that we regard as a serious threat."

## Preparing More Vicious Attacks

This is how they calculate, this is how they maneuver. We have to understand exactly what they're

doing here. They're preparing to bring down much heavier and much more vicious attacks. If we use revolutionary theory and science and don't fall into pragmatism and metaphysics, we can see precisely what's going on. They said it's time for a tactical retreat. It was forced on them, let's understand it, this is no less a great victory. Because if you and all the rest of the people out there who came forward in this battle had not done so, if our Party had laid down in the face of this, if we'd capitulated, if we'd watered down our revolutionary stand, if we hadn't taken this battle and our revolutionary line out to the masses of people, the government would have run this railroad right over us and they would have slapped us down for good measure—even if we had capitulated—to make their point.

So it's no less a victory, we understand that they were forced into their backing up and maneuvering. They were forced by all the things that we're talking about, they were forced by the international support as well as the support in this country that was coming to our Party for the stand we took, and the solidarity that was being expressed in messages from revolutionary and communist organizations from ten countries all over the world that have so far come in.

I'm not saying that the ruling class is not going to come up with more legal indictments or even perhaps reactivate this particular attack. But I'm saying that

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To All RW Networks And Distributors

## Some Halloween-Eve Advice: Good Anytime of Year

Those two figures crouched outside your house late at night next week may want more from you than "candy and treats." They may seem ghoulish and vampire-like—but don't be fooled; it'll be because of their nature and not their costumes. They'll threaten you with all kinds of "tricks" if you don't come across—but there's only one thing to do—DON'T TALK!

It's information they're after. It is the FBI and not the kids on the block. And unfortunately, they don't limit their visits to Halloween time. Recent reports into the RW indicate that they're stepping up their activity a bit. And along with their usual practice of trying to identify known RCP members and supporters, and trying to gather as much information as possible about the leadership of the Party, they're also very much interested in the conspiracy that's spreading centered around the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper.

One reader looked out his window at around 11 o'clock one night. He saw someone lurking around outside with a flashlight. No, this was no normal

"nightstalker." When discovered, the two of them revealed themselves to be FBI agents, just paying a friendly little nighttime "visit." They just wanted to know about this reader's connection to the RW. "How do you get the paper? Who do you get it from? Who do you give your money to?" Just friendly, informal questions.

But as much as their class sucks the blood of the working class and oppressed people throughout the world, you won't find them asleep in their coffins during the daylight. They too, have much "work" to do. Others have been visited. And among the now usual questions concerning the RCP members and leadership, are interspersed questions about the networks of the RW. "Who else do you know that reads the paper? Where do they live, where do they work? Where do you go to get the papers? Who brings them to you? How many papers do you get out?" These questions are usually accompanied by some type of threat, either direct or implied that only "cooperation" will prevent further trouble.

The conspiracy around the RW is spreading; digging deeper political roots among the oppressed and exploited. It is this, that the authorities

are reacting to. While they loudly proclaim that the RCP is insignificant ("RW? What's that, somebody's initials?") two people are charged with "advocating the overthrow of the government" in Atlanta for putting up posters about the *Revolutionary Worker* ("Create Public Opinion... Seize Power" posters). And these recent visits, far from showing the "see all, know all" invulnerability of the authorities, reveal that they're having a hard time "keeping up" among the growing numbers of co-conspirators. The political police are finding it more difficult to dig up the roots of this revolutionary conspiracy that is spreading, growing stronger, healthier and more resistant. We still have work to do in getting this paper into the hands of people all over this country. However, as far as this snooping and these attacks go, a few things should be kept in mind.

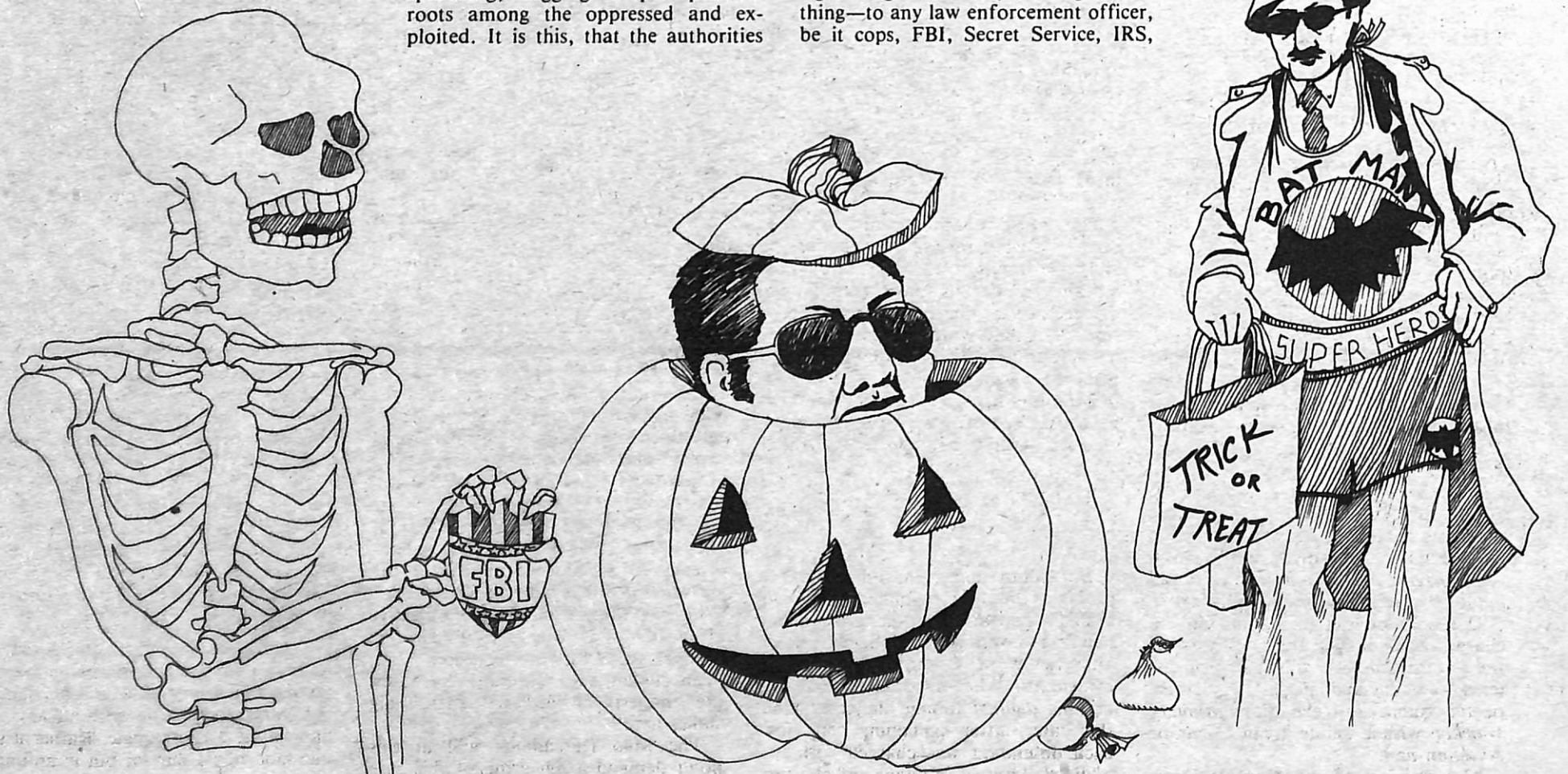
First—DON'T TALK. Go back and read the "Don't Talk" article in RW No. 42 (February 22, 1980). As it says:

"Don't say anything. Just say 'Go Away' and slam the door. You have no legal obligation to say a thing—not a thing—to any law enforcement officer, be it cops, FBI, Secret Service, IRS,

Military Intelligence, or whatever low-life snoops they send around. Even if you are arrested, all you are legally obligated to tell them is your name and address. If you do say anything—anything at all—it will definitely cause harm to your friends, the revolutionary movement and the Party, and most likely you'll just end up in worse trouble yourself. Of course, the cops will tell you the opposite to get you to talk—but they're lying. Don't be fooled. They need the information—all you need to do is be silent."

And further: "The rule of refusing to answer any questions whatsoever, refusing to engage in any conversation—'unconnected' to what you may feel to be significant matters, and terminating the encounter with a quick 'go away' followed by slamming the door (or in the event of a station-house interrogation, simply maintaining one's silence) is the ONLY correct course of action

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# "Psychic" Bloodhound Let Loose on Atlanta Black Community

In a week of unprecedented hoopla, the tarnished star of Atlanta's mostly Black power structure is claiming that the end is near in the year long "search" for the murderers of 15 Black youth. These claims, being spread far and wide by such prestigious news sources as the "Today" show and "20-20," rest mostly on the so-called "powers" of one Dorothy Allison, a much heralded "psychic" from New Jersey. It would be comical that city officials had resorted to idiotic ravings of some maniac to solve these brutal murders in which the combined forces of the FBI, the GBI (Georgia Bureau of Investigation), the city and county police forces have been unable to uncover even the first "suspect," except that this is a direct continuation and an attempted coverup of the vicious national oppression that Black people face and that is so starkly exemplified by these murders. And especially, it is an act of desperation by the officials of this "model city" and a frantic ploy to maintain "racial harmony" as this great fanfare of activity is being used to sidetrack the growing anger that erupted last week, when four children and one teacher were killed in a highly suspect explosion at an all-Black day care center. In fact, news of the developments in the explosion have taken second place to the massive onslaught of blabbering about the pros and cons of this magical mystery tour by psychic Allison.

While this psychic wanders hand in hand with the Chief of Police through the neighborhoods where the four missing children were last seen (11 bodies have already been found), the tailing press corps prints every absurd generality she utters. Of course, the psychic doesn't say too much—she doesn't want the suspects "to know how much she knows," and she constantly berates the press, "this is police work!" But so far, her "powers" have produced stories strikingly similar to the same stories the police department has been spewing for months. She is *positive* the suspects are Black, she "just senses it strongly." The cops haven't been quite so blatant, they can't be, since they have no proof and since so many people are convinced there must be a racial motivation for these killings. They have so far merely hinted at that. In a neat little film for school children the police prepared on what to do if attacked, in each segment and in each of the various possible assaults, the attacker was Black. How nice to have Mrs. Allison to confirm this for them with her "powers." She's also *positive* that there is no racial motivation involved; it's "probably the work of a father grieving over the loss of his own son," she says. Again, these "powers" fit nicely with the pleas of the police to the many outraged people to stay calm, pleas that these murders are merely the work of some derailed individual who will be found soon.

Coupled with this mystical nonsense that has merely given the cops a mouth-

## Clairvoyant calls Atlanta killer black



DOROTHY ALLISON  
"He won't murder while I'm here."

From Sun-Times Wires

ATLANTA—A New Jersey housewife who claims clairvoyant powers said Tues-

day that the killer of 15 children is also black, and he won't murder while I'm

"I will have complete control," said Dorothy Allison, who came to Atlanta at police expense. Allison said the killer is in the metropolitan area.

"I see where he is," said Nutley, N.J. "I follow him, my little angels—and that's my little angels—and gets Allison also said she was missing children with the police and firefighters, tinued door-to-door canvass and reward money for t

more than \$140,000. An 11 p.m. curfew for children younger than 15 was imposed Monday by the city council.

### A couple of the slimy tactics being used to try to stave off potential rebellion and rebuild Atlanta's tarnished "model" image.

piece to say what they want to, has been a side of the police work in this case which is closer to their real role. Almost 800 uniformed cops and firemen have been stalking the neighborhood and will be there daily for the next six weeks, ostensibly handing out literature about the murders and seeking clues. This force is also responsible for enforcing a 90-day 11:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. curfew for youth under 15. Their presence itself is like a heavy cloud over the city, a heavy cloud ready to blow toward any rebellious area on a minute's notice.

Although one cop let it slip out that "it's all a show," this force in the streets has served yet another purpose. This open force of repression has marched along hand in hand with notorious local reformists—quite as good a couple as the police chief and psychic. Weekend searches of areas near the homes of the missing youths have been organized by city councilmen—directed by the police department—which have approached all areas of the city, Black, white, rich, poor, recruiting Boy Scouts, clubs, etc., etc., to help find the missing youths. Just the people and the people's friends, the police, joining forces to do what has to be done. As the line from the council goes, "No one is saying the police aren't doing their job, but in the thick underbrush like this it would take a foot by foot search." Of course, the media had a field-day with all this. Most who joined the searches have been sincerely anxious to put an end to the murders, and some joined because they think the cops can't—or won't—solve them.

The first day, a young child's skeleton was found by one team in exactly the place where she should have been found months earlier, since that location fit a pattern. And, of course, the future searches will be in equally well chosen places. The authorities have made much ado about this, even sending such notables as Andrew Young's wife to poke around in the brush. How



### Cash reward for clues in Atlanta murders

Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson (center) is flanked by security men Wednesday as he displays a \$100,000 stack of cash collected as a reward for information about the city's missing and murdered children. Ten have been slain and four are missing in the last 15 months. (AP)

our fair city has pulled together, they brag!

And pull together, certain forces surely have. Once the authorities recognized the great possibility of an explosion of the swelling anger, they sprang into action. Central Atlanta Progress, a group of local capitalists, started a fund drive to raise the money to rebuild the destroyed day care center. The mayor (pleased at being upstaged by the psychic) held a press conference, behind a stack of \$100,000 in small bills—the reward that he hopes will lead to the capture of the murderers. "Money talks," he cried. And all of a sudden the whole city was being mobilized to do something about these murdered children. When the police chief was questioned about the "slowness" of this response—since it was a year in coming—he harped, "In a city with a Black mayor, police chief, etc., we certainly couldn't be accused of being slow, since it was Black children."

Powers bigger than local ones have been in on these strategies, too. The amount of national news being given to these events is a sharp exposure of just how dear is the "illusion of equality" for Black people that Atlanta represents nationwide. Their outright promotion of this "psychic" solution is testimony to the complete inability of their system to do anything other than continue to heap degradation and oppression on the masses of people, no matter how much they say otherwise. The use of Mrs. Allison's "powers" in Atlanta is a fitting replica in miniature of their use of all mystical solutions to the misery of the system (from the Pope to Jim

Jones).

Is there such a thing as psychic powers which can somehow mysteriously solve these brutal murders? Of course, say the cops and the psychics and the others who want to pull the wool over people's eyes and who are desperate to take the fire off themselves. Of course not, say the experts, but to quote one, "A police chief who didn't use them could come under political pressure for not using every alternative." But even more, that this nonsense has become the underlying question is itself an outrage to many people in Atlanta and stands as a further sharp exposure which no powers—psychic or otherwise—can obscure.

In a biting postscript, the Atlanta Bar Association, that well-known lawyers' group, has unveiled the statue they will erect in the downtown Atlanta central city park—the culmination of their "Give Our Police a Hand" week here. This prestigious group had to date contributed to the work of solving the murders of the Atlanta youth by raising money for the children of slain cops (no doubt to boost the morale of these cops who were taking so much flack from the people). The Bar commissioned a local artist to build a fitting memorial. The plaque will read, "In honor of the brave service and dedication of Atlanta police officers," standing above molten bronze clasped hands cast from the clasped hands of an Atlanta cop and a 3-year-old child.

This bitter artistic comment will surely receive the just praise it deserves. □

## Halloween-Eve Advice

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because it is the only method which almost completely denies information to the enemy. The only thing they learn is that you will not talk. From this they will, of course, draw their own conclusions. If you talk at all, it will mean three things: First, they will obtain information. Even though what you say may seem insignificant to you, it may very well be the piece of the puzzle they need or it may confirm or negate other information. Second, it will encourage them to continue this questioning with others. Thirdly, if they size you up as a patsy, they'll milk you for everything they can get."

Your encounter with them should be reported. No matter how brief it was because of your refusal to talk to them, it is important that the facts surrounding this encounter, along with anything said or asked by these vermin be known by the Party. Even any knowledge you have of "visits" or interrogations of other people you know, even if its just being stopped in the street for a few minutes, must be made known. Our enemy compiles information, analyzes, summarizes and acts on a nationwide basis. The ranks of the revolutionaries, in no less of a way, should sum up and act on a nationwide basis as well. No matter how trivial or

seemingly insignificant some of these encounters or questions asked might seem, when put together with other information around the country, they may prove to be very important. As soon as possible, you should let your RW distributor know about this.

We still have a ways to go in professionalizing and training ourselves. In one case, hand delivered newspapers were left in a mailbox a few times. When a mail carrier had trouble getting mail into the mailbox, he reported to the main post office that these particular newspapers were preventing him from delivering the mail. The postal authorities notified the FBI when learning it was the *Revolutionary Worker*. The enthusiasm of the

masses for revolution and socialism can be brought to bear on this question, in strengthening the distribution apparatus of the RW. This is not merely a question of "protecting yourself" but of strengthening our ability to spread this conspiracy broadly right under the noses of the capitalists. We have some work to do on this front as well.

So this Halloween you may see more than little Spiders, Darth Vaders, witches and ghosts at your door. Other creatures may be lurking. But there is a far greater "force" that is out and about. Increasingly, what is haunting the capitalists, worldwide, including here in the U.S. is the spectre of revolution. □



# Roosevelt

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The first act of Roosevelt in office was to save the banks. An emergency session of Congress was called and Roosevelt was given almost total power to regulate the currency. A national bank holiday was proclaimed, the withdrawal or transportation of gold was prohibited, all government promises to pay in gold were repudiated, and in a matter of a couple months the dollar was devalued by about 50% and the volume of the currency doubled. This enabled the government to pump millions of the new dollars into the remaining banks and they in turn paid off their depositors in the devalued money.

Next Roosevelt tackled the agricultural situation, particularly the major cash crop of cotton. The thrust of the Agricultural Adjustment Act (May, 1933) was to maintain the price levels of cotton and other major crops by reducing production and allowing "marketing agreements" among the producers (i.e. joint agreements to sell only at a predetermined price). Under the AAA, the government actually began to pay big farmers *not* to produce food, at the very moment when tens of thousands of Americans out of work were going to bed hungry. The government also undertook to protect the larger farmers from mortgage foreclosures, while a program was set up to "resettle" subsistence farmers onto homesteads.

Also in 1933 the New Deal established the National Recovery Administration (NRA). The NRA was supposed to promote industrial recovery by a voluntary resumption of production in each industry under the terms of a "code" to be drawn up by the representatives of labor and management in the industry. Each company which complied with the code was entitled to display the famous blue eagle symbol. The codes covered not only wages and working conditions but also prices, production and market allocations. Thus in one blow, even the token restraints of the anti-trust legislation were blown away. The boards drawing up the codes were of course dominated by the giants in each industry. They set prices, restricted production and divided up the markets among themselves, and established "minimum wages" (in reality maximum wages) far beyond even the depressed wage levels of 1933. Thus for example, in the textile industry code the minimum wage was set at \$12.00 a week in the south—about 35¢ an hour at the 35-hour week common during the Depression. Everywhere the NRA codes slashed wages while consumer prices in the inflated currency began to rise. Employers proudly displayed their blue eagles with the words "We do our part."

The response of the working class was immediate and direct. A massive strike wave swept the country in 1934. In the textile industry, where the strike was directed as much against the NRA code as against the individual employers, there were pitched battles between strikers and National Guard troops. The first sit-down strike, the Auto-Lite strike in Toledo, also brought in troops. Cops shot 67 people in one battle alone in the Minneapolis Teamsters strike, while on the west coast San Francisco was ripped by a general strike. This mighty upsurge forced the ruling class to make a tactical retreat. The NRA was withdrawn, but in a manner not to embarrass or weaken Roosevelt—the law was declared unconstitutional.

In an attempt to diffuse the situation, the bourgeoisie offered up the Wagner Act, supposedly guaranteeing the right of workers to organize, and the social security system, guarantee of a pension at age 65. A great deal is always made of the Wagner Act and Roosevelt's "path-breaking" support for the right of workers to organize, yet this also was nothing new. Already at the turn of the century, Mark Hanna and his national Civic Federation had discovered the virtues of according labor leaders the status of "fellow businessmen," rather than hounding them as dangerous criminal elements. The impetus was even greater now to pursue the bourgeoisification of the trade unions. Capitalism was at its

weakest, in its greatest crisis. And with the first world war history had also ushered in the deathknell of the capitalist system itself—the Bolshevik revolution. Communist parties had spread across the globe as sections of the Communist International. And now in the depths of the crisis, Soviet Russia, the first working class state, forged out of the flames of the Russian Revolution in the end of World War 1, was humming and growing totally free of depression and unemployment. A true beacon light for workers and oppressed people around the world had been established. With the seeds of another inter-imperialist war already beginning to sprout, the stakes were very high.

The principal aim of the Wagner Act was political, to stabilize things in a very volatile situation ("labor peace through law" was the slogan of the NLRB). But like all concessions by the ruling class, the "right-to-organize" was also aimed at eventually taking away more than it was forced to give. Not only did the workers have to fight tooth and nail to actually realize the right, but the sum total of the New Deal labor legislation simultaneously made illegal mass picketing and secondary boycotts, and after strikes in auto, the sit-down strike was also outlawed. Thus in return for giving an NLRB election the capitalist class outlawed all the principal forms of mass economic struggle. The Communist Party however, failed to expose all this, instead running around printing up handbills with such slogans as, "Join the Union, President Roosevelt wants you to."

For the unemployed, which amounted to about 1/4 of the work force, the New Deal measured out relief with an eye dropper: Respecting "state's rights" all direct forms of relief were handled by state governments assisted by some very small federal grants. The major federal attempt at relief was the WPA which hired the unemployed to construct local public works like roads, bridges, airports, sewers and public buildings. Yet even at its peak in 1938, the WPA provided jobs for no more than 1/3 of the unemployed.

And it was not until 1938 that the New Deal passed a national minimum wage: 25¢ an hour. In 1938 the average hourly wage in manufacturing was 62¢ an hour. The minimum wage law was nothing more than a license to owners to try to drive wages lower.

In 1932 Blacks who were enfranchised voted in great majority for Herbert Hoover. This was a legacy of the Civil War and Reconstruction, and indeed the Republican platform even called for equality for Blacks while the Democratic platform did not. The first immediate effect of the New Deal on Blacks was the displacement of many Black workers as the result of NRA codes and some Black writers scornfully remarked that NRA stood for "Negroes Ruined Again." The '20s had seen a reorganization of the KKK and the rise of lynchings, and there was a persistent demand for a national anti-lynch law. Although many such laws were introduced in Congress, Roosevelt refused to support any of them, claiming it would jeopardize the whole program of the New Deal. During Roosevelt's 4 terms as president, not one piece of civil rights legislation ever passed Congress.

More significant, many of the New Deal programs were blatantly Jim Crow. There were racial quotas for the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and Blacks were barred from living in the TVA model town of Norris. In 1934, the revolutionary Black poet Langston Hughes wrote:

I can't get a job  
and I can't get no grub.  
Backbone and navels'  
Doin' the belly rub—  
A waitin' on Roosevelt  
Roosevelt, Roosevelt

And a lot o' other folks  
What hungry and cold  
Done stopped believin'  
What they been told  
by Roosevelt,  
Roosevelt, Roosevelt—

Yet Roosevelt actively courted the Black vote, principally by the time-honored method of all capitalist politicians—appointing a few Black faces to high places.

This, combined with the fact that millions of Blacks survived the Depression only because of WPA jobs and government relief, brought the Black vote over wholesale from the Republicans to the Democrats by the end of the 1930s.

Since the causes of the Depression were rooted deeply in the capitalist system, nothing that the New Deal did had the slightest effect on it nor could the New Deal have ended the Depression in a million years. The driving force of capitalism is the reproduction and accumulation of capital constantly increasing its exploitation of the people and finding new blood to suck. Capital had grown to the point where the division of the world at that time among the various imperialist powers had to change. For the U.S. imperialists whole new sections of the globe had to be opened up to profitable investment *through world war*. Only this could begin a new cycle of reproduction and accumulation.

The statistics of the Depression years demonstrate this graphically. Looking at the non-farm labor force unemployed, they go like this:

1931—25.1%	1936—25.4%
1932—36.3%	1937—21.3%
1933—37.6%	1938—27.9%
1934—32.6%	1939—25.2%
1935—30.2%	1940—21.3%

Then production for the war in Europe began, and unemployment statistics go like this:

1941—14.4%
1942—6.8%
1943—2.7%
1944—1.7%

As for Roosevelt's foreign policy, the government of the New Deal loudly proclaimed its "good neighbor" policy toward Latin America. Yet good neighbor Roosevelt's first act in 1933 was to dispatch an armada of 30 U.S. warships to Cuba to express U.S. displeasure with a new Cuban government. Having served as Undersecretary of the Navy in Woodrow Wilson's administration, Roosevelt had been up to his eyeballs in gunboat diplomacy. He even boasted to friends that he had written Haiti's constitution! When the government of Mexico nationalized the Mexican petroleum industry in 1938, Roosevelt approved a boycott of Mexican silver and the U.S. moved in the international currency market to destroy the value of the Mexican peso. Roosevelt also turned down all appeals to aid the Spanish republic against the fascist revolt led by Franco.

But the principal aspect of Roosevelt's foreign policy was preparation for the coming world war. In 1934, Roosevelt began a naval arms race with Japan. With the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939, Roosevelt called a special session of the Congress to revise the Neutrality Act to allow belligerents to purchase arms from the U.S. provided they came and got them (called cash and carry). But since England controlled the sea lanes, in reality the new law was aimed at supporting one side only under the cover of neutrality. In 1940, Roosevelt called

for and got the nation's first peacetime draft and began "lend lease" to England. In early 1941, Roosevelt ordered U.S. troops to occupy Greenland and Iceland and to shoot on sight German submarines in the Atlantic.

Yet throughout the 1930s the U.S. also provided vital fuel and scrap steel for Japan's buildup and the invasion of China, conceding China to Japan's sphere of influence provided the U.S. retained trading rights. Only when Japan invaded French Indochina attempting a fundamental redivision of colonies in the Pacific, did the U.S. act. In July of 1941, Roosevelt declared an oil embargo on Japan. When the U.S. refused to lift the embargo, the Japanese attacked the U.S. fleet at Pearl Harbor in December and the U.S. was *officially* in the war. A war from which it emerged virtually unscathed, and the undisputed dominant capitalist power.

The concessions which the ruling class was forced to grant to the workers in the 1930s, limited as they were, were directly connected with the preparations for war. While nothing short of victory in the coming war could create the conditions for fundamental recovery, it was necessary and at that time *possible* (on the basis of a heating up war economy) to come to terms of a sort with the working class and create the general appearance of a popular, pro-labor government. The delaying of the formal U.S. entry into the war while firing up the economy with war production for both sides ("the arsenal of democracy" Roosevelt dubbed the U.S.) conveniently provided the appearance of real recovery, put people back to work, and solidified the leadership of the capitalist class after a very difficult decade.

Thus ever since the period of Franklin Roosevelt there has been an endless effort by the ruling class to build him (and the Democratic Party) up into some kind of savior of the poor and working people. And because of the overall strengthened position of the U.S. after World War 2, they have been able to get over with this among many, relying on the superficial appearances of the way things went down. But the Roosevelt myth is not only a lie, but a dangerous deception, a trap.

Neither Franklin Roosevelt nor the rest of his class ever gave the working class or the masses of people anything out of the goodness of their hearts or because they had anything but the greatest fear, disdain, and hatred for those they lord over. Any concessions (as small as they were) that have been given and were able to be given to the struggle of the people has only been out of sheer political necessity and in fact with the specific purpose of exacting far greater political gains than any short term economic loss they may have received. This lesson, well demonstrated by the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie during Roosevelt's presidency, should serve as just one more in a long list of reasons for taking every possible opportunity, including their four-year election charade where they turn up their myth machine full blast, to prepare to end their rule at the soonest possible time. □

## This System Is Doomed Let's Finish It Off!

Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party at May Day rally, May 5, 1979 in Washington D.C. Includes historic call for revolutionary May Day demonstrations on May 1st 1980.

### Workers' Responses

"I've heard them all—I've even heard Malcolm X—but I've never heard anything like this!"

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# 100 FLOWERS

Continued from page 5

understand how fast it's changing, and that the imperceptible quantitative changes going on beneath the surface will soon burst forth as qualitative changes both in the state of the world and the state of people's thinking) it takes more than a few months to bring forward the quality of people we're talking about bringing forward. Just look around at the comrades who are relatively new and who are advancing, or even just "sticking it out." We're talking about years, not months. Remember how hard it was to convince people that May Day would make a difference? And some people would argue that a demonstration (which is simplifying what May 1st was about) is easier to understand than distributing a paper.

My feeling is that 100,000 is something to shoot for, perhaps a year, but it will take time to implement. I know we're in a race against time, but we're not dealing with speeding up a production line, we're talking about changing people's minds. I agree that the current level of distribution is too low, and that even taking all the negative factors into consideration, we would just be piddling along with our radical plans if we didn't get our distribution up into the 100,000 neighborhood in the near future. Also, this quota is not "bourgeois shit" as one reader correspondent put it because what that figure represents is not "more papers," but a qualitatively higher level of organization. Don't get hung up on numbers. Right now in the city I'm from, more papers are sold by "the regulars" going out in teams—street sales—than are sold through networks. That ratio is backwards. If the majority of our share of the 100,000 were distributed through networks rather than street sales, it would be like going from sandlot scrimmaging to big league ball.

Speaking of shit for a minute, what I would call "bureaucratic shit" or "promoting production before grasping revolution" is when extra boxes of papers show up at our pick-up point every week starting last Fall with the call to double distribution (that headline sounded more like a command than a call). I mean we had papers coming out our ass; hundreds and hundreds of papers we didn't ask for and had no way of selling short of everyone quitting their job and doing nothing but going door to door 18 hours a day, 7 days a week. It's very frustrating, you know; you struggle with existing networks (which are fragile) to take more papers, you spend more time on the street, try to get more names. And during the course of visiting different comrades you pass by the unsold half boxes of papers as you go up the stairs. This is demoralizing.

My suggestion is that we set our sights on a longer, two-pronged campaign. One part aimed at the advanced. In this regard, no one can take anything away from the Party leadership on their attention to reprinting key articles from Lenin or writing up pamphlets like "Create Public Opinion." What we need to do is develop the use of this material more. The second part should be aimed at creating public opinion about the newspaper. The *RW* has to be a social question. Every new outrage or maneuver by the superpowers should cause the masses to wonder "what does the RCP have to say about all this? I know Walter Concrete is telling only half the story, what's goin' down?" Why not one million leaflets or a series of leaflets about the *RW* like we did to kick off the May Day campaign? Think of all the people we can reach. Maybe we can stir up so much shit that the reactionaries will call one of their caveman marches like the American flag march held in Youngstown after the May Day Brigade was there, only this time they'll carry TV Guide and the daily paper. Why not posters (in addition to the present one) and stickers about the *RW* like we have about the *Draft New Programme*, with people reading the paper or selling it? Also, what ever happened to *RW* forums?

One last note. Freedom is the recognition of necessity. What is the necessity with regard to increasing *RW* networks? Can someone elaborate on this principle and tie it in with the problem we're facing here?

Signed,  
Someone Who's Got 100% But Isn't Putting It Out

Comrades,

This is most certainly a critical juncture in the class struggle, and we are proud to be a part of the 100 Flowers campaign—to be a part of the struggle in which the correct line of the Party and the Chairman will surely win and lead to great leaps in the revolutionary proletariat's ability to seize the opportunities that lie before us.

In this light, we would like to respond to the third letter in issue No. 74 (Oct. 3, 1980), "Debate Opens on 100,000 Campaign—Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend."

This letter is important to respond to because in raising and answering the questions "... what kind of influence does the Party need in order to successfully lead an armed revolution? ..." it sharply focuses an incorrect, economist line in opposition to the Party's central task, "Create Public Opinion, Seize Power."

More generally, the letter reveals a line totally opposed to the heart of Marxism, the dynamic role of consciousness—the truth that when grasped by the masses, the Party's revolutionary line becomes a powerful material force to change the world.

In other words, while the letter begins by saying "The point is not to deny the ripening of these contradictions that have been building up within the far-flung empire of U.S. imperialism since the last world war," it fails to grasp the implications of what this means for the international proletariat, what this means for the possibilities of revolutionary situations developing in many countries as well as in the U.S.—and most importantly it totally negates the fact that as the objective situation develops, it is exactly possible for the Party to play a decisive role in winning the masses to see the necessity of proletarian revolution and lead them forward to seizing these opportunities.

Right off the bat, there is no mention of the dynamic role of the Party and the class-conscious forces acting on today's ripening situation, except to claim we're overestimating the revolutionary aspects. Compare this static view with the Chairman's description of the central task in the "Reply to the Black Nationalist With Communistic Inclinations" (*RW* No. 75): "The most important form of revolutionary activity now is the consistent carrying out of Marxist agitation and propaganda to raise the consciousness of the masses, and first and foremost to rally forward the advanced workers (and revolutionary-minded people from other strata) as a class-conscious force for the proletarian revolution. On this basis, and in close interrelationship with it, it is also crucial to support—and to learn from and popularize among the masses the lessons of—the protests and outbreaks of rebellion of the masses, and especially again to activate the advanced workers as a tremendous material force and influence in such events and in society and political struggle in general. It is in these ways above all that the greatest preparation can be made for the time when it will be possible to lead the broadest ranks of the working class and other masses in the armed struggle for political power and beyond that for the continuing struggle, once power is seized, to rule and transform society in the interests of the proletariat and as a base area for its international revolutionary struggle."

The letter doesn't come out openly and attack this elaboration of the central task, ("Create Public Opinion... Seize Power") although its clear appeal is for us to salvage the situation by getting behind whatever spontaneous struggle is out there and try and lead it. What it does attack is the whole analysis of the possibility of "coming from behind..." and tries to use the Bolsheviks to do it.

In fighting for a completely determinist vision of the future, this letter distorts the experience of the Bolshevik revolution. In responding, we want to go back and deepen our understanding of the political line Lenin was fighting for, both in summing up the lessons of the 1905 revolution and in preparing for the revolutionary situation that the coming of World War I was likely to bring. The line in this letter is not a new attack on revolutionary Marxism. Listen to Lenin, in his "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution," and tell us he isn't struggling with the same "innocent doubts."

Lenin points to the revolutionary possibilities as seen by one of the reformist leaders of that time, only two days (!) before the outbreak of the 1905 revolution—"there is not yet a revolutionary people in Russia"... the idea that an illiterate peasant country could produce a revolutionary people seemed utterly absurd to this 'highly educated,' supercilious and extremely stupid leader of the bourgeois reformists. So deep was the conviction of the reformists of those days—as of the reformists of today—that a real revolution was impossible!

"Prior to January 22, 1905, the revolutionary party of Russia consisted of a small group of people, and the reformists of those days (exactly like the reformists of today) derisively called us a 'sect.' Several hundred revolutionary organizers, several thousand members of local organizations, half a dozen revolutionary papers appearing not more frequently than once a month, published mainly abroad and smuggled into Russia with incredible difficulty and at the cost of many sacrifices—such were the revolutionary parties in Russia, and the revolutionary Social-Democracy in particular, prior to January 22, 1905. This circumstance gave the narrow-minded and overbearing reformists formal justification for their claim that there was not yet a revolutionary people in Russia.

"Within a few months, however, the picture changed completely. The hundreds of revolutionary Social-Democrats 'suddenly' grew into thousands; the thousands became the leaders of between 2 and 3 million proletarians. The proletarian struggle produced widespread ferment, often revolutionary movements among the peasant masses, 50 to 100 million strong; the peasant movement had its reverberations in the army and led to soldiers' revolts, to armed clashes between one section of the army and another. In this manner a colossal country, with a population of 130 million, went into the revolution; in this way dormant Russia was transformed into a Russia of a revolutionary proletariat and a revolutionary people." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 237-238)

What Lenin goes on to sum up is the historic lessons of 1905. In a matter of months the whole face of the country changed. The masses were drawn into political struggle; things were up for grabs. "How great the dormant energy of the proletariat can be." People, who months before had been relatively passive and indifferent to politics, now came together in meetings of thousands to debate the questions of the day and the road forward. And "the finest elements of the working class marched in the forefront, giving leadership to the hesitant, rousing the dormant, and encouraging the weak." It was precisely the advanced, class-conscious workers that had been prepared and trained through the work of the Party who stepped forward (not in their own narrow interests, but) in the interests of the oppressed masses and challenged the rule of the Tsar. And, in doing so, they shook up and drew in the broadest, even the more backward, sections of the working class—then numbers of the peasantry and finally sections of the "firmest and last prop of Tsarism—the army."

But the revolution was defeated—though only temporarily. And it is of particular importance for us to learn from what Lenin sums up as a major reason for this defeat. What he repeatedly stresses is (and here he is referring to the rebel sailors of the Potemkin releasing officers they had imprisoned), "What they lack is persistence, a clear perception of aim, a clear understanding that only the most vigorous continuation of the armed struggle, only a victory over all the military and civil authorities, only the overthrow of the government and the seizure of power throughout the country could guarantee the success of the revolution." ("They allowed the officers to pacify them by promises and persuasion; in this way the officers gained precious time, brought in reinforcements, broke the strength of the rebels, and then followed the most brutal suppression of the movement and the execution of its leaders." (Vol. 23, p. 245)

One thing he is summing up here is the question of the necessity for the Bolsheviks and the revolutionary proletariat to work to increase their influence, but what is key to understand is what kind of influence he's talking about. Over and over again, he sums up—the masses rose up in revolt, hit back at the oppressor, took power here and there; but the battle was not organized, sustained or thorough enough. In other words, the level of class consciousness, the extent to which the working class and the masses had been trained to analyze and respond to "all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence, and abuse, no matter what class is affected" from a communist point of view and no other, was clearly decisive. "The task is to keep the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat tense and train its best elements, not only in a general way, but concretely, so that when popular ferment reaches the highest pitch, they will put themselves at the head of the revolutionary army." (Vol. 23, p. 246)

Nowhere does he reduce the question of influence down to how many people the Bolsheviks had around them prior to 1905—or what role they were playing in the spontaneous struggles, the main questions the author of the letter seems infatuated with.

But do the lessons of the 1905 revolution that Lenin sums up, about the potential for rapid and dramatic changes in the situation and in the mood of the masses and the influence of the revolutionary forces, apply to our situation? Yes they do!—once you look beneath the surface of the tremendous forces coming to a head, forces which are going to throw U.S. imperialism on the front lines of world war in a desperate effort to defend its far-flung and rotting empire. We are entering a decade where, as Stalin says in *Foundations of Leninism*, "The significance of the imperialist war which broke out ten years ago lies, among other things, in the fact that it gathered all these contradictions (between labor and capital, between different imperialists, and imperialist powers, and between the imperialists and oppressed people of the world) into a single knot and threw them onto the scales, thereby accelerating and facilitating the revolutionary battles of the proletariat." Isn't this what we saw develop (and what continues to develop) in Iran? The tremendous contradictions of imperialist exploitation in league with reactionary feudal forces all were sharpened up as U.S. imperialism desperately tried to stave off crisis in the '70s—bringing the revolutionary situation to a head. And as the imperialists gamble to regain their grip on Iran in order to position themselves for war, it actually draws the masses of people forward, and gives a taste of the possibility that a war does not have to end the way it begins. What's happened in Iran, what we see developing in revolutions in Nicaragua as well as the rebellions in the Soviet bloc, are not flukes but exactly the result of this crisis maturing. It is the working out of the laws of capitalism, not in exception to those laws; in crisis it brings forward and into motion its gravediggers and, when imperialism is at its weakest, provides the real possibility of breaking through.

But if the class-conscious forces are to be in a position to take advantage of the opportunities shaping up, we have to grasp the life-and-death nature of the battle we're engaged in. Lenin's summation of 1905, that the defeat of the revolution was a result of the limitations of the consciousness of the masses

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# Rulers Fearful of "Voter Phobia"

When you see Carter, Reagan, and other lying, warmongering politicians pollute your TV screen, do you show certain physical signs of distress? Perhaps you yell uncontrollably, or throw objects, endangering both your TV and others present. And when a precinct captain comes to your door to urge you to come out and vote, does your face become flushed and your hands start to form a fist unconsciously? Up to this point, only public ignorance has allowed these vital warning signs to be lightly disregarded or misdiagnosed as just "politics."

Now in a recent article, the respected *Washington Post* has revealed the existence of a tragic new disease, heretofore overlooked by medical science. And a timely discovery it is. Not since President Gerald Ford's quick action to save the nation from Swine Flu just before the 1976 election has medical science made such a striking contribution to the national health and well being. Pending agreement by scientists on a formal scientific description, the new disease is being referred to informally as "voting phobia," or simply "fear of

voting."

The exclusive *Washington Post* article interviewed several who suffer from the affliction and covered their heroic attempts to overcome it and lead normal, productive lives. "I asked the woman at the polling place to explain how the machine works," said Jane, a 41-year-old woman from Chevy Chase. "I remember not being able to hear her, my anxiety was so high. I wanted out of there, and yet I felt a tremendous obligation to vote. The rest of it was a blur, I voted, but only for president. I was unable to stay in the booth any longer."

The *Post* goes on to describe the major symptoms of voting phobia as "a sudden surge of fear accompanied by heart palpitation, shortness of breath, and a general feeling of disorientation." Another heroic voter interviewed was Phyllis Freeman of Chevy Chase. "I pull the damn curtain and go like hell, hitting all the things I checked off on the sample ballot. Sometimes I didn't make them all. Fear had overcome me."

Of course not all the victims are able

to cope with their affliction as well as Jane or Phyllis. "Once I got all the way up to the voting booth," reported Ruth, a 48-year-old Alexandria housewife. "The lines were very long, the anxiety started to build. When I got inside, I couldn't close the curtain on myself. I became so panic-stricken, I wanted to walk away as fast as I could."

"I made myself go," said another, obviously trying to lead the normal happy life that others can enjoy. "It was crowded, I signed my name, so I felt trapped. I stood in line. It was hot. I felt like I was going to faint, or fall over. Finally, when I was fifth in line, I left."

But thanks to the enlightened attitude of modern science, such stories as these need no longer end in the tragedy of failure to complete the act (*votus interruptus* in scientific language). The Phobia Program of Washington will be offering specially trained counselors who will accompany fearful voters to the polls on Election Day for \$25 an hour. "It's fear of closed booths, crowds of people, waiting in line, sign-

ing their name, and physically getting there," says Jerilyn Ross of the Phobia Program. "Just about every phobia comes into play."

Only a few years ago, articles like the *Post's* report of the menace of voting phobia might more likely have appeared in *MAD* or the *National Lampoon*. But this year the appearance of such a silly attempt to explain the disgust and anger around the elections put forward seriously as if we were supposed to actually believe it shows the desperation of a parasitic class forced by the necessities of their system to desperately get a "mandate of the people" at the polls for their feverish war plans and their whole system. Yet the latest Gallup Polls predict a voter turnout of at most 51%, still the lowest since 1948. It would seem that the phobia here is on the other foot. And what will they do, what new Freudian term will they invent when they see people spitting on their whole con game on November 4th, not simply staying away from the polling places but taking political action saying "Down with this whole putrid system and all its candidates."

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at the forefront of the revolutionary storms, should underline the urgency of the leap to 100,000 co-conspirators. The material force of the Party's revolutionary line grasped by growing numbers of workers has got to be felt. And beyond that, at the same time as this newspaper is broadly creating revolutionary public opinion and doing battle with the bourgeoisie among ever broader numbers of the masses, it is forging in its wake the revolutionary organization of co-conspirators who will increasingly be trained through the paper to respond in a class-conscious way to all events in society, preparing through all the twists and turns of the class struggle for the time when the highest form of "response" will be possible—the organized, sustained and thorough armed struggle for power. (The letter's attack on the Chairman's Statement about the importance of building clandestine networks of course misses the point—these aren't just crucial for "getting the paper out," but are actually the lifelines of the revolutionary movement. Greatly expanding them now is both possible and decisive.)

It is burying our heads in the sand to think that there aren't already—in a certain sense—different armies on the field fighting for their line among the masses, or to hold out for the position that the outcome of the final battle, or any struggle along the way, has been decided. To take one small example... you can see it even today in the face of the bourgeoisie's whipping up of the "rise of the right" monster. This deliberate fabrication in order to beat down the masses awakening to political life and call out the dogs has got to be challenged and battled through. Aren't there in fact millions disgusted with the vile attempt of the ruling class to paint reaction and war as the will of the people? Who feel drawn forward to move against the reactionaries and blow holes in the lies of the bourgeoisie—and more—to bring down the whole rotten set-up?

As the Chairman wrote in "Crucial Questions in Coming From Behind," "It is both true and of great importance that today in the U.S. the work of our Party continues to seriously lag behind in its ability to give political guidance and leadership, not only to the outbreaks of protest and rebellion among non-proletarian strata and social movements, but specifically to the interests and requirements of the advanced workers." The challenge before us is clear. We can refuse to recognize that, independent of us, there are many in motion who are already debating these questions, and instead focus our attention on these backward neanderthals in the "right" because, as the bourgeoisie says—"they're what's arising and developing." Or we can come to grips with the fact that we are lagging behind the advanced—strive to meet their needs and requirements—and struggle to raise their hatred of the system and aspirations for an end to it to a class-conscious understanding, and bring them into the network of revolutionary co-conspirators. On that basis a powerful force for revolution will be unleashed among the masses more broadly.

Looked at beside even this brief summation of the Party's analysis and the necessity and urgency at this time for 100,000 co-conspirators—this letter becomes a powerful example that as we fight to win this battle for 100,000 co-conspirators, there must be a sharp struggle to defeat economism—the slavish cringing before the spontaneous struggle of the masses; the view that the road forward is to descend to and subordinate our work to the level of the aver-

age, where, "most people are at." (Thereby dooming the masses to reformism and capitulation.)

To being with, although the letter speaks to all the contradictions of imperialism coming to a head in this next period, and says it will probably produce turmoil and chaos, it is clear the writer feels all this will have little effect on the masses except to put them through the wringer. The possibility that millions will be jolted awake and drawn into political life, that dramatic changes in the mood of the masses are on the horizon? Absolutely none. The fact that these same developing contradictions have already brought forward millions who hate this system and want to do away with it? An overestimation of the revolutionary elements. As a reformist from 1905 looking at today would have put it, "The idea of a revolutionary people in an advanced imperialist country (top dog for the last 35 years)? This is utterly absurd. The bourgeoisie's hold on people is utterly too strong! The RCP is too small!"

It is from this "brutally materialist" analysis of the developing situation and the revolutionary potential of the masses that the writer proceeds to deal with the key question of "how to come from behind..."—and lo and behold, ends up in the swamp of economism: The Bolsheviks weren't way out in front of the struggle and isolated the way the Party is here. Just look at the "kind of political life and motion that was going on. May 1, 1913, 250,000 workers participated in political strikes in St. Petersburg, a city of 2 million..." the writer says. And he says, look at the "role the Bolsheviks were playing in the spontaneous upsurges of the working class..." Look at the militant tactical leadership that they were giving to these struggles, in solving the big questions that were posed at that time—"that the workers were exhausting themselves in political strikes and street demonstrations; that some means might have to be developed to coordinate the political strikes." In other words, the Bolsheviks had it made; all they had to do was tail behind the spontaneous struggle and wait for the revolution to fall into their laps.

By now people have probably guessed that this is not quite how Lenin viewed the situation. In fact both the articles the letter refers to were written as part of a continuing struggle against the Liquidators—Mensheviks who retreated in panic during the Stolypin reaction, repudiating the necessity of proletarian revolution and denying the possibility for it ever to arise. They fought to abolish, to liquidate, the illegal underground party of the Bolsheviks in favor of a new, legal (with the consent of the Tsar) party that would lead the fight for reforms.

While the Bolsheviks also took every opportunity to do "legal work," they fought to preserve and build an underground party, persisting in doing revolutionary work, particularly agitation and propaganda among the masses in preparation for a new rise in the tide of revolutionary struggle (which they saw as inevitable because of the basic contradictions of imperialism). What Lenin is fighting for in these articles is an understanding that the mass political strikes are developing as a part of the beginning of a new revolutionary upsurge among the masses. That not only had the oppression of the masses intensified, but the ruling classes were faced with a maturing political crisis affecting "the very foundation of the state system, and not just parts of it, which affects the foundation of the edifice and not an out-building, not merely one of its stories." That for the revolution to be successful there must be a revolutionary class "capable of transforming a passive state of oppression into an active state of revolt and insurrection." This could only be the

working class.

It is in this light that he summed up the significance of the May Day and other political strikes—"... this year has shown what a great and irreplaceable weapon for agitation among the masses, for rousing them, for drawing them into the struggle the Social-Democratic proletariat had forged for itself in the revolutionary epoch. The revolutionary mass-scale strike allowed the enemy neither rest nor respite. It also hit the enemy's purse, and in full view of the whole world it trampled in the mud the political prestige of the allegedly 'strong' Tsarist government. It enabled more and more sections of the workers to regain at least a small part of what had been achieved in 1905 and drew fresh sections of the working people, even the most backward, into the struggle." (Vol. 19, p. 220)

Lenin's summation is in opposition to all the moaning of the bourgeois reformers and liquidators that political reforms are the order of the day and the only road forward, "Crying out against a 'dangerous frittering away of forces', declaring that 'if strikes are used frequently, people will stop sympathizing with them', advancing the slogan 'Let us seek a different path' and 'Nothing is to begin by outbreaks.' (!?!)" (Vol. 18, p. 474) To which Lenin replied: "The workers will concentrate on deliberately supporting, strengthening, developing and consolidating the spontaneously growing revolutionary strikes to prepare the presence in the armed forces for a rising. If strikes exhaust the workers, they should be carried out intermittently, enabling some of the forces to rest while the forces that are rested or 'fresh' are roused to take up the struggle. Shorter strikes should be called. Occasionally strikes should be replaced by demonstrations. But the important thing is that strikes, meetings, and demonstrations should take place continuously, that the whole peasantry and the armed forces should know of the workers' stubborn fight, and that the countryside—even the most out of the way corners of it—should see that there is unrest in the towns, that 'there' people have risen in revolt, that they are waging a life-and-death struggle, that they are fighting for a better life, for higher pay, for an end to the outrages and tyranny of the authorities, for the transfer of the landed estates to the peasants, for the overthrow of the Tsar's landlord monarchy, for a republic. It is essential that the smoldering resentment and subdued murmurings of the countryside should, along with the indignation in the barracks, find the center of attraction in the workers' revolutionary strikes. We must work on this indefatigably, and we shall live to see the day when the proletariat, jointly with the peasantry and the armed forces, brings down the landlords and overthrows the Tsarist monarchy by a people's uprising." (Vol. 18, p. 476)

The decisive point for Lenin was the importance of the workers deliberately moving to support and strengthen these strikes to prepare the masses for revolution—that they were a key weapon for revolutionary agitation and a center of attraction to draw forward, inspire and raise to a conscious level the smoldering resentment and murmurings among the masses. A weapon to show that the only road forward was revolution and to train the masses in revolutionary struggle. Certainly, we are comparing different periods, and in particular a developing revolutionary situation in Russia. But the lesson of the impact of the actions of the class-conscious forces on the broadest sections of the workers and all strata struggling and suffering under imperialism definitely applies today. In "Crucial Questions," the Chairman puts forward: "When in response to

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something such as the Miami rebellion workers take to the streets, even begin to lead strikes and organize political movements in solidarity and support, and raise up the revolutionary banner of the international proletariat as the standard for the oppressed in revolt to rally around, then tremendous progress will be made, and further positions occupied by the class-conscious proletariat in its preparation for the time when it can lead the all-out struggle to overthrow U.S. imperialism... But such progress is not something only for the future... The foremost attention of the Party must be placed on giving systematic expression and leadership to this and in an overall way meeting the interests and requirements of this advanced section of the proletariat. And once again, in doing this the strengthening of the Party's ability, politically and organizationally, to carry out work of this type—and especially to wield the *Revolutionary Worker* to the fullest, in the hands not only of Party members but also broader and broader ranks of the workers and other oppressed masses—is overall the most decisive thing." Contrary to what the writer of the letter says, what Lenin says and describes only emphasizes the crucial importance of the Party's central task—create public opinion... seize power.

Two things stand out sharply in examining the comparison the letter makes between Russia in 1913 and the U.S. in 1980.

First, the comparison deals with a few (though not insignificant) phenomena and deals with them in isolation from each other; makes no analysis of the particular contradictions giving rise to these things, what they represent, or how they fit into the overall picture of proletarian revolution in either Russia or the U.S. (The conclusion being—look where things were at in Russia prior to the outbreak of war, and look where they're at here—forget any possibility at all of a revolutionary situation developing in this country prior to the outbreak of war.) The smug conservatism and determinism expressed in the letter is so obvious it hardly needs to be said that this method has nothing in common with the dialectical materialist analysis of the world and society in its development, that it has always been the task of Marxist-Leninists to uncover what's obscure, to analyze things in their development and motion, in their interconnection; not to sum up what's on the surface so we can tail it.

Second, implicit in the letter is the line that these strikes would spontaneously develop into revolution, that these struggles in and of themselves teach the working class all it needs to know to make revolution; therefore, the key question, as the writer poses it, was tactics. In other words, there is neither a leap in the struggle itself, or in the consciousness of the masses to wage and win a victorious revolution. This is truly Lenin's line as seen through the eyes of an Economist. What Lenin is dealing with principally is that by grasping the development of the revolutionary crisis, how can the revolutionary proletariat act in order to heighten the revolutionary possibilities? He is struggling for an understanding that the class-conscious forces must wage and lead these strikes in such a way as to bring forward fresh new forces, train them as leaders, and that by persevering in the revolutionary strikes, the proletariat will increasingly influence the broad masses of the country in a revolutionary direction and prepare them for insurrection.

Contrary to the picture the letter points of the Bolshevik revolution, it was never a straight line forward to victory; and in fact a sharp struggle, full of twists and turns. Neither will the road to revolution in this country be a question of just putting one foot in front of the other and slowly, patiently marching to victory, as the writer would like. We are in a race against time and it is a question of straining the limits to make a decisive leap. We have much to learn, but this Party has been steered in two-line struggle, and most fundamentally, Marxism is a motherfucker—and the Party has shown it can grasp it and wield it and arm and unleash the masses.

There is no question but history has put a tremendous challenge before the Party and the class-conscious workers—this leap to 100,000 co-conspirators demands that we grasp, and struggle for the advanced to grasp, the life-and-death nature of carrying out the Party's central task of broadening the Party's influence through the *Revolutionary Worker*. Of course, and what the economists miss, it is the developing revolutionary possibilities and the question of seizing and acting on them, or pushing them away, that makes the situation so urgent—not this up-against-the-wall desperation the letter projects. History doesn't just pose a challenge to us, it is also bringing forward the elements to meet that challenge. And just as decisively as in Lenin's time, this leap requires defeating and busting through backward political lines that stand in the way of this advance. Barely beneath the surface in this letter is the bottom line of economism, the inevitable capitulation to the bourgeoisie. Things are moving too fast, we're too far behind, we'll never catch up, they're too powerful and getting stronger all the time, what else can we do... It is more than a little

reminiscent of Kautsky's plea for capitulation in World War I—"never has the government been so strong, never have the parties been so weak as at the outbreak of war." This refusal to grasp the laws governing the crisis of imperialism will inevitably lead you into the swamp of patriotism.

There is no way that this retreat in the face of new challenges is going to win out in this battle. The challenge is great; the situation is excellent! We are in the process of forging a key link in the process that will insure that the revolutionary movement continues to develop to challenge the bourgeoisie and rally increasing numbers to its ranks. This jump in the broad public opinion created by the *Revolutionary Worker* as well as in its networks will be a crucial break in transforming the overall political situation as well as in forging the organization which will prepare to launch the insurrection as the overall situation ripens. Forward to victory in the battle for 100,000 co-conspirators!

J.S. &amp; R.T.

*We received this from a reader who has been studying Mao's "On Contradiction" in connection with the 100,000 campaign.*

RW:

Recently I have been studying again Mao Tsetung's essay "On Contradiction." I find that every time I study it I see points that I did not see before, and that I grasp other points more deeply. This is particularly so when such a work is studied with a problem in mind.

In connection with the problem of the development of the current situation in the country and in the world, and related to this, the necessity and possibility of distributing 100,000 RW's on a sustained basis, I found Section V ("The Identity and Struggle of the Aspects of a Contradiction") to be particularly important. The first point made by Mao here is that by the identity (or unity) of the aspects of a contradiction is meant not only the fact that each is a precondition for the existence of the other, but more importantly that under the correct conditions each can be transformed into the other. As Mao puts it, "It is only the reactionary ruling classes of the past and present and the metaphysicians in their service who regard opposites not as living, conditional, mobile and transforming themselves into one another, but as dead and rigid, and they propagate this fallacy everywhere to delude the masses of the people, thus seeking to perpetuate their rule."

In other words, many people recognize the existence of contradictions in society, but accept the present state of those contradictions as rigid and unchanging. "The rich get richer, and the poor get poorer," they say, and the most you can hope to do is moderate that a little or else just try to feather your own nest. It was in sharp contrast to this reactionary view that Karl Marx pointed out in his famous letter to General Weydemeyer that he (Marx) did not discover either classes or class struggle. These had in fact been discovered and described in great detail by bourgeois historians. What so frightened the bourgeoisie was that which Marx *did* discover—namely that this situation was not fixed and permanent, "1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production; 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society." It was the application of *dialectics* to historical analysis that enabled Marx to grasp this ability of transformation which is inherent in the unity of contradictory aspects, and to study the laws governing that transformation.

It is from here that Mao goes on in Section V to discuss struggle in contradiction. Mao begins by pointing out that struggle in contradiction is absolute compared to unity, just as motion is absolute in matter while stability is transitory and relative. It is at this point that Mao makes a *very important* observation about the laws of motion of struggle in contradiction; an observation which has profound importance for understanding the present political situation and our tasks. Mao states:

"There are two states of motion in all things, that of relative rest and that of conspicuous change. Both are caused by the struggle between the two contradictory elements contained in a thing. When the thing is in the first state of motion, it is undergoing only quantitative and not qualitative change and consequently presents the outward appearance of being at rest. When the thing is in the second state of motion, the quantitative change of the first state has already reached a culminating point and gives rise to the dissolution of the thing as an entity and thereupon a qualitative change ensues, hence the appearance of a conspicuous change... Things are constantly transforming themselves from the first into the second state of motion; the struggle of opposites goes on in both states but the contradiction is resolved through the second state."

Is not this basic point of dialectics, the existence of two states of motion in the development of a contradiction, essential to any correct understanding of the current situation? Is this not what Chairman Avakian was pointing to in his talk "Coming From Behind To Make Revolution" when he said:

"In short there is, *even* among our own ranks, the phenomenon pointed to at the last meeting of our

Central Committee—the failure to grasp or the outright disbelief in the possibility of sudden and dramatic changes, leaps, upheavals, and so on, which Lenin stressed about people, including communists in Europe in the period leading up to World War I (which also led up to the Russian Revolution and serious attempts at proletarian revolution in other countries). And again, what underlies this, in ideological terms, is the failure to base yourself on the dialectical materialist viewpoint.

"And in terms of the material conditions, the reason that this still could happen, that this erroneous viewpoint and method is still so strong, is that although there have been significant changes in the objective situation, it has not made a leap to a revolutionary situation."

To deny the possibility of sudden leaps and dramatic changes is precisely to deny the existence of the second form of motion of a contradiction, and to be fooled by the external appearance of stability in the first form. It is to say that the class contradiction of our society will not find its resolution in the "qualitative and conspicuous change" of a revolutionary situation, but rather by prolonged, incremental *quantitative* change during which things remain pretty much as they are. Does this not tell us something about the ideological basis of economism?

Or take the international situation and the development of the contradiction between the war blocs of the two superpowers. Here we have seen many who deny that this contradiction, which they are forced to admit is developing quantitatively, will be resolved in the "qualitative and conspicuous change" of world war. Politically this gives rise to all sorts of pacifist and reformist schemes to "moderate the arms race" and tail after bourgeois politicians who piously speak of peace.

I would urge everyone to study carefully this Section V of "On Contradiction" in conjunction with the Report of the last meeting of the Central Committee of the RCP and the talk "Coming From Behind To Make Revolution." It is precisely an understanding of this leap from the first to the second form of motion of contradictions that allows us to grasp more deeply the possibility of sudden and dramatic changes in a political situation which has for so long been characterized by relative stability. It is a key to consciously understanding the situation which is developing around us and the ability to arm others with it because it is based on science and not blind faith.

Of course this is not to forget for a moment the stress which Mao lays on the necessity to analyze the particularities of contradictions. The point is that no correct analysis can be made without a grasp of the laws of motion of contradiction. "The task of Communists is to expose the fallacies of the reactionaries and metaphysicians, to propagate the dialectics inherent in things, and so accelerate the transformation of things and achieve the goal of revolution."

B.N.

RW:

I think an important reason why the goal of 100,000 is attainable, and in the long run revolution is possible right here in the United States, is the fact that a large number of people live here who have seen first hand the vicious and blood-thirsty face of U.S. imperialism, stripped of its mask of "democracy" or "human rights." I am talking about the recent immigrants to this country.

These people, workers, students and professionals, especially those from countries with strong anti-imperialist movements, have played a crucial role in the past within the U.S., and could be a decisive force in raising the consciousness of the proletariat and building a powerful revolutionary movement here.

But this will happen only if the revolutionary movement we are building is profoundly internationalist, and not national chauvinist, in character. That is, only when the goal of the movement is the emancipation of all mankind, and the practice of the movement is, as Lenin put it in describing proletarian internationalism, "working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own* country and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, and *only this*, line, in *every* country without exception."

Coming straight to the point: I think there is a tendency to deny the second half of this statement by Lenin, and narrow the tasks of the revolutionary movement in the U.S. down to seizing state power in the U.S. I believe I could raise a good amount of funds for the RCP if I could collect a dollar from every Party member and supporter who in the last 6 months has told someone else that internationalism in essence is struggling to overthrow your own bourgeoisie. ("The best way to support the Iranian people's struggle is to make revolution here.")

An example of this tendency, which I think is thinly-veiled national chauvinism, is a discussion I had a few weeks ago with an immigrant from El Salvador. This person is an activist in building support for the struggle in Central America.

We discussed the summation of May Day in *Revolution* magazine, and the campaign for 100,000 co-conspirators. At one point we had maybe 7 or 8

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# 100 FLOWERS

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people, mostly Latino immigrants, gathered around in lively debate.

The struggle boiled down to him saying, "Look; what you're saying sounds good, I can see how a lot of it is right. But for me the most important thing has to be struggle in my own country."

You know what my response was to this? Yeah, what you're doing is important, but you're in the U.S. right now, and don't you see that revolution is possible here in the '80's, and you should be building the revolutionary movement here by building the 100,000 campaign, and oh yeah, revolution here will help the struggle in other countries too. Those weren't my exact words, but that's the essence of what I said.

Choose, dammit! Either you're supporting El Salvador or you're fighting for revolution here—and the two having nothing to do with each other, although in a general way yes, of course, they do. That was my line in this discussion.

As I said, I don't think I'm the only one who's thought this way or put this line into practice. And I'll tell you something else: with such a line, we will not achieve the 100,000, and more than that we will not make the greatest possible contribution to revolution world-wide, but we will be an obstacle to it.

The line I'm struggling against here is not the line of the RCP; in fact it has been through study of the *RW* and struggle with "Party members and officials who continue to adhere to and apply Marxism-Leninism" as the RCP *Draft Constitution* puts it, that I have recognized the contradictions in the line I was putting out.

Bob Avakian pointed out in "Crucial Questions in

Coming From Behind": "It is...decisive to make concrete leaps forward in bringing the advanced workers into motion, to act in support of such rebellions and to infuse into political life the tremendous material force and influence of a class-conscious section of the proletariat of all nationalities, struggling in a revolutionary way in unity with different sections of the masses rising up in revolt—doing what is insisted on by the advanced worker whose sentiment Lenin expresses in *What Is To Be Done?*—supporting 'by open, street fighting' demands that do not promise any 'palpable results' whatever!"

This passage is referring to such uprisings as the recent Miami rebellion but I think it applies as well to the struggles of the masses of people around the world, of which El Salvador is but one example.

People from other countries have the ability to make crucial contributions to development of the revolutionary movement in this country. But their participation in this movement does not mean they must (even temporarily) forget the struggle in their native country or put it on the back burner; and in fact the development of networks around the *RW* is crucial, for there to be strikes and street demonstrations in support of the Salvadoran people, or for significant elements of the U.S. Army to refuse to shoot at the Salvadoran people and turn their guns on their own rulers instead. And when revolution is successful in the U.S. and the proletariat does hold state power, when every area of the U.S. is struggling to re-build from the devastation of world war or civil war or both, it is the work we do today in training the advanced in internationalism, through the pages of the *RW* and through actions that crystallize internationalism (such as May Day, the Alamo, etc...) that will make it possible to, as the *Draft Programme* states, "cancel all unequal treaties and end all colonial relationships, direct or indirect, with other nations," and "unleash (the productive

forces in this country) not only for the benefit of people here, but to assist the exploited and oppressed world over in their revolutionary struggles..."

I believe the advanced foreign-born workers and those from other strata, can be won to the RCP's line, which is the concrete application of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, on the question of what kind of revolutionary movement we are building in this country and what their role can and must be. On this basis, their initiative can be unleashed, and they can be a much more powerful force for the achievement of the 100,000 goal, and the proletarian internationalist revolutionary struggle within this country generally.

C.J.

Dear Friends

Several letters in the *RW* recently alluded to pessimism upon the part of the comrades so writing. At the darkest hour there always seems little hope for change and revolution. These people so disillusioned should keep the following in mind:

1. Revolution is no magic trick or panacea. It is hard work.
2. What are the reasons they are revolutionaries? What are the reasons for their impatience?
3. History is in our hands. The time is coming for our turn.
4. Revolution is inevitable (we can hasten its advent); if not this year, then next year. If not next year, surely the next.
5. Take revolution step by step. Do what work we can do now.
6. The "old world" is falling apart. Why mourn its passing?

Revolutionaries are optimists!

## Stakes Are Up—For Them and Us

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more and more that out front attitude, that out front stand expressed by that pig here in Washington, D.C. is going to be the strategy on which the ruling class of this country is moving. That, "We had them in our clutches, we roughed them up, we beat them up a bit, but we saw that was politically very costly. Now it's time to start making it very clear and moving onto another level. It's time not only to come at them with the legal apparatus, it's time to come at them as we've done before and as we're going to have to do much more in the future. It's time to come at them with the bullets."

### Beat Back All Forms of Attack

And we have to understand this very clearly. We are not going to be intimidated because we understand this. Quite the opposite. On the basis of grasping this we're going to be able to fight to beat back every attack every way they come and try to crush the genuine revolutionary leadership, in particular our Party, in this country. Because, you see, people will say, "They're just too powerful. They can do whatever they want to do. If they can't get you one way one day they'll come get you another way the next day. And look what they've done in this country. They murdered Malcolm X, they killed Fred Hampton in cold blood in his bed and murdered more than two dozen other Panthers. They'll just shoot you down if you really try to do something serious about rising up against it."

We know this is their nature. We understand that not only have they done it in the past, but they will do it even more viciously and extensively in the period ahead. The period of the '80s is going to find upheaval unlike anything even in the '60s in this country and internationally. The challenge and the stakes are going to be up, during that period. They are going to be much higher and much more life-and-death for them and for us than anything we've seen in several decades.

We've pointed out to people, yeah, that's true. They can, they have and they will not only jail people, not only hound and harass people—they will murder people outright and in larger numbers than we've seen in order to try to crush any revolutionary leadership and prevent the masses of people from not only fighting back but consciously fighting through and winning victory and making revolution. But we're not helpless in the face of that either. If we're not helpless—and we've proved we're far from helpless—to beat back *this* attack, to stop this railroad and to back them up off their attack on the Mao Tsetung Defendants, then we are certainly not helpless to prevent them from murdering outright and in that way crushing and destroying the leadership of the working class and the masses of people in this country.

Yeah, they killed Fred Hampton. We know their nature. They murdered Malcolm X, much as they try to cover it up. But we can learn not only from the history of this country but from others. Let's look to a place like Russia where there was someone named

Lenin. They hounded him out of the country but he came back not only to haunt them but to raise up the real spectre that not only filled them with fear but finally led to their overthrow—the class-conscious working class and the masses of oppressed people.

Let's look at China. They put a bounty on Mao Tsetung's head, offered 100,000 or more pieces of silver to people, to peasants in China whose children were literally starving in front of them for lack of food or would freeze to death in the winter. But they couldn't find anyone who, even if they wanted the money, was foolish enough to try to go up against and kill Mao Tsetung, because the wrath of the Chinese people would have come down on them like a thunderbolt.

So let's not only talk about the losses we've suffered, let's talk about the victories we've won. And let's learn from both. We have to understand that it's a battle. We have fought to keep them from carrying through this railroad and we can and we will fight to keep them from using murder or any other means to crush and cripple and destroy the vanguard Party, the necessary weapon of the working class and the masses of people to rise up and make revolution in this country. We are determined to wage that battle and more than that we are determined to win it. The masses of people, no matter what they think, have something to say about whether or not they can destroy the revolutionary vanguard Party in this country.

## UN 2

Continued from page 4

sentence—*RW*) is intended as a message to others." In fact, Judge Ward told the defendants and their attorneys at the time of the sentencing that he saw no basis for an appeal. With draft registration six days away, the "others" were quite clear. The government's response to the UN action has been crystal clear all along, opposition from anyone to their plans for world war will not be tolerated, and this has been borne out further since the UN 2 action and the government's attack on the Berrigans and the Atlantic Life Community's anti-war action at an MX missile assembly plant, among other things.

The bourgeoisie is attaching tremendous importance to railroading the UN 2 and defeating the appeal. They have renewed their slanders of the UN 2 as terrorists, most recently in the *New York Post*—(see last issue of the *RW*), in-

cluding indicting and convicting them under federal statutes specifically written in response to "intentional acts of terrorism." Even after the government's star witness, William vanden Heuvel, Deputy Ambassador, as much as admitted four times during the trial that he was not physically injured, the government went ahead with its conviction. But not without rewriting the indictments during the trial in its definition of felony assault to include "any substance put in motion by the defendants." The political wounds inflicted by the UN 2 injured both imperialist superpowers and weakened their ideological and political grips on the masses worldwide. This is far more telling damage than physical injury to one of their representatives, which did not happen, and which they care much less about.

Just as seriously as the U.S. im-

perialists have taken this battle, we are serious too. For what the UN 2 action has shown, and what must be defended and spread further, is that the tattered flag of U.S. imperialism will not be the only flag flying in the 1980s. It is imperative that this decisive battle be heightened. We urge everyone who can be there to march and demonstrate at the courthouse in New York City, October 30, 40 Center Street, Foley Square, New York City.

Send contributions and statement of support to:

Committee to Free the UN 2  
16 E. 18th St.  
New York City, N.Y. 10003  
Phone (212) 243-8638



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## Chiang Ching's Leaked Statements in Trial

# Unruly Against Revisionism

Recent developments in the trial in China of the so-called "Gang of Four," including the publication abroad of what are reported to be excerpts of a 181-page declaration by Chiang Ching and reports of the Four's "unruly conduct" in court, shows once again their tenacious fight to uphold and defend Mao's revolutionary line. The revisionist rulers of China today would like nothing better than for the Four to confess to their "crimes" to aid in their attack on Mao and their attempts to smother the revolutionaries' spirits so their capitulation can be held up before millions of class conscious workers and masses in China and worldwide. But the continuing firm stand of the Four, after four years of incarceration since the 1976 revisionist coup, is a great inspiration.

Intelligence sources reported recently in Taiwan that Chiang Ching wrote a 181-page declaration earlier this year blasting away at the revisionists. Although the authenticity of this report, coming as it does from reactionary Kuomintang forces, needs to be further investigated, the few excerpts that they have published in their press do seem to be consistent with the overall line and stand of the Four.

Hitting at the revisionists' lies that untold numbers of innocent people were persecuted during the Cultural

Revolution, Chiang Ching says, "If, as you say, the Cultural Revolution really produced so many frameups of innocent people, do you mean to say that the same thing did not happen in the 17 years prior to the Cultural Revolution? Aren't the present party chairman, Hua Guofeng, as well as Ye Jinying, Deng Xiaoping, Peng Chen and Hu Yaobang all also responsible for the numerous cases of frameups?" Obviously the Kuomintang forces are using the few excerpts out of context to make it seem that the Four and the present rulers are merely different sides of the same coin—i.e. both persecuted innocent people. But it's clear from the rest of the excerpts that have been published that Chiang Ching is exposing the hypocrisy of the present rulers and making a distinction between the overall correct direction of the Cultural Revolution and the counterrevolutionary activities of the revisionists. "Looking at Party history you can ask how many people in China were destroyed with trumped up charges by Liu Shao-qi, Deng Xiaoping and Peng Chen before the Cultural Revolution. Didn't many outstanding cadre become victims? The aim of the Cultural Revolution was precisely to reverse the verdicts on the good cadres that were victimized, overthrow the fascist dictatorship of Liu (Liu Shao-chi), Deng

(Teng Hsiao-ping), Peng (Peng Chen), Tao (Tao Chu) Zhou En-lai (Chou Enlai), and restore the true faith of the party. What's wrong with that?"

Cutting through the revisionists' bullshit about the Four's "crimes," Chiang Ching says, "I'm not going to admit to any crimes, not because I want to cut myself off from the people but because I'm innocent. If I have to admit to anything, I can only say I lost in this struggle for power." Finally Chiang Ching expresses the revolutionary optimism of the proletariat. "You have power now so you can easily accuse people of crimes and fabricate false evidence to support your targets. But if you think you can fool the people of China and worldwide, you are completely mistaken. It is not I but your small gang who is on trial in the court of history."

On Oct. 9th UPI dispatched about the pre-trial hearings reports that none of the Four had admitted to any "crimes." Chiang Ching in particular is said in the article to have displayed a "bad attitude," talking back to the judge in "abusive language." Earlier, Chiang Ching caused an uproar in a "dry run" of the trial conducted by several top revisionist party officials. According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, Chiang Ching insisted the Four had acted on instructions from Mao, and the other three backed up her firm stand. According to the same article, and much to the dismay of the authorities, she is also displaying a remarkably keen memory for dates and details of past events and conversations. This is undoubtedly proving to be highly embarrassing to these revisionist rulers, many who squirmed their way through the mass struggles of the Cultural Revolution by making hypocritical self-criticisms, statements of allegiance to Mao, and who attacked each other like a basket of crabs in hot water. Deng himself, under fire from the masses, put in writing that he would "never reverse correct verdicts" of the Cultural Revolution in order to crawl back into a position of power. In fact, one of the reasons the trial has been

held up for so long is that the revisionists have had to make up a whole new set of "evidence" against the Four. Huge volumes of "evidence" collected in the period right after the Four's arrest (when the revisionists still needed to keep a cover as "Mao's true successors") are to a great extent useless now. They were aimed to prove the now abandoned fiction that the present rulers were with Mao and the Four were against him.

As the trial of the Four proceeds, the revisionists are also opening their offensive against what they refer to as "Gang of Four remnants." Already, one "close associate" of the Four in Shanghai, Hu Yongnian, has been sentenced to death. Also slated for trial in Shanghai is Xu Jingxian, who was a strong supporter of the Four and was the vice-chairman of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee. Right after the Four were arrested, he and others in Shanghai planned an armed rebellion to defend Shanghai and oppose the new leaders. At an all night meeting to plan the rebellion, people demanded "return Chiang Ching to us, return (Chang) Chun-chiao to us," and plans were made to print an "appeal to the people of the world" and to take over a TV station. Other trials, on both national and local levels, will be going on around the same time. Although many revolutionaries have already been murdered or jailed since the coup, the revisionists want to further intimidate the supporters and sympathizers of the Four. No doubt the revisionists will have their hands full as many of these revolutionaries will follow the Four's example and refuse to give up quietly.

The latest word is that the actual trial will start late this month or early next month. The revisionists have already indicated it will be a "very short" trial—they feel the script for the farce is finalized and ready to go. We will be watching for any further twists to the plot that the Four may come up with. But one thing must be made clear. As Chiang Ching so powerfully declared, the people of China and the world will not be fooled. It is not the proletariat's leaders but the revisionist rulers who are on trial in the courts of history. □

*"I'm not going to admit to any crimes, not because I want to cut myself off from the people but because I'm innocent. If I have to admit to anything, I can only say I lost in this struggle for power."*

*Chiang Ching*



If the Rightists stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China,

I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule  
will most probably be short-lived because it will not be tolerated  
by the revolutionaries, who represent the  
interests of the people.

Mao Tsetung



**Incite!**

P.O. BOX 6312  
OAKLAND, CA 94603

## Appeals Court

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tant way a concentrated expression of what is going on in society as a whole. . .

"And this gets even sharper when you start really realizing that the imperialists are in a lot of trouble, they're in a lot of trouble. And one of the points that we've been stressing on the tour and more generally in talking to the masses is that you may not think that revolution is a serious possibility, but the rulers of this country think that it is a real possibility, and they're starting to talk about it more—and act on that understanding, too."

The re-escalation of the ruling class's attacks reflects that their fears of the developing situation, the potential of the

masses in it, and the role of the Party have all grown since last November.

As Mao Tsetung, revolutionary leader of the international proletariat and the Chinese people once said, "It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves, but achieved a great deal in our work."

Yes, the stakes are up, but in another sense what this states is what was spoken to in the *RW* Sept. 28, 1979, in the "Call for Volunteers" to come to D.C. at that time when the trial was due to begin. It was a call "To go straight up against this country at its very foundations." The Party said then that this railroad was "not only an attack on the Revolutionary Communist Party and its Chair-

man, Bob Avakian; it is more fundamentally an attack on the working class and millions of others whose lives and spirits are also mangled and tormented in this 'greatest of all countries'—an attack on their ability to have a vanguard capable of leading them to overthrow and abolish the madness that is 'daily life' in capitalist society, and the even more monstrous evils, including world war, that the U.S. imperialists and their monopoly capitalist counterparts in the Soviet Union are preparing to unleash."

It is imperative now to mobilize the broadest possible forces to expose this latest criminal move of the ruling class, to rally political and financial support, and overall create the best possible basis to defend our revolutionary leadership, and beyond that seize every opportunity to make yet another advance in the all-round preparation for an advance to revolution!

## CORRECTION

In last week's *RW* (No. 76) in the article "The System Pulled the Trigger" the quote from Lenin from "The Working Class and Neomalthusianism" should have referred to Vol. 19. □

This is a statement passed by the St. Louis Coalition Against the Draft, Oct. 1, on the Iran-Iraq war: "The St. Louis Coalition Against the Draft (SCAD) opposes any U.S. military intervention in the Persian Gulf area. A more in depth position will be discussed at the Oct. 8 SCAD meeting." □

## Iraq/Iran

Continued from page 12

time and what we have heard from responsible people in government and those officials close to the U.S. government, this condition in practice has already been conveyed."

How can the U.S. be said to have "in practice" apologized for its past crimes when it continues to commit new and brutal crimes against the Iranian people every day, when for the past month its Iraqi henchmen have been carrying out vicious aggression aimed at forcing the capitulation of the government and, later if not sooner, crushing the revolutionary masses altogether?

Rajai also met privately with the UN chief cupie doll at the UN, Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, on a number of occasions. (Waldheim, remember, was basically run out of Iran some months back.) What else transpired during his visit behind the scenes is not yet known. However, it is clear that despite Rajai's reputation as a "hard-line" leader of the Moslem fundamentalist wing of the government and the militancy of the Security Council address, his visit represented an important step towards attempting to strike exactly the kind of "deal" the U.S. is offering.

The faction in the Iranian government represented by Rajai has had real differences in the past with the forces led by Bani-Sadr, and undoubtedly differences remain. But on the immediate questions facing the bourgeois government in Tehran, particularly how to extricate themselves from the war and what to do with the hostages, there is a growing consensus that patching up their relationships with the U.S. is the only way out for them. As we explained in last week's *RW*, with the U.S. military and economic pressure on Iran growing more and more intense, there are growing pressures on the national bourgeois forces that dominate the Iranian government—or at least a large section of them—to capitulate to the Western imperialists. While these pressures have been growing for some time, the war has brought to a head many of the contradictions they face due to their class position in between the imperialists and the workers, peasants and other popular strata of the people.

With the destruction of Iran's oil industry and other industries steadily mounting, these forces will be increasingly forced—even against their will—to go begging to the imperialists for "aid" in rebuilding the economy. And faced with the continuing military pressure from Iraq and its imperialist backers, Iran's ruling bourgeois forces have neither been willing nor able to thoroughly mobilize the masses of the people to beat it back. The conventional armed forces that they have been principally relying on in the fighting—and which they must preserve, in order to defend their ruling position over the Iranian people themselves—have proved incapable of defeating the Iraqi invasion. The only reason that Khorramshahr, Abadan and the other key cities in Khuzestan haven't fallen yet has been the heroic, self-sacrificing

struggle of the people in these cities, joined by thousands upon thousands of volunteers from all around the country—some of whom have come from as far away as Mashad by bicycle in the far northeastern part of Iran in order to be on the front lines of the battle. Iraq's tank-led assaults on these cities have been repeatedly stopped in their tracks by squads of fighters—armed with nothing more than rifles and homemade bombs. Kids as young as 12 years old have crawled under Iraqi tanks to blow them up with explosives strapped to their bodies. Because of the fierceness of this fighting, and with the constant artillery bombardment that has reduced Khorramshahr and Abadan to rubble, Iranian casualties have been high—in the tens of thousands.

### Revolutionary Iranian People

Still, according to people who have recently returned from the front, the morale of the people is very high, and they are prepared to go over to guerilla warfare in order to defeat the imperialist/Iraqi invasion. Already, in many places, the irregular units—including the fighting groups led by the Left—have taken the initiative in the fighting away from the army and Pasdaran. Exactly because of these growing moves of the masses of people to organize themselves on the battlefield—as well as due to the increasing desperation of the Iranian government to keep from losing the main cities in Khuzestan—Ayatollah Khomeini announced a mobilization of "able-bodied Iranians" on October 20—according to the region of the fighting. According to the *New York Times*, Khomeini ordered that "Iranian Army and Revolutionary Guard commanders must provide young Iranians with arms and send them to the battlefield at once." Up to then, people who had gone to the army barracks and command posts near the fighting had been refused arms. It is quite likely that the length of time it took to implement even such a partial mobilization and arming of the people resulted from struggle within the regime, especially on the part of army commanders and others who were vehemently opposed to arming the people. The wording of Khomeini's order—that army and Pasdaran commanders "must" provide the people with arms—and the fact that it was issued by him rather than "commander-in-chief" Bani-Sadr, leaves the impression that resistance was expected from the regular forces. In addition, this week the government offered the leftist forces at the front, including those led by the Union of Iranian Communists, military cooperation—but only on the condition that they remove the red armbands they have been wearing to identify themselves to the masses as revolutionary fighting units.

While developments such as these have been concentrated where the fighting has been most intense, especially in Khorramshahr and Abadan, Iran's bourgeois government is well aware that this could develop on a far wider scale in the future. This, too, is driving them as a class towards searching for an out through "playing the hostage card" and reaching an accommodation with the U.S. While there will undoubtedly

continue to be struggle among them over how far this process should go and how rapidly, the direction in which they are headed is set for now. (Of course, the U.S. imperialists, while glad to accept this capitulation, will demand more and more and may well end up backing more dependable forces.)

As the Iranian government has moved rapidly towards releasing the hostages as a key step in the process of surrendering to the Western imperialists, it is significant that over the past two weeks, there has been nothing reported about these moves in the Iranian press. Just as the seriousness of the situation at the front in Khuzestan is being covered over with repeated claims of Iranian "victories," the true nature and extent of the government's dealings with the U.S. are being systematically concealed from the Iranian people. This points to the shaky position the government is in and their deep-rooted—and well justified—fears that large sections of the masses will not swallow their "reasons" for releasing the hostages now, as well as the capitulationist moves that will soon follow.

This was underlined in a recent article by Eric Rouleau, the chief Middle East correspondent for the French newspaper *Le Monde*, based on interviews with President Bani-Sadr and "members of the President's close circle." The article was particularly revealing both in its portrayal of Bani-Sadr's panting after a "compromise" with the U.S. and its admission of the continued strength of the masses as a major obstacle to carrying through their plans.

"... President Carter's condemnation last week of Iraqi aggression raised some hope among Mr. Bani-Sadr's advisors. The feeling at the Presidential headquarters in Tehran was that if the American representatives at the United Nations followed up Mr. Carter's comment by calling for Iraqi troops to withdraw from Iran, the path to a compromise would be open. . . . In fact, the main obstacle to a quick solution to the hostage situation lies mostly with do-

mestic Iranian politics. Anti-American sentiment has increased considerably since the beginning of the war. . . .

"Still, political divergencies and antagonisms remain, especially among those in the wings of power. They will reappear in the spotlight when the fighting is done. The longer the war continues, however, the greater the likelihood that the population will become more radical, because, among other factors, of the mounting influence of leftist parties which are participating in guerrilla warfare against the Iraqis. This could alter the balance of power among the various ideological factions in Iran once the war is done."

No doubt it was Bani-Sadr's "close advisors" who pointed to Rouleau the "mounting influence" of the revolutionary Left, and the danger of that influence continuing to mount should the war continue. This fact, tossed in at the end of Rouleau's piece almost as an "afterthought," has important implications.

While Bani-Sadr and his "close advisors" hope to utilize the increased popularity they have gained through the war up to this point to swing their deals with the imperialists, they are also well aware that they (as well as other bourgeois rivals of theirs) will face substantial resistance due to the "anti-American sentiments" of the masses. They also understand the threat they will be faced with as those powerful anti-imperialist sentiments are increasingly given conscious expression and leadership by the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces. Though this is still happening to a relatively limited degree, the potential of a rapid growth in the strength and influence of the revolutionary leftist forces as the class struggle sharpens up in Iran definitely is being taken seriously by those forces who are at this very moment moving towards accommodating—and eventually capitulating wholesale to—the mortal enemies of the Iranian masses. □

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