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# The Coronation of an Imperialist Mouthpiece

Inauguration '81:  
An Event for the Times



On January 20, "Mr. President-elect" formally becomes "Mr. President." At 11:30 a.m. on this day, Ronald Reagan, replacement-part reactionary, chauvinist and warmonger will be officially sworn in as the chief exec of the reactionary, chauvinist and warmongering U.S. imperialist class. Of course, ceremonies which hail the replacing of one mouthpiece for another at this post are nothing new. But, expanded to an \$8 million, three-day extravaganza, the 1981 presidential inauguration will be the most expensive presidential coronation in the history of the U.S., an opulent and decadent display of jingoism and reaction, aimed at both an international and domestic audience.

The seeming pre-election rifts between bourgeois politicians have all but vanished; "smooth transition" has become the watchword in the press. And, too, for the inauguration, as the harshest comment *Time* magazine could muster was a quote from Democratic Senator Dan Riegle: "I'm not sure that's the way to start fighting inflation." Hardly the point. Few have missed the obvious contradiction between, on the one hand, the spending of \$8 million on the inaugural ceremonies

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## OFFENSIVE BATTERS SALVADORAN JUNTA

Despite widely-publicized statements from El Salvador's junta that "everything is under control," in the face of a nationwide offensive by opposition guerrilla forces, it is now clear that the U.S. puppet government is being severely battered and is in growing danger of being toppled from its neo-colonial throne. As we go to press, spokesmen for the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN)—the unified

command of the major guerrilla organizations in the country which also includes the pro-Soviet revisionist Salvadoran "Communist" Party and its leadership structure—claims to control half the country, including virtually all of the northern part, most of the provinces of Santa Ana, all of Morazan province, and the military base and most of the province of Chalatenango. In addition, the guerrillas claim control

of the entire province of San Vicente, west of the capital city of San Salvador. Fierce fighting has also been reported in the capital itself, especially in the working-class suburbs that surround it and at the Ilopango military airport on the outskirts as well as most other areas the junta still rules. And the broad coalition of opposition forces, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), which includes elements of very

broad class forces in El Salvador, including former members of the junta, has announced that it will soon form a new government headquartered in Morazan.

As the possibility of the fascist junta's demise grows stronger, so does the very real threat of a more direct military intervention on the part of the U.S. On January 14, U.S. officials announced

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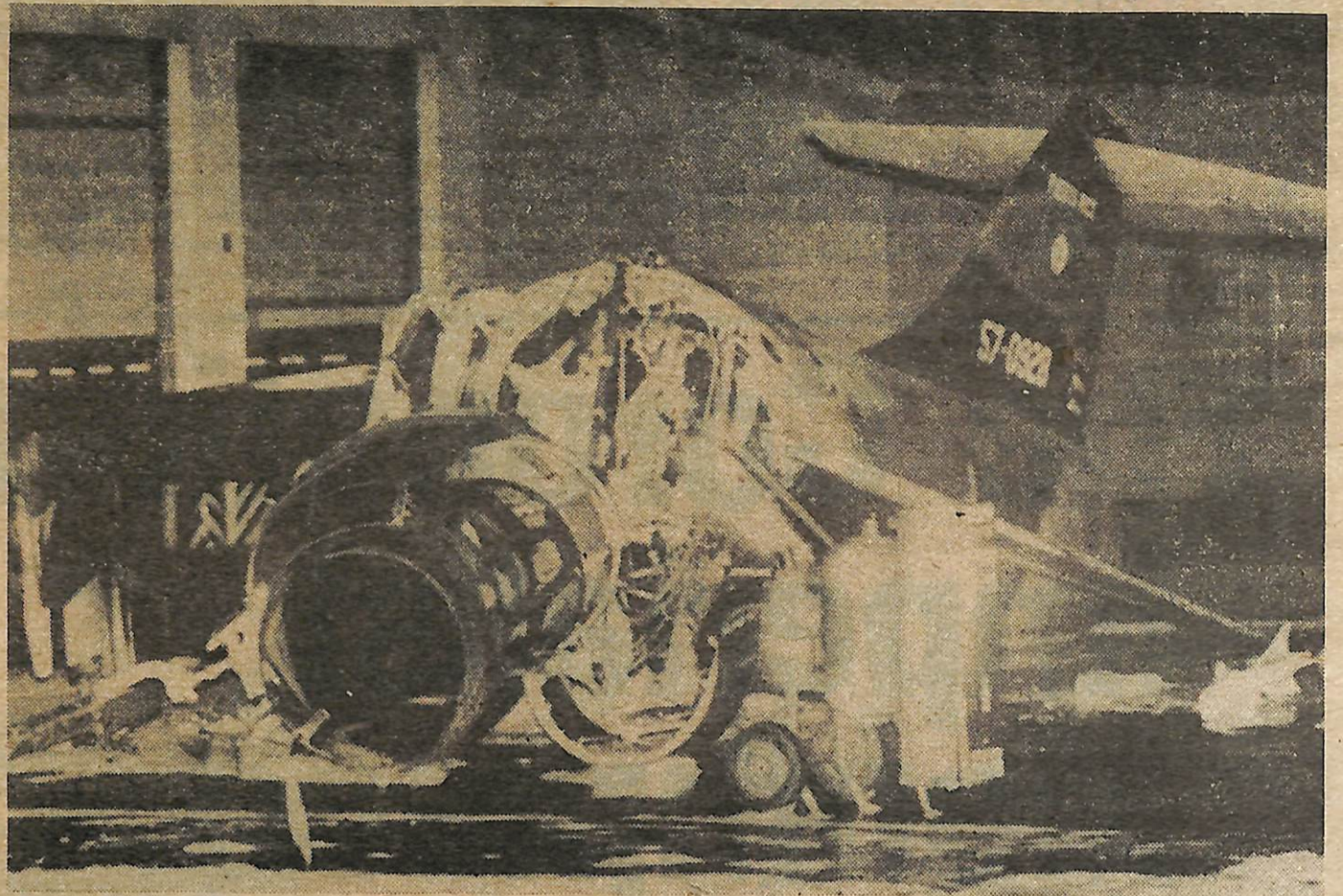
On January 12, nine U.S. A-7D Corsair II jet fighter planes were destroyed and two others damaged. Responsibility was claimed by a group calling itself "The Macheteros" which says it favors independence for Puerto Rico. These jets were more than half of the Tactical Squadron 198 of the Puerto Rico Air National Guard stationed in Isla Verde, Puerto Rico. This event, coupled with growing resistance in Puerto Rico to draft registration, has focused up world attention on the continued occupation and military presence of U.S. imperialism in Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rico has long been regarded by the U.S. as a key outpost and a launching pad for the national defense of the United States. Puerto Rico is in the center of a string of islands in the Caribbean which form a shield for U.S. interests in the region, particularly the Panama Canal. It is also considered the key fortress against the Soviet Union's penetration into the area via Cuba.

Since World War 2, the U.S. has built up a heavy military presence in Puerto Rico, to fortify its position both in the Caribbean and in Puerto Rico itself. Its location affords the U.S. handy airstrips from which they can launch and refuel jet planes fairly quickly. On the east end of Puerto Rico, the U.S. built a Navy base; on the west end, an Air Force base. And through the colonial domination of Puerto Rico, the U.S. drafted 65,000 Puerto Ricans in World War 2 as cannonfodder and another 45,000 in Korea.

Attention has more recently been focused on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques, used by the U.S. Navy as a firing range. The continued shelling of Vieques has resulted in "accidental" deaths, injuries, and the destruction of the livelihood of local fishermen. But, as has been the case since American ships and troops invaded and seized Puerto Rico in 1898, the U.S. ruling class has been unable to stomp out resistance and the struggle for independence. On many occasions, fishermen with their small boats sailed right in front of the Navy's vessels, temporarily halting the bombardment of Vieques. In 1979, during the annual

## U.S. JETS BLOWN UP IN PUERTO RICO



spring war maneuvers, with 10,000 U.S. troops practicing as an invasion force, a group of people from Vieques sneaked up behind the Marines guarding the beach and set up camp, much to the embarrassment of the "invincible" military brass.

Culebra, another offshore municipality used for aerial and naval target practice, was also a focus of rebellion against the U.S. military presence in Puerto Rico. In 1971, the U.S. Navy moved to grab up even more of Culebra's land mass to expand its bombing activities, sparking a fierce battle as 600 residents refused to be driven from their land.

Reporting on the January 12 bomb-

ing of the U.S. planes, the *N.Y. Times* quoted a National Guardsman as saying, "We've never had anything like this here, Puerto Ricans against Puerto Ricans. The other attack (last year when U.S. Navy personnel were ambushed—*RW*) was against the Navy"—as if to suggest that the National Guard is anything but under the command of the United States. In fact, it was the National Guardsmen and MP's who, under U.S. control, were put on alert in 1979 to deal with any "trouble," while the imperialists showed off their "showcase" of Puerto Rico during their VIII Pan-American Games.

But the fact that the *N.Y. Times* addressed this at all is indicative of a pro-

blem bound to grow for the U.S. With the reinstatement of draft registration (a volatile issue even among forces not pro-independence but who object to compulsory induction into the armed forces of another country), thousands of eligible youth in Puerto Rico are refusing to sign up. Likewise, during the Vietnam War many thousands of youth in Puerto Rico refused to swear to an "oath of allegiance" to fight for the interests of U.S. imperialism. Today, as the independence struggle grows, and as all-around U.S. imperialist war preparations against the Soviet imperialists intensify, the status of Puerto Rico as a prized colonial possession of the U.S. is becoming even more clearly exposed. □

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★★★★★

Haig Gets Four Star Rating

★★★★★

## Reagan & Cabinet:

# A Cast Fit for the Part

As Ronald Reagan prepares to swagger into the Oval Office, considerable attention has been focused on the selection and Senate confirmation of his Cabinet advisors, especially one Alexander Haig, the "tough guy" General proposed for Secretary of State. Commensurate with today's heightened world war preparations between the U.S. and Soviet imperialists, Haig banged his knuckles on the green felt table in the Senate hearing room and spoke to the admiring Senators about the necessity to "restore international civility" (read: unchallenged U.S. domination) to the world.

In regard to the question of nuclear war, he stressed, "There are more important things than peace, there are things which we Americans must be willing to fight for. . . . I know this republic was spawned by armed conflict for the freedoms and liberties that we enjoy today. It was Patrick Henry who stated, 'Give me liberty or give me death.'" He then went on to praise the U.S. role in WW1 and WW2. Clearly, WW3 will be another glorious war worth fighting for the noble cause of defending the "freedoms and liberties" of the rulers of this country to oppress and exploit people all over the world.

And Haig unabashedly defended U.S. crimes throughout the world. He explicitly upheld a number of U.S. actions that he was intimately involved in planning and executing when he served in the Nixon administration—the U.S.-engineered overthrow of the Allende government in Chile, the 1970 bombings of Cambodia, and the 1972 "Christmas" bombings of North Vietnam—saying, "Well, with respect to the Cambodian bombing, I think it was very much in line with past practices in American history" (sic!—RW).

These statements are typical of the "new image" that the Reagan administration is being groomed to provide for U.S. imperialism—an image that is necessary for the "new realities" (deepening economic crisis and approaching world war) faced by the ruling class. While for all intents and purposes the actual content of both sides of the Carter/Reagan election campaign were the same, the hallmark of the Reagan style is a more open and unbridled jingoistic chauvinism and a noticeable lack of the traditional Democratic promises of liberal reforms. (Of course, the Democrats had "realistically" largely abandoned these too.) Reagan's cabinet is designed to further promote this image, which was acclaimed by virtually all—Democrat and Republican alike—in Haig's Senate confirmation hearings. In keeping with the purpose of portraying the new administration as a collection of Western hipshooters riding into the sunrise on the Reagan Wagon Train, the great majority of the Cabinet are relative unknowns with histories of opposing the "bleeding-heart liberals" in Washington. With the exception of Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger who served as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare under Nixon and Ford, none are your traditional high-powered Eastern Establishment types who usually serve in such capacities.

A quick look at some of the shriveled-up faces in Reagan's retinue reveal quite a menagerie. Aside from Haig and Weinberger, we have Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan, former chairman of the Merrill-Lynch stock brokerage firm. They're the ones who are "bullish on America." Both Regan and Moral Majority-type David Stockman, who is the new director of the Office of Management and the Budget, have called for across-the-board cuts in government spending—except for military spending, of course. Faced with a severe economic crisis of potentially huge proportions that is only getting worse, they feel "the

fat must be trimmed." That is, the few crumbs that have been doled out in the past to keep things somewhat stable on the home front (social security, social services, etc.) cannot be funded to the extent that they have in the past. With large corporations such as those in the auto and steel industry facing ruin as the economic crisis worsens, steps must be taken to prop up failing enterprises—or at least let them down slowly. And what better candidates for the treasury and budget jobs than these two—although the born-again Stockman does have a slight black mark on his record. Apparently he was investigated by the Red Squad in Michigan for his activities against the Vietnam War.

John Block, the new Secretary of Agriculture, has called for slashing the food stamp program and "using food as a weapon" in international politics. Billed as being a down-home farmer, Block is actually an Illinois politician and a graduate of West Point who owns a 3,000-acre farm as an investment. A member of his staff is reported to have come out against the government printing books on nutrition, saying, "Hogs eat slop, they don't need any books to know what's good for them." The new Attorney General, William Smith, is a California anti-labor lawyer. James Donovan, the Secretary of Labor designate, is a multimillionaire owner of a New Jersey construction company. He has been talking loudly about how business has been hamstrung by oppressive government labor and safety regulations.

For the new head of the CIA, we have William Casey. A World War 2 intelligence agent, Casey went on to climb the ladder of Wall Street law firms and has previously served as Undersecretary of State, chairman of the Export-Import Bank and head of the Securities & Exchange Commission. James Watt, the new Secretary of the Interior, has made a career out of fighting water pollution standards and strip-mining regulations as president of an anti-environmentalist lobby group. He also is an advocate of nuclear power. Watt also has distinguished himself by statements such as one in which he said he would be afraid to be operated on by a Black doctor because the doctor "might be the product of an affirmative action program."

While all of these imperialist henchmen are bona fide reactionaries and fitting members of the Reagan team, simply leaving the matter at that is very misleading. What high U.S. official hasn't been—in his deeds if not always his words? To leave it at this only helps promote the idea that the rise of Reagan somehow represents the "coming to power" of forces different from the same ruling class that has been behind all previous administrations, whether Democrat or Republican, liberal or conservative. In fact, the Reagan cabinet selections show quite the opposite, revealing something about how U.S. imperialism works and responds to the necessities it faces in maintaining its imperial rule.

As can be seen even in the careers of some of the Reagan appointees above, many in the cabinet are no strangers to the Washington political scene—a fact that has raised howls from Birch Society types who now scream that Reagan has fallen prey to the dictates of the Rockefeller-dominated Trilateral Commission. True, Reagan's team includes new names and faces of the so-called "conservative" persuasion. But, most are marked by being part of the same crowd—usually second-echelon members—that has been around for years in government, including "Eastern" financial groups. As has been demonstrated by the very cordial confirmation process, the major bourgeois groups have no fear that these political operatives will fail to serve them loyally

and follow their dictates. All major policy decisions are not made by Reagan or any of his cabinet alone anyway, but in consultations in the back rooms of the various government departments and in the board rooms and on the various policy commissions of the most powerful and influential sections of the bourgeoisie as a whole. And the smooth transition from the Carter to the Reagan administration also clearly shows that the bourgeoisie as a whole is united in favoring the changes represented by the new administration.

### Haig

Alexander Haig is an ideal example of the type of officials that have been chosen for the Reagan team, although he is indeed one with more experience under his belt than the others. First, he is a military man—a four-star general who quit his job as Supreme Commander of NATO because he felt that Carter was too soft on the Soviets. Secondly, though he has loyally served in important positions in every administration since Kennedy's and is a protégé of Henry Kissinger, he is not widely known to have been associated with past policies. And thirdly, he can be trusted to espouse and implement U.S. foreign policy to the letter, including clanging his medals and rattling his sword as the ruling class sees fit.

Surprisingly, a look at the "illustrious career" of Haig reveals a past which actually stands in stark contrast to how he is commonly being portrayed these days. He is, in fact, much more of a political operative of the more shrewd and calculating representatives of the bourgeoisie than your traditional image of the trigger-happy general. While Haig has definitely only played a supporting and subservient role to those like his mentor Henry the K, he has been active and loyal, and can be trusted to follow their wishes.

Marrying the daughter of a four-star general and coasting into a Pentagon staff job on the basis of influence, Haig based his early political career on his ties to liberal Democrats in the Kennedy administration. His first stint in the White House was as a special assistant to Bobby Kennedy in the aftermath of the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. Haig was then made a special assistant to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. He worked under Joseph Califano and Cyrus Vance, both in the Defense Dept. at that time. It was the outgoing Califano (later Carter's Secretary of HEW) who recommended to Henry Kissinger that Haig become his assistant when Kissinger took office as Nixon's National Security Advisor and later Secretary of State.

Coming into Kissinger's national security staff in 1969, Haig was jumped straight from Colonel to Major General and participated, with Kissinger, in most of the major changes in U.S. policy at that point. Haig accompanied Kissinger to Paris to negotiate the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam after earlier working on the planning of the secret bombing of Cambodia. Haig traveled to China in 1971 as the advance man for Nixon's 1972 trip to Peking, and while in China, Haig had a series of private meetings with the revisionist chieftain Zhou Enlai. And for his political services, Haig was then promoted over 240 more senior officers to 4-star General and made Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army. With this leap-frog career it was clear somebody—most probably Rockefeller—had picked this fellow out.

During Watergate, it was Haig who, as Nixon's White House Chief of Staff, played a central role in helping to get Nixon out of the way and maintaining things until Ford took office. On the orders of Kissinger and others, it was Haig who delivered the ultimatum to Spiro Agnew to resign. It was Haig who

hired special prosecutor Leon Jaworski. It was Haig who approached Gerald Ford a week before Nixon's resignation and asked if he would be prepared to accept the presidency on short notice. It was Haig who distributed copies of the incriminating tapes to key congressional leaders before their public release. He even personally took control of the "black box" with the codes for launching U.S. nuclear missiles at the end when Nixon appeared "unstable."

During the Ford and Carter administrations, Haig played yet another part in service to U.S. interests around the world as Supreme Commander of NATO, quitting in 1979 over differences with the Carter administration at that time and taking a position as president of United Technologies Corporation. He had never really intended to remain outside the government, however.

Is this not a picture of a loyal and trustworthy operative for the most powerful interests among the U.S. bourgeoisie? And during each of these administrations Haig helped develop and espoused the policies of the more farsighted (as farsighted as they are capable of being, anyway) among his superiors. During his Senate confirmation hearings Haig did precisely this, prompting the *New York Times* to comment in its editorial of January 13 on his splendid performance. It is worth quoting a portion of this editorial, entitled "Secretary Haig, Medals and All," because it shows clearly that, far from being a "quick on the draw" gun nut or something of the sort, Haig is in fact a trusted mouthpiece for the interests of a broad consensus within a desperate ruling class which is preparing for a showdown with its equally desperate and vicious superpower rival, and needs to present a more aggressive posture than in the recent past.

"We are ready to concede that Alexander Haig is more diplomat than militarist. . . . (He has) maneuvered past the booby traps that the Reagan campaign left lying around and unhitched his team from the dead weight of the Republican Party platform. Respectful of the politics of the day, he promises a reversal of President Carter's direction; respectful of reality, he supports all of Mr. Carter's major diplomatic achievements. General Haig's confirmation testimony was the sort that leaves mere soldiers stumbling in confusion, but invigorates diplomats everywhere. . . . (He) stands squarely in the mainstream of recent American diplomacy. . . . Able and experienced, loyal to a fault, deft but uninspiring. We'd vote to confirm. . . . If his testimony means anything, General Haig will change the nation's diplomacy more in style than in substance. . . . Where he sounds more belligerent than his predecessors is in emphasizing rather than veiling the fact that diplomacy owes something to the threat of military force. . . . The perception of power certainly influences politics, and General Haig, like all who have cast doubt on American will and strength, now feels a need to wear his medals to the bargaining table." They love it!

### How to Maintain Domination

This last point shows precisely why not only Haig but the whole Reagan team has been put in office. Their role is precisely to "sound more belligerent than their predecessors," but also to take up where the Carter administration left off. In pursuing its objectives of maintaining its domination of the world, the U.S. has adopted various policies and stances in accordance with the developing world situation, especially in relation to the growing strength of Soviet imperialism. And these policies and stances have had their advocates and their detractors. In-fighting over how to proceed has raged within the ruling class. Various representatives of

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## New Upsurge in Poland

After a several week lull in the upsurge of the workers and other sections of the Polish people, things are heating up again as Poland has begun to reverberate with fresh strike actions by workers in conjunction with protests by farmers. The memorial rally in Gdansk several weeks ago to commemorate the workers slain in the anti-government upheavals in 1970 had been the occasion of a massive, joint effort by the Polish Communist Party, the Roman Catholic Church and the top leaders of the independent trade union, Solidarity, to pour cold water on any sparks of rebellion as several hundred thousand Soviet troops remained poised to invade along Poland's borders. At that time, amidst thickly-layered appeals for peace, reason and common sense, Lech Walesa, national leader of Solidarity intoned "Our country needs first of all internal peace. . . We have to learn about conducting negotiations, not about striking" and indicated that if he had his way, the country would be free of strikes for some time to come.

But in the past two weeks the contradictions between the masses and Poland's revisionist rulers have come boiling to the surface again. On December 29, 70 workers and farmers occupied the city hall in the town of Ustrzyki Dolne in southeast Poland with their main demand for an independent farmers union (called Solidarity-Land which already claims 600,000 members) as well as demands for an end to local police repression against union members, investigation of money missing from the coffers of the old Party-controlled union, release of a state-owned hunting area for public use, and a permit to build a church. The next day, the Superior Court in Warsaw postponed indefinitely a decision on whether it would allow an independent farmers' union. By January 7, the number of occupiers had grown to over 200 and in the city of Rzeszow in the same region, 600 members of the "Union of Workers and Farmers of the Rzeszczady Mountains" had also occupied the old official union headquarters there to support the protesters in Ustrzyki Dolne. Also, three factories in the area conducted short two-hour strikes to support the occupations.

Meanwhile, there was mounting opposition to the government announce-

ment in December that it was reneging on its promise, agreed to during the strike wave last August, to introduce free (non-working) Saturdays beginning in 1981. The intensity of the battle over the five-day week is, among other things, a reflection of the sharpening economic crisis in Poland and the fact that the government would be hard pressed to grant this demand even if they wanted to in order to cool things out. Polish Deputy Premier Jagielski went on national TV to complain that the economy could not stand a five-day, 40-hour week and suggested that every other Saturday be free for the time being. The government has calculated that with only a 40-hour week the economy would lose about \$65 million in trade, \$50 million in construction, \$1.1 billion in agriculture and well over \$600 million in specialized and light industries, etc.—in all an estimated 10-15% loss to the economy over all. Jagielski also floated out another government proposal of free Saturdays, but with the work week increased to 42.5 hours. As these supposedly "socialist" government officials whined: "Even in the West, it took a long time to gain the 5-day week."

But clearly the handwriting was on the wall as it became increasingly apparent that the workers were in no mood for compromise on this issue and that the Solidarity leadership could not contain the growing demands. On January 9, the government put out an official release that Saturday, January 10 and 24 would be considered "legal workdays" and threatened violators with sanctions—wage cuts, loss of premiums, loss of childcare subsidies or loss of the 13-month wage (a bonus at the end of the year which is not part of the hourly wage). On Saturday, January 10, sixty-five percent of the Saturday early morning shift in Poland (about 5-6 million workers) did not show up for work as the workers openly defied the government's threats. Numerous key industries were shut down, with only vital public services and stores and shops functioning normally.

These latest actions are an indication that far from being able to convince the Polish workers not to "rock the boat," the bourgeois forces like Walesa in the leadership of the Solidarity organization are still being pushed strongly from



Silkscreening leaflets during the summer strike.

below into taking further stands against the government by the continuing militant actions of the masses. When the Solidarity leaders met in Gdansk on January 6, they were supposed to decide on the question of what stand to take towards the new spontaneous strikes and how to view the apparently growing confrontation with the government. Interestingly enough, there was no official announcement about *any*

decision having been made but the following day it was quickly announced, as momentum was already obviously building for the Saturday protests, that the leading presidium of Solidarity representing all local branches had voted unanimously that only a five-day, 40-hour work week would be acceptable. Walesa was further forced to come out and declare that the government was "trying to destroy the union"

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## Reagan & Cabinet:

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these policies have come forward and been brought forward to champion them. Presidential administrations have gone in and out of favor depending on the particular set of policies they have been associated with. In fact, the reason that there have been so many one-term presidents recently is that the world situation has been developing rapidly, and with it, the necessity for accompanying policy changes. And loyal operatives like Haig have changed their stands as the necessities of U.S. imperialism have changed.

In the period following the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, Haig assisted Kissinger in developing the strategy of "detente" with the Soviet Union. Kissinger is still hated today by "right-wing" types for this policy which they perceive as selling out to the Soviets. In fact, quite the opposite was the case. Detente had nothing whatsoever to do with any sort of appeasement of the Soviets, but was a particular form of *contention* between the two superpowers geared to the necessities of each at the time in advancing their imperialist designs. While one aspect of this was providing a smokescreen of "peace" under which each superpower proceeded with massive weapons buildup, more fundamentally it served as a battlefield for the jockeying and maneuvering of the superpowers.

For the Soviets who were the up-and-coming superpower, detente gave them more favorable ground to advance their interests around the world "peacefully" with various "aid" and investments in the third world, and even more, to gain economic access to Western

Europe where they set up banks and trading companies. In addition it was an opportunity to secure Western capital badly needed to finance its war machine.

For the U.S., the period of detente was an opportunity to pull things back together and repair damage after its humiliating and severe defeat in Vietnam and during a period of crisis for the U.S. in relation both to the "third world" and its own bloc, and to invest in the Soviet Union and its bloc not only to make profits but to try and tie the Soviets into a web of dependence that could be used to influence some forces more favorable to the U.S. to some degree. None of the detente agreements ever stopped either side from advancing its interests by whatever means economic, political or military.

Neither Kissinger, his 4-star sidekick, nor the rest of his crew were particularly wedded to detente. It was simply a tactic—a means to an end. Its purpose was only to prepare for the full-scale battles that were to come. But this period necessitated a new type of very complex diplomacy of which Kissinger became a master. Simply waving bombs in the face of the world wouldn't cut it. Jockeying and maneuvering was going on on many levels and shuttle diplomacy came into being—a practice which Kissinger has never stopped engaging in whether in or out of the government. A higher degree of flexibility in U.S. foreign policy was essential with different methods of struggle and coercion needed to deal with an increasingly complex and volatile world situation.

While the policy of detente has gone through a number of changes and

modifications during the Carter administration and has been increasingly left by the wayside as direct military confrontation comes to the fore, this kind of flexible foreign policy is still all the more key. Haig stressed this fact in his remarks before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "Finally and in some ways most important, American foreign policy must demonstrate balance both in our approach to individual issues and in the orchestration of policy directly. By balance, I mean recognizing that complex issues invariably require us to weigh, and somehow reconcile, a variety of pressures often competing."

### "Human Rights"

After the Watergate affair, Jimmy Carter, an unknown non-descript, untainted with past administrations, was brought forward to be president. Foreign policy was a big issue in his campaign with Kissinger's policies being attacked as struggle ensued over how to deal with the growing strength of the Soviets. Contention was heightening between the superpowers as evidenced by the proxy war between the two in Angola. Under the Carter administration detente was revised. While some of the basic framework of the past was adopted (the SALT talks), alterations were made to hit back harder at the USSR.

A major part of this was Carter's so-called "human rights" crusade and born-again Jimmy was perfect for the part. Part of the purpose of this campaign was to wage a battle against the Soviets in the sphere of world public opinion, attacking them for their im-

perialist exploits around the world and at home as well. The U.S. imperialist murderers and oppressors were to attack the Soviet imperialist murderers and oppressors for "human rights violations," but more importantly the "human rights" policy was a direct challenge and a warning to the USSR, signaling U.S. intentions to more aggressively take them on on all fronts, including stepping up the unleashing of opposition forces within the Soviet Union itself (the so-called "Soviet dissidents") and its bloc generally (as in Poland and Czechoslovakia for example). The aim has been to do as much as possible to "destabilize" countries in Eastern Europe by encouraging opposition forces in these countries.

In countries around the world, the U.S. used the "human rights" weapon to put pressure on regimes who were flirting with the Soviets and to warn others against doing so. All of a sudden certain regimes that had been just fine as long as they followed U.S. dictates became "violators of human rights" for having dealings with the Soviet Union. Under this signboard all U.S. military aid was cut off to Ethiopia, and Uruguay and Argentina's was cut back.

More recently, Carter tried to use this same "human rights" signboard as a weapon in U.S. dealings in some countries where pro-U.S. regimes were facing difficulties in maintaining their hold over the masses of people. Needless to say it has only been employed selectively, certainly not in places like Iran. This ploy has been used in a double-edged way. First it was used as a method of putting pressure on these regimes to

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## Hostage Release Expected

# Imperialist Extorters Try Again

Over the past week, the tempo of the secret hostage negotiations between the U.S. and Iranian governments has picked up speed. While hitches are always possible, as we go to press, the release of the 52 captured U.S. embassy personnel is clearly growing closer, and new developments are likely to break in the days ahead. The Iranian parliament has just passed crucial legislation greasing the way for settling the "hostage crisis" on U.S. terms and Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher is "on station" in Algeria while his superiors in Washington, D.C. are drooling in anticipation.

While politicians and the press alike sing the praises of "patient negotiating" and "firm yet fair diplomacy," the actual negotiating tactics employed by the U.S. imperialists in recent months are more akin to the strong-arm tactics of thugs and bruisers hired by Mafia dons to "reason" with defaulting debtors: threats, followed by a preliminary working over, then more threats, then send in a team to really bust up the place, then more and graver threats.

This is not just "Carter's method" or "Reagan's method." This has been the method employed consistently by the U.S. imperialists in attempting to force the Iranian bourgeoisie back into the camp ever since the revolution. The most vivid demonstration of this after numerous setbacks around springing the hostages, due to the revolutionary determination and vigilance of the Iranian people, was the U.S.'s unleashing of its Iraqi "button men" in a vicious war of aggression designed to destroy Iran's economic and military base, seize vital territory, and continue to squeeze until Iran's bourgeois leadership cried "uncle." It is important to note (as a lesson for future reference) that even as concession after concession is extorted from Iran's bourgeoisie, the volume of threatening bluster from the U.S. government grows louder, and the maneuvers designed to intimidate and "teach respect" grow ever more numerous.

It is important to the U.S. imperialists that the Reagan administration take power in the flush of a "reassertion of the U.S. might" and with the hostage issue successfully behind. Reagan, the latest piece of trash destined for the White House, attacked the Iranian people as "barbarians" last Christmas—the sort of rhetoric that often precedes the "civilizing influence" of a military intervention or some other escalation of God and U.S. imperialism. Early this year, Reagan "warned Iran" that the government "better deal with the Carter administration"—reinforcing the current theme in the U.S. imperialist press that Reagan is truly a man to be feared by those who would dare to be so uncivilized as to challenge U.S. control or the blood-drenched dictatorships who carry it out in oppressed nations throughout the world (after all, the Shah lived in a palace—how could he be uncivilized?).

As has been pointed out repeatedly in the pages of the *RW*, it is no surprise that the Iranian bourgeoisie, faced with massive U.S. military, economic and political blackmail, is now moving rapidly to release the hostages on essentially the terms the U.S. has laid down. For some time they have been maneuvering in this direction, seeking only to find some formula under which they could conceal from the Iranian people the major move toward all-round capitulation to the U.S. which this signifies. To this day, they are keeping the charade that they are not negotiating with the U.S. but with Algeria instead. That it has taken so long for the deal to be struck is not only a result of the U.S. "hard line" stand but is testimony to the difficulty of pulling this off without setting off new and unpredictable upheavals among the Iranian masses. The demand of large

*As we go to press, the reports grow louder of imminent agreement between the U.S. and Iranian governments. Perhaps they will finally come to terms, perhaps the deal will collapse again. But if the hostage episode is finally ended, we are led to reflect back over the past year and a quarter. And a fine time it has been. What will be worthy of note will not so much be the fact that the Iranian government has finally capitulated and come to terms with the U.S. (after all, that government represents the bourgeoisie, what else could ultimately be expected from that class?) What is really noteworthy—and quite excellent—is the fact that the U.S. imperialists have repeatedly stood exposed, not only in their criminal activities toward Iran, but in their underlying and growing weakness. True, these imperialists still have some strength, which has enabled them to*

*keep up their plotting and scheming and attacks on Iran. But it is not this rotting strength that has stood out, but the strength of the Iranian people who, inspiring revolutionary minded people around the world, have time and again stood up against both superpowers and in particular, rubbed the U.S. imperialists' face in their own treachery and weaknesses. And the revolutionary people of Iran have kept it up for all this time, even with a government which was holding back their initiative and full revolutionary potential. And even if the hostage deal goes through, there is every reason to believe that the U.S. imperialists will keep hearing from the Iranian people. No matter what twists and turns lie ahead, this whole wild event is like an omen that gives us still more confidence in the bright opportunities that are developing in the world.*

sections of the Iranian people that the hostages be put publicly on trial for their crimes (especially the top veteran CIA operatives and experts at counter-revolutionary subversion on the embassy staff) has been given only lip service, or used as an occasional idle threat in the government's jockeying with the U.S. on the hostage issue. The demand that the U.S. "apologize" for the crimes committed during the 27 year reign of the "American Shah" and the return of the wealth stolen by the Shah—themselves hardly revolutionary demands—have now been utterly dropped as well.

When negotiations began in December, with Algeria serving as an intermediary, the Iranians demanded the release of \$14 billion in frozen Iranian assets and another \$10 billion in U.S. funds to be held by Algeria pending the settlement of disputes regarding the Shah's wealth. The U.S. responded that it could do nothing about the Shah's wealth, that it had frozen not \$14 billion in Iranian assets but \$9.5 billion, and that of that figure, only 73% could be returned to Iran because the rest was subject to claims by U.S. corporations for damages arising from the Iranian revolution! Early this week Iran's parliament cleared the way for a settlement along these lines by passing a bill that would allow such U.S. claims (as well as Iranian claims vs. the U.S., of course) to be submitted to international arbitration.

### U.S. "Non-Interference"

Since, it should be remembered, Iranian assets were frozen by the U.S. banks and institutions after the seizure of the U.S. embassy, and not before, the U.S. "offer" to return a portion of these funds "upon release of the hostages," is nothing but a gesture of contempt. In addition, of course, the U.S. has made an absurd *pro forma* statement to the effect that it "did not intend to intervene in Iran's internal affairs." Of course not; did the U.S. ever admit during the Vietnam War that it was "interfering in Vietnam's internal affairs"? Did the Soviet imperialists admit to "interfering in the internal affairs" of Afghanistan? Since the U.S. does not admit that it was guilty of "interfering in Iran's internal affairs" during the rule of the Shah, since it does not admit that the CIA-engineered 1953 coup which installed the Shah in power constituted such "interference," since it does not admit that the so-called "hostage rescue mission" of last April, in which a U.S. military force entered Iran in a plan to topple the government in tandem with counterrevolutionaries within the country, constituted "interference," of what use is this precious "statement of intention"? (Not that such admissions, even if the U.S. did find it tactically convenient to make them, would serve any other purpose

than as a smokescreen for its next act of imperialist intervention.)

And yet, the more brazen floor leaders for capitulation in Iran's parliament are attempting to portray "acceptance" of these terms and the "promise" of the imperialists as a "fantastic victory." Behzad Nabavi, Iran's chief hostage negotiator, gave a particularly craven address to the parliament on January 14. "The hostages are like a fruit from which all the juice has been squeezed out... Let us let them all go," this "tough negotiator" suggested—and on the U.S. terms, to boot. But Nabavi lamely tried to pass all this off as a "fantastic victory... a superpower has been pushed to the conclusion that it promised not to interfere in Iranian affairs any more. You may say it is only something written on paper, but the important thing is, we have made such a great power to confess and put it to paper."

But if this "victory" is anything other than a scrap of paper, who is behind the invasion of Iran by Iraq, which to this day continues to occupy Iranian soil and keep up the pressure on the Iranian bourgeoisie and their crisis ridden economy, if not the U.S. imperialists? Isn't it obvious that U.S. ties with "moderate" forces within Iran have not vanished or abated, but further developed over the last several months? And if, as Mr. Nabavi contends, the hostages are merely a "fruit from which the juice has been squeezed out," is it credible that the voracious appetite of imperialism will be quenched if the Iranian government throws in an orange peel? Hasn't it become clear, through every aggressive act the U.S. has committed against the Iranian people since the revolution, as well as by the whole history of U.S. domination and exploitation, that Iran itself is the ripe fruit which the U.S. covets and intends to attempt to squeeze dry once again, as it did under the Shah?

A revealing element in the debate in Iran's parliament was the new tone of

attempting to bully and suppress any members who—for whatever reasons—raised any objections to capitulation on the hostage question. One delegate who raised a series of objections was subjected to ridicule by speaker Rafsanjani of the Islamic Republic Party and a prominent "moderate" (read: pro-Western) leader. Rafsanjani led others in shouting the delegate down, and when he requested "five minutes to explain myself," Rafsanjani jeered, "In fact, for explaining, you would need 15 minutes, and even that is not enough."

These, as well as a variety of other indications, show that those forces within Iran who favor some sort of accommodation with the U.S. (as well as those who've been in the imperialist camp all along) are currently "feeling their oats" and becoming somewhat more brazen. At the same time, the U.S. imperialists themselves, on the offensive throughout the Persian Gulf and scenting blood within Iran, will certainly step up to new levels their aggressive designs; this will be so whether or not the hostages are set free soon.

The decisive question which the hostage issue concentrates is not any formula for financial reparations or "guarantees," etc. The embassy seizure and holding the American hostages was of great significance to the Iranian people because it both exposed the continued role of U.S. imperialist counter-revolutionary sabotage and collaboration with internal enemies, and threw a huge obstacle in the path of those bourgeois forces who wished at that time to swiftly "strike a deal" with the West. Even the just demand for the return of the Shah and his plunder was secondary to this fundamental political fact.

And the U.S. imperialists grasped this as well. Their obsession with "the return of the hostages" has been based not on some sentimental concern for

Continued on page 24

Pamphlet from the  
*Revolutionary Worker*

price: 25¢

Excerpts from a speech by  
**Bob Avakian, Chairman of the  
Central Committee of the  
Revolutionary Communist Party,  
November 18, Washington D.C.**

Available from:  
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# Reagan & Cabinet:

Continued from page 4

take steps in altering their methods of rule in accordance with plans devised by the U.S. Second and more importantly, U.S. human rights criticisms were part of U.S. efforts to maneuver among the opposition forces in these countries in hopes of gaining influence in these movements and offset Soviet influence in them in order to be in the best position should a new government come to power. For example in South Korea, while backing the fascist government there the U.S. also attacked it for violating human rights. The U.S. also backed two opposition leaders and parties to the extent that Carter met with one of these leaders on his trip to Korea.

However, the very fact that the U.S. found itself in increasing difficulty in many parts of the world, like in Iran, Central America and other parts of the world, is to a large extent due to U.S. imperialism's declining economic reserves. The neo-colonies of the U.S. and the entire U.S. bloc are enmeshed in a deepening economic crisis that is forcing the U.S. to seek the only way out—a new and more favorable division of the world which can only be achieved by going to war with the Soviet Union and winning. No fundamental stability can be achieved in these countries or in the bloc as a whole short of accomplishing this. While certain steps can be taken in the short run to prevent total disaster in this or that area of U.S. domination based on the remaining economic strength of the U.S., more and more it's raw military power that must be employed to attempt to suppress the struggle of the masses of people in these countries and to advance U.S. strategic military interests in preparation for taking on the Soviets. (Although the same dynamic of tightening up the preparation for war may lead in particular cases to the U.S. employing more "peaceful" means.)

The criticisms of the "human rights" signboard by Reagan (as well as the "modifications" of it by Carter) are reflections of the fact that for the U.S. piecemeal solutions and "holding actions" are all subordinate to dealing with their *entire* world position—that is, getting prepared for world war. The decisions on what exact steps to take in this regard in any particular country or area are made on the basis of the overall strategic interests of the U.S. Thus we have witnessed a noticeable toning down of talk about "human rights" in a number of places where this ploy was used. In South Korea for example the regime was able to smash an upsurge of the masses and temporarily stabilize the situation through armed force including that of U.S. troops stationed in the country. Talk by the U.S. of human rights violations in South Korea is noticeably absent these days as the U.S. has stood behind the fascist regime there.

## Protecting the "Arsenal of Democracy"

Faced with this situation where U.S. options are diminishing along with their economic reserves, the U.S. must try to create U.S. and world public opinion for overt military actions that it knows will be unpopular and a break from past norms. While exposure of Soviet "violations of human rights" and their "godless communist dictatorship" will not only be continued but stepped in the next period, clearly the U.S. ruling class wants to cool out some of the past human rights rhetoric in regard to many of the places where its puppets are being challenged, since it is increasingly forced to back these regimes to the hilt rather than maintain their control by supporting opposition forces. And overall they are attempting to condition people to accept whatever political and military moves the U.S. makes on the basis that however distasteful any particular action may be it is for the glorious cause of building up the great U.S. "arsenal of democracy" in opposition to Soviet aggression. After all, who cares about backing this or that dictator, if necessary. We've always

backed dictators anyway in order to protect more important and sacred interests—U.S. imperialism, the bastion and defender of reaction in the world. This is more and more what the imperialists are emphasizing. While at this time they are only just casually floating out ideas like "even a U.S. first strike against the USSR would be justified if it was in order to protect the cause of peace and freedom in the world," this is the direction things are clearly headed in. Kissinger has been running around speaking about a five year "window of opportunity" for the Soviets, during which the U.S. may have to strike first, before it's too late.

## New Faces for "New Realities"

Enter Ronnie and his gang galloping into the White House with trigger-mouths blazing. The Carter style was just not suited for the "new realities" the U.S. is now facing. While Jimmy and his advisors have already been implementing the very same policies that Reagan will (witness the Carter Doctrine and his response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan), clearly a change in the cast of characters was in order. Kissinger's boy, Alexander Haig will begin in earnest to implement and help develop U.S. foreign policy. Guided by his shuttling mentor, Haig will apply U.S. policy in the flexible manner necessary in the complex world situation today while Ronnie and others will be trotted out at the appropriate times to shoot off their mouths.

What has happened is the development of the same contention, the same fundamental contradiction that underlay "detente", into more open and more overtly military contention between the two superpowers (though

aspects of the detente policy will continue to be applied). And along with this development has come a series of changes in personalities in the government in accordance with these developments and other political necessities faced by the bourgeoisie. It is the changing necessities of U.S. imperialism that has called forth the changing of faces in the White House, not the other way around.

All of this argues directly against various ideas that some have put forward that Reagan and his cabinet are representatives of some kind of "right wing" separate and apart from the bourgeoisie as a whole or a supposed "fascist section" of the ruling class. This is clearly not the case nor could it be. The incoming administration represents the needs and necessity of the U.S. imperialists as a whole—a fact reflected in the ease in which the Reagan cabinet has been approved in the largely cordial and congenial air that pervaded the Senate confirmation hearings (with the exception of some minor bickering over Haig's involvement in Watergate). Certainly the new mouthpieces in the White House will be more rabid and jingoistic, more crudely chauvinistic and neanderthal as has been mentioned earlier but they have been installed there by those who hold the real power for very specific purposes. If they get out of line, prove unreliable or get in the way, they will simply be replaced. But for now they are fine.


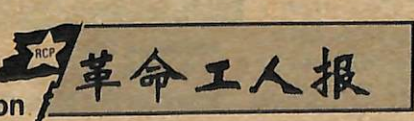
One more example of just how the bourgeois works to promote plans and policies commensurate with the particular political needs they have at any given time can be found on the same page of the *New York Times* as the an-

nouncement of the conclusion of the hearings on Alexander Haig. Here an article appears reporting on the flowering of the "conservative think tank" called the American Enterprise Institute. The institute is headed by William J. Baroody, Jr., who served as a White House aid to Gerald Ford and a Congressional assistant to former Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, and is a center for the Reagan "brain trust." The *Times* article compares this institute to its counterpart, the liberal Brookings Institute, which played an important part in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations including shaping Johnson's Great Society programs. The annual budget of the American Enterprise Institute today is nearly the same as that of the Brookings Institute, \$10.4 million, nearly double what it was after the 1976 elections. And who is responsible for this injection of funds? The Moral Majority? The John Birch Society? No. According to the *Times*, 60% of the money for this endeavor comes from the ruling class foundations, such as the Smith Richardson Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Trust. And the rest comes from major corporations including Bethlehem Steel, Exxon, J.C. Penney and the Chase Manhattan Bank.

The bourgeoisie is running a class dictatorship. While the faces, style and even the particular form of rule they need to use may vary according to various conditions, the essence of this dictatorship will never change as long as this class is in power.



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Signatures, Dollars for Washington Post Ad

# Mao Defendants Committee Announces New Plans

On January 2nd the D.C. Court of Appeals announced their decision to deny the petition for a rehearing, before the full court, of the government appeal in the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. At that time the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants and the Revolutionary Communist Party called on people to step up their efforts, to continue to broaden and deepen the work done among all classes and strata in society in exposing and mobilizing many more people against this railroad. As part of these stepped up efforts, the Committee has recently announced a campaign for signatures on a statement of outrage to run in the *Washington Post* around the time that the Defendants file a legal petition demanding that the Supreme Court hear the case.

With the Court of Appeals' denial of the Defendants' petition for a rehearing, the case has reached a critical juncture. The bourgeoisie has declared its determination to press ahead with their railroad and by taking the case up to the level of the Supreme Court, they've eliminated all but one legal avenue available to the Defendants before the case could be returned to the lower trial court. This crucial juncture in the case demands stepped up efforts in the all-around work to defeat the railroad and

defend revolutionary leadership.

It's with this in mind that, as a major part of its upcoming work, the Committee has planned on publishing this public statement of outrage. This statement will be circulated among, and taken up by, the thousands who have already expressed their outrage at this attack as well as among many thousands more broadly in all strata throughout society. There will be an effort to reach and get signatures for publication, as well as donations, from prominent and progressive individuals and organizations to the working class and masses of oppressed nationalities, people from every walk of life and every section of society. In addition to winning people to signing and circulating this statement, work must also be stepped up on every other front, especially stepping out in a big way around fund-raising.

While this step in the legal battle against the railroad is an important juncture, the decision of the Supreme Court about whether or not to hear the case will be based on the same fundamentally political factors that every other court decision has been based on. The ruling class, through its nine high priests of imperialist justice, will carefully weigh its necessity for pressing ahead with their attack at this time

**DEFEAT THE APPEAL!  
DROP ALL CHARGES ONCE AND FOR ALL!  
KEEP BOB AVAKIAN AND THE MAO DEFENDANTS FREE!**

To: The District of Columbia Court of Appeals, U.S. Attorney Carl Rau, and Asst. U.S. Attorney Mary Ellen Abrecht

**DEFEAT THE APPEAL! DROP ALL THE CHARGES ONCE AND FOR ALL!  
KEEP BOB AVAKIAN AND THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS FREE!**

National Office of the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants  
2108 18th St. N.W., D.C. 20009  
Phone: (202) 387-8843

Today, March 23rd, in the D.C. Court of Appeals, the U.S. government is seeking to reinstate the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, and to drag them through another railroad back into the courts from which it was dismissed last November due to its massive protests. The defense is supported by the Court of Appeals by an "amicus curiae" written by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and signed by the National Conference of Black Lawyers and the National Lawyers Guild. The ad coordinated actions and demonstrations will be held in many cities including Washington, D.C. today to defeat this appeal.

The judge's dismissal order cited a defense motion which charged "prosecutorial vindictiveness" by the U.S. Government against the Revolutionary Communist Party, its members and supporters. This motion cites the history of the mushrooming of criminal charges and top level government involvement against Bob Avakian and 16 other defendants in this case.

- \* First arrested on January 29, 1979 at a demonstration in front of the White House against the visit of Chinese Vice Premier Teng Huaoping to the U.S., 78 persons were charged with misdemeanor riot.
- \* Within 12 hours charges were leveled to felonious assault on police officers when former U.S. Attorney Earl Schert, of Washington fame, personally appeared in court to state that the U.S. Government had "good cause" against all 78.
- \* In late June, 17 were notified of their indictment on 5 to 7 felony charges. Bob Avakian was among those indicted although up to the present time no government witness at a police lineup has identified him - even as having been present at the scene of the crimes for which he is charged.
- \* In early July one group of 8 defendants was arraigned on 12 felony charges and a second group of 9 defendants on 15 felony charges. All 17 were charged with misdemeanor riot.
- \* In mid-August, following a defense motion to consolidate the two groups into one common trial, the U.S. Attorney reindicted all 17 defendants and all were re-arrested on 26 felony charges and one misdemeanor.

So long as this case is pending in the Court of Appeals, Bob Avakian and the other 16 defendants can, at any time in the next 2 to 18 months or more, again face these same charges. They may still be forced to go on trial for their political views in a case which cannot be allowed to set the political climate for the 1980s.

When plans for this major trial of political repression targeting Bob Avakian and the 16 others were made, the U.S. Government failed to take into account the thousands upon thousands of people from all walks of life across this country who would have begun to step forward to stand against this vicious attack. It was in the face of this ever-growing opposition to their attack on the 17 that the U.S. Government was forced to back off. But the U.S. Attorney's plan to appeal the dismissal of the charges simply demonstrates that the U.S. Government may very well try to reinstate these charges at a more favorable time.

We will not allow the opposition of thousands to the U.S. Government's attack on the Mao Tsetung Defendants to be sidetracked by the transference of this case to the Court of Appeals. Most importantly, we will never stand by silently and allow the U.S. Government to work out new tactics to pursue this outrageous attack. We demand:

1/2 page ad signed by hundreds run in the Washington Post, March 1980.

against the political price they will have to pay for doing so. This statement, bringing to bear the force of many thousands, as well as all the other work of the Committee and the Party and to-

gether with the intensifying objective situation, will play a big part in creating the white hot political atmosphere in society needed to defeat this railroad once and for all.

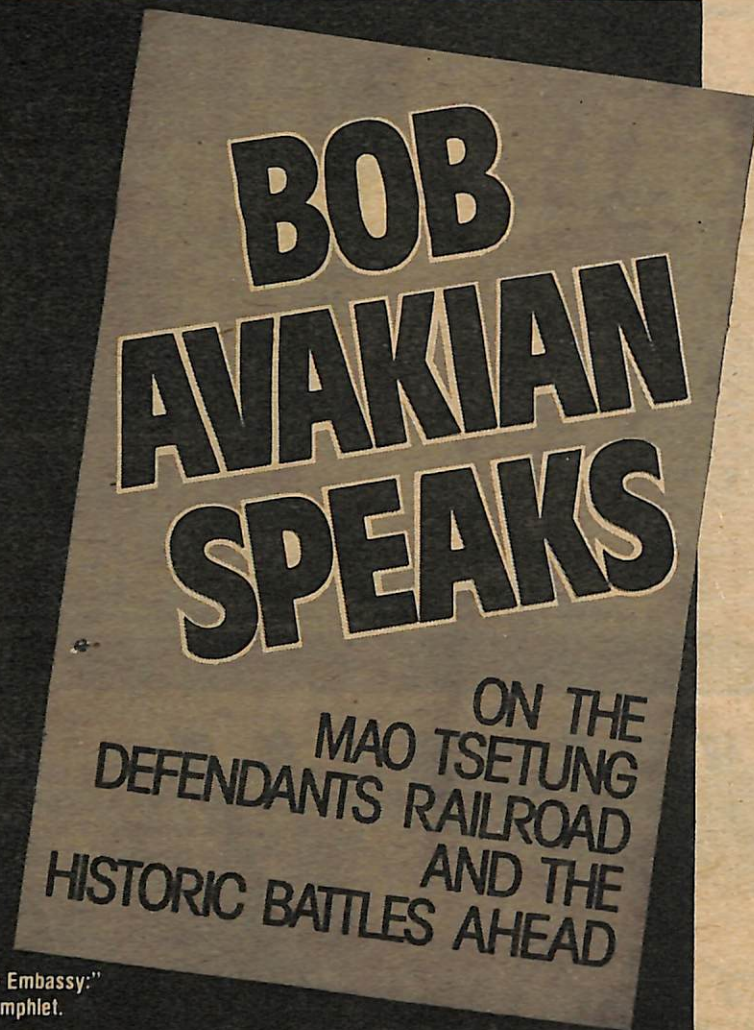
**New Pamphlet, Soon to be Available!**

"Bob Avakian Speaks on the Mao Tsetung Defendants Railroad and the Historic Battles Ahead" is the text of a speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA delivered on November 18, 1979 in Washington D.C. at a rally of over 800 people at an important juncture in the battle to free Comrade Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants, arrested on charges totaling 241 years each. The government had been forced to retreat and maneuver, temporarily dropping all charges in the case in the face of broad and very active support for the defendants all across the country. Since that time the decision to drop the charges has been overturned in federal appeals court and the government's railroad is back on track.

Comrade Avakian's speech, delivered at a crucial turning point in the battle sums up what the government was up to at that particular point in the case and goes deeply into why they are going after the RCP and why they came down so viciously on the January 29, 1979 demonstration against Deng Xiaoping's visit to Washington D.C., which the charges against the Mao Tsetung Defendants stem from. Even more significant is Comrade Avakian's profound and sweeping presentation on the objective situation today facing revolutionaries and the masses of people, the real necessity and possibility for making revolution in the period ahead and urgently preparing to do so today. Finally, he speaks powerfully for an uncompromisingly internationalist and revolutionary stand in support of the struggle of the people of Iran, who had just delivered a body blow to U.S. imperialism with the taking of the U.S. Embassy and hostages in Tehran.

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Contains the text of "Iran It's Not Our Embassy" previously published as a separate pamphlet.



**Funds are urgently needed for legal expenses and for the work of publicity around the case of Bob Avakian and the other Mao Tsetung Defendants**

**Make checks and money orders payable to:  
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## Major Events in the Mao Tsetung Defendants Case

In October, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals reversed a lower court ruling and reinstated a 25 felony count indictment against Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. This latest move is a serious escalation in the government's attempt to cripple the RCP. From its beginning, the case has represented a sharp political attack:

- \* The charges stem from a police assault on a January 1979 demonstration protesting the U.S. visit of Chinese revisionist leader, Deng Xiaoping. Initiated by the RCP, the demonstration upheld the revolutionary banner of Mao Tsetung, denounced the revisionist coup d'etat which had taken place after Mao's death, and protested the

enlistment of China into the U.S. war bloc.

- \* Originally, 78 people were arrested. Six months later, 17 were indicted, then shortly after, reindicted, the charges mushrooming to 25 felonies and possible jail time of 241 years. The government tried to hide the political nature of its attack behind blatantly fabricated criminal charges.
- \* On November 14, 1979, the charges were dropped before the case had gone to trial. "Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian—Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants" had become a battle cry in the months prior. The political support of thousands and thousands of people had been mobilized, and in the face of this, the bourgeoisie was forced to tempor-

arily retreat. But events that followed showed that the enemy was also maneuvering.

- \* Immediately following the dismissal, government prosecutors filed an appeal. This appeal was actually an escalation of the political attack. It admitted what they had been denying all along, that they were prosecuting the case on the basis of political conspiracy.
- \* Throughout the year that the case hung in the appeals court, the bourgeoisie stepped up attacks on the RCP on other fronts. The Secret Service was unleashed on Bob Avakian, over 800 RCP members and supporters were arrested, especially in connection with Revolutionary May Day, 1980, and RCP member Damian Garcia was

murdered by police agents.

- \* On October 21, 1980, the charges were reinstated. With the reinstatement of the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, the stakes have again been raised. A major counter-offensive is called for, and ever broader forces must be mobilized in the battle. Join the struggle to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants! Contact the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants or the RCP in your area.

Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants  
Box 6422 "T" Station  
Washington, D.C. 20009

## Deaths in Chicago as Ambulances Wait

# Paramedics' "Intensive Care" For Black People

Just before noon Calvin Graves was stricken with a heart attack at the Lawndale Housing projects on the West side of Chicago. An emergency call went in to 911 and a Chicago Fire Department paramedic team arrived on the scene. The hospital stood just 2 blocks away. But with all of this working in Calvin Graves' favor, he might just as well have been dead. He would die from ideological poison provided by our ruling class—racism.

The two white paramedics who answered the call sat in their ambulance refusing to aid Graves without "police protection." Foremost in their narrow minds was the thought that this was a "high risk area," another Black housing jungle they dare not set foot in

without the police. For at least 20 minutes these two sat in their ambulance deaf to neighbors and janitors who pleaded with them to save the life of Calvin Graves. "If you're scared, I'll protect you!" offered one of the residents as others held the elevator doors. "YOU bring him down!" said one of the paramedics and they moved the ambulance to a less conspicuous place until their gun toting escorts arrived. All the while Graves lay dying in an 8th floor apartment.

When the paramedics finally got to Graves they didn't bother to check his pulse or give any type of preliminary treatment. His dying body was thrown, uncovered, onto a stretcher and carried out into the winter cold to be dumped in

the back of the ambulance. Nearly an hour later Graves was pronounced dead.

As news of this outrage spread among the people in the projects, the press and city leaders—obviously very nervous—cranked up their well-oiled public opinion machine, set the dial to "racist attack" and churned out their well worn bull to cool out the anger and justify this latest outrage. A fire department spokesman, backing the paramedics, revealed that more than individual racism was involved, saying it was standard policy for their paramedics to call for police assistance if they "feel" their personal safety is in jeopardy. The Chicago Fire Department has a long history of racist hiring

practices, which they only "changed" recently *during a strike* by firemen. The two paramedics were hastily assigned to desk jobs until an "investigation" was completed. (READ: "Just until things cool off.")

Other paramedics were interviewed by news reporters recounting emotion-packed nightmares of their "bad experiences with THOSE people", particularly in the Black community. Cook County medical examiner Robert Stein (apparently a prophet) said reassuringly, "a million paramedics could not have helped (Graves) had they been there at the moment he was stricken. HIS TIME HAD COME!" Perhaps Stein thinks if all paramedic units were issued crystal balls they could know whether to rush to a call or take in a movie on the way. But more to the point is the real message Stein delivered from his masters: A Black person's death just isn't worth all this bally-hoo.

Obviously worried about the mood in the Black community, the day after Calvin Graves' death Mayor Byrne called a press conference. Flanked by the police commissioner and fire chief, she delivered the city's seal of approval to the paramedics' action and used the opportunity to add another blow to the Black people of Chicago. The *solution* to this outrage?? Better communication between the pigs and the fire department and more federally funded escort police. So here was the typical official "contribution" to the situation: vicious insinuations that Black people are responsible for their own conditions and marauding cops as the solution to the problems of the Black community.

As if to add an exclamation point to the outrageousness of this "solution", a few days later the State Attorney's office cleared two Chicago cops who beat another man to death when they came to offer their "services" in a neighbor's domestic dispute. After describing the lacerations, headwounds and body trauma the victim had suffered, along with witness accounts that "the victim's head had been repeatedly banged against the pavement," the *Chicago Tribune* article concluded "the injuries sustained by the victim were consistent with those that might be received in a normal scuffle with police officers." A fine example of the kind of results that can be expected from such increased "police services."

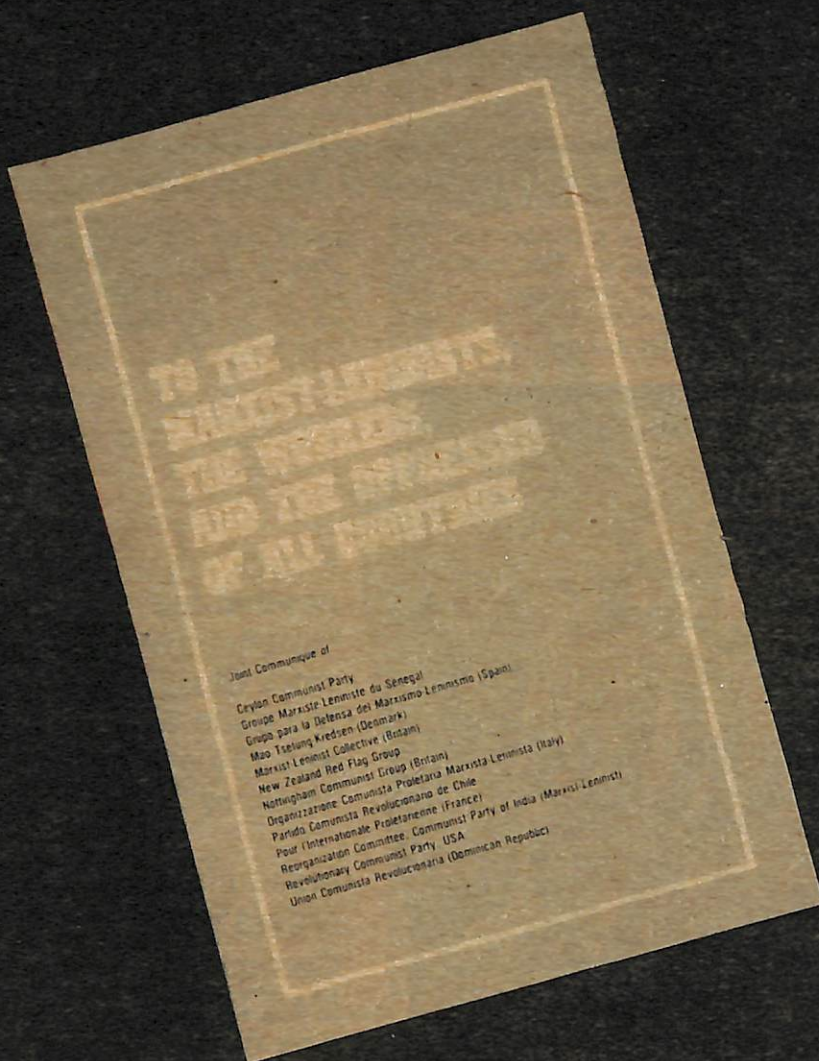
Showing that the incident involving Calvin Graves was no isolated one, *two* more Black people died within the following week in similar incidents. One West side man, John Scott, 61, died at work when it took 25 minutes for paramedics to show up. In another incident at a South side housing project, a 42 year old woman, Jessie McCottrell, died. Family members told paramedics of the stricken woman's history of heart trouble as they waited outside for 20 minutes. This time there was even a police car with these paramedics as they waited. The *Chicago Sun Times* reported the woman's son told them "the paramedics arrived at his home shortly after the emergency call and were followed by a patrol car. He said the paramedics and a police sergeant refused to enter the building until a second police car arrived." A SECOND police car. Maybe next time it will be a full invading army, complete with tanks. Once again, of course, this was fully supported afterward by fire department officials.

A resident who was involved in trying to help Calvin Graves saw very clearly the oppression and the "divide and conquer" tactics of the ruling class. "We need to junk it (the system)," he said to the *Revolutionary Worker* as he took a bundle of *RW's* to distribute. "That's the main thing we have to do. We have to unite Black, white, Hispanic, and others. Unless we unite, we ain't gonna do nothing. We have to rally around each other." □

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### Announcing: Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement

A draft document from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA for discussion in the international communist movement and within their respective Parties. The document was submitted to the autumn 1980 international conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, which held that, "on the whole, the text is a positive contribution toward the elaboration of a correct general line for the international communist movement. With this perspective, the text should be circulated and discussed not only in the ranks of those organizations who have signed this communique, but throughout the ranks of the international communist movement."

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# REPORT ON ML KING DAY DEMONSTRATIONS

Thursday, January 15, Washington, D.C. Over 50,000 people turned out, despite heavy snow and freezing temperatures, for the march and rally called to demand that January 15th be made an official national holiday in honor of Martin Luther King. The crowd was overwhelmingly Black people who had gathered from all over the country. Signs and homemade banners indicated that people had come from various walks of life: college and high school students, fraternities and sororities, church organizations, and various trade union groups such as independent construction workers, hospital workers, teachers and others. In addition to many pictures of Martin Luther King and flags bearing his picture that the march organizers had passed out, there were many homemade signs and banners expressing the aspirations of the masses for freedom and equality and there were a number of signs protesting the recent attacks by the Klan, and other reactionaries, on the Black masses.

In the week before, the march had become a big mass question in D.C. Some people had printed up their own leaflets and were distributing them on the sidewalks. And the day before, throughout the city, debate and discussion about the march and what it represented raged all over the city, on buses, at lunch counters and bars. At a crowded bus stop the night before the march, one youth who had taped Stevie Wonder's television appearance that morning, just kept playing it over and over again while he was waiting for the bus, missing several buses in the process.

At one lunch counter, an *RW* correspondent walked into a big argument which had erupted among 20 people over the significance of the day, where one brother kept stressing, "Look, we've gotta fight, we've gotta figure out what to do." Among the broad masses, it was clear that the march had come to symbolize more than just the issue of a holiday for King's birthday, and overwhelmingly people viewed their participation in the march as taking a stand against national oppression and the intensifying attacks coming down on the Black masses today.

The coordinating office in D.C., headed by a P.R. man with close ties to the Black congressional caucus tried very hard to limit the scope of the protest to the congressional bill for a national holiday. One revealing thing was who the march coordinators invited to participate and who they didn't. One of the D.C. coordinators for the Martin Luther King Day Mobilization office stated that they had a computer list of all the different Black organizations in the country and were very careful about who they selected to invite. The coordinator stressed that they were being very cautious that the demonstration did not issue a broader statement, and said that the success of the demonstration would really depend on grass roots mobilization, by which he meant local city councils mobilizing their social base. But it is interesting to note that there were even a number of local city council members and local poverty pimps, particularly in the poorer sections of the city, who every year have held celebrations in honor of

King, who were not approached. One example was in Anacostia, a section of Southeast D.C., across the river where the Black masses, many of whom have been driven out of the Northwest section of the city by the "regentrification" program, live in horribly overcrowded conditions, and the whole area has the feeling of a reservation like Soweto. Local

political figures in Anacostia have held annual celebrations on the 15th, but they were snubbed by the coordinating office, who apparently did not want the basic masses from the worst ghettos in town to attend in large numbers. However, Stevie Wonder, who has appeared at the Anacostia celebrations in the past two

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## JAN. 15th: NEW YORK

*On Martin Luther King's birthday, events were held by forces of different political views in different cities around the country. Below are reports from New York City and Buffalo.*

200 marchers surged across the Brooklyn Bridge and rallied at City Hall in Manhattan in a march called by the Black United Front on the anniversary of Martin Luther King's birthday. The march, which raised the demand, "Come out and denounce the refusal of the U.S. Congress to declare Dr. King's birthday a national holiday," was in solidarity with the Stevie Wonder initiated mass march in Washington, D.C. In addition, the march was aimed at denouncing the steadily intensifying oppression of Black people and other national minorities by the government and the ruling class.

At the rally at City Hall, where the police showed up in force and initially—and unsuccessfully—attempted to deny the marchers the use of the City Hall steps, the main speech was given by the Reverend Herbert Daughtry, the chairman of the National Black United Front.

Daughtry, in his speech, said that, "We are living in revolutionary times" and "witnessing the unfolding of a world revolutionary process." At the same time, he emphasized his view that Black and other poor people must at this point devote substantial energy to the struggle in the electoral arena. He issued a call for a concerted campaign to dump Mayor Koch, the notorious

racist mayor of New York City, in the upcoming mayoral elections.

Daughtry, in commenting on the role of Martin Luther King, said that he believed it was important to note that while King himself was a preacher of non-violence, "the movement he led was not a non-violent movement," because throughout the '60s Black people were forced to defend themselves violently against the violent repression by the ruling class.

A number of other speakers addressed the crowd, representing a wide range of political viewpoints, including Barry Commoner, the presidential candidate of the Citizens Party in 1980, and State Assemblyman Al Vann, and a representative of Black Veterans for Social Justice. A speaker from the Revolutionary Communist Party, which had joined together with this march and rally, also addressed the crowd.

The speaker from the RCP stated that, "The RCP stands in solidarity with what is going on out here, in terms of the building fight against national oppression that is intensifying on the masses of Black people... And I think that today, while we take this stand, that we do have to say something about the legacy of Dr. King... Let us not forget that at a time when he said non-violence, that increasingly beginning in 1965, the masses were rising up with bricks and bottles and stones... Dr. King said that, 'The struggle was not to overthrow but to get in,' but increasingly people were taking up the spirit of

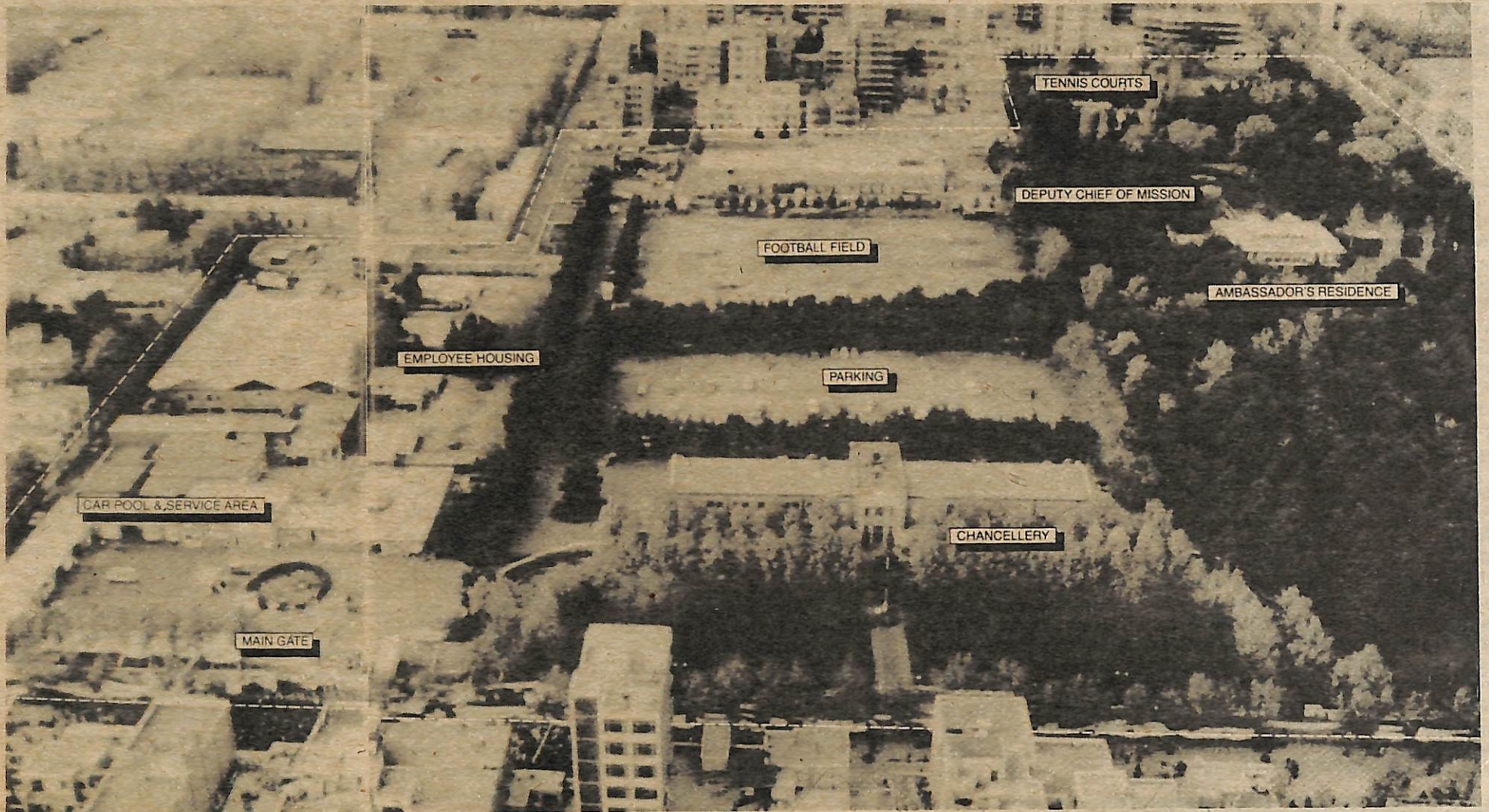
Continued on page 12

Jan. 15, Washington, D.C.—(left) Howard University contingent in the MLK demo.



US EMBASSY  
HOSTAGES...  
PART 2

# A ROGUE'S GALLERY OF IMPERIALIST SPIES AND AGENTS



27-acre U.S. Embassy compound in Tehran.

In our last article, "U.S. Embassy Hostages... Part 1" (RW No. 87), we described the basic functioning of American embassies around the world, and in particular, the work that the embassy in Iran was engaged in before it was seized on November 4, 1979. And further, we introduced RW readers to the imperialists' rogues gallery that was specifically operating out of the diplomatic mission and the political section of the embassy (see organizational chart, p. 25). Besides keeping the activities of the embassy sections shrouded in secret, the hostages' backgrounds have been consciously kept from the masses of people in the U.S. by the government and the prostitute press. It is common practice for the government to classify the most recent "work" of their foreign service operatives. What this means is that in the State Department's Biographic Register and the Foreign Service List, a 5-year period is maintained as CLASSIFIED—in order to keep the duties and whereabouts of personnel from being accurately pinpointed.

What has been dragged into the light of day about the operations of the U.S. inside Iran, especially after the Shah was overthrown, has mainly been through captured official documents, released by the students during their occupation of the embassy. Since members of the embassy staff spent the first few hours of the embassy takeover behind locked steel doors shredding and burning "sensitive" documents and reports, what has so far been exposed is only the tip of the iceberg. This article picks up where we left off and will further examine the work of the embassy's "cultural," communications, economic and military sections, showing indeed that the U.S. embassy was actively doing everything in its power to thwart the Iranian revolution and place the masses of people in Iran once again under the bootheel of U.S. imperialism.

An important subdivision of the political section of the embassy was the International Communications Agency (ICA). This organization was formerly called the United States Information Agency (USIA), famous for its sponsorship of Radio Free Europe and Voice of America broadcasts worldwide. The ICA is a vital propaganda weapon in the imperialist arsenal, and bills itself innocently as merely striving to promote friendship through cultural exchange. This myth was so thoroughly exploded during the '60s that the ruling class was forced to change the name of the USIA, dropping "U.S." from the agency's title like a hot potato—thus the "ICA" was spawned. But while names may change on the office doors, the imperialist agency has not changed its nature.

Before the Shah scurried from Iran like a whipped dog, the ICA had a much bigger operation going in order to effectively permeate all aspects of Iranian cultural life, ferret out and recruit new "friends," and feed a steady stream of pro-U.S. propaganda to the Iranian media. Hostage Katherine Koob (see No. 12) was one of the pre-revolution ICA operatives and had been in Iran for a number of years as head of the Iran-America Society.

Under the signboard of "cultural exchange," the Society's headquarters in Tehran was a virtual beehive of bustling activity. It sponsored talks, showed films, and offered library facilities for research on the cultural habits and customs of Americans to middle and upper-class Iranians embarking to the U.S. This included businessmen, students, tourists, and diplomatic and consular staff members. To the casual observer the Society appeared like the standard imperialist educational and cultural invasion—and so it was—for Iranian contacts to drop in and pick up or deliver intelligence information while avoiding certain suspicion by using the embassy directly. After the revolution it continued to be an important way for

the U.S. to keep contact with old "friends" and monitor the mood of the people, though it operated with a much lower profile in carrying out its "cultural" work. But as far as the masses of Iranians were concerned, it was an arm of U.S. imperialism, and the Society headquarters in Tehran was seized and put out of business right after the embassy bit the dust.

ICA employee William Royer (see No. 13) had extensive experience in educational circles, particularly in the U.S. neo-colonies of Saudi Arabia and Morocco. His career shows how the ICA spreads itself out among the various cultural and educational centers of a country in order to keep its fingers on the political pulse of certain strata of the population. As a "scholar," Royer's job certainly included paying particular attention to Iran's intelligentsia to find pro-U.S. forces and to report on any shifting political moods among them to the higher-ups in Washington.

The odious role played by the USIA/ICA is perhaps best illustrated in the person of John Graves (see No. 14). He worked in the Congo (Zaire) in the early '60s, during the occupation of the country by UN troops, carrying out the behests of the Western imperialists in suppressing nationalist forces, and in Vietnam as Saigon senior advisor to the Civil Operations and Rural Development Support (CORDS), where as a propaganda expert he was concerned with "winning the hearts and minds" of the Vietnamese while the infamous "Operation Phoenix" buried the unconverted. CORDS was the administration's umbrella group to "Phoenix," and many RW readers will remember that "Operation Phoenix" was the U.S.'s rural "pacification" program that relied on assassination squads directed by the CIA to try to crush revolutionary forces in Vietnam's countryside. His last listed post was as an ICA field operations chief in Washington, D.C. in 1973. Graves' background is quite revealing of the kind of counter-

insurgency experience required for a U.S. embassy post in Iran. And under the radically changed conditions in Iran after the insurrection that overthrew the Shah, the ICA's work of monitoring the Iranian press and keeping open contacts with U.S. "friends" certainly required experts—Koob, Royer & Graves fit the bill.

The communications section of the embassy is somewhat self-explanatory. Its overall function consisted in transmitting and receiving, encoding and decoding, reports and documents vital to embassy operations. And in order to carry out U.S. covert strategy in Iran, daily contact was imperative between the embassy and Washington, D.C. This constant flow of classified information made the communications section a highly sensitive job. Certainly all who worked in that section had very high-level security clearances, and as far as our research shows, the only confirmed CIA operative in the section is Charles Jones (see No. 15). Jones is the only Black still being held—and for good reason. His name appears on the roster of the U.S. embassy in Senegal, cited in the appendix of the book, *Dirty Work 2, The CIA in Africa*. According to this book, the CIA takes great pains to recruit Blacks into service, especially for assignment to Africa. And while most of Jones' work has been there, he had two years experience "under fire" so to speak, serving the U.S. in the Philippines from 1971-73 during the formative years of martial law instituted by U.S. puppet dictator, Ferdinand Marcos.

The role of the communications section in spying on Iran directly was very powerfully exposed in a video tape film that the students at the embassy made in early April 1980. It showed Army Staff Sgt. Joseph Subic pulling the carpeting up from the embassy "warehouse" floor and pointing to the metal tops of computers hidden below. "CIA, CIA," he said as he pointed to the various terminals, which he further

Key

- iO—Foreign Service Info. Officer (USIA/ICA)
- O—Foreign Service Officer
- R—Foreign Service Reserve Officer
- S—Foreign Service Staff Officer (Rank increases with lower numbers)

Sources: 1974 Biographic Register  
1975 Foreign Service List



(12) Katherine Koob—USIA/ICA, (U.S. Information Agency—USIA—has been renamed International Communications Agency—ICA.) Head of Iran-America Society.  
1962—BA from Wartburg College.  
1962-69—Teacher at unnamed schools.  
1969—USIA in D.C. as R-7 public affairs trainee.  
1970—Ivory Coast, iO-7  
1971—Upper Volta (Africa) as iO-6 assistant public affairs officer.  
1972—Stationed at USIA.  
1973—Promoted to iO-5.  
1974—Detailed to train at Foreign Service Institute for language training, Bucharest, Romania, as assistant cultural affairs officer.  
Language: French.



(13) William B. Royer—USIA/ICA  
1951-55—U.S. Navy  
1961—BA from U. of Texas  
1963-66—Instructor in Saudi Arabia.  
1966-7—Courses director at Saudi Arabia Institute of Modern Language. Joins USIA. Stationed in Jidda, Saudi Arabia as S-5 assistant cultural affairs officer.  
1972—Stationed in Rabat, Morocco (site of major U.S. naval intelligence center) as S-4 assistant cultural affairs officer.  
1973—English teaching officer.  
1975—Rated an S-3.



(14) John Graves—USIA/ICA  
Born: 5/16/27  
Wife, Bonnie, Treasurer of FLAG.  
1945-46—U.S. Navy overseas (a tipoff to probable Office of Strategic Services work—OSS is forerunner to the CIA)  
1952—MA from U. of Michigan  
1952-59—teacher/researcher for unnamed colleges and consulting foundations.  
1959-61—Professor/scholar at U. of Rabat in Morocco.  
1962—D.C. office of USIA., R-5.  
1962—Leopoldville, Congo, as assistant cultural affairs officer at height of civil war in Congo and joint United Nations-U.S. efforts to suppress nationalist forces.  
1964—Bukavu, Congo as public affairs officer.  
1965—Madagascar, R-4. Meritorious Service Award.  
1967—Stationed in Saigon, Vietnam as provincial field rep for the Agency for International Development (AID), June, detailed as senior advisor of Civil Operations and Rural Development Support—part of the U.S.' rural "pacification" program during Vietnam War.  
1968—Togb (Africa) public affairs officer.  
1970—Cameroon (Africa) R-3.  
1973—Meritorious Honor Award. USIA in D.C. as chief of field operations of Bureau of Information Central Services.



(15) Charles Jones—Communications. Listed in *Dirty Work 2, The CIA in Africa*, as CIA communications officer. Jones is the only Black among the remaining hostages.  
1971-73—Stationed in the Philippines (martial law was declared in 1972 by U.S. puppet Ferdinand Marcos.)  
1973-7—Senegal.  
1977—Sierra Leone (Africa).



(16) Robert O. Blucker—Economics Section  
1947-7, 1951-2—U.S. Navy.  
1954—BA from U. of Wisconsin  
1954-7—Chemical engineer for unnamed oil company.  
1957—Joined State Dept., stationed in Buenos Aires, Argentina, as O-8 economic officer.  
1960—State Dept., O-7 foreign affairs officer.  
1962—Stationed West Berlin, O-6 consular officer.  
1967—Stationed in Lagos, Nigeria as O-4 economic commercial officer.  
1971—State Dept. as international economic officer.  
1974—West Berlin as economic commercial officer.  
Languages: German and Spanish.



(17) Bruce German—Economics Section. Sent to Iran in September 1979. Wrote a letter before the embassy seizure, "A lot of people here with guns, and I give them a wide berth."  
1973—Stationed at State Department as budget officer.  
1975—Promoted to R-4



(18) Col. Thomas Schaefer—U.S. Army, ranking officer in Defense Attaché Office. Biography not available.



(19) Lt. Col. Charles Scott—Military Section, served as attaché in Iran previously. Biography not available.



(20) Col. Leland Holland—Chief of embassy security. Biography not available.

explained were used to monitor wave lengths of Iranian radio broadcasts and also computer traffic. He also explained that it was the embassy communications section that coordinated the flights of the C-12 plane, a small executive-type aircraft that was used in taking aerial reconnaissance photographs. When this film was made available to the U.S. TV networks they adamantly refused to touch it and instead made references to the "mental" condition of Subic. Still, in the face of their imperialist media blackout, the lid had been lifted on their spy equipment, exposing the embassy's communications section as a hub in their intelligence-gathering apparatus.

As we explained in Part 1 of this article, the U.S. was following a dual approach in attempting to bring Iran back into its clutches. On the one hand, aiding those forces who saw the need to come to terms with the U.S. in the Iranian government—principally those grouped around former Prime Minister Bazargan; while on the other hand, moving to reorganize the scattered, old-line, pro-U.S. lackeys in the event a coup d'etat became necessary. In these dual tactics both the economic and military sections of the U.S. embassy played very key roles.

Dual Tactics on Economic Front

As part of their duties in the economics section, Robert Blucker, an old hand at economic manipulations for the imperialists, and Bruce German, a September 1979 arrival to Iran, were responsible for implementing the economic aspects of these dual tactics (see No. 16 and 17 respectively). After the Shah fell, and in the face of new upsurges, the U.S. imperialists, through the economics section, were actively exploring ways of re-opening commercial ties and tightening Iran's dependence on the U.S.—while at the same time figuring ways to circumvent blatant exposure of their overtures.

One of the captured documents at the embassy spells out some of the economic work that the section was concerned with. Entitled "Commercial Action Program For Iran," it reads in

part: "The most important U.S. commercial objective in Iran is to help American firms rebuild a strong market position and tap the opportunities which are expected to emerge in FY (Fiscal Year) 80. The purpose of this document, which assumes a return to more normal political and economic conditions, is to establish a management plan and priorities toward this end. Special emphasis is given to servicing American business visitors and alert reporting on major projects... This periodic reporting requirement will provide a useful format for assessing the role which U.S. Government personnel will have in expanding U.S. exports to Iran and for planning future market promotion events."

While the takeover of the U.S. embassy "assessed the role" which some of these economic specialists would play, clearly the section was neck-deep in trying to identify the most favorable areas for the U.S. multinational corporations to sink their talons once again into Iran. And by September 1979, embassy communiques and the U.S. press were reporting optimistically over some initial successes.

For example, the August 20, 1979 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor* reported on a high-level delegation of Iranians, headed by Central Bank chief Mowlavi and Deputy Minister of Economics and Finance, Ali Ardalan, visiting Common Market countries trying to rekindle credit and trade relations. It was further reported that in the fall of 1979 the Iranian government was encouraging U.S. businesses and technicians to return to Iran, even going so far as to make payments to a number of contractors to encourage and guarantee an even speedier arrival. Perhaps the most dramatic development along these lines during this same period was the ar-

rival of some 40 American technicians to the city of Isfahan, to supervise the construction of a home heating oil refinery.

On the oil front, the U.S. was still receiving 750,000 barrels a day, only 100,000 barrels less than when the Shah sat on his peacock throne. In mid-1979, negotiations between the National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC) and the western oil consortium started up again. The imperialists were beginning to draw in the net on the Iranian national bourgeoisie, who had taken power through the 1978-79 revolution—forcing this weak and flabby class to seek assistance for their very survival by doing "business" once again with the very imperialist monopolies that the Iranian people rose up against.

But at the very same time that the U.S. was tugging at the forces in the government around Bazargan to restore economic relations, the embassy was working overtime to destabilize the Iranian economy, hoping to fan discontent against the new government among the people so as to provide fertile ground for more reliable pro-U.S. forces to regroup and build up their strength. Not only did the U.S. and its allies begin to demand exorbitant prepayments for letters of credit in order to open new trade agreements, as well as outright restrict credit altogether, but it was revealed that the oil consortium (composed mainly of U.S. oil monopolies) was intending to drag out the nego-

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## JAN. 15TH: NEW YORK

Continued from page 9

Malcolm X and others that the struggle was no less than total liberation and that the whole ruling class from top to bottom was the enemy of Black people."

The RCP speaker also said, "Let's not use the term revolution loosely... Let's not think it means something about community control, that somehow we need a Civil Rights Movement. Understand that revolution is one class overthrowing another, totally overthrowing and wiping out the oppressor." The speech was received by strong applause and sparked considerable discussion and interest in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

Following the rally, the marchers returned to the All Souls Church in Brooklyn for supper and continued discussion.

On January 15, in Buffalo, New York, the scene of brutal racist murders of 7 Black men, several cross burnings, Klan recruitment in high schools and communities, 600 people stormed into the square to make a strong political statement against the three Nazi scum who were supposed to draw over 100 to their white supremacy rally on Martin Luther King's birthday. The anti-Nazi

demonstration was called by a coalition of political activists from up and down the east coast. After a battle that raged for a month between the authorities and thousands of people seething with outrage, the demonstrators broke through all the intimidation beforehand about violence, arrests and the presence of police on rooftops, in riot gear and on horses, ready to go at the masses and protect the Nazis, on behalf of the system.

At noon, the local politicians and ministers led a rally which was attended by several thousand people. After praising the police for their performance that day, which was loudly booed by the crowd, some Black ministers started to sing, "We Shall Overcome." *RW* agitators, judging that the masses had had about enough of this, broke up the song of oppression with, "We will overcome, but not down on our knees, or even just by going up against scum like the Nazis, but by building a conscious revolutionary struggle to tear down the whole rotten system that breeds national oppression. All who are tired of being on their knees should become part of this conspiracy around the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper." The scene exploded. People jumped out to get the *RW*. In a matter of minutes, one seller got out 75 newspapers and about 500 papers went out altogether, mostly in bundles. New co-conspirators were mobilized from the masses and were seen in the streets and the shopping malls downtown after the rally was over selling the *Revolutionary Worker*.

ing the Washington Monument and talk about taking them down and putting up the Black nationalist flag. Various politicians on the stage even went so far as to replace the clenched fist salute by waving their arms with an open palm and this was countered by many raised fists from some sections of the crowd.

When the Mayor of Washington, D.C. was introduced, the crowd booed resoundingly and throughout the rally, as various Congressmen and bourgeois leaders, like Jesse Jackson, wore themselves out patting each other on the back and talking about how each of them had been personally responsible for the massive movements in history, the crowd would periodically break into loud chanting of, "We want Stevie, we want Stevie."

Stevie Wonder, who had built for this march in a big way, was the last speaker on the program. He ended his remarks saying, "As you go away today, it's imperative that you take advantage of your power to cut down the sword of injustice." He then led the crowd in singing "We Shall Overcome" and closed with his song, "Happy Birthday," which the entire crowd sang with him, and which throughout the day had been a kind of theme song which large groups of people would spontaneously start singing along the route of march.

Overwhelmingly the sentiments of progressive groups and individuals and the broad masses went far beyond the political views of the likes of John Conyers, who was emcee along with Congressman Fauntroy from D.C. and many felt themselves in opposition. Of course, the situation was more complicated than that, because the hopes for the future and the genuine opposition to national oppression that was present were bound up with and ultimately hemmed in and cut short by the focus of the day's events on Martin Luther King.

Opposition to making King's birthday a holiday from the imperialists exposed the sick pervasiveness of national oppression in this country. This is true, not because the imperialists oppose King—who played the role of chief fireman in charge of trying to put out sparks of rebellion against the system in the 1960s—but because it exposed that they have not been willing to have a holiday honoring a Black man, even one who served them well. And as we pointed out in last week's issue, "That even a man who preached reformism and ultimately capitulation would be denied such a spot of honor says something indeed about the *real* question—the history and the present day reality of the national oppression which confronts the *masses* of Black people and the fact that it is a key component

part of the overall imperialist system of oppression and exploitation."

Revolutionaries support every manifestation of opposition to national oppression and do not oppose the demand for this holiday. But it is impossible to avoid the question of King himself, and the fact that in the struggle against national oppression and in the international struggle against imperialism, King's program overall helped the imperialists. And it is an illusion to think that a "people's celebration" of King (without John Conyers, Jesse Jackson and so on) is what is needed, or that somehow the legacy of Martin Luther King can be transformed into something progressive today. Any movement with its focus being Martin Luther King cannot help being a fertile field for the imperialists to peddle their influence.

At the rally itself, a good example of this was provided by Martin Luther King III, who was promoted as "the son of our leader" and who said, in part, "Don't let anybody tell you there aren't jobs. We can create jobs but we have to work within the system." He called on people to obey the law, to "end the circle of violence" and ended with a religious plea, "How long must we wait? Not long because god almighty is still on the throne." While the masses are increasingly faced with very pressing problems, intensifying national oppression, racist murders by the human doberman pincers of the ruling class, official and unofficial; and while the crisis of imperialism intensifies, increasing these problems and lurches toward world war, they are told to turn the other cheek, pray and wait for some condescending savior. Like father, like son, the legacy of reformism and capitulation lives on. This speech was a slap in the face to the masses and was delivered in the same spirit that Martin Luther King said, in the midst of the rebellions of the '60s before his death, "If blood must flow, then let it be ours." King preached "turn the other cheek" and the imperialists killed him anyway. That taught a lot of people, who didn't know already, a lesson, and in over 100 cities the masses responded to his murder by rising up in rebellion, and rejecting his line in practice. King's legacy must be recognized for what it is and opposed because attempting to uphold it can only divert the masses of people from the historic revolutionary task confronting them in the coming period and channel their hopes and dreams down a well-worn dead-end street to humiliation and defeat under the boot of imperialism.

Representative John Conyers, while mainly limiting his remarks to how to get the bill through Congress, made some rather revealing comments. He said that,

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## KING

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years, made a point of attending a separate celebration in Anacostia the morning of the march.

The start of the march reflected a feisty mood among many of the masses. By 10 a.m. there were about 30,000 people at the capital. According to a statement released to the press, the march was to have a ceremonial beginning, headed by influential persons, congressmen, politicians and "leadership persons" from various organizations. But the masses were not in a ceremonious mood and spontaneously thousands poured into the street and started down Pennsylvania Avenue. The parade marshalls attempted to stop this, but were ignored and were virtually unable to play any role in "crowd control," along the route of the march. The marshalls kept trying to lead chants of "We want a holiday," but

large sections of the march put out their own chant, "We took a holiday," which was taken up by the march as a whole.

The marchers ridiculed federal employees leaning out of the windows of government buildings who would not leave their posts; and as they passed by the FBI building, groups of 25 or 50 people would flip the bird to the FBI agents who were gawking out the windows. About a block from the White House there were bleachers constructed for Reagan's inauguration and thousands of people sat in the bleachers to watch the march. By the time the march reached the Washington Monument it had grown to 50,000.

There were other signs of rebellion in the ranks. While the official petition to Congress and statements by Coretta King and others had stressed patriotism, there were very few red, white and blue rags carried by the marchers themselves. There were quite a number of red, black and green nationalist flags in the crowd, and there was much protest from some quarters about the American flags ring-

# Pick up the pen

Correspondence from readers is literally crucial for the *Revolutionary Worker*; it's key in building the newspaper as the lifeblood of the revolutionary movement. The newspaper needs active, all-round political contributions from Party members, revolutionary-minded workers and all others who support the cause. All such people should correspond with the *RW* and work to develop this paper, the Party's voice, as their own revolutionary voice.

We need to hear from you. Reader correspondence is absolutely indispensable for the *RW*. The importance of such correspondence to the revolutionary press was spoken to by Lenin in 1899. In the midst of the struggle to create a nationwide newspaper, Lenin wrote:

"... Let us take one of the conditions for the success of this plan—that the newspaper be assured a regular supply of correspondence and other material from everywhere. Has not history shown that at all times when there has been a resurgence of our revolutionary movement such a purpose has proved possible of achievement even in respect of papers published abroad? If Social-Democrats (communists—*RW*) working in various localities come to regard the Party newspaper as *their own* and consider the maintenance of regular contact with it, the discussion of their problems and the reflection of the whole movement in it to be their main task, it will be quite possible to ensure the supply to the paper of full information about the movement..."

Only through active correspondence can we forge a truly powerful, truly conscious revolutionary Party with its finger on the pulse of the objective situation in its development. There is a burning need for information on the pulse of the movement. Pick up the pen!



## Report from one Community on the 100,000 Campaign

# Building A Political Base Area For Revolution

Some time ago, Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP spoke to the question of revolutionary base areas; he said, "In studying the article on the struggle in Kurdistan in the RW ("Inside the Revolutionary War in Kurdistan," July 11, 1980, second section) and reflecting on the struggle in countries like the U.S. (advanced capitalist countries), the question struck me, is there some application here of the phenomenon that is occurring in Kurdistan and occurs generally where there is a liberated territory—the unleashing of the masses' formerly suppressed political energy, the outpouring of their activism and of their quest for revolutionary ideas and theory. Because the struggle in countries like the U.S. cannot proceed in such a way that liberated areas are established and maintained even while the country as a whole is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, there can of course only be limited application of this; but I think

there are aspects of this that can and should be developed in this country, even though limited and modified according to the concrete conditions here. In particular, in many housing projects and concentrated communities of proletarians, and oppressed nationalities, where discontent is seething and many are open to and gravitate toward revolutionary politics, we should strive to make these political base areas of the Party, to draw the masses there broadly into the political conspiracy, unleash especially the energy and creativeness of the youth, organize study and discussion groups around the line of the Party in a living and mass way (as well as organizing higher level study groups for the more advanced people) and find various ways—including certainly by drawing on the ideas of the masses themselves—to give open expression to the desire of growing numbers of these masses to identify with and be active in the cause

of the Party and revolution. In this too, the newspaper will be the key link. . . . He pointed out that while also carrying forward the policy of making "factories into fortresses" it would be a real error to overlook the opportunities posed by the fact that there is often more freedom to do things of this kind in neighborhoods and communities of this type.

The following is a report from an RW reporter who went to one city where a political base area of this type is being built in the wake of the newspaper. The story points up the tremendous potential among the masses to develop such base areas for revolution and the impact of the advances in this area on broader sections of the people, throughout the city, and sharply illustrates the fact that such advances pose new problems for the masses and the Party, and the necessity for the Party to seize on these advances and lead

the masses to new heights, not lag behind the advanced sentiments of the people and tail the actual leaps that have taken place as a result of the RW and the campaign for 100,000 becoming a big social question.

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As I stepped from the bus that was taking me crosstown, I knew that things here had changed dramatically since the last time I had sold the RW in this area—inside the enclosed transit waiting area a stack of RWs sat on the bench, as if the bus-stop served a far more important function—a virtual newsstand for the *Revolutionary Worker*! This development, I was to learn later, was the result and the current focus of some very sharp class struggle. But for the moment, I was interested in reaching one particular part of the Black community, where a res-

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## Youth and the Battle for 100,000

We recently received the following report from Hawaii, focusing on the role of youth in the battle for 100,000 co-conspirators.

Youth have played a particularly important—indeed, vanguard—role in the development of this battle especially in the leaps made in the final days of the issue. This is something that has been developing spontaneously for some time. In the past youth have taken up some of the revolutionary shirts very enthusiastically (although, unfortunately, in some cases, they have *taken*, i.e., ripped off, the shirts). One youth wore a May Day shirt to school every day. When razzed by his friends about why he was wearing it, he replied, "Because I'm trying to be a communist." Another was wearing a Brigade shirt at a housing project and was hassled by a pig for it—one of his friends picked up a two-by-four and apparently broke the cop's larynx. A number of youth came into the bookstore asking for shirts following this.

In the course of seeking out new stores to carry the paper, one comrade got into a brief heated argument with a more backward store owner. As the comrade was leaving, two youth left their "space invaders" game next door (this alone was a shock to the comrade!) to find out what this was all about. Off of some brief discussion they demanded to accompany the comrade around to other stores to get them to carry the paper. And yet these developments had not previously been summed up and given more conscious expression.

As this problem began to be consciously overcome, the impact was marked. Youth were won over to putting up the posters on a large scale in the areas of concentration among the basic masses. When some backward adults ripped them down, this gave rise to some confusion. The youth returned to talk to some of the squad members and there was some discussion of the existence of advanced, intermediate and backward forces and the particular role youth have to play in unleashing the more advanced sentiment around the central task—create public opinion...seize power. The youth went back and started putting up even more posters, many of them marking them "Read and discuss" and "Do not tear down." Most of them stayed up. There is struggle among the youth themselves: when one more backward youth tore down a poster, the advanced youth led their friends to shame him and put up another.

Many of the youth have taken bundles of papers and are selling them.

When one mother started yelling at RW sellers to leave, her son came out and took a bundle right there. Their sales have had a favorable impact more broadly: as one intermediate worker commented, "I know these kids, I'm going to buy from them." The youth themselves have been doing agitation around the paper—both the McDuffie case and the question of approaching war have had major influence. . . .

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Meanwhile, the same report goes on to recount another story. . . .

In one instance where a RW verbal agitator was receiving a favorable response, a CBER came up to warn people that the cops were coming down off of a complaint about the loud agitation. In the previous few hours some 80 papers had gone out. The agitator explained the situation, linking it to her previous agitation and calling on the masses to take up the paper, then "disappeared." Sixty papers went out in about 20 minutes and the cops showed up only to find people discussing things with bundles of papers under their arms. The pigs huddled together in confusion, trying to make up a story about why they had come and split soon after. The discussion was a sign of the times. As one woman was overheard saying to another: "That's right, we've got to take up this battle." □

★★★★★★

**San Ysidro, California.** This border city is a battle zone concentrating the outrage of U.S. imperialist domination of Mexico. Nightly, MIGRA helicopters circle overhead, spotlights criss-crossing the city, searching out their prey of "illegal aliens" to deport.

In the midst of this battle zone stands Villa Nueva housing project where RW sellers went on Jan. 14, looking for several youthful co-conspirators, and stumbled on a meeting of 40 or more Chicano youth. RWs were stacked outside as the meeting adjourned. The sellers were soon surrounded by youth hurling questions about Chiang Ching, Mao, revolution, the draft. This was too much for the poverty pimp Youth Director. He charged outside, demanding the sellers get off "his" property. When no one budged he retreated inside only to return a few minutes later threatening to call the police.

At this point, one youth picked up bundles of RWs and passed them among the others, "Take these bundles before the pigs come." In a matter of

minutes 130 papers were gone, a study circle set up, and the discussion broke up.

But the Youth Director, upset by the revolutionary ferment among "his" kids, had garnered a security guard. He grabbed an RW seller, "You're not leaving." And once again the struggle heated up, with more people gathering to watch.

"You can't understand our oppression, you're not brown," gurgled the Director and when this was exposed, he snorted, "It takes men to make a revolution. These are just kids." This was too much for the youth, as one stepped forward to tell the others, "We aren't stupid. We can think. We've got to read this paper."

As the Youth Director sputtered, the RW sellers moved toward their car,

with by now 80-100 people walking along. But confronting them in the parking lot were 8 squad cars, and as many pigs.

"Get over to the squad car," shouted one cop. But as the police surveyed the crowd they were visibly nervous. "More people are still coming out of their houses," one was overheard squealing, while another said, "This is the biggest thing that's ever happened out here."

After a quick conference with the Youth Director the police were suddenly so sweet. "Just leave," they pleaded.

As the revolutionaries prepared to leave, two of the new co-conspirators walked right through the cordon of pigs. "See you at the study circle," one whispered as they passed the RW team.

## Puerto Rican Co-Conspirators

In one city in the Midwest, RW sellers returned to a Puerto Rican neighborhood where the masses have been waging some struggle around the rotten housing conditions. They had with them issue No. 86 of the RW, the one with the International Joint Communique, "To The Marxist-Leninists, The Workers, And The Oppressed Of All Countries," on the front page. One guy who had gotten the paper before ran to his room to get the money he had collected for the papers when he saw the RW sellers come down the hall. He invited them in and showed them the deteriorating condition of his apartment and reported how the fight against the landlord was progressing. One seller showed the brother the article on the squatters in West Germany which exposed the nature of housing in a dying imperialist system. The brother studied the picture of the squatters taking to the streets and said, "Give me 20." Then he said, "There's a lady down the hall going to Puerto Rico. She should take some with her." As they were walking down the hall, they ran into the boyfriend of the woman who is leading the struggle to improve conditions in the building. He had taken 15 copies of the RW to distribute, but his girlfriend, who was doing some good exposure of the housing conditions and the role of the cockroach capitalist landlord and his ties to the city, was adamantly opposed to letting any questions of the

nature of the whole system and the need for revolution crop up in the immediate battle, and her boyfriend, influenced by this has backed off. The brother who had taken the bundle of 20 immediately showed this guy the squatters' article and the picture and the guy said, "Give me one," and started to read the article as the others went down the hall. They had now reached the door of the woman going to Puerto Rico. She was in the tub and her sister was helping her to pack. After a brief discussion about the Joint Communique, the woman's sister went to tell her about it. "She wants to take some with her to Puerto Rico." They stuffed ten issues into the suitcase, which was all that could fit and the woman gave several dollars for the papers and said she would send the rest. Her sister who was staying here was very excited about the paper going to Puerto Rico. So the co-conspirators told her she should take some too. "I'll start with ten for my building and where I work." Meanwhile the first guy, who had been down the hall talking to other tenants about the paper came up. "I see you got your papers. How many?" he asked. "I got 10," she said. "Well, I got 20!" he said proudly, "Competition!" As the woman headed off to another building promising to set up discussions among the neighbors, the sellers looked at their watches and realized that only 15 minutes had passed since they arrived at the building! □

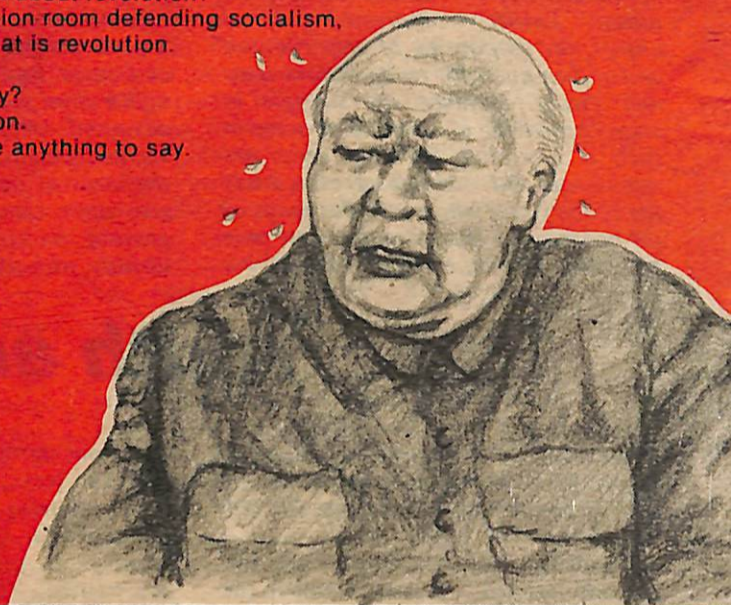
On January 10, the English language Taiwan daily China News published a short excerpt from a Kuomintang intelligence report about the pre-trial hearings that took place before the official trial of the Four. The excerpt consists of a dialogue between Chiang Ching and a judge. The report must be treated with

some caution, as must all Kuomintang and Chinese revisionist accounts. But the line and spirit that come across fit in with the overall stand that Chiang Ching has taken throughout the two-months-long trial. The following is the dialogue published in China News:



Revolutionary Worker

Judge: I think it's best for you to admit your crimes.  
 Chiang Ching: Unfortunately, party principles and revolutionary principles do not permit me to exchange a confession for a lighter sentence.  
 Judge: You have no qualification to talk of revolution. You are an enemy of revolution. You should understand this point.  
 Chiang Ching: If I don't have qualifications, do you mean to say you do?  
 Judge: At least I have more than you.  
 Chiang Ching: Why?  
 Judge: Because the party, the mass organizations and the people have dispatched me to handle this case.  
 Chiang Ching: Who represents the party? Who represents the mass organizations? Who represents the people?  
 Judge: I don't need to answer these questions. I am the judge, you are the accused. You don't have any say.  
 Chiang Ching: If you don't have to answer my questions, then I don't have to answer yours. Go tell Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping and Peng Zhen to come here and interrogate me. Actually, I think they are thoroughly rotten.  
 Judge: Your ugly attitude can only alienate you from the masses. Such conduct will only add to your crimes. You will not be forgiven by the people.  
 Chiang Ching: I did nothing wrong. Why do I need people's forgiveness? It is you who have become alienated from the party and the masses, not I.  
 Judge: You cannot continue talking like this.  
 Chiang Ching: I can. I want to talk about revolution.  
 Judge: Isn't it preposterous for you to talk about revolution?  
 Chiang Ching: I am here in this investigation-room defending socialism, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. That is revolution.  
 Judge: Nonsense.  
 Chiang Ching: When did you join the party?  
 Judge: I don't have to answer that question.  
 Chiang Ching: Then go home. I don't have anything to say.



1958 Article by Chang Chun-chiao

# Breaking Away from the Idea of

Reprinted here is an early article written by Chang Chun-chiao (Zhang Chunqiao) who, along with Chiang Ching, has remained absolutely firm and defiant while on trial in Peking for upholding Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line. Written in 1958, it shows that this proletarian revolutionary was both consistent in principle and also no stranger to adversity. It appeared in the Chinese press at a time when the Great Leap Forward was coming under sharp and powerful attack by revisionists like Deng Xiaoping as "too early, too quickly, too crudely"—in other words too much like the masses taking society into their own hands. This article was written by Chang before he was a national leader. It flew in the face of these attacks on socialism, and it brought out many of the same basic ideas which are in much later articles by Chang, including the one we reprinted in RW No. 85, "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie," written in 1975. All along, he was putting forward Mao's line. In fact Mao had to fight for this article even to be printed at the time in the People's Daily. The translation is not official, coming in the main from a U.S. government translation from Chinese.

Anyone who has an elementary knowledge of the Chinese Communist Party and the history of the Chinese revolution knows that equality between the army and the people, between officers and men and between the higher and lower levels has always been taken as a fundamental principle for handling the relations within the ranks of the people. This principle has always been

observed by the Chinese people's army led by the Chinese Communist Party and in revolutionary base areas from the time the Workers and Peasants' Army existed to the time the Eighth Route Army, New Fourth Army, and the PLA came into being, and in all revolutionary base areas from Chingkangshan to the liberated areas. This principle was established first in the revolutionary base area of Chingkangshan under the immediate leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung. Comrade Mao Tsetung writes in his report to the CCP Central Committee—"The Struggle in Chingkangshan":

"The majority of the Red Army soldiers come from the mercenary armies, but their character changes once they are in the Red Army. First of all, the Red Army has abolished the mercenary system, making the men feel they are fighting for themselves and for the people and not for somebody else. So far the Red Army has no system of regular pay, but issues grain, money for cooking oil, salt, firewood, and vegetables, and a little pocket money. . . .

"The Hunan Provincial Committee has asked us to attend to the material conditions of the soldiers and make them at least a little better than those of the average worker or peasant. Actually they are worse. In addition to grain, each man receives only five cents a day for cooking oil, salt, firewood and vegetables, and even this is hard to keep up. . . . Cold as the weather is, many of our men are still wearing only two layers of thin clothing. Fortunately, we are inured to hardships. What is more, all of us share the same hardships; from the commander of the army to the cook everyone lives on the daily food allowance of five cents, apart from grain. . . .

"Apart from the role played by the Party, the reason why the Red Army has been able to carry on in spite of such poor material conditions and such frequent engagements is its practice of democracy. The officers do not beat the men; officers and men receive equal treatment; soldiers are free to hold meetings and to speak out; trivial formalities have been done away with; and the accounts are open for all to inspect. The soldiers handle the mess arrangements and, out of the daily five cents for cooking oil, salt, firewood and vegetables, they can even save a little pocket money, amounting to roughly six or seven coppers per person per day, which is called "mess savings". All this gives great satisfaction to the soldiers. The newly captured soldiers in particular feel that our army and the Kuomintang army are worlds apart. They feel spiritually liberated, even though material conditions in the Red Army are not equal to those in the White army. The very soldiers who had no courage in the White army yesterday are very brave in the Red Army today; such is the effect of democracy. The Red Army is like a furnace in which all captured soldiers are transmuted the moment they come over. In China the army needs democracy as much as the people do. Democracy in our army is an important weapon for undermining the feudal mercenary army."

As we know, these Marxist-Leninist and communist relations set an example of relations in the revolutionary base areas. These comradely relations of equality were also maintained between the army and the people, between the army and the government, between cadres, and between the higher and lower levels. They handled relations not with the aid of arms and power, but by

means of persuasion and upholding of truth. Like the People's Liberation Army, the people in the revolutionary base areas handled their relations with each other. As soon as they arrived in the liberated areas people from other areas instantly found out that with internal relations properly handled, all people in the liberated areas while leading a hard life were "fortunately inured to hardships and moreover all alike shared the same hardships". All lived on a supply system which was communist in character.\* Although living standards differed because of work requirements, the difference was not great. Meanwhile, politics and the mass line prevailed everywhere. For this reason, workers, peasants, soldiers, students and traders were united as one like members of the same family; they fought hard against the enemy. Do you still remember how the big army corps fought during the period of the liberation war? To support the People's Liberation Army, thousands upon thousands of militiamen followed the army in their march to the south. They led the same life of military communism as the army. They did not aim at becoming officials or getting rich. No idea of wages, let alone "piece wages" entered into their mind. They came to join the revolution, bringing their own food. Their only aim was to overthrow the three major enemies and liberate the whole country. In the revolutionary base areas, men and women, old and young, front and rear formed a combat group with the same heart. It was precisely this life of

\* This means people were paid directly with the supplies they needed and not in wages. RW

## Trial, Revolutionary Activity Reveals

# Revisionist Rulers Neck-Deep in Sea of Contradictions

"China's current political situation is the most stable since the 1960s." Deng made this statement on January 12 to a delegation of Japanese diet (parliament) members. A few days earlier, another high official declared, "Some people think that China's political situation is unstable. Don't listen to this kind of talk... Our party is united." This is a classic example of a thief putting up a sign reading, "There is no treasure here," over the very spot where he has buried his booty. As these revisionist mandarins mouth high-sounding phrases about "stability and unity," it is becoming increasingly evident that contradictions within their ranks are leading to an embarrassing delay in the announcement of the sentence on Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao.

There had been reports that the sentence would be handed down on Saturday, January 10, but the day came and went without any word from Peking. The delay in the sentencing (as of this writing it has been 3 weeks since Chiang Ching's last day in court) is serious for the revisionists. Not only is it a sign of sharp internal contradictions, the delay itself will cause more trouble for them, more loss of faith in the "unity and stability" of their rule. This is already true, even if the sentence is announced soon.

### Revolutionary Rumbblings in China

Underscoring and sharpening up the internal contradictions among the revisionists are the rumbblings among the revolutionary masses. Chiang Ching

and Chang Chun-chiao's revolutionary stand is inspiring the proletariat worldwide, but the two must be having an especially profound effect on those within China who still adhere to Mao's revolutionary line and are persevering under extremely adverse circumstances.

An editorial in the Shanghai *Liberation Daily* last week revealed that, "Recently in Shanghai and other places, a situation has developed which is worthy of our attention. There are several areas where people wish to plunge the nation into chaos and are using methods of the Cultural Revolution to engage in incitement and troublemaking." It went on to say, "There are people inciting and agitating, trying to plunge the nation into chaos. Some counterrevolutionaries have brazenly engineered bomb explosions and have distributed counter-revolutionary leaflets opposing the dictatorship of the people's democracy." The newspaper admitted these activities were widespread and on the increase, and linked them with the Gang of Four, as well as the Lin Biao clique. This paper also said that people have formed illegal organizations and are "establishing secret mutual links."

The daily newspaper in Liaoning province in northeast China said that class struggle still exists and "we must be vigilant and deal with it seriously." (This "discovery" of class struggle is quite an irony for these revisionists who have made a specialty of denying, or hurling accusations about "over-exaggerating" the revolutionary class struggle—but are obviously quite anxious to

combat it with their own, *reactionary* class struggle against the revolutionaries.) The Liaoning paper also said, presumably referring to the situation in that province that people are spreading "reactionary rumors and writing reactionary leaflets and posters and letters and are engaged in inciting sabotage and manufacture of bombs." Change the word "reactionary" to "revolutionary" and you have a good idea what is actually going on. This paper also said that "It is necessary to firmly attack and deal with all criminal elements who steal guns and ammunition, engineer bomb explosions and engage in murder, arson, robbery, rape, smuggling and speculation."

Picking up on this theme, the U.S. press has generally obliged the revisionists by reporting it: "China Bedeviled by Crime Wave" (*Chicago Sun-Times* headline). Undoubtedly, the restoration of capitalism has unleashed actual criminal elements within society who commit outrages against the people. But it is very clear that this is not what these revisionists are talking about at all. It is significant that the reports of these "disruptions" came from Shanghai and Liaoning, two areas where the revolutionaries had much influence before the revisionist coup. Liaoning, another major industrial area, was the "home base" of Mao Yuanhsin, Mao Tsetung's nephew and a member of the revolutionary headquarters who, it is now reported, will soon be brought to trial. With references like "using the methods of the Cultural Revolution," "inciting and agitating," it is clear that

these articles refer to a significant upswing in the activities of the revolutionaries in China.

### Sentence Focus of Contradictions

The trial of Mao's comrades has clearly been a focal point and impetus for all this. And, on top of this, the decision on the sentencing has become a focus of the contradictions within the restored capitalist system and within the revisionist clique. The backward forces among the intellectuals and party and government officials have a fanatical hatred for Chiang Ching (which, of course, is hatred for Mao and the Cultural Revolution), and see her as a symbol of proletarian rule in China, as well as a symbol of the possibility that it may return. Like a lynch mob, these forces have been clamoring for her blood. The results of an opinion poll conducted by *Cheng Ming*, a Hong Kong pro-revisionist mouthpiece that reflects the sentiments of these forces, indicated that 78.6% of the replies to the poll called for immediate execution. One contradiction the ruling revisionists face is how to "liberate" this social base which is still somewhat restrained from playing its full-blown reactionary role because of fear that current rightist policies will change. Killing Chiang Ching would be such a signal to them. She freaked some of them out in the trial when she mockingly threatened to "investigate" the revisionists. Right away a letter appeared in *People's Daily*, referring to this "threat" and calling for her execution.

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## Bourgeois Right

military communism that marks the Marxist-Leninist thinking and working style. Mao Tsetung's thinking and working style took root among the millions, blossomed and bore fruit. And the army and people armed with communism and steed in battle were invincible. Has not the history of the Chinese revolution fully borne out this?

After the nation-wide liberation, this life of military communism marked by the "supply system" was still very popular. One took pride in the "supply system" as if it signified the old revolution and hard struggle. Some revolutionary youth also expected a "supply system" when they first joined the revolution. They wanted this to show that like old comrades they sincerely took part in revolution. Comrades who were inured to the life of the supply system did not covet the wage system. They were fond of this system of life which demonstrated the relations of equality. But shortly afterwards this system of life was subjected to the impact of the bourgeois idea of right. The idea of bourgeois right has its kernel in hierarchy. In the view of persons imbued with the idea of bourgeois right, the supply system was undesirable. They looked upon it as a "rural working style" and "guerrilla habits." There was nothing strange in such arguments brought forth by the bourgeoisie. But soon a number of Party cadres were subjected to the impact of this idea. Among them were heard more criticisms of the drawbacks of the supply system while more talk was heard about the merits of the wage system. By and by, "supply system" almost became a bad term. Lack of enthusiasm in work was attributed to the supply system. The use of an official envelope was also attributed to the defect of the supply

system.\*\* Poor management of factories and stores and loss of money were again attributed to the defect of the supply system. In a word, the communist supply system, which insured the victory of the Chinese revolution, was condemned by some people as a serious offense which must be punished.

The main argument against the supply system is that it cannot stimulate production enthusiasm. Its theoretical basis is the "principle of material interests" stressed by economists. It is said that since survivals of the old division of labor still exist under the socialist system—that is, some distinctions still exist between mental labor and physical labor, between workers and peasants, and between skilled labor and unskilled labor—the "principal of developing production through the material interests of workers" is represented as a wonderful principle. It is said that "wage scales" and "piece wages" can stimulate workers to "show maximum interest in the product of their labor" and stimulate "socialist emulations" because a higher labor productivity deserves higher wages. It is said that this system is the "most important lever in the growth of national economy as a whole." The arguments seem to be very convincing but reduced to popular language it is the same as the old saying: "money talks." If high wages are used to "stimulate," then socialism and communism can be bought like a piece of candy.

What do we have to say about such a

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\*\*This refers to using official mailing envelopes (and one would assume other things as well) for personal use.—RW



Photograph of Chang Chun-chiao taken before the revisionist coup.

# Atlanta Thieves Fall Out Over Cover-up of Black Youth Murders

The recent discovery of two more murdered Black youth and the obvious connection between their deaths and that of another youth whose body was found a few months ago in the same isolated area, along with the disappearance of now the 19th Black child, has sent waves of outrage through Atlanta knocking down the lies of the authorities that none of these murders are connected. While many people didn't believe the lies in the first place, the continuing murders and the authorities' continuing slander against both the families and the murdered youth themselves has made it much clearer to quite a few people that all of the officials' unusual and massive efforts have been nothing more than a cover for and a promotion of the most vicious form of national repression. In Atlanta, a city with a largely Black power structure set up to create the illusion of "equality" for Black people, the deepening oppression that is so sharply testified to by these murders of Black youth has unleashed tremendous anger and deep questioning among growing numbers of people. The developing situation and the reaction of various forces to it have served to expose and rip through these illusions; many are seeing the rotten system that lies beneath.

In response to this exposure, authorities are at each other's throats, like a falling out among thieves. This itself has been a sharp exposure. First, the county medical examiner threatened a lawsuit against the FBI and the GBI (Georgia Bureau of Investigation) for tampering with evidence, and cited the fact that they removed the bodies from the scene and proceeded to trample the entire area before medical examiners ever arrived. After two more days of

searching through the mess made by the cops at the scene, the medical examiners found 11 more teeth and more skeletal remains, some of the key elements in the identification process. No telling what other clues, especially to the identity of the murderers, were lost due to these efforts of the police. This contradiction has served to heighten the belief of many that some cops must be involved in the child murders, and that there is a growing conscious effort on the part of the authorities to keep this deeply covered up.

Of course, the county medical examiner promptly withdrew his threat of a lawsuit after a meeting with the district attorney, saying instead, "I think the hands (of the police—RW) have been slapped sufficiently by the press." But even that has not ended the controversy between the two. The forensic expert dentist on the cases complained that the police task force had not given him pictures of the five missing youth until several days after he began the process of restructuring the skull and mouth of the two bodies found, and this seriously delayed him in the identification of one child. The other has still not been identified.

Meanwhile, the Black city councilman who has organized a continuing series of weekend community searches, publicly denounced the Black police officials for pushing his searches off into areas that have already been "searched" by the police. The weekend civilian searches had previously discovered a body of one of the missing children as well as numerous weapons and one very suspicious empty house that was filled with the stench of death, children's clothes, and a bizarre altar; but in recent weeks they have been prevented from going into areas such as

those where these things were uncovered. The cops responded to this denunciation immediately with a statement saying that the charges were true, but this was done in order for the police to protect any evidence that might be in an area from being destroyed by a "civilian" search that is "untrained" in such matters. Exactly what it is that the police are worried the "untrained" people will find is another big question on the minds of many people, since the "trained" police searches have proved so thorough at destroying evidence that might lead to the capture of the murderers!

And now there are even cracks appearing in the ranks of the police as they have come more sharply into the line of fire. In the case of the Black youth who was kidnapped on Saturday two weeks ago, the Atlanta Police Dept. assigned it first to the Missing Persons Bureau and kept two of their detectives on the investigation for four days. This was a not too subtle attempt to try to keep the tension from being ignited by yet another murder, and an attempt to try to shore up their weak story that the murders had stopped. The two bodies of Black youth found in the two months prior to this disappearance have still not been investigated by the task force, a part of the cops' sinister move to spread the same lie. But the press carried front-page articles of the recent youth's disappearance all these four days while the case was in the hands of the Missing Persons Bureau, and many people were demanding to know why the task force wasn't involved. On Tuesday afternoon, the head of the task force stepped forward in an outrageous press statement declaring that he had not been informed that another Black youth was missing—a

full three days after everyone else in the city knew about it from the constant flow of media coverage! In order to save face, police officials immediately transferred and reprimanded the two detectives from the Missing Persons Bureau, blaming them for the "terrible mistake" of not notifying the task force—and the case was re-assigned.

In another effort to divert people's attention away from all the dirt being exposed in these bickerings, and in an effort to throw the blame for these murders back onto the people, the City Council is considering imposing very stiff penalties for the parents of any youth caught violating the 11:00 p.m. curfew. This curfew, which was never designed to prevent the child murders since all the children were abducted during the day, is still being aimed directly at the threat of rebellion, which has not subsided despite the best efforts of all the authorities to cool out the situation. The tightening of the screws against the masses has also meant a 14% increase in arrests since the task force was formed—including over 3000 traffic citations given out through police roadblocks around the areas where the youth are being abducted. None of this is meant to lead to any evidence to apprehend the murderers, but again, is part of the general crackdown.

As the days drag on, the murders continue, and the tension stretches tauter, more dirt is bound to be thrown by all the various power-pushers as they scramble off the hot seat and point the finger at someone else. This exposure is itself serving to deepen the anger and the consciousness of what the authorities are up to. □

## Bourgeois Right

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theory?

When the supply system was in force, millions upon millions of people fought an armed struggle for several decades, climbed snow-clad mountains, passing through grassland and undertook the 25,000-li long march. Who ever received wages at the time? Can it be said that the victory in the anti-Japanese war, the liberation war and the resist-US, and aid-Korea war was won through the stimulation of wages? Each communist-minded person feels insulted when hearing such arguments. Take construction work. It is precisely the workers, who according to the above-mentioned economists are the most concerned with the wage levels, who express fundamentally contrary views. Shanghai's workers, after contending, blossoming and debate, pointed out that advocates of this theory and measure, want to "let money instead of politics assume command." These words hit the bull's eye. Of course, we do not deny that at the elementary stage of communism the socialist society still bears the economic, moral and ideological traces of the old society of which it was born, as stated by Karl Marx in his "Critique of the Gotha Program" and that the inequality in "bourgeois right" cannot be done away with at once. We admit that at this stage we can only observe the principle "from each according to his ability; to each according to his work" and not the principle of "from each according to his ability; to each according to his need." But did Marx tell us that bourgeois right and bourgeois hierarchy of inequality must not be destroyed but should be systematized and developed? Did he not say that the principle of "material interests" should only be partially stressed, and that communist education should be intensified politically, ideologically and morally in order to break down the bourgeois right? It was Marx himself and not others who answered this question. Summing up

the experiences of the Paris Commune in his "The Civil War in France" he paid tribute to the measures taken by the heroes of the Paris Commune: "From members of the Commune downward, the public service had to be done at *workmen's wages*. The vested interests and the representation allowances of the high dignitaries of State disappeared along with the high dignitaries themselves." Mark well, did not the revolutionary measure taken by the first commune of the proletariat in the world—the Paris Commune—precisely destroy the bourgeois hierarchy and do away with the principle of material interests? Can it be said that in stressing this experience Marx and later Engels and Lenin did not remember bourgeois right? Thus, Marx, Engels and Lenin did not render service to these economists who "see things and not men" and "money and not men" and who believe that "money talks." On the contrary, Lenin indignantly said in his "State and Revolution": "And it is on this particularly striking point, perhaps the most important as far as the problem of the state is concerned, that the ideas of Marx have been most completely ignored!" In referring to this experience, many people always regard it as "out-dated and naive." Have not these, who declaim against the supply system and want money to assume command, also said that the supply system is "guerrilla style" and "rural habits" and "out-dated"? Have not they, too, forgotten completely the lessons of Marx?

Practice of the past years proves that the attack on the "supply system," on "rural style" and "guerrilla habits" is actually an attack on the revolutionary tradition of the proletariat and on the communist principle of properly handling the relations among the working people on the basis of equality, and is actually designed to defend the bourgeois right of inequality. All exploiting and oppressing classes defend a strict hierarchy. They do not hesitate to fabricate the myth that they are "in-born masters of mankind." Chiang Kai-shek claimed without shame in his "China's Destiny" that he was a descendant of Wen Wang. A

biographical sketch claims that he is a son of Wen Wang—descendant of Duke Chou. This story deserves a place in the *Hsiao Lin Kuang Chi* but it also shows how anxious Chiang Kai-shek and his like are to disguise themselves as the "highest" Chinese. Shanghai's compradors took pride in being "high-class Chinese." Ah Q said only "I belong to the same clan as old Mr. Chao" and Mr. Chao gave him a slap in the face, saying: "How can your surname be Chao!" In the old time, social status was the most important thing and class was all-important. Everything was governed by "propriety"; what was "propriety" was legal. Bourgeois right was found everywhere. Persons who attack the supply system on the grounds that it does not stimulate production actually want to substitute the "propriety" of bourgeois hierarchy for the proletarian relation of equality. According to them, this will stimulate production enthusiasm. Is that really the case? As a result of attack on the supply system, the living standard which did not show much difference in the past has changed among our Party cadres and some who were not inured to hardship have rapidly learned manners of gentlemen, high-class Chinese, and old Mr. Chao. Some cadres feel displeased when they are not addressed as "heads." This indeed stimulates something. But it does not stimulate production enthusiasm but enthusiasm in fighting for fame and wealth. It stimulates waste. It stimulates estrangement from the masses. Some elements soon degenerate into bourgeois rightists and corrupt elements. Some persons expressed the opinion that the supply system would encourage laziness. It has been proved that the opposite is the case: hierarchy has encouraged laziness. Some cadres expect extra pay when they work for only one extra hour. Under the supply system, did those who dedicated everything, even their lives, in revolutionary wars expect pay? What is more serious, since this habit has developed, the relations between cadres and the working people have changed; the "three trends" and "five airs" have developed among leading cadres.\*\*\* Some people have completely forgotten

the lessons that politics must assume command; equality must be practiced toward others, the masses must be persuaded and not coerced and they must become one with the masses. They have gone to such lengths that when the Party Center issued the directive on the correct handling of contradictions among the people, they put up resistance.

A recollection of this is of profound educational significance to each and all. In this process, we can learn the necessary lessons even though we do not support and object to the same things and even though we are subject to different impacts.

The Party's tradition is Marxist-Leninist and is deeply rooted among our Party cadres and people. Although it has been damaged in certain ways, it is not too difficult to restore it. Now under the call of the Party Center and Comrade Mao Tsetung and through the rectification campaign this tradition has been restored. But we still cannot say that it has been completely restored. The bourgeois idea of right and the Kuomintang's official airs still make themselves felt among the people. Certain people still put up resistance to the policy of correctly handling the contradictions among the people. We are still confronted with a long and recurrent process of struggle. But inasmuch as the situation of the great leap forward requires us to leap forward in readjusting inter-relations, all comrades devoted to the communist cause will certainly be able to stand on the forefront of the movement and restore and develop the fine tradition of our Party under new conditions. They will certainly be able to break away from the bourgeois idea of right, establish relations of equality with the masses, form a closely united whole, live and work together and struggle in common for socialism and communism. Can there be any doubt about this? □

\*\*\* The "three trends" were bad trends of work to be corrected: bureaucratism, subjectivism and sectarianism. The "five airs" were five kinds of attitudes to be avoided: bureaucratic, apathetic, extravagant, arrogant and finicky.—RW



# THE OLIGARCHY OF FINANCE CAPITAL

"Now you too can own a piece of the rock!" Remember the old TV jingle for Prudential? Or remember the ads a couple of years back when the oil giants were feeling the heat—ads starring Bob Hope that went something like "Want to meet the owners of America's oil companies? Well, here's Bob and Betty Average, stockholders, the real owners." A great deal of effort has been spent by the bourgeoisie to hype the idea that it is John Q. Public with his 10 shares of common stock who ultimately "owns" GM, IBM, etc. and who by virtue of his "piece of the pie" has a say in how these enterprises are run.

Recently, however, the RW has obtained a copy of an interesting report prepared in 1978 by the Subcommittee on Reports, Accounting and Management of the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs—and, ironically, the study initiated by the bourgeoisie themselves goes a long way toward demolishing any such illusions about "capitalism by and for the people" and offers some valuable insights into exactly how those whom Lenin dubbed the "financial aristocracy" in fact reign supreme.

The report, entitled "Voting Rights in Major Corporations" (along with a companion study on "Interlocking Directorates") is most enlightening. While in recent years the government has commissioned a number of such studies for its own purposes—determining taxes, "regulating" infighting among the giant financial complexes, facilitating the implementation of disclosure laws, etc.—a close examination of such documents reveals much interesting information on the workings of U.S. imperialism and, in particular, the functioning of the financial oligarchy described by V.I. Lenin in his major work *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, written in 1916. And, while there have obviously been some further developments since Lenin's time in the scope of operation of these captains of capitalism, the bourgeoisie itself has provided a rather striking confirmation of many of the basic points made by Lenin and of the fact that as far as basic laws of imperialism are concerned, nothing has fundamentally changed—it has only become more intensified. What stands out in chart after chart and graph after graph is that far from the people "owning" or "controlling" anything, every single aspect of economic life is controlled lock, stock and barrel by a class of parasites, the "geniuses" of financial manipulation who dominate the entire financial structure of society from their strategic positions on high.

Of course here we are speaking only about the domination of the economy—which is concentrated in a very few imperialist hands. There are broader numbers in the enemy class, the bourgeoisie, which also includes much larger numbers of capitalists who, as the draft *Programme* of the RCP, USA

puts it "do not have controlling interests in monopolies and large financial institutions or major international investments, but who do depend for their income on the labor of their employees and accumulate very large sums in the process" (page 21). People such as this are part of a class which will viciously attack and oppose the proletariat, as will their enforcers in the state apparatus. Even the fact that many in this country own stock is of some significance—not the "democratic capitalism" fairy tale—but a symptom of the bourgeoisification that has seeped fairly broadly over the past decades into the masses of this imperialist superpower—though it is now breaking down. But here we are talking about the economic heart of this empire, the domination of finance capital.

There are many different ways in which the financial kingpins are able to exercise domination over different enterprises and bring enormous sums of capital under their sway, the most important of which are control of critical masses of stock in different companies, interlocking directorates, and the monopolization of essential financial services and credit lines. Let's examine for a moment the question of stockholding with which the Senate report is mainly concerned. Indeed, an indication of the fact that this particular way of gaining control over various enterprises has increased in importance is that between 1929 and 1974, financial institutions' stockholdings grew from 9.6% to 33.3% of all outstanding corporate stock.

### "Peoples Capitalism" Exposed

The Senate study concludes that "Voting rights to stock in large U.S. corporations are concentrated among relatively few bank trust departments (led by Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. of New York), insurance companies, mutual funds and their related investment advisory companies." This, of course, is nothing new. In fact Lenin described the holding system (exercised through stock ownership) as a "cornerstone" of the domination of finance capitalism. Quoting the German economist Heymann, he noted that:

"The head of the concern controls the principal company' (literally: the 'mother company'); the latter reigns over the subsidiary companies' ('daughter companies') 'which in their turn control still other subsidiaries' ('grandchild companies'), etc. In this way, it is possible with a comparatively small capital to dominate immense spheres of production. Indeed, if holding 50 percent of the capital is always sufficient to control a company, the head of the concern needs only one million to control eight million in the second subsidiaries. And if this 'interlocking' is extended, it is possible with one million to control sixteen million, thirty-two million, etc.'"

Continued on page 22

| Exxon Corp.                        |                  |                     |                        |
|------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| TOTAL VOTES: 447,661,824           |                  |                     |                        |
| PRINCIPAL STOCKHOLDERS             | MANAGED HOLDINGS |                     |                        |
|                                    | Voting Power     |                     | Total Managed Holdings |
|                                    | Number of Votes  | Percent Total Votes |                        |
| 1. Chase Manhattan Corp            | 5,819,000        | 1.30                | 11,556,000             |
| 2. Morgan Guaranty Trust Co Of NY  | 4,865,115        | 1.09                | 8,609,643              |
| 3. Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co  | 4,021,650        | .89                 | 5,085,355              |
| 4. Rockefeller Family Group        | 3,518,420        | .78                 | 3,518,400              |
| Rockefeller Brothers Fund (370000) |                  |                     |                        |
| Rockefeller Foundation (2848400)   |                  |                     |                        |
| Rockefeller University (300000)    |                  |                     |                        |
| 5. Citibank NA                     | 3,516,131        | .78                 | 6,348,149              |

| U.S. Steel Corp.                              |                  |                     |                        |
|---|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| TOTAL VOTES: 81,842,992                       |                  |                     |                        |
| PRINCIPAL STOCKHOLDERS                        | MANAGED HOLDINGS |                     |                        |
|   | Voting Power     |                     | Total Managed Holdings |
|   | Number of Votes  | Percent Total Votes |                        |
| 1. Morgan Guaranty Trust Co Of NY             | 1,968,110        | 2.40                | 3,148,621              |
| Meyer, John Jr# Dir Roderick, David# Pres     |                  |                     |                        |
| Shepherd, Mark Jr# Dir Wingate, H# Dir        |                  |                     |                        |
| 2. Equitable Life Assurance Society Of The US | 1,104,450        | 1.35                | 1,104,450              |
| 3. Kirby Family Group-Alleghany Corp          | 1,014,000        | 1.24                | 1,014,000              |
| ID5 Life Insur Co (114000)                    |                  |                     |                        |
| Investors Diversified Services Inc            |                  |                     |                        |
| ID5 Progressive Fund (100000)                 |                  |                     |                        |
| Investors Stock Fund (800000)                 |                  |                     |                        |
| 4. Bankers Trust Co                           | 736,587          | .89                 | 1,472,000              |
| 5. Lord Abbett & Company                      | 675,000          | .82                 | 675,000                |

| General Motors Corp.                      |                  |                     |                        |
|---|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| TOTAL VOTES: 287,666,944                  |                  |                     |                        |
| PRINCIPAL STOCKHOLDERS                    | MANAGED HOLDINGS |                     |                        |
|   | Voting Power     |                     | Total Managed Holdings |
|   | Number of Votes  | Percent Total Votes |                        |
| 1. National Bank Of Detroit               | 17,852,640       | 6.21                | 17,852,640             |
| Fisher, Charles T 3rd# Dir                |                  |                     |                        |
| 2. Morgan Guaranty Trust Co Of NY         | 3,260,490        | 1.13                | 5,621,760              |
| Gerstenberg, Richard# Dir Morgens, H# Dir |                  |                     |                        |
| Patterson, Ellmore C# Dir                 |                  |                     |                        |
| 3. Mott (Charles Stewart) Foundation      | 2,164,263        | .75                 | 2,164,263              |
| 4. Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co         | 2,127,746        | .73                 | 2,363,520              |
| 5. TIAA-CREF                              | 1,841,500        | .64                 | 1,841,500              |

| General Electric Co.                        |                  |                     |                        |
|---|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| TOTAL VOTES: 225,748,992                    |                  |                     |                        |
| PRINCIPAL STOCKHOLDERS                      | MANAGED HOLDINGS |                     |                        |
|   | Voting Power     |                     | Total Managed Holdings |
|   | Number of Votes  | Percent Total Votes |                        |
| 1. Morgan Guaranty Trust Co Of NY           | 2,924,637        | 1.30                | 4,462,041              |
| Austin, J Paul# Dir Preston, Lewis T# Dir   |                  |                     |                        |
| 2. Citibank NA                              | 2,798,958        | 1.24                | 5,509,541              |
| Wriston, Walter B# Dir                      |                  |                     |                        |
| 3. First National Bank Of Boston            | 2,626,400        | 1.16                | 2,889,700              |
| 4. Bankers Trust Co                         | 2,483,240        | 1.10                | 3,277,000              |
| 5. Prudential Insur Co Of America (2216100) | 2,276,100        | 1.01                | 2,276,100              |
| Prudential Fund Management Canada Ltd       |                  |                     |                        |
| Prudentials Gibraltar Fund (60000)          |                  |                     |                        |

| International Telephone and Telegraph   |                  |                     |                        |
|---|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| TOTAL VOTES: 94,324,000                 |                  |                     |                        |
| PRINCIPAL STOCKHOLDERS                  | MANAGED HOLDINGS |                     |                        |
|   | Voting Power     |                     | Total Managed Holdings |
|   | Number of Votes  | Percent Total Votes |                        |
| 1. Morgan Guaranty Trust Co Of NY       | 2,009,743        | 2.13                | 3,273,287              |
| General Electric S & S Program (230000) |                  |                     |                        |
| Mutual Investment Fd Of Conn (20000)    |                  |                     |                        |
| 2. Chase Manhattan Corp                 | 1,469,000        | 1.49                | 3,026,000              |
| 3. Harris Trust & Savings Bank          | 1,355,313        | 1.47                | 1,530,186              |
| 4. National Bank Of Detroit             | 1,289,091        | 1.37                | 1,397,133              |
| 5. Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co       | 854,263          | .91                 | 929,204                |

| International Business Machines            |                  |                     |                        |
|--|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| TOTAL VOTES: 149,844,992                   |                  |                     |                        |
| PRINCIPAL STOCKHOLDERS                     | MANAGED HOLDINGS |                     |                        |
|  | Voting Power     |                     | Total Managed Holdings |
|  | Number of Votes  | Percent Total Votes |                        |
| 1. Morgan Guaranty Trust Co Of NY          | 3,787,888        | 2.53                | 5,617,910              |
| Cary, Frank T# BC CEO                      |                  |                     |                        |
| 2. Citibank NA                             | 2,164,348        | 1.44                | 3,554,696              |
| Shapiro, Irving# Dir Williams, Albert# Dir |                  |                     |                        |
| Houghton, Amory Jr# Dir                    |                  |                     |                        |
| 3. Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co          | 1,843,564        | 1.23                | 2,086,692              |
| 4. Bankers Trust Co                        | 1,798,140        | 1.20                | 3,540,000              |
| Moore, William H# Dir                      |                  |                     |                        |
| 5. United States Trust Co Of NY            | 1,603,342        | 1.07                | 4,280,718              |

| American Airlines                        |                  |                     |                        |
|--|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| TOTAL VOTES: 28,604,992                  |                  |                     |                        |
| PRINCIPAL STOCKHOLDERS                   | MANAGED HOLDINGS |                     |                        |
|  | Voting Power     |                     | Total Managed Holdings |
|  | Number of Votes  | Percent Total Votes |                        |
| 1. Morgan Guaranty Trust Co Of NY        | 1,731,157        | 6.05                | 1,976,657              |
| General Electric S & S Prgm Mt1 (150000) |                  |                     |                        |
| 2. Gruner, Richard (Liechtenstein)       | 1,600,200        | 5.59                | 1,600,200              |
| 3. Dreyfus Corporation                   | 1,124,400        | 3.93                | 1,124,400              |
| Dreyfus Fund (1124400)                   |                  |                     |                        |
| 4. Capital Research And Management Co    | 880,000          | 3.08                | 880,000                |
| Investment Co Of America (880000)        |                  |                     |                        |
| 5. Prudential Insurance Co Of America    | 800,000          | 2.80                | 800,000                |

Charts from Voting Rights in Major Corporations, a staff study prepared by the Subcommittee on Reports, Accounting and Management of the Committee on Governmental Affairs, U.S. Senate.

# Neck-Deep

Continued from page 15

It must have been quite a shock to these forces when they heard the rumor that Deng Xiaoping and other top revisionist leaders are now leaning toward a death sentence suspended for several years. These rumors may not be true and the immediate death sentence may still be the final result, but the existence of these rumors and their persistence gives some indication of the contradictions facing China's top revisionists. According to reports by the Associated Press, the reasons given for not carrying out immediate execution are that she is Mao's widow, she is elderly, and that execution could make her a martyr.

Deng and other top revisionists have no less hatred for Chiang Ching and all that she stands for. But they are a bit more far-sighted in looking after the interests of their bourgeois dictatorship. Of course, their concern that Chiang Ching is too old to be executed is pure nonsense. But the fact that she is Mao's widow, or more to the point, that she has made it absolutely clear she stands for Mao's line and attacking her means attacking Mao, has very much to do with the difficulty of the revisionists in reaching a decision on the sentencing.

By referring to "martyring" her, the revisionists are revealing their fear of the revolutionaries—even the intermediate elements—among the Chinese people. And there are other reasons for caution. Although the revisionists have already gutted the revolutionary content of Mao's line and are increasingly attacking him personally, they know they are treading a dangerous path. Everyone in China knows that Mao is closely tied to the prestige and the very existence of the Communist Party. Attacks on Mao, therefore, inevitably pose a serious danger of undermining the authority of the Communist Party. The revisionists have turned the Communist Party, once the vanguard of the proletariat, into the headquarters of the bourgeoisie. But they must still operate under the signboard of the Communist Party, like the revisionist rulers in the Soviet Union. After all, what they are trying to set up in China is state-monopoly capitalism, with their clique pulling the strings. So the revisionists are caught in the vise of, on the one hand, needing to wipe out Mao's legacy as represented by Chiang Ching, and on the other hand, making sure that their rule, under the false mantle of the Communist Party, is not threatened.

If the report that Deng is recommending a suspended death sentence is true, it seems that the revisionists have decided it is too risky to execute Chiang Ching right now, especially after her clear-cut defense of Mao in the trial. This fits in with Deng's speech, now being circulated among a few thousand top-level officials, made at a Central Committee work conference held in mid-December while the trial was still in progress. The work conference called together the members of the Politburo, the Secretariat, State Counsel Vice-Premiers, provincial party first secretaries, and others in responsible positions. Deng warned in the speech that "the assessment by the Party that Mao's merits outweigh his mistakes was practical and beyond doubt," and that "any attempt to exaggerate Mao's mistakes could only jeopardize the prestige of the Party and the socialist system and undermine the unity of the Party, the armed forces, and the various national committees."

The revisionists even dredged up a year-old speech by General Secretary Hu Yaobang, in which he says, "Although Chairman Mao had certain faults and made some mistakes, we should fully recognize that his contributions were great." The speech was reprinted in an issue of *Wenyi Bao* (*Literary Gazette*) last month. This is the same Hu Yaobang that blasted the Cultural Revolution early last month as being "totally negative."

These statements by Deng and Hu should not give rise to any illusions that

perhaps the revisionists are wavering in their attack on Mao. They are stepping it up. But what the revisionists do want is to cash in on the prestige of Mao and the Communist Party.

## "Party Prestige"

But despite the efforts of the revisionists, their Communist Party is fast becoming an object of scorn and ridicule, even among those forces that constitute an important part of their social base. Some of this is described by *New York Times* correspondent Fox Butterfield in a December 27 article entitled "Apathy Replaces Marxist Idealism Among Chinese." In a poll taken among students at Fudan University in Shanghai last September—part of the tiny "upper crust" Deng is counting on as successors—only a third said they believed in communism. Almost a quarter said they believed in "fate," a few in Christianity, and another 25% answered, "Nothing at all." A 33-year-old woman, daughter of a People's Liberation Army general, said, "The first thing when you meet someone and they tell you they are a party member, you wonder why. Did they sell their soul to become a party member? Who did they turn in? Among my girlfriends, no one would want to marry a party member now. They would worry about what kind of a man he was." One man whose father was criticized during the Cultural Revolution as a capitalist-roader revealed that his motives for joining the party were purely for personal advancement. After spending three years in the army, the political commissar suggested he apply to join the party because it would be much easier to get a job afterwards.

Naked self-interest, cynicism, apathy and even mysticism are all promoted to a certain extent by the revisionists in order to counter communist ideals and the science of Marxism-Leninism. But in order to exercise their rule, they also need to preserve some respect for the authority of the party. And they also face the problem that China being a backward country economically, there are not enough spoils to lure people to work hard for revisionism purely on the basis of self-interest. Because of this, the revisionists need to promote "self-sacrifice" and call for learning from the "hard-working" cadres like Zhou Enlai. They have even reactivated Mao's slogan from the Yanan days, "First fear not hardship, second fear not death," displaying it on the front page of the official *People's Daily* a couple of weeks ago. What the revisionists are pushing, of course, is "Fear neither hardship nor death" in service of international imperialism, reaction and the bourgeois class in China. The *People's Daily* also ran a major front-page article on December 31 entitled "Raising Party's Prestige"—from the gutter where it has fallen after the revisionists seized power.

## Hua

The downgrading of the party's prestige and authority has also been a problem facing Deng in conducting a housecleaning of Hua Guofeng and his forces. As one European diplomat said in the December 15 *New York Times* article, commenting on the abrupt and rather humiliating way in which the word of Hua's dismissal and even possible arrest was leaked out, "They are allowing a terrible erosion of authority, making a joke of the party chairman. They must have weighed the risks very carefully." Hua, after all, is still nominally the party chairman, and dealing with him in such an off-handed way was "making a joke" of the party chairmanship. In what was apparently an attempt to offset this problem, the *Xinhua* news agency reported on January 12 that Premier Zhao Ziyang asked a visiting North Korean premier to send greetings to the North Korean party chairman on behalf of "Chairman Hua Guofeng" and others. This is the first time since November that Hua has been referred to in the revisionist press as "chairman." The revisionists want to make a show of an "orderly house" until Hua is "officially" removed at a Central Committee meeting.

Hua has yet to be seen in public or heard from since November. It is unlikely he himself will be able to stage any kind of a comeback, or that his

name re-appearing means that he is showing a surge of power. As the *L.A. Times* quoted one Chinese source as saying, "The best way to understand it is that all his bodyguards were changed and were given different orders so that most now face in, not out." However, behind Hua is a whole layer of middle to upper-level officials who are looking with some apprehension at Hua's fate. According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, in the aforementioned December Central Committee work conference, the first party secretaries of Hunan and Shandong provinces supported Hua. Both these people have similar backgrounds as Hua, having climbed up the ladder of party leadership during the Cultural Revolution. They, like not a few others, held a revisionist line but, by not coming into open opposition to the Cultural Revolution, were able to step into the shoes of high-ranking revisionist officials overthrown by the masses. It remains to be seen if Deng's move against Hua had the effect of whipping these forces into line, or the opposite effect of a certain coalescing and firming up of these forces against Deng.

(As a side point, it is worth remembering that one of the very first all-but-public attacks made on Hua by the Deng forces was in relation to the possible sentence for Chiang Ching. A number of months ago, Hua went on record to the Western press saying that she would not be executed. Soon, Deng's forces counter-attacked, saying this statement by Hua was "not entirely accurate" and criticizing him for "interfering" in the "independent," "non-political" judicial system. Now that Deng's forces have kicked Hua aside, this particular bourgeois-democratic load of bull has been discarded. Her sentence has become an open political football among the revisionists, with Deng brazenly making political statements about it. And to add a final touch, Deng is even reportedly now opposing the death penalty. Well, so much for the pretenses of "objective, independent judiciary"! The new bourgeois rulers of China should be thanked for giving us such an open and clear example of the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy everywhere it exists.)

Ye Jianying, the "elder statesman" among the revisionists, is also another powerful figure dissatisfied with Deng. Ye was missing from a New Year's tea party given by the Communist Party. Hua's absence at the same party was widely taken as a confirmation of his fall from power. Although the revisionists officially issued a statement that Ye was not in the capital because he was down south in Gwandong to get away from the cold weather in Peking, Ye is known to be in disagreement with Deng over how fast the attack against Mao is proceeding, preferring a more moderate pace in order not to stir things up too much. He is also seen as an important power behind Hua's existence. The latest *Red Flag*, the Communist Party theoretical journal, carried an article apparently aimed at Ye in the form of an historical analogy. The story involves a rivalry between an old general and a young minister. The emperor had picked the young minister with great ability over the old general with an illustrious past to run the empire. The old general, upset at being snubbed, did everything to hinder the young minister. Finally the old general

recognized his error and crawled on his knees to the young minister to apologize. The empire prospered and grew strong because of this. Ye, an old military man who still has many ties in the army, is obviously the old general being prodded to work with Deng, the emperor's young minister.

There seems to be a certain pattern to Deng's moves against his opponents—most importantly against Mao's still powerful revolutionary prestige, but also against fellow revisionists like Hua. There is a kind of "press ahead, then retreat a bit" motion to it. First there have been vicious attacks aimed at destruction, then, once having accomplished the wrecking, a certain tactical stepping back to reassure all that things have not gone "too far" and that there is still "stability and order." But if there is a certain method in the madness, underneath it all it is fundamentally capitalist *madness* at work. The picture that ultimately emerges from all this is not that of Deng and the revisionist clique sitting on a throne of stability, but rather being whipped around by waves in a sea of contradictions.

Mao wrote to Chiang Ching in 1966, "In China, since the overthrow of the emperor in 1911, no reactionary has been able to stay in power long. The one who has ruled longest (Chiang Kai-shek) did so for only 20 years, but he, too, fell once the people rose in revolt. Chiang Kai-shek climbed to power by taking advantage of Sun Yat-sen's trust in him and by running the Whampoa (military) academy and gathering a big bunch of reactionaries around him. As soon as he turned against the Communist Party, practically the whole landlord class and bourgeoisie came to his support. Moreover, the Communist Party was inexperienced at the time. So, he gleefully gained ascendancy for a while. In those 20 years, however, he never achieved unification. There were the war between Kuomintang and the Communist Party, the wars between the Kuomintang and the various warlord cliques, the Sino-Japanese war and, finally, the four years of large-scale civil war, which sent him scampering off to a cluster of islands. 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 making up more than 90 percent of the population."

Mao Tsetung has proven an excellent predictor. Not only have his constant warnings and theoretical analysis about the danger of capitalist restoration, its political programme and its source right within the Communist Party all been borne out, now it is more clear that the Right who staged a coup most definitely "know no peace." Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, representing the great majority of the Chinese people, as well as the international proletariat, have definitely shown no tolerance toward the revisionist rule. The only part of Mao's accurate predicting that has not yet come true is that their rule will be short-lived.

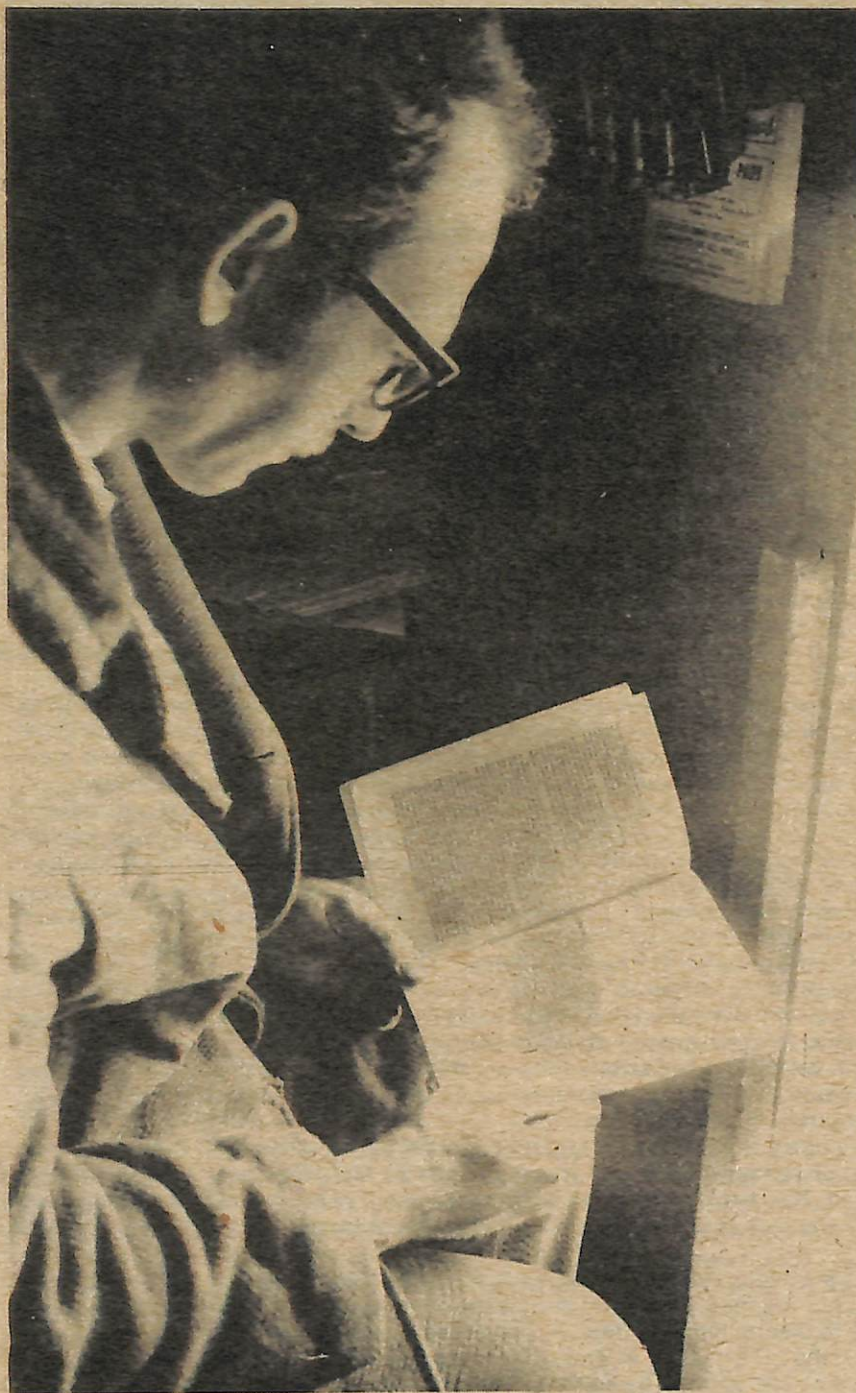
But after all it's only four years since the revisionist coup. And as the world enters this period of great turmoil and opportunities, this prediction, too, may still bear fruit.



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# LETTERS ON THE DRAFT PROGRAMME & DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE RCP, USA

*"Dare to Grapple with the Battle Plan for Revolution," was the call issued by the Revolutionary Communist Party some time ago. This was a call to take up, discuss and criticize drafts of the New Programme and New Constitution of the RCP, USA which were published in early March.*

*The drafts of the New Programme and New Constitution are truly profound and pathbreaking documents. They are a battle plan for proletarian revolution and the establishment of socialism—the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat—in this country. The documents are drafts, weapons in preparation. They represent a concentration of the science of revolution—Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought—and the application of this science to the specific conditions we face in this country. The real possibility for revolution in the next decade demands that those who burn with the desire for such change seriously throw themselves into the struggle over the draft New Programme and New Constitution.*

*We have solicited comments, questions, agreements and disagreements over the new documents, and encourage the submitting of letters for publication in the Revolutionary Worker. Groups and individuals are urged to contact the Party with their ideas and to set up discussions.*

*Any topic covered in the drafts will be open to discussion. The publication of letters does not indicate that the Party necessarily agrees with the position stated in them. Others are free to respond to the points raised in any letter. The Revolutionary Worker will on occasion respond directly to points raised, but as a rule we will not. This is because this process is not a series of questions and answers, but a process of discussion, struggle and sharpening of the drafts which will culminate in the final version of these documents. This process will last for a couple of months and will conclude with an even higher concentration of a correct proletarian revolutionary line by the leadership of the RCP. The final New Programme and New Constitution will be published shortly thereafter. The result of this process directly involving thousands will not only be deeper unity over the political line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, but a deepening of the line itself. And the proletariat will have an even sharper weapon in its revolutionary struggle for political power.*

## REPLY TO NUKES LETTER IN RW No. 59

In relation to the section on nuclear weapons in the draft programme, the letter in RW No. 59 on nukes raises, "Given that these weapons are qualitatively more destructive than conventional weapons, a thorough and scientific discussion of this question is needed."

I agree this is needed and this letter raises a number of very important questions. This letter, as well as other later letters also critical of the draft Programme on this point, have all approached these questions from a broad perspective, not a narrow one, raising not only questions of proletarian internationalism, but also philosophy. I will not attempt to answer all these questions here, leaving particularly the philosophical ones to further study and other writers, but I do wish to comment on and criticize some of the ideas on war and revolution in this letter. I think the intensity of the debate on this section of the draft programme obviously has something to do with the task of uniting with and also diverting toward a proletarian revolutionary path those who have come into political life around the anti-nuke movement especially given the growing trend of people within it who are grappling with the imminent threat of nuclear war, as well as the objective importance of having to deal with nuclear weapons once the proletariat has seized power.

This debate is no moral exercise—we do live in a world in which the imperialists have developed nuclear weapons as part of their arsenal. They have already used these weapons, and they will certainly use them again. They will use them in the not so distant future, if they are not stopped by revolution. It seems to me quite likely that if the proletariat comes to power in the coming period it will most likely be during or just after such a war. In either case, the international proletariat will find itself in a position where its detachments in the socialist countries face desperate imperialists armed with nukes and who will use them to stop the advance of revolution. At the same time, especially if imperialist war has wreaked nuclear destruction of large parts of the globe, the profound hatred of the people of the world for nuclear weapons and the imperialists who spawned and unleashed this war will provide fertile soil for the further advance of revolutionary war. The debate on this question springs in part from the deep desire of the masses to eliminate war and has to be approached from the vantage point of the final goal of communism and the overall principles that govern the proletariat's approach to war in general and nuclear war in particular. As Mao Tsetung put it:

"War, this monster of mutual slaughter among men, will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society, and in the not too distant future too. But there is only one way to eliminate it and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war, to oppose national counter-revolutionary war with national revolutionary war, and to oppose counter-revolutionary class war with revolutionary class war. History knows only two kinds of war, just and unjust. We support just wars and oppose unjust wars. All counter-revolutionary wars are unjust, all revolutionary wars are just. Mankind's era of wars will be brought to an end by our own efforts, and beyond doubt the war we wage is part of the final battle. But also beyond doubt the war we face will be part of the biggest and most ruthless of all wars. The biggest and most ruthless of unjust counter-revolutionary wars is hanging over us, and the vast majority of mankind will be ravaged unless we raise the banner of a just war. The banner of mankind's just war is the banner of mankind's salvation. The banner of China's just war is the banner of China's salvation. A war waged by the great majority of mankind and of the Chinese people is beyond doubt a just war, a most lofty and glorious undertaking for the salvation of mankind and China, and a bridge to a new era in world history. When human society advances to the point where classes and states are eliminated, there will be no more wars, counter-revolutionary or revolutionary, unjust or just; that will be the era of perpetual

peace for mankind. Our study of the laws of revolutionary war springs from the desire to eliminate all wars: herein lies the distinction between us Communists and all the exploiting classes." ("Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 182-3)

In this context it is necessary to take on the first letter written on this subject printed in RW No. 59 which criticizes the section of the draft Programme which states:

"Upon coming to power, the proletariat will need powerful armed forces which—although organized according to completely different principles—will need to be equipped with the weaponry the imperialists have, including nuclear weapons. The proletarian state in this country will take up the struggle to abolish nuclear weapons the world over—and this struggle will be fundamentally different from the phoney 'disarmament' talk of the imperialists. However, the remaining imperialists and other reactionaries, being desperate gangsters, will not so easily give up these weapons. This makes it quite likely that it will be a long time before all nuclear weapons are finally abolished—although the destruction of the U.S. capitalist state will be a mighty stride in that direction."

The crux of the argument raised against this in No. 59 is that since nuclear weapons are qualitatively more destructive than conventional weapons with damaging long-lasting effects, there can be no justification for the use of these weapons by the proletariat under any circumstances.

The crux of what's wrong with this argument is that it asserts that a qualitative development in weaponry has qualitatively changed or transcends the laws of class struggle, and negates the communist stand that war can only be ultimately eliminated by opposing unjust wars and waging and supporting just wars against imperialism. Not to make a distinction between just and unjust wars, even nuclear wars, is to fall into bourgeois pacifism.

This is the basic point I want to flesh out which can best be done by working through No. 59's argument.

The first point he makes is that the position that nuclear weapons are a deterrent is wrong because "The capitalists are not permanently deterred from making inter-imperialist war by the fact that the other side has nukes. Until that iron law of expand or die is eliminated by the total elimination of classes, imperialist nations will be forced to lash out regardless of the danger to the masses of people, at those who block their way. Thus nukes or no nukes they will be forced to try and destroy socialist countries."

While it is true that the laws that force imperialism to lash out and attack a socialist country can't be eliminated, this misses the point that the main reason the proletariat in power must maintain nuclear weapons is exactly because of these laws. The bourgeoisie has nuclear weapons and will inevitably use them and will use them on an ever more desperate and destructive scale until the class that brandishes them is eliminated or at least overpowered on a world scale. To accomplish this is our aim. "We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war but war can only be abolished through war and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to pick up the gun"—(Mao, "Problems of War and Strategy in China's Revolutionary War"). This basic principle applies also to the use of nuclear weapons. In order to rid humanity of these nukes it will be necessary to take them up and quite likely use them to defend socialist countries. On the other hand, the element of deterrence shouldn't be downplayed or underestimated. The potential military strength of a socialist country that is armed with nuclear weapons and clearly intends to use them if it has to is a factor that the imperialists will have to weigh and weigh seriously, since the imperialists' goal is not simply to lash out, but to win. For instance when China tested its first atom bomb a heavy blow was dealt to the nuclear blackmail U.S. imperialism was imposing on the world, increasingly with the connivance of the Soviet imperialists, who at that time were mainly capitulating to the U.S.

Of course Mao Tsetung made clear even before China had the atom bomb

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# PROGRAMME LETTERS

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that revolution particularly in the oppressed nations couldn't be blackmailed and aptly labeled the U.S. imperialists' A-bomb a paper tiger. But there is no doubt that the end of U.S. imperialism's unchallenged nuclear superiority, especially when it became possible for what the imperialists term "every two-bit and third world country" to own one, upset the balance of forces and certainly and most effectively made the U.S. imperialists think twice about using its nukes in southeast Asia. Especially if the main character of the threat of war is imperialism vs. the socialist countries, the power of nuclear weapons in the hands of the proletariat forcing the imperialists into a position where they can't initiate nuclear war without weighing the serious consequences for their side can be a powerful deterrent. If you picture a war situation in which the masses of the imperialist countries are already sickened by the destructiveness and senselessness of it, and where there is a significant section with revolutionary sentiments, then the existence of a significant nuclear retaliatory threat from a socialist country can be seen as having a potentially powerful effect. The imperialists would have to carefully weigh not only the destructive capacity of the socialist country, but the potentially explosive anger of their own masses at the prospect of nuclear war. This could deter them from using their nuclear weapons, and even if they were to do so the likelihood of proletarian revolution arising to put an end to it quickly would be all the greater.

Contrary to this, letter No. 59 states—"The RCP once said about inter-imperialist war that the existence of nuclear weapons, far from making world war unthinkable or unlikely, only assures that the war will be that much more destructive. *The same would be true of the possession and therefore the implied usage of nuclear weapons by a socialist country.*" (emphasis added) In other words, the author is stating that nukes in the arsenal of a socialist country increase the possibility of nuclear war and holds the proletariat equally responsible with the bourgeoisie as the cause of such a war.

I believe the above refers to a speech made by Chairman Avakian in Seattle a couple of years ago on the subject of war and revolution. In the part of the speech dealing with nuclear war the Chairman exposes the view that the bourgeoisie would never launch a new world war because of the danger of nuclear weapons (and after all they don't want to end the world) as wrong: "We have to look at the hard, cold reality, at the kind of people and more than that the system we are dealing with. A system which has its laws and which drives the class of people who rule this society (and the Soviet Union) to be the worst, the most murderous gangsters that have yet lived on the planet earth. Because this is the way they prolong their system and there's nothing they won't do to try to prolong their rule. Of course they want to exploit people but when it comes down to it if they have to go at each other, they will do it in order to try and keep themselves going a little bit longer. And we can't have any illusions about this."

Nor can we have illusions that if the proletarian state doesn't maintain nuclear weapons war will be any less thinkable or destructive. The imperialists would still use nuclear weapons, only the result would be far more to the detriment of the world proletarian revolution if the socialist states aren't in possession and prepared to use them. Although letter No. 59 states that its position is based on the thinking that imperialism is driven by the laws of expand or die, when it gets to its stand on nukes it denies that it is imperialism that is the source of war and that the blame for this monstrous crime must and can be laid squarely at the doorstep of the capitalist system.

Unless we face the hard, cold fact that in the world imperialism has created nuclear weapons and that they are part of modern warfare (more on this later) and that the proletariat may well have to use them in order to "preserve oneself and destroy the enemy," we will not be fighting to end war but instead will be prolonging war—in particular the imperialists' ability to wage nuclear war. A genuine socialist country will not want to fight a nuclear war. It will make serious efforts to abolish nuclear weapons worldwide—a goal which, though unlikely before imperialism is abolished, is not impossible, based on the strength of the world proletariat. And, short of this, a socialist country will take many concrete measures in unity with the international proletariat, to make it far harder for the imperialists to use their nuclear weapons. But disarming itself will not help the proletariat do this and will actually make nuclear destruction more likely.

Even more importantly the above argument from No. 59 that the *same* is true for a socialist country along with the assertion that the use of nukes would be "great power chauvinism" and "using the populations of the U.S. and the USSR as bargaining chips" is tantamount to obliterating the distinction between just and unjust wars and sounds strikingly similar to the arguments raised by Khrushchev in 1963 when the USSR withdrew support for wars of national liberation on the pretext that they would provoke nuclear war. Khrushchev rewrote or more accurately revised the laws of class struggle because according to his logic "The atom bomb doesn't draw class distinctions." "What is the use of principles if one's head is chopped off." Check out if the following statement doesn't ring familiar, despite the writer's intentions.

"There can be no doubt that a world nuclear war if started by the imperialist maniacs, would inevitably result in the downfall of the capitalist system, a system breeding wars. But would the socialist countries and the cause of socialism all over the world benefit from a world nuclear disaster? Only people who deliberately shut their eyes to the facts can think so. As regards Marxist-Leninists they cannot propose to establish a communist civilization on the ruins of centers of world culture, on land laid waste and contaminated by nuclear fallout. We need hardly add that in the case of many people, the question of socialism would be eliminated altogether because they would have disappeared bodily from our planet. . . ." "What is the use of principles if one's head is chopped off."

The CCP responded to this shameless revisionism in the general line polemic: "In short according to the leaders of the CPSU, with the emergence of nuclear weapons, the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, and the contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism have all disappeared. The world no longer has any class contradictions. They regard the contradictions in the contemporary world as boiling down to a single contradiction, that is, their fictitious contradiction between the so-called common survival of imperialism and the oppressed classes and nations on the one hand and their total destruction on the other." (All of above cited in "Two Different Lines on the Question of War and Peace," section on "Nuclear Fetishism and Nuclear Blackmail.")

While the author of letter No. 59 no doubt has no intention of siding with Khrushchev, his argument that there can be no justification for the possession and use of nuclear weapons by a socialist country obliterates the distinction between just and unjust wars and reduces proletarian internationalism to "saving lives" and "habitable land" and is essentially no different. It must also be said at this point that it is the same line that leads the author to confound having nuclear weapons with having military bases around the world. This amounts to confounding the necessity to fight just wars against imperialism with the necessity for the proletariat in the U.S. to renounce its claims to bases in other countries which are there to maintain the U.S. status as an oppressor nation.

I also think this debate involves some questions on military strategy, namely the object of war and the principle that in the contradiction between people and weapons people are decisive. Letter No. 59 characterizes nuclear weapons as weapons for mass terror and proposes that instead the proletariat should perfect and develop conventional missiles aimed at industrial plants and military bases.

It goes without saying that nuclear weapons are the most monstrous weapons the imperialists have developed. They are qualitatively more destructive than conventional weapons which is why, as one of the previous letters correctly points out, the Party includes in its draft programme that "the proletarian state will take up the struggle to abolish nuclear weapons the world over—and this struggle will be fundamentally different than the phony disarmament talk of the imperialists. . . ." And "that the destruction of the U.S. capitalist state will be a mighty stride in that direction."

This can't be viewed as a moral obligation but as a concrete task the proletariat undertakes as part of accomplishing its historic duty of emancipating all mankind. This can't be accomplished by peaceful means—only by waging revolutionary wars—war is the highest form of class struggle with particular laws of its own.

The elementary object of war as Mao Tsetung summed it up in his military writings is to preserve oneself and destroy the enemy—"to destroy the enemy means to disarm him—to deprive him of the power to resist." "The object of war, namely, the preservation of oneself and the destruction of the enemy is the essence of war and the basis of all war activities, an essence which pervades all war activities, from the technical to the strategic."

Even the qualitative development of nuclear weapons doesn't change the basic factor that warfare is still principally fought as "the mutual slaughter of opposing armies" made up of men and materials. In this context it misses the point to characterize nukes, no matter how monstrous, simply as weapons of mass terror, when in fact they were developed and further designed to put the state that possesses them in a superior position to destroy the opposing army. That's why they have their missiles aimed principally at troop concentrations, military facilities and industrial centers—in other words those targets that deprive the enemy of the power to resist.

Why must a socialist country maintain nuclear weapons instead of perfecting conventional missiles? This of course is one tactic the proletariat may well use as part of its desire to avoid the use of nuclear weapons. But the hard, cold fact of the matter is that nuclear weapons are part of modern warfare. If the imperialists are the only ones to have them they will be in a position to do massive damage to a socialist country without being even tactically challenged on this front. This of course can't be taken to mean that the proletariat must rely on weapons or technology or that the defense of a socialist country rests on its ability to achieve nuclear parity. This would be the same as disarming oneself, or, to quote Mao: "This is the view of 'weapons decide everything' which constituted a mechanical approach to the question of war and a subjective and one-sided view. Our view is opposed to this: we see not only weapons but also people. Weapons are an important factor in war but not the decisive factor; it is people not things, that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale. Military and economic power is necessarily wielded by people."

So what about the argument letter No. 59 raises that since people are decisive, nuclear weapons are unnecessary? Is this "Maoist?" Apparently not since, for one thing, revolutionary China under Mao developed them. But more deeply analyzing this, Mao's analysis that people, not weapons, are decisive never led him to fail to analyze warfare, or to say that weapons were unimportant. In fact some of his major theoretical (and practical) contributions were in the art of warfare. During the course of the Chinese revolution Mao greatly contributed to Marxism by developing an understanding of the laws of warfare particularly as they apply to revolution in the semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries, concentrated in the strategy of people's war. Based on the understanding that people are decisive, Mao carefully analyzed the objective conditions on both sides, and developed a whole set of strategy and tactics for using the strengths of the people under those conditions. "People, not weapons, are decisive" is not a slogan for ignoring the laws of warfare, but for studying them from a Marxist point of view.

In regard to the question letter No. 59 raises, must the proletariat use every form of violence that the oppressor uses and in the same way? The international proletariat has already gained and summed up valuable experience around this question. Must the proletariat wield nuclear weapons? Yes. Will they wield them the same way the bourgeoisie uses them—most definitely not. The proletariat and the bourgeoisie are diametrically opposing classes with opposing aims and different necessity. The bourgeoisie is driven by the laws of capital and inevitably instigates wars and unleashes the nuclear monsters they have created. This is their nature as Mao said, "to make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again. . . till their doom, this is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries."

The proletariat has no interest in wars of aggression and thus no interest in initiating or perpetrating nuclear war. This is why the CCP correctly included in the general line polemics the following passage: "We have always maintained that the socialist countries must achieve and maintain nuclear superiority. . . We consistently hold that in the hands of a socialist country nuclear weapons must always be defensive weapons for resisting nuclear threats. A socialist country absolutely must not be the first to use nuclear weapons, nor should it in any circumstances play with them or engage in nuclear blackmail or nuclear gambling." ("Two Different Lines on the Question of War and Peace")

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# Upsurge in Poland

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and is not living up to its commitments from last summer and various Solidarity spokesmen stated that if sanctions are imposed there would probably be a "new stage" in the confrontations with the government.

In light of these developments Poland's rulers have begun to take a tougher stance against the demonstrators in an effort to bring the situation more under their control and convince the Soviets that they are in command. This was signaled by stepped-up attacks in the party's newspaper, *Trybuna Ludu*, on "noisy forces attempting to destroy a slowly created atmosphere of calm and reason" and those who were "instigating anarchical incidents." The newspaper specifically singled out "some provincial activists" of Solidarity for attempting to force the resignation of local officials. Over the weekend of the massive work stoppage, Stanislaw Kania—the leader of Poland's revisionist "Communist" party—denounced the farmers attempts to form an independent union and railed against "those who make no secret of their anti-socialist or, to put it more bluntly, counterrevolutionary designs."

Kania's statement was double-edged, and, no doubt, true to some extent. The political contradictions are extremely complex in Poland today, the opposi-

tion to the government consisting of both elements directly supported by the west, as well as spontaneous struggles of the masses of people which are still out of control.

Shortly after Kania's statement Polish police carrying shields broke down the doors of the city hall in the southern town of Nowy Sacz where 60 members of Solidarity had been sitting in with demands similar to the occupations in other cities, including a demand for an investigation of public funds spent on a new party headquarters and a sanatorium for party leaders. While it was stressed that there was no violence, the eviction was significant in that it was the first direct use of force against protesting workers since the turmoil began last summer. (An indication of just where Walesa actually stands in relation to the renewed upsurge of protest was a report by ABC correspondent Peter Jennings that Walesa had expressed support for the eviction.) The following day the demonstrators occupying the town hall in Ultryki Dolne were also forcibly removed by 20 police in riot gear backed up by another 200 in reserve. In response, two days later workers in southeast Poland staged a one-hour strike protesting the use of riot police to break up the occupations, an action that affected more than 100 factories.

Not surprisingly these attacks by the government corresponded with a "surprise" visit by Soviet Marshal Victor Kulikov, commander of the Warsaw Pact military forces, to Poland to meet with Polish party leaders. In fact, there has been a flurry of activity this past week with various bourgeois forces from the Soviets to the Polish party leaders to

Lech Walesa jockeying behind the scenes. The maneuvering is a reflection of the fact that there are sharp and real contradictions at play here—between the Polish bourgeoisie and the Soviets, between imperialism East and West, between the masses of people and revisionist rule.

The government's tougher stance coincided with Walesa's visit to Rome to confer with Pope John Paul II, who conveyed the unmistakable message that it was time to cool things down. After Walesa fell on his knees before the Pope and kissed his hand, he was told: "May you always be accompanied by the same courage as at the start of your initiative, but may you also be accompanied by the same prudence and moderation."

According to the German magazine, *Der Spiegel*, Walesa is not the only one who has visited the Pope to discuss the Polish crisis. They report that in September a high Russian official—a leading member of the CPSU's foreign department—met with Cardinal Agostino Cassaroli and that, according to insiders, Cassaroli supposedly assured the Soviet representative that the Pope and the Vatican would try to prevent any disasters or harm to Poland. *Der Spiegel* also noted that in December right after the Warsaw Pact meeting in Moscow, a Soviet official of "stronger political caliber"—Vadim Sagladin, First Vice Chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, who is known for his missions to the West when sensitive issues are concerned—was rumored to have met with the Pope directly. The Italian newspaper, *La Stampa*, also reported an unusual head-to-head discussion be-

tween Sagladin and "someone in the Vatican" in which the Soviets said they would withdraw the possibility of an invasion if the church would help to "pour cold water on the Polish strikers."

While this may seem strange considering the fact that the Catholic Church has generally played the role of assisting U.S. penetration of the eastern bloc (and not a small role in backing the independent trade union movement in Poland itself), it is not the least bit out of character. It is not at all in contradiction to U.S. desires since, for the moment, the U.S. imperialists would just as soon see things calm down in the hopes that the gains that pro-U.S. forces are making in Poland will not be set back by a Soviet invasion.

But while the bourgeoisie is maneuvering desperately to contain things, the struggle of the Polish people—reflecting the continuing political ferment in Poland and the intensifying contradiction between the masses and imperialism generally—is flaring up once again, erupting from the bottom up and forcing the top Solidarity leadership into motion. While Walesa was in Rome, a statement signed by a "working group" of the national leadership of Solidarity threatened more strikes as streetcars and buses in downtown Warsaw flew flags and displayed placards protesting any reprisals that may be planned by the government against those who participated in the Saturday work stoppage and condemning the evictions of the farm union demonstrators. On January 14, workers in Rzeszow conducted a second day of two-hour "warning strikes" reportedly involving some 600,000 employees at 30 state factories. Obviously, Poland is still a powderkeg that could blow sky-high at any time.

## PROGRAMME LETTERS

Continued from page 20

In other words, a socialist country has no need to wage wars of aggression. Furthermore, even if it must engage in war to defend itself or support revolution elsewhere, it would never initiate the use of nuclear weapons.

Overall I feel this is correctly handled by the draft programme which on the one hand points out the aim is to abolish nuclear weapons and on the other recognizes it will be quite some time before all nukes are finally abolished. But I think it could be strengthened by adding in some form the principle quoted above from the general line polemics, both because it further exposes and isolates the imperialists and their use of nukes and because in its own right it is an important principle for the proletariat to adhere to.

Finally, on the point raised that nukes are not necessary because the strategy for attaining communism is worldwide revolution not defense of a socialist country. This negates that until communism there will still be states—including socialist and imperialist ones for some time—and that the defense of socialist countries is an important and inevitable part of the process of worldwide proletarian revolution and the advance to communism. To view it otherwise and to give up on this process, refusing to deal with its practical conclusions, is to allow the imperialists to carry on their oppression and perpetration of nuclear war and not allow the proletariat to resist with every bit of its acquired strength.

However, I think a few words must be said about some of the responses to letter 59 some of which I felt on the question of nuclear war threw all politics out the window and resorted to pedagogy and social chauvinism. As Chairman Avakian pointed out in the 1979 Central Committee Report (reprinted in *Revolution*, Nov. 1979) the problem of defending a socialist country and promoting worldwide revolution are tasks that arise with the most intensity simultaneously during historic conjunctures such as the one we are rapidly approaching—how has the international proletariat handled the relationship of these tasks—"Not too well", he wrote.

The fact that the necessity for the proletariat to maintain nuclear weapons is put in the context of international relations is extremely significant and overall this section of the draft programme is a significant contribution and breakthrough made with the most serious and thorough investigation of the question. This section overall contains the guiding principles for how and when the proletariat will take up nuclear weapons, which is hardly, "we'll nuke the first imperialists to fuck with us and we'll defend the country at all costs"—the question will have to be carefully considered first and foremost from the point of how as one detachment of the international proletariat in the very favorable position of being a bastion and base area for revolution, the worldwide struggle can best be moved forward.

This obviously will mean taking many factors into account, including the immense and burning hatred the masses of oppressed and exploited people have for nuclear war, especially after the imperialists have unleashed these weapons on some even if limited scale in this spiral. This hatred, combined with the socialist countries' clear intent to use nuclear weapons if they have to, will greatly inhibit the freedom of the imperialists to launch a nuclear war and give further impetus to the struggle within these countries to overthrow the imperialists before they can launch another nuclear war, especially if, as we mentioned before, the character of the war is imperialism vs. socialism. Overall, the contributions of the International Relations section of the draft Programme are a huge step forward, particularly in summing up the lessons of World War 2 and working out the contradiction of, on the one hand, facilitating the advance of worldwide revolution, and on the other, defending the socialist countries in a way that will hasten the extinction of imperialism, and ultimately all class distinctions. The prospect of nuclear war is certainly nothing to look forward to in one sense. But it is part of the world imperialism has created. Marxists since Lenin have always put even the prospects of war in a perspective of optimism, not

pacifism and despair. This doesn't stem from a subjective desire to see some light at the end of the tunnel but because it is this view that corresponds to the real world.

Mao wrote, "Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against revolutionary forces and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory."

Even tremendous destruction can not change the course of history and itself is further exposure and an indictment of the imperialist system. What other orientation is for real in the face of this prospect than to prepare to overthrow the most murderous set of oppressors to ever walk the face of the earth—in fact "why wait 'til afterwards"?

Engels in 1887, 27 years before the outbreak of World War I, predicted a world war between capitalist states of "an extent and violence hitherto undreamt of," comparable to "the devastation of the Thirty Years War compressed into three or four years and spread over the whole continent; famine, pestilence, general demoralization of both armies and of the mass of people produced by acute distress;... collapse of the old states and their traditional state wisdom to such an extent that crowns will roll by the dozens on the pavement and there will be nobody to pick them up; absolute impossibility of foreseeing how it will all end up and who will come out of the struggle as victor; only one result is absolutely certain; general exhaustion and the establishment of the conditions for the ultimate victory of the working class."

In 1918, in the light of the world war, Lenin writes of the genius and accuracy of Engels' prophecy and declares, "How much could be learnt from it by those who are now shamefully succumbing to lack of faith, despondency and despair..." Lenin, in the same commentary ("Prophetic Words," *Collected Works*, Vol 27) remarks that the Mensheviks and social-chauvinists are "prepared to grant a revolution of the proletariat and other oppressed classes 'theoretically,' provided only that the revolution drops from heaven and is not born and bred on earth soaked in the blood of four years of imperialist butchery of the peoples, with millions upon millions of people exhausted, tormented and demoralized by this butchery..."

"Consider the descriptions of childbirth given in literature, when the authors aim at presenting a truthful picture of the severity, pain and horror of the act of travail, as in Emile Zola's *La joie de vivre* (The Joy of Life), for instance, or in Veresayev's *Notes of a Doctor*. Human childbirth is an act which transforms the woman into an almost lifeless, blood stained heap of flesh, tortured, tormented and driven frantic by pain. But can the 'individual' that sees only this in love and its sequel, and the transformation of the woman into a mother, be regarded as a human being? Who would renounce love and procreation for this reason?"

"Travail may be light or severe. Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, always said that the transition from capitalism to socialism would be inevitably accompanied by prolonged birth pains. And analyzing the consequences of a world war, Engels outlined simply and clearly the indisputable and obvious fact that a revolution that follows and is connected with a war (and still more—let us add for our part—a revolution which breaks out during a war and which is obliged to grow and maintain itself in the midst of a world war) is a particularly severe case of childbirth..."

"Severe travail greatly increases the danger of grave illness or of a fatal issue. But while individuals may die in the act of childbirth, the new society to which the old system gives birth cannot die; all that may happen is that the birth may be more painful, more prolonged, and growth and development slower... Let the 'socialist' snivelers croak, let the bourgeoisie rage and fume, but only people who shut their eyes so as not to see, and stuff their ears so as not to hear, can fail to notice that all over the world the birth pangs of the old, capitalist society, which is pregnant with socialism, have begun... We are entitled to be proud and to consider ourselves fortunate that it has come to our lot to be the first to fell in one part of the globe that wild beast, capitalism, which has drenched the earth in blood, which has reduced humanity to starvation and demoralisation, and which will assuredly perish soon, no matter how monstrous and savage its frenzy in the face of death."

L.W.

# OLIGARCHY

Continued from page 17

But what is new is that while Lenin stressed that "As a matter of fact, experience shows that it is sufficient to own 40% of the shares of a company in order to direct its affairs..." the Senate study concludes that today "Authorities as diverse as Chairman Arthur Burns of the Federal Reserve System and the late Chairman Wright Patman of the House Banking and Currency Committee have agreed that stockholding below 5% can in some instances constitute control." The report goes on to point out that "In practical terms it is clear that control of a small percent, even 1 or 2%, of stock in a publicly held corporation can gain tremendous influence over a company's policies and operations."

The reasons for this, it explains, are many. For example, when a corporation has thousands of shareholders all holding a small number of shares, a holder of even 1% of the shares may be by far the largest voting bloc representing say, 100 times as many shares as those held by the average stockholder. Most small holdings are voted routinely anyway, usually by proxy and automatically for management. And as for the myth that "the employees of America are the only true owners of the means of production through their pension funds" (which today account for 37% of all stock held by institutional investors), the report points out that the stockholdings of these pension and mutual funds are, as a matter of policy, controlled and voted by the banks that manage them. There you have it—a situation in which the controllers of strategic blocs of stock representing only a minute portion of the total shares outstanding are able to exert an influence far beyond the proportion of the shares held and to routinely put their own representatives on the boards of directors of these companies.

This candid admission by the bourgeoisie reveals the development of imperialism since Lenin's time, the further intensification of monopoly and the increased concentration of capital (and/or the control of capital) in the hands of a financial elite. All this constitutes a rather devastating blow to the popular myth fostered by the bourgeoisie that the giant corporations are somehow "publicly owned and controlled." In *Imperialism* Lenin had already demolished this myth of "people's capitalism" and pointed out that in fact the widespread diffusion of stock ownership actually makes it that much

easier for the finance capitalists to exercise control since the more scattered the shareholders, the more difficult it is for them to exert their influence:

"The 'democratization' of the ownership of shares, from which the bourgeois sophists and opportunist so-called 'Social-Democrats' expect (or say that they expect) the 'democratization of capital,' the strengthening of the role and significance of small-scale production, etc., is, in fact, one of the ways of increasing the power of the financial oligarchy. Incidentally, this is why, in the more advanced, or in the older and more 'experienced' capitalist countries, the law allows the issue of shares of smaller denomination. In Germany, the law does not permit the issue of shares of less than one thousand marks denomination, and the magnates of German finance look with an envious eye at England, where the issue of one-pound shares (=20 marks, about 10 rubles) is permitted. Siemens, one of the biggest industrialists and 'financial kings' in Germany, told the Reichstag on June 7, 1900 that 'the one-pound share is the basis of British imperialism.'"

It is little wonder that today Chrysler

and GM workers, for example, are constantly encouraged by management to purchase stock in the company, to buy themselves "a share of their own future"!

In this light, the Senate report divulges some rather interesting figures. The study involved voting rights and patterns in 122 of the largest U.S. corporations whose enormous size is indicated by the fact that together the market value of their common stock amounted to 41% of the market value of all outstanding common stock in the U.S. at the end of 1976. It found that in 19 of the 122 corporations a single institutional investor controls more than 5% of the voting rights in the corporation. In 24 others, a combination of five or fewer investors controls more than 10% of the voting rights; and in 13 additional corporations a family group controls more than 10% of the voting rights. In addition it found that more than half of the 600-plus key positions as a "top five" identified stockholder are held by a mere 21 institutions. An idea of just which financial groups have been the most successful at interpenetrating a multitude of these enterprises can be gotten by examining the tables

(on page 17) outlining the major stockholders in some of the leading U.S. corporations.

## Finance Capital

One name which keeps popping up again and again is Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. of New York which towers above all other stock investors and which is an excellent example of how tremendous power is increasingly concentrated in the hands of the financial oligarchy. Morgan Guaranty is among the top five identified stockholders in almost half (56) of the corporations studied (Citibank was second with 25). It is also stockvoter No. 1 in almost one fourth (27) of the corporations. In fact, the position of Morgan Guaranty illustrates an important point stressed by Lenin: that finance capital is not merely a catchword for banking activity, nor a term that merely describes the domination of the banks over industrial corporations.

As Lenin pointed out, finance capital is much more than controlling the banks—it is a particular and more highly concentrated form of capital arising from the monopolization on a qualitatively higher level of both banking and industry together and the merger or coalescence of their respective capitals under the control of a few dominant groups who become the financial overlords of all society. Of the 21 institutions referred to above, who dominate the ranks of investors—eleven are banks but these banks are hardly operating as independent entities. Who controls the major voting rights in these dominant banks? Other large banks—like Morgan Guaranty! Morgan, for instance, is stockvoter No. 1 in four of its sister New York banks—Citicorp, Manufacturers Hanover Corp., Chemical New York Corp. and Bankers Trust New York Corp. It is also stockholder No. 1 in BankAmerica Corp., the bank holding company with the largest assets. What is clear from this is that although banking institutions take on a strategic significance in the activities of finance capital (due to their unique position of being able to ascertain the financial position of various enterprises and to manipulate their fate by giving or withholding capital credit, etc.), they are only organizational units—or bases—in which finance capital is embodied and from which it operates.

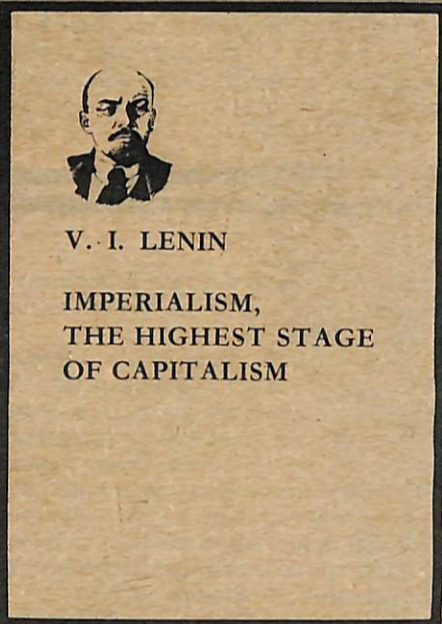
## Interlocking

Another key way in which finance capital extends its control over a vast array of enterprises is of course the phenomenon of "interlocking directorates" arising from its ability to place representatives on the boards of various enterprises through the control of strategic blocs of stock.

A companion Senate study issued in 1978, which studied 130 corporations, concluded that the largest U.S. companies were tied to each other through the people that sit on their board—once again no great revelation. It defined a direct interlock as one in which a director of one company simultaneously holds down a directorship on another company, and an indirect interlock as one in which two companies each have a representative on the board of a third company. The chart reproduced here

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# KING

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"King shook up a lot of people even in the Civil Rights Movement when he spoke out against the war in Vietnam," and then likened King's opposition to the Vietnam war to the draft resistance movement today. This is revealing, not because it shows that Conyers is the least bit progressive, but rather he is aware of and addressing certain sentiments among the masses—that they were looking beyond King, to many broad questions of oppression and resistance in the world. Still, among many progressive and even revolutionary-minded people at the march, there was a strong tendency to justify the focus on King by saying that he was getting more progressive in his later years, and that while he made mistakes, he was beginning to see the light, particularly on the question of Vietnam. As for King's opposition to the war, this came only in the spring of 1967, when many bourgeois politicians representing powerful ruling class interests were also making speeches against it because of what they saw as the overall interests of the bourgeoisie. King's stand of opposing the war on the grounds of pacifism—which makes one wonder what took him so long—was in sharp contrast with Malcolm X's firm stand against the Vietnam war in the very early years of the war, which linked the strug-

gle of Black people against national oppression and the fight for national liberation in Vietnam as part of a common struggle worldwide against imperialism. King's stand against the war represented not so much changes in King but was a response to the sentiments against the war among the masses—which King was tailing after and attempting to derail down the road of pacifism. The same can be said of Conyers' attempt to bring back the ghost of King and link it to the anti-draft movement: it is nothing but an attempt to channel the sentiments of the masses of people against impending world war into the "model" of capitulation which King's pacifist views represented.

While many of the forces present were clearly opposed to this point of view, most did not raise open opposition to it. The line that unity was the most important thing held some sway. But the question is, unity around what; and once people got down to the crucial question of what is the road forward, there were many different points of view expressed. Some people told the *RW* that they disagreed with King and with the top leadership of the march, the Black Congressional Caucus and other bourgeois leaders like Coretta King and Jesse Jackson, but at the same time, they put forward the view that if you stood against the oppression of Black people you should be at the march. One man said, "I'm taking a stand today, I'm taking a big stand, saying loud and clear where I stand. No more! I personally don't believe in everything King said or

did. I'm from the old school. I'm here out of respect for King, but more out of respect for what went on back then, and like I said, I'm from the old school and I believe you gotta fight fire with fire. That's what's gotta happen. But this is the first step, this is the beginning." Another person said, "I see this as building unity; as being a step in weakening the oppressor. I know what they're saying on stage and that don't represent me. Let them say what they want to. Me and a whole lot of other people are here to unite and think something else."

Revolutionary agitation and discussion about the *Revolutionary Worker* and the line of the Party on the central task, "Create public opinion... seize power" and the united front strategy for revolution revealed the different lines and viewpoints among the masses and unleashed the advanced. One example was a hot debate which erupted just before the march started. As the crowd gathered, dozens of newsmen crawled around. A group of five young workers and students were watching the cameras and suddenly one of them began to shout, "Hey talk to me, I'll tell you why I'm here. I want to tell you what's going on." The newsmen, standing within two feet of these guys ignored them. An *RW* correspondent approached the group and a hot discussion ensued about what King stood for and why the government had not granted even a Black man like him a holiday. A Muslim, influenced by Farrakon, jumped out and said, "It's white people that are doing this." By

now the group had grown to twenty people. "Black people have to take care of ourselves," shouted the Muslim, "let the whites fight it out among themselves." The *RW* correspondent answered that the imperialist system spawned national oppression and that the solution was proletarian revolution. Shouts erupted of, "That's militancy, that doesn't belong here," and "Yeah, but how are we going to do it." "What's your plan?" "Create public opinion... seize power," the *RW* correspondent spoke to the crucial role of the *RW* and "preparing minds and organizing forces" today. "Yeah, that's right," said one guy, "people gotta think a whole different way. Things aren't lightening up, they're tightening up. There's a whole lot that I was brainwashed with when I was young that life showed me and kept on showing me just ain't true. If we want to get out from under, we gotta start thinking a whole different way."

# OLIGARCHY

Continued from page 22

summarizes the study's findings as regards some of the inter-relations among the titans of American banking and industry.

Again, what stands out is the further development of this phenomenon since Lenin's time, reflecting the further concentration of monopoly and finance capital. There are 13 companies in the chart, six industrials and seven financial firms. Each of these companies was interlocked through board membership with an average of 70% of the 117 other companies studied: the total direct interlocks came to 240 and indirect interlocks to 5,547. In addition, with the exception of Bank of America, these 13 leading companies were interlocked directly or indirectly with each other. General Motors has board members from Citicorp, Chase Manhattan, J.P. Morgan and other banks as well. Citibank and Chase Manhattan also sit on 12 other boards together. Almost 90 directors of the 130 companies examined sat on six to 10 corporate boards each. It must be stressed again that these corporations made up one-fourth of the assets of all U.S. corporations, so there is enormous power here. This is yet another illustration of the correctness of Lenin's observations on the merging of banking and industrial capital into finance capital and his description of the "personal union" of the banks and industry in which "A sort of division of labor is being systematically developed amongst some hundreds of kings of finance who reign over modern capitalist society."

All this makes a devastating mockery of the cries of the Senate report's authors that "The hands on the levers of control of giant private corporations must be visible to the public, for its own protection. . . . Stockholders deserve effective voice and choice in corporate elections, including convenient procedures for nominating candidates for the board of directors, and for communicating with other stockholders within a corporation." Come on, gentlemen, give us a break! But for all the claims of these Senatorial hypocrites of laying bare the invisible "hand on the levers," they are of course utterly incapable of drawing the obvious conclusions from the mass of data they have so obligingly assembled.

### Parasitism

In fact, what emerges from a closer

look are some general outlines of how finance capital functions. What is possible to extrapolate from this report is a picture of a handful of giant financial complexes grouped around the Morgan interests, the Rockefeller holdings (Chase Manhattan), the Mellon family, etc., etc., at the core of which are highly interrelated industrial and banking institutions who are vying for control of a vast number of enterprises—all without necessarily being in the least involved in their day-to-day operations. In fact they may be just as interested in any particular company's demise if it serves the maximization of their overall gains.

As the report's data partially reveals, the characteristic mode of operation is to control a narrow segment of a given enterprise and bring it under its command, and to rapidly shift capital in and out of enterprises, regions and entire nations in the endless pursuit of superprofits, centralizing and accumulating even huger sums of capital in the process. Its parasitic nature is revealed as it skims the cream off of everything and, as Lenin put it, "levies tribute upon the whole of society" at every step of the way. Lenin remarked that finance capital is "particularly mobile and flexible, particularly interknit at home and abroad." In fact, its very ability to operate—and the essential feature of its parasitism—in the first place is the result of the shifting or export of huge sums of capital abroad and its feeding off the vast plunder drawn in from every corner of the globe.

An outstanding example of such "interknittedness" domestically is the fact that, as the Senate report reveals, four of the very banking giants mentioned above whose parent companies are controlled by Morgan Guaranty are, in turn, respectively the major stockholders No. 1 through 4 in Morgan Guaranty's parent company, J.P. Morgan & Co.! But from this seemingly incestuous relationship, the conclusion should not be drawn that these giants are all in one big happy family. Quite the contrary; the significance of such a high degree of interpenetration is that, despite whatever temporary agreements may be made, it is principally an expression of competition, which, as Lenin pointed out, is intensified a thousandfold under monopoly, though it assumes new forms. Capital itself cannot exist except as separate competing capitals constantly vying with each other for the upper hand. Within the complicated maze of interlocks laid out in the report, it is quite possible to discern different and distinct blocs of finance capital, each with tremendous power and resources at its command,

## Interlocking Directorships Among 13 Large U.S. Corporations, 1978

|              | A.T.&T. | BankAmerica | Citicorp | Chase Manhattan | Prudential | Metropolitan Life | Exxon | Manufacturers Hanover | J.P. Morgan | G.M. | Mobil | Texaco | Ford |
|--------------|---------|-------------|----------|-----------------|------------|-------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------------|------|-------|--------|------|
| A.T.&T.      |         | 4           | 1        | 22              | 10         | 17                | 1     | 2                     | 2           | 1    | 1     | 1      | 9    |
| Bk. of Amer. | 4       |             | 3        | 2               | 2          | 4                 |       | 2                     | 2           |      |       |        | 3    |
| Citicorp     | 1       | 20          |          | 18              | 14         | 22                | 5     | 26                    | 30          | 10   | 1     | 2      | 1    |
| Chase Manh.  | 22      | 2           | 18       |                 | 10         | 16                | 2     | 27                    | 17          | 2    | 6     | 7      | 1    |
| Prudential   | 1       | 10          | 2        | 14              | 10         |                   | 1     | 8                     | 4           | 8    | 6     | 1      | 3    |
| Met. Life    | 17      | 4           | 22       | 16              | 6          |                   | 1     | 12                    | 19          | 22   | 6     | 1      | 6    |
| Exxon        | 1       | 8           | 2        | 1               | 1          | 1                 |       | 3                     | 6           | 15   | 6     | 2      | 4    |
| Manu. Hanov. | 2       | 17          | 2        | 26              | 27         | 8                 | 12    |                       | 25          | 16   | 7     | 3      | 1    |
| J.P.Morgan   | 18      | 2           | 30       | 17              | 4          | 19                | 6     | 25                    |             | 8    | 2     | 1      | 5    |
| G.M.         | 2       | 13          | 2        | 2               | 2          | 2                 |       | 3                     |             |      |       |        |      |
| Mobil        | 1       | 12          | 1        | 8               | 7          | 6                 | 6     | 7                     | 2           | 5    |       | 4      | 6    |
| Texaco       | 1       | 1           | 2        | 1               | 1          | 1                 | 2     | 3                     | 1           | 3    | 4     |        | 1    |
| Ford         | 9       | 3           | 2        | 5               | 3          | 6                 | 4     | 1                     | 5           | 6    | 6     | 1      |      |

Source: Senate Committee on Intergovernmental Affairs, Interlocking Directorates Among the Major U.S. Corporations, p. 29.

each jockeying for supremacy while attempting to spread the risks and minimize its losses, as they confront each other within the various enterprises they seek to control.

### Anarchy Reigns

All this leads to an interesting observation about the nature of society under the rule of finance capital. For all the tightly interknit organization and control, all the highly developed interdependence reflecting an extraordinarily high degree of socialization of the productive forces—things are a total mess. Anarchy reigns supreme in the productive process. Inflation and stagnation run rampant simultaneously as the economy lurches from one recession to another and edges inevitably toward even deeper convulsions. And in the meantime the threat of another major inter-imperialist war looms over everything due to the fact that finance capital is profoundly national in character, although it is based on its extensive international tentacles and connections. In fact it is precisely the international

rivalry between different national blocs of finance capital and their necessity not only to retain their own financial spheres of influence, but to grab up the vast territories of the globe controlled by each other, that is inexorably driving things toward World War 3.

This is all because, despite the highly socialized and integrated nature of society under the reign of finance capital, the tremendous wealth that is generated is still locked up in the shell of private ownership, controlled by those who Lenin incisively and angrily declared to be "people who live by 'clipping coupons' who take no part in any enterprise whatever, whose profession is idleness." But Lenin also affirmed that "Monopoly is the transition from capitalism to a higher system." Indeed, as history has shown, when this odious shell, the private property relations in which the system of finance capitalism operates, is burst asunder through socialist revolution and this fetter holding society back finally eliminated, it opens up unlimited possibilities for the forward march of man.

## Mouthpiece

Continued from page 1

while, on the other hand, calling for sweeping cuts in nearly every area unrelated to defense, or rather, war. Most, however, have missed the driving necessity of the bourgeoisie to do both. For the imperialist system it is not even a question that they "should spend the money on the people."

The nature of the ceremonies this year—the tinsel trappings and false bravado—stem directly from the objective situation faced by our rulers, internationally in particular: they face a period of deep crisis, massive rebellion and world war with their imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union. On January 20, they seek to focus all eyes on a hideous display of patriotism and militarism and all minds on the ridiculous idea that somehow a "mandate from the people" has been granted this reactionary orgy. Every aspect of the inaugural spectacle will be used to concentrate and drive home the basic message of the November election campaign. In both form and content, the inaugural activities will seek to project an imperial image of American power resurgent—and, of course, an America "with God on our side." No good war would be without Him.

"We do have a rendezvous with destiny," noted Reagan as he "said goodbye" to California. "There was a divine plan that created this nation. . . ." But the "creation" of Ronald Reagan—and

the rough-riding image that comes with him—has been the work of forces other than those heavenly. He is the bourgeoisie's man for the times. Likewise, inauguration '81 is an event for the times. Out is the 1977 "people's inauguration" with its chopped and channeled formalities, its Plains, Georgia populism, its ordinary business suits. In are nine formal balls, formal morning coats with gray striped pants and pleated shirts, the largest offering of presidential patriotic souvenirs ever, and a quick march military parade.

A difference? Yes, but not so much between Carter and Reagan. That the real differences lie in the changing needs of the bourgeoisie is illustrated by the fact that a good bit of the hoopla on the 20th is being financed by funds donated by the Carter administration from the money saved from the scaled-down 1977 event. Saved for when the ruling class might need it more.

The party begins on the evening of January 17 with Reagan and Bush officially opening the games in a program at the Lincoln Memorial. Designed and produced by one Tommy Walker, who created Disneyland and the opening ceremonies of the Winter Olympics at Lake Placid, this event will feature 13 huge search lights and a finale in which the Mormon Tabernacle Choir and the U.S. Army band belt out the "Stars and Stripes Forever," while in three minutes more fireworks are unleashed than in the entire July 4th celebration last summer.

The evening of the 18th will feature

two candlelight dinners and four concerts, while the next morning Nancy Reagan will hold a "distinguished ladies' reception" for 7000 distinguished (i.e., bourgeois) ladies. Then on the eve of the inauguration, there will be a nationally televised gala hosted by Frank Sinatra, consort of gangsters great and small, and attended by 19,000 paying \$50 and up a head. Appearing with ol' blue (and red and white) eyes will be other stalwarts of imperialist culture like Debby Boone, Donny Osmond, Ethel Merman, Jimmy Stewart and Charleton Heston.

For the big day itself, the entire dome of the Capitol building has been repainted a glistening white at enormous expense. Huge reviewing stands with matching towers for TV cameras have been built. 25,000 bleacher seats have been constructed down the parade route, cannon are implanted on the mall, and Army radio command posts in camouflage paint have been set up.

The swearing-in ceremony is supposed to be the supreme celebration of yet another blessing of bourgeois democracy, the "peaceful transition of power." Of course it's peaceful. It's peaceful because there isn't any transition of power. The same small class of exploiters who have always made the decisions will continue to make them. Reagan himself is the most obvious puppet and openly blatant mouthpiece in recent memory. He isn't even in office yet, and Henry Kissinger is already in the Middle East conducting U.S. foreign policy.

Perhaps Carter attempted to reinforce his image as a sort-of-liberal as compared to the rightist Reagan in his farewell address delivered on January 14. But—sorry Jimmy—your feeble attempts don't quite cut it. It's not a question of a choice of individuals. Peaceful Jimmy Carter "warned" that "the risk of a nuclear confrontation has not lessened. . . . The danger is becoming greater. . . . it may only be a matter of time before madness, desperation, greed or miscalculation lets loose this terrible force." To our knowledge, Jimmy Carter held the office of Commander in Chief when Presidential Directive No. 59 was "leaked." This directive announced the retargeting of U.S. missiles in order to facilitate a first strike and to make fighting a nuclear war more "thinkable." And this, months before "the Right" had "risen"!

In his address, Carter also noted that: "America did not invent human rights. In a very real sense, it is the other way around. Human rights invented America. . . we have every reason to persevere both in our country and beyond our borders." There is absolutely no reason to think that it won't be, Jimmy. Well known is the "human rights" policy applied by the U.S. government to the masses of people of El Salvador over the past period; the propping up of a reactionary dictatorship, the organizing of the outright slaughter of thousands, the desperate actions aimed at defending and expanding the U.S. empire. The so-called transition of power in reality

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# SALVADORAN JUNTA

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nounced the resumption and delivery of \$5.5 million in military aid to the junta—aid that had been *officially* cut off when mass outrage over the murder of four Catholic missionaries by the junta's forces forced the State Dept. to make a show of "concern." U.S. officials also revealed that a number of U.S. "military advisors" were already stationed in El Salvador. Disputing its own lackeys' repeated "not to worry" blusterings, the Pentagon stated that the opposition had "turned out to be better armed and organized than expected." A Pentagon spokesman reported that the last Salvadoran helicopter gunship had been put out of commission the night before, and that more from the U.S. were already on the way, apparently part of the "non-lethal military aid" U.S. officials used to ever so gently promote in their calmer moments. However, they are anything but calm at the present time, and their desperation has produced far more U.S. military activity in El Salvador than has thus far appeared in the pages of the U.S. press.

Reports confirmed by truck drivers attempting to cross the border reveal that 2,000 Guatemalan and 3,000 Honduran troops are massing on El Salvador's borders. According to spokesmen for the Democratic Revolutionary Front, 1,000 Guatemalan military personnel have already crossed the border, along with 500 former members of the Nicaraguan National Guard, who fled to U.S.-dominated Guatemala when another U.S. puppet, Anastasio Somoza, was overthrown in 1979. These forces are undoubtedly part of a paramilitary strike force formed in the past year to intervene in El Salvador that "has been in contact... with U.S. intelligence," according to a recent "dissent memo" produced by U.S. analysts for the State Dept., CIA, National Security Council, and the Dept. of Defense. (See *RW* No. 85) That document also noted, "During 1980, DOD (Department of Defense) has devoted considerable resources to expanding communications and improving relations with the Honduran armed forces." Clearly the appearance of all these forces in and around El Salvador could not have occurred without the direct orders of their worried *patrones* in the U.S.

In addition, it has been announced that the U.S. has "military advisors" stationed in El Salvador. This right away raises the possibility of direct U.S. invasion should efforts by the U.S. to

restore control using troops from other countries in the area fail. A Salvadoran guerrilla leader recently told the Mexico City newspaper, *Excelsior*, that U.S. embassies in Europe have been notified by the State Dept. to "confront the possibility of U.S. military intervention" in El Salvador, according to his sources in Europe. It is well known, and in fact was quite openly revealed in the previously mentioned "dissent memo," that the U.S. has been making preparations for just such an invasion should the junta's trembling position of power seem on the verge of imminent collapse.

As we have pointed out in previous articles on the Salvadoran situation, the intensifying worldwide face-off between the U.S. and its equally imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union, combined with the U.S.'s thoroughly exposed and seriously deteriorating position in Central America, focused right now in El Salvador, has forced the U.S. into a hard-line commitment to protect the rule of its most isolated puppets in El Salvador in order to maintain its command of this strategic area. In that light, the general speculation that has suddenly appeared in the U.S. press about the "lack of support" for the opposition offensive—statements that would be laughable given the near total lack of support the junta faces—take on an especially sinister hue. They are clearly meant to create public opinion in the U.S. for further escalations of military action.

As we go to press, a new approach toward that end has surfaced. Apparently feeling that the "lack of popular support" theme won't wash, U.S. officials have suddenly "discovered evidence" of "outside support" to Salvadoran guerrillas. In a front-page article in the January 15 edition of the *Los Angeles Times*, José Napoleón Duarte, the junta's president, is quoted claiming that El Salvador has already been "invaded"—but somehow he fails to mention the Guatemalan, Honduran, former Somoza national guard or U.S. troops in his statement. Rather, he is referring to "100 guerrillas" from Nicaragua that he claims landed on a Salvadoran beach recently. Reporters quickly rushed to question U.S. Ambassador Robert White to get his verification of the story, and lo and behold, White said that yes, "I believe the report..." He added, "We do have evidence... that Nicaragua has permitted its territory to be used as a transfer point for arms... The arms... are Soviet and are traceable to Cuba." Neglecting to mention the country to which virtually *all* the junta's arms are "traceable" (to say nothing of more than a few of the flood of U.S. M-16's sent as military aid which have been captured by opposition forces) the *L.A. Times* offered this commentary: "The existence of outside support for the left-

ist forces fighting the Salvadoran government—if confirmed—could become an important factor in the development of U.S. foreign policy in strife-ridden Central America."

It is hardly a surprise, either to the U.S. or anyone else who has followed the situation in El Salvador, that the Soviet Union, and its Cuban junior partners, been maneuvering in the area, trying to take advantage of the U.S.'s thoroughly exposed and isolated position to advance its own goals of dominating Central America. And while it is certainly possible that Cuban arms are making their way to El Salvador through Nicaragua, the principal form of Soviet influence is to be found in the role of the Salvadoran "Communist" Party (PCS), and the growing influence of its revisionist line over some of the forces in the opposition. That influence was most recently seen when a spokesman for the FMLN, (in which the PCS has a significant influence) the day after the offensive began, offered to "dialog with the U.S." if it cut off all aid to the junta. Given the timing of this request, it is clear that this is a continuation of the "historic compromise" aspect of Soviet strategy in the area—the attempt to get its forces into a position where they can strike a deal to share power with the pro-U.S. elements in preparation for a grab at the whole thing when conditions are most favorable. Given the overall world situation, and the necessity for the U.S. to *tighten up* its bloc and neo-colonies in preparation for world war with the Soviets, the U.S. is not about to go along with these plans. Thus, not a word has appeared in the U.S. press about the negotiation offer which the U.S. would have no part of.

While the intent of the U.S. in making this cynical hullabaloo about Soviet arms, etc. is clear and must be thoroughly exposed, the role of pro-Soviet revisionist forces such as the PCS, must be taken very seriously for they constitute a real threat to the struggle of the masses of people of El Salvador. As has been shown by their actions throughout the world, the aim of the Soviet imperialists is nothing but to turn countries like El Salvador into neo-colonies with their own puppets in power. Cuba has become such a place. All the gains that the Cuban people made in kicking out the U.S. have been reversed and they have been enslaved by another imperialist superpower. And the fruits of the so-called "historic compromise" strategy of the Soviets using their loyal "communist" parties were graphically demonstrated in Chile as the revisionists, for their own counter-revolutionary reasons, actually set the people up for slaughter when the U.S. moved to overthrow the Allende government and set up its fascist Pinochet regime. These lessons, paid for in blood, cannot be forgotten. No matter how things develop in El Salvador, the aims of the Soviet Union and their frontmen in the country are to keep the masses of people enslaved and they will work tirelessly toward this end.

The masses of people in El Salvador want an end to enslavement under the boot of either imperialist superpower. The opposition forces, rather than showing a "lack of support," have actually been gaining support throughout the country during this recent offensive and the general strike which started three days later. The people sense the opportunity to kick the U.S. imperialists out of El Salvador for good and want to go all the way.

The offensive began on January 10 at 11 p.m. with coordinated attacks on National Guard and Army headquarters throughout the country, an attack on the Ilopango military airport in El Salvador, and simultaneous occupations of a number of suburbs on the outskirts of San Salvador, especially Mejicanos, Soyapango, Cuscatanzingo, and Ciudad Delgado—all known as working-class districts. Barricades were immediately erected on streets in the cities and on the main roads in the countryside, including the Pan-American Highway that connects Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, to prevent the movement of troops and tanks. The attack on the Ilopango airport knocked out a good chunk of the

Salvadoran Air Force, so the junta's subsequent bombing raids of cities that initially came under guerrilla control, such as the provincial capitals of Santa Ana, Cinquera, and San Esteban Catarina, was much lighter than in past junta bombardments in the countryside.

Gaping cracks in the military began to appear. In Santa Ana, the country's second largest city, an attack on the headquarters of the rural police, National Guard and Army was given a sudden shot in the arm when an entire company of the 2nd Infantry Brigade rose up in mutiny, killed their commanding officer, and set fire to the barracks. They then marched out of their headquarters and joined the FMLN, accompanied by two of their officers. A third high-ranking officer, Colonel Ricardo Bruno Navarrete, also abandoned the junta with a sizable contingent of his soldiers, and issued a lengthy statement calling on soldiers to disobey orders from the "criminal fascist clique which belongs nowhere else but in the trash bin of history," and to join in the FMLN as he had. All three of these officers were supporters of Colonel Adolfo Arnoldo Majano, a former member of the junta and pro-U.S. loyalist who recently found himself iced out of the Salvadoran action by the U.S.'s desperate position. (See *RW* No. 86) While Majano has not officially joined either the FMLN or the FDR as of yet, he has made it clear that he supports their efforts. He issued a call to officers and soldiers to "think principally of the future of the country and of the military institution itself, which must not continue to be compromised by something that is senseless." All these officers, having loyally served the "criminal fascist clique" and seeing some "sense" in its murder of over 10,000 people last year, are quite obviously concerned with preserving that "military institution" that Majano speaks of, but the fact that they have been driven to join the opposition army shows us how precarious the junta's position is.

While the guerrilla forces have retreated from a few cities and neighborhoods that they initially held for a couple of days, overall the offensive has been gaining in strength throughout the country. Initial reports on the first day of the general strike are sketchy, but some sources close to the FDR in Los Angeles have claimed that it is nearly 100% effective among the industrial workers and peasants, and 80% effective among the workers in the public sector. Furthermore, the main association of bus owners in San Salvador has joined the strike, forcing the junta's troops to roam the capital expropriating pick-up trucks and mini-vans to keep any type of public transportation going. Transportation outside San Salvador is virtually non-existent.

Junta officials continued to "express confidence" in their situation, but these claims are ringing rather hollow at the present time. Duarte announced that he would go to Zacatecoluca and Chalatenango to prove that the government controls these two cities, but he refused to say when he would show up there. Antonio Morales Ehrlich, another member of the junta, was even more emphatic. He claimed that the general offensive "has been a total failure. The government has sufficient support, and in 1981 we will enter the decisive stage of pacification in El Salvador." He neglected to tell reporters why he was making this statement from *Costa Rica*, or when he planned to return to El Salvador. The U.S. embassy has made contingency plans for evacuating San Salvador at a moment's notice, and a dawn-to-dusk curfew has been imposed in areas that the junta controls.

It is clear that U.S. imperialism and its puppets are quite worried about the situation in El Salvador. This is even being reflected in the CIA-sponsored "Voice of America" broadcasts they beam throughout Latin America. Recently, one of their announcers had trouble containing his doubts about the scene there: After delivering the latest quotable statement from the junta saying the "guerrillas have been defeated," the announcer added his own commentary—"but anything can happen."

## Extorters

Continued from page 5

their "safety," or for the maintenance of "timeless principles of international law." The embassy seizure horrified the U.S. precisely because it was not only a tremendous act of revolutionary defiance by the masses, whom the U.S. was so used to exploiting, torturing and slaughtering in the "good old days," under the Shah, before the "barbarians" engaged in such an unspeakably primitive, savage ritual as revolution—not only this, but also it paralyzed the U.S.'s own behind-the-scenes machinations for regaining what it had lost, and raised the spectre of the revolution continuing to advance, deepen, and further develop, instead of being turned back.

Within Iran, while the various factions of the bourgeoisie have apparently reached some sort of consensus on the necessity (from their own bourgeois perspective) of striking the hostage deal, deep divisions continue to exist and may still further deepen. In the wake of the stalling of the recent attempt at an Iranian military counter-offensive against the Iraqi aggressors (which apparently did inflict heavy casualties on Iraqi forces, but failed to alter the basic military situation),

recriminations among President Bani Sadr, the IRP, and other bourgeois forces in the government as to who is responsible for the prolonged military stalemate are growing more heated. Barring any unexpected new developments, the pending release of the hostages is bound to further sharpen the class struggle within Iran, including posing with great urgency and starkness before the masses decisive questions regarding the leadership and direction of the Iranian revolution and the bitter and protracted struggle to defeat and root out imperialism and its agents and carry the revolution to a whole new stage.

In the January 2 *Revolutionary Worker*, we noted that "...from the crescendo of U.S. threats of military action to its covert operations inside Iran, the U.S. bourgeoisie is working from all sides towards its goal of strangling the Iranian revolution. This is a goal which has eluded them for nearly two years and which they are more desperate than ever to achieve..."

The release of the hostages, now very likely unless the U.S. piles up yet more "conditions," or the Iranian masses mount a major offensive, will bring no lull in attacks on the revolution by U.S. imperialism or by its allies within Iran itself, although these attacks may take varying forms and the struggle will continue to be complex.



## ORGANIZATION OF A SPY NEST THE U.S. EMBASSY IN TEHRAN, IRAN AS OF NOVEMBER 4, 1979

### RANKING STATE DEPARTMENT DIPLOMATS

No. 1—**Bruce Laingen**; Charge d' Affaires and Ambassador-designate  
No. 2—**Moorehead Kennedy**  
No. 3—**Richard Morefield**; Consul-General

### POLITICAL SECTION

(State Department, International Communications Agency (ICA), and CIA employees engaged in intelligence gathering; influencing cultural and media outlets; organizing covert actions such as recruiting agents, assassinations, etc.)

**Victor Tomseth**; chief of political section, CIA officer  
**Elizabeth Swift**; 2nd in command of political section  
**John Limbert**; political officer, Iran specialist  
**Michael Howland**; political officer  
**Michael Metrinko**; political officer, former CIA officer in Tabriz  
**Thomas Ahern**; "narcotics control coordinator", CIA officer.  
**William Daugherty**; "embassy employee", part of CIA "SRF" program  
**Malcolm Kalp**; "embassy employee", part of CIA "SRF" program  
**Donald Sharer**; "embassy employee"

**Katherine Koob**; ICA, head of Iran-America Society  
**John Graves**; ICA (Veteran of U.S. "rural pacification" program in Vietnam)  
**William Royer**; ICA, cultural affairs  
**Barry Rosen**; ICA, embassy press agent

**Robert Ode**; Temporary Consular Officer  
**Donald Cooke**; vice-consul  
**Gary Lee**; administrative officer (Stationed in Oman, 1974)  
**Bert Moore**; administrative officer (Stationed in Rhodesia, 1964-69)  
**William Belk**; records specialists

### ECONOMICS SECTION

(Organized programs to maintain dependence of Iranian economy on U.S. imperialism; running economic destabilization programs.)

**Robert Blucker**; economics officer  
**Bruce German**; "budget officer"  
(Consul-General Morefield mainly served as an economics specialist in the diplomatic service.)

### COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

(Decoding and encoding secret cables to and from Washington, D.C.; monitoring radio and computer traffic in Iran.)

**Philip Ward**; communications officer  
**Paul Needham**; USAF communications  
**Duane Gillette**; U.S. Navy communications  
**Charles Jones**; communications/CIA, only Black hostage left.  
**Frederick Kupke**  
**Jerry Miele**

### MILITARY SECTION

(Assigned to reestablish ties between U.S. and Iranian armed forces with advisors, spare parts, etc. and to maintain active contacts with pro-U.S. officers in Iranian military.)

**Thomas Schaefer**; Colonel, ranking military officer in Defense Attache Office  
**Charles Scott**; Lt. Colonel, served as attache in Iran previously  
**David Roeder**; Lt. Colonel, Air Force attache  
**Regis Ragan**; military attache  
**Robert Engelmann**; Naval attache  
**Joseph Hall**; military attache  
**Joseph Subic**; Army Staff Sgt.  
**Donald Hohman**; Army medic

### EMBASSY SECURITY

**Leland Holland**; Colonel, chief of security  
**Allan Golacinski**; security officer  
**William Gallegos**; Marine guard  
**Kevin Hermening**; Marine guard  
**Steven Kirtley**; Marine guard  
**Paul Lewis**; Marine guard  
**James Lopez**; Marine guard  
**John McKeel**; Marine guard  
**Michael Moeller**; Marine guard  
**Gregory Persinger**; Marine guard  
**Rodney Sickman**; Marine guard  
**Steve Lauterbach**; maintenance

### MISC.

**William Keough**; "educator" visiting embassy from Pakistan  
**Jerry Plotkin**; California businessman in embassy at time of takeover

### INFORMATION UNAVAILABLE

(52nd hostage does not appear on January 1981, Life, list of hostages.)  
**John O'Keefe**; listed in *Newsweek* but absent in *NY Daily News* list  
**Clair Barnes**; listed by *NY Daily News* but absent in *Newsweek*

### FORMER HOSTAGES AND EMBASSY EMPLOYEES

13 Blacks and women (mainly secretaries and Marine guards) who were released by the Iranian government in the opening weeks of the embassy seizure.  
6 who fled from embassy during takeover and later escaped from Iran through the Canadian embassy (5 consular officers and one employee of Dept. of Agriculture).  
Richard Queen, consul, released for medical treatment

## ROGUE'S GALLERY

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tations with the NIOC in order to further tighten the economic thumbscrews. For example, it was demanding \$300 million in compensation for the operations that Iran had nationalized!

But perhaps the most damning revelation, and one that was confirmed by one of the hostages since released, was that the embassy itself was printing and circulating large quantities of forged currencies in order to disrupt the whole monetary system. The November 20, 1979 edition of the *Tehran Times* reported that Lillian Johnson admitted that, "The objective was that the monetary system of Iran should be paralyzed." Johnson, who was one of the first 13 released, is Black and served as a clerk at the embassy. And like most of the others released at that time, she has been kept under wraps. Of course, the imperialist media, it goes without saying, would not touch this news story with a ten-foot pole.

But regardless of their steering clear of it, evidence was found by the students at the embassy. Large caches of U.S. dollars, German marks, and Iranian rials were found inside the embassy building. Johnson explained that the original printing dies were delivered by two men—a Turkish and an Iranian national—who were introduced to the embassy by a letter from intelligence sources in Paris. After printing up some samples, copies were then sent back to France via diplomatic pouch—to guarantee immunity from customs searches—to be double-checked. After a month the forged currencies were deemed undetectable, and the embassy started printing more and putting them into circulation in such a way as not to reveal the hand of the U.S. Whether or not Uncle Sam stood on the street corners handing them out, it was inside the sprawling U.S. embassy compound, in the heart of Tehran, that the printing presses were found.

### U.S. Resumes "Aid" to Iranian Military

The U.S. was also moving on the

military front. Due to the years and years of arming, training, and advising the Iranian armed forces under the Shah, they felt that they had a good shot at rebuilding their influence here. Rallying the pro-U.S. forces in the Iranian officer corps in order to suppress the revolutionary forces among the masses in Iran as well as prepare for a possible coup d'etat against the Islamic government was exactly the task of the embassy's military section, headed by the ranking officer in the Defense Attache Office (DAO), Colonel Thomas Schaefer (see No. 18).

Schaefer, and Lt. Col. Charles Scott (see No. 19), who had served before in Iran as a military attaché, were the two top officers in the section. Under their direction the various attachés were responsible for keeping in contact with pro-U.S. forces inside the Iranian military. And since only the Shah's top-level generals were executed, or fled overseas, Iran's officer corps remained largely intact, and the embassy's military attachés had plenty of "contacts" to keep up.

Not only was the section responsible for keeping communication lines open with such officers, but they also had the task of re-establishing the links with those who were able to press for renewed shipments of U.S. armaments and spare parts. In fact, it was stated in the August 24, 1979 issue of the *New York Times* that 25-30 American military advisors were in Iran, "helping Iranians define the country's military needs." Furthermore, on October 6, the U.S. sent \$300 million worth of spare parts for American-built aircraft, helicopters, ships, and trucks to Iran.

The maneuvers by U.S. military operatives were widely reported on in leftist press inside Iran. The U.S. was actively supporting efforts of reactionary Iranian officers to purge revolutionary-minded soldiers and to prevent the establishment of anti-imperialist shoras (councils) within the military. Such measures were critical for maintaining a firm grip on the military in order to pave the way for a U.S. comeback in Iran. The results of the U.S. work in this field were confirmed by a secret document that was sent from the General Headquarters of the National Iranian

Islamic Army to the National Islamic Air Force in 1979:

"At this time, in that a large portion of the existing equipment, facilities and major items in the National Iranian Islamic Army are produced in foreign countries (read: USA—RW) there would probably be a limited need for foreign advisors to order spare parts and provide maintenance and servicing for all the mentioned items." Despite all the guarded language, this document clearly exposes that indeed important elements in the Iranian armed forces were preparing, and in fact requisitioning, that the U.S. military assume its former place at the head of the Iranian army, navy and air force.

It was especially under the cover of the continuing reactionary war being waged against the people of Kurdistan by the Islamic government that many of the pro-U.S. Iranian military officers pushed out their views about needing greater reliance upon U.S. equipment and advisors. The heroic resistance of the Kurds was badly straining Iran's military might. An example of to just what lengths both the U.S. and the government of Iran were going to conceal their new ties was exposed on August 22, 1979, when a story hit the papers about the U.S. sending a shipment of 2 million barrels of home heating oil to Iran as a "humanitarian" gesture. What was hidden from public view in Iran was that the U.S. oil was used to lubricate the deadly war efforts aimed at the Kurdish people. One leering embassy official was quoted in the September 9 edition of the *San Francisco Examiner*: "They're stuck with us on military supplies because of their large inventories and many large joint projects"—like crushing the Kurdish resistance.

The DAO was engaged in other forms of intelligence gathering as well. One of the CONFIDENTIAL documents, which "amplified" the visa policy originally set down by Consul-General Morefield (see Part 1), gave specific instructions from Col. Schaefer on trading visas to the U.S. for intelligence.

"Visa referrals by USDAO personnel will be limited to immediate family members of: A) Iranian military, gen-

darmerie (rural police—RW) and police officers equal to the ranks of field grade or above; B) the civil aviation organization; and C) senior Iranian or foreign diplomatic officials who have a direct association with the Defense Attache Office. . . Visa referrals will only, repeat only, be handled to gain intelligence information useful to the United States Government."

The U.S. connection with military (and former military) men was extensive. They included such people as General Bagheri, the Iranian Air Force commander whose forces were unable to detect the U.S. raiding party last April even as it penetrated deep into Iranian territory. As further evidence of collaborating with the U.S., General Bagheri ordered Iranian jets to bomb the helicopters left at Tabas in order to destroy any evidence of support being provided to the U.S. from inside Iran. Also the infamous Admiral Madani, who, before taking the job as governor of Khuzestan province in early 1979, where he instituted martial law and unleashed a bloody reign of terror upon the Arab minority in the area, was in touch with the U.S. He had even been offered the post of Interior Minister under the Bakhtiar government the U.S. had set up in January 1979 in a last-ditch attempt to save the Shah's regime. When Madani's connections with the U.S. began to be exposed widely in Iran in the summer of 1980, he went underground and fled abroad.

That such contacts were being maintained out of the DAO in the U.S. embassy was confirmed by statements of Sgt. Subic about his seeing Iranian military officers in Col. Schaefer's office quite often, and even overhearing conversations regarding possible plans to bring down the Islamic government. In the April 21, 1980 issue of *Newsweek*, it is reported that Subic believed that Schaefer had set up a "spy ring" inside Iran. With Col. Schaefer in command, the military section of the U.S. embassy was most definitely involved in engineering the crucial preparations for a coup by pro-imperialist sections of the Iranian military.

A subdivision of the military section, but without the same political responsibility

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## Political Base Area

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restaurant stood, that over the past few months had steadily upped its distribution figures of the *RW* so that now it was nosing closer to the 600 per week mark. When I got to the restaurant, a CLOSED sign hung in the front window. But it didn't take too long to tell that inside the place things had hardly come to a halt. As the owner explained to me later in the day, the CLOSED sign was the result of an attack on the restaurant by the police. Four of the ruling class's gunslingers had stormed in the place, lined people up against the wall and frisked them. "What's this shit doing here," one of them had yelled, pointing to the stacks of *RW*s. But failing either to intimidate, or provoke, the cops left—long enough to check signals with downtown. When they returned they closed the place down. It was an unmistakable political message, as one new co-conspirator was quick to point out:

"They saw the restaurant as a good red spot, and now they are trying to have people sum up that the *RW* brings down the heat." But the attempts by the authorities to squash the distribution of the *RW* only fell like a rock upon their feet. For while the place could not serve food, revolution had become the daily special. The restaurant was a "good red spot" indeed.

As I walked inside, a table with a stack of *RW*s greeted me. A cardboard box underneath was filled with plenty of replacement issues when the tabletop supply ran low. In my frequent visits to the restaurant over the next few days, the contents of the box would dwindle to near empty. As I glanced around the small room, I was struck by the revolutionary political atmosphere. Open copies of the *Draft New Programme and New Constitution* were being pointed to and struggled over. A copy of *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions* by Bob Avakian, was being read by one brother, while two others peered at the book from over his shoulder. And over by one end of the counter, an argument was going on over just what did Black people gain through the rebellions of the 1960s.

The restaurant had long been a neighborhood hangout, as well as a kind of community kitchen where meals, paid for largely by donations and collecting food, were served to the people who lived or worked in some of the small factories nearby. And it was clear that CLOSED sign or not, it would remain a place for people to gather—and now, debate the crucial role of the *RW* as the main weapon today in the strategy for making revolution. And the fact that

hundreds of *RW*s were leaving the restaurant and going through the neighborhood showed very starkly that it was not a debate confined to the four walls of the restaurant. Just the opposite. Through the restaurant, copies of the *RW* were penetrating into some of the small factories, the one hospital in the community, the high school, and into people's homes. As I would discover even more fully later, a base area for revolution was becoming outlined in the wake of the *RW*.

The owner of the place had taken his first bundle of 10 *RW*s from a seller in another part of the city. He had left his business card for people to follow up. This was during the weeks just prior to May Day. Unfortunately it took awhile for contact to be re-established, but the owner immediately took 200 papers to distribute from his restaurant. Within a few weeks the total was up to 300. Soon after he began his weekly distributing, he and one of the *RW* network organizers met to figure out if any other businesses in the Black community would be possible distribution points. At the conclusion of their discussion of the pamphlet, *Coming From Behind to Make Revolution*, particularly the section "Roads to the Proletariat," they took off to ferret out new co-conspirators. The owner tried both places he knew and places he thought would, or should, take the paper. By day's end, some nearby taverns, a couple of laundromats, and a small market had entered into the growing conspiracy around the *RW*.

One of the things that struck me as I made the rounds to these various distribution points was the far-reaching impact of the upheavals of the 1960s. Many of the people who have come forward to take up, wield, and defend the *RW* have been people who were touched by the Black Panther Party—if not directly, then through their paper. Many too, remember being hipped to revolution by Malcolm X. An *RW* seller met this one brother in a tavern who was very cynical about the possibility of making revolution in the U.S., but in the course of struggle it was learned that he sends one third of his income to Africa in support of liberation movements there! And it has been veterans, especially those who were in Vietnam, as well as ex-prisoners, that have most fiercely struggled over the role of the *RW*, and who have begun to take the paper up as their own. It has been the broad debate over the *RW*'s role in making revolution that is not only rekindling the smoldering embers of revolutionary dreams, but more importantly, it is placing these deep experiences in a different perspective and context; one in which there is the possibility of a revolutionary situation developing here in the U.S. in this decade, and where there is a Revolutionary Communist Party of the proletariat preparing to lead the masses

of people in the armed assault on the fortress of imperialism when the time is ripe.

It is because of this powerful experience of the Black people in the movements of the '60s and hatred of the imperialist system, and the spirit of revolutionary impatience to finish this monster system off, that the main struggle has erupted over the *RW* being merely "paper work" vs. the real deal of taking up arms now.

In fact, it was another chapter of this very struggle that I walked into at the restaurant that first day. "You people are like the President, sit up in an office and talk, talk, talk, but don't do nothin'," one brother was telling an *RW* network organizer at the counter. What called him up short was when the organizer pointed out that the political consciousness gained from the *RW* was not only needed to make revolution but to enable the working class and masses of people to rule and transform society after the seizure of power. "Hey, I never thought of it that way," he responded. "But what about now, what do we do today?"

"I was for armed struggle, I found that the paper was too, so I hooked up with it," one Vietnam vet told me, describing what had brought him into being an active *RW* distributor. Like thousands of other revolutionary-minded Black people, especially those who had been touched by the Panthers and their newspaper, this brother had a basic understanding that a newspaper was good for educating people—waking them up. But this view is not the same as grasping the central task "create public opinion, seize power" and why the newspaper is the main weapon now, in carrying out preparation for revolution. After taking the *RW* out himself, and engaging in struggle around it, this co-conspirator began

to appreciate the *RW* enough to see it as parallel to taking up guerrilla warfare now. But in the course of struggle over the recent articles on the campaign to go over the top in the 100,000 drive, and summing up the "100 Flowers" debate, he and other distributors from the taverns have begun to see more clearly the correctness of the Party's line on what is the central task. It is not a matter of somehow combining "patient education" with "excitatory terror," but of carrying out the central task which certainly comprehends (includes) revolutionary action and grasping the crucial role of the *RW* in this process, of preparing for revolution. As the article, "100,000 Co-Conspirators NOW!" on the front page of *RW* No. 83, says: "...our work is not so much 'changing minds' as it is 'preparing minds and organizing forces' through the events of the day for the final assault ahead. Once again, topical exposure is key in this process. If our task is seen simply as 'changing minds' and 'patient education,' this would amount to reducing our work to sterile, stale and sectarian activity separate from the diverse strands or streams in which class struggle breaks out. Real revolutionary work today means being able to seize on and direct all these streams toward the revolutionary aim. In this, the paper is indispensable in building today for the revolutionary prospects ahead." It is this profound understanding of the role of a revolutionary newspaper that must be more firmly grasped through theory as well as practice.

Another brother has been waging the struggle over the *RW* with his friends and patrons at one of the taverns. "Everytime I'm up there people are asking about the *RW*. You know, communism is hard to explain. These mis-

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## New and Different New Year's Resolutions

On New Year's Day, when *RW* sellers went to contact co-conspirators who had bought bundles on the street, two Spanish-speaking workers presented them with New Year's statements on why they were taking up the *RW*. The statements are reprinted below.

I took up a bundle of 25 *Revolutionary Workers* because I think it is important for making revolution. I am poor and don't make much money, but it's encouraging to see the possibilities of revolution and we can be a force to push that struggle forward by telling people about the source of all this mess going on and what the solution is.

I am a co-conspirator because the idea of many of us conspiring to overthrow the system through these secretive networks sounds very exciting, and I look forward to the day when these big shots won't be able to ride herd over us.

## ROGUE'S GALLERY

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bilities as the Defense Attaché Office, was the security force headed by Army Colonel Leland Holland (see No. 20). This force was made up principally of Marine guards. While some of the lifers had to have held higher security clearances to guard the most "sensitive" areas of the embassy that were full of secret documents and equipment, such as the Chancellery building—a two-story brick building nicknamed by them "Fort Apache"—by and large, the guards were peripheral to the counter-revolutionary work of the embassy.

It is interesting to note that it has been among the lower-level military personnel that there has been the greatest willingness to stand contrary to the imperialists' carefully constructed cosmetic image of the embassy staff being snow-white innocents. Besides the video testimony of Sgt. Subic referred to earlier, there was an even earlier taped interview with guard William Gallegos in mid-December 1979. There he stated not only that he was being treated just

fine but that he had doubts about whether he was willing to die for the Shah of Iran—which prompted the U.S. press to suggest that he had been "brainwashed." Of course, it could never be that the Iranian revolution and the exposure of the foul crimes of the U.S. imperialists in Iran may have begun to turn the heads of some of these enlisted men. In fact, the takeover of the embassy and the Iranian people's continuing struggle against U.S. attempts to crush their revolution have provided a powerful impetus in undoing the imperialists' brainwashing.

\* \* \* \* \*

What has been revealed in this two-part series shows much of what the U.S., through its embassy, was up to inside Iran in 1979. The top-secret records hidden at State Dept. and CIA headquarters in Washington, the confidential cables shredded in the embassy in the last minutes before the takeover, and what the hostages themselves know would reveal much, much more. But even in the face of the coordinated U.S. government-media operation to avoid any discussion of the embassy's work in order to devote their full energies to making the hostages out to be "innocent victims of international terrorism," there is enough known to

indict and re-indict the U.S. government and their employees at the embassy 1000 times for carrying out organized counter-revolutionary activities.

With such things being done in a U.S. "diplomatic sanctuary" right in the middle of Tehran, the seizure of this spy nest was both a timely and just move on the part of the Iranian people. First, it shut down a crucial part of the U.S.'s counterinsurgency—intelligence apparatus in Iran. Even more, as an article (in *RW* No. 79) on the first anniversary of the embassy takeover explained, this bold action triggered a new anti-imperialist upsurge among millions of Iranians that struck hard at the U.S.'s continued influence inside Iran, both directly and through powerful agents of theirs inside the Islamic government. The seizure of the U.S. embassy was an inspiration to millions worldwide because it delivered a powerful blow against U.S. imperialism's ruthless attempts to crush the revolution and bring Iran back under its thumb once again.

Operations similar to these are carried out by every single U.S. embassy around the world and will continue to be, especially when, as in Iran, the imperialists are faced with revolution, and as the U.S. imperialist bloc and its rival Soviet bloc head toward war. Then

their counter-revolutionary activities become even more focused and the required highly trained personnel are brought into the embassies to "get the job done." Clearly it would have been an excellent thing to put the hostages (or at least the majority of them) on trial in an open court in Iran, in order to expose the U.S. imperialists' attacks on the Iranian revolution and their despicable methods even more widely all over the world. There has been strong sentiment among the Iranian people for doing just that all along, but solid opposition against taking such moves against the U.S. by bourgeois forces in the government prevented this from happening.

Nevertheless, for more than 14 months this U.S. spy nest has been unable to move off its perch in Iran. And as the myth of the "poor innocent hostages" falls apart, the ugly features of U.S. imperialism are standing more exposed than ever. Certainly this will not be the last time that pictures will appear of U.S. embassies and other overseas missions going up in flames, being besieged or being captured as the masses of people rise up against U.S. domination of their countries in the years ahead. □

## Political Base Area

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conceptions have been with people since they were born. Some people shy away from me now, afraid of dealing with that," he explained, pointing to the *RW*. "But man, mostly it's question after question." When he was a small boy he used to pretend-march with the local Black Panthers who would hold close order drill behind one of the neighborhood stores. "I tell people, I know how they feel. I've felt terroristic myself. But that way won't work—look at the SLA. You have to have political training and stop looking at people like they'll never get enough sense to rise up their own selves!" He also wages struggle over nationalism. "What I learned from reading that article (Bob Avakian replies to a Black Nationalist With Communistic Inclinations; *RW* No. 75) was that nationalism falls short of Marxism, and we need Marxism to make revolution."

In fact it was one of his friends, who he didn't think was all that interested in politics, that got into a sharp argument at the tavern one night with another guy who said he didn't have time to join the ranks of the revolution, 'cause he had to take care of his family. Since then the co-conspirator has been reading Mao's essay, *On Contradiction*, to his friend and both of them are wrangling with it.

The taverns, particularly one of them, have been the scene of some very fierce class struggle. In fact, it was only after it was affirmed that I was with the *RW* sales team that I was "okay'd" to come on in. And it has not been all smooth sailing by any means to achieve even these beginning advances. In one of the taverns some of the petty street hustlers and organized desperados tried to intimidate people from dealing with the *RW* and tried to force the distributors out of the place through the use of scare tactics and "honky-baiting" the non-Black members of the sales team. But in fact, it was exactly the multi-national character of the team that inspired a lot of the people who desire, and see, the crucial importance of multi-national unity for making revolution. After some sharp struggle, the thugs left and the place erupted over what had just gone down and over the *RW*.

Besides the more full-time petty criminals, the constant dog-eat-dog, hustle-to-survive mentality exerts a tremendous pull on some of the forces who have come around the paper and the Party. The struggle over joining the ranks of the revolution and wielding the *RW* has seen a number of cases of initial involvement and then slipping back into the wasteland of drugs, alcohol, or some other hustle that imperialism provides in abundance. Politically this dog-eat-dog outlook has often manifested itself by opposing the role of the *RW* on the grounds that the masses of people will never rise above all the shit; "Just look around, it's useless," is a common response. Or, that all anyone can do is to, "take care of their own shit, and watch their own back"—which usually translates into protecting "my own family," and looking out for No. 1. Even among many of those who still dream the dream of revolution, this deep-seated cynicism is constantly raising its head to do battle against the analysis that sees revolutionary opportunities in today's situation.

But what is developing in sharp opposition to that cynicism, and in fact showing the fertile soil that exists not only to further broaden and deepen the influence of the *RW* in the Black community itself and truly develop a base area for revolution there, but for that experience, tempered with the *RW*, to burst forth and influence other segments of the city's population. And this give and take has already been demonstrated—in the restaurant and the taverns.

The owner of the restaurant himself recently took a bundle of *RW*s after closing, and canvassed one of the mainly Black housing projects. In response to the pigs closing the restaurant, the *RW* team blitzed another of the housing

projects, exposing the attack and agitating on the cruciality of spreading this network of co-conspirators even further and deeper. They got out 125 papers to 10 people and then summed up that wasn't enough. They went back to two of the people and after struggle, one woman took 25 more papers, another person took an additional 10. Recently the team has been going to the projects with a sound truck and many bundles to distribute. And bundles of *RW*s have found their way back into the taverns as well! While we were talking to people there one night, an aerospace worker came in saying that he had just picked up his weekly allotment from another distributor at work. It has also been reported that papers sold at the unemployment office have made their way through that part of the neighborhood. And one brother, who found some interest and excitement generated at the day laborer's hiring hall when he was reading the *RW* there, has decided to pick up extra copies from the restaurant to take with him from now on. There is an excellent basis here to spread the influence of the Party and the newspaper in the proletariat—the class that truly has nothing to lose but its chains—at the small local factories and the industries where people from the neighborhood work, building these as fortresses of a revolutionary line and unleashing the workers there to influence the masses of workers, oppressed people and broad social movements throughout society.

The struggle over the role of the paper has also unleashed the masses to spread the conspiracy in some very creative ways. One brother, in his early fifties, has taken to organizing *RW* reader circles, reading out loud and explaining words and concepts to others who have been left uneducated by imperialism. "Yeah," he told me during one of the quiet points at the restaurant, "I started reading philosophy when I was in junior high school. I read Durant, Plato, Heracles, I read Schopenhauer. I was grappling with Nietzsche!" He laughed. "Then I read Marx and Lenin. I liked them, they was about revolution. I still read all kinds of philosophy." He pulled his Red Book from his coat pocket. "I like Mao. I read every one of the pamphlets your Party put out and now I read the paper. I like it too. Now I read it to the people here so they can have some understanding to make up their own minds," he finished. And the owner of one of the small markets caught the *RW* distributor by surprise when he suggested that the sales team come and do agitation in front of his store to accelerate the stalled sales of the *RW* at his place.

Perhaps one of the most concentrated examples that shows the potential of bursting out of the base area and into new ground has been the establishment of that bus-stop referred to earlier, as a "newsstand" for the *RW*. Given that it is a major transfer point between the Black community and other places in the city, the paper being there has had a very broad impact. Black workers riding to work at the shipyards or the steel mill, pick up papers there; downtown office workers; shoppers; retired persons; school kids; etc., cross this point. Some get their *RW*s here. The scene there has been very intense at times, and a former Captain in the Panthers was so jolted and inspired by what he saw there one day, that he told the *RW* seller that he was embarrassed that he only had 10 papers with him. These new developments have had an impact far beyond the neighborhood, reaching into other classes and strata among the broad masses and into the broad social movements. There have been a number of examples of Black lawyers and activists in anti-Klan organizations asking for subscriptions to the newspaper because they have heard about the influence of the *RW* in this area. This has also been true of people in the anti-nuke movement who have been compelled to check out the *RW* as a result of the advances in this developing base area.

New tasks and problems that this advance has placed on the agenda have sparked some very sharp two-line struggle over how to consolidate and expand revolutionary work. It first erupted in the restaurant, where one brother

fought for the line that they should actively sell at the stop and not just leave the papers there and hope for a donation. This he argued, would enable them to unite with the advanced forces that actually do pick up *RW*s there and bring them more fully into the networks. Before this struggle could be fully resolved, another related one broke out. This time over the question of supporting the *RW* financially!

The question of collecting money for the papers and supporting revolutionary organization financially has been a sharp one and concentrates a number of profound political questions. One of the *RW* sellers pointed out to me that they were approached by someone they had never met before, who said, "Hey, I hear you need money for the paper. Well, I'm gonna put the word out on the street and see what I can do." This shows that among the revolutionary-minded masses there is both the desire to support the Party and the paper and that there is a vast and untapped storehouse of ideas and enthusiasm. And the basic materialist understanding of the masses' needs to be tempered with a deeper political understanding on the matter of crucial funds required to carry out revolutionary work today in preparing for the future. Advances in distribution have dramatically shown that when the advanced are armed with a political understanding of the correct line, and their initiative is unleashed, the possibilities are truly limitless. On this score, it is crucial for the Party and advanced not to tail behind a "Robin Hood" view of revolutionary organization and to struggle for the understanding that the masses themselves must take part in the work of "preparing minds and organizing forces" in an all-round way. There is a definite influence of the line of "serve the people" programs promoted by the Panthers; and there are many seeds of "communistic" thinking among the masses, seeds of revolution, and progressive ideas which come from deep concern and hatred for the desperate conditions many people are forced to live in, but these ideas are not the same as a thorough Marxist-Leninist understanding on building revolutionary organization. It has been shown time and again that the masses, even those in very desperate financial straits are willing and capable of supporting revolutionary work, and welcome a revolutionary line which stands oppos-

ed to the idea that some condescending savior will liberate the masses of people. Furthermore, there is much that can be done in this arena by unleashing the masses to go more broadly in these efforts in an organized way.

At a circle meeting called to figure out how to sustain the burgeoning shoots of revolution and how to meet the tasks at hand this and other questions were addressed.

One of the most pressing things summed up at the meeting, in addition to moving on the financial front, was systematically meeting the needs and requirements of the advanced who have come forward. It has been extremely vital how many people have eagerly leapt forward, thirsting for the Party's line and Marxism-Leninism generally. Dozens of Party pamphlets have been distributed. Books by Bob Avakian, and articles such as the excerpts from *America In Decline* reprinted in *Revolution* magazine are being studied by people in the distribution points. But this cannot be left up to individuals or just to dropping off a pamphlet or article here and there—the advanced must be systematically trained in Marxism-Leninism so that all these advances will not be pissed away but instead built on from an even firmer foundation. Circles have been held to discuss the article "Black Nationalist With Communistic Inclinations" and Chiang Ching.

When the discussion turned to implementing a division of labor on the sales team, and further training new forces in the various tasks of making revolution, things really started to open up. One brother volunteered to be in charge of security when the team goes out and agitates. Another suggested involving the masses to solve the question of finances—talking to some of these tavern owners about fundraising work and the idea of a benefit night for the *RW*. "Hey, train me as a propagandist," one of the more regular sellers chimed in, "I love the propaganda," he said smiling and thumbing a stack of pamphlets.

The next day, I ran into one co-conspirator who was already studying Lenin on the question of professionalizing the ranks of revolutionaries. He just looked up and smiled and went back to his study. He had to get in his few hours of reading, for soon the *RW* team would be gathering to lay the day's plans for harassing the enemy. ||

## The Coronation of an Imperialist Mouthpiece

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resembles the old radio ventriloquist Edgar Bergen slipping one dummy, Charlie McCarthy, off his knee, and slipping another one, Mortimer Snerd, on.

Of course, there *are* changes occurring in this country. One would have to be blind not to see this. Among other things, Reagan's campaign was designed to give organized expression to some of the most reactionary and backward people and groups. And, as we know, there are more than a few of these in the USA. The point, however, is that these changes—the unrestrained and unending chauvinism, the unleashing of patriotic Americans like the KKK, the open promotion of racist ideology, etc., etc.—are a product of imperialism in decline and not a change of faces in the Oval Office. Ronnie's image just fits the imperialist needs of the times a bit better than Jimmy's. Nothing like a few "Wild West" poses and pictures of Ronnie presenting a rifle to Mexican President Lopez Portillo. Much more timely than peanuts.

Following the inaugural address, which no matter if it is couched in terms of peace will be a call to arms, will come the actual parade. Announcing that "the President wants a snappy parade," they have chucked the traditional high school bands from the 50 states. In their place will come the selected floats depicting U.S. history from the Revolutionary War to the 20th century, and military units marching at

110 counts per minute, all packaged for TV. The parade route has been lined with troops, cops and reserved bleachers. Congress even passed a special addition to the District of Columbia budget, providing \$1.3 million for "demonstration expenses—presidential inauguration."

The parade will end at the reviewing stand in front of the White House with a chorus from the Mormon Tabernacle Choir leading the new president and the entire reviewing stand in singing the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." If by this time there is someone who hasn't gotten the message, the organizers of the inauguration have even produced a genuine imperialist mummy, 87 years old and confined to a wheelchair, as grand marshal of the parade—General Omar Bradley, the last surviving 5-star general from World War 2.

In its latest issue, *Time* headlined its main article on Reagan: "Riding Into the Sunrise." A subtitle reads: "The next president makes the final preparations for his New Beginning." But what we are witnessing today is not the sunrise of U.S. imperialism—far from it. A washed-out, decrepit old Hollywood actor has ascended to the presidency of a washed-out, decrepit old imperialist system. This "New Beginning" will begin with an appropriate combination and flagrant flaunting of wealth, patriotism and reaction and will only evoke an even deeper disgust and hatred of U.S. imperialism on the part of people in this country and the whole world.



**WEAR THIS ARMBAND  
WHEN THE  
REVISIONISTS  
SENTENCE  
MAO'S  
REVOLUTIONARY  
COMRADES**

**Long Live  
the  
Revolution  
Worldwide**

*Cut out armband and paste onto  
cloth or heavy paper strip.*



**Long Live  
Mao Tsetung's  
Revolutionary  
Comrades**

## **DEMONSTRATE**

**LONG LIVE CHIANG CHING AND  
CHANG CHUN-CHIAO!  
LONG LIVE THE GREAT  
PROLETARIAN CULTURAL  
REVOLUTION!  
MAO TSETUNG DID NOT FAIL,  
REVOLUTION WILL PREVAIL  
ALL OVER THE WORLD!**

*Very shortly after the sentence is  
announced in China, the RCP, in  
unity with other forces, will hold  
demonstrations in:*

**Washington, D.C. —Embassy of the  
Peoples Republic of China (P.R.C.)  
New York —U.N. Mission of the P.R.C.  
San Francisco —Consulate of the P.R.C.  
Houston —Consulate of the P.R.C.**

**For more information about these demonstrations contact the RCP in  
your area (See page 2 for addresses and phone numbers).**

*\*(and if they don't announce the verdict soon, we'll have the demonstrations  
anyway!)*