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"It's OUR Hemisphere . . ."

## U.S. Beefs Up Backing for Salvadoran Junta



Despite some puffed up braggadocio to the effect that the opposition offensive has "failed" both U.S. imperialism and its puppet junta presented new evidence this last week what they are deeply worried about their ability to maintain control of "their" Salvadoran "turf." While the *New York Times* took to some bloated gloating over "the failure of the offensive to start a popular insurrection and result in significant military victories for the rebels," the junta announced that, from now on all boys over 10-years-old would be considered potential guerrillas and would therefore have to carry identification cards to ensure they were reliable elements. Another *Times* article admitted that: "Government forces are . . . spread thin, locked into static defense positions in small villages. They have been unable to mount an effective counteroffensive."

At the same time, various agents of U.S. imperialism have been scurrying all over Europe and Latin America beating the drums for new U.S. escalations to maintain the junta in power,

and implying that the U.S. would use El Salvador as a "test case" of its bloc's willingness to unite for the worldwide faceoff with its rival imperialist bloc headed up by the Soviet Union. As the general worldwide imperialist crisis and the particular Central American crisis continue to interpenetrate, this is one form of drumbeating that is sure to grow louder and more frantic in the coming period.

The European trek is being headed up by the appropriately named Lawrence Eagleburger, a former aide to Henry Kissinger and designated assistant Secretary of State for European affairs. Eagleburger's top-level mission

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## Call to Take Part in Forging Plans

# May First, 1981

May First is coming, and a lot of people know it! May First 1980 was an opening salvo for the decade, with a class conscious section of proletarians and others in the U.S. seizing the day and proclaiming unity of cause with their class worldwide. Who can forget the impact of their actions as they took to the streets that day? The slogan said, "Take History Into Your Hands" and that is precisely what they did as their many actions challenged all who hate this shit to think and act themselves and join in the stand "Our flag is red—not red, white and blue." May First was put on the map as a fighting proletarian internationalist day and, as a result, as May First approaches this year, the question of where will you be, what will you be doing, is afoot.

Clearly since May 1st 1980, neither the world nor the revolutionary forces have stood still. Events over the past year have borne out that truth that in-

deed this will be a decade marked by upheaval, revolution and the threat of world war. In the Persian Gulf, against the backdrop of U.S.-Soviet contention and the U.S. inspired Iraq-Iran war, the imperialists have intrigued and attacked the Iranian people, but they have not stilled their struggles. The Polish workers continue to give the imperialists of all stripes fits, even as they intensify their tug of war in that country. Then there has been the continued Soviet imperialist invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S. staged military coup in Turkey and the giant war maneuvers of both sides in Europe. Revolutionary struggles and rebellion have gripped many places in Latin America and Africa, with the staccato of armed struggle spilling into most of Central America; cities in open revolt in South Korea; youth taking to the streets in West Germany and Switzerland, up in the face of the authorities; in the

U.S., Miami—once a city, now a battle cry—gave a small reminder of the force that lies latent in the millions of Black people, and prisons called Walla Walla, Walpole . . . erupted as prisoners said "No more!"

From the midst of a Peking courtroom, the magnificent sound of revolution has echoed forth again from China. There, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao defied death and held up the red banner of Mao and the international proletariat. And indeed, stepping forward from the loss in China, anti-revisionist communist parties and organizations around the world have made important progress this year toward forging a line and the organized unity of the international communist movement. And here inside the U.S., since the leap of May 1, 1980, there have been further leaps in the position of the class conscious forces, most importantly in the battle for sustained

distribution of 100,000 *Revolutionary Workers*—spreading the regular influence of a common revolutionary line nationwide every week.

There is a strong basis and a strong necessity to do something bold on May First 1981. Our intention is to match the tempo being demanded by the times, to advance further off the advances already won. Our intention with the further plans soon to be announced and carried out around May First is nothing less than another, major leap in placing the class conscious forces in the best position so that, should the real possibility of a revolutionary situation emerge in the U.S. in the coming decade, we will emerge victorious. And no matter what, we will make a big contribution to the international revolutionary struggle.

Last May Day, many things were done. As people in all spheres of society

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Marcos to "Attain the Ends of God"

# Pope Bestows Blessings on U.S. Rule in Philippines

Wherever the poor and oppressed rise up to secure their liberation, the apostolic fireman of U.S. imperialism is sure to arrive soon. And so it was that last week Pope John Paul II arrived in the Philippines to deliver again his now hackneyed message of passivity and subservience to oppression. On what has now become the stock feature of his political junkets, the official visit to the official slum, the reactionary pontiff again laid down the law to the poor: "Do not be tempted by ideologies that preach only material values or purely temporal ideals, which separate political, social and economic development from the things of the spirit... the road toward your total liberation is not the way of violence, class struggle or hate; it is the way of love, brotherhood and peaceful solidarity."

Ah, what a different tune the holy father sings in the colonies of U.S. imperialism than when he was unleashed on Poland two years ago. Then he denounced "colonialism" (Soviet, of course) and summoned the faithful to take up the "temporal" as well as spiritual needs of man. Then did he lead thinly-disguised anti-government demonstrations displaying the emblem of World War 2 anti-communist partisans. But now all is love and light for Christ's vicar on earth—and the bloody dictators of the Philippines, Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos. Hailing the sham repeal of martial law one month ago, the great Pope, with the hangman Marcos at his elbow, said, "Recent initiatives that are worthy of praise augur well for the future."

But it is precisely the fact that the future does not augur well for U.S. imperialism that brings the successor of Peter scurrying to the Philippines. The principal stop in a 12-day tour that also takes JP II to Pakistan, Japan and the U.S. colony of Guam, the Philippines is today a tenuous link in U.S. imperialism's war chain. Politically, the Marcos clique is far more isolated than ever before, both among the peasants and urban poor, as well as among the Philippines' extremely large and well-educated professional and middle strata. The New People's Army, led by the Reconstituted Communist Party of the Philippines, has established 26 guerrilla fronts over an area of the country containing 20% of its population. The Moro National Liberation Front in the southern and predominantly Moslem

island of Mindanao, continues its protracted armed struggle against national oppression by the Marcos regime. And among the rank and file of the Catholic clergy and lay missionaries, thousands have taken to support of revolutionary struggles against the dictatorship, with some priests regularly going about armed.

For the U.S., the Philippines have long been a vital military base of operations. The giant U.S. naval base at Subic Bay remains the largest U.S. naval installation in the Far East, and was the staging area for all U.S. naval operations in the Vietnam War. Today with the Soviet Navy firmly ensconced in the huge U.S.-built naval base at Danang Bay in Vietnam, the U.S. is not about to part with the Philippines. The islands were seized in the first place from Spain (whose legacy accounts for the Catholic influence) in 1898 to provide the U.S. with the major naval base of Manila Bay to further U.S. imperialist expansion in the Pacific. But U.S. control of the islands was ensured only after a three-year bitter colonial war against Philippine freedom-fighters struggling for the independence of their country. Following World War 2, the colony was granted nominal independence, but the country remains politically and economically controlled by the U.S.

As part of the hype for the papal pilgrimage to the Philippines, the U.S. media devoted a great deal of attention to reporting a tiff between Marcos and the Catholic hierarchy over just who would control the Pope's visit, where he would go, and how much mileage Marcos and Imelda, the Philippine Dragon Lady, could get out of it. The struggle between the hierarchy and the Marcos clique is a real one, however, although its terms are far different from those presented by the press. The hierarchy, led by Cardinal Sin (no joke, that's his name), has been loosely aligned with the bourgeois opposition of former senator Benigno Aquino and others who argue that only a program of bourgeois democracy and rapid economic reforms can save the Philippines from revolution. The ongoing tussle between Cardinal Sin and Marcos is precisely over whether the velvet glove or the iron fist will be most effective at this time. Both share completely the goal of preserving the Philippines as a reliable base for U.S. imperialism, and

Cardinal Sin openly describes his relationship with the regime as one of "critical collaboration." This collaboration by the Catholic hierarchy is far from unimportant, as 40 million of the 47 million people in the Philippines are nominally Catholic, and the Catholic Church operates one TV channel, 20 radio stations, and runs six magazines and newspapers.

It is in this context that the Pope's visit required some very careful negotiations with tit-for-tat struggles. At stake was attaining some stability in this conflict, blessing the pro-U.S. bourgeois opposition elements (which required some mild criticism of Marcos), without seeming to endorse an anti-Marcos mass movement (hence the praise of the Marcos' "reforms" and the official role of Marcos in the papal visit).

The final decision in which the Pope actually embraced Marcos far more than most of the Philippine clergy could stomach, resulted in Marcos' fawning over the Pope, feigning humility, and crying "Forgive us, Holy Father. Now that you are here, we resolve we shall wipe out all conflicts and set up a society that is harmonious to attain the ends of God." (And the ends of U.S. imperialism, he might have added.) The pontiff's arrival at the airport, where he was met by the Marcos duo, was protected by 5,000 plainclothesmen directed by 32 generals. And all those who attended the official reception received a specially struck medal with images of the Pope and President Marcos on it.

From his official reception with the ruling clique, the patriarch of Rome dashed off to dress down a meeting of members of women's religious orders. JP II told the assembled nuns that they should respect orders from their ecclesiastical superiors. The reason for the meeting was that hundreds of nuns have left their religious orders in defiance of their superiors to live and work with the poor. The pontiff then appeared before a meeting of priests in the Manila cathedral. "You are priests and religious. You are not social or political leaders or officials of a temporal power," the Pope sternly commanded. "Let us not be under the illusion that we are serving the gospel if we dilute our chrisma through an exaggerated interest in the wide field of temporal problems." In other words, stick

to your prayer books, boys, and stay the hell out of the revolutionary struggles of the poor and the oppressed. Holy Father knows best.

JP II also took the occasion of his trip to score a few other licks for the U.S. war bloc. It was hardly an accident that the most convenient place for the papal plane to refuel on the way to the Philippines was Pakistan, where loyal U.S. lackey General Zia was at the airport with an honor guard, brass bands, and a 21-gun-salute. You could hardly fill a phone booth with all the Catholics in Moslem Pakistan, but this didn't deter the Pope from holding mass at the national stadium. The Pope used the occasion to try to offset Islamic attacks on U.S. imperialism and calls at the recent Islamic conference for renewed struggle against Zionism, by praying aloud that "Mutual respect between Christians and Moslems will continue and grow deeper and find still better ways of cooperation and collaboration."

Then, in the Philippines, the Pope took the occasion of a meeting with representatives of the Chinese community in Manila to play the Vatican's China card, calling for renewing the official links between the Catholic Church in China and Rome. Interestingly, it was just about 10 years ago that JP II's predecessor, Pope Paul VI, visited the Philippines and floated a similar trial balloon to China. But it is only now, with revisionism in power in China, that the Vatican has a prayer of reaching this wild ambition. And in fact, a cardinal of the Catholic church paid an official visit to Peking last year and said mass for the new mandarins.

Lauding the "pragmatism" of China's new bourgeois rulers, and hailing the now flopped "four modernizations," the Pope said, "Your country is indeed devoting all its energies to the future. It wishes to ensure, through scientific and technological development, and through the industrious collaboration of its people, that its citizens can live in true happiness." He went on to pledge that Chinese Catholics restored to communion with Rome would be "good citizens," and hinted openly that he would like an invitation to visit China himself. What a trip that would be! We can see it now, "Pope Visits Great Wall, Warns Chinese Catholics to Shun Remnants of Gang of Four." □

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# Marie Osmond Law Passes

Since January 1 all doctors, health care and social workers in the State of California have been required, under penalty of imprisonment, to report to the authorities every unmarried female under 18 whom they suspect of engaging in sexual activity. Any young woman without a lord and master, (oh, excuse us California legislature, we know you said "husband") who seeks medical treatment such as birth control, treatment (or even tests) for venereal disease or any other treatment that implies she has violated the holy precepts of the almighty bourgeois state must be immediately reported to either the police or an official child protection agency.

In a move that challenges the depths of bourgeois hypocrisy this particular perversion was added at the last minute to a law supposedly designed to strengthen penalties against those who abuse and molest children.

Let's start with those to whom the "young offenders" are supposed to be reported. The various police departments are perfectly suited to carry out this law's intent on respecting the rights of women. Take for example the past disclosures of Los Angeles Police Department officers' involvement with

16-year-old Eagle Scouts in a police training program, not to mention countless other incidents not so well publicized like the rape, in the back seat of an L.A.P.D. police car, of an 8-year-old Black girl five years ago.

Or perhaps the list of such violators will make its way into the hands of respected public servants such as California State Senator Alan Robbins, currently facing statutory rape charges for reportedly (according to a number of young women) inviting teenage girls from around the state up to the State Capitol at Sacramento to see how the legislature really works. Perhaps this could go up to the federal level where Senators and Representatives (with an extra share of "public decency"-types) stagger back and forth between sexual debauchery and the sort they perform officially in Congress.

Not surprisingly the California law is supported by the "Moral Majority" which is also helping to spearhead anti-abortion activity. Like the recent Supreme Court ruling approving the Hyde Amendment which denies federally-funded abortions to poor women, one effect of this California law would be to deny young women needed medical treatment or force them

to patronize blackmarket butchers since most young women will be unwilling to subject themselves to the reporting procedure that medical professionals are required by law to follow. All of which only goes to show that the mutilation of women, even very young women, is quite consistent with the overall requirements of bourgeois morality. This law could quite accurately be called the "murder and maim young women" law.

One could laugh at the futility of their attempt to stop teenagers from sex until one realizes that is not their basic intention anyway. While family morals and prostitution have been a couple since the dawn of class society, it seems to be the particular contribution of imperialism to achieve the widespread combination of feudal moral righteousness with a pornography industry worth billions. Somehow the bourgeoisie's massive and increasing promotion of child pornography and child prostitution never entered their little lawmaking minds. No law was about to come between Brooke Shields and her Calvin Kleins.

This double-barrelled bourgeois offensive against women includes Marie Osmond as well as Brooke Shields.

Marie, 21, recently announced to all who would listen (*Time* magazine, for example) that she is a virgin. After seemingly countless prime time hours of being forced to see and hear her, many people were not surprised at Marie's announcement. What was more politically significant was that she coupled it with a statement that this was a matter of principle with her and she would remain "pure" until marriage. This was widely broadcast as a "new thing." Marie, along with Barbie and Ken, and the Moral Majority, are to be our role models for the 1980s. After all there are serious times ahead. We are being prepared to fight the Russians and re-establish the moral, cultural, political and economic superiority of U.S. imperialism on a world scale. A self-righteous official national morality and strict self-discipline are needed for such a task. As for women, it's time to conform to the total subservience script that the imperialists have laid out. And just for icing on the imperialists' cake, a young woman who has not gotten pregnant is far more draftable cannonfodder than one who's been fooling around. □

## International Women's Day Poster

### Now Available

Full Color—vibrant reds, purples, blues, yellow and black

The materials for reproducing the poster shown at right—color separated printer's negatives and reduced size full color samples—are available this week for individuals and organizations to look over and make arrangements for local printing and use in connection with various events on and around March 8, 1981, International Women's Day. The foreground photo of Chiang Ching was taken as she defiantly entered the courtroom on the day the revisionists sentenced her to death. The background scene is from the revolutionary Peking Opera "Red Detachment of Women" in which Wu Ching-hua, an escaped bondsmaid who joined the Red Army, and her comrades battle the Kuomintang reactionary troops head on in a mountain pass. This opera is one of the most well-known of the model works produced during the Cultural Revolution under the leadership of Chiang Ching.

All those who want to participate in the fundraising, printing, and distribution of this poster can contact the RCP in one of the following cities: Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D.C. (for phone numbers and addresses, see page 15). Those wishing to produce this poster in other areas should send \$50.00 in check or money order now to RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, Illinois 60654. Cost includes printing negatives, full color sample and express postage. Specify English, Spanish or French. Please include your phone number, address and the nearest Post Office or Airport to your location.

March 8, International Women's Day



**Break the Chains!  
Unleash the Fury of Women  
As a Mighty Force for Revolution!  
Long Live Chiang Ching!**



**Sign, Circulate and Post**

**Drop All the Charges  
Once and For All!**

**STOP  
THE RAILROAD  
OF BOB AVAKIAN**

**FREE THE  
MAO TSETUNG  
DEFENDANTS**

*This statement drafted by the National Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants is now being circulated for signatures and donations and will run as an ad in the Washington Post around March 10, when a legal petition is due at the Supreme Court.*

To the U.S. Supreme Court:

We, the undersigned, condemn the continued and escalating government persecution of Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants. In decisions of October 21, 1980 and January 2, 1981, the D.C. Court of Appeals reinstated the previously dismissed and outrageous charges which threatened each defendant with 241 years in jail. With this, the government has unmasked even further the political motivation that has been behind this case all along.

The government's legal vendetta against the Mao Tsetung Defendants originated with a demonstration against the visit of Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping on January 29, 1979, which was attacked by police, injuring dozens and arresting 78. Immediate and continuing protests against the police attack and the flagrantly political prosecution which followed have poured into Washington. Yet so determined is the government to carry through this thinly-veiled act of political repression, that every legal mechanism to prevent this political railroad has been closed off except for direct appeal to the Supreme Court. A petition is now being filed with the Supreme Court.

**WE DEMAND THAT THE U.S. SUPREME COURT HEAR THIS CASE, AND THAT THIS BLATANT POLITICAL PROSECUTION BE DROPPED ONCE AND FOR ALL.**

The facts reveal undeniably the character of this case as one of political repression:

- Arrested on misdemeanor charges, the defendants were then charged with felonies, only to be followed by two grand jury indictments eventually upping the charges to 25 felony counts!
- The great majority of the charges are described as being committed by "unidentified attackers" or committed against "unidentified officers." Almost half of those indicted, including Bob Avakian, are charged with no specific criminal act. According to the government, "by presence and knowing participation each defendant aided and abetted each assault which took place..."
- A pre-trial motion, filed by the government, gets to the heart of the political offense which it is actually prosecuting: "The government intends to introduce into evidence those portions of the speech made by Defendant Avakian at a press conference on January 25, 1979." "The government's theory is that Avakian's speech and the activity and statement at the church are admissible against all of the defendants because they were in furtherance of a joint enterprise in which all defendants were involved." In other words, the charge is essentially one of conspiracy, and the offense is Bob Avakian presenting his views and critique of the new government of China and of its alliance with the U.S. following the death of Mao Tsetung.
- In response to a defense request to combine the trials of two sets of defendants originally charged in different indictments, the government produced a new single indictment doubling the charges against all the defendants. In court, the government stated that it only "gave the defendants what they asked for." Under the pressure of mounting protests across the country, all the charges were thrown out by the trial judge who declared the government was obviously engaging in "prosecutorial vindictiveness."
- On appeal by the government the charges were reinstated by a 2-1 appeals court decision which by their own admission disregarded established legal precedents to redefine "prosecutorial vindictiveness." This provided convenient cover for the contradictory and politically motivated acts of the prosecution, clearing the path for the government to proceed full speed ahead with the railroad.

The obvious filmsiness of the government's case serves only to highlight more vividly the vicious and openly political nature of this attack.

While Klansmen and Nazis stand acquitted of murder in open daylight in Greensboro, while Miami police officers guilty by their own admission of murder are set free, and while the U.S. government steps up its preparations for war, 17 people, the Mao Tsetung Defendants, now face three life terms in prison.

This is not the first time we have seen such political attacks by the U.S. government. **WE WILL NOT STAND BY SILENTLY AND ALLOW THIS BLATANT POLITICAL REPRESSION TO PROCEED. WE DEMAND THAT ALL CHARGES IN THE CASE OF THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS BE DROPPED AND STAY DROPPED.**

*Partial List of Endorsers*

Eqbal Ahmad, New York; Ismael Ahmed, Director of Resources, Arab Community Center (ACCESS)\*, Detroit; Timothy Ahu, M.D., Honolulu; Joe Amoon, NYACK Peace Center, New York; Byron E. Barnes, Chairman, Board of Directors, Seattle Indian Center; Norma Becker, New York; Mark Benson, L.E.S. AID, New York Anti-Klan Network, \* New York; Reverend Daniel Berrigan; Philip Berrigan; Barbara Bilge, Professor, Wayne State University, Detroit; James Boggs; Rick Bouchard, Counselor, Los Angeles Indian Center, Los Angeles; Lemuel Bradley, Black Student Union, Los Angeles City College, Los Angeles; Jack L. Brummel, Administrator, Northwest Intertribal Court System; Buffalo Chapter, National Lawyers Guild; Kenneth Cameron, Historian and scholar, New York; Doug Cassel, Business and Professionals for the Public Interest, Chicago; Robert P. Chercasen, Indian Legal Project, Los Angeles; Reverend George Clements, Chicago; Ken Cloke, former National Secretary, National Lawyers Guild; David Cortwright, Executive Director, SANE, ex-GI activist; Harvey Cox, Professor of Divinity, Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass.; Fifth Avenue News, Portland, Oregon; John Fox, Seattle Downtown Neighborhood Alliance; William Ganley, Professor of Economics, State University College, Buffalo, New York; Jimmy Garrett, Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund, former SNCC member, Washington, D.C.; Carlton B. Goodlett, M.D., publisher Reporter Publications, Oakland, California; Norman K. Gottwald, Professor, New York Theological Seminary; Dick Gregory; Reverend Earl Grice, Director of Ethnic Minority Higher Education, Wayne State University, Detroit; Paul Harris, former president, National Lawyers Guild; Abbie Hoffman; Alison Jaggard, Professor, University of Cincinnati; Aron Kay, Yippie pie thrower, New York; Flo Kennedy, Black Women United for Political Action, New York; Arthur Kinoy, Professor of Law, Rutgers University; Yuri Kochiyama, New York; William Kunstler, Center for Constitutional Rights, New York; Lamont Laird, Shawnee Indian, Los Angeles; Laury W. Larson, Clergy, United Presbyterian Church, USA, Cleveland; Gerald Lefcourt, Attorney, New York; Sidney Lens, Chicago; Karen Lindsey, Writer, poet, Women Opposed to Registration and the Draft, Boston; Richard Lipsitz, Attorney, Buffalo; Conrad Lynn, Attorney, New York; Charles Meconis, Seattle Religious Peace Action Coalition; Ron Milner, Writer, Los Angeles; Curtis Mohammed, former SNCC member; Mother of a Pontiac Brother, Los Angeles; Bertell Ollman, New York University, Department of Politics; Henry F. Owens, III, Attorney, Boston; Grace Paley, New York; Michael Parisi, Veterans for Peace; Phranc, Folksinger, Los Angeles; Mark Pollock, Attorney, Los Angeles; John Reinstein, Attorney, Boston; Margie Robertson, Director, Cincinnati American Civil Liberties Union; Rosco Louie Art Gallery, Et Al, Seattle; Rich Rosen, Attorney, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Richard Rubenstein, Professor, Antioch School of Law, Washington, D.C.; Safe Energy Coalition, Wayne State University Chapter, Detroit; Steve Smith, Committee to Support the Continuing Revolution in Iran, Detroit; Steve Sonora, Los Angeles Representative of La Raza National Legal Alliance; Christopher Stanley, Attorney, Cleveland; John Steinback, Arbor Alliance, Ann Arbor People's Food Co-op\*; Robert Stoddard, Musician, Local 47, Los Angeles; Studs Terkel, Chicago; Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael), All Afrikan People's Revolutionary Party; UN2—Glenn Gann and Steve Yip; The Undertakers, Punk rock group, Los Angeles; Marilyn Waller, President, San Francisco Bay Area Chapter, National Lawyers Guild; Phil Wheaton, Washington, D.C.; Preston Wilcox, Professor of Social Work, Columbia University, New York; John Womack, Jr., Professor of History, Harvard University; Guy M. Yates, M.D., Honolulu; Paul Zarembka, Professor of Economics, University of Buffalo; Howard Zinn, Professor, Boston University

\* (organizations listed for identification purposes only)



## Tomseth's Univ. of Oregon Appearance

## Flaming Yellow Ribbon Sends Hostage Hustle Up In Smoke

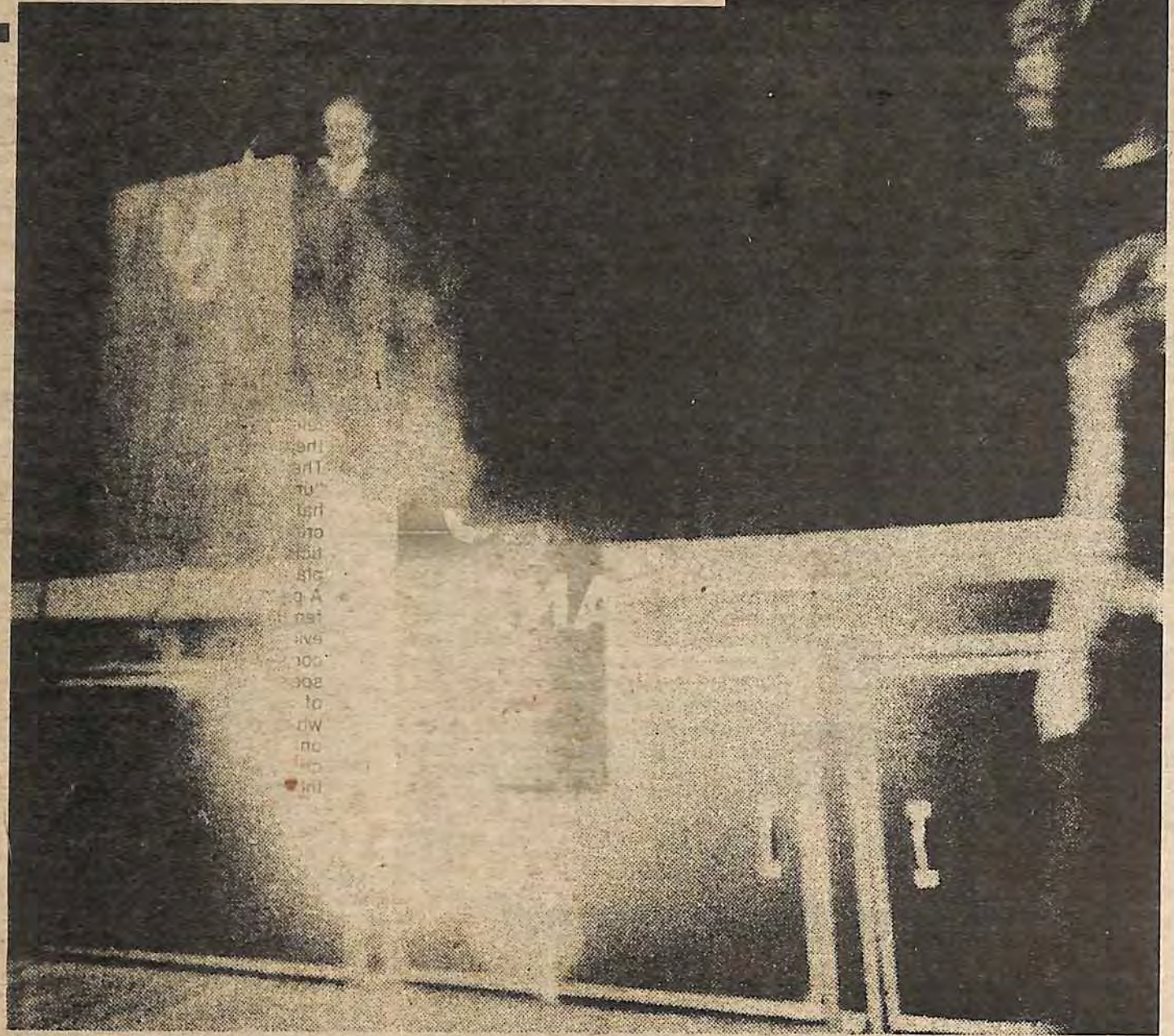
The stage was set for the latest act in the yellow ribbon road show. It was Monday, February 9, and the place was the campus of the University of Oregon in Eugene, Oregon. The air was filled with anticipation, for ex-hostage Victor Tomseth, the chief political officer in the U.S. embassy in Tehran, was coming to speak to the students.

But as Tomseth stepped to the podium, two members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB)—a man and a woman—moved to the front of the auditorium and lit one of the sacred yellow ribbons on fire. As it burned up, they yelled, "We spit on you; your red, white and blue; and your whole stinking system. We stand with the Iranian people!"

As Tomseth scurried behind the curtains, undercover cops emerged to protect him, attacking the two Brigade members. But far from it being a one-sided battle, and far from what later photos tried to depict, a number of students jumped into the fray and tried to free the revolutionaries. Visibly shaken, Tomseth said from the podium: "This exercise of the right of free speech and assembly serves to remind me as much as anything that I am in the United States of America." Actually, it must have seemed too close to Iran at that point, as boos and hisses from the audience suitably punctuated his statement. But the authorities temporarily got the upper hand; the Brigade members were dragged away, handcuffed and beaten.

Tomseth had little peace for the duration of his talk. One man held up another yellow ribbon and called for solidarity with the Iranian people. Significant applause followed. While Tomseth lied through his teeth he was continually interrupted by shouts of "CIA." And during the question and answer part, at least 100 students quizzed Tomseth about the embassy being a spy nest, the U.S. training of SAVAK, and the U.S. support of the dictator Shah. Even the local papers, from Eugene and Portland, were forced by the scene at the speech to comment that the audience was 50-50 for and against Tomseth.

Within hours the charges came down against the two—"first degree arson," a felony carrying the maximum of 20 years in prison and a \$2500 fine. (The woman's charges also included "assaulting a police officer.") The media scrambled to focus students' at-



Photographer catches a quick shot of the scene as yellow ribbon goes up in flames.

ention off of the CIA-agent Tomseth and onto the act of burning the ribbon itself. "They could've burnt down the ballroom," the press shrieked. "They endangered the lives of 1,000 people," they howled. (This was a particularly nauseating charge. Tomseth himself was a top CIA operative at the time of the famous Rex Theatre fire in Abadan when the Shah's troops locked 800 people into the theatre and set fire to it, burning everyone inside alive. Tomseth undoubtedly had something to do with it.) The "arson" charge and the deluge of trying to paint the revolutionaries as menaces to life and limb was nothing less than a conscious political counter-attack; an effort to fend off the ob-

viously effective political exposure that the burning yellow ribbon had illuminated on the campus and beyond.

But in a certain sense the arson charge does reflect exactly what the authorities saw go up in smoke through their jaundiced eyes. With so much staked on their hostage-homecoming, that piece of burning yellow ribbon must've indeed looked like the towering inferno! Photos of the arrests hit the AP wire service across the country and the action was reported on the Today show the next morning. For the next 3 days the campus would be electric with struggle and debate over the yellow ribbon burning.

That very afternoon, as RW agitators

walked into the cafeteria, many of the foreign-born students, especially Iranians, began applauding. A member of AIM (American Indian Movement), immediately invited them to a Muslim Student's Association meeting he was going to that night, to speak about the action. The call went out for the next day to be "bail raising day" on campus. Simultaneously, the police spread rumors of more arrests pending—a feeble attempt at intimidation.

By the next night, Tuesday, nearly all the bail had been raised. About \$100 raised by shaking cans in front of the student union; loans from students on the campus and RW supporters in

Continued from page 23

## Why Do the Police Show a "Lack of Interest" in Bea Dong's Shooting?

It was on January 21st that Beatrice Dong, a revolutionary activist for many years and a full time distributor of the *Revolutionary Worker*, was shot in the neck and critically wounded. At the time of the shooting, which took place in a train station and which Beatrice often frequented on her way to and from paper sales, the Newark, New Jersey police were quick to conclude that the shooting was the result of a crazed woman firing "wildly" into the crowded station. While it seems certain that the arrested woman, Waynetta Cockrell, the 21-year-old Black woman from Louisville, Kentucky, has a history of mental problems, the shooting itself was not so wild. Only two shots were fired, the first being a direct hit at close range in the back of Beatrice's neck. And while a bevy of heavily armed police arrived on the scene shortly after the shooting, in stark contrast to such enthusiasm exhibited then, the police drop-

ped an investigation into the shooting within days. Newark city detective Santura, in charge of the investigation, stated that this decision was in accordance with his superiors. In fact, the only investigation that took place by the police was into Waynetta's background establishing her history of mental problems. The names of witnesses in the possession of the police have never been questioned, nor have the police ever contacted Beatrice either! Strange behavior for the State which would usually jump at the chance to get a Black woman up on heavy charges for almost killing someone.

Further, at a probable cause hearing held 10 days after the shooting, Waynetta Cockrell did not appear in court. At that time it was officially decided to turn the matter over from the city of Newark to Essex County. But while it was stated in court that a grand jury investigation would then be in the works, Detective Santura had

already told friends of Beatrice that a trial would probably never materialize since Waynetta is too crazy. No trial—no need to investigate. It all works out rather conveniently for the bourgeoisie.

The foul scent of a method behind the madness persists. Shortly after Bea was shot, a co-conspirator received an anonymous phone call. The caller said, in effect: "Too bad about what happened to your friend's wife." Click. A few days later while a group of RW distributors were in New York City spreading the conspiracy at the hostage day parade, a man suddenly came up to one of the sellers to inquire, "When are you going to sell in New Jersey?"

Officially the shooting is just one of those unfortunate incidents, a "random" shooting by a deranged woman. No trial—no investigation—end of matter. Unofficially, however, these ugly twists have emerged.

Beatrice Dong is one of the

thousands across the country who have worked intensely to spread far and wide the powerful weapon of the *Revolutionary Worker*, making ever more real and terrifying the threat which this revolutionary movement poses for the ruling class. She continues to make important improvements in her physical condition, now able to speak and to breathe without the aid of a respirator and struggling to develop the strength and control in her arms and hands, though half of her body remains paralyzed at this time. Her undaunted revolutionary spirit is indeed an inspiration for the millions who long for the destruction of this imperialist system. And though much more needs to be uncovered in this shooting, it is clear that the ruling class has much hatred and fear for the growing conspiracy around the *Revolutionary Worker*. □



## Alleged FALN Members Sentenced to 55-90 Yrs

Chicago. In yet another sinister attack on the revolutionary struggle of the Puerto Rican people, and the revolutionary struggle generally, the ten suspected members of the FALN, convicted in federal court in Chicago on Feb. 11, were sentenced to terms ranging from 55 to 90 years in prison each on February 18. As they were brought two by two before the judge, shackled with handcuffs attached to waistband chains, these fighters for the independence of Puerto Rico courageously continued to expose and denounce the crimes of U.S. imperialism as they have in previous court appearances. Once again they refused to even participate in the proceedings, pointing out the sham nature of a trial held in the courts of the U.S. government which rules over their country. Cries of "Que Viva Puerto Rico Libre y Socialista" filled the air and were answered by supporters.

In case anyone might have missed the political point the ruling class was trying to drive home with this trial, federal prosecutor Jeremy Margolis obligingly made a clear-cut statement on this after the hearing: "This sentence should send a definite message to anyone contemplating similar acts... They will be hunted down, prosecuted, and put in jail for life." Judge Thomas McMillen went him one better when he told two of the defendants, "Execution should be imposed on count one, but Congress has only given me a maximum of twenty years," he said regretfully. "I sentence you both to twenty years on count one."

"Count one" is the highly political

charge of "seditious conspiracy"—"to oppose by force the authority of the government of the United States... (for the purpose of) obtaining independence for Puerto Rico," as the indictment states. Judge McMillen's call to invoke the death penalty on this charge, far from representing merely the individual desires of a diehard reactionary, points toward the vicious measures the ruling class must and will take in the period ahead in their desperate and ultimately futile efforts to stamp out revolution. Commenting on the significance of the seditious conspiracy charge a spokesman for the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN) said, "This is part of their overall strategy to curtail the revolutionary movement. They are going to put more people in jail, try to instill fear into our people, but we believe that strategy is not going to work. We believe the Puerto Rican independence movement is too strong. Independence for Puerto Rico may be won within the next decade."

The authorities wasted no time in unleashing their stepped-up attacks on supporters of Puerto Rican independence. On the very morning of the sentencing three people who were responsible for arranging rides to the demonstration in support of the ten political prisoners were arrested by the police. Plainclothes pigs armed with a shotgun busted into the homes of Felix Rosa and Eddie Negron around 7:00 a.m. and picked up Roberto Caldero on the street around the same time. All three were put before a police line-up in an attempt to bring criminal charges

## Garwood Sentenced

On Friday, February 13, the sentencing of Pfc. Robert Garwood for "collaborating with the enemy," and "assaulting a fellow prisoner of war" was delivered by a military tribunal at Camp Lejune, North Carolina. Garwood returned to the U.S. 14 years after being captured by liberation forces in Vietnam in 1965. He was brought to trial, found guilty on February 5, and sentenced last week. Garwood received a dishonorable discharge. He was reduced to the rank of private and denied some of his back pay.

The Garwood trial was the longest in the history of the military, and, long after the Vietnam war, Garwood was the first to be charged with "collaboration." (10 were similarly convicted at the time of the Korean war.) As we noted last week, the sole fact that Garwood was brought to trial on this charge is itself highly significant and was designed as a general attempt to set a tone for the period ahead. The verdict was a sweeping condemnation of any act of rebellion against military authority—so widespread during Vietnam—focused on the requirements of the U.S. as it girds for a worldwide showdown with its Soviet imperialist counter-parts. The verdict is on the books, and so is the potential penalty for rebellion among the troops: life in prison or death in front of a firing squad.

Garwood, however, got neither—and this alone is highly revealing. It was an admission on the part of the government of a sharp contradiction faced. In short, it was preferable to leave an ugly can of worms largely unopened. At a time when pleas for "national unity" grow ever louder, how would it have looked to drag out one of the sharpest displays of the lack of such unity in recent memory? As the case stands, the government makes its point demanding unswerving loyalty from its own troops while at the same time hiding the extremely *disloyal* actions of its own troops during Vietnam.

The terms of Garwood's trial were fairly clearly set from the start. Representatives of government-backed Prisoners of War-Missing in Action

(POW-MIA) organization cornered Garwood upon his arrival in the U.S. and offered legal counsel. The trial was restricted to testimony concerning Garwood's alleged mental state. But even given this, a real legal defense would have attempted to prove that Garwood's actions (which the defense never denied) were really far from unusual.

Jack Anderson, in his *Washington Post* column cited last week, seemed to be warning of problems in the Garwood prosecution. He noted conservative government figures indicating the depth of "disloyalty" to the USA: 500 GI's actively assisted the Vietnamese; 30 POW's went over to the "enemy"; six Americans are believed to have taken up arms against U.S. troops; etc., etc. Of course, these are conservative figures, to the credit of many GI's at the time. But nonetheless, the point is made, and Anderson further notes that deserters were freely repatriated "possibly because their sheer number would have been too staggering an embarrassment to warrant court-martials."

No such testimony was introduced in the Garwood case, and the trial proceeded in a relatively unpublicized, low key fashion. And, the constant narrowing of testimony to endless psychiatric tests left any opposition to U.S. imperialism the result of men gone wacko.

So, on the one hand, the Garwood trial has been an admission of our rulers' necessity to "put their house in order" for world war; and on the other, an admission of the fact that this "house"—in other words, compelling the masses of people to fight and die in the interests of U.S. imperialism—can never fundamentally be put in order. The cracks in the imperialist military, which Vietnam illustrated, grew into crevices by the end of the war. The crisis which confronts the U.S. at the present juncture infinitely outstrips any in its history. Try as they will, it is impossible to conceal the contradiction concentrated in the Garwood trial, either by burying it from public eye, or, as obviously will increasingly be the case, by force under threat of prison or death.

## 11 Revolutionaries Face Hanging in Turkey

We have recently learned that in mid-December, 11 members and supporters of the Communist Party of Turkey (ML) were sentenced to death by hanging by the U.S.-backed fascist military junta in Turkey. These revolutionaries, called "Bartizan people" after the name of the newspaper they support, were arrested in one of the junta's dragnet "anti-terrorist" raids and were charged with the "crime" of being on the government list of revolutionaries to be picked up or shot on sight. They are not being held along with political prisoners from other leftist organizations in an Ankara prison, and are being subjected to constant beatings and torture to extract information from them.

These revolutionaries have heroically resisted their captors following the example of the founder of the Com-

munist Party of Turkey (ML), Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, who was wounded by the Turkish army and captured in the mountains where he was organizing for people's war in January 1973. Under daily torture by the fascists, Kaypakkaya was defiant to the end—at his "trial," as well as in the regime's dungeons—and was finally executed in prison in May 1973. Such acts of revolutionary defiance of the rule of the Turkish reactionaries and their imperialist backers continue to inspire those who are today struggling to overthrow the military regime, which has imposed an open reign of terror on the country since the U.S.-supported coup d'etat last September. We will carry further reports on these 11 revolutionaries as well as the people's resistance in Turkey as news reaches us.

against them; by that evening only one man had been released. All three are members of the National Committee to Free the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War or its Family Committee.

While the pigs carried out their dirty work in the streets, Judge, McMillen continued his charade of a "fair and impartial trial" for the benefit of public consumption. "I don't take any position on the independence of Puerto Rico one way or another," this ex-military intelligence officer announced with cynical hypocrisy. Then he meted out the sentences with jail terms totalling the maximum 90 years for two of the prisoners and terms ranging from 55 to 75 years for the others. All sentences are to be served on top of sentences ranging from 8 to 30 years on state charges that the ten are already serving. In response to the judge's decree, Carmen Valentin retorted, "Your system will never last 90 years."

Federal prosecutor Margolis continued his flimsy attempts to obscure the political nature of this trial. Citing the ten criminal charges that the defendants were convicted of in connection with 28 alleged bombings carried out by the FALN in the Chicago area, he stated, "This sentence has nothing to do with political issues or philosophies

or with independence for the island of Puerto Rico. These issues can be properly addressed in a democratic society without the gun, the bomb, the propane tank." The ten responded by blasting U.S. imperialist "democracy" for its crimes against the people of the world from the carpet bombings of Vietnam to the U.S. Navy's bombing of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques to U.S. inspired coups which have installed fascist dictatorships from Iran to El Salvador. Carlos Alberto Torres also exposed the underlying desperation of the bourgeoisie in launching its rabid attack on the ten. "U.S. imperialism is like a wounded beast watching its lifeblood flow out of it in Nicaragua, in Iran, in El Salvador and Puerto Rico," he said. "They have convicted us in fear, to stop this liberation movement."

150 supporters marched outside the sentencing hearing with Puerto Rican flags flying. And at a February 3 demonstration in Puerto Rico, a thousand people turned out in solidarity with the ten political prisoners to raise the battle cry, "Independence and Socialism for Puerto Rico!" Demonstrations were held simultaneously in ten other cities in the U.S., Canada and Mexico.

Last week's RW caption in-completely identified this photo of ex-hostage Michael Metrisko holding a religious icon. It should have pointed out that this icon is a portrait of himself and Katherine Koob.





# POLITICAL CONTRADICTIONS INTENSIFY INSIDE IRAN

Lately, the U.S. press has been full of reports of the sharp infighting in the Iranian government and the mounting political unrest and turmoil in the country. In one of his recent nationwide broadcasts, Ayatollah Khomeini accused the rival bourgeois factions in the government of "biting one another like scorpions," warning them that the whole Islamic Republic is being threatened by their continued attacks on each other.

With blood and foam just dripping from their imperialist fangs, the U.S. ruling class continues to call for "restraint" in Iran, claiming to be a neutral party to these events inside Iran. In reality, however, the U.S. has never stopped its vicious and insidious activities designed to put themselves back in the driver seat in Iran. They are continuing to try to lay the basis in an all-around way to regain their former position in Iran after the stunning defeat they suffered at the hands of the Iran-

ian people with the fall of the Shah. A key part of their pressure and maneuvering in the recent period has been to foment splits and divisions within the Islamic government through a variety of means with the purpose of either eventually siding with a section or sections of the regime to establish a pro-U.S. government or create the conditions for a counter-revolutionary coup that would bring reliable U.S. lackeys to power. They are doing this through a combination of external pressures (for instance, the five-month old U.S.-backed Iraqi invasion and economic pressure) and internal political maneuvers by pro-Western reactionaries.

Domination of Iran is absolutely essential for the U.S. imperialists' in their quest to fortify their position in the Persian Gulf region for waging war against their imperialist rivals in the USSR. It is compelling them to keep the pot boiling in Iran. Due to intensifying

pressure from the imperialists and the deepening economic and political crisis inside Iran which is repeatedly rousing the masses into political life and revolutionary struggle, the Iranian government is being caught in a steadily tightening vise. Thus, the increasingly strident and desperate tone of Khomeini's speeches and calls for "unity" to "help the country progress" point to the basically untenable position the Islamic government is in—with their only "way out" to increasingly become retainers of imperialism (U.S. or Soviet) and a reactionary obstacle to any real social and political progress.

Unfortunately for Iran's rulers and the U.S., this fact is becoming apparent to growing numbers in Iran. For example, with the release of the 52 U.S. hostages in late January, the masses' views on the government changed perceptibly. In spite of the efforts of the leaders of the Islamic Republic Party (the IRP—the dominant force in the government)

to declare the hostage deal a "great victory over the Great Satan," there is widespread disgust and anger over the hostage agreement struck with the U.S. Many in Iran openly say that the hostages—or at least the main political operatives and spies captured at the U.S. embassy—should have been put on trial for their counter-revolutionary crimes against the Iranian people. Moreover, it is widely understood that Iran got robbed blind by the U.S., getting back less than \$3 billion of Iran's more than \$10 billion in overseas assets and not a penny of the Shah's plundered fortune.

All in all, the IRP's grand plan to emerge as heroes by bartering the hostages for Iran's billions in frozen assets and for spare parts and other U.S.-made military equipment fell flat on its face. And instead of being able to keep the "pro-West" label pinned exclusively on President Bani-Sadr (who

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## Mugabe Unleashes Ian Smith's Troops in Zimbabwe

# The Capitulationist Stew of Robert Mugabe

On February 12, Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe and head of the Zimbabwe African National Union, ordered the elite, white-led Rhodesian African Rifles (RAR), to launch a major assault against former Zimbabwean guerrilla fighters. The guerrillas were members of both the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), the ruling party in Zimbabwe, and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), once part of the Patriotic Front and now the rival minority political party, led by Joshua Nkomo. The Rhodesian African Rifles are the main Black infantry regiment, formerly led by the infamous General Walls of the Ian Smith regime who was responsible for the murder of more than 10,000 liberation fighters in Zimbabwe during the 8 years of armed struggle against the Smith regime. Literally imprisoned for months in concentration camps in the far-off border regions of Zimbabwe, according to the terms of the British-controlled election settlement in which Mugabe assumed power 11 months ago, all of the guerrilla forces had recently been moved to new prison encampments around Bulawayo, the second largest city in Zimbabwe, as part of their "integration" into the newly formed national army. On February 6, fighting broke out within the ranks of the guerrillas, and by February 12, Mugabe called in the RAR to crush them, declaring, "I will descend upon them like a hammer." The RAR first blanketed the guerrillas with mortar fire and followed with strafing from the Rhodesian Air Force, and then moved into disarm the former liberation fighters.

In a disgusting piece of imperialist journalism a *New York Times* article written three days after Mugabe had sent in the RAR and the Air Force, cynically portrayed the fighting as a solely factional dispute in which "more than 300 lives were lost... in violence worse than anything this part of what used to be Rhodesia experienced in the revolt against white rule..." and quoted a white Rhodesian doctor saying, "The irony of the whole thing is that the European in this country was right." Never missing a chance to rub the nose of one of their capitulators in his own problems, the imperialists did not skip a beat and two days later the *Times* praised Mugabe for his willingness to use the RAR against the former guerrillas and further warned of the consequences if Mugabe attempted to dismantle the army of the old regime and integrate it into the new national army: their point being—now that we

have forced you to capitulate, Mugabe, isn't it *ironic* that the armed forces of the old regime are the most reliable thing you've got and in view of the upcoming conference on foreign aid to Zimbabwe in March, you would do well to bear this in mind.

Indeed Mugabe, (who has been praised for his "promising pragmatism" by Chester A. Crocker of the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University—Haig's choice for Assistant Secretary of State for Africa) is discovering that being a running dog to imperialism is no fun. While he has struck his "hammer blows" and the former guerrillas have been disarmed and separated into different ZANU and ZAPU camps, Mugabe's troubles are far from over. In fact the recent outbreak of fighting within the ranks of the former liberation fighters, as well as Mugabe's forced reliance on the military apparatus of the old regime to maintain "law and order" are signs of far greater contradictions surfacing sharply in Zimbabwe. In the 11 months since Mugabe compromised with the U.S. imperialist bloc and snuffed the armed struggle for liberation in Zimbabwe, opting for the "easy" road of imperialist-supervised elections, Mugabe and his government have been caught in an ever-tightening hammerlock of dependence on imperialism and intensifying political contradictions in Zimbabwe.

Two key areas in which Mugabe compromised with U.S. imperialism sharply illustrate this. For the Zimbabwean people, the question of land redistribution was a major question to be settled through carrying out a thoroughgoing struggle to overthrow the reactionary regime of Ian Smith and kick out imperialism from Zimbabwe. Historically, the land had been divided among the white colonialists and Zimbabwean people with 45 million acres going to the colonialists and 45 million acres going to the Zimbabweans. As of 1976, 6,682 white farmers owned half of the land in Zimbabwe—and the most fertile land at that, while 80% of Zimbabwe's 5 million people lived in rural areas and tribal lands on the other half, with 680,000 Black farmers assigned the worst and least arable land. In addition many thousands of Zimbabweans were driven off their land and placed in government run "strategic hamlets" during the eight-year war, and the reactionary regime started a systematic campaign called "operation turkey" to destroy the Zimbabwean agricultural capacity in order to prevent the masses

from supplying the liberation fighters with food. At the same time, hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans fled Zimbabwe to escape the ravages of Ian Smith's terror campaign and war. Today, the question of redistributing the land among hundreds of thousands of landless peasants and the hundreds of thousands of refugees returning to Zimbabwe is a crucial one. Yet, as part of the Lancaster-House Agreement, in which Mugabe made his peace with imperialism, Mugabe literally signed away even the remotest possibility of land redistribution. The constitution, which Mugabe agreed to during the Lancaster-House Conference, has a section called "Freedom from Deprivation of Property" written into it and guaranteed for ten years. This section basically states that the forcible seizure of land can only be done for the "public benefit" or, "in the case of underutilized land or settlement of land for agricultural purposes." Even then, seizing this land requires the government to make "prompt payment or adequate compensation" to be placed in banks outside of Zimbabwe, "promptly." And of course, it's up to the high court, which is overwhelmingly composed of forces drawn from the old Ian Smith regime, to decide what the "public benefit" is, what constitutes "underutilized land" and what constitutes "adequate compensation." As of December 1980, Mugabe's land redistribution has amounted to purchasing 90 farms that were already on the auction block. The white farmers in Zimbabwe have offered to sell another 3 million acres to the government, but in order to begin to buy more land, Mugabe has to rely on loans provided by the U.S. and other imperialist powers, thereby tightening the imperialist noose around Zimbabwe. In a recent visit to the U.S. Bernard Chidzero, Zimbabwe's Minister of Economic Planning met with officials of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United States Agency for International Development, corporation executives, banks, and members of Congress, seeking aid, which the *New York Times* speculated was about \$1 billion dollars. To this end, the Mugabe government has called a donors conference in Salisbury next month to offer the imperialists further enticement to sink their claws into "development projects" in Zimbabwe. Since the settlement, the actual agricultural production of the large farms has naturally increased (it is estimated that 6% of the white-owned farms produce half of the country's output) and the commercial farmers ex-

pect to yield an exportable surplus soon, but Mr. Chidzero was quick to point out to the imperialists that the masses of rural unemployed and the former guerrillas are demanding land and that resettlement is "a political as well as economic necessity." Thus, the ruling national bourgeoisie in Zimbabwe, headed by Mugabe, are caught between their promises of land to the Zimbabwean people—land which they cannot afford to buy, not to mention that what is up for sale is the worst land in the country, and their ever increasing necessity to get deeper and deeper in debt to the imperialists, inviting them in to bleed the country and develop the economy in a distorted fashion to serve their own imperialist ends. And of course, the condition for allowing the imperialists to rob them further is that they are able to maintain "stability and unity" and rule the roost. This, of course was an important factor in Mugabe's swift use of the old colonial armed forces in putting down the latest dispute in the camps.

Overall, the imperialists' main concern in Zimbabwe, as elsewhere, is strategic. Mugabe's main value to the U.S. is his ability to further their strategic interests, both in terms of securing Zimbabwe and its key mineral resources for the U.S. bloc, and in terms of tightening their grip over the strategically important area of Southern Africa, as they maneuver and grab to prepare for war against their rival bloc headed by the Soviet Union. Thus, they watch with keen interest Mugabe's ability to wield the armed forces of the State to maintain power and in particular to keep the pro-Soviet leader of Joshua Nkomo and his forces in their place.

Right from the start the cornerstone of Mugabe's capitulation concerned the disposition of the former liberation armies. While key sections of the old Rhodesian Army have remained intact, including the Rhodesian African Rifles, Mugabe agreed to what is unofficially termed the "Walls agreement" (named after its designer, General Walls, former head of the Rhodesian military.) This agreement called for the armies of ZANU and ZAPU to be imprisoned in concentration camps in the outlying border areas of Zimbabwe. Last summer, General Walls (who was Mugabe's choice for Commander-in-Chief of the Zimbabwean military before he resigned and was then exiled by Mugabe) disclosed a plot by Rhodesian generals to prevent Mugabe from assuming power. A key element in this plan was

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## London Meeting to Uphold Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao

Dear Comrades,

A meeting in defence of the Chinese revolution was held in London on 31st, January, sponsored by the Joint Committee for the Defence of the Chinese Revolution: the Cypriot Workers Association—O.C., the Marxist-Leninist Collective, Federation of Turkish Cypriot Students in the U.K., Voice of the Student (Iranian), SETAD (revolutionary Iranian students), Nottingham Communist Group, Federation of Students from Turkey in Britain. About 120 people attended including members of many nationalities as well as British people. It was a truly international occasion and the great majority of the audience expressed enthusiastic support for Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. A gang of drunken old-style revisionists turned up at the door but were sent off by revolutionary students from

Iran and Turkey! Some new-style revisionists attended the meeting and they were invited, both before and during the meeting, to defend their position. However, they had absolutely nothing to say and looked very demoralised—as well they might. The meeting was a success, not just in the sense of upholding our Chinese comrades, but also because international co-operation was strengthened and it brought us into contact with some Marxist-Leninists in Britain we did not previously know. This is important for our struggle to rebuild the revolutionary movement here. A collection was held for the Mao Tse-tung defendants and £54.61 was raised. We enclose a money order for the equivalent in dollars (\$127.92).

Revolutionary greetings  
Nottingham Communist Group

## U.S. Submerges Own War Aims in Soviet Sub Flap

After weeks of anticipation, the Alpha submarine finally surfaced in the February 9 issue of *Newsweek*. The Alpha is a new Soviet sub, complete with a titanium—rather than steel—hull. This new hull allows the Alpha to dive some three times deeper than any U.S. submarine. By the time it appeared in *Newsweek*, the Alpha had already cruised through the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *New York Times*, popped up on the NBC Nightly News, and appeared in stories by the Associated Press and United Press International.

The attention devoted by the U.S. press to the Alpha submarine is only the latest example of the increasing interest of the U.S. press in undersea warfare, the point being to once again press home to the American people the need for expanded war preparations, this time to counter the Soviet threat to U.S. domination of the high seas.

A few commentators have attempted to paint a ridiculously fantastic picture: they've claimed that the Soviet subs already dominate undersea warfare. Others, more practiced in the subtle art of lies and distortions, attempt to paint the U.S. as gradually losing its lead in submarine warfare. "The Soviets have been working feverishly to erase the American advantage in undersea warfare," writes *Newsweek*. And later: "While there may be more Soviet subs, and the new ones may be bigger, faster and more heavily armed, the American submarines are quieter and more dependable, and they are equipped with better detection systems, missiles and torpedoes. But now that gap has become a bit smaller—and it is closing. As the Alpha dramatically demonstrates, Soviet submarine technology seems to be improving all the time."

This seemingly evenhanded treatment is intended to conceal the fact that the

U.S., far from losing its superiority in underwater warfare, is working just as "feverishly" to expand its substantial lead over the USSR. The U.S. fleet of quieter, more reliable submarines, armed with more powerful weapons than their Soviet counterparts, is only the beginning of this picture. *Newsweek*, by the way, neglects to mention that the U.S. is currently building two fleets of attack and ballistic missile-firing submarines. In fiscal 1980 alone, the U.S. spent some \$7 billion on preparations for underwater warfare. The U.S. Navy, reinforced by the navies of other NATO powers, holds undisputed sway in the air above and on the surface of the vast majority of the world's oceans. This guarantees freedom of operation for a vast array of anti-submarine aircraft and surface ships unparalleled in size and quality by anything in the Soviet Navy. The U.S. maintains some 260 P-3 land-based anti-submarine airplanes, equipped with the most sophisticated electronic submarine detection gear and a large arsenal of sub-destroying missiles, torpedoes, mines and depth charges. Backing these up are over 100 submarine-hunting helicopters and 110 aircraft carrier-based anti-submarine warfare planes.

On the ocean floor, too, the U.S. maintains a network of submarine detection equipment. These sensors monitor submarine movements into and out

of every major Soviet port, and this information is instantly transmitted by satellite to anti-submarine command and control centers in the U.S.

Because of this network, it is speculated that in order to avoid detection, the latest Soviet ballistic missile-firing submarines almost never leave the coastal waters of the Barents Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk. It is to counter the effectiveness of U.S. anti-submarine warfare that the Soviets have gone to the enormous expense of building submarines with all-titanium hulls, in hopes that the ability to dive deeper will allow these subs to evade detection.

The appearance of the titanium-hulled Alphas, the U.S. media would have us believe, is solely the result of the Soviet imperialists' mad drive for military domination of the high seas. What the U.S. imperialists always leave out of the picture is their own frenzied effort for military domination, in this case, the U.S. drive to hold on to and expand the stranglehold which they have maintained on the world's oceans since World War 2. As both the U.S. and the USSR invest untold billions just in the effort to gain the upper hand under the sea, the imperialists' media has its own "feverish" work to do: to create the political climate when all of these war preparations can be put to the final test in a war against "Russian aggression." □

## Correspondence from Revolutionary Prisoner in Australia

Dear Comrades, Brothers and Sisters,

Hi, well I thought I'd write because I've been reading *Revolutionary Workers* for a while now and it's such an incredible, eye-opening, beautiful mag and I'd love to exchange letters with people like myself.

I've been (Comrade X's) No. 1 pupil for about 12 months now and he's done an immense amount for me, through his knowledge, books, magazines, etc. When me and X first met I knew nothing about Communism. I knew hardly anything at all about politics. All I knew was that this system is sick and rotten to the teeth and I've got a hell of a lot more proof of that now. If I was a judge I'd have enough proof to execute all of Capitalism's rulers, enforcers and lackeys and execute them I would.

I was pretty mixed up but X has really shown me the way and I'm studying all the time now. We're always discussing things so every time I get confused about something X sorts it out with me. For instance, you hear a lot of bad about Communist systems and revolutionaries in capitalist papers and from non-Communists and if you're politically illiterate you tend to believe their crap, but X and myself have sorted all that out now, so it's full steam ahead.

X says I'm doing really well. At present I'm still on the magazines and light books but I'll be getting into the classics (Marx, Lenin, Mao, Engels, Stalin) soon.

Well, I'll tell you a bit about myself.

I'm 22. I've lived in Adelaide all my life, but I've travelled around a bit. I'm doing 6 1/2 years (4 years for Armed Robbery of a supermarket.)

I've been knocked back on Parole twice already. If they knock me back again they can shove it up their arse. It's only more pressure to keep you under their thumbs anyway. Hanging around with X, writing to you, and airing my views to people sure isn't going to get me parole but not to worry. This system's got the power to do what it likes with me but at least this puppet lets them know he don't like it and the first chance he gets I'll be grabbing my strings and pulling them off their pedestals and strangling them to death.

I come from a poor family and until I came in here and met X I was mixed up with rockers and drugs, I am now against both. I've spent 2 years in boys homes for petty crimes and 3 years in prison. I done 6 months in here for Driving on Suspension before this laggin'.

I'm glad I'm not in America, I'd be doing 50 years at least for it all over there hey, or have a bullet in the back in the name of justice. With what I've read and been told about America, I'd hate to be living over there. In comparison, America seems to be a magnification of 1000 times compared to Australia...

Power to the People.

Yours in Solidarity,  
(A Prisoner in Australia)

My bible comes out weekly  
REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

## Hunger Strike in Mississippi Prison

Dear Revolutionary Worker:

We are inmates at Parchman, Mississippi housed in maximum security, involved in a hunger strike. We are fed up with our pig sty conditions and harassments. To name a few, we are not allowed TVs or radios—only three soft back books; allowed only one phone call a week, for 5 minutes—are subject to strip searches every time we leave our cells. You can only attend religious service if you are a custody trustee, and no inmates housed in maximum security can attend religious services at any time. The medical staff here is unqualified, not because of their credentials only, but because the inhuman beings that run this prison limit their medical actions. There is an inmate here on A Tier who was beaten because he asked for medication—with 5 pig guards beating on this one inmate with clubs, he is now paralyzed. This prisoner has been severely injured for

the rest of his life and they have him housed in maximum security instead of a qualified hospital; this qualified hospital for us inmates is more than 150 miles away. The pigs that beat this inmate are still doing their dirty work on other inmates, not one has been fired. We are quite sure all our comrades outside and inside know the history of the State of Mississippi. The inmates here in maximum security have taken a firm stand against our oppressors! So we are asking that any comrades that read this article in a position to help, please do so. Protesting letters can be sent to: Warden Eddie Lucas, Mississippi Department of Correction, Parchman, Mississippi 38738

In Unity  
A Comrade  
Maximum Security, Parchman

P.S. We love your/our *Revolutionary Worker!*





## Correspond on Carl Sagan's Cosmos Delve Into Questions Of Science And Philosophy

Millions of people across the country and around the world watched Carl Sagan's *Cosmos* series on TV and hundreds of thousands are reading his book by the same title. The great interest in this series itself stands as vivid and irrefutable evidence that among the masses of people there is an inexhaustible thirst for science and philosophy that can advance man's understanding of nature and himself (conscious nature). The very popularity of this show blows holes in the arguments ceaselessly run out by the bourgeoisie that the masses of people are simply too dumb and ignorant to be concerned about anything but the most narrow and mundane pursuits and, on top of that, just love being kept in the dark about such questions as the nature of the universe. Carl Sagan has himself realized that this is a preposterous lie and dedicated himself to stimulate even more of a thirst for science and to bring a generally materialist understanding of the cosmos to the masses of people in a fresh and lively way.

While there are definite weaknesses and limits to Sagan's philosophy, it cannot be denied that the results of his efforts have been overwhelmingly positive and his series has raised many profound and extremely important scientific and philosophical questions among the masses of people including the class-conscious forces in society. Not only are the scientific and philosophical questions that have been raised significant in their own right, but have a direct and profound relationship to the class struggle. In the interest of sharpening up debate over these questions and advancing the struggle in the area of science and philosophy, the RW is opening up its pages for debate on the *Cosmos* phenomenon and many questions raised in and by this series. While there is much debate and differing opi-

nions about how to evaluate Sagan and his work—is it positive and progressive? Or is it basically just bourgeois and wrong?—and while the RW welcomes a variety of opinions on this important and hot topic, the purpose of wrangling around *Cosmos* cannot be limited to simply passing a verdict on it, but more importantly must delve into the whole wide range of questions it has raised.

What about the basic questions of materialism vs. idealism (both openly religious or the agnostic forms), for example? While Sagan basically believes that there is no God or at least that science has no use for such a concept and that the universe is infinite, existing outside of the consciousness of man while man is simply conscious matter, and that the universe is fundamentally knowable to man, how thorough is his materialism? Especially, can one really be a materialist without grasping dialectics—that is, not only is the universe infinite (both in time and space) but infinitely changing, constantly in a torrent of motion with new things coming into being as others go out of existence and that everything in the universe goes through a spiral life process of development characterized not by smoothness and order but by qualitative jumps and leaps that occur on the basis of the internal contradictions within them? What about many of the scientific theories put forward by Sagan, particularly about "the origins of the universe," the existence of life on other planets and in other galaxies, etc. and about how life evolved on earth? And what about other questions raised by Sagan about how man's understanding of the cosmos and of himself developed, including the fact that every exploiting class has ultimately sought to suppress scientific experiment and knowledge? How does this fact relate to

what is going on in the world today and how should the *Cosmos* series itself be evaluated in this light? And what about Sagan's fear that man's violent instincts will lead to the destruction of life on earth in a massive nuclear holocaust? These are a few of the questions that should be explored in this debate.

We are reprinting below one of the letters sent to us already about *Cosmos*. We have chosen to begin with this letter because it generally agrees with the assessment above that with this series Sagan lines up on the side of materialism (though his materialism is not thorough or complete) and has made a positive contribution. We do not necessarily agree with everything in this letter nor do we intend to limit the scope of this debate to the questions the letter raises and gets into. We are printing it to kick things off.

After watching the recent *Cosmos* series by Carl Sagan on TV and reading his books, and talking and arguing about it with my friends, I felt it was important to write something up on it and submit it to the *Revolutionary Worker* to print if you see fit. I think the show was basically a good thing, though it had obvious weaknesses, and even more importantly it has had a very positive effect in sparking broad interest in some basic and very deep questions of science and philosophy.

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Angered as are millions of people in this country by the wasteland of public school education and the shallow sensationalism of what passes for "science reporting" in the major media, and alarmed by the mushrooming of pseudoscientific cults and the growing gulf between the frontiers of scientific discovery and the popular consciousness, astronomer Carl Sagan set out a few

years ago on a crusade to bring science to large numbers of people and to combat superstition and mysticism. Collaborating with the Public Broadcast System (PBS), his latest effort was the recently aired series, *Cosmos*.

Sagan has struck a responsive chord with his sweeping presentation of many areas of scientific thought and his lucid and unpretentious style, rooted in his basic premise that "there is nothing about science that cannot be explained to the layman." The 13-week series last fall was seen by about 10 million people in the U.S. and perhaps 150 million worldwide. The companion book, a lavishly illustrated \$20 hardcover edition, was No. 1 on the non-fiction bestseller list for over two months and has sold nearly half a million copies. In the U.S., Sagan's name has become a household word. At the same time, he has earned considerable notoriety, especially among those "learned men" who shudder at his "pedestrian" attempts to put science into the hands of the masses, and more generally among all conscious defenders of capitalism who understand that serious attempts to do so frequently call the whole system into question.

Sagan, though he does not speak out against capitalism, does see the profound impact of broadly spreading a scientific outlook: "An openness to new possibilities and a willingness to ask hard questions are both required to advance knowledge... This may be why governments and churches and school systems do not exhibit unseemly zeal in encouraging critical thought. They know they themselves are vulnerable."

Some of this subversive spirit comes through in *Cosmos*, as Sagan shows how mankind—what he calls the "local conscious embodiment of the cosmos"—fits into the overall scheme of

Continued on page 21



# Mass, Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals of U.S. Imperialism

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is now calling on all proletarians in this country, together with all progressive individuals and organizations, to join with us now in forging the initial plans for a series of mass hearings on U.S. imperialism's war crimes against the peoples of the world. At present, there is a high-echelon effort under way to reverse earlier—and correct—verdicts on these crimes in order to commit still more (and more foul) acts. Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people, and there are many, many people in this country—foreign born, veterans, and many more oppressed who have rich testimony to offer.

Our Party proposes that, in around a month, a panel would be formed and begin travelling across the country, collecting evidence and testimony in mass meetings from proletarians and others on these war crimes—past and present. It would culminate after around a month's work and publish its findings.

- \*\* Representatives of U.S. imperialism would also be invited to attend and defend their views and actions. Former hostages, certainly, would be challenged to appear, since they missed their opportunity for such a trial when they were in Iran.
- \*\*\* Veterans, foreign born, all proletarians and progressive groups and individuals contact the RCP, USA locally or nationally and assist in making these plans and launching them into action soon.

From "Pakistan Commentary"

## Another U.S. Germ Warfare Lab—Pakistan

*Recently some interesting information has come to light regarding the activities of the U.S. rulers in their never-ending quest for "scientific knowledge." It seems that in Lahore, Pakistan there have been reports of the appearance and spread of a mosquito known as "Aedes Aegypti," a particular strain that not only transmits malaria but yellow fever, hepatitis and a variety of other fatal illnesses as well. The capacity of this mosquito to carry death-dealing disease has long been of interest to U.S. scientists, in particular those concerned with developing more and more up-to-date methods of germ warfare. The strange thing is that hitherto the "Aedes Aegypti" has only been found in Africa and has never before been discovered on the Indian sub-continent. By way of explanation, we are reprinting here some excerpts from the Dec., 1980-issue of Pakistan Commentary taken from an article entitled "Pakistan—An Experimental Laboratory for U.S. Biological Warfare Research":*

**How Has The Aedes Aegypti Mosquito Come To Be Found in Pakistan?**

...The "Aedes Aegypti" mosquito until recently was not found in Pakistan or for that matter in the subcontinent as a whole. This is the first time that its presence has been reported in Lahore and its presence has been admitted by the experts. On investigation it has been found that this mosquito has been imported by the American institute called the Pakistan Medical Research Centre for experimental purposes... In this experimental laboratory all safety precautions are available such that without the desire and intention of the research scientists no germ or insect could possibly escape from the laboratory. The question therefore arises has the "Aedes Aegypti" mosquito been allowed to escape deliberately for the sake of experimentation in germ warfare?

**What Is The Pakistan Medical Research Centre?**

The Pakistan Medical Research Centre is an American institution located at 6, Birdwood Road, Lahore which was established in 1962 under the supervision of the University of Maryland. Such an institution was also established in India but in 1972 it was reported in various newspapers that infections which had never been seen before in India were being spread through this institution. As a result the working of this institute was debated in the Indian parliament and the Indian government closed down this institution.

...In 1970 this institute in Pakistan discovered for the first time the "Congo" virus. It nurtured this virus in the laboratory and then sent it for further study to America. The Congo virus has been declared a lethal weapon in germ warfare. Before the discovery of the Congo virus in Pakistan and its nurturing in the experimental laboratory here, American scientists had a very limited knowledge of this lethal virus...

**What Is The "Congo" Virus?**

...Common viruses enter the body through an injection or wound whereas this virus when it comes into contact with the skin it by itself enters the blood and breaks apart the skin as a result of which the affected person dies within a few hours. Therefore, in the event of any germ warfare, a large population can easily be eliminated in a few days

through this "Congo" virus which is spread through mosquitos such as the "Aedes Aegypti".

In Pakistan, research on the "Congo" virus has been carried out by American experts who have been attached to the Pakistan Medical Research Centre...

The "Congo" Virus and Events in Rawalpindi in 1972

In February 1972 some patients were admitted to a Rawalpindi hospital who had been infected by such a virus and it was said at the time that no diagnosis could be made. In spite of all efforts, from amongst the patients admitted 5 died in the hospital. Very soon the doctor who had treated these patients also died from this virus infection... investigation after some time revealed that the reason for the death of these 6 people was the "Congo" virus. Soon after this incident in Rawalpindi about ten days later nine people in Gujranwala died. Some deaths also took place in Lahore and Multan and about three months later 6 people died in Quetta... The "Congo" virus was to be found in one place and that was the Pakistan Medical Research Centre.

Research On The "Rota" Virus

The American established Pakistan

Medical Research Centre is currently carrying out research on the "Rota" virus. This is a virus which immediately attacks the intestines. The fluid in the intestines dries up and as a result death soon follows. The "Rota" virus has not been reported in Pakistan before. However in the newspapers recently deaths have been reported due to the "Rota" virus in Loralai and near Lahore in Rajajang. In this experimental laboratory in Pakistan "Rota" virus research has been carried out by David Nillen. It is to be remembered that this individual had worked in the corresponding Indian Laboratory before it had been closed down by the Indian government.

It appears that this scientific research laboratory has been established in Pakistan to carry out germ-warfare research. Its purpose is to use the Pakistani people as experimental animals. ... If these activities continue it is likely that such infection and insects carrying such infections will come into existence as a result of which many illnesses will occur and various epidemics will spread... the American government in cooperation with the military government in Pakistan has today made Pakistan into a big laboratory for human experimentation in germ warfare. □

NOW 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.

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

**BOB AVAKIAN SPEAKS**

ON THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS RAILROAD AND THE HISTORIC BATTLES AHEAD



**“Should Have Been Given A Medal . . .”**

## Judge Upholds MOVE Beatings, Orders Philly Cops Acquitted

On August 8, 1978, the country watched TV with horror and disgust as the stormtroopers of Frank Rizzo's Philadelphia cops stomped and kicked Delbert Africa in the head as he lay defenseless on the sidewalk. The Philly cops' commando team had just assaulted the house in which members of the militant Black organization MOVE lived, carrying out an "eviction." The attack was carried out by hundreds of cops after weeks of siege of the building. In the resulting crossfire, one cop lay dead by the bullet of one of his fellow porkers. Furious with rage, the rest of the cops set upon Delbert Africa as he emerged from the house with his hands up and stripped to the waist to prove that he was not carrying a concealed weapon. His cheekbones smashed by the cops' boots, he was then thrown into a paddywagon where he was shot at point-blank range outside the view of TV cameras.

The cry of indignation which arose from the nationally televised incident forced even the Philadelphia legal machinery to go through the motions of indicting three cops for assault and "official oppression." Worried that the police might not get a "fair trial" from a Philadelphia jury, an all-white jury was assembled from nearby Dauphin County. Yet even this little precaution proved unnecessary, for on February 2nd, as both sides were about to make their closing arguments, Judge Stanley Kubacki suddenly dismissed the jury and entered an ordered verdict of acquittal.

Cheers went up in the courtroom which was packed with cops and relatives. Making not even a pretense of legal justification, Judge Kubacki instead made a hypocritical attempt to cast himself in the role of a suffering savior. "Philadelphia is bleeding to death because of this MOVE tragedy. . . No verdict from those good people from Dauphin County will stop the flow of blood," said Kubacki.

The entire trial was used to promote the vicious criminal cop defendants as objects of sympathy. Tears flowed during testimony, as the cops cried about holding their dying friend in their arms. Then to top off the whole performance, Delbert and William Africa, another MOVE member, were dragged into the courtroom shackled in chains at the ankles and wrists, supposedly called as witnesses by the defense! They were never called to testify however, the object being to display them before the jury. Two angry supporters of MOVE were ejected from the courtroom for standing up and denouncing the judge.

If the point of the judge's decision wasn't made clear enough, the cops' lawyer, Richard Sprague, quickly stepped in front of TV cameras after court proceedings concluded. He said: "If anything was clear, it was that their action (beating Delbert Africa—RW) was justified. What is outrageous about this thing is the action of the District Attorney bringing this prosecution in the first place. Instead of being prosecuted, these men should have been given medals." □



Philadelphia police brutalize Delbert Africa in full view of T.V. cameras after his surrender in 1978.

## Ralston Purina Blows Up Louisville Streets

It was a few minutes after 5:00 a.m. and the streets were quiet in Old Louisville's working-class section, an inner-city shanty town where run-down bungalows, housing projects and dirt-stained factories sit right up against some of Louisville's more fashionable and stately neighborhoods. In less than two hours, workers would be streaming into the area's plants on their way to work and hundreds of kids would be travelling on busses along Hill Street on their way to the seven schools in the neighborhood. At 5:16 a.m., an airline pilot flying at 5,500 feet reported seeing a series of bright greenish lights bursting down near the Louisville area and hearing what sounded like a clap of thunder. Suddenly, the streets had exploded with the force of thousands of tons of TNT as a series of blasts tore through the sewers underground virtually destroying entire blocks, setting houses tottering on their foundations and blowing manholes and huge chunks of concrete over 50 feet into the air. Amazingly, only four people were injured. The next morning dazed residents, covering their faces against leaking gas fumes, surveyed the dozens of gaping craters that had been blown open along 13.5 miles of Louisville streets and wondered if perhaps they had been hit by a tightly-patterned B-52 bombing raid.

What had caused the explosion that turned this working-class community into something that looked like a combat zone? The Metropolitan Sewer District announced that it was investigating the mystery and the "possibility" that hexane, a highly volatile liquid hydrocarbon used for removing fat from soybeans, might have accidentally leaked into the sewer system from a nearby Ralston-Purina Co. soybean

mill. It was no mystery, however, to the workers in the solvent building at Ralston-Purina where no lighters or matches are allowed and the hexane is supposed to be carefully measured and monitored. For the last few days, the pipes used to recycle the chemical had been frozen up and it wasn't vaporizing properly. To the workers' horror, they noticed the day before the blast that the drainage basin designed to keep the hexane from spilling into the sewer line below was overflowing.

They quickly called a company official who was clearly more concerned for Ralston-Purina's potential dogfood sales than for the possible disaster that might befall the entire city. "Keep it going boys," he responded, "Call back if the vaporizer isn't working in a while." Four hours later, after receiving another phone call from the workers, the company finally notified the Metropolitan Sewer District of a "possible chemical spill." Sewer officials arrived on the scene, sniffed at a manhole cover, and left, declaring that no detectable level of hexane was present. A few hours later, six worried Ralston workers using a rope and a pail began desperately scooping up the excess hexane and filling up all the empty barrels they could find—but by this time it was too late.

In the aftermath of the explosion, city officials remained tight-lipped as they scrambled to protect Ralston-Purina as well as cover up their own malfeasance. After Ralston workers told reporters that thousands of gallons of hexane had undoubtedly drained into the sewers and revealed that this was by no means the first spill, Metro Sewer officials suddenly closed Ralston-Purina's files to all reporters. After three days the official word from Ral-

ston's St. Louis headquarters was still that "It hasn't yet been determined if the explosions were related to any operations at our Louisville plant." When confronted by angry residents of Louisville, the city law director declared that even if Ralston-Purina faces a lawsuit, it would take years to settle and added that meanwhile, "We'll all have to suffer." Federal penalties for the spillage which caused \$42 million in damage to the streets alone, not to mention anyone's homes, would amount to a grand total of \$10,000—if Ralston-Purina is ever found to have committed a violation.

Meanwhile, the city authorities gushed with "concern" for the residents of the stricken area. Louisville Mayor William Stansbury announced that he was "considering" asking the Governor to declare the community a disaster area and promised that a "rebuilding strategy" is underway. The first effort in this "strategy" consisted of the city issuing 6,000 leaflets demanding that residents of the area conserve water by taking sponge baths and buy drain plugs to prevent sewage back-up into their homes. This was followed by a blanket eviction order in which 155 families were told to get out and the cops warned they were prepared to "get nasty" with a number of families who refused to comply.

The city Health Department was also doing its bit to protect residents of the area from the hazards of sewage creeping into the water supply. Residents of an all-Black housing project adjacent to the blast area told the RW that the only way they found out their tap water had to be boiled before drinking was when they heard it on the 6 o'clock news. Next, the Health Department filed a class-action suit against "anyone living,

sleeping cooking or eating in any dwelling that is not connected with a supply of drinking water." Elderly residents of the low-income area, who had nowhere else to go and who had relatives bringing them water, were outraged. One 73-year-old woman angrily told the RW: "Ralston Purina blows up the city, and the Health Department's going to put me in jail!"

Now with rain showers expected to hit the area, the mayor's office has warned that drain plugs may be useless, and as a preventive measure, advised that residents had better "pray for dry weather." Indeed, officials have expressed grave concern that a rainfall of one inch or more could cause sewage to back up into homes and buildings. As the *New York Times* explained these fears: "A sudden downpour could flood the clogged and fractured sewer, affecting the fashionable and historic neighborhoods of Old Louisville, as well as the University of Louisville and the area around Churchill Downs, the home of the Kentucky Derby!"

Since disaster aid is very much in doubt and with those remaining faced with the prospect of having to live beside 20-foot open trenches swelling with raw sewage in the warmer months to come, residents of the area are growing more furious by the day. As one woman stood outside the home she was forced to evacuate, she said bitterly, "Those big shots go back to their estates and say, 'That's okay, that slum neighborhood. Let them all blow up.'" Another resident of a project near the blast area put it this way: "The city couldn't care less if these buildings are blown up in that explosion. They just figure there'd be less of us to deal with them when the time comes." □



## Chinese Women Cut Ropes of Confucianism During the Cultural Revolution

# A GREAT REVOLUTIONARY FORCE

The article reprinted below is from a collection of articles and documents from the Cultural Revolution, *And Mao Makes Five, Mao Tsetung's Last Great Battle*, published by Banner Press. Written by the workers' theoretical group of loading and unloading machinery plant under the Chengchow Railway Administration, the poor and lower-middle peasants' theoretical group of the Tienchu Commune in Peking's Shunyi County, and the department of history of the Peking Teachers' University, it was published in Peking Review No. 10, March 7, 1975. Shortly after the 10th Party Congress in China, Mao Tsetung and the revolutionaries in China launched the movement to "Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius," a movement of mass study and criticism aimed at educating the masses in the danger of capitalist restoration and exposing the leaders and political lines of the revisionist headquarters in China. It was the first big shot fired at the Right after the fall of Lin Biao. As Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, pointed out in his book, *The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung*: "It turned out that as part of his general idealist bankruptcy—his 'geniuses make history' and condescending saviour' mentality—and his overall regressive political line, Lin Biao had even borrowed from Confucius, a reactionary thinker who upheld the slave system in ancient China in opposition to the rising landlord class and the feudal system, and whose doctrines had been promoted for more than 2000 years by reactionaries in China, giving these doctrines tremendous authority as a religious force and code of behavior shackling the masses of people.

"The Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius movement not only struck at the roots of this reactionary philosophy and its enslaving principles—such as, intellectuals are meant to rule over the manual workers, the masses must passively accept their lot for it is not meant to be changed, the son must blindly obey the father and all men their 'superiors,' the wife must be silently subordinate to the husband, for women are naturally inferior to men, and so on. This movement also used political and historical analogies to begin a thorough exposure of the revisionists in top leadership of the Party right then and their whole right opportunist program, which was in essence and in most particulars the same as Lin Biao's and which also drew on Confucianism to lend it weight.

"Both Lin Biao and Confucius had attempted to restore the old order, constantly cursing the present and complaining that it was not as good as the past. Both Lin Biao and Confucianists throughout China's history had preached capitulation to powerful foreign aggressors. This was exactly the program of those in power right then who were taking the capitalist road.

"The Chinese people were called on and led to apply historical materialism and Marxism in general to grasp the essence of the current struggle and hit back at the mounting attempt to reverse the revolution and restore capitalism."

We are reprinting this article, *Working Women's Struggle Against Confucianism in Chinese History*, not only because it is a powerful example of how the masses in revolutionary China were unleashed to fight against the oppression of women and because of the powerful portrayal of the revolutionary role of women historically, but also because in a sweeping way, and by analogy, in line with the whole campaign at the time, it powerfully calls on women to grasp revolutionary theory, and take up the cardinal questions of overthrowing social systems of exploitation and oppression of man by man.

### Working Women's Struggle Against Confucianism in Chinese History

Inequality between men and women is not a social phenomenon dating back to time immemorial, but it emerged together with the slave system. Oppression of working women is, first and foremost, class oppression. Inequality between men and women is created by class antagonism. Precisely as Engels pointed out: "The first class antagonism which appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage, and the first class oppression with that of the female sex by the male." (*The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.*)

### Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius Are Ropes Binding the Working Women

Towards the end of the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.) in China, the Confucian school represented by Confucius feverishly trumpeted the reactionary fallacy that man was superior to woman. He regarded women as low as slaves and preached that "only women and inferior men are difficult to keep." Confucius held that the relations between husband and wife, like those between king and minister and between father and son, were all between master and servant and that this principle was universal under heaven. During the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) Mencius, a devotee of Confucius, arbitrarily drew a line between men and women and advocated that "between men and women things should not personally be given and taken." He regarded a wife as a husband's slave and prattled that for a woman morality meant only obedience. Under the influence of the reactionary preachings of Confucius and Mencius, some of the so-

called Confucian classics went even further. They formulated many reactionary dogmas such as the "Three Obediences and Four Virtues" (obedience to the father and elder brothers when young, obedience to the husband when married, and obedience to the sons when widowed; women's virtue, speech, appearance and chores), women taking part in political affairs would give rise to the danger of national subjugation and "separation of men and women" was a "major moral principle of a country." They thus imposed numerous spiritual shackles on the masses of working women. All these reactionary fallacies spread by Confucius and Mencius were entirely for the purpose of upholding and trying to restore the slave system.

With the daily sharpening of the contradiction between the peasant class and the landlord class after the middle of the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-8 A.D.), the landlord class gradually switched from respect for the Legalist school and opposing the Confucian school to worshipping the latter and opposing the former. As a result, reactionary Confucian ideas on the question of women developed further. A devotee of Confucius, Tung Chung-shu babbled that relations between husband and wife, like those between king and minister or father and son, were decided by the *yin-yang* relationship. The husband represented *yang* (male or positive element) and the wife *yin* (female or negative element). Pan Ku of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220) epitomized this idea as follows: "The sovereign guides the ministers, the father guides the son and the husband guides the wife." They alleged that the difference in status between men and women following the appearance of class antagonism was absolute and eter-

nal like "*yang* being superior to *yin*" or the sky above the earth. This fallacy of deciding the status of men and women by the *yin-yang* principle put a theological cloak over the reactionary theories for oppressing women.

Ardent followers of Confucius in the Tang Dynasty (618-907) turned out many reactionary works such as *Analects for Women* and *Filial Piety for Women* to inculcate among the masses of working women the idea of man being superior to woman. These writings did everything possible to spread ideas that women must keep to their "chastity" and "submissively accept all unfair treatment" and that "between men and women things should not personally be given and taken." Some even prescribed that a woman "should not look back when walking, twitch her lips when talking, move her knees when sitting, rustle her skirt when standing, laugh when happy and shout when angry." If she followed these rules in all her acts, could she look like a living person?

As the peasants' struggle against the landlord class mounted wave upon wave in the Sung Dynasty (960-1279), the latter became more and more reactionary. Some followers of Confucius and Mencius made big efforts to elaborate the reactionary canon that "the sovereign guides the ministers, the father guides the son and the husband guides the wife." They said this was prescribed by heaven long before the appearance of humanity. An apologist for the landlord class called Cheng Yi demanded that women strictly keep to their "chastity" and shouted that "starving to death is very insignificant, while loss of chastity (for a widow to remarry was regarded as loss of chastity) is a great matter." He thus openly

preached that women should become willing sacrifices to the feudal ethical code. Countless numbers of women in the ensuing 800 years were victims of this reactionary idea advocated by Cheng Yi.

The Ming (1368-1644) and Ching (1644-1911) Dynasties were in the late period of feudal society. To stave off their decline and fall, the reactionary rulers were even more frantic in propagating the idea of male superiority. For more than 500 years a great many books preaching this idea were put out. They included systematically edited collections, popular readers and writings promulgated for the whole nation in the name of the supreme feudal rulers. This motley collection of books made the victimization of women more barbaric than ever before.

After the Revolution of 1911, Yuan Shih-kai who dreamt of restoring the monarchy and the autocrat and traitor to the people Chiang Kai-shek completely inherited the mantle of the previous reactionary rulers. They preached that "relations between husband and wife" and the "separation of men and women" advocated by the Confucian school were "immutable principles of social life." Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao, revisionist chieftains in the Party, and their gangs also took over all that Confucius preached and continued spreading the reactionary idea of men being superior to women. Slandering women as "backward" and "useless," they tried to continue putting Chinese women in bondage to the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius so as to restore capitalism in China.

### Working Women—a Great Revolutionary Force

Where there is oppression, there is



Women fighters of the Taiping Army—illustration published in the Cultural Revolution



# UTIONARY



published in conjunction with the campaign to criticize Confucius and Lin Biao.

resistance. Numerous facts in Chinese history have proved that the working women not only can shatter the bonds of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, but are a great revolutionary force in the fight against feudalism, Confucianism and imperialism.

**Struggle Against Feudalism.** Men in China were generally subjected to the domination of three authorities: political, clan and religious. As for women, in addition to being dominated by these three authorities, they were also dominated by men or the authority of the husband. Chairman Mao has said: "These four authorities—political, clan, religious and masculine—are the embodiment of the whole feudal-patriarchal system and ideology, and are the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly the peasants." "The political authority of the landlords is the backbone of all the other systems of authority." (*Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan.*) In their struggle for liberation, the working women made feudal rule of the landlord class their first target of attack.

Towards the end of the Western Han Dynasty, Mother Lu of Haichu (present-day Jihchao County, Shantung Province) had bitter hatred for the exorbitant taxes and levies of the reactionary government. When her son was unjustly killed by the magistrate, this aggravated her pent-up hatred and enmity and she organized more than 1,000 impoverished peasants to stage an uprising in 17 A.D., proclaiming herself the general. Under her leadership, they took Haichu by storm, executed the magistrate, continued fighting the reactionary government and soon their army expanded to more than 10,000 people.

After the death of Mother Lu, most of her units joined the rebellious peasant armies in other places. This formed a big nationwide peasant uprising which overthrew that reactionary regime.

The heroine Tang Sai-erh from Putai (present-day Pohsing County, Shantung Province) was a leader of a peasant uprising in Shantung in the early Ming Dynasty. By propagating revolution and organizing the masses, she assembled the armed peasant forces in the surrounding areas and established a rural revolutionary base area in 1420. The Ming government hurriedly dispatched troops to suppress the uprising. Spurring on her horse, Tang Sai-erh killed the enemy commander with her sword, and the enemy troops were completely annihilated. Terror-stricken, the Ming ruler immediately sent a senior officer to put down the uprising. Though encircled, she directed her troops to feint an attack on one place while striking at another, thus enabling the peasant forces to break through the encirclement and move to a place of safety. After the failure of the uprising, the Ming ruler twice issued orders to search for and arrest Tang Sai-erh, but the enemy never found her, for she was well protected by the masses.

**Great Force in Criticizing Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.** The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are spiritual pillars to uphold and restore the reactionary rule of the exploiting classes and ropes to enslave and bind the working women. In their struggle against this reactionary rule, the working women of China have heavily pounded and swept away these doctrines.

During the early period of the Tang Dynasty, Chen Shuo-chen from Muchow (present-day Chienteh County in

Chekiang Province) and her brother-in-law Chang Shu-yin led an armed uprising in Chekiang in 653 A.D. She proclaimed herself Emperor Wen Chia and appointed Chang Shu-yin her prime minister. She threw overboard the Confucian fallacy that women should only stay at home and cook and "not take part in political affairs," and so by her actions she criticized the reactionary Confucian concept that the "right to rule comes directly from heaven." She was the first woman emperor of a revolutionary political power founded by the working people in Chinese history.

During the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolutionary movement in the mid-19th century, working women actively took part in the armed struggle and in the movement opposing Confucianism.

The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom firmly opposed the idea and practice of male supremacy and stood for four great equalities—political equality, economic equality, equality among nationalities and equality between man and woman.

Politically, women in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom took part in extensive political activities and many held important official posts up to the highest ranks. Economically, the kingdom stipulated that "land shall be distributed according to the number of persons, irrespective of sex." Militarily, men and women were armed alike to fight the enemy and the Taiping Army recruited a large number of soldiers from among the working women. There were about 100,000 women soldiers and many women generals, marshals and commanders. In the cultural and educational spheres, both men and women could take part in government examinations. In one special examination for

women, the examinees exceeded 200 and both the chief and deputy examiners were women.

**Heroines Resisting Imperialist Aggression.** As a result of imperialist aggression after the Opium War in 1840, China was gradually reduced to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. The calamity-ridden Chinese working people at that time shouldered the Herculean task of opposing imperialism, feudalism and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The history of China's transformation into a semi-colony and colony by imperialism in collusion with Chinese feudalism is at the same time a history of struggle by the Chinese people against imperialism and its lackeys." (*The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party.*) Many working women's heroic deeds are listed in the records of the Chinese people's struggle against imperialist aggression.

After British troops had invaded and occupied Kwangchow in 1841, they went to pillage in Sanyuanli on its northern outskirts. Raising banners with the characters Ping Ying Tuan (Quell the British Corps), the heroic Sanyuanli people took up arms and gave the British invading troops a sound beating. Men and women, old and young, tens of thousands of people from 103 neighbouring villages joined forces to chase the retreating panic-stricken enemy. Ah Feng, wife of Chou Chun who was one of the Ping Ying Tuan leaders, was a courageous and skillful fighter in the corps and was warmly acclaimed by the masses. The enemy dared not go near her. The women of Sanyuanli played a positive role in the struggle against the British invaders and proved through their own actions that the Chinese working women were an important force in the struggle against imperialism.

The Small Sword Society of Shanghai staged an armed uprising in 1853 to fight tit for tat against U.S., British and French imperialism and their lackeys. Chou Hsiu-ying, daughter of a leader of the rebellious army, Chou Li-chun, was adept at using a big sword and the masses called her Big Sword Girl Hsiu. At 17, she and her father joined in the struggle against the feudal landlords by refusing to pay the land rent. She was made a general after the uprising and heroically resisted the Ching government troops in the campaign to defend Chiating near Shanghai. When the Ching troops attacked Shanghai, she enticed the enemy to advance deep into a trap and large numbers of enemy troops were killed. In the fierce battle to break out of Shanghai, she fought courageously against the U.S., British and French aggressors and gave up her young life.

An Anglo-French allied army occupied Peking and Tientsin in 1860 and burnt and reduced the Yuan Ming Yuan Summer Palace in Peking's western suburbs to ashes. The British troops twice invaded Hsiehchuang Village, five kilometres from the palace. When the enemy came to the village the second time, Feng Wan-chen, a 19-year-old daughter of a hunter's family, and the village's young hunters decided to take action. By launching a surprise attack, they killed more than 100 enemy troops and made the rest flee helter-skelter, leaving their guns and ammunition behind. Not fearing a strong enemy and daring to struggle, Feng Wan-chen personified the Chinese working women's glorious tradition in fighting tyranny.

#### Revelations of History

First, China's working women are a great revolutionary force. Not willing to be bound by the "four ropes," they are firm in putting up resistance, in making revolution and in transforming society. That was why they took part in every one of the hundreds of peasant uprisings in Chinese history. Marx said: "Anybody who knows anything of history knows that great social changes are impossible without the feminine ferment." (*Marx to L. Kugelmann.*) Although past revolutionary struggles by the working people, including the working women, did not win final victory, their struggles alone were the real force propelling the development of history in feudal society.

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# "Crime Wave" Sweeps Los Angeles—Courtesy of LAPD

**RISING TIDE OF VIOLENCE SHAKES CITY! WORST CRIME WEEKEND IN CITY'S HISTORY! LAPD MORALE DOWN AS CRIME RATE RISES!** The headlines literally scream out as the news factories have suddenly "discovered" a new and ominous "crime wave" in L.A. Gone is any former pretense of reporting on the massive outrage over the unending series of brutal murders routinely carried out by L.A.'s blue-coated finest on a weekly basis. Instead LAPD Chief Darryl Gates has been trumpeted throughout the media, announcing the start of "the most intensive battle against crime that has ever been undertaken in any major city." Obviously, Gates isn't talking about the crimes carried out by his boys.

The media blitz is being used to justify several new LAPD programs, like putting an additional 700-plus police in the street (re-assigned from desk jobs). They've also made plans for adding another 2500 to the force (known as Gates' "8500 Plan," which calls for raising the number of cops to that level). The most publicized of these programs is the new 300 man motor-cycled and gun-slinging "Crime Task Force," which Chief Gates candidly characterized as "an invading army." In early January, with a fully assembled press entourage in tow, row upon row of this new unit peeled out of the Naval and Marine Corps Reserve Center into the Black and Chicano neighborhoods in L.A.'s San Fernando Valley. It looked for all the world like a caricature of a B-rated Western with John Wayne leading the cavalry into "heroic" attack on the "savages." And the analogy has held up quite admirably as "the work" of this unit has unfolded, together with the several months long "crime" hysteria being whipped up throughout the press.

The term "invading army" shows clearly what all these programs are really about. Ostensibly to combat burglary, only about 3% of the over 2500 arrests so far have even been for this, while about 70% have been for *truancy*! During its first week, the "Crime Task Force" was shown on the TV news "doing its job," lining up several Black youth against the wall. A police commander explains, "These truants are narcotics users and burglars. When we're putting them in jail for other reasons, we're probably getting the burglars off the street." Constantly referred to as "potential burglars," repeatedly shown as "gang members," Black and Chicano youth are furious at these attacks.

Expressing the outrage in the communities, one Chicano youth described the "invasion" to the *RW*: "There's just too many of them, they just come in a swarm! They come down the street, a bunch of them, five on motorcycles...and everybody they see, they bust." Through the media, the cops of

course have tried to say that they are merely "taking back the streets" from the "hoods." What this really means however became clear through a number of stories of police attacks told to the *RW*. Typical was one Black youth who was outside an arcade making a phone call when two narcs jumped him, threw him to the ground and made him lay spread-eagle in the middle of the street. Asked why, the cops replied, "Because you're Black, and because you fit the description of a murderer!"

This kind of harassment is now being stepped up in nearly every part of the city. At a recent Black Student Association meeting at UCLA, when it was asked who had recently been harassed by L.A. and campus cops, all 40 people attending raised their hands. In response to Black student demands that this stop, the UCLA chief pig announced they will continue to stop all "suspicious persons" (read: Blacks) they see on or near campus.

In the face of this, the Black Student Association called a rally in the middle of Westwood. The sight of over 50 angry Blacks (together with some Iranian and white students and others) marching through this wealthy area was jarring to the police. "Eula Love: Never Again," "Free Geronimo Pratt," "Pigs Live to Shoot and Shoot to Kill" were some of the messages on picket signs, the likes of which Westwood hadn't seen in years.

Meanwhile the press has been more than responsive to the needs of the police—for example, recently publishing the results of a "public opinion poll" released by none other than the Police Protective League in a rather feeble attempt to change the LAPD's well-deserved image as racist, foaming-at-the-mouth, gunslinging dogs. An LAPD "PR" man also revealed the reason for the sudden drop of media coverage of police shootings and the equally sudden spurt in "crime" articles. After blaming the media for the LAPD's bad image he admitted, "We've already been successful in changing the news coverage of the police. By talking to editors and assignment directors, we've focused the issue and the press has neatly and responsibly gone after it!"

What lies at the heart, however, of the LAPD's increased concern with how they are being portrayed in the press is a report released last September by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration on the Miami rebellion in which it was noted that one of the main contributors to "social unrest" is "media attention to alleged police abuse." Making quite clear what they fear and also what all their "anti-crime" activity is about, the same report said that police today are "ill-trained" and not prepared for dealing with "urban riots," "the absence of major disorders during the past few

years had created the expectation...that urban riots are a thing of the past," but, "the potential for disorder is probably as great as ever."

Clearly in response to these fears, Gates has also been openly calling for his dogs to be further unleashed: "At a time when crime is surging in this community there has been a tremendous pressure by segments in this community to make this a less aggressive department. They have said, 'Police officers, put your guns away, don't shoot people!' The tremendous pressure on this department for two years over one or two incidents had not been fair."

One or two incidents?! Is Gates perhaps referring to the mass outrage at the murder of Eula Love in 1978 that had the department scrambling for cover? Or is he merely dropping a casual reference to the fact that L.A. area cops kill an average of more than one person a week—almost always Black or Chicano and unarmed! In fact, over 400 outraged people attended the funeral of one of their latest victims, Kenny Ramirez, only last month in the very area where Gates subsequently unleashed his "invading army"!

Just which areas have been "invaded" by the army is also revealing. Initially they were centered on Black and Chicano areas next to or surrounded by white middle-class areas. In one of these areas police and politicians held a "community meeting" where one cop—revealing the thinking behind this "strategy"—said to the all-white audience, "It's easy to find the burglars here, they always leave their fingerprints because their hands are greasy from eating tacos!"

Interestingly enough, however, after the first few weeks, it became apparent

that the invincible "Crime Task Force" was avoiding going into the heart of L.A.'s Black community (South Central L.A. and Watts particularly). Even after one Black flunkey City Councilman demanded that they be sent there, Gates' reply was that if units were "suddenly deployed" in those areas, residents might "get the impression they are being invaded." Eventually, when the Task Force did move into South Central, they went *protected* in cars, not on motorcycles. Recently though, the cops have been moving more boldly into the heart of the Black community where suddenly the number of felony arrests has soared. It seems they weren't convincing many people that they were "taking back the streets" as long as they didn't dare go into South Central and didn't start busting people for something heavier than truancy.

Some of the other programs the authorities have recently been trying include Gov. Jerry Brown's decision to "build bigger prisons" (an *L.A. Times* editorial suggesting "Why Not An American 'Devil's Island'"), and a new Police Victim Unit in the District Attorney's office. This new D.A.'s unit is designed to help prosecute people for "assaulting" cops (it picks up where the "Rollout" program, which investigates—that is, covers up—police shootings, leaves off). What's more, L.A.'s city fathers are now preparing to spread their "advanced experience" nationwide. And everywhere Gates' "cavalry" gallops with the bourgeoisie's media mouthpieces trumpeting the charge, it leaves in its wake the foul stench of national oppression littering this rather well-worn trail. □

## Killer Cop Gets Lifetime Reward

Lloyd O'Callahan, 27, was recently rewarded by the City of Los Angeles. He will receive \$1112.94 per month for the rest of his life—a pension from the city for a "mental disability" he suffered as a result of acting in the line of duty.

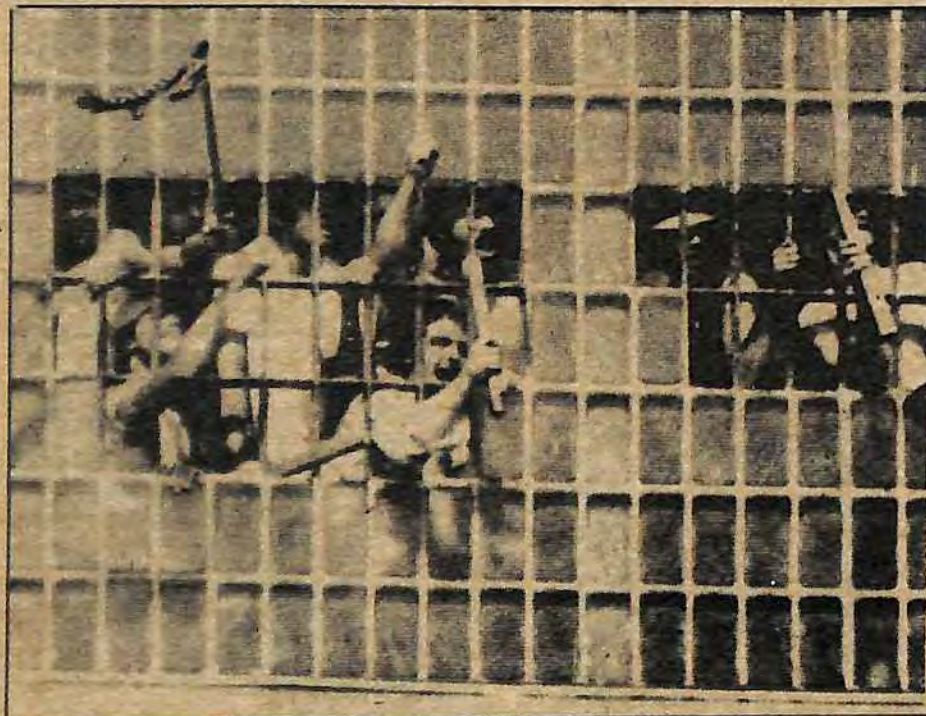
What did O'Callahan do to receive this generous pension? O'Callahan and another cop from the LAPD gunned down a 39-year-old Black woman, Eula Love, on January 3, 1979. Eula was standing in her front yard, protesting the shutting off of her gas, when O'Callahan and Edward Hobson arrived in their squad car. Both of them shot at Eula, emptying their revolvers, reloading and firing again. The cold-blooded police murder became a sharp focus of outrage and anger throughout L.A. The murder was eventually deemed "justi-

fiable homicide" by officials.

O'Callahan was granted this "mental disability" pension on February 12 by the L.A. City Board of Pensioners after he described the "extreme stress" he endured because of "widespread publicity" after Eula Love's murder.

In fact, both O'Callahan and Edward Hobson were transferred immediately after they killed Eula Love—O'Callahan to a desk job 20 miles from Watts, and Hobson to the detective bureau in another division. These protective moves were made because, according to superiors, it was too dangerous in the field.

In America, cops gunning down Black people isn't just within the line of duty—it's performance *beyond* the line of duty which is rewarded with \$1112.94 per month for life. □



## Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Contribute to  
the Prisoners  
Revolutionary Literature Fund

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

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund  
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart  
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—A Co-conspirator

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## Walla Walla

# Prison Officials Drive George Simmons to His Death

At 6:05 on Thursday morning, January 29, George Simmons, a Native American prisoner in the segregation unit at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla, was found dead in his cell. George, who together with his brother Jimi had been singled out as primary targets for attack by the prison administration, was imprisoned in segregation for almost two years, subjected to the unending torture the prison officials had carefully calculated would drive him to take his own life.

George had only been out of the segregation unit at Walla Walla for a few days when, on June 15, 1979, the prison was locked down following the stabbing of Sergeant William Cross, a guard, during a confrontation with Indian prisoners. Cross himself had personally destroyed and urinated on the sweatlodge, built by Native American prisoners. The sweatlodge is important for Native American religious ceremonies. Following the stabbing of Cross, guards, calling themselves the "Cross Revenge Squad," stormed onto the tier holding most Indian prisoners. They grabbed George and his brother James, both Muckleshoot Indians, and five other Indian prisoners. The prisoners were beaten and thrown into Seg. During the lockdown, an unprecedented reign of terror was launched against Native American prisoners. One guard said: "I wanted to kill me an Indian, just to see how good it would feel to kill one. And that way I could pay you Indians back for killing my friend Cross." Another: "Sergeant Cross lives through us." Prisoners were asked while beaten, "Do you feel Cross now?" George and Jimi were singled out and charged with murder for the stabbing of Cross.

For three months, George and Jimi were kept in isolation cells—6'x8' cages with solid steel doors which allow no light or air in from the outside. This form of torture is one of the standard methods used by the prison administration to break prisoners, but in the case of George Simmons it was only the beginning.

In January of 1980, after over six straight months in the Segregation Unit, George was brought to trial on the charge of first-degree murder. During the trial, the prosecution unleashed a torrent of racist abuse against George and Native American prisoners in general. Finally, in a burst of frustration and anger, George leaped toward one of the witnesses. A guard immediately shot at George, missing him only by inches. Afterwards, the guard complained, "I don't know how I missed him." The court found George guilty of second-degree murder and sentenced him to life imprisonment.

In fact, this meant life in Walla Walla's Segregation Unit, and immediately upon his return to Walla Walla, George was sent back to the hole. There guards continually threatened to kill George and his brother Jimi. The constant threats and racist taunts from guards, the endless months of solitary confinement took a heavy toll. Three times, once before his trial and twice afterwards, George went to the mental health unit in the prison hospital. Each time, the administration ordered George sent back into segregation after a few days. Supporters attempted to have him transferred to an out-of-state prison, but state officials, determined to carry out their vendetta, consistently refused to allow it.

The administration has refused all requests to have a Native American spiritual counselor visit George, Jimi or any other Indian prisoners in Segregation, or to allow them to participate in religious ceremonies. Only now, in the hope of restraining some of the anger over George's death, has the State agreed to allow a Native American spiritual leader to visit the Indian prisoners in Seg.

On Wednesday, January 28, the day before George died, George was admit-

ted to the prison hospital after having slashed his arm and neck. It took four stitches to close the wound in his neck, and had this wound been a quarter of an inch deeper, George would have died. George asked to be transferred to the hospital's mental health unit, but while he was being interviewed by a prison psychiatrist, the order came from the prison administration that he was to be sent back to Seg. No watch was kept on George's cell to make sure that he did not attempt to kill himself again. The next morning, his body was found, hanging from a bed sheet.

George Simmons' death was murder, carefully planned by top officials at Walla Walla. And the prison administration will certainly not stop here. The brutal persecution of George Simmons was clearly intended as a threat to others, particularly to other Native American prisoners in Walla Walla. The authorities have their sights

on Jimi Simmons as well, whether their dirty work is done legally, through Jimi's upcoming trial on the charges stemming from the death of Cross, or through other "unofficial" means. Exactly because Jimi has refused to bow down and submit in the face of the savage attacks of the state, and because he has linked his own case with the struggle against the centuries-long oppression of Native Americans, officials have moved to make an example of him.

Both before and after George's death, friends and supporters have gone to reporters with the facts about this murder. None of this has seen the light of day. But George's death has been met with widespread outrage and exposure nonetheless. On February 17-18, a vigil was staged outside the state Capitol in protest of George's death. At the same time, prisoners in Walla Walla Segregation Unit staged a 24-hour

## Mugabe

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to take advantage of the vulnerability of the imprisoned liberation fighters and annihilate them. Feeling assured of Mugabe's cooperation, the generals and their imperialist backers laid their coup plans to rest three hours before Mugabe took power. Over the past 11 months, Mugabe has shown that he is acutely aware of the dangers to "stability, law and order" that these former liberation fighters pose, and has continued the concentration camp policy while gingerly attempting to dismantle the ZANU and ZAPU forces and remold them into a "new national army," to bring all the weapons under one command. So far only nine battalions, consisting of about 11,000 men, have been integrated into the new army through a crash program by a British training mission which was to end by the end of the year. And during the recent fighting several of these battalions "disintegrated." The other approximately 25,000 former guerrillas have spent the last 11 months rotting in these camps, watching the liberation struggle go down the tubes in Salisbury.

This situation has intensified a number of contradictions. For one, it has heightened the contention between ZANU and ZAPU in the camps. The former guerrillas had been united in the Patriotic Front during the war against the Smith regime, although there is a long history of struggle between ZANU and the pro-Soviet ZAPU leadership. Today, there is sharp contention between the two armies, based on tribal

loyalties and political rivalry. This is particularly true with those members of ZAPU who feel that ZAPU is getting the short end of the stick in the new government. This has intensified since Mugabe has moved to decrease even the small influence ZAPU had in the new government, and sporadic fighting has occurred in the camps leading up to the fighting last week.

At the same time, another current has developed within the ranks of the former liberation fighters. Throughout the past 11 months, numerous desertions has been recorded in the new army in a number of regions in Zimbabwe, and a number of former guerrillas, including some who see the need to pursue the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and the remnants of the reactionary Smith regime, have escaped from the concentration camps. In both cases, the soldiers have returned to the bush and have carried out a number of attacks on police stations and white colonialists. In response both Mugabe and Nkomo have agreed to the "temporary" extension of Ian Smith's infamous Internal Security Act, which gives the security forces unlimited powers of search, and seizure and detention, and Mugabe has talked of forming vigilante groups to search out "lawless elements" and report them to the authorities. This rebellious current is also visible in the recent fighting, as a large section of men escaped from the camp during the fighting and began to mortar the big resort hotel in the area. In fact, the situation among the troops in the camps, as well as those "integrated" into the new national army has become so acute that Mugabe was forced to call the Rhodesian African Rifles and the Rhodesian Air Force into action, since he summed up that his new

army was "unreliable."

Mugabe's marriage to U.S. imperialism has also sharpened and brought to the fore the contradictions among many of the leading members of ZANU. Over the last summer, Tapson Mawere, a leading representative of ZANU in the U.S. during the war, resigned in protest. Even as the Lancaster-House Agreement was being worked out, Mugabe had to move quickly to quash opposition to it that developed in the ZANU leadership. In fact, just before it was signed and at the time of the ZANU meeting in Mozambique to discuss the "Walls agreement," Mugabe had 74 senior members of ZANU arrested for their opposition to it, labeling them pro-Soviet and Maoist elements. Within Zimbabwe itself, many of Mugabe's cabinet ministers have been ordered to tone down their rhetoric, and the national ZANU-run radio station has been ordered to stop broadcasting "anti-capitalist" speeches and programs. One of the sharpest indications of these developing contradictions has been the case of the ZANU Secretary General, former minister of manpower and development, Edgar Tekere, Tekere, a militant nationalist who has publicly denounced many of Mugabe's policies and has called for quicker and more thorough changes, was arrested last summer for murdering a white farmer. Throughout his nationally broadcast trial, Tekere used it to again speak of the need for revolutionary change, and stated that he felt that all of the old institutions should be dismantled, including the army, the judiciary and the police. In a highly political trial, Tekere, who has a significant base among the former ZANU guerrillas, was acquitted on a

hunger strike. Other commemorations were staged on Indian reservations around the state the same week.

The outrage triggered by George's death forced the administration to allow Jimi Simmons, shackled and accompanied by four guards, to attend his brother's funeral. When Jim returned to the isolation tier at Walla Walla, prisoners were out of their cells for exercise. Jimi loudly demanded to know why his brother had died.

A statement at the vigil (on behalf of the Northwest Prisoners Organization) by Mark LaRue and Ed Mead (now a prisoner at the Arizona State Prison read in part:

"We have gathered here today to commemorate the death of Native American freedom fighter George Simmons who, as we all know, was killed by the U.S. government and its prison policies. The death of brother George came as a shock to many races of people in prison who knew and liked him. His death serves as a reminder to all of us gathered here today that there's no place for Native people in the "American dream" that tortures our people to death in prison boxcar cells..." □

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**CHILE: AN ATTEMPT AT  
"HISTORIC COMPROMISE"**  
*The Real Story of the Allende Years*

by Jorge Palacios

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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.

## Position on Labor Aristocracy is Leninist Position

I want to address a one paragraph section in the *Draft Programme*—the paragraph on pages 28-29 on the labor aristocracy. I think it concentrates in a very short space a correct analysis of the labor aristocracy and a general outline of how the class-conscious proletariat and its Party will deal with this stratum. There has been no letter opposing the line in the D.P. But for a period of time I held a view opposed to its thrust and in discussing it with others I discovered there were others who held similar incorrect views. So I want to address some of those incorrect views and comment on what I see now as the correct thrust of this section of the D.P.

What is the importance of this question of the labor aristocracy? Why is it important to get straight on what role this stratum will play? I think it has to do with the following questions: 1) How will the class struggle for the seizure of power develop, especially within the working class? 2) What role will different strata within the working class play? 3) What strata of the working class have the outlook of the proletariat, historically and internationally, and therefore must be relied on, we must base ourselves on? 4) What is the material basis for the roles these different strata play within the working class?

First, here is a summary of the objections I had to the section. 1) It does not make clear who the labor aristocracy is. Does it include the skilled trades? If so, all the skilled trades? 2) The D.P. says there are different strata within the labor aristocracy but doesn't break it down. For other sections of the working class, it breaks them down very detailed. Isn't there a difference between a master plumber with his own shop working alone and a UAW-skilled tradesman working with hundreds of other skilled tradesmen and in the midst of thousands of unskilled production workers? 3) The D.P. says these workers "have more or less permanently become a bourgeoisified group in their conditions of work and life and in their outlook." I doubted the correctness of the word "permanently." 4) Won't these workers also be deeply affected by the economic crisis and by world events? 50% of construction workers have at times been laid off. Won't this change their understanding and create conditions for their playing a more positive role, at least certain sections? Isn't the analysis of the D.P. undialectical, assuming these people will not change? 5) And most especially I opposed the last sentence, "At the most, the class-conscious proletariat can hope to neutralize a part of this labor aristocracy..." At the most and neutralize is what I opposed. Won't some at least be won over? What about the influence of Blacks, other minorities and production workers being upgraded into the skilled trades? Won't this lay a better basis to win more over to support the proletariat?

Who is the labor aristocracy?

"One of the chief causes which retard the revolutionary working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries is that, owing to the colonial possessions and the superprofits of finance capital, etc., capital has succeeded in these countries in singling out a relatively broader and more stable stratum, a small minority, a labor aristocracy. The latter enjoys better terms of employment and is most imbued with the narrow craft spirit and with petty-bourgeois and imperialist prejudices. This is the real social bulwark of the Second International, of the reformists and 'Centrists' and at the present time it is almost the principal social bulwark of the bourgeoisie." (From "Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International" July 4, 1920. Lenin.)

"Here we must ask: How is the firmness of such trends in Europe to be explained? And why is this opportunism stronger in Western Europe than it is in our country? Because the advanced countries have been creating their culture by the opportunity they have of living at the expense of billions of oppressed people. Because the capitalists of these countries obtain a great deal more than they would have been able to obtain in the shape of profits resulting from the robbery of the workers in their own countries.

"Before the war it was calculated that the three richest countries—Great Britain, France and Germany—obtained from the export of capital alone, apart from other incomes, from eight to ten billion francs per annum.

"It goes without saying that out of this tidy sum it is possible to throw at least a half a billion as a sop to the labor leaders, to the labor aristocracy, in order to bribe them in various ways. The whole thing reduces itself precisely to bribery. This is done in a thousand different ways: by raising culture in the largest centres, by creating educational institutions, creating thousands of soft jobs for the leaders of the cooperative societies, for the trade union leaders and

parliamentary leaders. This is done wherever modern, civilized, capitalist relations exist. And these billions of superprofits serve as the economic basis upon which opportunism in the working-class movement exists." (From Lenin, "The International Situation and the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International, Report delivered at the Second Congress of the Communist International," July 19, 1920.)

This then is the material basis under imperialism for the development of a labor aristocracy, the resulting split in the working class and the accompanying two-line struggle. Engels describes the effect of this on the masses of workers:

"The truth is this: during the period of England's industrial monopoly the English working class have, to a certain extent, shared in the benefits of the monopoly. These benefits were very unevenly parcelled out amongst them; the privileged minority pocketed most, but even the great mass had, at least, a temporary share now and then. And that is the reason why, since the dying out of Owenism, there has been no socialism in England." (From "Preface to Condition of the Working Class in England," Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, pg. 450.)

This does describe imperialist America, especially since WW2. Never has there been such a developed moribund imperialism. And it would follow, such a developed labor aristocracy, as well as bourgeoisification more broadly in the working class. Socialism has been lost to millions. (This is due also to subjective factors, such as the CPUSA and its errors. See *Revolution* article on the TUUL for errors of the CP for the period of the 1920s and 30s.)

So how does this analysis of a labor aristocracy fit the USA now? Local level union officials and reps of international unions clearly fit in the labor aristocracy (higher up heads of the international unions are actually part of the bourgeoisie).

The bigger question which I raised was: are the skilled trades as a whole to be included in this labor aristocracy grouping? I disagreed that they were at first but now I think they are and that description in the paragraph fits them and most of the remainder of this letter will address this question.

The main point I think is to examine the material basis for this. Has any other country exploited and oppressed more millions of people around the world than the U.S.? This has enabled the U.S. imperialists to scatter crumbs of unprecedented size to the working class in the U.S., with the goal of "the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat alongside the bourgeoisie", as Lenin quotes Engels in a letter to Marx referring to England in 1858 (from "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," Vol. 23, p. 112).

The U.S. imperialists "obtain superprofits... they ride on the backs of hundreds and hundreds of millions of people in other countries and fight (with other imperialist powers) for the division of the particularly rich, particularly fat and particularly easy spoils. This, in fact, is the economic and political essence of imperialism..." ("Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," pg. 115, Vol. 23).

So to miss this point is not only to miss the understanding of the material basis of the labor aristocracy but also to not understand one of the main features of imperialism.

The use of the word "bribery" in the D.P. is right on target and consistent with this understanding of the material basis of the labor aristocracy: "These are the privileged strata, numbering in the millions who have received bribery from the spoils of imperialism well beyond the crumbs temporarily passed along to sections of the unskilled workers." Again it is consistent with Lenin's understanding, who said, "The bourgeoisie of an imperialist 'Great Power can economically bribe the upper stratum of its workers by spending on this a hundred million or so francs a year, for its superprofits most likely amount to about a thousand million." ("Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," pg. 115, Vol. 23, emphasis in original).

No telling what the figures are today for imperialist U.S. but they would be staggering for sure. Take a look at say the treasurer's report for the UAW. The UAW strike fund alone was \$283,432,502 as of Oct. 31, 1980. Income to the fund in October was \$14,561,278, consisting of dues and investment earnings. That is quite a chunk of capital to manage. Think of the exploitation and oppression of millions of people around the world necessary to put those millions of dollars in the hands of the working class in the U.S. and then ripped off by the international unions' bourgeois leaders. Then there's the millions of dollars which go personally to the labor lieutenants in the form of salaries alone, not to mention the millions more which disappear from union funds and they earn from their own in-

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vestments and cozy relationships with the capitalists.

Skilled tradesmen have a much bigger share in that bribery than the masses of unskilled workers. This goes for wages and for their "mode of labor and conditions of work" as the D.P. put it. Their wages are significantly higher. They are relatively individualized in their labor. Even when they are in a workplace with thousands of unskilled workers, they have areas where they hang out near their tool boxes and they work alone or in small groups when they go out to repair a machine or whatever.

All this has an effect ideologically on skilled tradesmen and this is just fine with the bourgeoisie. The skilled trades think they can make it on their own. "As long as I have this card (journeyman's card), I can go anywhere and get work and get paid good for it." This is true to a large extent and encourages a bourgeois view of "look out for number one" and a "look down their noses" attitude at unskilled workers, tending to think they are better than unskilled just because they are skilled tradesmen. This is a bourgeois view of the less you work with your hands, the more prestige attached to your work. Although they work with their hands, a big part of their work is with their minds also, with their "skill," and they consciously see it this way. Frankly they are almost petty bourgeois both in relation to production and having a skill to market. And in outlook they are worse than certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie (and are better off both in wages and conditions of work than many petty bourgeoisie).

At the auto plant where I work, there are hundreds of skilled tradesmen. Rarely is there "fraternization" between production and skilled. The cafeteria is strictly segregated—production on one side, skilled on the other. This breaks down along national lines a lot since 80% of production workers are Black and 90-95% of skilled trades are white. The Blacks who are in skilled trades tend to hang with skilled trades even though they tend to have more ties with production workers than the white skilled tradesmen do.

Bob Avakian made an important distinction in "Coming From Behind to Make Revolution" when he talked of: "the difference between the real labor aristocracy and the masses of workers who have been somewhat bourgeoisified over the period of the last several decades. The difference in their attitudes could be sort of expressed in the formulation that the labor aristocracy basically is content and thinks things here are fine and wants to beat off any attempts to make change, whereas the masses of workers think things are still tolerable but not fine. Of course, this distinction is kind of general and certainly not absolute, but I think it generally applies and there is a real difference between thinking things are tolerable and thinking that things are fine." (page 11, "Coming From Behind...")

This formulation is useful and applies to the skilled tradesmen. A very large percentage of them think things are overall "fine" and they would fight to keep their privileges. They share, and at the same time they create the basis for, a very metaphysical view of stability based on fairly broad bourgeoisification and particularly based on the growth of this comfortable labor aristocracy. The skilled trades themselves have both a fear and a disbelief that very rapid changes and upheavals are coming. Many believe things are going to go on basically as they are. Even when you take into account some of their views on the possibility of war, it still often comes down to things going on basically the same because they think somehow they won't be affected or that the U.S. imperialists will naturally come out on top and their lives will not be so changed.

There will be a fierce class struggle *within* the working class over the revolution, the seizure of state power. There will be two class banners raised within the working class—one by the bourgeoisie and one by the class-conscious proletariat and its Party. It will not be a "pure" socialist revolution with the entire working class lining up on the side of the working class banner with its army. No, there will be very intense struggle. We better know who we can win over, who can be neutralized and who must be opposed and by what means. The ruthless science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought is required to analyze accurately this question. Lenin said,

"On the one hand, there is the tendency of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists to convert a handful of very rich and privileged nations into 'eternal' parasites on the body of the rest of mankind... On the other hand, there is the tendency of the masses, who are more oppressed than before and who bear the whole brunt of imperialist wars, to cast off this yoke and to overthrow the bourgeoisie. It is the struggle between these two tendencies that the history of the labour movement will now inevitably develop." ("Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," pg. 116.)

This is a key point because the skilled trades are going to fall mainly with the bourgeoisie in the first tendency while the huge majority of the masses of unskilled workers, even the more privileged and bourgeoisified at present, will generally fall into the second tendency.

How will the bourgeoisie use this labor aristocracy as the economic crisis deepens and as WW3 approaches or begins (if we can't make revolution to prevent the WW)? Some hints of this can be seen already. "Nationalize the oil industry. Save the auto industry." This is a slogan put out by the ISTC (Independent Skilled Trades Council). This group led thousands of skilled tradesmen in a militant struggle around the 1976 Ford contract strike. A group which prides itself on its militancy and some of its leaders even pay lip service to socialism.

There is certainly not much of a jump from "Save the auto industry," to "Save our country," "Fight for the USA in WW3". This could be done all under the guise of "Save our Jobs" of course. As Chairman Avakian said in "Coming From Behind to Make Revolution,"

"Because if you... concentrate on the trade union struggle, then when the war comes along, even if you try to make the transition from the trade union to the international arena and attempt to promote proletarian internationalism and revolutionary defeatism, the workers will answer you in bourgeois trade unionist terms—'listen, of course, we have to fight these guys for better conditions and so on, but after all this is our country and we are not even going to be able to talk about improving it if we don't go out and win this war.' In other words, the logic of that trade unionist ideology would propel people... toward... a stand of 'defend the country' and not 'seize the opportunity, take advantage of the defeats of our bourgeoisie to overthrow it.'"

You can look at any issue of Solidarity, the UAW International's magazine or any Local newspaper. In Local 600's newspaper, in any issue you can see articles by building presidents showing the economic crisis, and this includes skilled trades presidents. But what do they say?—save our jobs, stop outside contracting, Buy American, support Congressional legislation for quotas on imported cars, support the Democratic Congress, the hope and salvation of the "working man."

While some of the rank and file skilled tradesmen may object to some of this often blatant national chauvinism and "save the companies," it comes from basically a reformist position and one of "this isn't the way to fight for our (skilled) interests." Though these narrow reformist and national chauvinist positions are put out by union leaders and leaders of so-called militant groups the masses of skilled tradesmen will not fight against these views and the policies and actions they indicate. It was such leaders who organized an action of smashing a Japanese car with sledge hammers in front of a Toyota dealer.

Overall this is a confirmation of the D.P.'s line: "They form the social base of

the heads of the labor union bureaucracy and in general of the bourgeoisie within the working class and are a major vehicle for spreading patriotism and other forms of chauvinism among its ranks. They have more or less permanently become a bourgeoisified group, in their conditions of work and life and in their outlook."

Things will develop even further—the bourgeoisie will fight to keep this stratum of skilled trades on their side, and will use the hell out of them. They were used during the Vietnam war—the most famous example was when Peter Brennan organized a march of construction workers waving American flags who attacked students protesting the Vietnam War. They will be used again. The bourgeoisie will whip up reaction and say, "Here is your working class. Yes, they are a bunch of Archie Bunkers, loyal to us." This will be aimed to discourage especially the advanced section of the working class who will be increasingly mobilized to take their rightful place at the head of the revolutionary movement.

Is it much of a leap politically from smashing a Japanese car to organizing the masses to be cannonfodder and create public opinion for the U.S. imperialists for WW3? Again the line in the D.P. is correct when it says, "... the bourgeoisie will make serious efforts to maintain this group as a base for reformism and even outright reaction and to utilize it as an important weapon against the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

At the same time as this stratum is being mobilized to put out this political line, the bourgeoisie will continue to use it to foster illusions and even aspirations among the masses of workers—to put out, "You can make it in America. You do have something to defend in America." The bourgeoisie while slashing wages of the working class overall may even raise wages for the skilled trades and other privileged strata to continue the bribery, to maintain illusions, to hold on to their social base. But whether they are able to maintain the standard of living of these sections of the labor aristocracy or not, they will be depending on their long-time loyalty based on their political views and world outlook to guide them in taking reactionary political action.

What is TRA to autoworkers if not a preview of this? (TRA, Trade Readjustment Act, is payment from the U.S. government to autoworkers if they are laid off due to "foreign import competition." It provides a significant % of weekly wages.) On the one hand, TRA goes to unskilled production workers also and probably will disappear fairly quickly. On the other hand, it shows how the U.S. imperialists will try to use such methods.

So let's get down on the last sentence of the paragraph on the labor aristocracy in the D.P.: "At the most, the class conscious proletariat can hope to neutralize a part of this labor aristocracy, while fiercely combatting its influence within the working class and its role as a prop for the imperialists." This gets to some mighty basic points: Who must be relied on in this revolutionary struggle for power, now in the time of preparation and in the final assault? Who will have the outlook of the proletariat, in an international and historic sense? It will be the basic masses, especially the lower sections of the working class. And within the industrial proletariat, it will be the masses of unskilled production workers. It will not be the masses of skilled tradesmen as a whole.

We have to be dialectical. What will exist? How will the forces line up? To think that a majority or even a big section of the skilled tradesmen are going to be won to the side of the class conscious proletariat is idealist and metaphysical. It ignores the material basis imperialism has created and used to maintain this labor aristocracy. It ignores the very sizeable crumbs the bourgeoisie has thrown to these skilled trades and will continue to, as best they can, even as the economic crisis deepens, and it ignores the ideological and

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## DARE TO GRAPPLE WITH THE BATTLE PLAN FOR REVOLUTION

In a situation which is developing as rapidly as today's, the actions taken by the advanced section of the proletariat are of decisive importance. They will in no small part determine how far along we are and whether we are able to break through all the way when the conditions fully ripen and the opportunity for revolution is there to seize. These moments, particularly in a country such as this, are rare in history and their outcome has a profound influence on history for years, even decades, to come. Those who do understand what is going on and choose not to act are contributing to the prolonging of this destructive and decadent rule of imperialism. This programme is a declaration of war, and at the same time a call to action and a battle plan for

destroying the old and creating the new. It must be taken up.

Today the words of Mao Tsetung ring out with full force:

**"Seize the Day,  
Seize the Hour."**

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## the Draft Programme and Draft Constitution of the RCP, USA



# PROGRAMME LETTERS

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political brainwashing that has gone with it for years.

Yes, the economic crisis will affect the skilled trades also and this, combined with WW, will force some big questioning as it will with the rest of the working class and other strata. But this aspect will not become primary over the bourgeoisification. To say otherwise ignores the ideological and political effect on members of this stratum by the years of privileges, economically and politically, during the "peaceful" superexploitation of the masses worldwide.

Individual members of the skilled trades will be won over. But this can not be used to ignore the primary aspect—the backward role that will be played by the skilled trades as a whole, as part of the labor aristocracy. Even with successes in winning over skilled tradesmen, we can not rely on them.

There will be a fierce life and death physical and political battle for the "troops" within the working class. As Lenin makes clear in "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising," everything will not be "in place," people will not be laid out in neat categories and won over before the bullets start flying, when the Revolution with a capital "R" begins. That should be clear now while the revolution with a small "r" is happening. You can see this in minor crises like Iran, in important outbreaks of rebellion like Miami. You can see it in important campaigns like the one the Party waged around the presidential elections November 1980. Twice agitators appeared in plant cafeterias. Both times debate and discussion broke out. Both times you could see the difference between the reaction of the skilled trades and that of the production workers. All the backward cat-calls came from skilled trades. All the RWs sold and ballots cast were from production workers.

The class-conscious proletariat and the Party will win over as many as it can, neutralize many and oppose those it cannot neutralize. The key in this process will be the spoken and written agitation and exposure (especially the *Revolutionary Worker*) and the action of the class conscious proletariat and the broad masses of the unskilled workers it will win over and rely on to take revolutionary action. It is this revolutionary political action and agitation amidst the turmoil and upheaval of a revolutionary situation that will provide the basis for neutralizing wavering sections of the class and opposing backward sections who are taking action on the side of the bourgeoisie. As the battle rages between these two camps within the working class itself, twists and turns, not straight line progress, will characterize the battle. The battle must rage politically but the point is to make the main contradiction that between the masses and the government, not two sections of the people against each other; to enlarge the number of the masses who line up against the government. This will sharpen the political points of the struggle and thus make the battle between the two camps sharpen, while at the same time reduce the number of the masses in the camp of the enemy.

Within this battle, the same idealism tends to downplay the importance of neutralizing sections of the masses, especially sections of the labor aristocracy. Neutralize is not some quiet procedure that happens automatically or is the least one can achieve without struggle. Neutralizing some masses will happen amidst the great turmoil of the revolutionary struggle. It will happen mainly as a result of the strong public opinion in favor of revolution among the masses as a whole and the revolutionary actions of the class conscious proletariat, including the proletarian army. To have sections of the masses neutralized and stay home rather than get out in the street on the side of the bourgeoisie is very important and can mean the difference between life and death in some situations. Lenin describes a situation in "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising" where soldiers were marching to join the insurgents. Workers' delegates were sent to meet them but a Tsarist officer, Malakhov, reached them first, "delivered a passionate speech, caused the soldiers to waver, surrounded them with dragoons, marched them off to the barracks and locked them in." At times won't it be preferable to have some sections of the troops be neutralized politically so that they stay in the barracks and don't come out on the streets to be met by a Malakhov. And won't staying in the barracks be at times a highly political act, even if the soldiers don't take the

next step of joining the revolutionary masses. A friend of mine in the 82nd Airborne participated with half his company and parts of other companies in refusing to leave the barracks to go to Washington, D.C. during one of the big anti-Vietnam war demonstrations. The soldiers did not go and join the demonstrators but what they did was not only highly political but objectively revolutionary.

So this neutralization of parts of the labor aristocracy will be highly political. Agitators may be sent. But also they will be opposed if necessary. Some fear of the armed might of the proletariat will be instilled in them if necessary. We must use agitation and persuasion principally but we will not allow any backward section of the masses to stand in the way of the revolutionary seizure of power, as the very key first step to moving to communism.

But isn't this whole thrust undialectical, in that it sees only the backward aspects of the skilled trades and labor aristocracy as a whole, it doesn't allow for change in the consciousness of skilled trades, especially it doesn't take into account the impact of the deepening economic crisis on them? And doesn't it deny the crucial role of consciousness, that consciousness can overcome the material conditions described? And isn't a big portion of the working class in the U.S. in 1980, especially the industrial proletariat, very bourgeoisified, as much so as the skilled trades? To answer these questions, let's go back to the material basis for the development of the labor aristocracy, as laid out by Engels and Lenin. They make a big distinction between the mass of workers and the labor aristocracy. Lenin quotes Engels from the "Preface to the Condition of the Working Class in England" (Vol. 23, pg. 113).

"Here he (Engels) speaks of an 'aristocracy among the working class,' of a 'privileged minority of the workers,' in contradistinction to the 'great mass of working people.' 'A small, privileged, protected minority' of the working class alone was 'permanently benefited' by the privileged position of England in 1848-68; whereas 'the great bulk of them experienced at best but a temporary improvement.'"

The skilled trades share in the spoils of imperialist exploitation to a greater extent and will continue to enjoy this privilege whereas for the huge majority of the working class, including the industrial proletariat, those spoils are quickly disappearing. This will shatter much of the bourgeoisification of most sections of the working class, including the majority of the industrial proletariat.

No, the position in this letter is not undialectical. It is dialectical in that it recognizes that the backward aspects of the consciousness of the skilled trades will not only remain primary over the progressive aspects but in many ways will actually be the aspect of the contradiction which will grow and become even more dominant characterizing the group as a whole.

Yes, it does take into account consciousness. It emphasizes a materialist understanding of where consciousness comes from—social being determines consciousness. And the social being of skilled trades will continue to determine a backward consciousness as a group. For the industrial proletariat and other sections of the working class, Bob Avakian put it like this in "Coming From Behind to Make Revolution" (p. 10): "The developments, including sudden leaps, toward a revolutionary crisis, in society as a whole, together with the consistently revolutionary work of the Party and the actions of the class-conscious section of the working class rallying around the banner and the line of the Party—this is what can influence and ultimately lead both those in more or less permanently miserable conditions, and broader sections of the people, especially the broad ranks of the industrial proletariat to move toward a revolutionary position and finally to take decisive revolutionary action."

And it takes consciousness into account in that it will be the consciousness of the masses of workers and their revolutionary actions based on that consciousness that will win over individuals, neutralize a part and oppose the rest of this labor aristocracy.

"Engels draws a distinction between... the privileged minority—and the 'lowest mass,' the real majority, and appeals to the latter, who are not infected by bourgeois respectability.' This is the essence of Marxist tactics... And it is therefore our duty... to go down lower and deeper, to the real masses..." (Lenin's emphasis, pg. 119-120, Vol 23, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism")

Cast away illusions, prepare for struggle. The line in the *Draft Programme* is correct. It is a Leninist position on the labor aristocracy applied to our situation today.

S.P.

## May First, 1981

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took up the political line on May First, many revolutionary new-things were born. The May First demonstrations themselves were not only a blow at the ruling class, but a kind of revolutionary vortex that drew not just attention, but crowds of political controversy and struggle. Button Day, called in defiance to the reopening of the railroad of Bob Avakian, heralded what was to be the first of a number of actions coordinated for a specific time and carried out on a nationwide scale leading up to May First. Red Flag/Internationale Day, where at the exact same time across the country, in many languages but in one voice, workers and others rose to fill the air with the anthem of the international working class—a dramatic demonstration of the vision of a world free of all class distinctions. And the red flags, too, marked the general internationalist spirit and international dimension of May 1st, as proletarians in this country grew conscious of the common actions and cause of many millions worldwide. And throughout this whole period, including on May First itself, many people did things on their own, not specifically called for or directly organized by others. How much of this went on even beyond our present knowledge? In fact we are still hearing about people, who, after getting a leaflet or reading a copy of the *Revolutionary Worker*—or even seeing a news report, took some revolutionary action in conjunction with May Day. All of this, every red

thread that ran through the day, was good and this year we must build on it.

And the question must be posed: How much more broadly and deeply is this type of revolutionary activity going to go on around May First, 1981? How much more will the influence and the political impact of this line permeate every sphere of social life—galvanizing tens of thousands to take history into their hands?

We'll put it this way: May 1 is a Friday, a business day. But in no way will it be business-as-usual day!

Instead it will be a day imbued with the spirit of bringing the new into being. It will be a day of consciously and actively hastening the elimination of all that is oppressive, decaying and dying. *Everywhere* the modern day overlords look they will see the unmistakable sights and hear the unmistakable sounds of May First.

*The Party will soon have more to say on its ideas and plans for May First. But our first idea—in step with the line of march of this year's May Day—is to get your ideas and suggestions. We want to know what you think should be done and are beginning to plan to do. The pages of the Revolutionary Worker will be open for this process, so that May 1st, 1981 will hit the bourgeoisie like a tornado!*

## REVOLUTIONARY FORCE

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Second, male superiority is the product of private property and class oppression. The woman question is a question of class struggle. Women's emancipation can be realized only by first overthrowing the social system in which there is exploitation and oppression of man by man. Working women in the past fought heroically in the forefront of the struggle, but because of the limitations of historical conditions they could not win real equality between men and women. It was only under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party that Chinese women together with men overthrew the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism weighing down on the Chinese people, toppled the criminal system that caused all kinds of suffering to China's women, and fundamentally removed the class origin of exploitation and oppression of women. Today they are vigorously playing their great "one-half" role in the three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

Third, only with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can we tho-

roughly triumph over the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and smash the spiritual shackles imposed on women. Working women in the past boldly pounded at these doctrines by their own actions and strove to free themselves from feudal oppression. But owing to the limitations of their times and class, they could not thoroughly expose and criticize the class content and reactionary essence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Later, the bourgeoisie took part in the struggle against Confucianism in the May 4th Movement of 1919, but it also could not thoroughly criticize these doctrines. The task of doing this is entrusted by history to the proletariat armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Together with all the other working people of China, our working women are earnestly studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, taking an active part in the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, thoroughly criticizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, occupying with Marxism all of the superstructure, including philosophy, history, education, literature, art and law, and carrying the class struggle in the realm of ideology through to the end. □



# INSIDE IRAN

Continued from page 7

certainly does deserve it), the talk on the streets is that the clergy in leadership of the IRP is "American." This is an important development in exposing the capitulationist content of the IRP's "anti-imperialist" public posturing. Clearly, the U.S. very consciously worked to this end by refusing to give Iran the spare parts and equipment knowing full well that it would help discredit the IRP.

At the same time, the pro Bani-Sadr forces have jumped into the fray on the hostages' release, hitting the IRP for coming out empty-handed. But they are doing so from the equally reactionary standpoint of claiming that the embassy seizure was a mistake in the first place, and that it could have been settled much earlier without suffering from the U.S.' military and economic blockade and from the war with Iraq. In other words, their line is that Iran should have capitulated to the U.S. earlier. While many pro-U.S. forces (including people like ex-Prime Minister Bazargan) have used this opportunity to jump out with an open program of restoring ties with the West, this debate on the hostages' release has mainly served to expose both the IRP and Bani-Sadr. And while Khomeini has characteristically tried to stay in the background and let others catch the political fallout, his approval of the Hostage deal at every step has certainly not gone unnoticed in Iran.

## Government's Stalemated War with Iraq

Likewise, in relation to the war with Iraq, there is mounting popular dissatisfaction with the government, as well as frenzied attempts by the IRP and Bani-Sadr to fix blame on each other for the stalemated military situation in which Iraqi forces are occupying around one-third of oil-producing Khuzestan province in the south and smaller areas along the border to the north. Under heavy criticism from the IRP for doing nothing but issuing promises of imminent "offensives," Bani-Sadr (who is also commander-in-chief of the armed forces) launched a 12-day attack in January around Susangird. Committing an armored division of 300 U.S. and British tanks to the battle and fighting on conventional terms against well dug-in Iraqi forces, the Iranian army predictably made no headway and suffered heavy losses. This is just the most recent example of the bourgeois military strategy employed by the Iranian government, and its disastrous results. Beyond this, some reactionary Iranian army commanders have actually led their troops into ambushes and gotten many killed. Three officers were hanged in Ahwaz recently for such actions. But whether overt treachery or just conventional, bourgeois military strategy and tactics, this conduct of the war by the Iranian government boils down to using the masses as cannon fodder for their own bourgeois and reactionary aims.

In the first month or two of the war, there was a tremendous outpouring of unity and desire to resist what the masses correctly saw as a U.S.-backed invasion by Iraq. But the government's pursuit of the war has largely throttled and even attacked any large scale mobilization and active role of the Iranian people in the fighting. They have done this precisely because the government is scared of losing control over the masses and because their aims in fighting the war—first and foremost protecting their own rule—differ radically from those of the workers, peasants and other popular strata—who want to go all-out to drive the Iraqi occupation forces out of Iran and to defeat imperialism and its reactionary agents within Iran. To take just one example, the government has implemented a conscious policy of generally keeping the war and the political ferment of the war zone away from Tehran—even refusing to allow refugees into the capital.

In spite of all this, there is still eagerness to fight the war among the masses, particularly in the southern

cities like Ahwaz, and Dezful and those further inland such as Shirz and Isfahan that are swollen with refugees. Even now—as long-range artillery duels and occasional bombing raids have become the main form of "battle" in the war—volunteers continue to make their way to the front; many of them are led or influenced by Iran's leftist forces, including the Union of Iranian Communists.

While major moves towards the West have been taken by much of the Iranian bourgeoisie, some important figures in the IRP such as Heitotislam Khomeini have begun flirting with the Soviet imperialists in the hopes of getting backing in their struggle for power. Especially since the war began in September, a significant number of long-term trade agreements have been signed with Eastern bloc countries. The Soviet client state of Vietnam, as well as others in the Soviet orbit such as Syria and Libya, have been sending some military supplies to Iran to demonstrate that their big brother superpower is ready to play ball with the Iranian government.

Not surprisingly, the two main pro-Soviet revisionist organizations in Iran, the Tudeh Party and the Fedayeen (Majority), have allied themselves with the IRP and are promoting such a turn towards the USSR as the way to fight U.S. imperialism. This cooperation has developed to such an extent that Tudeh and Fedayeen literature is being sold side-by-side with the IRP's organ, *Islamic Republic*, in bookstalls all over the country. Due to this fawning before the reactionary clerics, Kianouri, the leader of the Tudeh, is derided as "Ayatolla Kianouri." More than pragmatic political alliances, what these developments point to overall is the rapidly heating up contention for world domination between the U.S. and USSR in virtually every part of the world.

One development that has attracted comment in the U.S. press is President Bani-Sadr's efforts to weld the regular armed forces into a cohesive fighting force—free from interference from his clerical rivals, supplied once again by the Western imperialist powers, and purged of all leftist soliders and airmen. Even with Khomeini's support, Bani-Sadr's efforts have not been altogether successful. Still, the danger that a rebuilt army under the command of a reactionary officer corps (including many trained under the U.S.)—as well as the Pasdaran, or revolutionary guards, where pro-Soviet forces have some influence—poses to the masses should not be underestimated, precisely because of what the reactionary leaders of the government are preparing to use it for in the period ahead as the internal class struggle and the international situation sharpens up.

This is already very apparent in Kurdistan, where the Islamic government has launched one bloody attack after another on the Kurdish people over the past two years. Today, more than a quarter of Iran's regular army—3 out of 11 divisions—are stationed in Kurdistan. They are not mainly fighting the Iraqis there, but are being used to combat and suppress the struggle of the Kurds.

The situation in Kurdistan has become all the more complex because of the active collaboration between the reactionary regime in Iraq and the bourgeois nationalist leaders of the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP). Armed with plenty of weapons from Iraq and utilizing the deep-seated hatred of the Kurdish masses for the government in Tehran, the KDP is beginning to take steps to set up its own administration in some areas such as around Mahabad. They have been running road tolls to collect money and have attacked and disarmed revolutionary Kurdish forces in some areas.

In an interview with the French daily *Le Monde* in December, KDP chieftain Ghassemlou openly admitted cooperating with Iraq and spoke approvingly of the reactionary Shapour Bakhtiar (the Shah's last prime minister who is exiled in France) as an "opponent of Khomeini's regime", who is "popular in Iran." It now appears that Ghassemlou and other top leaders of the KDP—especially after a series of splits with more pro-Soviet forces last

year—have decided that they can best realize their bourgeois nationalist ambitions of being new overlords in Kurdistan at this time by collaborating with Iraq, U.S. lackeys such as Bakhtiar and with the Western imperialists in general. While news from Kurdistan is difficult to obtain, particularly news of the work of the revolutionary forces there, even if the KDP is able to score some short-term successes, it will definitely have major difficulties consolidating their position, linked as they are to landlords and other reactionary Kurdish forces and with their efforts to turn the Kurdish struggle into a pawn of one imperialist power or another.

## Economic Crisis and Political Repression

Another area which the Iranian government's authority has been unravelling is the economy. To put it mildly, the economy is a mess due chiefly to the legacy of imperialist domination and the continuing pressure of the U.S. on Iran. With much of the country's oil industry either shut down or destroyed due to the war with Iraq, Iran's oil export revenues have fallen way off. Scores of factories have shut down due to shortages of imported parts, as well as due to factory managers' decisions in some cases to close down plants rather than recognize militant shoras, or workers councils. Industrial production has fallen to around 50% of pre-revolution levels, while unemployment (of formerly employed workers) is estimated to be 30%.

This steadily deteriorating economic situation has roused different sections of the Iranian people in opposition to the government, from the workers to the bazaar merchants, who make a living off buying and selling imported goods. This is providing fertile ground for reactionary forces to agitate and call for renewing ties with the West to "rescue the economy." Even more importantly, the situation is giving rise to fresh outbreaks of struggle and strikes among the workers and other strata. In the wake of a strike by Tehran bus drivers in December, all "unauthorized demonstrations" and strikes were declared illegal. In the face of this ban, a coalition of leftist forces, including the Fedayeen (Minority faction) and the Organization of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class (Peykar), held a demonstration on February 6 in Tehran that raised demands for jobs as well as denouncing the government and the agreement releasing the hostages. From 5,000-10,000 marched in the face of vicious attacks by revolutionary guards, who fired tear gas into the demonstration, and the right-wing Moslems of the "Party of God," who were armed with guns, knives, and rocks. One demonstrator was killed and over 40 were wounded after these attacks. Several days later, on the second anniversary of the insurrection that toppled the Shah's fascist regime, there was street fighting in Amol in the north and Yazd in central Iran, apparently involving leftists and reactionary Moslem forces.

The government's repressive measures are being felt by ever broader sections of the people. In addition to the brutal suppression that has been aimed at the Kurds, the People's Mojahadeen (the main revolutionary Moslem group in Iran) and other leftist forces have come under stepped up attack. The prevailing attitude in the government was represented by the governor of Tehran's Qasr Prison, when he said that as far as leftists and Mojahadeen supporters are concerned, "six cemeteries would be better than six prisons to hold them." Since last summer the country's university campuses have been closed so as to "Islamicize" them and many thousands of progressive teachers, professionals and factory workers have been fired from their jobs.

All this has led to mounting popular discontent and a chorus of protests. This week a group of 38 well-known intellectuals, including seven who had been jailed under the Shah, circulated a letter charging that Iran was once again being subjected to "repression and injustice." It accused the authorities of filling the prisons with "militants and

libertarians" and using torture on them, as well as suppressing the country's minority nationalities. While this letter targeted the IRP for seeking to monopolize power (and some of the intellectuals involved are most likely supporters of Bani-Sadr), it does reflect the widespread opposition building against the government's reactionary policies. Because the IRP presently dominates most areas of the government, it is under the most intense fire from the masses. And while Bani-Sadr and other pro-Western elements try to pose as great upholders of "democracy," the content of their policies towards the Kurds, the Left, the workers' councils and so on have been essentially the same as the IRP's.

Faced with the people's growing anger, especially at the reactionary policies of the IRP, Khomeini has increasingly thrown his support behind President Bani-Sadr as of late, warning the clergy in a recent speech to stop interfering in "executive affairs." While this again represents Khomeini's reading of the changing mood of the masses, his overall role continues to be shielding the various reactionary forces in the government and keeping the masses from withdrawing their support from the Islamic Republic and the government as a whole.

Irrespective of Khomeini's wishes or efforts, this very process is going on and is accelerating. On the one hand, the government, because of its bourgeois class basis, is incapable of satisfying the masses' needs, which require the revolutionary transformation of Iranian society and ripping out the roots of imperialism, feudalism and reaction throughout the country. On the other hand, the two imperialist blocs headed by the U.S. and the USSR are determined to land Iran into their own camps, and the pressure on the Iranian bourgeoisie to throw in their lot with one or another of these war blocs—with the Western imperialists holding the stronger cards at this time—is building up steadily as they strive to tighten up their blocs in preparation for war. In this situation, the "third road" of building an Islamic Republic independent of the imperialist powers is proving itself to growing numbers to be an illusory path to liberation and crucial questions are being raised about how to push the Iranian revolution forward to a new stage.

Even though the U.S. government is making every effort to appear that they are adopting a "hands off" policy towards Iran now that they have their precious hostages back, the question for them is still regaining total control of Iran, by any and all means necessary. More desperate than ever, they are attempting to utilize the spreading turmoil in Iran to accumulate the reactionary strength they need to bring a subservient pro-imperialist regime to power. In pursuit of this reactionary goal, they are working both at forcing the bourgeois forces in the Iranian government to fully capitulate to the U.S. and towards creating the conditions for a successful pro-West coup that would eliminate the forces in the government—especially some of the more nationalist clergy around Khomeini—who have continued to put up some opposition to their drive to recapture Iran.

However, for two years the U.S. has faced major obstacles in carrying out their counter-revolutionary plans. And this will be no easy task for them in the future. For one thing, they must take into consideration the Soviet imperialists' ability to counter their moves in Iran. But more importantly they must contend with the vast reservoir of anti-imperialist sentiment and revolutionary political experience accumulated by the Iranian people over the past years. And the very crisis and turmoil that the imperialists hope to exploit is continuing to throw millions of Iranians out of their bombed out homes, out of their jobs and schools and into a swirl of intense political activity. It is this that promises new waves of mass struggle and opportunities to make major leaps towards completing the anti-imperialist, democratic stage of the revolution that was begun, but left unfinished with the toppling of the U.S. puppet regime of the Shah two years ago. □



# COSMOS

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things. He endeavors to concentrate 15-20 billion years of evolution (since the "big bang") into 13 hours of TV time, to compress an "observable universe" of tens of billions of galaxies into a medium-length book. As such, he does not respect any of the boundaries of subject matter observed by so many of his contemporaries, those whose tunnel vision, Engels once noted, has its roots in "the division of labor that had meanwhile become dominant in natural science, which more or less restricted each person to his special sphere, there being only a few whom it did not rob of a comprehensive view." (*Dialectics of Nature*, International, p. 10) *Cosmos* spans an enormous amount of material and generally provides a mind-expanding view of a number of topics: the evolution of the universe; the origins and evolution of the stars, the earth, the chemical elements, life, the brain, human society and science; and the beginning steps taken by humans to explore space and communicate with whatever other intelligent and interested civilizations might exist in the galaxy.

These are the kinds of broad questions which the masses of people hunger to explore; to those who feel this hunger, *Cosmos* is, overall, a breath of fresh air in a hothouse of murky obscurantism, part of the revolt against the scientific establishment's pious worship of narrow, stultifying expertise and its disdain for liberating science from the laboratories and ivory towers and bringing it to the people. "Science is our birthright," says Sagan. It is these characteristics and this basic stand which account for the extraordinary popularity of *Cosmos*.

## The Responsibilities of Science

Indeed, in Sagan's view, the popularization of science is a pressing task for writers, educators, and scientists themselves. In a pointed analogy which amounts to a sharp critique of the state of science in the U.S. today, he speaks of the Alexandrian Library in Egypt when it was the center of learning of the West, about 2000-2500 years ago. Here had been collected and systematized the greatest scientific achievements of classical civilization—the discovery of the circulation of the blood, the calculation of the size of the earth, the development of rudiments of atomic theory and of the theory of evolution, Euclid's geometry, materialist writings on cosmology (the study of the evolution of the universe) and much more. Yet a few hundred years later, the library had been destroyed, and with it the record of all this knowledge was lost to mankind for a millenium, having to wait till the migration of the Moors to southern Europe, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and after to be rediscovered. Taking us on a tour of a reconstructed studio-set version of the Library, Sagan comments:

"Here clearly were the seeds of the modern world. What prevented them from taking root and flourishing? Why instead did the West slumber through a thousand years of darkness until Columbus and Copernicus and their contemporaries rediscovered the work done in Alexandria? I cannot give you a simple answer. But I do know this: there is no record, in the entire history of the Library, that any of its illustrious scientists and scholars ever seriously challenged the political, economic and religious assumptions of their society. The permanence of the stars was questioned; the justice of slavery was not. Science and learning in general were the preserve of a privileged few." (*Cosmos*, p. 335)

Sagan examines the relationship between, on the one hand, the fact that all this basically is true once again today, and on the other, the growing danger of a nuclear war; and he challenges his audience to grapple with this problem. "We know who speaks for the nations," he says with disgust, speaking particularly of the U.S. and USSR. "But who speaks for Earth?" The needed ingredient, he thinks, must be a

new world outlook—one that fully embraces the methods and the achievements of science; and unless this outlook is shared by the people as a whole, human society is set to self-destruct. This is the basic message that Sagan seeks to popularize.

By doing so, he is violating a taboo that has a long-standing history in class society: that the guardians of science, the "philosopher kings" if we may use Plato's term, should shun any association with the common people. In *Cosmos*, he traces this tradition back as far as slave society in Greece. He analyzes the causes of the temporary victory of the idealism of the philosophers Pythagoras, and later Plato, over the radical materialism of Democritus and some of the other earlier Ionian thinkers, showing how it was rooted in the fact that Greece was a slave society and how it had serious harmful consequences for the development of science. His comments are highly relevant to the wage-slave society of today:

"Athens in the time of Pericles, Plato and Aristotle had a vast slave population. All the brave Athenian talk of democracy applied only to a privileged few. What slaves characteristically perform is manual labor. But scientific experimentation is manual labor, from which the slaveholders are preferentially distanced; while it is only the slaveholders—politely called 'gentle-men' in some societies—who have the leisure to do science. Accordingly, almost no one did science...."

"Plato and Aristotle were comfortable in a slave society. They offered justifications for oppression. They served tyrants. They taught the alienation of the body from the mind...they separated matter from thought...."

"...in the suppression of disquieting facts, the sense that science should be kept for a small elite, the distaste for experiment, the embrace of mysticism and the easy acceptance of slave societies, they (Pythagoras and Plato—*RW*) set back the human enterprise...." (*Cosmos*, pp. 186-188)

But Sagan finds that once again today, all the elements for another reversal toward a "dark age" are present, flowing particularly out of the government policies of the U.S. and USSR. Indeed, with nuclear weapons, he believes that the very survival of humans is at stake. And thus the urgency of the crusade to popularize science.

## Man's Place in the Universe

It is in planetary studies and the search for life elsewhere in the solar system, as well as in the theory of exobiology (the study of extraterrestrial life), that Sagan has made his main contributions to science. And it is here, too, in shredding the arguments of those—many of those believers in divine creation—who cannot imagine forms of life different from those on earth, that he is at his best as a popularizer.

"The assumption that life elsewhere has to be, in some major sense, like life here is a conceit I will call chauvinism...A popular phrase—often encountered in popular books on the planets—is 'life as we know it.' We read that 'life as we know it' is impossible on this planet or that. But what is life as we know it? It depends entirely on who the 'we' is...."

"At one time it was thought that oxides of nitrogen had been detected in the atmosphere of Mars. A scientific paper was published on this apparent finding. The authors of the paper argued that life on Mars was, therefore, impossible, because oxides of nitrogen are poisonous gases. There are at least two objections to this argument. First, oxides of nitrogen are poisonous gases only to some organisms on Earth. Second, what quantity of oxides of nitrogen were thought to be discovered on Mars? When I calculated the amount, it turned out to be less than the average abundance above Los Angeles. The oxides of nitrogen are an important constituent of a smog. Life in Los Angeles may be difficult, but it is not yet impossible. The same conclusion applies to Mars." (*The Cosmic Connection*, pp. 41-44. It should be noted that Sagan wrote this essay before the Viking mission to Mars, which, while it did not confirm any of the hoped-for signs of life there, also did not detract from the cogency of

his argument.)

Sagan goes on to discuss other forms of chauvinism—"carbon chauvinism," "temperature chauvinism," even "planetary chauvinism": "Just as we are organisms completely at home only on the land, although we evolved from the sea, the universe may be populated with societies that arose on planets but that are comfortable only in the depths of interstellar space." (*Ibid.*, p. 49) In short, in searching systematically for life elsewhere, it is necessary to sweep away all manner of earthly prejudices.

On the whole, this sort of pursuit can deal a blow to all other forms of chauvinism on earth and have a liberating effect on the human mind, much as did the discoveries of Copernicus, Galileo and others. Sagan thinks that all chauvinisms must be uprooted and cast aside, and that all forms of society existing on earth are obsolete. Insofar as his discussions of the limitations of contemporary society from the standpoint of his "cosmic perspective" undercut the petty narrow-mindedness with which the bourgeoisie seeks to smother the imagination of the people, they play a progressive role. But since they are not based on a scientific assessment of the stages through which society must advance to liberate itself, nor of the class forces that must lead that advance, Sagan slips into utopianism. And, as will be gone into more below, his interest in "exobiology" has less to do with a systematic appraisal of why *this* should be the key science to develop and popularize, than with his pessimism about the future of human society.

Sagan is one of several well-known popularizers of science who frequently comment on social issues. Whatever the philosophies to which they subscribe—some are self-described materialists, others not—they do inject a considerable amount of materialism and even dialectics into their writings on the natural sciences, because advances in science are ever proceeding more clearly along lines which embody and confirm materialist dialectics. For his own part, Sagan wants to, and in the main does, uphold materialism; that is, he recognizes the objective existence of the material world as being prior to and the basis for all mankind's ideas. But he does not see the place of contradictions in nature and society, and, rejecting dialectics, his materialism is thus incomplete, inconsistent, and tangled up with elements of idealism. To see this, it is useful to examine his attitude toward a few key questions such as the relationships between order and disorder, science and religion, and science and society.

## "Cosmos" and God vs. "Chaos" and Nature

As is apparent from the title he chose for his latest effort, Sagan shares the dominant bourgeois-metaphysical viewpoint that "cosmos," or order, is dominant over disorder in the universe. In fact, as he relates, it was the Ionian idealist philosopher and mathematician, Pythagoras (5th century B.C.), who first used the word "cosmos" to denote, in Sagan's words, "a well-ordered and harmonious universe, a world amenable to human understanding." (*Cosmos*, p. 183) Here the idea that the universe is knowable, a central tenet of materialism, is linked by Sagan to the idea that order is primary over disorder, which is a concept more characteristic of idealism. It is significant that he does not analyze the connection between Pythagoras' mystical idealism and his belief in this dominance of order, preferring instead to dwell on the asserted connection between the belief in the dominance of order and the idea that the universe is knowable. (Sagan points out that in earlier Greek philosophy, it had been believed that "chaos," or disorder, was the dominant aspect of reality; but he attributes this to the ignorance of the earlier thinkers.)

These views come through in the TV series, as Sagan travels through the universe in his "spaceship of the imagination," marveling at what he considers the wonderful orderliness of the heavenly bodies. It is only in relatively rare moments, for example in one of the programs on stellar evolution which depicts a supernova explosion, that

some of the disorder, sudden change and leaps which actually mark the real universe are given due emphasis.

Sagan associates much of the supposed orderliness of the universe with the idea of god, leaving the door open to what he calls a god "of remote and indirect temperament." (*Cosmos*, p. 29) "The gods," he says, "if they exist, no longer intervene daily in human affairs." But, since he feels that "the enterprise of knowledge is consistent with both science and religion," (*Broca's Brain*, pp. 293, 291) Sagan argues for agnosticism rather than atheism.

Still, the main thrust of Sagan's discussion is against organized religion, with its dogmas and its suppression of "uncomfortable" ideas, experiment and critical discussion. He asks: "In many cultures, it is customary (to say) that God created the universe out of nothing. But this is mere temporizing. If we wish courageously to pursue the question, we must, of course, ask next where God comes from. And if we decide this to be unanswerable, why not save a step and decide that the origin of the universe is an unanswerable question? Or, if we say that God has always existed, why not save a step and conclude that the universe has always existed?" (*Cosmos*, p. 257)

The thrust of Sagan's presentation here, which is overall dominant in *Cosmos* and his other writings, is that religion is "irrelevant" to a scientific understanding of the universe. This position is not fully materialist in its analysis of nature or religion nor, in particular, of the contradiction between science and religion; but it is certainly preferable to that of philosophical reactionaries such as Sagan's fellow NASA astronomer, Robert Jastrow, who, capitalizing on some of the limitations of our current knowledge of the "big bang," argue that it is *not religion but science* that has proved to be irrelevant.

Important to Sagan's philosophy is that he basically affirms the infiniteness of the universe in space and time, taking on a powerful current of bourgeois metaphysics that asserts the universe is finite (thus leaving more room for god)—which is a central feature of today's reactionary creationist clamorings (such as Jastrow's). But for Sagan, as for other scientists who are influenced by the philosophy of positivism (a philosophy that takes only our perceptions as real), the idea of the universe's infiniteness, since it cannot be proved by any particular experiment, is just a matter of conjecture or "esthetic preference" and so cannot really defeat the onslaughts of reactionary philosophy. They do not see, as does Marxism, that the thesis of the infiniteness of the universe is a concentration of many scientific truths and a raising of them to a higher level, and in particular, flows from the understanding that everything that exists is matter which always has been and always will be in one form or other of motion. Closely bound up with Sagan's positivism is the fact that he does not think it is necessary, or even valid, to talk of contradictions existing objectively in matter. All that is needed, he feels, is the "scientific method"—systematic investigation, careful observation, the courage to follow the facts wherever they may lead, and consistent formal logic—which proceeds better if "unfettered" by philosophical "preconceptions." The idea of being "free from philosophy" is a rather typical illusion among bourgeois scientists, as Engels noted—and it is fed, in Sagan's case, by his belief that it is possible (presently in thought, in the future in deed) to "rise above" the earth, above the conflicting ideologies of different classes, and so arrive at the "true cosmic perspective."

The same failure to grasp dialectics mars Sagan's generally materialist presentation of physical and biological laws in *Cosmos*, causing him to over-emphasize the "harmony" and "orderliness" of the universe. His metaphysics can be seen in his liking for Hindu cosmology, with its eternally repeating cycles, and he attempts to fit the "oscillating universe" model (it alternately expands and contracts; currently it is expanding) into this non-developmental framework. Lenin once remarked that

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in opposition to dialectics, which alone provides the key to understanding the real nature of change, metaphysics characterizes development as mere "decrease and increase, as repetition"—that is, no real development at all. This is like Sagan's cosmology.

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Overall, then, while upholding the fact that Sagan is one of the leading popularizers of the day battling modern obscurantism and that he does bring out the interconnectedness of different forms of matter and many of the changes matter undergoes, and in particular its transformation into consciousness at a certain stage of evolution, it is also important to see some of the shortcomings in his views, as outlined above, and more than that, to understand the material basis for contradictory outlook. For while he stands far nearer the materialist pole than so many other scientists and popularizers of science, Sagan, like these others, is a member of an intermediate stratum in society, pulled on by the opposing forces of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This social position with its contradictory influences is reflected in their contradictory world view. As scientists, they are compelled to one degree or another to apply materialism in their researches. But influenced by bourgeois ideology, they tend to be idealist, particularly in their analysis of

## Junta

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has him flapping his wings all over NATO-land, with planned perch stops in West Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Britain. At each stop, he will screech "international terrorism" in meetings with foreign ministers of the U.S.' main European imperialist allies.

Eagleburger's mission is meant to pressure U.S. allies into recognizing that the greater interests of their bloc outweigh whatever particular advantages any single imperialist power might be pointing toward in the Salvadoran situation. This is a particularly important question in regard to West Germany, whose government has recalled its ambassador to El Salvador and suspended economic aid to the junta while maneuvering among the Salvadoran opposition Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) for a foothold in case it should either overthrow the junta or come to some agreement with sections of it to form a new Salvadoran government. Exactly what effect the U.S. pressure will immediately have is unclear, but a Salvadoran guerrilla spokesperson, who is also visiting West Germany, told the Mexico City daily, *Excelsior*, that West Germany "will participate in the reconstruction of El Salvador, but only after the overthrow of the junta." For the moment, at least, the West German imperialists appear to be keeping their options open.

Similar maneuvering has been going on among certain U.S. neo-colonies in Latin America—notably Mexico, Ecuador and Panama—but here the main concern is the "stability" of their own comprador rule. They fear that support for the thoroughly isolated and exposed junta—as well as the inevitable resistance that its rule gives rise to—will have the effect of exposing their own puppet strings and galvanizing "their own" masses into struggle and lead to a general revolutionary upsurge throughout the region. But the U.S., while certainly uptight about this possibility, has no alternative in the present situation but to continue to back its reliable Salvadoran compradors to the hilt, since its global necessities—especially approaching world war—require increasing pliability from its neo-colonies and, very significantly, steps to ice out Soviet bloc influence within them. Thus, for its Latin American brand of "diplomacy," the U.S. is sending a former deputy director of the CIA, Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters, who is undoubtedly reminding these forces just who keeps

society and history and in their formal attitude toward philosophy.

### Science in Society & The Science of Society

As illustrated earlier, Sagan's views on some questions concerning ancient society and the place of science in it are quite progressive. However, Sagan's view of the overall relationship between science and society throughout history is not thoroughly scientific, because his view of society as a whole is not. His excursions into social theorizing, his attempts to understand "what has gone wrong" in the 20th century—and especially, to understand the basis of modern war and to discover any possible means to avert a nuclear war—are characterized by metaphysics and idealism. Over the years he has spun out an eclectic web of frequently varying snatches from psychoanalysis (the problem is that infants don't get enough affection and adolescents are denied sexual freedom), sociobiology (the problem is our genetic makeup and in particular the "reptilian instincts" built into our brains, and our key social task will be to learn to master them), and Malthusianism (the problem is overpopulation). He has become somewhat pessimistic about the possibility of understanding society scientifically, and closely related to this, about the ability of humans to master science and society. This causes him to back off from his call for the most thorough application of science. He looks forward gloomily to the prospects of genetic engineering, not seeing how with the overthrow of the bourgeoisie it can be mastered by mankind. "Fortunately,

we do not yet know how to assemble alternative sequences of nucleotides (the building blocks of the genetic material—*RW*) to make alternative kinds of human beings. In the future we may well be able to assemble nucleotides in any desired sequence, to produce whatever characteristics we think desirable—a sobering and disquieting prospect." And in a discussion of evolution, while admitting that superior intelligence was in general an asset for humans, he qualifies this by saying "until the invention of nuclear weapons, intelligence powerfully aided survival." (*Cosmos*, pp. 35, 284; emphasis added)

Accordingly, Sagan is rather pessimistic about whether humans can survive their "technological adolescence" without some help from the outside—from superior, more advanced civilizations elsewhere. Thus the stress he lays on the systematic search for extraterrestrial intelligence. But in pinning his hopes for human survival on this search, he constructs a quasi-religious program, however couched in scientific terms.

### An Important Front for Battling the Bourgeoisie

Not surprisingly, where Sagan has strayed from the scientific method, particularly in his views on social questions, his utterances have been seized on by the bourgeoisie. But it would be a mistake to conclude that this has been the major aspect of his overall effect on the masses of people. In the main, the effect of *Cosmos* has been to stimulate interest in, and impart some information about, genuine science. Why, then,

has the bourgeoisie promoted Sagan to the extent that they have?

The main reason is that growing numbers of people are demanding popularizations of genuine science, and the bourgeoisie is forced to reckon with this. And so the interests that control *Time*, *People* magazine, the Johnny Carson show—and PBS—have taken the attitude toward Sagan (swayed in no small part by the profits to be made off the "Carl Sagan phenomenon") that their own reviewers and promoters will be able to stress some of his more utopian views on social and political issues and some of the more metaphysical elements of his philosophy. They are still able to allow a little "freedom of the media" to those who are fed up with all the attention given astrologers, "ancient astronomers," mediums and assorted crackpots, while continuing to peddle pseudoscientific bullshit more and more widely.

But more fundamental than that is that once the genie of science is uncorked, it cannot be so easily channeled by the bourgeois publicists. And revolutionaries must not allow all the fanfare to blind them to the importance of uniting with Sagan's materialism, his basic stand with the masses of people, and the overall thrust of *Cosmos*. Summing up his views and delving more deeply into the broad range of questions he addresses through the application of the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought will be an important part of the theoretical struggle in the natural sciences, of doing battle with the bourgeoisie on this thoroughly ideological front. □

them in power—and that they are not irreplaceable. However, as they are well aware, the U.S. is not the only force ultimately capable of replacing them, and more maneuvering of these regimes can be expected.

In El Salvador, recent developments on the road to "tying the Americas together in a bastion of freedom", in addition to the above-mentioned I.D. cards, have included the killing of at least 175 people in the last month for curfew violations—and that is only in the city of San Salvador; figures for the rest of the country are not available—and the recent arrest of the entire administration of the National University just prior to a scheduled reopening of the school which has been shut down since last spring because of revolutionary activity among students and teachers.

The step up in the U.S. clampdown of Central America has not been able to smash either the aspirations—or the struggle—of the Salvadoran masses to overthrow imperialist domination of their country. Despite a definite lull in the struggle, and the influence of a compromising political line among the leading pro-U.S. and pro-Soviet class forces in the FDR and the guerrilla coalition Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), clashes between armed Salvadorans and junta troops continue in various parts of the country, including suburbs of San Salvador and the provincial capitals of San Miguel, Usulután and San Francisco Gotera in Morazan. Electricity to the entire eastern third of the country has been cut off, and the junta has publicly fretted over the fact that it will take them at least 15 days to reconnect it, due to armed resistance in all parts of the area.

The *New York Times* gives this account of the situation in one area: "In this northeastern provincial center, where the fiercest fighting of the offensive took place, the commander of a supposedly elite army unit asserted, 'We are in control—total control.' But peasants from a mountain village near here tell of banners over roads that proclaim 'Liberated zones.'"

Particularly laughable was a recent press conference answer to the question, "Who supports the junta?" from Colonel Jaime Abdul Gutiérrez, Vice President and Commander-in-Chief of the fascist armed forces. His reply: "the peasantry. More than 2 million people in the rural sector." He neglected to mention why it is that a recent highly publicized ceremony to give the *title* (but not the reality) of land

ownership to some loyal—or intimidated—peasants only involved 200 of these same "supporters." And he also failed to explain why with support just oozing out of the "rural sector," the junta has so much trouble maintaining even minimum agricultural production to meet its financial needs.

But despite the fact that U.S. and U.S.-backed gangsterism has not—and ultimately cannot have the desired effect on the masses of El Salvador (or any other country), it is having some effect on some other forces in the region. The recent escalations and threats against Nicaragua, which now includes a delay in wheat sales at a time when there is a growing shortage of that commodity, has apparently led to quite a bit of backpeddling from the Nicaraguan government in its support for the Salvadoran opposition. Not only is the remaining pro-U.S. minority in the Nicaraguan government opposing further support for the FDR, but the Sandinista majority in the government, which has been heavily swinging in a pro-Cuban direction over the past year, is apparently echoing U.S. claims of a "failed offensive" and counseling the FDR and FMLN to stop fighting and "negotiate" with the junta. Both Tomás Borge, the Sandinista Minister of Information, and Eden Pastora, the head of the State Militia and formerly known as "Commander Zero" during the struggle to overthrow Somoza, have made public statements to that effect. Borge told the *New York Times*, "In El Salvador, the guerrillas could not defeat the army and the army could not defeat the guerrillas. Things cannot continue like this. It is convenient neither for the government nor for the guerrillas, neither for the United States nor for us. No defeat and no victory seems possible, but we feel that a political solution should be sought." Borge did say it would be "convenient" for the Nicaraguan government to join with U.S. neo-colonies like Mexico, Venezuela, Costa Rica, and Panama, and "even the United States" in working out such a "solution."

Of course, such a development would be no solution at all to the problem of imperialist domination of El Salvador, but it apparently meets the immediate concerns of various competing bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces in the Nicaraguan government, where 60% of the economy is still dominated by private capitalists—most of whom are tied to the U.S.—with the rest nationalized by the Sandinistas, and where both the private economy and that of the government is still export-

oriented and dependent on outside financial—especially western imperialist—support. And the government's main political supporters, the Cuban pro-Soviet bourgeoisie, has thus far not raised any objections to the Sandinista maneuvers in this direction.

Exactly how the Salvadoran opposition will respond to these developments is not yet clear. As we have pointed out in previous articles, the bourgeois and petty bourgeois class forces in the FDR and FMLN have tended toward capitulation to the imperialists in line with their own aspirations to eventually exploit the Salvadoran masses for their own benefit. The more pro-U.S. forces, represented by FDR President and former junta member Guillermo Ungo and the former Christian Democratic elements, have pinned much of their hopes of achieving this on their "diplomatic offensive," trying to gain support from U.S. allies and neo-colonies for their proposed accession to power; if the U.S.' own "diplomatic offensive" achieves some dramatic results, these forces may be more amenable to some sort of deal with the forces of the junta—something the U.S. would accept only if the junta, and especially its military apparatus, remains firmly in the driver's seat and the more rabid pro-Soviet and pro-Cuban forces were kept out of any power positions. For the pro-Soviet and pro-Cuban forces, represented especially by Schafik Handal, General Secretary of the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS), and Salvador Cayetano Carpio, former PCS general secretary who publicly left it in 1970 and became a leader of a guerrilla group called the Popular Liberation Forces, (FPL), the FDR's "diplomatic offensive" has been an important part of their attempts to carry out the Soviet's strategy of "historic compromise" with pro-U.S. elements in preparation for an eventual grab at the whole state apparatus and its transformation from a U.S. neo-colony into one dominated by the Soviet Union. How they would respond if this particular form of the Soviet plan falls apart is uncertain, but it is certain that whatever strategy they come up with, it would be as equally counter-revolutionary as the present one. The present situation demands, more than ever, a break from the revisionist influence of pro-Soviet forces by the revolutionary masses of El Salvador, in the struggle to drive the main "outside force," the U.S. imperialists and their puppets, out of El Salvador forever.

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## Hostage

Continued from page 5

Portland as well. One person, who lives 90 miles away on the Oregon coast, raised \$150 and sent it to the bail fund by Tuesday night. The very next day a noontime rally was quickly called to further step up the battle over the ribbon burning. Over 100 students gathered as word spread about the rally, while another 100 or so watched from the cafeteria nearby. It was just too much for the campus and other local authorities to take. Within a half an hour after the rally began, police swooped down and arrested a revolutionary from Turkey, claiming that he had "hindered prosecution" by not appearing in court the previous day (his charges have since been upped to two counts of "harassing an officer"). Immediately a crowd of 30 angry students surrounded the cops, chanting: "Bullshit, Bullshit, Bullshit!"

For many, this arrest was the last straw. Already many of the students had come to see him as a very strong force for exposing the crimes of U.S. imperialism around the world, speaking with an authority of one who had lived under the domination of the U.S. And more, students were outraged over the fact that the bust occurred on Free Speech Square, a spot that had been won for campus debate during the upheavals of the 1960s. A number of students offered to be witnesses of the arrest and to volunteer to work to get all the revolutionaries out of jail. A former Marine Corps officer in Vietnam who had been arguing heatedly with the comrade from Turkey only minutes before, was so angered by the arrest that he immediately got an advance on his paycheck and donated \$50 towards bail. (His job pays \$3 an hour.) The brother also approached campus

organizations for funds; at his initiative, the Iranian Students Association emptied their treasury. Another student offered a loan of \$600 for the bail. He also joined others in picketing City Hall, where the comrade was being interrogated by the FBI and threatened with deportation.

As plans for a major campus rally were being laid to counter-attack these attempts to intimidate and silence the exposure of the hostage "heroes," intense struggle was erupting among various student organizations over whether or not to endorse the rally. Members of various groups who were inspired by the action and supported the exposure of U.S. imperialism had to virtually break ranks from their leadership who nervously opposed a sharp stand against the imperialists' patriotic swill. A number of these people submitted their own statements to the rally. One, by a member of New American Movement (NAM), and the husband of the RCYBer arrested for arson, expressed much of the growing support for the ribbon burning. He said in part: "The events of the past few days have reawakened the spirit of hope in me. The burning of a simple yellow ribbon was a courageous and honest challenge to the prevailing patriotic fervor."

A powerful statement from a Native American student is worth quoting at length: "Why have the charges levied against the RCYB been so misdirected? Americans need to realize or at least question the actions of their own government. The Native peoples of the Western hemisphere have been shafted and murdered by U.S. imperialism for 400 years."

"At the Sand Creek Massacre, the Cheyenne people were told to keep an American flag in their camp, and no American military faction would ever cause harm to them. However, they were approached by the 7th Cavalry and Black Kettle's people were killed,

many of them huddled under a pole with the American flag. Why are so many people concerned over a yellow rag? Are American people worried that what the RCYB has to say may be true? American people must begin to question the actions of their government (CIA, FBI, etc.) or they themselves will be subject to the monster that is waging war with Native Americans, and preparing to wage war with other people of the world."

This student went on to criticize certain campus political activists and organizations who opposed the RCYB action on the basis that it disrupted what could have been a fruitful meeting—in other words, that more polite methods should have been used:

"As for the people that have alleged that the RCYB let Victor Tomseth off the hook, if they had their way, he would have never been on the hook. Did they really believe he would have answered questions concerning his affiliation with the CIA? He would have denied all of it, so in effect, they are just going to go through the motions of *really* exposing Tomseth, and not taking any action to *show* that they are building a movement against institutions such as the CIA or others, but that they are helping institutions such as the CIA, making sure that there is no unity against the CIA. This is done by levying charges against the RCYB as unguine."

"The CIA has done its job in Iran, and the police are going to do theirs here, unless all people decide to say No!"

In preparation for this rally, the authorities moved their undercover boys into position on the campus, unsure of what was to take place. But the rally went on as planned, with a solid core of about 300 students staying through the entire 3 hours and around 6 to 700 participating at various points. Over 25 students came to the

microphone to speak out against the arrests and U.S. imperialism's crimes in Iran and around the world. The number of freshmen and sophomores that came up to speak was striking, many just awakening to politics, and many prefacing their remarks with, "I never really thought America was really like that." As some ROTC recruits tried to disrupt the rally, they were exposed and reduced to silence by a number of Vietnam vets. One brother, who had stood on an American flag, reading anti-war poems written by Vietnam vets the week before in the cafeteria, explained how the sight of a group of students singing the song, "God Bless America" had spurred him to take that action in the cafeteria. He also explained how he was sick of the hostage garbage and the attempt to suck Vietnam vets into the whole reactionary current. A group of frat-rats were shouted down right at the beginning, and a number of students spontaneously added themselves to the rally security. The scheduled meeting of the campus Political Science Association was cancelled due to its members' overwhelming attendance at the rally. One of its members plans to struggle with the Association to do a bail fund benefit. As it stands now, all 3 of the revolutionaries are out on bail pending the convening of a grand jury in two weeks. That the rulers are wincing from the yellow ribbon burning and subsequent events is evident in their plan to skip all preliminary legal steps and bring the revolutionaries *straight* to the grand jury. But the students' response to the revolutionary exposure concentrated in events surrounding the Tomseth appearance, and their response to the attacks by the authorities, shows that more than one yellow ribbon has gone up in smoke at the University of Oregon. And, the campus is only getting hotter. □

## Junta

Continued from page 22

It seems that the U.S. imperialists actually believe that they can get over with justifying their own vicious war moves in El Salvador by pointing to those of their Soviet rivals. They unabashedly continue to spin out new and still more absurd examples of imperialist "doublethink," seemingly completely oblivious to the fact that their very words stand as vivid indictments of their own criminal aims. Last week, you will remember, they came up with the truly brilliant exposure that the Soviets were shipping American guns to Salvadoran opposition forces. They declared that this was serious intervention into the country. Where did the guns come from? Why they were from two former U.S. neo-colonies, since grabbed by the Soviet Union—Vietnam and Ethiopia. Apparently no one was supposed to ask or answer the question of just how those U.S. weapons got to these countries and what they were used for. Perhaps they were just some more of the "non-lethal" humanitarian aid that the U.S. is so famous for "giving" to the people of the world, like the napalm they so generously and compassionately used in Vietnam and are now dropping in El Salvador.

This week Secretary of State Alexander Haig met with a "bipartisan committee" of Congressmen and got their unanimous support for still more arms shipments to the U.S.-controlled fascist junta in El Salvador. This aid will include patrol boats, helicopters and electronic battlefield equipment along with a requisite increase in U.S. military "advisors" from the current official number of 25 to "less than 100." Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Charles Percy said that the stepped up weapons shipments were "necessary to resist outside intervention." He added, "We will not stand idly by while outside forces—outside our hemisphere or within our hemisphere—are feeding arms to one particular faction attempting to bring down what looks to be a centrist government." Clearly, Mr. Percy, Haig, and all the rest are operating under the impression that they have

discovered a brand new property of the English language—the ability for words to absorb and conceal any lie or cover-up which they wish to spew out. Their words will surely blot out the fact that the weapons being shipped by "outside forces" are American arms from previous American conquests throughout the world for use against a U.S. maintained "centrist" (whatever that is) fascist dictatorship while the U.S. openly talks about launching a straight-up invasion to maintain their rule in El Salvador.

Behind these words lies a more and more desperate struggle by the U.S. to hold on to El Salvador by any means necessary. They are determined to draw the line in Central America, declaring it U.S. property. They have dropped the "human rights" rhetoric used in the past like a hot potato declaring their intentions to make the area a "bastion of freedom" (still more "doublethink"—RW). Of course, the human rights talk and the imperialist maneuvering that went with it did not preclude massive military aid to the junta in El Salvador, but it was then given under the condition that it be used for "non-lethal" purposes. Recently, U.S. terms have changed. Now arms are given under the strict condition that they be used "effectively and efficiently." These new words are more in line with U.S. necessity to make a stand in El Salvador. □

## Mugabe

Continued from page 16

technicality and set free. Mugabe would have had to pay too high a political price if Tekere had been found guilty, and yet Tekere had become too outspokenly critical of Mugabe's government to keep around. The end result was that Tekere was thrown out of the government and is reported to be on a speaking tour throughout Zimbabwe.

The contention between Mugabe and his political rival Joshua Nkomo, the leader of ZAPU, has also intensified. Although this contention dates back a long way into the armed struggle and was particularly centered around the fact that ZANU forces did most of the fighting and around Nkomo's pro-Soviet stance and attempts to seek negotiated settlement that would put *him* in power, in the last few months it has grown increasingly sharp. Mugabe originally brought Nkomo into the government in his quest for "national unity and stability" since Nkomo and ZAPU represented a significant minority (20%) of the Zimbabwean population. This was done also at the urging of U.S. and British imperialism, despite Nkomo's openly pro-Soviet tendencies, since they too had every interest in securing a stable Zimbabwe. At first Nkomo was appointed minister of home affairs, with some significant power over the police and security forces, and three other ZAPU members were appointed to minor cabinet posts. However, with the sharpening up of all the other contradictions in Zimbabwe, Mugabe has decided that Nkomo's continuing influence is too dangerous, and has launched a series of attacks on ZAPU, arresting 10 of its leaders in December and recently demoting Nkomo to the position of Minister Without Portfolio. For his part, Nkomo is fighting to maintain his "share of power" and has begun to realize that his days are numbered. This has led Nkomo to carefully try to walk both sides of the fence—fearfully and humbly acquiescing to Mugabe's rule and trying to maintain some control over his forces, including eventually working with Mugabe to cool out the

latest clashes between his troops and ZANU forces, while at the same time tacitly approving the fighting (which in reality is out of his control, as evidenced by the outright refusal of ZAPU troops to obey even their own local commanders) and refusing to order his men to disarm as a warning to Mugabe.

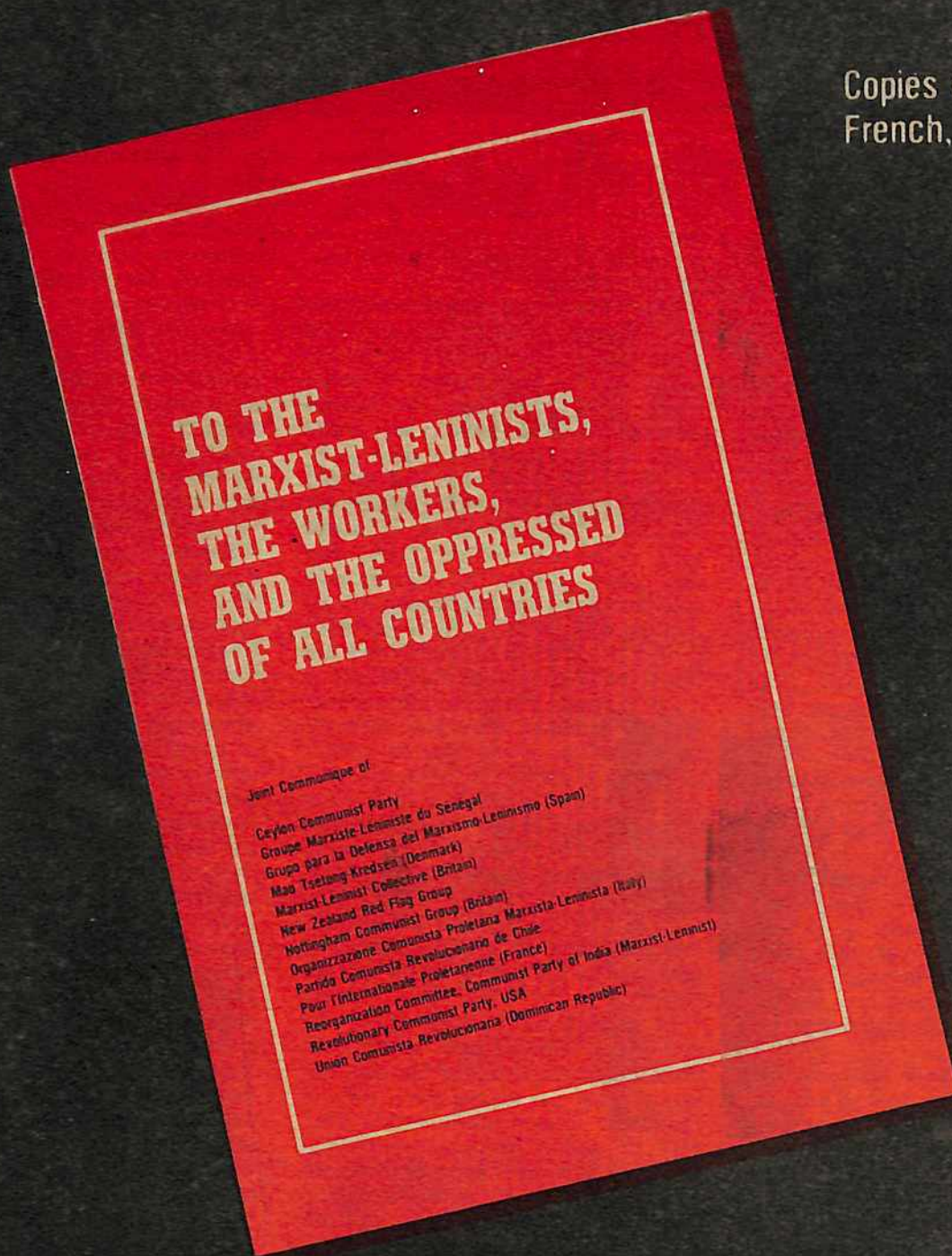
But more important than the personal and political ambitions of Mugabe and Nkomo are the forces of U.S. and Soviet imperialism operating behind the scenes in the ZANU/ZAPU contention. While the Soviets are undoubtedly happy about the increasing instability in Zimbabwe, they've also got to act with a little caution, since at this point their strategic interests seem best served by maintaining whatever influence they can in Zimbabwe through the continuing participation of Nkomo in the government. For the U.S. imperialists, their long-range strategic interests are also the guiding light for their actions in Zimbabwe. And while they may have originally given in to sharing a minor portion with the Nkomo/Soviet forces in the interest of securing a stable Zimbabwe, firmly in their war bloc, they are not about to passively sit back and allow the Soviets through Nkomo to fish freely in the obviously troubled waters of Zimbabwe. Most likely this is one of the main factors behind Mugabe's current campaign to put down Nkomo and ZAPU. The U.S. press has reported that most of those killed in the recent fighting have been identified as ZAPU guerrillas killed by RAR forces. Mugabe further stated this week that he would move to disarm all the guerrillas and that the government plans to maintain the Rhodesian African Rifles as a kind of palace guard until the feasibility and reliability of their new national army has been secured.

While Mugabe thrashes to keep his ears dry in his capitulationist stew, he is meanwhile providing abundant examples of the pitfalls of such a line of capitulation to imperialism. While they are bitter lessons for the masses of Zimbabwean people, the likes of Robert Mugabe will know no peace and their fate can only be either to be replaced by their imperialist overlords or swept aside by the genuine revolutionary struggle of the masses. □



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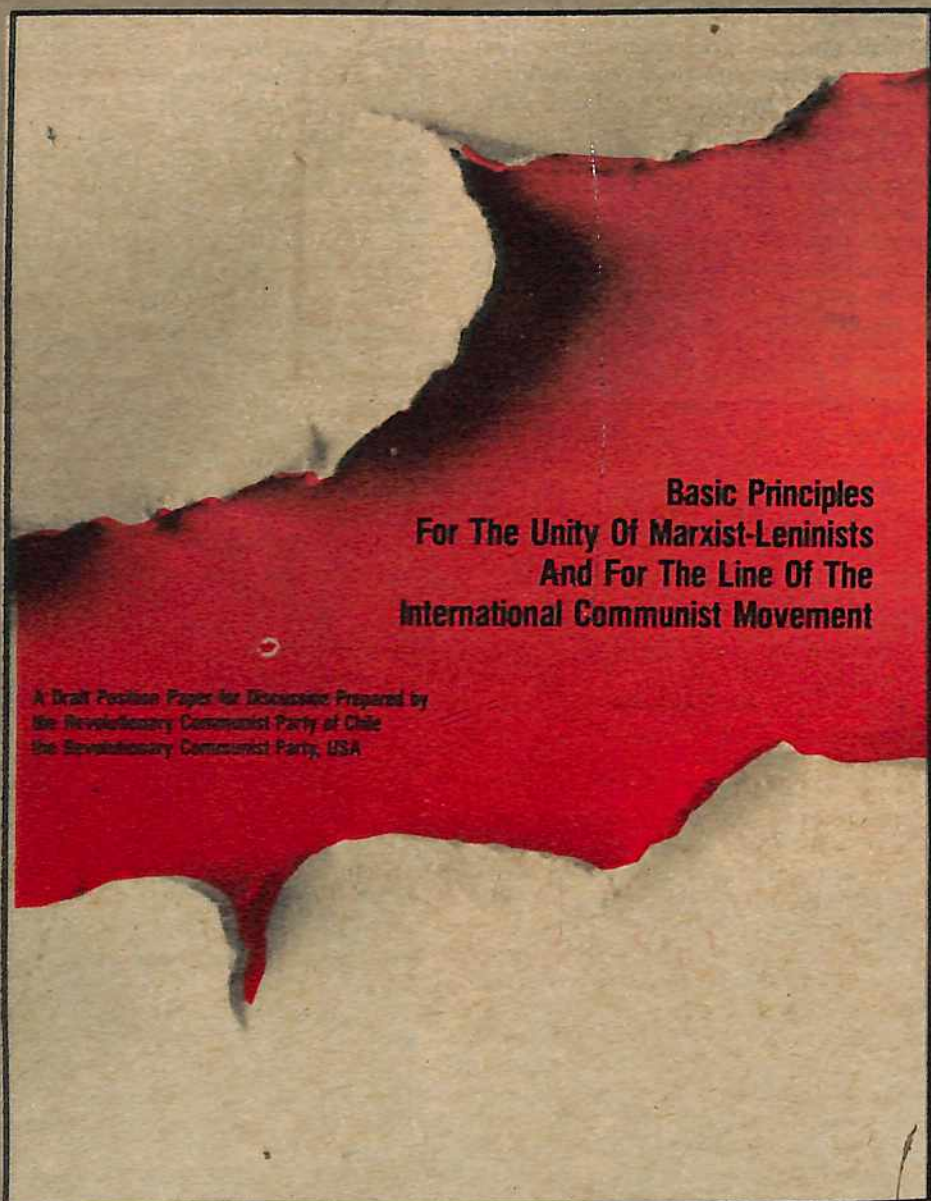
The *Revolutionary Worker* would like to print reader reactions and comments on these two recently published documents. The following note was recently received:

In relationship to the communique run in the 86th edition of the *RW* ("To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries"), I myself feel that it is a very inspiring act that revolutionary organizations across the world have given their utmost approval of the question of internationalism, because this is exactly what will be needed to obliterate oppression and exploitation across the world. To all these vanguard revolutionary organizations, thank you for your commitment to worldwide revolution.

Yours in commitment,  
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