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FBI, Police, Media Atlanta Summer Offensive . . . Against Black People

In a gestapo-style raid, FBI agents and Atlanta Task Force detectives swarmed into the home of a Black family on the afternoon of Wednesday, June 3rd. While some agents whisked Wayne Williams, 22, away to FBI headquarters downtown for 12 hours of "questioning," others rummaged through his parents' house for 5 hours, confiscating bags of "evidence." The story broke on late night national news—a Black "suspect" had been apprehended in the Atlanta murders of Black youth. This was a suspect that the local authorities were quoted as saying could be linked to 10 of the slain youth; a suspect that two FBI agents claimed to have seen throwing something into the Chattahoochee River only three days before the body of Nathaniel

Cater was pulled from the river downstream; a suspect who had been followed, interrogated and bugged for two solid weeks.

Yet before most people were even aware that a so-called suspect had been nabbed, the whole situation had drastically changed. The man was released from custody. The official line changed—he was not a suspect, after all (though some police said "off the record" that they are planning to continue to watch him). The FBI, which had orchestrated the affair, was strangely silent, leaving the usually stone-faced Public Safety Commissioner Lee Brown fumbling badly in the limelight, trying to explain what had

just gone down. The obviously upset Brown announced in a live TV broadcast at 3:20 a.m., which many people had stayed awake to hear, that "We have not nor do we intend to make an arrest. . . . We have not ended up with information that would result in an arrest." Very little else has been said since by the officials. Brown even walked out of his 10:00 a.m. press conference in a huff, refusing to answer reporters' questions.

So what gives?

In short, this was a major attack against Black people in Atlanta—organized directly by the feds. The

incident follows months of increasingly rabid slander aimed at the victims of the murders and their families—up to and including official charges (also by the FBI, incidentally) that some parents killed their own children—and it follows stories of more than a few other Black "suspects." It fits into the general theme that has been hammered out again and again—that the murderer must be Black and that therefore no question of "racial motivation" (as it has come to be known) is involved here.

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South Africa Protests Rock Celebration of Apartheid Rule

In the past week, South Africa (Azania) has been rocked by a widespread outbreak of struggle by the masses of Azanian people. On June 3rd in Johannesburg, South Africa, high school students "numbering in the thousands" according to South African police, from the "mixed-race" (Azanians classified as "coloreds" by the apartheid government) high school of Bosmont Township set out on a march to mobilize other high schools in the area for a demonstration against the South African apartheid regime and to protest the recent arrest of a leader of one of the high school student representative councils. As the march began, the South African police viciously attacked the demonstration in order to break it up before it could spread. Using clubs, bullwhips, attack dogs and teargas, the police frantically worked to disperse the

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Black students of the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, S.A., hold tattered scraps of a South African flag before burning it. This was during a demonstration against a festival on the occasion of the anniversary of the Republic of S.A.

Congress Fathers Children by Incest and Rape

Once again, this past week, the halls of Congress sounded the death-rattle of the "pro-life" morality as imperialist legislators put pen to paper on a measure to eliminate what was left of federal funding for abortions—funds for victims of rape and incest. On Tuesday, June 2, House and Senate conferees approved a measure to eliminate all federal funding for abortions except, as they put it, where the mother's life is "at stake." Jesse Helms, who is also joint sponsor of the Human Life Statutes (which would outlaw abortion altogether in the name of upholding the civil rights of the fetus) gave an example of the concern that Congress has for women; referring to the provisions for funds for victims of rape and incest he said, "This is a red herring whereby people come up four months later and say, 'Oh by the way, I was raped four months ago.'" Leaving aside the fact that the present law already restricted abortions to women who report rape within 72 hours and the statistics that 15,000 pregnancies result each year from rape (most rapes are never reported and any woman who has reported being raped can tell you why not), Mr. Helms got straight to the point. All of this, he has termed as a defense of the 10 commandments, the Judeo-Christian tradition, and of course All-American morality. Good, Mr. Helms, you are teaching us another lesson about God and Country and the oppression and degradation of women—in addition to all the other patriotic crimes committed in the name of the Lord, you have added incest and rape. Mr. Helms, of course, is an imperialist pointman in this matter, but it should not be forgotten that in this assault on women he was joined by both houses of Congress—imperialist spokesmen of all stripes.

As though the Hyde Amendment wasn't abusive enough and a rather loud message about what the imperialists consider the fitting position of women in the lower classes, the latest action only serves to underline the point. Even before these latest cuts, which bourgeois sources all predicted would pass with flying colors, we were treated to such perversion on the mass media as the Chicago TV news program which put forward the "exemplary" model of a teenage girl who had been



Attacks on the right to abortion have been met with widespread protest as in this demonstration in New York City. On the opening day of the Human Life Statutes debate April 23, 400 women set up a picket line outside the hearing and six women went inside. They disrupted the hearings shouting, "Stop the Hearings! These laws kill Women!" before they were dragged out and arrested. Also strengthening the opposition was the news that on May 18 thousands of women poured into the streets in Rome with red flags to celebrate the defeat in Italy of a proposal backed by the Pope that would have wiped out free abortions to any woman over 18.

raped and decided to bear and keep the child. Since half the women raped are under 18, and one quarter are under 12, the lesson here is as bald as it is offensive—let them learn their place and the younger the better!

A great deal of attention is being paid to teenage women these days. A number of states have passed legislation that requires a teenager to get approval from both her parents or the court before she can get an abortion. In such a decision in Utah, Chief Justice Berger identified "family integrity" protection as justification for limiting teen abortions. And here, yet another side of bourgeois morality is revealed. In addition to being under the "yoke of capital, the oppression of 'sacred private property,' the despotism of philistine obtuseness, the avarice of the

small property owner" which Lenin described as the ugly features of capitalism behind the laws degrading and oppressing women, there is of course, the "integrity" of the head of the household. And for all those young women who do not wish to bear their burden and/or face humiliation in court and a horrible and sometimes brutal scene with their parents, there is another alternative. This one, promoted by Marjorie Mecklenberg, a notorious "pro-lifer" and Reagan appointee to the office of Adolescent Pregnancy Program, is more in line with yet another prospect imperialism holds for girls—going into the army; Mecklenberg holds that contraception should not be the "first line of defense against pregnancy"—she prefers discipline.

While all this is certainly part and parcel of the offensive against women which the bourgeoisie has launched—unleashing their reactionary social base in the Moral Majority and beyond to set the standards for the present and future by feigning a return to

values of a past and greater glory—this is by no means the whole picture of revelations in imperialist morality. This week also saw the Supreme Court rule that nude dancing was protected by "freedom of expression" in the first amendment of the Constitution. And three weeks ago, in New York State, the legislature struck from the books a law against child pornography. The ruling made legal the promotion of films or photos showing children "engaging in actual or simulated sexual intercourse, sodomy, sexual bestiality, masturbation, sado-masochistic abuse or lewd exhibition of the genitals."

As we pointed out in the February 20 issue of the *RW*, "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." The unity here is the attempt to implement new world levels of a programme of all-around subservience of women. □

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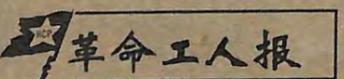
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A Deeper Understanding Of The Development Of
Revolutionary Situations Or ...

Strength Can Be Transformed Into Weakness, And Weakness Into Strength

The following are some further excerpts from a letter by Bob Avakian in response to a letter he received. For previous excerpts from letter see RW Nos. 95, 96, 102 and 107, March 6 and 13, April 24 and May 29.

I think it is wrong to equate the question of the masses' inability to go on living in the old way simply with the question of immiseration, which is also treated in the letter more or less simply as a question of *impoverishment*. The phenomena of jolts and dislocations in society and the ruling classes drawing the masses into political life also have a lot to do with this. And as pointed out in "Coming From Behind To Make Revolution" (a talk by Comrade Avakian, reprinted as a pamphlet—*RW*), the inability to go on living in the old way, which certainly includes the question of willingness or unwillingness to do so, is dialectically related to the possibility existing—and being grasped—of *not having* to go on living the old way, which in turn has very much to do with jolts and dislocations in society and the masses being drawn into political life, including by the upper classes themselves (as Lenin put it).

For a long time I understood Lenin's often-referred-to three conditions for a revolutionary situation, and especially the first two, rather narrowly and mechanically: the inability of the ruling class to rule in the old way meant that they had to become more repressive, and the inability of the masses to go on living in the old way meant essentially that they were driven into destitution, or to the brink of it. But, as for the first, often in fact the inability of the ruling class to rule in the old way means that a highly repressive form of rule has to be coupled with or even on occasion replaced by a more "democratic" one, or that concessions formerly

denied, often by brutal means, have to be granted—and this is often like letting the lid off, or letting the genie out of the bottle. And as for the inability of the masses to go on living in the old way, it is true that this generally involves serious economic hardship, but this by itself does not bring about a revolutionary mood among the masses. This requires for one thing the work of conscious revolutionaries to develop such a mood as fully as possible (which is part of the third condition cited by Lenin—a party capable of acting as the vanguard), but it also requires and involves jolts, shocks, disruptions, dislocations, dramatic changes in society (brought about by the workings of the system itself) and the involvement of the broad masses in political affairs (Lenin also pointed out that a revolutionary situation is marked, among other things, by the fact that even the backward masses are drawn into political life). As has been said elsewhere, once the genie is out of the bottle, it's up for grabs who will stuff who into what bottle.

In short, it is the combination of the objective and subjective factors together that make for a revolutionary situation. None of these factors can fully develop separately from the others—their development is dialectically related. Further, there is no such thing as a "model" revolutionary situation. No two revolutionary situations are the same, nor is it the case that revolutionary situations exist only when there is a good (or reasonable) chance of success. The 1905 revolution in Russia was a real revolution, marked by a real revolutionary situation, even though it lost and had in fact little chance of winning. Lenin, however, took the same stand toward it as Marx had taken toward the Paris Commune—prizing the historic initiative taken by the masses and urgently striving to push it as far forward as possible—which is one crucial reason why the revolutionary movement, not just in Russia but internationally, was able to advance in the years after the

defeat in Russia in 1905, and why there was a successful proletarian revolution, the first in world history, in Russia in 1917.

To combat metaphysical tendencies on this question, it is important to say that to the degree that and in the way that this concept of "weak link" can be (correctly) applied, it does not have to mean that the "weak link" can only be someplace like Tsarist Russia that was a lesser partner in an imperialist alliance in a war, a more backward country, etc. Why cannot it also be a country (or more than one such country) that starts out—that is, enters a war, for example—a very *powerful* force, a main force within, even the head of, an imperialist bloc, but *for that very reason* the ruling class there has to try to "hold everything together" (or play a major part in doing so) when things are stretched to the limit throughout the world and *this* is the basis on which the contradictions become especially concentrated and acute there (though perhaps not only there, and hopefully not only there)? Strength and weakness are a unity of opposites and can be transformed into each other. Even a powerful imperialist state can become vulnerable, and a revolutionary movement right within its "home base" can go from being small and relatively weak to gaining the necessary strength and reserves to actually topple the ruling class. And, as Lenin insisted, only work in this direction deserves the name of communist work.

All this, I think, is of great importance and should be studied, pondered and struggled over deeply and thoroughly, not only in our Party but throughout the international movement—not, of course, for the purpose of trying to metaphysically and idealistically (and perhaps nationalistically) determine exactly where the opportunities for revolution will be (are bound to be) the greatest, but precisely to make the strongest active preparation for seizing *all possible opportunities, wherever and whenever they ripen*, to make the greatest advances for the whole international proletariat and its historic mission of a communist world. □

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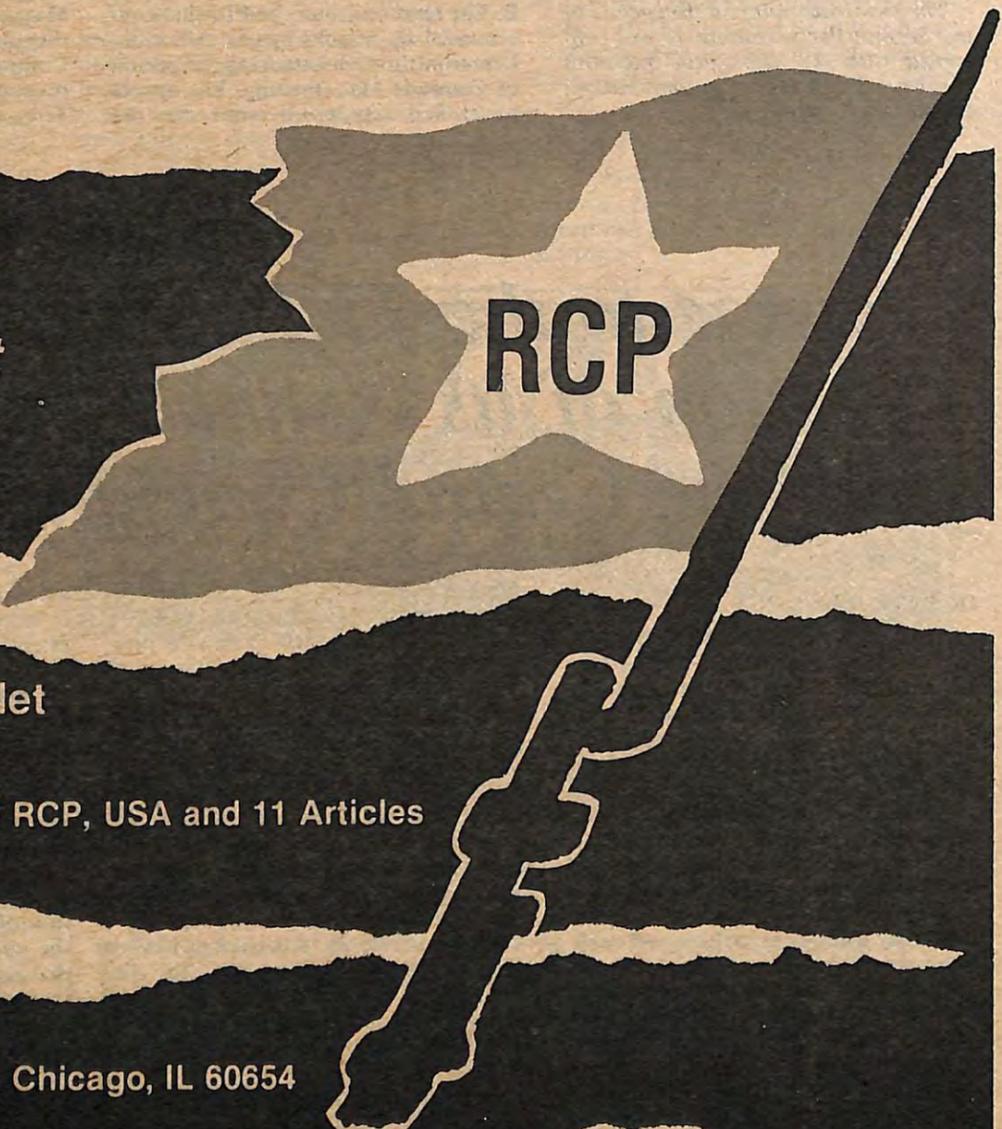
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Statement from the Second Conference of the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist (TKPML)

Message to the Marxist-Leninists and to the International Proletariat

We have recently received the following public statement from the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist (TKPML) after the successful conclusion of its Second Party Conference, which represented an important victory for the Marxist-Leninist line in the TKPML. Following it is a message to the TKPML on the occasion of this Conference from the Central Committee of the RCP, USA.

Message to the Marxist-Leninists and to the International Proletariat

Proletariat of all countries and oppressed peoples!
Revolutionaries, Communists, Comrades!

The vanguard organization of the section of the world proletariat in Turkey, the TKPML, has just held its Second Conference in January 1981. This Conference took place under the most difficult conditions of tyrannical oppression and vicious persecution by the ruling classes of Turkey. It has proven that despite all preventative measures and annihilation attempts by the counter-revolutionaries, we communists cannot be held back by any force from moving forward on the road to revolution.

The Second Party Conference marked a very important step to solve the tasks that stand before the proletariat in the ideological and political struggle both internationally and in our country.

In the Second Conference our Party has evaluated and criticized the line which has been carried out since the First Conference. It has identified mistakes and errors. It has prepared itself as the vanguard for the tasks in the coming struggles.

The first focal point on the agenda of our Second Party Conference was concerned with the ideological questions that have deeply shaken the international communist movement.

A. Our Conference has openly condemned the new opportunist front.

This front has formed around the modern revisionist and Trotskyite line which has been systematically propagated since 1978 by the renegade leading clique of the PLA [Party of Labor of Albania], who, once again, set out to split and destroy the international communist movement from within. Our Conference has in the main confirmed the call of the Central Committee of September 1979 ("PLA: The Initiator of a New Ideological Split") to the proletariat of the world concerning this question. Our Conference analyzed the ideological and political roots of the anti-Marxist-Leninist line of the PLA and discussed its historical development. The result of this work at our Conference will soon be made public to the Marxist-Leninists and the world proletariat.

Our Party did not participate in the attacks against Marxism-Leninism and Marxist-Leninist leaders that were launched by the renegade clique of the PLA. It fought against these attacks. However, in this struggle the Party wavered and made mistakes. These mistakes have been for the most part corrected by the decisions of the 8th Plenum of the First Central Committee. And now our Conference has opened the way for the deepening of the struggle against the modern revisionist-Trotskyite line of the PLA.

Our Conference has resolved to wage a militant struggle against all forms of modern revisionism, Trotskyism and opportunism, headed by Khrushchev-style modern revisionism, in order to emerge from the ideological chaos in which the international communist movement presently finds itself.

B. The revisionism of the PLA has concentrated its attacks against Marxism-Leninism through attacking the person of Comrade Mao Tsetung. The opportunist and slanderous wind that the

PLA has stirred up in the world, has caused uncertainty in a section of the communists of the world. As a result of this, the evaluation of the works of Mao Tsetung and the assessment of the Chinese revolution has been placed on the agenda on the ideological front. Of necessity both the attacks of the opportunists and the desire of Marxist-Leninists to discuss these questions influenced the ranks of our Party. For these reasons our Party also put these points of discussion on the agenda. Our Party has put forward a long-term plan of research and discussion in order to defend this great teacher and the outstanding victories of the Chinese proletariat, against the attacks of the PLA and if there are any, to be able to point out any mistakes. The first stage of this program has been concluded with the Second Conference. Our Conference has finished analyzing the People's Democratic Revolution in China and the views of Mao Tsetung on the people's democratic dictatorship. Our Conference has come to the following conclusions:

Comrade Mao Tsetung is one of the five great Marxist-Leninist teachers. His place is beside Comrades Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The evaluation that Mao Tsetung had made mistakes of principle, and for this reason cannot be considered a classic of Marxism-Leninism—exists both within our own Party and internationally. This is a revisionist and Trotskyite deviation and is under the heavy influence of the opportunist attacks of the PLA.

The theses of Comrade Mao Tsetung on the People's Democratic Revolution and the people's democratic dictatorship, both general and particular to China, correspond completely with Marxism-Leninism. These theses further deepen and develop the views of Comrades Lenin and Stalin about the revolution in semi-colonial countries. They embody one of Mao Tsetung's

contributions to Marxism-Leninism.

C. Our Party sees it as an important task of the present ideological struggle to analyze and learn from both the victories and mistakes of the struggle of the international communist movement against modern revisionism. With this perspective the evaluation of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations and the struggle against modern revisionism in this period were placed on the agenda at the Second Party Conference. These questions were also being discussed in the international Marxist-Leninist movement, and a deviation gradually tending to slanders, appeared within this discussion, and has also been reflected in our own Party. According to this deviation, the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960 are in essence documents of modern revisionism. These documents were supposedly a means of propagating Khrushchevite modern revisionism.

Our Conference has condemned this deviation. It has ascertained that the Declarations of 1957 and 1960 were an important turning point in the struggle against the modern revisionism of Khrushchev, in which the Marxist-Leninist line was dominant. In these documents certain concessions were made to the modern revisionism of Khrushchev concerning some questions of principle. However these documents sharpened the awareness of Marxist-Leninists toward Khrushchevite revisionism and activated the struggle against it. To repudiate these facts means repudiating a part of the legacy of Marxism-Leninism, which we must fight decisively against. Our Conference is of the opinion that the Declarations of 1957 and 1960, though in the main Marxist-Leninist, cannot today be considered as the general line of the international communist movement. Our Conference is of the opinion that the unclearities and concessions to Khrushchevite revisionism in the documents from 1957

Message to the TKPML on the Occasion of Its National Conference from the Central Committee of the RCP, USA

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the National Conference of the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist, we send greetings on behalf of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Your Conference is taking place at an important juncture of the revolutionary struggle in your country. The reactionary semi-feudal and comprador bourgeois system is undergoing a great crisis. The masses of workers and peasants find it impossible to live in the old manner, and are increasingly meeting armed counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. The reactionary rulers themselves are divided and squabbling over how to best suppress the peoples and defend the imperialists' interests. The prospects for the commencement of people's war and its eventual victory are

bright indeed.

In these circumstances the TKPML has worked persistently to arm the proletariat and the oppressed masses of Turkey with a Marxist-Leninist line, with the perspective and means of the revolution, and how the revolution in your country is part of the struggle of the international proletariat for communism. In the course of revolutionary work the TKPML has been repeatedly and viciously attacked by the reactionaries and fascists and has suffered the loss of many martyrs, most especially Comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, who made lasting contributions to the revolution in Turkey, including developing the basis of protracted people's war in the concrete conditions of your country.

Comrades, the rapid rise of the revolutionary struggle in Turkey is taking

place in the context of a world situation in which the major contradictions are intensifying. In the recent period revolutionary upsurges have been taking place in a number of countries, including in the Middle East where the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people has succeeded in toppling the regime of the Shah and has given U.S. imperialism no peace. In Afghanistan, the Soviet invasion has been met by fierce resistance of the masses.

Of great significance is the acceleration of the drive toward world war, as the imperialist powers each seek a new division of the world more favorable to themselves. The U.S. and the Soviet Union are each leading rival imperialist blocs which are making feverish preparations for a third world war. If the revolutionary struggle of the world is not capable of stopping this world war,

it is quite likely that the world war will break out in the not too distant future. These developments threaten the people of the world with unprecedented misery, death and destruction; at the same time they present the revolutionary proletariat of all countries with great responsibility and great opportunities to make revolution. It is our firm opinion that if the imperialists launch another world war, it will also unleash a great revolutionary storm which will carry with it the real possibility of overthrowing the reactionary regimes in many countries, including within the imperialist countries themselves.

How well the communists and the revolutionary working class are able to seize hold of the revolutionary possibilities is closely linked to the resolution of the crisis which is currently gripping the international communist movement.

and 1960 must be cleared up; and that in the main these tasks have been carried out in the letter and nine commentaries from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, known as the 1963 Polemics. For this reason our Conference declares that the international communist movement must take the 1963 Polemics as a basis to be able to unite around a common line and that these documents, provided that certain shortcomings and errors in them are overcome and developed to cover the ideological questions of the present day, can serve as the platform for the international communist movement.

Finally, our Conference calls on the Marxist-Leninists of the world to take a stand against the new opportunist front headed up by the PLA, which after Khrushchevite-revisionism and the modern revisionism of the "Three Worlds Theory", is trying to disarm the world proletariat.

Our Second Conference calls on the world's Marxist-Leninists to beat back and condemn the hideous attacks of this opportunist front, carried out with the ammunition taken over from the arsenal of Khrushchev and Suslov, on Comrade Mao Tsetung and the victories of the Chinese proletariat under his leadership.

Our Second Conference calls on all the Marxist-Leninists of the world to learn from the struggle of the communist leaders against modern revisionism of the Khrushchevite variety, but also to learn from the mistakes.

Our Second Conference calls on all Marxist-Leninists to unite taking the "Proposal For a General Line of the International Communist Movement" from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China as a basis; and through comradely discussion and criticism/self-criticism, deepen and raise it to the demanding situation of our day.

Our Party has steeled itself in the struggle against those lines which deviated from Marxism-Leninism and its concrete application to Turkey as developed by our founder Comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya.

Our Second Party Conference also led a struggle against the revisionist-Trotskyite line that appeared in our own ranks while the ideological problems of the international proletariat were being discussed. In short, this line holds the exact opposite from the decisions taken by our Second Party Conference concerning the evaluation of Comrade Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Revolution. The main thesis of the struggle against this line can be found in the documents of the Second Conference which will soon be published. This struggle is a two-line struggle in the Party which is still not completed. The fact that Marxism-Leninism won out in the first stage of this struggle is a result of the fact that vigilance toward and loyalty to Marxism-Leninism had the upper hand in our Party and the principles of democratic centralism were applied in practice. Under the leadership of the Second Central Committee our Party will further deepen this struggle and conclude it with a complete victory of Marxism-Leninism.

Our Party Conference has evaluated the practice of the Party since the First Conference. It has recognized that the Central Committee gradually systematized a right opportunist line.

This right opportunist line has dealt severe blows to the development of the Party both by the ideological vacillations it displayed on the current questions internationally and—which is the more important—by applying a line of pacifism and tailing behind the masses in the class struggle for political power. The First Central Committee could not mobilize our Party to lead the armed struggle of our people and solve the tasks of the preparation of guerrilla warfare. The Party has not developed

along with the possibilities that arose with the sharpening class struggle and the upsurge of the revolutionary current. The Party was caught unprepared by the military coup of September 12th which is now carrying out vicious terror in our country. Although it was foreseen that the counter-revolution was moving in the direction of an open fascist dictatorship, the First Central Committee did not develop the revolutionary tactics that correspond to this analysis. It rather kept the Party continuing on the basis of peaceful struggle and the internal work as the main task and in doing so left our impoverished people without leadership.

Our Second Party Conference has corrected this line. It also pointed out the connection of this right opportunist line of the Central Committee with the influence of the revisionist-Trotskyite viewpoint and method of the second line on the Central leadership. The rejection of this right opportunist line takes on decisive importance because of the high level of class struggle that has been attained in our country today. Now our Party will be mobilized to complete the preparations for guerrilla warfare through armed struggle in the rural areas. The daily struggles and the democratic organizing of the working class will now be given the importance that it did not receive in the past years. Leadership will be seized on this question. Our Party will provide a better leadership for the struggle of our people in the People's Democratic Revolution by following tactics which correspond to the revolutionary situation that today finds itself in stagnation but will be developing in the very near future to a higher level.

Proletariat of all countries, and oppressed peoples!

In many countries of the world the working class and oppressed peoples are carrying out courageously a life and death struggle against the worldwide

counter-revolution that finds itself in deep economic and political crisis. The main tendency in the world today still is revolution. The class struggle in our country, which sharpened and resulted in the military coup, is only that part of this struggle that is taking place in Turkey. If the working class and the revolutionary people hold the banners of revolution for independence, people's democracy, and socialism high in their own countries; the imperialist and social-imperialist bandits will not have the chance to cover the world with blood through a third war for the redivision of the globe. For this reason our Second Conference calls on the peoples of the world and on the proletariat of all countries: Unite! Hold high the banner of revolution! Fight against the war preparations of the imperialists and social-imperialists with revolution! Expose and condemn these war preparations! Smash all modern-revisionist-Trotskyite obstacles in your path!

For this reason our Second Party Conference calls on all Marxist-Leninists of the world to unite along the bright path of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung to carry on an open and thoroughly principled debate in order to unite ideologically and through this debate organizationally; and to mobilize the proletariat and its allies in their countries to the struggle for revolution!

**LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM!
LONG LIVE THE IMMORTAL
WORKS OF MARX, ENGELS,
LENIN, STALIN AND MAO
TSETUNG!
LONG LIVE THE PROLETARIAN
WORLD REVOLUTION!
LONG LIVE OUR SECOND PARTY
CONFERENCE!**

Central Committee, TKPML
February 1981

While this crisis has deep historical roots, the present crisis exploded with the capture of political power in China by a new revisionist bourgeoisie led by Deng Xiaoping and Hua Guofeng after the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung. These revisionists have overthrown the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, reversed verdicts on the Cultural Revolution, and undone all the accomplishments of the Chinese working class and people won under the leadership of Mao's revolutionary line. On the international plane, these revisionists have shamelessly capitulated to imperialism and have ordered others to do so under the signboard of the "theory of the three worlds." At the same time as this grievous loss, Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labor of Albania have launched a virulent and all-out attack on the revolutionary line of Mao Tsetung—es-

pecially his teachings on the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and his leadership of the Cultural Revolution, but also on many other important areas, including his theory of people's war. In doing so, Hoxha seeks to negate the real advances and lessons learned in the struggle against revisionism over the past several decades. Hoxha has also tried to foster his revisionist theses on the international movement.

The loss in China and the subsequent attacks on the teachings of Mao Tsetung have confronted all who had hitherto constituted the Marxist-Leninist movement with vital questions. Unfortunately, many have abandoned the revolutionary road and fallen into revisionism. Some others flounder in the quagmire of eclecticism and centrism, hoping to avoid taking clear positions

on questions of principle. In order to rebuild a genuine unity of Marxist-Leninist forces in the world, it is necessary to clearly demarcate from these dangerous tendencies.

Our Party recognizes the principled stand that the TKPML has taken at the present juncture in the international movement. You have condemned the revisionist takeover in China; you have upheld important contributions of Mao Tsetung and condemned the attacks on his line; you have criticized the "three worlds theory"; and you have called for a critical evaluation of the roots of the current crisis, and for struggle for unity around the correct line in the international movement.

Our Party is convinced that struggle for unity in the international movement is not only a general principle of Marxism-Leninism but an especially urgent

task in face of both the crisis in the movement and the rapid intensification of the contradictions in the world. We believe that this task can only be accomplished by standing firm on the vital lines of demarcation in the international movement today while at the same time critically examining the struggle against modern revisionism and its roots in the historical experience in the international communist movement.

We are confident that important strides in building the communist movement and the revolutionary struggle in the various countries and on the international level can and will be made in the period ahead, including in the victories won at your National Conference.

Central Committee of the
RCP, USA

Government's Troubles At Big Mountain

With the struggle at Big Mountain threatening to explode, the ruling class and its faithful lap dogs have been scrambling to come up with a plan to defuse the dynamite. The latest of these attempts is a supposed "offer" by representatives of the U.S. puppet Navajo Tribal Council to purchase that section of the Joint Use Area (JUA) which the federal government has so generously decided should "belong" to the U.S. puppet Hopi Tribal Council. In fact, even if such a deal was struck, *real* ownership would be transferred to Peabody Coal, Mobil Oil and Uranium, Kerr McGee, United Nuclear, Consolidation Coal, etc.

The JUA is an area in the Four Corners section of Arizona where both Dine' (Navajos) and a smaller number of Hopis have lived together for centuries. But the bourgeoisie has fabricated a so-called "Indian dispute" between the two tribes as a justification for the forced eviction of over 9,000 Dine' and over 100 Hopis. By dividing the land between the two tribal councils and drawing a partition so that nearly all the Dine' end up on the "Hopi side" and vice versa, the government plans to remove the obstacle to mineral wealth—all nice and legal. But the people have refused to move and the resistance has been centered among the Big Mountain Dine'. The supposed "offer" to purchase the "Hopi side" came from noted corporate lackey Peter McDonald, the Navajo Tribal Council Chairman. McDonald is also the chairman of the Council of Energy Resource Tribes, a group which aids the rip-off of mineral-rich Indian lands and serves as a forum for different "Indian leaders" to haggle among themselves for a bigger cut of the spoils. If McDonald were really se-

rious about the proposal—which is extremely doubtful—the only way he could go about raising the multi-millions necessary to buy the land is through working out one of his typical 30-year leasing arrangements with the very same corporations that are now slated to strike similar deals with the Hopi Tribal Council.

But this "offer," like numerous other maneuvers that have been spewing forth from government offices, congressional halls and tribal council meeting rooms, has as its main purpose to bring the growing Indian resistance in the area to a grinding halt. In this respect, it is no different from the countless promises and treaty commitments made by the U.S. government to Native Americans for over two centuries. Even the timing and location of McDonald's "offer" is a dead giveaway: it was made at recent hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs called to try and find a solution to the "problem" in the JUA.

The hearings themselves were a concentrated exposure of both the utter contempt with which the rulers view Native Americans and the fact that this system will permit no other alternative besides the complete destruction of the Indians' life on the land. Some Dine' elders were organized by the Navajo Tribal Council to come to Washington, D.C., ostensibly to present their case to the Congressmen. The elders visited the offices of "sympathetic" senators who took them out to lunch, brought them back to the hearing, and then basically told them to sit down and shut up while lawyers from the Navajo and Hopi Tribal Councils and the various senators took turns proposing "alternatives."

In addition to the above-mentioned

Navajo Tribal Council "offer," there were two other proposals. One was a rehash of the Life Estate proposal whereby Dine' elders over 55 years of age could apply for permission to stay on the land until they die off, while their children would be forced to leave (and restricted to one-hour visitations) and their herds of sheep and cattle would be reduced below the level of subsistence. The other "alternative" was a vague proposal to find the Indians some *other* land in the Four Corners area, which would still force them to "relocate" from the land their ancestors have lived on for centuries, and which is a moot point anyway, since no specific land was proposed for this action. Nor is such a proposal likely, since the entire Four Corners area is known to be extremely rich in mineral reserves. At any rate, at the end of the two-day hearings, the senators reiterated the government's bottom line—if the people continue to resist, U.S. marshalls will eventually be sent in to forcibly evict them.

The *RW* recently spoke with a member of the American Indian Movement (AIM) who is active in the Big Mountain struggle. He said that the recent actions of the government are helping to dispel some illusions held by a number of Navajos. Through the influx of government surplus food commodities and various welfare payments, combined with continuous efforts at "stock reduction" to prevent the people from being able to subsist off their own efforts, the U.S. has worked to promote the view among Dine' that the government is their friend and will take care of them. The AIM member said, "The new generation today is fighting the bureaucracy... and the elders are learn-

ing that many of the young people who are supporting their efforts (to resist relocation—*RW*), that we are telling the truth and that we are not backing off. That's why our direction and our ideas, we have always stuck with them. Unlike the system and its representatives, we have always stood with the promises we made."

But while some U.S. government "alternatives" are pretty well exposed—and opposed—throughout the JUA at this point, other more insidious efforts of McDonald and the Navajo Tribal Council are not. The tribal council has stepped up its attempts to "support the JUA Navajos," sending in the tribal police to offer "protection" from the BIA, calling American flag-waving demonstrations at BIA offices on the JUA and in Phoenix, and now its latest grandiose "offer." These efforts are having some effect, apparently fooling some into believing that such "support" is something other than the attack it really is. The Tribal Council's "support" is aimed at stealing the initiative and smashing the struggle generally. In particular, it arises as the Big Mountain-centered struggle rapidly picks up new forces throughout the JUA, spreading to other areas like Teesto and Peabody.

The history of resistance at Big Mountain goes back a long way. In 1864, the U.S. government sent Kit Carson out to the Dine' homeland to round up all the Indians and "relocate" them, through a forced march to a concentration camp at Bosque Redondo (in what is now central New Mexico). This was the "Long Walk"; Carson was able to defeat about half the existing tribe. Many Navajos died from disease and

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Prison Rebels Face Felony Reprisals

In the wake of the uprising that shook three Michigan prisons on May 22nd and May 26th the state has moved to clamp down hard in retaliation against the prisoners.

Felony charges have been drawn up against 123 inmates at the maximum security prison in Marquette. In what could be a heavier assault, officials say they have not yet finished building cases against inmates at Jackson prison, which erupted twice in rebellion. They have been interrogating at least 1,000 in National Guard tents set up in the prison yard. At the Ionia Reformatory, at least 30 inmates have been charged. The charges with multiple counts against some prisoners, include possession of weapons, assault on guards, arson, unlawful assembly, rioting and rape.

These charges follow a court ruling last week which ordered prison officials to keep the medium and maximum security inmates at Jackson, already jammed two and three to a cell since the rebellion, locked up 24 hours a day except for meals, emergencies and occasional showers. This was demanded in a lawsuit brought by none other than the prison guards union.

The prison guards had been playing a particularly reactionary role, threatening to go on strike if any of their brethren were disciplined for the unauthorized prison shakedown that triggered the first Jackson uprising, or even if any of the caged prisoners were unlocked and allowed to have exercise time in the yard or meals in the cafete-



Jackson prison during the uprising—prisoners in control of the yard.

ria. On Thursday, May 28, for example these bloated bulls at Jackson refused to release some inmates for lunch. They were ordered suspended by the warden, who rescinded the discipline when another group of guards in the prison reception center walked off in protest.

The state has unleashed the prison guards to run wild, aiming to create a "hang 'em high" lynch mob atmosphere against the "pampered" inmates. At the same time the governor has set up a Blue Ribbon Task Force to

investigate the rebellions and "arrive at a determination of what the facts are." The Task Force includes such notables as the executive deputy chief of the Detroit Police Department, the director of the National Institute of Corrections, and a UAW vice-president. In addition the state legislature is setting up another investigative panel. No doubt the recommendations of these panels will be to further strengthen the apparatus for keeping law and order in the prisons and attempt to prevent further

breakouts from occurring.

The head of the governor's panel, Lawrence Lindemer, a former State Supreme Court justice, summed up his task thusly, "I have a long standing interest in this thing, and this is a job that's got to be done. You can always spend more time on a problem. But the thing to do with a thing like this is to move and move quickly." Unfortunately for Mr. Lindemer it seems that no matter how they move these days the revolts are spreading faster and wider. □

Testimony from L.A. Session of War Crimes Tribunal

One after another they took the stage, witnesses to the crimes and untold atrocities perpetrated against the peoples of the world by U.S. imperialism. They came to testify, to indict, to expose the vicious and bloody nature of the U.S. Many did so at the risk of their lives, their jobs and careers. They came from many places: from the struggle of the Native Americans and fresh from the battle now brewing at Big Mountain; from among the many thousands of people forced to leave their homeland in Central America—political exiles, some all of 20 years old; scientists came from Stanford University, Vietnam veterans, women, Iranians and Chileans and many more. This was the second session of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal held in Los Angeles, California on the weekend of May 29th, attended by more than 200 people. And even as the testimony unfolded inside the hearings some foreign born workers were busy outside, taping further testimony from among the masses.

Never before has such a broad array of forces united to do such an all around, public exposure of U.S. imperialism and right within its own borders. The outlook of those who have no stake or interest in U.S. imperialism punctuated much of the testimony and it was clear that there is no area considered "too sensitive" or "too dangerous" to expose. The broad sweep and depth of the hearings in Los Angeles marked a further development of the War Crimes Tribunal since the initial hearings in San Francisco a few weeks ago. Affected by the testimony given there and seeing the significance of the Tribunal in the intensifying world situation, a number of scientists, for example, have begun contacting fellow colleagues to testify. Linus Pauling, a Nobel Peace Prize winner, endorsed the Tribunal on the day of the opening session in Los Angeles. The Tribunal heard testimony from Pierre Noyes of the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center and Dow Woodward, a biologist and geneticist from Stanford

University.

Presiding over the L.A. hearing was a panel of judges of diverse political and ideological viewpoints including: three representatives from the Native American Movement, Ernie Peters Longwalker, former director of the American Indian Movement (AIM); Archie Fire Lame Deer, a medicine man, and Larry Anderson of the Dine' Nation from the Big Mountain Support Committee; Sasha Cadie, a revolutionary feminist from Seattle, who recently won victory against a felony assault charge with a firearm for coming to the aid of another woman and defending herself from attack; Carl Dix, one of the Fort Lewis Six who refused to go to Vietnam and was locked in a military stockade for this "crime"; and Virginia Wohl, a freelance journalist and contributor to the RW, who exposed the U.S. and the role of the CIA at the West Point press conference for the hostages when they returned to the U.S. Sunday night, Carl Dix and Larry Anderson appeared on a local radio talk show, station KDAY, to

discuss the hearings.

Like the previous hearing in San Francisco, the Tribunal proceeded in an atmosphere of intense struggle, including blatant threats from Nazi-types unleashed by the ruling class. The very day before the L.A. hearings opened, the Tribunal office received a threatening phone call saying, "We will make another Greensboro out of you." This sort of activity did not deter the Tribunal from coming together in a very powerful way. In the coming weeks, the RW will continue to report on the activities of the Tribunal and will reprint testimony from the Los Angeles hearings. The next hearings are scheduled for Chicago, Atlanta and New York City. For further information contact:

For further information contact:

**War Crimes Tribunal
P.O. Box 582
6520 Selma Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90028
or call: (213) 439-4985**

Reprinted below are excerpts from testimony at the Los Angeles Tribunal:

"We have been imprisoned since the day we were born on the Indian reservation."

A pinnacle moment of the Tribunal was the testimony of activists of the Native American Movement. Longwalker, Lame Deer and Larry Anderson through their testimony brought out the outright attempt to totally eliminate the Native American Indians since the inception of the United States. They spoke of the government's attacks on the Indian movement: the imprisonment of Indian leaders like Leonard Peltier, the mutilation of and suppression of their culture and religion, the setting up of the "puppet government"—the tribal councils in the "concentration camps" called reservations—of the attempts to drive the Navajo and Hopi Indians from Big Mountain, the effects of radiation on Indians working in Uranium mines, and their struggle to be recognized as a sovereign nation.

Throughout their testimony they spoke of the common struggle of indigenous people throughout the world and of the oppressed generally. In a

moving moment Larry Anderson responded to a question about whether the United States government has ever honored a treaty. He responded:

The United States government has never recognized a treaty with the indigenous people. Even throughout Central and South America, they are continuously violating the treaties of those indigenous peoples. And we must also understand that; the proletarian tribunal today must understand that—our situation, we, the indigenous people. Like my uncle (Lame Deer) has said, if you want to fight alongside us, you must understand our ways because these are the ways that you are hearing today. This is very historical according to me and you. Because we, the indigenous people, will continuously carry these ways on... I, myself, as a young radical, as a young militant, am very hesitant about the instructions of our elders. I will also pick up a weapon to defend myself, to defend my family, my nation, and my land. And that you also have to understand. I am the youngest of my brothers here. It is very hard for me to have patience because I myself, I am still learning about the struggle. I am still learning about your struggle, that is why I say these things. And I say it from my heart because I

believe in these ways too. I also respect my brothers for they are teaching me, now, today that I respect you for listening to us, for coming together in this way to understand our struggle. It's going to be hard, but one of these days, like my uncle said, we will be walking side by side. And this is a very important day for me. Verbally, we are talking about the treaty between you and I.

Arthur Fire Lame Deer requested that the Tribunal: 1) Denounce the campaign of destruction directed toward the indigenous people, their religion, culture, rights; 2) Denounce the physical extermination which is instrumental to the repression of our Indian leaders, many of whom have been assassinated, tortured, kidnapped and exiled; 3) Denounce the transcontinental corporations which exploit our resources, minerals, petroleum, destroying at the same time the ecology of our territory.

He added that the Tribunal "strongly support our brothers in South America." This was adopted by the Tribunal.

At one point during the testimony Hayden Fischer, one of the Vietnam vets who was testifying at the Tribunal said:

Here at this table, on the same plat-

form, we have representatives of the first people dispossessed of their land... and the very same people, some of us, who very recently have had to rip off land, have had to try to rip off cultures of the people of the world. And here, for once, at the same table we've come together to denounce the same enemy.

At the end of their testimony, Arthur Fire Lame Deer turned to the veterans and replied:

You guys have been in Vietnam. You have been trained. It is up to you to use that training that you have learned to help the oppressed people of the world... you are looking at a man who has been trained by the Special Forces... in Germany. It just so happened I resigned because I had orders to go to Laos in 1968. This is the first chance that I have had to give my opinion of what the U.S. government and the biggest corporations have done to poor white people, Blacks, Chicanos and the Indian people, to use them as the instruments of war. And we are the best because we have been oppressed; we know what it is to be hungry; we know what it is to be without clothes. We have hurt.

It's going to be a long fight and in
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Thatcher's Nervous Visit to "Her" Irish Estate

On Friday, May 29, in the midst of the imperialists' torrents about the struggle in Northern Ireland being one involving "crime" and not politics, Britain's Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, made a highly political visit to Belfast. It was a rather hurried attempt to show support for British imperialism's beleaguered lackeys who help rule Northern Ireland. "I am here to bear witness once more to the Government's commitment, and to my own personal commitment, to the future of the province," she explained. Note the choice of words here. In using the word province she is, of course, referring to Northern Ireland as but a province of Britain.

Indeed, it was this same haughty arrogance that found Mrs. Thatcher glaring down her pinched nose, to utter the following contemptuous statement. "It is a tragedy that young men should be persuaded, coerced and ordered to starve themselves to death for a futile cause," she spat. She once again tried to wash the blood from the hands of the imperialists, declaring: "They have

turned their violence against themselves through the hunger strike to death." Besides flying in the face of the now obvious fact (obvious to most of the world, that is) that the most persuasive force compelling the hunger strikes and the street fighting in Northern Ireland is the heavy yoke of British imperialism itself, this despicable statement is nothing less than the shamelessly imperialist British bourgeoisie saying straight up, "we ain't giving an inch of empire, your struggle is futile."

But, as the saying goes, me thinks they doth protest too much. For it was Thatcher's visit to Northern Ireland that demonstrated quite clearly just who is staring into the face of futility. An article in the *New York Times*, reporting on her whirlwind nine hour jaunt, tried to pass Thatcher off as being one with the people. In fact, a photo that accompanied the story was captioned as a depiction of her chatting with residents of Belfast. Upon closer examination though, we find Mrs. Thatcher firmly behind a security barricade and chatting with a couple of sows

belonging to the local constabulary. And, what is barely mentioned is that the great bulk of Thatcher's nine hours were spent in sessions with various political leaders and commanders of the armed forces of the state—including the British Army—summing up the intense situation across Northern Ireland.

Given that widespread resistance and street fighting has continued, no doubt an air of desperation permeated the air in those closed-door meetings. In fact, one of Thatcher's express purposes in coming to Northern Ireland was to "buttress the morale of their men," who have been stalked by rebel youth in the streets of over a half-dozen cities more regularly in recent weeks. Pompoms notwithstanding, Thatcher's attempts at cheerleading the boys could've hardly amounted to anything more than a, "stiff upper lip, boys."

In another well planned and typically arrogant move, four days later the Queen's cousin, Princess Alexandra, visited Belfast. She came to dedicate the opening of a brand new, Protestant cathedral. Her arrival was immediately

seized upon as an occasion (in the name of security of course) for the unleashing of massive armed foray into two nearby Catholic ghettos. British Army thugs and police proceeded to kick in the doors of shops, pubs and people's homes at will. Truly another unmistakable sign of a ruling class secure in its rule.

Two back-to-back visits by members of Britain's ruling class to Northern Ireland, to "reaffirm commitment," and to remind everyone that the Irish rebels or rather "common criminals," were engaging in a "futile struggle." Such arrogance from the mouths of those who are forced to remain steadfast in absolutely refusing that there even exists a political struggle being waged against their rule! Perhaps the British imperialists think that bluster and hot air can help do what their guns are trying to do—smother the flames of revolt. Clearly though, they are scurrying to find something that'll do the job. □

Recently, Japan's imperialist rulers have been beset by a number of exposures and scandals that have caused an outcry in Japan over relations with the U.S. In the process they have shed some light on some of the necessities and problems faced by the U.S. rulers and their junior imperialist allies as they move to solidify their imperialist bloc in anticipation of world war with their Soviet-bloc rivals. Three weeks ago, former U.S. ambassador to Japan, Edwin Reischauer, revealed in an interview with a Japanese newspaper that for the last 21 years, Japan has permitted American warships and planes to carry nuclear weapons in and out of the country despite the fact that the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, negotiated between the U.S. and Japan in 1960, supposedly prohibits the "introduction" of nuclear weapons into Japan. This practice was conducted, Reischauer said, under a confidential "oral understanding" between the two governments even though both have repeatedly denied over the years the existence of such an agreement.

Not surprisingly, this has caused a political uproar in Japan where the question of nukes is a very sensitive issue. Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki was accused of leading a "government of liars" as the Tokyo stock market plunged 188 points, the biggest drop in six years, and government officials tried to keep up the pretense that such an agreement, maintained by successive Japanese governments, did not exist. (A Foreign Ministry spokesman whined that "We have searched our records and found nothing in our archives"—a rather lame response considering that Reischauer confirmed that the agreement was never written down to begin with.)

These "revelations" of nukes in Japan came hot on the heels of several other incidents that served as rather blatant reminders of the massive U.S. military presence, nuclear and otherwise, in and around Japan. In April, an American nuclear submarine prowling off the coast rammed a Japanese freighter, killing the captain and chief engineer and then—apparently more concerned about being detected—left the ship to sink without attempting to rescue the crew. The government said nothing. Then, several weeks ago, U.S. ships participating in a joint naval exercise with Japanese forces sliced through the fishing lines of Japanese commercial trawlers, sparking protests.

Adding considerable fuel to the political turmoil was the fact that Reischauer's disclosure came precisely one day after consultations ended in Washington between Reagan and Suzuki—consultations which erupted into yet another scandal for the Japanese government and set the stage for the nukes controversy. A joint communique issued after the meeting referred, openly and for the first time, to an "alliance" between the U.S. and Japan, and further alluded to a "division of roles" between the countries in Japan's defense. Among other things, Suzuki specifically promised to pay a greater portion of the costs of maintaining the U.S. military presence in Japan and Okinawa (Japan already spends nearly \$1 billion a year for this purpose, about half of the total expense) and to beef up naval protection in sea lanes—including anti-submarine patrols and surveillance of Soviet naval movements—extending as far as 1000 nautical miles from Japan's coasts. This latter promise had been particularly sought after by the U.S. to take up the slack resulting from the recent reassignment of ships from the U.S. Seventh Fleet to trouble spots in the Indian Ocean and the Middle East.

This announcement set off a bombshell in Japan, where newspapers picked up on the communique's implication of an open military alliance between the two countries and opposition groups charged that Suzuki had reneged on promises not to agree to increased defense spending in response to U.S. pressure. Suzuki rapidly tried to backpedal, the Foreign Minister resigned "to take responsibility for the way the communique was handled and the related confusion," and his replacement hastily issued public remarks

Nuclear "Falling Out" Bares Nature of U.S.-Japan Alliance

critical of U.S. naval deployments around Japan.

In the context of this situation, Reischauer's disclosure of U.S. nukes transiting through Japan—which he innocently described as "purely accidental" and unrelated to current events—was obviously no slip of the tongue by this faithful and time-tested servant of U.S. interests who, after all, is an internationally renowned expert on Japan and well aware of the explosive impact such a public disclosure would have. Rather than an accident, the disclosure was clearly a deliberate U.S. move to convey an urgent message to Japan's imperialist rulers. The message is that it's time for Japan to get on the stick and fully assume the role the U.S. has marked out for it in the overall military preparations of the U.S. bloc for World War 3. Or, as the *Chicago Tribune* editorialized, "Too bad, Japan, but it's time to rise and shine."

But the picture is not the one which this editorial paints, in which "Gradually Japan is beginning to return from the dream world existence during which it rested and recovered from the terrible exhaustion of World War 2." Japan has been a very active imperialist power for quite some time now, and has its own imperialist interests to go to war to seek a new division of the world. Why then is there any contradiction between the U.S. and Japan on military preparation, and why does the U.S. find it necessary to step up the pressure on its junior imperialist partner in the Far East at this moment? To answer these questions, it is first necessary to demolish a few myths about Japan's role—most definitely including its military role—in the U.S. bloc.

Japan is a good example of a point made in the *Basic Principles* document about the U.S.'s imperialist allies:

"Economically, while these countries are imperialist in character themselves—they are dominated by domestic monopoly and finance capital which also exports capital extensively, in accordance with the laws of capitalism in its highest and final stage, as analyzed by Lenin—at the same time they are heavily penetrated with U.S. capital and closely interconnected with the U.S. They have their own interests which they pursue, including the need to maintain and expand 'spheres of influence,' spurred on by the same laws of imperialism, and it is in pursuit of these interests that they are confronted with the increasingly pressing need to seek a redivision of the world more favorable to them. The point is, however, that they do this in the overall context of being part of the U.S. bloc and in that sense through this bloc." (*Basic Principles For the Unity of Marxist-Leninists And For the Line of the International Communist Movement*)

After the U.S. defeated Japan in the inter-imperialist World War 2, it stepped in as the new overlord in the countries that made up Japan's former Pacific and Southeast Asian empire. But the U.S. quickly began to have an interest in a strong Japan as a reactionary bulwark against revolution in the Far East. There was the then-

socialist USSR; then in 1949 came the mighty Chinese revolution; and close on its heels, in 1950, the Korean War began. The U.S. needed a strong industrial and strategic ally in the area. In 1952 the two countries signed a Peace Treaty (ending U.S. occupation of Japan) and a closely linked Security Treaty. All of this had a strong military aspect: U.S. military bases in Japan were retained, a 75,000-man "National Police Reserve" (actually an army) was set up, and munitions and armament production began again, becoming an integral part of the Japanese economy.

Under U.S. aegis, Japanese economic and political relations were restored with Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong and Macau. (The first two of these both played an essential role in U.S. imperialist penetration and control of the area, and had also been at the core—along with China's northeast province of Manchuria—of the Japanese prewar empire.) Japan displayed a strong imperialist dynamism, with the result that it is today by far the foremost economic power in the East and Southeast Asian region. Japanese capital has not only massively penetrated Taiwan and the other areas mentioned above, but also, particularly, into the countries that make up ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations—the Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand). These countries each have greater economic ties with Japan than they do with each other, and in the 1970s about half of the private foreign capital flowing into them was Japanese (as opposed to a quarter from the U.S.). Japan has also been ASEAN's primary source of imperialist "aid," with a total of \$2.7 billion in the last decade compared to \$2 billion for the U.S.

Although this does show the uneven development of the two imperialist powers, with Japan pushing up against and competing with the U.S. in this area of the world, the U.S. still clearly has the upper hand, based on its political and military strength gained off the last redivision of the world. This has economic ramifications as well, with the U.S. using its hegemony to assure itself of the key resources of the area. In Indonesia, for instance,

perhaps the richest prize in the region, after the overthrow of Sukarno in the mid-sixties, the U.S. grabbed up the most promising oil areas, rubber areas, copper and bauxite mines, etc. While Japan is now the largest investor in Indonesia—active in manufacturing, transport, communications, electrical power and in funding the present Suharto regime—it is the U.S. that overall dominates through its development of key resources and, primarily, its political and military influence. Likewise, Japan is the largest investor in South Korea, but it is the U.S. that clearly calls the shots.

Obviously, however, Japan's growing economic might has played an important role in propping up these Southeast Asian regimes against revolutions internally, and in the 1960s and '70s, with the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, against Soviet imperialism. The U.S. has also freely utilized the extensive political connections maintained by the Japanese with the comprador ruling elites of Japan's former outright colonies. For example, Pak Jung Hi, the ruthless U.S. puppet dictator of South Korea from 1961 to 1979, was a former officer in the old Japanese Imperial Army and Indonesia's Suharto is another Japanese military protege. Likewise, after WWII a number of highly placed Japanese officials and military strategists went to Taiwan and helped to consolidate the U.S.-dominated Nationalist regime there in opposition to the Chinese revolution.

Japan's Military Role

Interpenetrating with Japan's postwar reconstruction as a economic power has been its corresponding resurgence as a military power. Despite its carefully cultivated image as a "pacifist" country, humbled by its experience in WW II, uninterested in military matters and only trying to become a thriving businessman, Japan has actually reconstructed its military capability at astonishing speed. While Japan's constitution was supposedly rewritten by the U.S. after WW II specifically to prevent the reconstitution of Japan's military as a viable force, quite the opposite has been the actual case. From the start the U.S. displayed a marked reluctance to proceed with designated confiscations of Japanese industries connected with the manufacture of armaments, leaving 80% of their industrial capacity in this sector intact, and this was put to good imperialist use beginning with the Korean War.

Recently, of course, the theme of Japan's supposed "stubborn reluctance to rearm" has been re-emphasized in spades, with recent articles in the U.S. media emphasizing the "puniness" of Japan's army (only 155,000 troops), the lack of missiles aboard its navy vessels, its outdated equipment, etc., etc.

We are repeatedly told that Japan's Defense Agency is "traditionally stingy" in allocating funds for defense and that, as a percentage of its Gross National Product, Japan has been far behind the other U.S. allies in such expenditures. But, for starters, relating

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Japanese students and farmers waged a militant 15-year long battle against the building of a new airport, which was opposed not only because of its ecological impact and because the government confiscated farmers' land, but also because of its potential for military use. Above, demonstrators destroy the control tower equipment and furnishings.

Authorities Disrupt New York Clash Concerts

Suppressing A Not-So Innocent Cultural Undertaking

Thursday, May 28—opening night of the Clash's 8-day stay at Bond's International Casino in New York City. The band's first live performances in the U.S. in over a year had aroused the most widespread anticipation yet. 28,000 tickets had been sold, with a number of people coming in from all over the East Coast. More broadly still, the band has drawn the attention of many thousands more in the New York area who sense that something excitingly different is happening around this band.

Something very different indeed—so much so that even before the Clash took the stage Thursday night, a concerted effort was under way to set them up and shut down the show. Citing overcrowding at the club, New York City's Fire Marshall personally arrived on the scene Thursday night and attempted to clear the place then and there. Over the next few days, further efforts were made to shut down the club during the Clash's stay. As TV news bulletins insinuated an out of control situation, police patrols were beefed up around the club—harassing fans and passersby alike. The show through Saturday afternoon and evening were cancelled

altogether, the announcement being made Saturday afternoon after 1,000 youth had already lined up to go in. The crowd was "dispersed" with cops chasing youth around the Times Square area brandishing riot sticks.

Official accounts portray a city bureaucracy acting in the interests of "public safety." "Judge by the smell of it," Joe Strummer of the Clash told the press, "You've got to see the fisheries department... People of New York have got an interest and a lesson here if they find out how controlled their entertainment is... How free is this city?" All signs point to a different conclusion than the official rhetoric—a government decision to derail or stop altogether the band from connecting with their audience—a combination they must find threatening indeed.

As the Clash stated to the press, "We are trying to provide entertainment that is not too controlled." And this was demonstrated anew at Thursday night's show. The rumble and roar of "Guns of Brixton" took on a new immediacy, laced with shouts from Brixton's Front Line, connected with the front line being drawn with quickening tempo throughout the world. "Armageddon Time" reached for, and hit new levels of majestic fury. "Complete Control," "Brand New Cadillac," "The Magnificent Seven" and more found the band and audience sharing in an irresistible

sense of triumphance.

At the end of "Washington Bullets," Joe Strummer began beckoning off stage shouting "El Salvador, El Salvador!" as cheers of recognition began sweeping through the crowd. A Salvadoran came on, voicing the determination of Salvadoran people to fight for freedom. Strummer gunned guitar and with the opening words "Yankee, soldier" announced, "I'm So Bored With the U.S.A."; the song possessed an even more acute edge. Joyful pandemonium ensued.

All of this bore little resemblance to the review in the following morning's *New York Times*. The review attempted to paint the Clash as purveyors of the one-dimensional "political art": "The Clash has a long way to go in order to earn the title of the 'world's greatest rock band'. Their exclusive political stance is as limited as their melodic range, which is not much greater than 'Three Blind Mice.' In concert, 9-10 of their lyrics are unintelligible. There is more to rock than visual battle cries no matter how powerful." This reviewer had engineered a (not so) clever trap, but he's hunting in the wrong woods; indeed one of the Clash's contributions has been to help prove these tired suppositions to be as irrelevant as they are hypocritical. Nonetheless, the *Times* review (the *Times* itself serving as a venerable barometer of ruling class prerogatives) provided an apt accompaniment to the more obvious attacks around the club.

"What have we got for entertainment? Cops kicking gypsies on the pavement." The audience leaving Thursday's show was met by the spectacle of scores of sullen faced cops and firemen, with fire trucks lining the streets—their presence a reminder of who holds power and the foreshadowing of what was to come—as the next few days saw the repeated efforts to shut down the show complemented by increasing displays of police force.

Let there be no doubt—Bond's did oversell Thursday night, as they did for every other night. By city ordinance, the club is restricted to a capacity of 1850 people. Thursday night's crowd totalled 3600. The club's explanation to the press was as cheap as it was ridiculous: "Times Square was insane on Thursday night... there were 2,000 gate crashers." Oh, those crazy mobs and beleaguered businessmen! The real story is that the club had oversold so bad that even after having packed in 3600, under tight security, 400 other ticket holders were still left outside.

But what's involved here is more, much more than your typical story of business greed. The Fire Marshall's story is that an anonymous phone caller tipped him off as to the overcrowding on Thursday night. Scarcely able to control his indignation at such scandalous conditions, said marshall vowed to enforce the law with a vengeance. Or so the official story goes.

In fact, Bond's is no different than any other New York club with a similar venue. Overcrowding is a commonly recognized (and condoned) business practice that has been regularly overseen by the Fire Department and Building Commissioner (indeed, stories abound as to the business as usual practice of payoff and kickbacks lining the pockets of these responsible civil servants). Just the week before, another band at Bond's burned a Cadillac on stage in front of a packed house of 4000. As a fire inspector told an *in-cognito RW* reporter Saturday, "4,000 people is not unusual at Bond's, but this is the first time we've done anything about it."

Can you imagine why? An *RW* reporter confronted the Building Commissioner with this question at a press conference Sunday afternoon—"Who made the decision to shut down this particular band at this particular time?" Muttering unintelligibly, the commissioner left his chair and walked out. Reporters had been finding him singularly uncooperative all day—evidently unhappy over having to take the heat for other parties, he could

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Declared Persona Non Grata . . .

Punk Rockers Invade Disneyland

Disneyland. The cultural monument of America. It's so pure, clean, sterile—and red, white and blue. Everything has to be nice and neat and under control. You even have to look a certain way to fit in there, or even to get in. When a punk rocker tried to get in recently, Disneyland security told her "Change your hairstyle, we're square here... You're not welcome at Disneyland," and turned her away. Disneyland has an official policy barring anyone that "might be offensive to some of our guests"—that is, no punk rockers allowed. In light of this a local punk rock band made a recent, unauthorized visit to the place.

For a week, every day, they made their way in and went among the throngs of tourists, wreaking havoc. "Disneyland is set up like it's supposed to be the All-American City, you gotta be all clean cut and 'nice-young-man' to work there. We just ran in there just to go fuck around, just to... spoil it," they said.

One mid-Western tourist wandering aimlessly down Harbor Blvd. told the *RW*, "It was horrible! These weird guys, one with a mohawk haircut! On the 'Jungle Boat Ride' they jumped out of the boat and were running through the plastic jungle, taking the spears away from the mechanical 'Zulus', pulling the heads off the skeletons! Even worse, in the 'Pirates of the Caribbean' all the people were in these big boats and when we passed by the little pirates these guys reached out and slapped them in the face and rubbed their little heads, it was awful! They even tried to pull up the jewelry on the rocks but—thank god—everything was

glued down solid! They just ridiculed everything! They spoiled all our fun!"

One night the punk rockers decided to visit the park after hours. But they weren't expecting Disneyland's massive security army. As soon as they got inside red lights started flashing, there were infra-red light sensors and cameras everywhere and soon the four guys were being chased through the empty amusement park by dozens of cops with guns drawn and German shepherd police dogs. Cops were falling over themselves in the chase spraining ankles; another hurt his back when two security cars crashed into each other. After awhile they all got arrested and were given a "behind-the-scenes" look at the place: "On the outside it's total plastic city—that's exactly what it is. Behind all the painted walls they have a huge security network, with big switchboards and flashing lights. You can see all the TVs where they just spy on everything you do, looking for anybody to do just the slightest thing... you know how it's all nice and green and shit? Well, they brought us in this room that's all grey with glass cages. They were saying shit like 'Why do you want to dress like that? Why do you want to go against the American way?', it was really funny."

They went to court figuring it was going to be like a \$15 fine/Trespassing, no big deal. So without getting a lawyer or anything they just said "Guilty." The judge said "Two weeks in the county jail"! Two weeks?! Obviously, trespassing is one thing and punk rockers defiling America's most sacred cultural institution is another. □

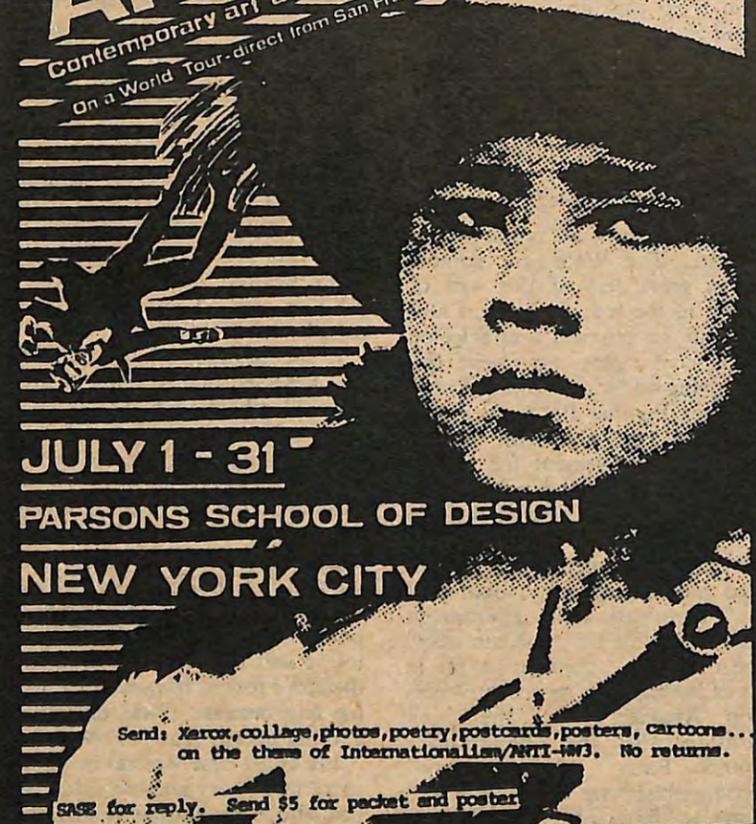
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TESTIMONY ON POLITICAL PERSECUTION

Below is further testimony on political repression generally in this country and on Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France. Already reams of personal testimony have been sent in which document the government's major campaign to crush the RCP and to target Bob Avakian, hundreds of pages of FBI documents have been collected and numerous accounts of all kinds of political attacks unleashed against anyone who dares challenge this system in any way have been brought forward. This has now been sent to France to assist in Bob Avakian's case. But the RW is calling on all our readers to still keep this up, to send in more, so as to produce an even more massive deluge of evidence, and to further expose the claim that the U.S. does not practice political repression and thus Bob Avakian's appeal is not justified.

Executive Director, California
Attorneys for Criminal Justice

May 1, 1981

To whom it may concern:

I have been asked to comment on Bob Avakian's request that the government of France grant him asylum as a political refugee, and would like to go on record in favor of this request, speaking from the point of view of a person who has had similar experience with the investigatory and prosecutorial branches of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Mr. Avakian says that he fears for his life if he remains in the United States; whether he means this literally I am in no position to judge. I do believe that his life and work are in jeopardy in the following manner:

If Mr. Avakian were to remain in the U.S. he would most likely have to stand trial on felony charges utterly disproportionate to the offenses alleged (see the enclosed copy of our amicus curiae brief in *Nina K. Schiller et al v United States of America*). And even if he were found innocent of these charges, he would nevertheless be compelled to spend the next many months, perhaps years, devoting a great deal of his time and other resources to this legal struggle, which would effectively prevent him from pursuing much of his work, and make it very difficult for him to lead a decent life.

The U.S. government has a long history of using extra-legal and illegal means—including somewhat fanciful criminal charges (almost always rejected by juries) to disrupt and slow down the work of persons and organizations it perceives as inimical to its interests. The Watergate scandal revealed a great deal of this sort of subversion of the law. One might also mention our government's attacks on the 1960s civil rights movement (including spying on Martin Luther King), on the Black Panther Party (including the killing of Fred Hampton, among others), on the movement for Puerto Rican independence, and on antiwar organizations too numerous to begin to list.

If the U.S. government has been willing to go to such lengths, in violation of citizens' constitutionally guaranteed civil rights and liberties, one can easily imagine that they would go so far in pursuit of neutralizing the effectiveness of Bob Avakian, who chairs an organization called the Revolutionary Communist Party. "Revolutionary" and "communist" are both pretty well anathema to many of our politicians and government executives here.

Thus it seems to me likely that Bob Avakian would fare better in a Western European country such as France,

where "communist" and "socialist" are not considered perjorative terms, where communist and socialist parties and politics are an ordinary part of daily life, and where political disputes seem to be conducted with somewhat greater gentility and sophistication.

I would also be pleased, as a descendant of the Béchaux family whose name is engraved on the Arc de Triomphe, if my cousins and friends in France would offer hospitality to someone very much in need of it.

Sincerely,
Susan Bechaud
Executive Director
California Attorneys for
Criminal Justice

"A Fitting Example"

To whom it may concern,

Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France is well warranted, and I as a citizen of the United States am appealing to you to grant his request. I too have seen first hand what the so called freedom in America means. Anyone who dares to challenge the bloody rule of the imperialist in this country is dealt with through the most repressive measures possible, and if Bob Avakian was to remain here, he would surely be killed by them or some of their agents.

On March 14, 1980 in XXX, about 7 p.m., my 16 yr. old son and two of his friends were arrested, for putting up posters, by two plainclothes policemen, and taken to jail by gunpoint. The posters were in defense of eight people who were arrested in Birmingham, Alabama for activities in the building for May Day 1980.

When I arrived at the police station, after being called at work and told to come immediately, I was promptly arrested, while two friends who went with me were chased out of the station with threats of being arrested also. I was not read my rights, and was not told what the charges were until after my family and friends had raised the \$100.00 bond and I was being released. I was told that my son had been taken to the Youth Detention Center and what days I could visit him, nothing else. Two days later I received a call telling me I could go to get him. He and one of his friends had been beaten and he required a doctor's care afterwards but no charges were filed against them. His other friend, who was over 21 yrs. old, was charged along with me with contributing to the delinquency of a minor. I have enclosed a copy of the complaint against me, which reads, "In that said defendant knowingly let XXX, child under the age of 17 join the Communist Party at her home without his mother's consent." XXX is one of my son's friends arrested.

In the months following my arrest, I was harassed almost daily at my place of employment and one of my supervisors told me in secret that the XXX city government was putting pressure on them to get rid of me however possible. Eventually my job position was phased out; due to a shortage of funding. On my last day at work, the director told me that if I should be so lucky to find another job, I shouldn't talk about my political beliefs. Along with losing my job, I was evicted from my home and therefore forced to move to a neighboring city because I was unable to find another decent place to live there.

My court case was taken all the way to a trial by jury and there dropped, but not before me and my family had gone through months of hardship and much harassment from the police, school officials and employers. This is a fitting example of the political freedom we

have in America, but a small one compared to what Bob Avakian will face if he is not granted asylum in France.

XXX

Florynce Kennedy

TESTIMONY ON POLITICAL REPRESSION IN THE U.S.A.

Socio-phobia is clearly evident in the treatment of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. And its spokespersons, especially Bob Avakian, have been subjected to persecution and ridicule rather than the dignity and respect that their political analysis and commentary are entitled. The question is: Why are they continuously hunted, hounded and harassed?

I am appalled that communism is treated as a crime. Throughout the world communist people and countries are treated with respect but here in this country they are denigrated, criminalized and ousted. In this country, especially in these times, there is a dire need for a broad spectrum of opinion.

I have read much of Bob Avakian's work. A careful scrutiny of his speeches and writings indicate that rather than disrespect and disregard, there is a great need for objective criticism of society and commentary such as these. In the First World (regarded as the Third World by others), there is a great desire for the kind of perspective and understanding Bob Avakian has shown. In fact, such writings do have a high receptivity and appreciation there, while the socio-phobia in this country makes it impossible for the hierarchy to allow such as the likes of Bob Avakian.

I can look back over 50 years of political involvement and what stand out especially are the blunders this country has made in doctrinaire bigotry. I am joining in this petition to expose the political persecution of Bob Avakian and the Revolutionary Communist Party, as well as others who were deemed to be a threat to the established order.

The Vietnam war period, for example, shows us exactly what the U.S. is about: not only dropping napalm and chemical defoliants there to stop the people's liberation struggle to a point of quadruple overkill, but also viciously

attacking, persecuting and jailing the thousands in this country who stood with the Vietnamese people—forcing those who refused to fight to exile in Canada; trying to intimidate organizers and stop participants to a Women's Conference in Canada in the early 1970's protesting the war, etc. It seems clear that these very persistent attitudes are demonstrated today in this case.

At 65 years, as a woman and a Black person, I fully support the views and programs of Bob Avakian. As I go to various International Women's Conferences such as the one in Mexico and the mid-decade conference in Copenhagen, I have seen that socialists are our best allies. Speaking on campuses across the country, I see that much of the decline of the Democratic and Republican parties is exactly because of the doctrinaire view they hold towards dissenting opinions. Today, as day to day developments point to sharpening international and national crisis, a broad spectrum of political viewpoints is quite crucial.

Bob Avakian is too precious to be speared. I fully support his demand for political asylum and I feel that it is clearly warranted.

Florynce R. Kennedy
Black Women United For
Political Action, New York
29 May, 1981

"What America Really Is"

It is downright disgusting that anyone would say there's no political repression in the U.S.A., except for those who wrap the red, white, and blue around their heads so tightly that all they can see is stars and stripes.

When RCP member Damián García was murdered by U.S. police agents, one of the killers stated, "Your flag is red—mine is red, white, and blue!" Then he slit his throat and gut.

Many members and supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party, especially in building for May Day '80 and May Day '81, have been arrested and beaten by police for raising the bright red flag of the international proletariat. One youth here had a gun pointed to the back of his head by a police agent and told, "Drop those

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Resolution by National Lawyers Guild Executive Board

The NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD, having previously denounced the political prosecution of BOB AVAKIAN and 16 others known as the "MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS"; and

Having joined in the defense of so many political activists, radicals, and revolutionaries who were harassed, jailed, and murdered by the government or were forced to flee for their lives; and

Having observed from close quarters how the system of "American Justice" increasingly is used to hound, attack, imprison and execute the oppressed minorities, workers, and political activists;

For these reasons, the NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD recognizes that BOB AVAKIAN, Chairman of the REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, is a target of mounting attacks and that he believes he cannot safely hold and practice his political beliefs in this country.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD reaffirms its demand that the

government drop all charges against the "MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS" and urges that BOB AVAKIAN's demand for political refugee status in France be promptly granted.

Implementation

(1) Copies of the resolution shall be submitted by the National Committee Against Government Repression and Police Crimes to the appropriate U.N. commission, department or agency of the Government of France, and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers; and

(2) Guild members are encouraged to submit affidavits and other evidence of the political repressiveness of the American system for use in the refugee status proceedings (submit to COMMITTEE TO FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS, P.O. Box 6422, T Street Station, Washington, D.C. 20009).

Adopted by the National Executive Board, National Lawyers Guild, May 31, 1981, Detroit, Michigan.

A recent article in the *New York Times Magazine* of May 24, entitled: "Restocking the Chemical Arsenal," openly runs out the plans of the U.S. imperialists for the full-scale development of assorted varieties of chemical and biological weaponry to be used in preparation for world war. "After a production hiatus of 12 years," the article's bold-faced type announces, "the Pentagon is planning to resume the manufacture of nerve-gas shells and bombs." Yet what the article reveals (along with testimony before a Congressional hearing last year and some recently obtained de-classified documents) is that if there was a hiatus in the mass production of chemical and biological agents, there was hardly one in research, development and testing. Indeed, the budget for this type of research and development went from \$29 million in 1976, to \$106 million for 1981. The last decade has been one of a frenzied arms race between the U.S. and their equally imperialist super-power rival, the Soviet Union. With chemical and biological warfare consistently being a component part of the U.S. arsenal, and with world war looming ever larger and ever closer on the horizon, the word among the ruling class with regards to these deadly agents is, "open throttle"!

In 1969, the U.S. did publicly announce that it was suspending the production and large scale manufacture of nerve gas. As a backdrop to this announcement was the first real exposure among people in the U.S. that there was indeed nerve gas production and testing going on. It came on March 14, 1968, at the Dugway Proving Grounds outside of Salt Lake City, Utah. There, on that date, nerve gas leaked out and laid to rest some 6,000 head of sheep grazing on adjoining land. Supposedly in response to this exposure the production of nerve gas was stopped. Perhaps it was and perhaps it just became more secret. But if it indeed was, it was only because known U.S. stockpiles of nerve gas loaded artillery shells alone had already exceeded the 3 million mark. And certainly what they term research and development in chemical and biological weapons was never stopped.

All this is now being openly admitted by the bourgeoisie now that it is more blatantly gearing up its preparations for large scale chemical and biological warfare. As the *New York Times Magazine* article puts it: "By treating its research work as 'defensive' rather than 'offensive' (the two terms turn out to be much the same thing), the (Army Chemical—RW) corps maintained its basic fiscal health. Thus chemical

America's Sacred Right To . . . **POISON GAS 'EM!**

weapons, ostensibly on the way out of the United States arsenal, were in fact being studied in a corner slightly more obscure than before." It should also be noted here that since nerve gas agents are virtually identical in their chemical structure to common pesticides now in use in this country, the actual production of these agents can be geared up in a very short time using already existing chemical plants.

There is indeed no difference in the war preparations of the imperialists of whatever stripe whether they are termed "defensive" or "offensive". They are still simply feverish war preparations. This cynical little word game is the typical one used by the imperialists to justify all their weapons development and deployment. And the justification for this recent open gearing up by the U.S. on the chemical warfare front is yet another classic example. Remember a few months ago there was a big to-do about the use of chemical weapons by the Soviets in Afghanistan and how "horrified and shocked" the U.S. imperialists were—so shocked in fact that they began immediate plans to step up the U.S. chemical weapons program in the interests of "deterrence" and "peace through strength" of course. Now it is openly admitted that the original story of the Soviet use of these weapons was a convenient fabrication. (Not that the Soviets, like any imperialists, are in any way averse to using chemical weapons at any time, even now.) Again from the *New York Times Magazine*, where they quote testimony from a congressional subcommittee hearing:

Representative Lagomarsino: "Do we have any information on the use of chemical warfare in Afghanistan other than just rumors?"

Edward Collins (vice-director of foreign intelligence for the Defense Intelligence Agency): "There is no confirmation at all..."

Lagomarsino: "The common perception is that the Russians are using it there because there have been a lot of rumors in the papers."

Bruce Clarke (Director of National Foreign Assessment Center of the CIA): "I don't see anything wrong with letting that rumor run."

This little rumor was nothing more than an useful expedient to create some

favorable opinion for stepped up production of chemical and biological weapons by the U.S. The actual attitude of the U.S. and in fact all imperialists toward any kind of weaponry of mass destruction was quite frankly expressed in a report from the Secretary of Defense's Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical, Biological and Radiological Warfare in 1950: "Neither the people who defend liberty nor those who would destroy it can limit their efforts or their weapons in the contest; nor, as a matter of fact, have they... The desperate nature of war between peoples is such that the only result of agreement or exhortations to limit the 'horrors of war' is to advantage the side that first chooses to use weapons which had been ostensibly banned. Restricting ourselves in the weapons we use merely means that we offer our enemy a better chance to kill our soldiers and civilians than we need to, out of deference to a habit of thought based on conditions of former times." Finally, some truth out of the mouths of the bourgeoisie. And it was these same imperialists who, to appear "peace loving" decided, in 1975 (!), to sign the 1925 Geneva Protocol against the "first use of chemical weapons in warfare." (Of course, all the imperialist signers to this agreement went about producing these weapons at as rapid a rate as possible and have fully intended to use them first, second or whenever they feel like it if necessary.) Even this act of political expedience was accompanied by an explicit exclusion of "herbicides" (such as the defoliants used in Vietnam) and the very loosely defined "riot-control agents" (also used quite lethally in Vietnam and other places).

And so, putting some of the past rhetoric about the control of chemical weapons aside, the U.S. has openly begun a \$1.5 billion program of preparations for the Army, while the Air Force has begun a \$234 million pro-

gram to prepare its European air bases for gas warfare—a program scheduled for completion in 1984. And the Reagan administration has asked for a \$20 million supplemental appropriation to build new plants to manufacture a new generation of nerve gas shells. The troops are all being outfitted in complete chemical warfare suits and gas masks which have the eerie appearance of being ready made body-bags. The Soviets too are massively preparing in much the same way. Appropriately, the *New York Times Magazine* turns to running out the various scenarios for the use of all these weapons in World War 3. Here we find a couple of interesting tidbits. One, the point is made that the most effective use of chemical warfare is against "unprotected civilians" who do not have access to all the protective gear that the armies have. Here there is not a trace of sorrow or remorse expressed. After all, it is not only the troops of the enemy bloc that each imperialist is worried about, they are also extremely and increasingly concerned about defending themselves from the masses of people, both in their home countries and in the countries that they oppress. Rebellions, revolts, and revolutions have to be dealt with too. After all, many millions can be killed quite effectively with the employment of nerve gas on a large scale in such situations. Certainly, no crime is too big for the imagination of the imperialist mind to comprehend. But alas, there is one big drawback that the article takes stock of. It ends on this poignant note,

"There is unfortunately one other factor. The Army does not like to talk about it, but there is the lingering fear, seen in Vietnam, that the modern battlefield may already be such a horrible place that soldiers will simply refuse to fight. If a man feels that he has a reasonable chance to use his wits and skills to survive mortal combat, he will probably try. But when such risks and skills seem irrelevant, he may mutiny. In Vietnam, the reaction was called 'fraggling.' The lieutenants of World War 1 who led infantry attacks with 45-calibre pistols raised high—not to kill the enemy, but to shoot deserters—are a specific nightmare to Chemical Corps planners." □



Airmen during training exercises for chemical warfare

430,000,000
815,200,000
\$ 60,643,160,000
\$186,333,637,000

Indirect War Costs.—Loss of Human Life.—
The average social value of an individual in the six leading belligerents at the time of the war has been estimated as follows: United States, \$4,720; Great Britain, \$4,140; Germany, \$3,380; France, \$2,900; Austria-Hungary, \$2,750; and Russia, \$2,020. Table 2 has been developed on the basis of these values and appropriate assumptions for the other belligerents.

Table 2—CAPITALIZED VALUE OF LOSS OF LIFE

Countries	Lives lost ¹	Value
United States	109,740	\$ 517,972,800
Great Britain	839,904	3,477,202,560
Germany	1,997,365	6,751,093,700
France	1,654,550	4,798,195,000
Austria-Hungary	1,132,500	3,114,375,000
Russia	4,012,064	8,104,369,280
Belgium	272,000	788,800,000
Italy	1,180,660	2,397,053,200
Serbia ²	757,343	1,529,832,860
Rumania	397,117	802,176,340
Greece	37,500	75,750,000
Portugal	4,100	8,282,000
Japan	301	608,020
Turkey	488,789	987,353,780
Bulgaria	106,637	215,406,740
Total, armed forces	12,990,570	\$33,568,471,280
Estimated loss resulting from civilian deaths ³		33,568,471,280
Total valuation of lives lost		\$67,136,942,560

¹ Assumes that approximately half of those listed as missing or prisoners of war actually died. ² The figure of 757,343 lives lost by Serbia in this compilation is undoubtedly in error, for Serbia mobilized a total of only 707,343 men; a more valid figure would be 121,500. ³ Such deaths are supposed to equal the number of those in the armed forces.

Property Losses.—Estimating losses caused by destruction and damage to property in war is an exceedingly difficult task. One method used in Tables 3 and 4...

VINCENT J. ESPOSITO,
Director, Head, Department
of States Military Acad.

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It's often said that the bourgeoisie puts no value on human life. However, this is not so correct, as the chart above (taken from Encyclopedia Americana, 1964 edition) clearly shows.

Ireland And World Revolutionary Crisis

Lenin on the Irish Rebellion

The struggle in Ireland is not an isolated happening. It is rising as all the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening and affecting one another. This is true today, and it has been true historically. Below we excerpt relevant parts of a piece by Lenin on a great Irish rebellion of his time. It is from a section of his essay "The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up" (Collected Works, Vol. 22). Lenin is writing in 1916, in the midst of the first imperialist world war and as the elements of a revolutionary situation were beginning to emerge all over Europe. This essay was written in July, shortly after the famous Easter rising in Dublin in April. The rebellion was temporarily crushed and the English ruling class brutally executed its leaders in May. In the months and years ahead, however, as the war and the revolutionary struggle grew internationally the struggle in Ireland gained force again, this time all over the island. This resulted a few years later in a treaty giving formal independence to the Republic in the south and to the partitioning off of northern Ireland.

Lenin focuses in this section on the national struggle within Europe. However, Lenin was constantly making the point in his writings of this period that, as far as the overall character of the war in Europe, "the present war is an imperialist war, not a national war." Ireland was even then something of an exception, being a righteous anti-imperialist national struggle within Europe (as it is today). Lenin constantly made the point that in the advanced capitalist countries in Europe and America "the national movement is a thing of an irrevocable past, and it would be an absurd reactionary utopia to try to revive it." In other words, in these countries, unlike Ireland, the overall struggle was a single stage struggle for proletarian socialist revolution, not an independence struggle for the country as a whole, (though there are just national movements like the Black struggle within these countries). As Lenin also correctly forecast at the time, the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America would soon develop even greater significance in the international arena with the further development of imperialism.

Our theses were written before the outbreak of this rebellion, which must be the touchstone of our theoretical views.

The views of the opponents of self-determination lead to the conclusion that the vitality of small nations oppressed by imperialism has already been sapped, that they cannot play any role against imperialism, that support of their purely national aspirations will lead to nothing, etc. The imperialist war of 1914-16 has provided facts which refute such conclusions.

The war proved to be an epoch of crisis for the West-European nations, and for imperialism as a whole. Every crisis discards the conventionalities, tears away the outer wrappings, sweeps away the obsolete and reveals the underlying springs and forces. What has it revealed from the standpoint of the movement of oppressed nations? In the colonies there have been a number of attempts at rebellion, which the oppressor nations, naturally did all they could to hide by means of a military censorship. Nevertheless, it is known that in Singapore the British brutally suppressed a mutiny among their Indian troops; that there were attempts at rebellion in French Annam (see *Nashe*



Slovo) and in the German Cameroons (see the Junius pamphlet); that in Europe, on the one hand, there was a rebellion in Ireland, which the "freedom-loving" English, who did not dare to extend conscription to Ireland, suppressed by executions, and, on the other, the Austrian Government passed the death sentence on the deputies of the Czech Diet "for treason", and shot whole Czech regiments for the same "crime".

This list is, of course, far from complete. Nevertheless, it proves that, owing to the crisis of imperialism, the flames of national revolt have flared up both in the colonies and in Europe, and that national sympathies and antipathies have manifested themselves in spite of the Draconian threats and measures of repression. All this before the crisis of imperialism hit its peak; the power of the imperialist bourgeoisie was yet to be undermined (this may be brought about by a war of "attrition" but has not yet happened) and the proletarian movements in the imperialist countries were still very feeble. What will happen when the war has caused complete exhaustion, or when, in one state at least, the power of the bourgeoisie has been shaken under the blows of proletarian struggle, as that of tsarism in 1905?

On May 9, 1916, there appeared in *Berner Tagwacht*, the organ of the Zimmerwald group, including some of the Leftists, an article on the Irish rebellion entitled "Their Song Is Over" and signed with the initials K.R. It described the Irish rebellion as being nothing more nor less than a "putsch", for, as the author argued, "the Irish question was an agrarian one", the peasants had been pacified by reforms, and the nationalist movement remained only a "purely urban, petty-bourgeois movement, which, notwithstanding the sensation it caused, had not much social backing".

It is not surprising that this monstrously doctrinaire and pedantic assessment coincided with that of a

Russian national-liberal Cadet, Mr. A. Kulisher (Rech No. 102, April 25, 1916), who also labelled the rebellion "the Dublin putsch".

It is to be hoped that, in accordance with the adage, "it's an ill wind that blows nobody any good", many comrades, who were not aware of the morass they were sinking into by repudiating "self-determination" and by treating the national movements of small nations with disdain, will have their eyes opened by the "accidental" coincidence of opinion held by a Social-Democrat and a representative of the imperialist bourgeoisie!!

The term "putsch", in its scientific sense, may be employed only when the attempt at insurrection has revealed nothing but a circle of conspirators or stupid maniacs, and has aroused no sympathy among the masses. The centuries-old Irish national movement, having passed through various stages and combinations of class interest, manifested itself, in particular, in a mass Irish National Congress in America (*Vorwärts*, March 20, 1916) which called for Irish independence; it also manifested itself in street fighting conducted by a section of the urban petty bourgeoisie and a section of the workers after a long period of mass agitation, demonstrations, suppression of newspapers, etc. Whoever calls such a rebellion a "putsch" is either a hardened reactionary, or a doctrinaire hopelessly incapable of envisaging a social revolution as a living phenomenon.

To imagine that social revolution is conceivable without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty bourgeoisie with all its prejudices, without a movement of the politically non-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against oppression by the landowners, the church, and the monarchy, against national oppression, etc.—to imagine all this is to repudiate social revolution. So one army lines up in one place and says, "We are for socialism", and an-

other, somewhere else and says, "We are for imperialism", and that will be a social revolution! Only those who hold such a ridiculously pedantic view could vilify the Irish rebellion by calling it a "putsch".

Whoever expects a "pure" social revolution will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip-service to revolution without understanding what revolution is.

The Russian Revolution of 1905 was a bourgeois-democratic revolution. It consisted of a series of battles in which all the discontented classes, groups and elements of the population participated. Among these there were masses imbued with the crudest prejudices, with the vaguest and most fantastic aims of struggle; there were small groups which accepted Japanese money, there were speculators and adventurers, etc. But objectively, the mass movement was breaking the back of tsarism and paving the way for democracy; for this reason the class-conscious workers led it.

The socialist revolution in Europe cannot be anything other than an outburst of mass struggle on the part of all and sundry oppressed and discontented elements. Inevitably, sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will participate in it—without such participation, mass struggle is impossible, without it no revolution is possible—and just as inevitably will they bring into the movement their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their weaknesses and errors. But objectively they will attack capital, and the class-conscious vanguard of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, expressing this objective truth of a variegated and discordant, motley and outwardly fragmented, mass struggle, will be able to unite and direct it, capture power, seize the banks, expropriate the trusts which all hate (though for different reasons!), and introduce other dictatorial measures which in their totality will amount to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of socialism, which, however, will by no means im-

of 1916

mediately "purge" itself of petty-bourgeois slag...

The French chauvinist press recently reported the publication in Belgium of the eightieth issue of an illegal journal, *Free Belgium*. Of course, the chauvinist press of France very often lies, but this piece of news seems to be true. Whereas chauvinist and Kautskyite German Social-Democracy has failed to establish a free press for itself during the two years of war, and has meekly borne the yoke of military censorship (only the Left Radical elements, to their credit be it said, have published pamphlets and manifestos, in spite of the censorship)—an oppressed civilised nation has reacted to a military oppression unparalleled in ferocity by establishing an organ of revolutionary protest! The dialectics of history are such that small nations, powerless as an *independent* factor in the struggle against imperialism, play a part as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli, which help the *real* anti-imperialist force, the socialist proletariat, to make its appearance on the scene.*

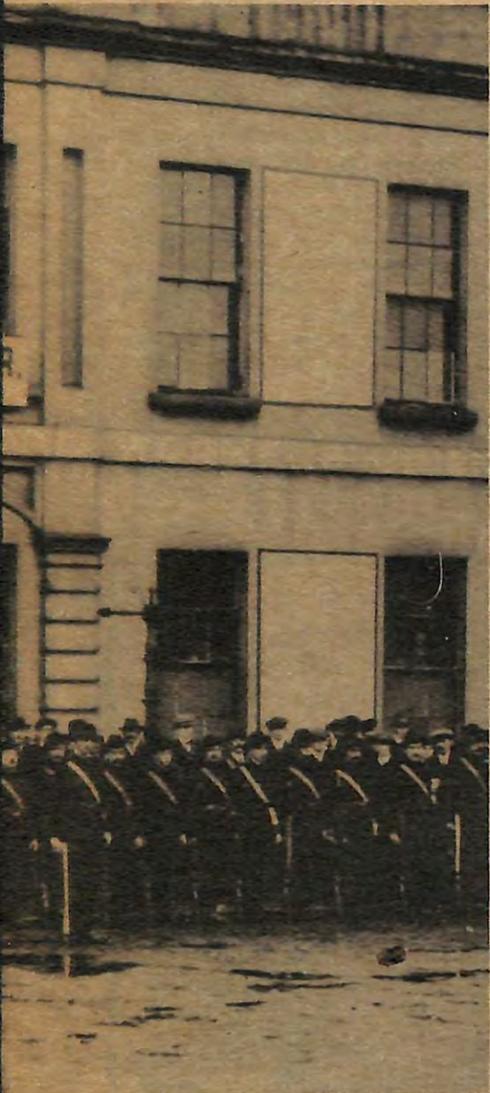
* Lenin, searching as he was for every possible contributing factor (no matter how indirect) to the proletarian revolution, raises the national struggle in Belgium against the German occupying army (a struggle clearly led by the bourgeoisie)

The general staffs in the current war are doing their utmost to utilise any national and revolutionary movement in the enemy camp: the Germans utilise the Irish rebellion, the French—the Czech movement, etc. They are acting quite correctly from their own point of view. A serious war would not be treated seriously if advantage were not taken of the enemy's slightest weakness and if every opportunity that presented itself were not seized upon, the more so since it is impossible to know beforehand at what moment, where, and with what force some powder magazine will "explode". We would be very poor revolutionaries if, in the proletariat's great

as a possible *bacillus* (germ) for the *real* anti-imperialist force, the socialist proletariat. Lenin certainly regarded Belgium as a different sort of country than the oppressed nations of Ireland or even Eastern Europe at the time. Belgium, unlike Ireland, itself held colonies (the "Belgian Congo"). Despite the fact that Belgium was occupied at the time by Germany, Lenin in his main writings on the Belgian question concentrates on debunking the opportunist position that the German occupation of Belgium somehow made the European war into something other than a reactionary, inter-imperialist conflict. For example in *Socialism and War* (Vol. 21, 1915) Lenin emphasized that it was impossible to help Belgium against Germany without helping the opposing imperialist alliance to throttle Austria or Turkey.—RW

war of liberation for socialism, we did not know how to utilise *every* popular movement against *every single* disaster imperialism brings in order to intensify and extend the crisis. If we were, on the one hand, to repeat in a thousand keys the declaration that we are "opposed" to all national oppression and, on the other, to describe the heroic revolt of the most mobile and enlightened section of certain classes in an oppressed nation against its oppressors as a "putsch", we should be sinking to the same level of stupidity as the Kautskyites.

It is the misfortune of the Irish that they rose prematurely, before the European revolt of the proletariat had *had time* to mature. Capitalism is not so harmoniously built that the various sources of rebellion can immediately merge of their own accord, without reverses and defeats. On the other hand, the very fact that revolts do break out at different times, in different places, and are of different kinds, guarantees wide scope and depth to the general movement; but it is only in premature, individual, sporadic and therefore unsuccessful, revolutionary movements that the masses gain experience, acquire knowledge, gather strength, and get to know their real leaders, the socialist proletarians, and in this way prepare for the general onslaught, just as certain strikes, demonstrations, local and national, mutinies in the army, outbreaks among the peasantry, etc., prepared the way for the general onslaught in 1905.... □



The Irish Citizen Army, who made up the bulk of the rebel forces in the Easter Uprising of 1916.



V.I. Lenin

Garbage

Prostitutes and hired prizefighters for the bourgeoisie. Does anyone doubt this is the role of the media in the U.S.? If so, then they should have been listening to Dan Rather on a CBS Evening News show in the first week in June.

In the midst of Dan's broadcast he switched to California for an "innocent" human interest story. CBS proceeded to tell the story of some UCLA students studying and analyzing garbage. Yes, the kind that fills hundreds of millions of American garbage cans every day. How humorous. How quaint. How interesting that it merited a whole segment on prime time network news. Wonder why?

A big clue could be found by checking out *which* garbage can CBS elected to show us. The first scene opened with a student analyzing the contents of an *older* person's garbage and talking about how this *older* person's garbage contained lots of usable food. Older people, you see, according to this story dredged out of the garbage by CBS,

throw out garbage containing up to 40% usable nutrition. And of course *coincidentally* the government is talking about cutting Social Security income. Of course this oh-so-innocent human interest story never *directly* mentioned this. But, putting 2 and 2 together, the CBS audience has now been informed that they need not fear—older people will not really suffer from Social Security cuts since they just waste a lot of food anyway.

Just think of all that wasted food value: protein in those last remnants of dog food still left in the cans that all those old Social Security abusers eat. And just think of the added nutrition from the blood from cut fingers, as these elderly people do as they're told by nice, helpful Mr. Rather, and scrape around in the cans trying to get the last bits. Why it's enough to make these modern day capitalist class vampires' fangs water.

Perhaps some would still say we are being unfair to the gentlemen of the

media. Well, then read the *New York Times* editorial page these days on the Social Security question. In a whole series of editorials they label Social Security "a sacred cow," "a golden calf" and call forth our heroic congressmen and senators to the battle cry of "Bravery, at Last, on Social Security." Cut it, they say. In one editorial which ran around the same time as the CBS segment, the *Times* wrote, "Congress has always treated recipients generously, sharply raising real benefits in fat years and fully protecting beneficiaries from inflation during the lean. But decades of favored treatment have won little gratitude. The older adult lobby sometimes approaches the edge of hysteria..."

Oh, yes, gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, so-o-o-o generous. And, as anyone who lives in any major city these days can tell you, a growing section of older people would thank you for your generosity, if they weren't a bit busy looking through garbage cans for

food. (Of course, CBS tends to solve that problem by cutting down on the thrown-away food.) And many more Black people would thank you for your generosity as well, except for the fact that many of them never collect it at all. The average life expectancy of a Black man is less than 60, in this work-them-to-death, oppress-them-to-death capitalist society. And many older women would thank you too, only since Social Security is computed on a quarterly basis of months worked in the past 20 years—obviously this cuts out a lot of women who have been mothers and housewives without jobs.

Well, fear not, gentlemen, we are sure that the masses of people, young and old, will give you the kind of thanks to which you and your society are so clearly entitled.

And, yes, the UCLA students were indeed studying garbage. Dan Rather and the rest of his ilk should know, since they are such experts at producing it. □

This photo essay was sent to the RW by a photographer in California.



Protests Rock Celebration of Apartheid Rule

from page 1

demonstration, including at one point firing teargas cannisters into a funeral procession and beating the mourners at random just in case some of the students had merged with the people at the funeral. As the police continued their attack, a number of the demonstrators regrouped into smaller contingents and set out to Westbury High School, in another part of Johannesburg, to enlist the support of other students. Fearing the possible effects of the strike spreading, and remembering the massive school boycott that began last year in Johannesburg and quickly spread throughout all of South Africa lasting for months and turning into a rallying point for the Azanian people's struggle against the apartheid regime, the South African police squads charged into the classrooms of Westbury High School, kicking down classroom doors, firing teargas into the rooms and clubbing the students. By the end of the day, more than 60 high school students had been placed under arrest. After the demonstration was dispersed, police cars cruised the area of four "mixed-race" townships on the outskirts of Johannesburg firing teargas at groups that gathered and whipping anyone who protested.

The Johannesburg demonstration on June 3 was the most recent in a whole series of demonstrations, boycotts and other actions that have swept over South Africa in the last week or so, as the Azanian people protested the apar-

theid regime's week-long celebration of Republic Day. For weeks the South African rulers have been preparing to celebrate the 20th anniversary of their breaking away from the British Commonwealth in 1961. In response, almost every organization among the Azanian people issued a call for some kind of protest or disruption of the events. (Even the Catholic Church had to issue a call for its followers to boycott the festivities.) Political demonstrations and protests have been extremely widespread among the broad masses of Azanian people. Leaflets and pamphlets have been broadly distributed in all the major South African cities denouncing the apartheid regime and its celebrations and calling on the Azanian working class to boycott their jobs during the peak days of the celebration.

On May 27, over 300 demonstrators on a Johannesburg university campus were attacked by the riot police for demonstrating against the apartheid regime and on the same day over 48 others were arrested in Cape Town for similar demonstrations. Also on May 27th, over 200 South African riot police stormed onto the campus of the predominantly white university of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg to arrest scores of students participating in a boycott of classes in protest of apartheid.

On June 1st, the struggle continued to intensify. Over 200 students from the all black University of North stormed a

South African police station in Pieterburg, 190 miles north of Johannesburg. Despite the fact that massive numbers of civilian and military police have been mobilized to protect the regime's military parade, which was the climax of the Republic Day celebrations, and despite the police opening fire on students with shotguns, the Azanian students trashed the police stations with rocks, seized the South African flag and attempted to burn it.

The very viciousness with which the South African authorities have lashed out at these actions, with the use of bullwhips and large scale beatings and teargassings of virtually anyone who moves, is a sure sign of the very real fears on the part of South Africa's rulers and their Western bloc backers that the lid could very well blow off in Azania. □

CORRECTIONS

Last week's RW article, "An Imperialist Power Colors Itself Pink," mistakenly referred to France's nuclear striking capability as its *frappe de force*, instead of its *force de frappe*.

In RW No. 106, May 22, 1981, the article entitled, "The Imperialist Science of Preparing for World War—'Reagan-omics'," requires the following corrections:

On p. 3, in the third column, the second line from the top should read: *concessionary* programs, instead of necessary programs. On p. 23, in the first column, the fourth line from the top should read: the diminishing *reserves*, instead of diminishing revenues. On p. 23, in the first column, the first sentence of the last paragraph should read: does not *directly* enhance the profitability, instead of does not enhance the profitability.

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U.S. Blessing For Its International Terrorists

Letelier Assassins Acquitted

"Not Guilty"! As the jury foreman pronounced the words ten times over the official U.S. seal of the exoneration was firmly stamped on two of the assassins of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt. On Saturday, May 31st Guillermo Novo Sampol and Alvin Diaz Ross, two anti-Castro Cuban exiles (*gusanos*, literally worms loyal to U.S. imperialism who fled Cuba when the Batista regime was overthrown) were acquitted of conspiracy and murder charges stemming from their participation in the Letelier assassination. This transparent legal whitewash was meant as a clear political message both of support for the pro-U.S. Pinochet regime in Chile and its ilk around the world and to liberals such as Letelier and Moffitt as well. The point was simply: no opposition to the savage acts of U.S. imperialism will be tolerated whatever quarter it comes from. Both Letelier and Moffitt were associated with the Institute of Policy Studies, a liberal think tank recently the subject of a concentrated attack as an instrument of "Soviet international terrorism" by the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism. The very blatant way it was carried out, not even attempting to cover up what the *Washington Post* referred to in mock embarrassment as "the most notorious act of international terrorism ever committed inside the U.S.," was meant to make the government's message as clear as possible.

Letelier, the former ambassador to the U.S. under the Allende government of Chile, and Moffitt, a researcher at the Washington, D.C.-based Institute for Policy Studies, were assassinated on the morning of September 21, 1976 when a powerful bomb attached to the bottom of their car was detonated on a D.C. street. Joining forces with the U.S. imperialists and their CIA in this assassination were the fascist Pinochet regime in Chile and the Chilean secret police (DINA) as well as a motley collection of *gusanos* from the reactionary, northern New Jersey-based Cuban Nationalist Movement.

In the early years of the Carter administration the U.S. imperialists maintained the ploy of "human rights" as a component part of their foreign policy and contention with the Soviet Union. In the guise of upholding "human

rights" the U.S. imperialists indicted 5 *gusanos*, an American-born DINA agent and 3 Chilean DINA officials, including the head of DINA and a DINA director of operations, for conspiracy and murder in the Letelier assassination. Two of the *gusanos* became fugitives, the American-born DINA agent, Michael Vernon Townley (also serving as a CIA "operative") was expelled from Chile and convicted in the U.S. and the remaining three *gusanos* also stood trial and were convicted. As a result of "delicate plea-bargaining" and based on his offer to testify against the Cubans, Townley received a light slap on the wrist in the form of a 3-1/2 to 10-year jail sentence. The Cubans, convicted largely on the basis of Townley's testimony, were sentenced to life imprisonment. At the same time the Pinochet regime refused to extradite the Chilean and intelligence officers involved and in response the U.S., again as part of their "human rights" ploy, instituted a series of extremely mild economic sanctions against Chile.

However, as the world situation heated up, even much of the shabby "human rights" facade no longer was suited to the needs of the U.S. imperialists in their contention with the Soviets. Consequently, in September of 1980 a U.S. Court of Appeals overturned the convictions of Novo and Ross, and ordered them free on bail pending a retrial. By March of this year the U.S. Solicitor General's Office announced that it would not appeal the overturned convictions and a new trial began in early May.

From the outset this trial was an obvious and outrageous sham. In March, U.S. Attorney Charles Ruff, responding to the Court of Appeals' ruling that barred the testimony of two of the prosecution's witnesses (cellmates of the *gusanos* in New York who testified that Novo and Ross had bragged of killing Letelier), provided a strong clue as to what the outcome of a new trial would be when he stated that he did not know how strong a case he could build without these two witnesses. (Here the court showed a rare and very opportune concern for "civil liberties of the accused" barring testimony because Novo's and Ross' cellmates were "acting as government agents".) As the trial opened, fur-

ther clues were dropped as subtly as blows from a jackhammer. When Judge Barrington D. Parker was questioned as to the wisdom of allowing Novo and Ross to remain free on bail since they may decide to run away, he simply and sharply stated, "If they do they're bigger fools than I thought they were." And both the defense and the prosecution added to the soothsaying process when as the trial opened they both characterized it as a "real horse-race"—and indeed it was, fixed from beginning to end.

The contents of the proceedings of this sham new trial more than bear out the fact that in actuality the outcome of the trial was never in question at all. The prosecution laid out its case—the Cubans had been recruited by Townley to actively participate in assassinating Letelier. There was an abundance of proof—telephone and travel records, an address book, receipts, other documents and components to explode a bomb, etc. All this pointed clearly to the Cubans' willing involvement. This coupled with Townley's testimony could leave no doubt—or so it seemed.

Then the defense presented its case. Interestingly enough the defense story this time around differed significantly from the defense presented in the original trial. Originally the defense centered on a CIA masterminded plot in conjunction with Chile and DINA which resulted in Letelier's assassination and the subsequent implication of the Cubans. Now, at the retrial all mention of the CIA plot is gone—now it's just the Chilean DINA and Townley plotting. While defense lawyer Paul Goldberger muttered that the change in strategy was because they were unable to get the CIA documents to back them up in their original strategy, the real reason for the change became starkly apparent when Goldberger was questioned about the seeming lack of consistency in this strategy. According to Goldberger, "You don't have to be consistent. You just have to win." In other words, a pre-condition for winning in this case was dropping all mention of the CIA—after all everyone knows that the CIA doesn't do that kind of stuff. (The ridiculousness of all this is emphasized when you consider the fact that regardless of whether or

not Goldberger was able to obtain proof, the fact that the CIA was instrumental in installing the Pinochet regime in the first place and in training and equipping DINA is well-documented by the U.S. Senate itself.)

The central theme of the new defense strategy consisted of proving that the Cubans were "Christians thrown out to the lions of public opinion," unwitting pawns in a game of international intrigue. Of course, to do so the defense had to "discredit" Townley and his testimony that the Cubans actively and willingly aided in the assassination. In order to prove Townley a liar, the defense "forced" him to admit that under orders from DINA and Pinochet he had lied to a Chilean military investigator, at first denying his involvement in the murder. And in order to prove Townley a "low-life" with nothing but "contempt for the judicial system," and attribute that supposedly made him more apt to lie in court, the defense introduced a tape of the telephone conversation Townley made from the U.S. Attorney's Office to a friend in Santiago in 1979 in which Townley supposedly made disparaging and threatening remarks about Judge Parker. (Actually, considering Townley's political history it would seem that there would be an abundance of better material available which would conclusively prove him a low-life.) The defense pounded away at these points, vehemently denying any connection between Townley and the Cubans or Chile and the Cubans.

Of course, no mention was made by the defense or the prosecution as to how the defense managed to get its hands on the information concerning the Chilean military investigator or the taped phone call. In fact, the defense, while claiming that the Pinochet regime was only interested in the Cubans as scapegoats, conveniently forgot to mention the fact that the tape of the Townley phone call was made in Chile and was provided to the defense by none other than the lawyer for the former head of DINA who had also been indicted in the murder. For its part, the prosecution had been ordered not to mention this fact during the trial—just a safeguard added by the higher-ups, not that the

Continued on page 20

JAILBREAK AT EAGLE ROCK HIGH

The hundreds of students gathered outside Eagle Rock High School in Los Angeles, cheering and yelling chants, weren't exactly there for a pep rally. On Wednesday, May 20, some 700 students walked out of school, fed up with the administration's iron-fisted regulations and demanding corrective measures be taken so that students in the future "will not have to be harassed as we have been," as one student put it. According to the students, the school "is a jail." And their jail-break held out for 2 days in spite of suspensions, threats of arrests, threats of not being allowed to attend the graduation ceremonies, etc.

Eagle Rock High School is in a largely middle-class part of town and nothing like this has ever happened there before. To say the least, the school administrators, and the city authorities as a whole, were in a state of

shock. The principal of the school was covered in all the major media in the city wailing about what she called "this irresponsible act" and crying "We are only interested in getting the students back into the classroom..." But the students proved not that interested in returning to their cells. School authorities moaned that these were "good students"—good grades, college bound, etc. Good students just don't act like this...

The day after the walkout began, a notoriously reactionary school board member descended on the students, attempting unsuccessfully to mediate. One student summed this up: "They say, 'We're gonna work on it, we're gonna work on it.' Well, I haven't seen anything. They've been 'working on it' for the years I've been here."

The students have presented a list of 36 complaints which are themselves a description of the prison-like character of the school. For the 2,200 students there are only 2 restrooms and a cafeteria that seats only 200. All exits from

the school are locked or guarded after school starts to keep the students in, and any criticism of the school administration is censored from the student newspaper.

But the most deep-seated anger is over the harassment from the campus security and LAPD narcs. As part of a city-wide program, the LAPD has dumped undercover narcs onto every high school in the city. Together with campus security, they routinely search student lockers, intimidate and bust people. Students reported to the *RW* that this clampdown at Eagle Rock (and elsewhere) has included routine body searches.

When the principal of the school walked out on a meeting with students set up to discuss their demands, it was the last straw. The next day over 700 students refused to go to class and demanded another meeting. They all crowded into the school auditorium where the principal tried to doubletalk her way out of the crisis. When this failed, she again walked out, this time threatening suspensions. At this, hundreds of students again walked out of the school. During the days of the walkout, protestors moved to the front of the school at lunch time, calling on others still inside to join. On Thursday,

the teachers set up a "skirmish line" attempting to hold back hundreds of students from joining the boycott. One student described what happened to the *RW*: "Students were threatened to be arrested if they joined us. So consequently 30 students just said 'Forget it.' They hit that fence, boy, they were over it, they climbed the fence and they joined us."

On Friday, afraid that all hell was going to break loose, the police greatly stepped up their presence. By the lunch hour there were at least nine squad cars stationed in front of the school with three of them separating the students inside from those boycotting. This tended to intimidate some students; others began debating how to deal with the new conditions. A few of the boycotting students snuck back into the school to agitate among those still inside and lead them out. Several students snuck out past the police through the side exits. Several more broke through the "skirmish line" and jumped the fence, running right past the cops and school officials to the cheers of students on both sides. When the police threatened over the loudspeaker to "clear everyone out of here" they were met with yells of "Fuck you, pig!" Students were then told to disperse "or else."

By Monday, all the students were back in school, at least temporarily. A meeting of students, parents, teachers, administrators was set up, but students said they might walk out again. □

War Crimes Tribunal

Continued from page 7

order to win this fight we must fight in unity. Our brothers on the reservations everywhere need your help. During Wounded Knee (1973) the weakest spot around the perimeter of our brothers at Wounded Knee was the 82nd Airborne Division. It was the weakest spot because there are members of us who have been trained by the United States Army and we know their weakness, where to go and how to get through. We have been trained well. We have used that training. You are now going through some of the things we have been going through for the last 75-100 years; for my people were massacred at Wounded Knee (referring to the massacre in 1890—RW), my people, there were many of us who were massacred there. While my people were being massacred, a Catholic priest ran around with his cross trying to baptize as many as he could before they died of their suffering. 19 Congressional medals of honor were given to those soldiers. 19 Congressional medals of honor given to people who killed and massacred the masses of people who did not have any weapons to defend themselves. This is what it means. Sometimes some of us are hardheaded in learning what it is and what we fight about. These are the same things our brothers to the south in El Salvador, in Chile and Peru—what they are going through today, we have experienced in the last 50 to 75 years. We need help everywhere by people who are trained under conditions of the jungle. We need your help. And like one of my brothers in El Salvador told me when I was in Europe, his statement was, "If we had all the weapons that the United States government is saying that we have, we could whip the entire United States government. All we are fighting with is machetes and handguns. But yet we are still resisting. We are still fighting."

And the last thing I have to say for my brothers in the prisons—they are not there because they are eating three meals a day. They are there because of the things they believe in. And one last thing, to all the brothers and sisters everywhere, in the words of Leonard Peltier, tell my brother only one word, that's to resist.

Fighting the Somoza Regime

Following is testimony from a young man from Nicaragua, simultaneously translated from Spanish by the Tribunal:

Maybe it seems like a joke coming over here with a hat on, with my face covered and this jacket, but it is a question of security and where I work, you know. Like a Party works. It is a question of security and taking this into consideration. The other thing that I don't want to just let slide by is what this *bandanna* represents (an FSLN flag masking his face—RW). This part, the black part means death—to us revolutionaries we don't care about it. This red part represents the masses of people, the oppression of the masses and represents the liberty that we want...

A lot of things happened among us revolutionaries, how to live, how to carry out our work, seeking harmony so that we could achieve liberty and seize power in our interests and share it among all those who are struggling, so that it was of the people. I was involved in several battles. We had a camp of about 650 men and women. Within the organization we had a *compañera* who worked for Somoza's military. She denounced where the camp was and 1200 National Guards were sent to destroy us. It was pretty bad because they wiped out our medicine which is pretty necessary if you are going to be living out in the mountains. Some comrades died. But they died like a liberator dies, heroically.

A *compañera* I still don't know her name, you could put any name on her, Carmen. She was about 18 years old. She was wounded in the leg and got one in the ribs. Other comrades tried to help her so she could come with us and she

said, "If you get too close to me, I'll gun you down." And we said, "Why?" "Because I will hamper you and I must stay here so you guys can move forward." She was left there fighting. She killed about 25 National guards. When she was captured we went to seek her out in order to bury her. When I saw her I began to weep. I'd seen the condition in which her body was left. You can imagine for yourself what military repression does. Why specify?...

Something else about how imperialism participated with the Somoza regime. I was married. Now I'm a widower. My wife, I brought her into the organization, not because I wanted her close to me but so that we could share the same ideology, so that she would understand why we were doing these things. It was a good element because we were talking about a matrimony that was formed in struggle, that was about giving lives to the fight, to the struggle and not for seeking public notoriety or high position or leadership, but that the struggle we were carrying out was for freedom.

We were out and we had seized some territory. I was coordinating some of the struggle. I represented two sectors, two neighborhoods. I had gotten the experience in this very same place. We took over part of the city with the population in it. The people supported us because they were very much aware of the repression that was constantly coming down against the people... we were about 2 kilometers from the most important base of Somoza and we were a little bit worried because there had already been a counterattack. Of course the other sectors were trying to divert it. We had held this ground for three days and one morning my wife was about a block away. I was in another barricade and I saw she was running. I began to hear the discharge of the guns of the National Guard and we had not responded because it caught us by surprise. She came up to me and said, "Hey, you scared?" "Yeah, a little bit" and she gave me a small kind of handkerchief and she said, "Take it in case I'm hit."

At that moment there were about 25

comrades from the city who had had much experience, who were demanding leadership and who were boxed in. I said goodbye with a kiss and then I said, "We came here to struggle and that is what we are going to do."

I could not go through without a more sophisticated weapon that is called an M-50, I leaped over one of the barricades and I rolled over to another one in order to lead the battle. Reinforcements came by and then we numbered about 110 and ordered a counterattack. But it wasn't possible. They began to open up mortar fire and tanks. But we had to hold that territory because they were moving into the population. While my wife was about a block away I asked another *compañero* to please take her because she was cornered in a house. I began to organize our retreat which meant going back into the houses to camouflage ourselves, to change our clothes and hide the guns. There was another comrade who had had a uniform like I had. He was of higher leadership from the eastern part and he had come with the reinforcements. He was about my same size and my same weight. He was fighting and he fell. He was mutilated. A cousin of mine was carrying a pistol. He thought it was I who fell. His name was José, 12-years-old. He came out to the struggle. He dropped a Guard and he was killed. My wife came out also, shooting and shouting, "Our land shall be free or death" as she fell. She managed to get three of the National Guard.

What gets me is that they fell at their posts as they were attacking. When the Guards finally came they were not just Somoza's troops. There was an organization being put up, the Cortega, which is basically an organization set up strictly to enforce their interests. It's an organization with countries like El Salvador, Panama, Honduras and Nicaragua participating in it and being directed by Yankee imperialism. I am a witness to this because those that we fought against were from Guatemala and El Salvador... □

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AND THE OPPRESSED
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A Draft Position Paper for Discussion Prepared by
the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile
the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

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

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Excerpt From—
 “Chile: An Attempt At Historic Compromise”

The Soviet Imperialist Strategy in Latin America

The passages below on the strategy of Soviet social-imperialism in Latin America in alliance with pro-Soviet “communist” parties in various countries are reprinted from the book *Chile: An Attempt At Historic Compromise* by Jorge Palacios. These excerpts as well as the entire book provide invaluable exposure of the designs and methods of the Soviet Union and their loyal revisionist frontmen not only in Chile but throughout the world. A thorough and correct understanding of

the role of Soviet imperialism is absolutely essential in order to understand the political developments not only in the “U.S. hemisphere” but in the whole world today as world war rapidly approaches. While there have certainly been further developments in the Soviet strategy both in Latin America and worldwide—most notably more direct use of Soviet and Cuban troops and a trend in some countries toward increased lip service on the part of revisionist “C” Ps to “armed struggle”—and while the

Soviet plunder of its neo-colonies has been strengthened and developed, these passages are very applicable to the present situation.

These brief excerpts demonstrate very concretely that Soviet social-imperialism is not one wit “less imperialist” than U.S. imperialism either in their counterrevolutionary strategy and tactics of world conquest or in the kind of set-up they seek to establish in countries they dominate. Specifically, the “historic compromise” strategy

employed by the pro-Soviet revisionist parties in Chile and a number of other countries today is, in fact, a strategy to advance the Soviets’ imperialist cause under conditions where the U.S. dominates in these countries. It is in fact part and parcel of the Soviets’ overall strategy to redivide the world, challenging its U.S. rivals to the max in every sphere, seeking to gain every advantage possible for the coming showdown.

The ultimate goal of Soviet strategy in countries such as those of Latin America does not differ from the model which the USSR has imposed *manu militari* on the member countries of the Warsaw Pact. That is, state capitalism, run by a bureaucratic bourgeoisie which carries on in this form the exploitation formerly practised by the old bourgeoisie (sometimes allying itself with certain sections of the latter) demagogically presented as “socialism”. These new bureaucratic bourgeoisies are composed mainly of the cadres of the pro-Soviet “communist” parties, which play (before and after power is won) the role of “fifth column” of the social-imperialist bureaucratic bourgeoisie which governs in the USSR, and facilitate its military, ideological, economic and political expansion. This does not mean that, in the process of development of these local bureaucratic bourgeoisies (as the example of Czechoslovakia shows), contradictions cannot arise with Soviet social-imperialism. The concentration of economic and political power which state capitalism allows, as well as a certain capacity for centralization and for economic planning and the demagogic pretext that “we are building socialism”, allow a ferocious dictatorship of the fascist type to be exercised over the masses of the people. This dictatorship has gone to such extremes in the USSR and the countries dominated by it that even some pro-Soviet “communist” parties, such as the Italian party, the French party and others, albeit for electoral reasons, have been forced not only to recognize its existence but also to “condemn” it publicly.

In such “socialist” countries, all the features of the capitalist system exist, disguised under the legal fiction of ownership by the state, by the “whole people”. The direct producer is deprived of the means of production, he is paid wages, his labour power is a commodity sold at a price set by the

employer, the representative of the state bourgeoisie. The upper bureaucracy amasses fabulous profits, sharing amongst itself all the surplus-value created by the workers. In order to lay hold of the surplus-value, the upper bureaucracy not only maintains enormous differences in the rates of pay, but also, because of the need to preserve the fiction of the non-existence of profits and of individual gain, it must use the most devious and corrupt practices to enrich itself: kickbacks, the black market, embezzlement of goods, underground enterprises and many other practices which are everyday things in these countries. Finally, there are privileges which the very exercise of power there confers: it makes it possible to demand—through flattery or through terror—services, gifts, favours and even forced labour. These mechanisms operate with special force in the USSR because of the enormous amount of wealth which the state monopoly bourgeoisie has laid hold of there, because of its social-imperialist character. For example, there is one member of the Central Committee of the CPSU who, on his own, managed to embezzle funds in the value of half a million rubles, that is, the equivalent of what the average worker would earn in four centuries.

The relations which the USSR maintains with the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid (COMECON) and of the Warsaw Pact are an indication of the relations which it aspires to establish, little by little, with other countries which fall under the control of pro-Soviet bureaucratic bourgeoisies. In these countries, the theory of “limited sovereignty” propagated by the Soviet rulers to justify their invasion of Czechoslovakia, is enforced. This means that both their internal and their external policy is subject to the dictates of the rulers of the USSR, who, under the pretext of defending a “socialist” system (which ceased to exist there a long time ago, and which the people consequently have no interest in defending), arrogate to themselves the right to intervene militarily. They go so far as to plan to suppress the formal aspects of political sovereignty, and certain theoreticians of social-imperialism talk about the necessity of an “international political superstructure” for these countries, that is, direct government of them by the Soviets, behind the screen of a few local puppets.

The political vassalage of the countries dominated by the USSR is nothing other than the instrument for ferocious imperialist-type exploitation of these countries. Because of the Soviet military domination of these countries, this exploitation is carried out by using, in the most shameless way, all the usual methods of the imperialist countries: buying raw materials at low prices, selling manufactured products at very high prices (higher than world market prices), investing in their enterprises to make profits, forcing these countries to invest in Soviet enterprises, etc. In order to better carry out the various forms of exploitation of these countries, the USSR, in the name of the “international division of labour”, forbids them to develop certain branches of production

and forces them to produce what Soviet industry needs. What is more, their distorted industrial development depends completely on Soviet supply, which accounts for 96 percent of their oil, 97 percent of their coal, 80 percent of their iron and two-thirds of their cereal grain. Not content with that, the monopoly bureaucrats of the USSR plan in future to completely annex the economies of these countries, maintaining in this respect that: “The borders of the national states are (too) narrow for the development of the productive forces. It is necessary to establish a system of common property within the larger community.”² In this manner the Soviet monopolist and social-imperialist bourgeoisie is preparing to absorb totally the economies of these countries, while on its own territory it shares the exploitation of the people with the big international trusts which it has permitted to invest in the USSR, such as the German firm Krupp, FIAT of Italy, Renault of France, and Japanese and U.S. companies.

Statistics show that between 1955 and 1973, the USSR caused five East European countries to lose \$19 billion through unequal trade. Between 1954 and 1974 the export of capital to COMECON, just in the form of “economic aid”, exceeded \$10 billion, and the Soviets boasted that they had interfered in more than 1,300 enterprises in these countries. Following the U.S. imperialist model, they have already created a super-bank within COMECON, the International Investment Bank, 40 percent of whose capital is Soviet, through which they carry on the plunder and control of the East European countries under their domination; in the same way, since 1972 they have been creating multinational economic trusts, such as “Intertextilmach” and “interatomenergo”.

Soviet social-imperialism has also extended the tentacles of its imperialist exploitation to the Third World countries, and is hoping to create in these countries the political conditions which allow it to apply the methods it uses on its COMECON neighbours. From 1954 to 1972, the USSR exported more than \$13 billion in capital to Asia, Africa and Latin America, becoming involved in about 1,000 enterprises and taking out more than \$19 billion in raw materials at low prices: sugar, cotton, rubber, oil, mineral ores, etc. At the same time, it sold them, between 1955 and 1973, more than \$16 billion worth of industrial products at high prices, making, in the same period, more than \$11 billion in profits, just through unequal trade. Not content with these traditional forms of exploitation proper to all imperialism, they are beginning to suggest, as they did in issue number 8 of the journal *Komunist* of 1973, that the “new form of cooperation”, to which priority must be given “in a more and more resolute manner”, is the creation of “joint-stock enterprises” with the USSR, with the goal of “gradually deepening specialization and cooperation in production”, and of “sharing gradually and step by step in the socialist division of labour”. They added, unblushingly, that the plan for the “economic integration” of COM-

ECON was open to the developing countries. Thus they bare-facedly show their future colonialist-type plans for the Third World.

Although the ruling circles of the USSR are trying everywhere to set up political systems similar to those of the Warsaw Pact countries, which are so favourable to their interests, the tactical paths which they advocate vary according to the position which the country in question occupies in the world context, as well as according to its internal characteristics. In countries such as those of Western Europe, where there are powerful capitalist interests allied to U.S. imperialism, as well as powerful social-democratic forces serving these interests, Soviet penetration through the so-called “communist” parties which serve its policy is conceived in a gradual way. In these countries, there is no question at this time of contending for government with the pro-Yankee forces, through a closed bloc of the “left”. Rather, the effort is made to constrain these forces to ally themselves with the “C”P in order to get into government with them. The way to force them to share government with the “C”P is to patiently accumulate mass influence and electoral strength. If the pact is accepted, the USSR will *de facto* force U.S. imperialism to share with it its involvement in these countries, in the parts of the world corresponding to the U.S. sphere of influence. Meanwhile, the camp of the countries under Soviet control will remain closed to U.S. influence and under the firm control of social-imperialism. On the other hand, if a fascist regime opposes the attempts to impose a sharing of government, its repressive and anti-democratic nature will be used to discredit the traditional capitalist system and imperialism and thus to build up strength to demand the restoration of bourgeois democracy and to be able to begin again the process we have described.

This policy, however, is not the sole policy, nor is it the same for all countries and in all circumstances. In some countries, the Soviets have used attempts at coup d’état, as in the Sudan or in China with Lin Piao, for example, or military intervention as in Angola.

The nature of the alliance with the pro-Yankee populist or social-democratic forces, which the “communist” parties want to establish as a protective shield to get into government, is determined precisely by the reactionary nature of the regime they want to set up. Winning government power through a “left” bloc (as the case of Chile has just proved) tends to divide and polarize the forces and can only be defended by opposing the armed apparatus of the traditional bourgeoisie and eventual imperialist intervention, by mobilizing and arming the people to destroy the bourgeois state apparatus and to preserve national independence. But regimes of the type which hold power in the Warsaw Pact countries, and the reproduction of a system of imperialist exploitation such as social-imperialist practices against them, are incompatible with any revolutionary mobilization of the people. Moreover, at the present time the USSR does not

Continued on page 21

CHILE

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Not-So Innocent

Continued from page 9
only repeat "I'm only doing my job," over and over.

Still more. As stated, both shows were cancelled for Saturday. This came *after* the Clash had already arranged to double their stay in New York, doubling the number of shows thereby relieving the overcrowding and allowing all ticket holders a chance to see the band. Nonetheless, the Building Commissioner shut down Bond's that day, citing important safety violations. None were evidently so important as to warrant an inspection that day. This didn't come until Sunday morning when inspectors found plenty to be upset about—two exit signs, they concluded, needed to be installed.

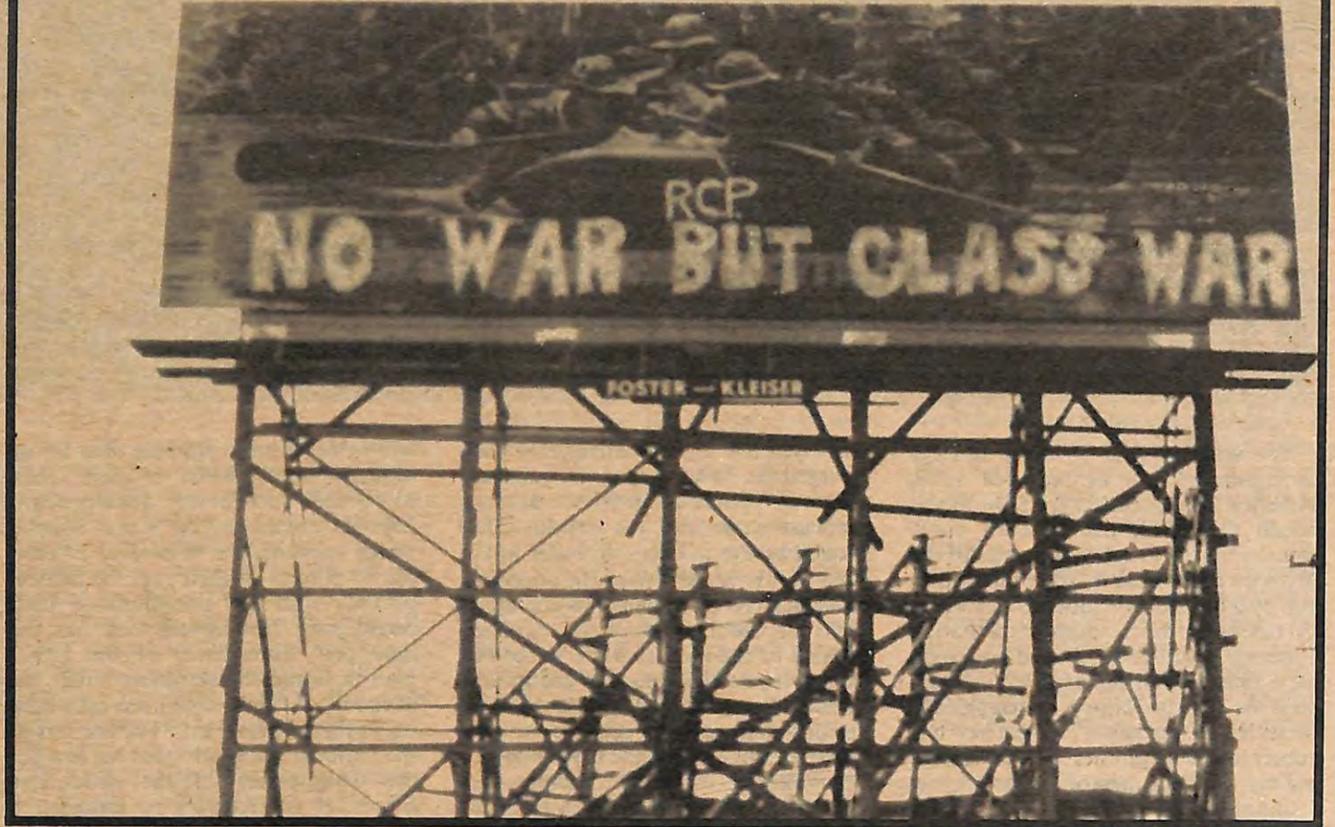
While the Building Commissioner was thus protecting the "public safety" inside, these transparent delaying tactics were affording the cops in the street their opportunity to come down on the youth outside. Among those assembled Saturday afternoon, discussion had been going on, about the world and about the attacks coming down on the Clash. Many were fully convinced that the motivation behind it all was thoroughly political, that there was an effort underway to suppress this "most anti-American show on Broadway." When the announcement was made of the show's cancellation, chants went up "We want the Clash!", "Fuck Bond's!", and "Anarchy!" About 100 well-rehearsed cops moved in quickly, dispersing the crowd. But not without some sharp resistance—a large number of youth tried to stop Times Square traffic by converging in the middle of the street before pigs on horseback drove them off. One youth shouted out sarcastically, "This is the *best* of capitalism!" Many other fans and passersby—at that and other times—have been expressing similar sentiments.

If the bourgeoisie hopes through all this that the Clash emerged discredited amongst their fans, thus far this remains an unfulfilled wish. The very real bitterness of people—many of whom had camped out 24 hours in ticket lines—at being turned away was *readily* focused elsewhere. "We don't drop stuff on people's faces," Joe Strummer announced to the press on Friday amidst reports that the show was being shut down. And experience has shown this to be true. If all that has gone down in New York is a portent of still stormier times ahead, if the ruling class is faced with a real necessity to suppress what this band is doing—as they are—they are nonetheless politically on the defensive and in a potentially vulnerable position.

At the same time, events in New York over the past week amply demonstrate that the class-conscious proletariat must come to better recognize its own necessity. There is some work to be done. For all their sordidness and relative clumsiness, the ruling class had its well-oiled machinery, its own "class solidarity" to fall back upon. The Clash are, after all, one band. And as they have taken pains to point out, they are here to put on a show. What they do they do extremely well. But they are precisely not another cultural sop aimed at spreading either complacency or resignation. That is no small part of why they are under attack. And that is no small impetus for others to take this question on. □

Truth-in-Advertising and the U.S. Marines

This photo, sent anonymously to the RW was identified as a Marine recruiting billboard in San Francisco.



Atlanta Summer Offensive Continued from page 1

(The question, of course, is not whether or not a Black is rapped up in these hideous murders: there are more than a few unfortunate examples in history of a slave doing the work of the slavemaster. The point is that it's the slavemaster's work.) Like lightning, the story hit the nation. Emblazoned across the front page of the *New York Post* was the headline: "Atlanta Monster Seized, Police Nab Black Suspect." It was featured on ABC's Nightline, with vacationing Ted Koppel's surrogate repeatedly returning to the point that **THE SUSPECT IS BLACK**. He might as well have said: "On this plantation, we ain't got no racism." A companion piece followed, adding to the foul stench. Uncoincidentally, it was a feature on America's missing children, that is, America's missing *white* children. This was a faint echo of J.B. Stoner's recent call for revenge against Black people for "crimes against whites."

At the same time, the whole thing could easily be taken as a message to the murderers that their hands are free to strike again, the "investigation"—so vividly illustrated by the assault on Williams—posing little threat. It was also openly stated on the national news the following day that there had been so much press over the Williams incident that a conviction in the case would be very hard to get anyway. This had little to do with Williams; it was instead a general pronouncement of the "difficulty" faced in convicting *anyone*.

But the main message telegraphed here was to the Black masses. Not only are they to be generally subjected to the tightening grip of the State apparatus so evident today in Atlanta (massive police

repression, road blocks, busts, etc., etc.), but now virtually any individual can be arbitrarily singled out, harassed, intimidated, followed and arrested as a "suspect" in these murders in particular. It's a new stomach turning twist to the clampdown. Only one week earlier, it had been widely broadcast (if widely ignored) that "one police official suggested that if you're Black and male you might want to stay home." It need not be said that this was not out of concern for the safety of Black youth, but out of concern for the safety of the prevailing order in Atlanta—such that it is. Summertime is here and already the authorities have made very specific preparations for violently confronting a simmering anger which threatens to boil over.

Wayne Williams wound up right in the middle of it. Williams had known he was being watched for weeks before he was picked up. He had been stopped near Chattahoochee, and after this two or three cars followed him everywhere he went. (He denies ever having thrown anything into the water, although the news continues to report that he says he threw garbage.) FBI agents interviewed him at his house, and later admitted putting a bug in his car that could be monitored by police helicopters if he somehow managed to outmaneuver his police tails. And Williams was grabbed the day after FBI Director William Webster boasted his optimism in "solving the case" during an appearance on the McNeil/Leherer Report. All the proper warrants had already been signed and sealed—except one for samples of the man's "body fluids" that was not granted. Clearly weeks of high level planning had gone into this.

Even after Williams' release, the local media continued spreading unsubstantiated charges about his background, including an arrest for "impersonating an officer" several years ago that even the district attorney's office *couldn't find*. Especially emphasized was the FBI's story about the incident at the Chattahoochee Bridge. Accusatory reports declared that Williams knew the city well and "even knew how to monitor police radios." This was none too surprising for someone raised in Atlanta and employed by local radio stations for 6 years, nor for someone who most recently worked as a part time roving photographer for a local TV station.

Williams was detained and harassed for 12 grueling hours. Interviewed via a phone call to a radio show Thursday morning, he said: "They won't ask me any questions... They were making accusations and threats the whole time." FBI agents grilled him over and over: "You're lying—you killed Cater..." One frustrated cop later moaned about how "tired he was of pulling the long hours" and how he was gonna get Williams. Williams was not allowed a phone call, nor consultation with a lawyer. Obviously, if any hard evidence had been found, he would have gone straight to jail. It could have happened to any Black person in town. And this was exactly the point.

On Tuesday, June 2nd, one day before the feds finally detained the man who had been the object of massive police surveillance and attention, something else happened in Atlanta: another Black youth was reported missing. □

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Create Public Opinion

This pamphlet was published on the occasion of the appearance of the first issue of the *Revolutionary Worker*. It contains two articles which originally appeared in *Revolution*

magazine, organ of the Central Committee of the RCP, titled "On the Role of Agitation and Propaganda" and "Create Public Opinion... Seize Power."

... **Seize Power**

Outrageous Sentencing Upheld

Rulers' Retaliation For St. Louis Flag-Burning

U.S. government reprisals are moving ahead against two revolutionaries who helped blow apart the myth of national unity by burning an American flag just three weeks after the U.S. Embassy was seized in Iran, and at a time when the U.S. was threatening military intervention. A ruling in early May by the 8th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis upheld the convictions and sentences of Richard Bangert and Alan Kandel. Bangert was convicted of stealing government property (an American flag) and destruction of same. The sentence: 6 months and \$1,000 on stealing and one year and \$1,000 on destruction, to run one after the other. Kandel got one year and \$1,000 on destruction—the maximum. Bangert was jailed shortly after the recent ruling, but released several hours later when the motion for appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court was filed. (An interesting footnote here is that the government did not prosecute under the flag desecration statute—a felony. Convictions under the statute have not stood up of late. Instead, they chose two misdemeanor charges. In the words of the U.S. Attorney in St. Louis, "We wanted to go easy on the guys." In fact, these have been widely publicized in the St. Louis press as "flag burning convictions," showing the authorities' hopes to lay the basis for future convictions.)

As events unfolded on November 27, 1979, a guard at the Federal Building in St. Louis came out to discover a banner flying from the flagpole which read "U.S. Keep Your Bloody Hands Off Iran!" The flag was missing. Later that morning at a demonstration at Washington University supporting the Iranian revolution and the embassy seizure, Bangert, a Vietnam veteran and member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (Anti-Imperialist) and Alan Kandel, set fire to a monstrous 18-by-8-foot flag.

What was also set off by the flash of fire was intense controversy as to the meaning of the flag, patriotism and internationalism. Just to give a few examples of how much trouble this caused the ruling class, one week after the flag burning, authorities at Landsdown Junior High School in nearby East St. Louis, Illinois, re-established the ritual of saying the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag. East St. Louis is predominantly Black. And just recently a white 7th grade student in St. Louis told the *RW* that his teacher held a special class on the flag burning right after it happened, discussing communism and revolution. The very day in February 1980 on which Bangert and Kandel were arrested by the FBI for the flag burning, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade was rallying students against war preparations at Lincoln High School in East St. Louis. Some of the students began yelling to a Brigade member who was carrying a rolled up American flag, "Burn it! Burn it!"

Social reaction to this has been wide—and, of course, varied. The daily *Globe-Democrat* editorialized that "Flag burning can cause riots! They deserve the maximum sentence." A Black Muslim commented to an *RW* seller, "Seeing that it was two white boys that did it is a clear indication to me that modern day Babylon is coming down." The advanced sentiments were by no means confined to Blacks or youth. At one unemployment office a white worker was buying an *RW*. He had been laid off from the GM plant. When he was reminded that the flag burning trial was beginning that day, he replied, "I'm glad you reminded me. I'll have to be sure and watch the news tonight. I'm sure they'll show the flag burning again. Every time they show it I sit my son up close to the TV screen, we've got color. That's the most beautiful thing I've ever seen."

On the other hand, the Socialist Workers Party had this to say: "You guys are making it impossible for us to explain our politics." And the Communist Party produced this small episode of revisionism: One of their people was at his regular post at the southside unemployment office handing out the *Daily World* and doing his agitation which consisted of repeating the words "Free Copy." One Black man going in seemed only casually interested in either the *Revolutionary Worker* or the *Daily World*. As he came out and headed in the direction of the *RW* seller, the CP hack hoped he could scare the man away from the *RW* by screaming "Those are the people that burned the American flag!" At that, the man's eyes lit up and he immediately went for some change to buy an *RW*.

The key point on which the case will be appealed to the Supreme Court is the procedure used to identify Bangert as the one who stole the flag. The FBI produced three witnesses who all said they had seen a white male with a full beard running from the scene. Knowing this, the FBI pulled out eleven mug shots of RCP supporters who had been arrested for various political offenses. It included several Blacks, several women and only one person with a beard—guess who?—Bangert. The District Court judge overruled a Motion to Suppress Identification. He then went on to have Bangert sit in the audience to see if the witnesses could identify him. Here again the witnesses were facing some tough choices since Bangert was the only bearded individual in the courtroom.

As blatantly suggestive as this whole procedure was, however, some Supreme Court decisions concerning identification hold that suggestive photo spreads or lineups are not that important. What the courts have placed the greatest weight on is whether the witness saw enough to identify the

suspect regardless of any photos or lineups. So it is up to the person on trial to either prove that the suggestive photo spread or lineup influenced the witness to the point where they would be biased, or that they could never have identified the suspect without some help. That is no easy task, and very few suggestive photo cases have ever been overturned, except in favor of the government. Certainly a convenient interpretation of the law for the ruling class should they decide to railroad someone.

The case against Kandel consisted of the earthshaking evidence that he had read a copy of the VVAW (A-I) press release which said a flag had been lowered at the Federal Building earlier in the day and replaced by the "Bloody Hands" banner. According to this reasoning, he must have known he was burning government property. This is in spite of the fact that government photos and witnesses testified to there being another American flag at the demonstration which Kandel had to yank back out of the hands of a reactionary.

In a recent article in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* (written just before the two men were given a stay of sentence pending appeal) Bangert is quoted as saying, "I think they are hoping a lot of people will see this (sentencing—*RW*) and get the impression that the government has the power to do what it wants. They hope a lot of people will feel helpless in challenging the government. But I don't think they realize that this prison sentence really reflects their weakness. This is a country that supposedly doesn't have political prisoners, and yet that's what we are. When the government feels it has to lock up revolutionaries, I think it just shows (its—*RW*) weakness." □

Moves to Isolate UN2 In Jail

Attempts by the authorities to harass the UN2 are continuing, as attacks on Glenn Gan illustrate. The UN2, Steve Yip and Glenn Gan, were ordered to jail on March 9 despite the fact that their appeals are still before the Supreme Court. Since that time prison authorities have made every effort to keep these internationally known political prisoners away from other prisoners.

After the UN2 spat on a "deal" offered on April 1 by New York prison officials—that they could remain in the Metropolitan Correction Center in New York City if they agreed not to "organize the prisoners"—they were both transferred on very short notice, just days before the first anniversary of these revolutionary fighters at the United Nations.

On April 22, at 4:00 a.m., under the cover of darkness, Steve Yip was transferred to the Federal Penitentiary in Danbury, Connecticut. Glenn Gan was notified that he would be transferred to California because he had family there. On April 27, Glenn was transferred out of Metropolitan Correction Center, but instead of being sent to California he was left in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania for almost two weeks (including the anniversary of the action by the UN2 at the UN) and then sent to Sandstone, Minnesota.

After a short stay in Sandstone he was sent to Terminal Island in Long Beach, California on May 8. During the time, Glenn heard conflicting reports about where he would be sent, but he still thought his destination was Pleasanton, California.

Then, on May 14, Glenn's sister was informed that he was to be sent to Sandstone, Minnesota. Fully five days later, Glenn was informed by Lt. Berton that he was being transferred to Sandstone instead of Pleasanton. Ber-

ton told Glenn that the Federal Penitentiary Central Office in Kansas City had made the decision, and that it was probably due to "overcrowding" in California prisons.

When an Oakland attorney called the Western Regional Office on June 1 to find out why Glenn was to be transferred to Minnesota, when his family lived in California and he was even a California resident, a bureaucrat told him that no prisoners were being transferred to California because of "overcrowding." This was a bald-faced lie. Glenn reports that prisoners are being transferred to Pleasanton and Lompoc (also in California) fairly regularly. In fact, on May 14, the day his sister was told he would

be sent to Minnesota, a busload of prisoners were transferred from Terminal Island to Pleasanton. The bureaucrat then called the Records Department at Terminal Island and told the attorney that Glenn was going to be sent to Pleasanton after all. *That same day* a Los Angeles attorney called Terminal Island and was told that Glenn was to be transferred to Minnesota. When the Los Angeles attorney called the bureaucrat he claimed he had received "bum information" earlier and that orders had been issued on May 13 for Glenn to be transferred to Minnesota.

Glenn Gan has now been "in transit" for more than a month, and, as of now, does not know where he is headed. It is

SOP (Standard Operating Procedure) for federal prisons to hold prisoners in the state where their families live, yet orders for Glenn Gan read "Sandstone, Minnesota."

In addition, Glenn's prison records show his conviction as "assault on a federal officer" when he was, in fact, convicted of "assault on an internationally protected person." This change is designed to further unleash rabid prison officials and guards—not that they need it.

Even behind bars, the UN2 are hated and feared by the government. □

New Laws Aid California Cops

Gotta Complaint? . . . Go Directly to Jail!

"The police are going to beat you more than ever. Dare to complain—it's a year in jail. Dare to resist—it's five years." That's the content of two bills which have already passed the California Legislature and are in the Judiciary Committee, ready to be signed into law. The first, dubbed by the bourgeois media "Make a Complaint—Go to Jail," makes it a misdemeanor to "knowingly file a false report" of police brutality. Aimed at stopping people from filing complaints, this law is sure to save some wear and tear on police paper shredders. (The LAPD caught some flack a couple of years back when they shredded thousands of pages of citizens' complaints about police brutality. A little too blatant, fellows.)

"Make a Complaint—Go to Jail" is, according to its sponsors, going to "remedy" a 1979 State Supreme Court de-

cision. In that case, a Chicano couple was so outraged by the brutal beating of a Black man by Orange County police that they filed a complaint. After the complaint was routinely thrown out, the pigs turned around, arrested the couple, and railroaded a conviction for "filing a false report." The conviction was later overturned by the State Supreme Court, but by that time the case had been splashed all over the media, driving a point home to everyone. Proponents of the new law quite accurately point out that they are simply restoring the law to what it had always been before 1979. Of course, it's not that California cops have ever failed to respond to complaints of police brutality. Just ask anyone who has filed a complaint: unexpected late night visits, surveillance of their homes, bullshit tickets, bogus busts, death threats, etc. . . . And now, officially, it's jail time.

The second bill adds a new twist. It will now be a felony to fight back against a policeman beating you up, choking you or killing you, even if his actions are technically illegal. Up until now it's been a misdemeanor, but the bourgeoisie, with eyes warily on the future, has upped the ante to remind folks that they intend for their uniformed enforcers to have free rein in the streets and elsewhere. "Put up and shut up" would be an appropriate name for this vicious package. And, if you don't like it, you can always file a complaint!

But as former L.A. Police Chief, now State Senator, Ed Davis oinked about how these bills would create "a warming effect for police officers in the street (doubtful, to say the least), it was possible to discern the distinctly nervous tone of some very worried slave-masters. □

Nuclear 'Falling Out'

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Japanese military expenditures to the percentage of its GNP is quite misleading in a country whose economic growth has expanded at a rate far greater than either the U.S. or any of its other allies. Though starting from a relatively low base, Japan has increased its defense budget at an average of 7% a year for the past decade, a rate that far outstrips any of the Western allies.

The fact is that, despite all the ridiculous speculation in the U.S. press about "whether or not" Japan should rearm, it has already done so long ago. As we saw above, this began in the 1950s, and by 1967, Japan had the seventh strongest navy and the sixth strongest air force in the world, with a firepower greater than that of the entire Imperial Army during WWII. By 1969, Japan had attained a degree of self-sufficiency in munitions manufacture unparalleled among the Western powers with the possible exception of the U.S.—producing 97% of its own

ammunition and 84% of its aircraft, tanks, guns, naval craft and other military equipment. While the Japanese ground forces are indeed small, this is only because further expansion of the land army is largely unnecessary since Japanese military strategy hinges on the vast technological superiority of air and naval forces over all its neighbors with the exception of the USSR. In any case, all three branches of the Japanese armed forces are heavily over-officered (much as the German armed forces were after WW I), including many battle-hardened veterans of the Pacific and Asian wars and could easily be expanded on extremely short notice by four to five times their present size.

Beyond all this, Japan possesses a huge industrial capacity that is capable of moving into high levels of military production extremely quickly and there are definite signs that this eventuality is already being widely planned for. Its ship building industry is highly efficient and Japan's leading high technology industries, like Mitsubishi, have increasingly dovetailed civilian production for rapid conversion to military uses. Toshiba, for example, has developed a silicon-on-sapphire micro chip that would enable computers to survive neutron fall out from nuclear explo-

sions. Indeed, for all the Japanese rulers' mock "horror" at the prospect of nuclear weapons in Japan, and while Japan has constructed a military force quite capable of thrusting outside Japan without the use of nukes, its armed forces are nevertheless tightly designed for a swift switch to nuclear weapons. Highly developed in nuclear technology (Japan is outdistanced only by the U.S. and Britain in its number of nuclear power plants), it is estimated that a conversion programme designed to put nuclear warheads into Japan's missile system could be carried out in less than one year. As far back as 1970, Japanese officials gave then U.S. Defense Secretary Melvin Laird assurances that Japan would probably have nuclear weapons in the 1980s and there has been much discussion over the years between U.S. and Japanese foreign policy circles about under just what circumstances Japan would drop its "non-nuclear" policy like a hot potato.

But beyond the plainly apparent reality that Japan has for many years been arming itself to the teeth (and preparing for large scale conversion to war footing, including the option of "going nuclear") is the fact that this has taken place within the framework

of its alliance with the U.S. While Japan's Self Defense Forces (SDF) were originally created for the ostensible purpose of providing for the minimal defense of Japanese territory, they have been steadily integrated into U.S. military planning, and the scope of such "self-defense" has been revealingly redefined again and again. Article 9 of the original Japanese constitution rewritten by the U.S. in 1947 states that Japan would "forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat of use of force as a means of settling international disputes" and that to accomplish this aim "land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential, will not be maintained." This was already a dead letter in the 1950s, and by 1960, the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security stated that the U.S. and Japan "have the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense." In 1969, the Nixon-Sato communique which laid the groundwork for the renewal of this treaty in 1970, declared both Japan's former colony, Korea, and Taiwan to be within Japan's military sphere of influence, with the former described as "essential to the security of Japan" and the latter as "a

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Letelier

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prosecutors had any interest in bringing this to light.

In addition, the defense also managed to virtually ignore a letter introduced by the prosecution (once having introduced it, the prosecution also managed to ignore it). The letter, signed by Novo, was sent to the Chilean government in 1976 and stated, "The Cuban Nationalist Movement has intrepidly defended the best interests of the Pinochet government in every way public and private worthy of comment and worthy of silence." Obviously the words of a disinterested scapegoat! Interestingly enough however, this letter may have contributed to Novo's slight reprimand, that is, being convicted on two counts of lying to a Federal grand jury when he stupidly denied any knowledge of the case or of DINA.

While Novo could get a light jail term for this, it is apparently unlikely since his three years in prison under the old conviction will count in his favor.

In summing up their victory, the defense lawyer stated that in addition to discrediting Townley, a key element involved was the jury. According to the defense lawyers, the case was so complex, involving all sorts of intricate facts and spy vs. spy intrigue that jurors who could see the flaws in the prosecution's case were needed in order to win. According to defense lawyer Lawrence A. Dubin, "We just wanted some smart people." In other words, they wanted, and got, a set of people reactionary enough to buy the blatant nonsense in the courtroom because they were perceptive enough to sense the "American interests at stake." According to the June 1st issue of the *Washington Post*, the defense found such a jury in "a government lawyer, a man with a prestigious graduate degree in business, an investigator for a local alcohol beverage

control board, and a jury foreman with an ivy league college degree."

In summing up their "defeat" the U.S. Attorney's Office simply stated "It's a disappointment but we accept the jury's verdict." With open arms no doubt, and it's not really surprising particularly when the acquittal is placed in the context of the overall relationship between the U.S. and Chile. This verdict is part and parcel of an overall campaign to more openly tighten up the U.S. relationship with their Pinochet regime in Chile. In the past few months even the mild economic sanctions against Chile have been lifted and a ban on export/import bank loans to Chile has been ended. At the same time, Chile has been invited to participate in joint military maneuvers with the U.S. and is seen as a key partner in the proposed formation of a U.S.-led South Atlantic Treaty Organization which would include South Africa, Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina. Within four days of the verdict Chile's Prime Minister trooped off to

Washington for a meeting with Secretary of State Haig and undoubtedly more details on the tightening up of U.S./Chile affairs will be forthcoming.

The U.S. of course continues to express its utmost abhorrence of international terrorism except, of course, when it's of its own doing. They have indeed written the book on such activities and are supreme practitioners of this noble art having every intention of continuing to employ it to the max. Their hypocrisy truly knows no bounds. People will just have to understand that terrorism like the Letelier assassination is an important part of the crusade against "international terrorism." As if the highlight of this, Alvin Ross, upon hearing of the acquittal, stated that he planned to continue his "non-involvement" in such affairs. Ross said he plans to "put his life together, start working and try to overthrow Castro." One can almost hear the U.S. officials sputtering now, "It's all a matter of whose foreign agent you are." □

Big Mountain

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starvation, and others were taken as slaves by ranchers in the area. But the people of Big Mountain successfully resisted being pulled in by the U.S. nets, hiding in the hills and fighting where possible against the cavalry in a guerrilla-like war effort. Later, when missionaries or BIA agents would come out to the area to kidnap their children in a concerted effort to "educate" them—

that is, to destroy the Dine' culture and religion—the people of Big Mountain were famous for hiding their children and telling the kidnapers that they didn't have any. In the 1920s and '30s, when the government began its infamous "stock reduction" programs against the Navajos, the people of Big Mountain found places in the hills to hide their cattle and sheep to prevent government agents from confiscating them.

The spirit of resistance has been passed down from generation to generation at Big Mountain, and is constantly re-

ferred to by the younger militants in the struggle. Drawing on the lessons of the years of struggle at Big Mountain (including the people's 4-year battle to prevent the completion of a government fence that would divide the land between the Hopi Tribal Council and the Navajo Tribal Council), the Big Mountain fighters have been organizing throughout the JUA. The latest example was a two-day women's meeting at Big Mountain, bringing together over 200 women from all over the JUA, the adjacent Hopi reservation, and support groups from Tucson, Oakland and Los

Angeles. These united women warriors pledged to continue the fight and to organize greater support and participation in their respective areas. They are drawing up a public statement to that effect to send around the country.

Because the government has gone to great lengths to portray the situation in the JUA as a "Navajo-Hopi dispute," the participation of the Hopi women was of particular significance. But the ruling class is in for further exposure on this score; the women decided to hold their next warriors' meeting right on the Hopi reservation. A further blow against this lying propaganda will be struck in Los Angeles on June 26, 27 and 28 when a combined Hopi-Dine' survival gathering will bring traditional elders of both tribes to that city to build more support and participation from all nationalities in the L.A. area. The Big Mountain fighters are not only determined to resist the U.S.'s genocidal attacks, but are also committed to drawing more and more people from all over the country—indeed the world—into the struggle.

At the present time, the BIA and other repressive forces of the U.S. are showing a low profile; they have temporarily stopped impounding the animals of the Dine' people, the BIA police have temporarily stopped harassing travelers on the Big Mountain road, and the federal construction crews have temporarily stopped trying to complete the fence—or to repair those previously completed sections that have been cut through in a number of areas. Undoubtedly, they are hoping that Peter McDonald's attempts to turn the momentum around will succeed. But whatever the effects of these efforts, the fence is scheduled for completion by July 8 and the U.S. government has long made it clear that the lives of Native Americans cannot be allowed to stand in the way of deadly capitalist progress. □

Latin America

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have the strength to impose such regimes through armed intervention in countries which are key points for U.S. imperialism and which the latter could defend even at the price of a war with the USSR. As a result, at the present time, the advance toward the Eastern European-style "socialist" model requires, as a first step, the preservation of the bourgeois state apparatus against the people, the strengthening of this apparatus through the advance toward state capitalism, the infiltration of this apparatus thanks to the relative tolerance of the traditional bourgeois forces, the basic elements of this strategy are: the winning of widespread mass influence by the pro-Soviet "C" P, by taking advantage of the capitalist crisis and by practising demagoguery; the effort to infiltrate the bourgeois armed forces; and the attempts to establish an alliance with the populist or social-democratic forces, which contend with the "C" P for large popular and middle sections.

In the face of this revisionist

strategy, more important than ever is the idea formulated by Mao Tsetung, in accordance with the basic theses of the Marxist classics, when he stated: "Without a people's army the people have nothing." To impose state capitalism, to subordinate the country to social-imperialist exploitation, it is necessary to have armed forces of the type which exist in the capitalist regimes: foreign to the masses of the people and opposed to them. Exactly the opposite of the Marxist concept of the people in arms. That is why, for the phony communists, it is indispensable to preserve the bourgeois armed forces, to win them over to their cause and/or to restructure them little by little in order to put them at their service. Never must they be destroyed by the people in arms...

The strategy conceived by the Soviet rulers to penetrate Latin America is similar to the one we described above. Although these countries do not have as much importance for U.S. imperialism on the military, economic and political levels as does Europe, they are

neighbours of the U.S. and have sometimes been defined as its "backyard". Consequently, the U.S. government does not seem prepared to tolerate there any regimes of the type the USSR has created in Eastern Europe without doing its utmost to block such regimes. This is why it is reasonable for the USSR to act very cautiously and gradually in this region, seeking to infiltrate their governments, their states and their armies, which prop them up, through an alliance with mass-based political forces that oppose social-imperialism under the orders of the U.S....

Footnotes

1. "Pourriture de la société soviétique", *Pekin Information*, No. 7, February 16, 1976.
2. "La propriété commune" selon Moscou", *Documents du Mouvement communiste international*, (Paris: September-October 1975).
3. Soviet Revisionists' Sinister Programme of Neo-Colonialism", *Peking Review*, Vol. 17, No. 16, April 19, 1974.

Nuclear 'Falling Out'

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most important factor in the security of Japan."

All these diplomatic pronouncements, however, were merely a reflection of the military role that Japan had *already been playing* for quite some time in tandem with the U.S. and its other regional allies, particularly in supporting the major wars of U.S. imperialism in Asia. When the Korean War broke out, Japan's munitions industries were cranked up into full production of weaponry to meet U.S. orders for its war against the Korean people (and China)—a "war boom" that did much to facilitate the economic reconstruction of the Japanese economy. But Japan's rulers did much more than just manufacture arms for the U.S. Thousands of former Japanese Imperial Army troops who were familiar with the Korean terrain from their stay during the Japanese occupation before and during WW II, were organized to fight under the auspices of the U.S.-controlled "UN Command." By 1963, a contingency plan known as "Three Arrows" had been developed by the Japanese rulers in which they would, if necessary to "defend Japan's investments," occupy South Korea, invade North Korea and suppress any attempt at revolution back in Japan. During the sixties and seventies, numerous joint military exercises were held by Japan's "Self-Defense Forces" with the U.S., South Korea, and the ruling Kuomintang clique in Taiwan with these and other strategies in mind, including some aimed at blocking Soviet naval movements in the event of war.

Along with this was the invaluable military assistance provided by Japan to the U.S. in its war in Indochina. Not only did Japan serve as a reliable "rear base area" for U.S. forces, providing numerous repair facilities for vehicles and tanks, as well as airfields from which B-52 bombing missions were launched direct to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, but it functioned as a major supplier of munitions for the U.S. and its client armies, including the notorious "smart" bombs, a variety of artillery shells, and a reported 90% of the napalm used by the U.S. in Vietnam. Japan also provided the personnel for about half of the Landing Ship Tanks (LSTs) that busily delivered these munitions up and down the Vietnamese coast. Many of these ships, although flying the American flag, were completely run by the Japanese until a vigilant Japanese newspaper reporter exposed the practice in 1967.

In more recent years, as is well known, Japan has served as a supplementary base area for the U.S. Seventh Fleet (mainly based in Subic Bay in the Philippines) and the "home port" for a squadron of U.S. naval vessels, including at least one nuclear armed carrier, the Midway. The island of Okinawa (formally reverted back to Japan in return for its renewal of the "improved" Security Treaty in 1970) is little more than a U.S. military compound housing thousands of U.S. troops and where, it is widely suspected, the U.S. secretly parks its nuclear-armed submarines.

Contradictions for Japan's Rulers

Some "pacifists," these Japanese imperialist rulers! But given this far from complete picture of the military role played by Japan in the past, one is tempted to wonder why Japan's rulers appear to be so "touchy" about openly admitting their alliance with the U.S. and their obvious nuclear involvement, or further, stepping up their war preparations. For one thing, pursuing their own imperialist interests within the context of the U.S. bloc does not necessarily mean that those interests will neatly coincide with those of the U.S.—quite the contrary. Japan's growing economic strength relative to the U.S., a reflection of the uneven development of the imperialists, has turned it from a defeated imperialist power into one which is on its feet again, competing with U.S. capital for

markets, spheres of influence, etc. But this is taking place within the context of a larger contention—between the U.S. and its bloc and the Soviet Union and its bloc. Japan, like the other imperialists, wants and needs a new division of the world, but as things stand it can only seek such a redivision within the context of the U.S. bloc. Thus, the principal aspect of the inter-imperialist relations of the U.S. and Japan is unity in opposition to the Soviet bloc. However, within this, rivalry still takes place, not only on economic, but on military matters as well—around questions of how world war will actually unfold, precisely what will be the shape and character of Japanese "rearmament," who will control the weapons systems in and around Japan, and so on.

On the question of nukes, there is a particular contradiction between Japan's rulers and their U.S. counterparts. As the *Basic Principles* document points out: "On the strategic-military plane, the U.S. insists on maintaining control over the nuclear weapons stationed in the countries of its bloc and in general would like to confine the war, both conventional encounters and nuclear exchanges (if, as is quite likely, they occur), to others' territories. Of course, this is not at all to the liking of its allies, who desperately want to prevent the nuclear devastation of the countries they rule." The Japanese imperialists want to avoid becoming a nuclear bullseye (although Japan already is one to a certain extent considering it's no secret to the Soviets that its military facilities, particularly Okinawa, are important refueling and repair points for U.S. nuclear subs and strategic bombers) and it is not in their interests to publicly throw it in the face of the Soviets by more openly assisting with U.S. missile deployments or by openly advertising the extent of their present involvement on this score. This is one reason why to date Japan's rulers have tried to "discreetly" pursue their military buildup deep in the shadow of the U.S. nuclear umbrella without explicitly going nuclear themselves—although this is looming as a greater and greater possibility in the near future.

Especially troubling for Japan's ruling class is the contradiction between themselves and the masses of people in Japan—and here lies a key element behind the paradoxical maneuvering that has marked political relations with the U.S., notably of late. There are strong anti-imperialist and anti-nuclear sentiments among the Japanese masses deriving from their experiences during WW II which make it extremely difficult for the Japanese ruling class to openly flaunt their military alliance with the U.S. and the fact that Japan is part of the U.S. worldwide nuclear network. Needless to say, people in Japan harbor an intense hatred of nuclear weapons, and over the years powerful movements have erupted in Japan against the U.S. military, the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and its ramifications as a pact against revolution in Asia, against the covert stationing of nukes, and the development of other struggles as well. U.S. naval vessels are routinely met by demonstrations of thousands who often violently confront the police sent to subdue them.

One example of the intensity of these struggles is the 15-year long battle by the farmers of Sanrizuka, supported by thousands of workers and students, to prevent the government from completing construction of the new Tokyo International Airport on their land (a project that has widespread military implications). In 1978, thousands of demonstrators stormed into the airport, tossing molotov cocktails and wielding metal rods, and proceeded to demolish the newly constructed control tower in its entirety. Reportedly, a number of the airstrips have even had to be constructed with curves in them to get around various "problem areas"—a development the U.S. and Japanese air forces are obviously not too thrilled with. There have also been powerful upheavals by the people of Okinawa against the massive U.S. military presence there and protests against joint maneuvers by the U.S. and Japan's "Self-Defense" forces. In 1970, 10,000

people took to the streets of Koza city and battled against the U.S. military, storming into the strategically vital Kadena Air Force base and destroying 80 American vehicles in the process. Japan's widespread network of nuclear power plants has likewise been the target of numerous demonstrations, not only from the perspective of the environmental hazards, but also their military implications.

Of course the Soviet Union, in Japan as in Europe, attempts to exploit the righteous sentiments of the masses and the widespread exposure of U.S. imperialism to hide its own nature, to build opposition to U.S. imperialism and U.S. nukes, and to generally try to drive a wedge between the U.S. and Japan. While some of the masses may be fooled by this smokescreen and by the revisionist Soviet-aligned Japanese Communist Party, this obviously does not change the objective significance of these mass feelings and actions.

U.S. Delivers Message

In this context the reasons behind the recent U.S. push to bring things out in the open—through mention of an "alliance," Reischauer's disclosure, etc.—and the Japanese reaction to this push become clear. It is not that the concept of an alliance bothers the Japanese rulers in the least. History has already proved this a moot point. The problem is that for years Japan's rulers have been forced to conduct this relationship under a veil of secrecy (however transparent) and through a series of clandestine and semi-clandestine agreements which must be kept hidden from the Japanese people. The U.S. message now is clearly that Japan's rulers have been dragging their feet on the question of more openly creating public opinion among the people for Japan's role in the coming war and that it's time to get on the stick. Thus, to return to the Chicago *Tribune's* editorial:

"The military part of the problem is clear and straightforward, but the political part of it is not. There is intense popular opposition to military spending in Japan, where its merest mention can threaten to bring down a government—as is happening right now.

"There is also justifiable fear and suspicion in Korea, Taiwan, China, the Philippines, and other Asian nations that have suffered from Japanese aggression in this century. Unfortunately, Japanese leaders seem to be pandering to these fears instead of trying to overcome them..."

The concern here for the "fear and suspicion" of Japan's neighbors is also quite revealing since there is little problem with the U.S.-puppet dictators that run these countries, many of whom have recently been debating whether it would not be in their best interests for Japan to begin playing a more expanded military role in the region to compensate for the fact that the U.S. has been forced to switch some of its forces

to the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. What the U.S. rulers are concerned with here are the fears and suspicions among the masses in these countries who remember Japanese imperialism quite well from WW II. Just one example of this is that when Prime Minister Tanaka toured Southeast Asia in 1974, he was met by widespread rioting in several of these countries in which a number of people were killed by government troops brought out to protect their "honored guest." This, too, in the U.S.'s view, is another area in which the Japanese rulers must do some public relations work to prepare the ground for a projected Japanese military role in these countries.

The deliberate "leaking" of the nuke revelations shows that the U.S. rulers have apparently decided that it is better for Japan's rulers to lay their cards on the table now as far as the masses are concerned, rather than waiting until later when things may be considerably more difficult. After all, there is not that much time left. Another editorial in the most recent issue of *The Economist* (the British imperialist magazine) rather pointedly titled, "Rising Sun Gets Stuck", made things clear:

"The row that has been shaking the government in Tokyo these past few weeks will be a blessing in disguise if it shakes out a few Japanese illusions...
"For years, Japanese have been evading American requests for higher defence spending with the excuse that public opinion was unready—that the famed 'Japanese consensus' had not been reached. The latest controversies suggest that this feeble argument is self-fulfilling. Even in a society that operates through consensus, it is the responsibility of government to lead public opinion rather than hide behind it..."

There it is in a nutshell. Rise and Shine, Japan, and start actively gearing the masses up for WW 3. The Japanese imperialists, on the other hand, while they do face (as we've seen) deep and genuine contradictions with the masses of people in Japan, also attempt to use this in their rivalry with the U.S. Thus Japan's rulers use popular opposition as a bargaining chip, not so much to resist U.S. efforts to have them gear up for World War 3 as to haggle over the strategy of the war and its preparations.

Basic Principles states that there are real contradictions between the U.S. and its imperialist allies, but that nevertheless "the fact remains that the imperialist countries of the West (and Japan and the other imperialist states allied with the U.S.) are part of a bloc headed by the U.S. and that this bloc is being tightened up." And as recent events in Japan show, this overall tightening is taking place through a series of abrupt political twists and turns. All this in preparation for world war—a fight between groups of slaveowners for the redivision of booty and slaves. □

A WORLD TO WIN

INTERNATIONAL
MARXIST-LENINIST JOURNAL
No. 1, May 1981

"To carry out the struggle against revisionism and to aid the process of developing and struggling for a correct general line in the international communist movement, the undersigned Parties and organizations are launching an international journal. This journal can and will be a crucial weapon which can help unite, ideologically, politically and organizationally, the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world."

—From the joint communiqué "To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries"

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NEW TAPE:

Bob Avakian Speaks
on May First, 1981



Bob Avakian, Chairman of the
Central Committee of the
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

"Wherever people rise up in rebellion, raise up the red flag! That's the flag that the imperialists in this country and throughout the world hate, the thing, the symbol that they most fear to see raised in the hands of the oppressed because it means that we're rising up with our heads up; we're rising up with our eyes really cast to the far horizon; we're becoming politically conscious; we know what our interests are, that they lie with the international proletariat in its struggle for communism throughout the world..."

TESTIMONY

Continued from page 10

papers (the *Revolutionary Worker*) and stay away from the Party—OR ELSE!" This is exactly freedom and democracy, U.S.A.-style. And they really do share it in other parts of the world.

My brother worked very hard all his life, including the last years of it in a steel plant. He had dreams of buying our mother things she never could get, because she had worked all her life to put food on the table for us. His dream never became reality. What was real was the fact that he was always being harassed and picked up by the cops—having to pay up the ass for the ransom to get out to go back to work and slave some more.

One day he didn't come home. Five days later his body was found with his throat sliced. Three days later another young man was found in the same area—dead in the same way. This is but one example of everyday life in the U.S. for Black people. And it's not just us, but life for the masses of poor people here and all over the world suffer under the rule of imperialism.

My youngest brother and I were driving down the street when we saw a flashing blue light behind us. He pulled over and stopped the car, and didn't say a word. He was frozen, looking straight ahead with both hands on the steering wheel. The cop demanded to see his license, stating that he had been driving 5 mph over the speed limit (!). Later my brother said, "I didn't want to get shot, and just be another accident." Yes, the list is long.

I was a D.C. volunteer in Washington D.C. in 1979 in the battle to free Bob Avakian and the 16 Mao Tsetung Defendants. I was arrested, along with many others (some 5 to 10 times within a 2-month period). Police interrogators always asked, "Where's Bob Avakian?"

And on the streets of Washington D.C. undercover agents flashed their badges at us every day, demanding, "Where's Bob Avakian? We just want to talk to him. Tell us where he is."

Surveillance was everywhere. One day we were out selling the *Revolutionary Worker* and talking to people about the government's attacks on Bob Avakian and the RCP. At the intersection where we were a taxi suddenly rear-ended another car. Who jumps out of the taxi cab?—undercover agents with their radios running around jabbering over their walkie-talkies.

Yes, they were looking for Bob Avakian. They were stalking the RCP

and the D.C. volunteers, looking for Bob Avakian. Just like they said, they only wanted to talk to him—just like they talked to the leadership of the Black Panther Party 10 years ago. And they always do their talking with guns.

That's what's really behind what they call democracy. That is what America really is.

And the revolutionary leadership that Bob Avakian represents is not something that I, or millions of oppressed people everywhere, take lightly—or will permit the dictatorship of U.S. imperialism to take at all.

I demand that Bob Avakian be granted political refugee status in France.

XXX

Supporter

To Whom It May Concern:

Having learned of the total disappearance within the prison system of four friends, two of whom to my knowledge were not at all political and none of whom knew of the existence of the RCP/USA, I became a supporter and occasional *RW* seller early in 1980.

At the majority of demonstrations I have attended rioting police have either made openly intimidating displays or lurked just outside the view of the general public.

I have had numerous confrontations with agents provocateurs, even at meetings and fundraising events.

At approximately 11:00 on 3/8/80 two disciples of the guru Maharaji tried to kill me with a broken bottle at 14th and Mission streets in San Francisco for putting a controversial leaflet on a

bulletin board.

At a demonstration at the Oakland Tribune near May 1, 1980 a CIA agent disguised as a pressman told me "I'm glad we got Damian Garcia."

On July 4, 1980 at a demonstration in Alameda I saw a small child struck and injured by a large rock thrown by an agent of the Office of Naval Intelligence.

I have witnessed the unjustified arrest and/or brutal beatings of dozens of persons, and was photographed at least twice by secret agents while attending a single court session as a spectator.

The blatant complicity of the U.S. ruling class in the shooting of Bea Dong shows their terror of the truth. The more they repress, the more we must and shall resist.

Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite,
XXX

Call to *RW* Readers to Testify in Connection with Bob Avakian's Demand for Political Refugee Status in France

Astounding though it may be, some people are unable—or unwilling—to recognize that the much advertised democracy in the United States is in reality no more than a big joke. This problem will have an important bearing on the procedure involving Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France. Already in the initial stages of this process it has been said that political persecution has not been proved—that it has not been established that the difficulties encountered with the authorities of his country of origin (the U.S.) were of political origin, in the sense of the Geneva Convention. As this case now moves into the next and more decisive phase, the *RW* is calling on its readers to provide from their own experience, and to help organize on a grand scale, information and evidence which will clearly demonstrate two basic facts:

1. That the U.S. ruling class (which has been responsible for the war in Vietnam, Pinochet in Chile, the Shah of Iran, South Africa, El Salvador and on and on) in fact exercises a vicious repressive dictatorship *within* the U.S. as well.
2. That, in particular, through its various government agencies (and in cooperation with various "private" reactionary forces) it is carrying out systematic and increasing repression aimed against revolutionaries in the U.S. and specifically against the RCP and its Chairman Bob Avakian.

This is a chance to testify about the so-called "democracy" in the United States and its true meaning for oppressed and class-conscious people

Statements that illustrate the above two points should be written down and, if *at all* possible, notarized* (A notary does not have to somehow approve or verify what you wrote; they are only certifying that you are the person who is signing the statement.) These statements should then be handed over to the local Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants in your area, or if that is not possible, be mailed directly to the National Office of the Committee (P.O. Box 6422 "T" Street Station, Washington, D.C. 20009). If necessary, statements can also be handed over to a regular *RW* distributor. The kind of statements needed are those pertaining to such things as firings and harassment, frameups, brutality, threats, murder, etc. at the hands of police or government agents and especially as these incidents relate to Revolutionary Communist Party members and sympathizers (including people who sell the *RW*) and above all as they relate to Bob Avakian. There is a certain amount of urgency about collecting these statements, and the bulk of them should be in the hands of the National Office of the Committee right away. Please note if your statement could also be used (with or without signature) for publication in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

* (This can be done in many cities at banks, currency exchanges, and many other small business offices).

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