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Chiang Ching

## Break the Chains! Unleash the Fury of Women As a Mighty Force for Revolution!

"She craves not Spring for herself alone/To be the harbinger of Spring she is content." These lines from a poem by Mao Tsetung, written in 1961—symbolizing revolutionary China in the face of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union—capture the revolutionary line and outlook of Mao Tsetung in unceasingly carrying out the struggle to transform all of society and liberate all of mankind. Twenty years later, from the kangaroo court in Peking, Chiang Ching, Mao's wife and comrade, together with Chang Chun-chiao, trumpeted a call throughout the world, upholding that banner of ceaseless revolutionary struggle; and standing firm as powerful symbols of the inevitable triumph of the international proletariat. Truly, the lines from Mao's poem are a fitting tribute to

Chiang Ching. As Bob Avakian wrote in the Special Issue of the *Revolutionary Worker* No. 90: "Chiang Ching has defiantly declared, speaking on behalf of the international proletariat: Making revolution is no crime. It is right to rebel! 'Chiang Ching—a brazen woman, seeking to make herself empress.' So say the upholders of tradition's chains in China and those like them elsewhere, but to the international proletariat she is an inspiring leader and signal that age-old inequalities and divisions can and will be struck down." Chiang Ching, a revolutionary leader in China, who carrying out the line of Mao Tsetung, has fought to the limit for the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat against the revisionist bandits who have taken China back down the road to capitalist enslavement and capitulated to imperialism; Chiang Ching, a woman who like a raging river swept through all

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### Case Before Supreme Court

## Mao Defendants' Battle Reaches

## Important Juncture

The battle to stop the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants has moved into the arena of the highest court in the country, the Supreme Court. On Monday, March 2, a "petition for a writ of certiorari" was filed on behalf of the defendants, demanding that the Supreme Court hear the case. Entering into battle in the Supreme Court is the last step on the railroad before the case could be ordered back to the lower trial courts. A decision could be issued as quickly as eight days after the filing date or the court could sit on it for an indeterminate number of months. At this point in the battle, the ruling class, through their highest legal arm, must make a very sharp and very significant political decision on whether or not to carry through with their railroad and in what way.

The brief filed by the defendants frames the questions in the case in sharp political terms. In the opening section of this brief, the "statement of the case," the issues involved are clearly spelled out: "On the afternoon of January 29, 1979, approximately 500 persons gathered in Washington, D.C. to protest the visit of China's vice premier Deng Xiaoping. Denouncing

Deng as a traitor to the cause of revolution, whose alliance with the United States could hasten the outbreak of world war, the demonstrators carried pictures of Mao Tsetung and loudly chanted that 'Mao Tsetung did not fail, revolution will prevail.'" From this point on, this section draws on the outrageous history of the railroad: from the original police riot and the arrests that followed; to the mushrooming charges (now totalling 25 felonies and 241 years in jail); to the escalations of the government's attack, expressed in its appeal and its conspiracy theory of prosecution and the decision of the D.C. Court of Appeals to uphold that appeal and reinstate the charges. A vivid picture is painted, a picture of "... a prosecution in which vindictive and highly political motivations have become exposed."

In addition to the exposure of the history of the case, the brief also contributes to intensifying the contradictions faced by the bourgeoisie. In presenting the reasons why the Supreme Court should hear the case, the defendants' brief details how, in pursuing this highly political railroad, the government has, at every level, sharply contradicted even its own laws and legal precedents. Citing the "political

motivations evident from the outset," the "special treatment" of the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Bob Avakian, and the fact that "the government's conduct in this case can only be explained in the context of their broader efforts to prosecute, suppress and destroy the RCP..." the brief goes on to declare that "this court should grant certiorari to prevent the spectacle of a political trial in which the defendants are indicted and will be punished for the expression of their ideas rather than any criminal acts in which they may or may not have engaged." The overall effect of this latest document is to significantly brighten the spotlight on the backroom maneuverings of the ruling class—to force them into a position where a decision on their part to proceed with the railroad will mean the maximum amount of exposure of them and their system.

However, any decision by the Supreme Court will be dictated not by

the deliberations of "nine legal men" or the eccentric quirks and personal prejudices of individual judges, nor will it spring from some "immutable principles of law." Even more so than in other courts, there will be a hard, cold and calculated decision, based primarily on political considerations—on the needs of the U.S. imperialist ruling class, their desperation and necessity to nail Bob Avakian and the Revolutionary Communist Party, and how much freedom they have to act. As Bob Avakian stated in an interview with the *Washington Post* in October of 1979: "If you look at the Supreme Court, the Supreme Court is a high political body and in a certain way, it is a political barometer of what the ruling class is doing and what the level of struggle of the people is. They'll take the same issues of law and find exactly opposite things about them from one period to another. If you begin to read any of these decisions, you can see that they are inherently, essentially, and

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# More Guns, More Advisors, More Terror: U.S. Increases Exports to El Salvador

On March 2, amidst a growing furor, including worried warnings from various corners of the ruling class itself, the U.S. government announced its latest and most extensive war moves in the recent period in El Salvador. The latest in a series of recent arms shipments and "military advisors" (or "instructors" as the U.S. prefers to call them) to the U.S. puppet government in El Salvador amounts to sending \$25 million dollars worth of weaponry (a 250% increase in military aid) and several 5-man "training teams" plus another 6-man naval training team (which brings the *official* total of U.S. troops in El Salvador to 54). The weapons to be sent include a fleet of helicopter gunships along with improved counterinsurgency radar and surveillance equipment, more troop transport vehicles, and new guns and ammunition. This military hardware with the accompanying "advisors" is a key part of U.S. plans to help its Salvadoran running dogs in forming a 2,000 man air cavalry-backed counterinsurgency force which it hopes will be able to wipe out the Salvadoran guerrillas, or at least significantly break up their forces.

As everyone has come to expect by now, the stated reason for this new military escalation is to "draw a line against Soviet and Cuban intervention" into what the U.S. imperialists term "our hemisphere" (that is, U.S. property ripped off fair and square and held for decades at the point of a gun). The way the U.S. imperialists tell it, all the trouble for them in El Salvador and throughout Central and Latin America is the result of the work of their Soviet imperialist rivals and their various frontmen in "exporting terrorism into the Western Hemisphere." After all, what else could it be? Why, everything was just fine until they came along, the people living under a succession of U.S. propped-up dictators and enslaved to the U.S., despite a few problems, just loved it. Sure, once in a while they got a little out of hand and the U.S. had to send in some troops or their henchmen had to crush a rebellion or two, but overall the hemisphere was one happy family. Even the pappa in the Brady Bunch has to lay down the law sometimes. So, all this "terrible violence" and "disruption" could only be the result of "outside aggression and

meddling." How terrible it is for the imperialist monstrosities as they screech that 14-year-old kids, mind you, are manning machine guns and planting land mines, instead of allowing the junta's troops to torture and kill them and their families. How unsavory that they refuse to live like slaves.

Yes, the Soviet Union and Cuba, along with other revisionist forces are at work in Central and Latin America and, yes, some weapons are being sent just as the U.S. is doing quite openly in El Salvador and throughout Latin America, and the rest of the world, both overtly and covertly. This fact cannot be ignored and will be gone into shortly as there is much more to this story than what is going on in El Salvador itself. But really, recent U.S. lies and hypocrisy are just too much to take. We simply cannot refrain from recounting some of the vivid self-exposure that has foamed out of the

U.S. imperialists' mouths in the past week in their futile attempts to cover up what everyone knows to be true. In particular, Ronald Reagan's remarks in an interview with Walter Cronkite are too good to miss.

Reagan's remarks were designed to assure people that the U.S. was not about to become involved in another Vietnam (a parallel that is widely being drawn because of the obvious similarities in how the U.S. moved into that country). There are real important differences in the world situation today than at the time of the Vietnam war, but nevertheless the superficial similarities are indeed striking and provide a real exposure of the U.S. Reagan, however, only added more parallels with his exceedingly lame comments. Check out this brilliant explanation after Cronkite asked the obvious question, "Do you see any parallel in our committing military advisors and

military assistance to El Salvador in the early stages of our involvement in Vietnam?" Answer: "No, Walter, I don't. I know that parallel is being drawn by many people. But the difference is so profound. What we are actually doing is at the request of a government, and one of our neighboring countries, offering some help against the import, or the export into the Western Hemisphere of terrorism, of disruption, and it isn't just El Salvador—that happens to be the target at the moment. Our problem is this whole hemisphere and keeping this sort of thing out." There are only three words used here that distinguish this statement from the myriads made to justify the U.S. invasion of Vietnam—"Western Hemisphere" and "terrorism." In Vietnam it was "Southeast Asia" and "communism." Are we supposed to have forgotten that the U.S. puppets in Vietnam *also* "asked" for "U.S. help to halt the spread of

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## New Post for Planner of Puerto Rico Sterilization

The former chief of Puerto Rico's massive government-sponsored forced sterilization program, under which thousands of women have been sterilized every year without their knowledge or against their will has been appointed director of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology at Lincoln Hospital in the South Bronx.

Dr. Antonio Silva, who played a key role in planning and carrying out Puerto Rico's vicious so-called "family planning" programs from 1973 to 1977, has openly advocated sterilization as the best means for "promoting optimum socio-economic balance"—as well as the "most economical." Silva was assigned by the colonial administration in Puerto Rico to implement the recommendations of a corporate sponsored report aimed at "reducing the growth of the working sector."

Women who sought medical or maternity assistance—including young women with no children—were routinely sterilized under Silva's programs. It is estimated that even before the accelerated forced sterilization under

Silva, about one third of the women of child-bearing age had already been sterilized in Puerto Rico.

Silva's appointment to the Department of Gynecology at Lincoln, in an overwhelmingly Puerto Rican area, has provoked a storm of protest and resistance in the community. The Bronx Coalition Against Sterilization Abuse is conducting broad exposures of Silva's advocacy of "economical" genocide. Though the hospital director insists that Silva's job at Lincoln "has nothing to do" with his "family planning" in Puerto Rico, cases of new forced sterilizations at Lincoln are already coming to light, according to the Reverend Frank Morales, a spokesman for the coalition.

Forced sterilization is already widespread in the U.S., under conditions very similar to the methods employed in Puerto Rico. Women who seek assistance in obtaining abortions, welfare or Medicaid—especially if they are Black or Puerto Rican—are frequently sterilized without their knowledge and consent.

And take note that Silva worked in

cooperation with the Catholic Church in Puerto Rico as a "firm opponent" of abortions! The hideous hypocrisy of the so-called "champions of the right to life" (more fittingly called the "champions of the right to *white* life")—who are now attempting to deny women the basic freedom to decide not to have a child—goes hand in hand with mass forced sterilization, aimed at denying the freedom to procreate to the section of the proletariat at the bottom of society and the oppressed nationalities in particular. This outrageous form of oppression is yet another expression of the murderous nature of the imperialists, whose own system of exploitation and oppression has created the conditions where many of their major cities are major slums and their financial centers are surrounded by hell-hole ghettos where the opportunity to be rid of these capitalist vultures will be increasingly (and is now) welcomed by the masses. The U.S. imperialists have a hell of a nerve talking about the atrocities committed in Nazi concentration camps. □

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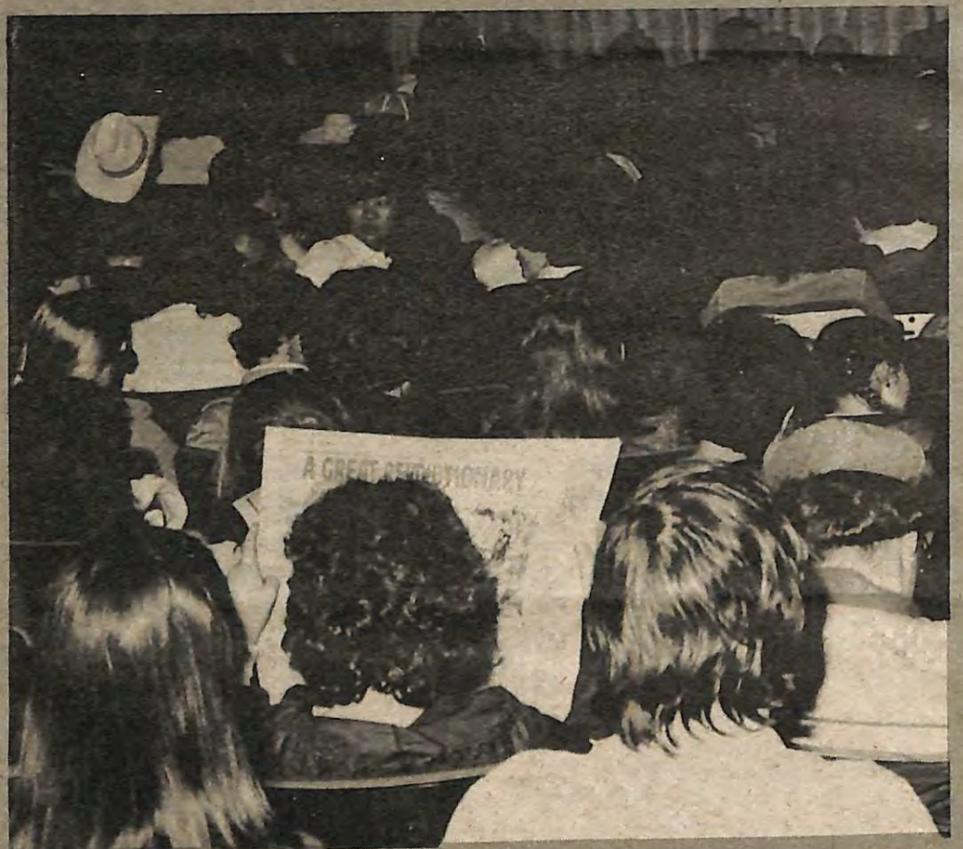
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# Congress to Debate "Fetus Rights," Agrees on Women's Oppression

Once again the notorious pro-lifers are on the move—including of course the "Moral Majority"—attempting to do one better than the thoroughly reactionary Hyde Amendment, against federal funding for abortions, which was upheld by the Supreme Court last July. Now various forces have introduced two versions of a Constitutional Amendment and a bill, introduced January 19 by Senator Helms, Representative Romano L. Mazzoli, and Representative Henry Hyde (after whom the Hyde Amendment was named); all of these proposed laws would wipe out abortions altogether by making a law that "human life shall be deemed to exist from conception, without regard to race, sex, age, health, defect, or condition of dependency."

The hallowed halls of Congress are once again concerned about *civil rights*—the civil rights, under the 13th Amendment, of a fertilized egg. You can tell right away they're pro-lifers—these hypocritical bastards who claim to hold the marriage of a few cells in holy esteem—you can tell they're pro-lifers 'cause they're the ones who thought the U.S. imperialists didn't drop enough napalm in Vietnam, in the vanguard of those shouting "Nuke Iran," think World War 3 is long over-

due, would certainly post bail money for the dogs that are murdering Black children in Atlanta, and have never voiced a single objection to the massive sterilization of women, especially minorities, which is the second biggest form of birth control in the United States today.

As one of their kind, Dr. J.C. Wilke, president of that National Right to Life Committee put it: "Enactment of the human life amendment is the central focus of the entire movement. It would restore legal personhood and return civil rights to an entire class of living Americans. The discrimination they suffer is based on place of residence: the womb. If a kid could move to a new location, his life would be protected. Now a private citizen, the mother, has the right to destroy a life. We would reach over the head of the state to prevent private action." Of course they have no intention of "reaching over the head of state," rather, they aim to use the power of the imperialist state to bludgeon women even more, obliterating *any* formal rights, which have been won through tremendous struggle, for women to decide whether they are going to bear children or not.

Wilkes' remarks about the abused fetus moving out would be humorous, if they

weren't part of a vicious attack on the masses of women and part of an ideological offensive by the bourgeoisie to enforce the idea that a woman's place is at home, on her knees at church and preferably with a fat belly. Of course, all of this is in the name of god, and Ronald Reagan, who is supporting these various amendments, as is Secretary of Health and Human Services Richard S. Schweiker. And in the name of their godly morality which claims to have some abstract concern for life, these bloody imperialists are attempting to completely obliterate the fact that the bearing and rearing of children have anything to do with women, and certainly not, heaven forbid any rights for these women. They now claim to liberate the fetus from the mother and make it the god-given property of the state. Of course these mothers are expected to rear their children, to succor and care for them—after all these are *American* fetuses—handle with care! And don't talk to them about advancements in science which would free women from nine months of agony—(although the imperialists would be certain to use such advancements to no good end.) No, such things are against nature, which decrees that a fetus' place is in

the womb—even if it would prefer to "move to a new location." You see, they don't want to talk about women—what a nasty subject. They want to talk about *life*. There is no women's oppression, thus the women have no rights. In fact, only one of these amendments even mentions that "nothing in this article shall prohibit a law permitting only those medical procedures required to prevent the death of the mother." How generous. How magnanimous, these imperialist murderers are.

The question here isn't even, "When is there life?" The ovum itself is a living cell—it's alive—as is the sperm cell. So are most of the cells in anybody's body. The question of abortion is a social question. In the name of the fetus, they attack women and these amendments are being used to push certain social standards which are right in line with the imperialists' attempts to whip up mindless, god-fearing, backwardness, and patriotism as they gear up for world war. And an extremely important part of this is aimed at keeping those *women* in line. It should be noted that Ronald Reagan, as governor of California passed one of the most liberal abortion laws in the country, so it appears

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THE  
MEN  
WOMEN  
PREFER  
TO  
SERVE

# MAY 1, 1981

**A MAY DAY IN WHICH WE:**

**BREAK OUT, BREAK FREE—  
TAKE HISTORY INTO OUR HANDS**

**DECLARE OUR FIRM OPPOSITION TO IMPERIALISM**

**MAKE A LIVING FORCE OF  
PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM**

**BOLDLY TAKE THE STAND OF  
DOWN WITH THE OLD ORDER AND  
FIGHT TO BRING ALIVE THE NEW**

The RCP calls all those who participated (or wished they had) in last year's events; all who are wielding the RW today; and people everywhere that this outmoded and decadent system breeds resistance; everyone whose eyes are open and longs to end this madness, to take up this orientation for May 1st, International Workers' Day as their own. Its message and outlook must and can become the property and a battle cry of the class-conscious and revolutionary-minded of all nationalities, foreign born and U.S. born, in the sweatshops and hellholes, the ghettos and barrios, the unemployment and welfare lines of this "best of all worlds"; of the youth seething with rebellion in the schools, universities and the streets; of those who are involved in cultural work or from other walks of life who despise the insanity and brutality of the "American way"; of those awakening to political life even as they are being trained as cannonfodder in the military for the impending inter-imperialist blood feast and of those burning with revolutionary hatred and understanding in places even more regimented and oppressive. Struggle over this call, debate it, deepen its meaning and take it out broadly to your fellow oppressed and transform it into far-reaching revolutionary struggle on May 1st itself—a most powerful manifesto in preparing our Red flag and accelerate opinion. Let's take up boldly our Red flag and sisters worldwide. . . . Everywhere the modern overlords look, they must see the unmistakable sights and hear the unmistakable sounds of May First. . . . Correspond with the RW or contact the RCP locally with your thinking, ideas and plans. . . . More will be forthcoming in the RW.

## Bob Avakian Responds To A Letter

# More On The Question Of Dialectics

Last week in issue No. 94 of the Revolutionary Worker, we published excerpts from the chapter on philosophy in Bob Avakian's book, Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions. This week, we are presenting some further thinking on philosophy by Comrade Avakian, which comes from a letter he wrote in response to a letter he received.

Part of the problem here, as reflected in the letter, I think, is the legacy of a certain amount of metaphysics in the understanding of dialectics on the part of the international movement. This is true, and in a major way, of Stalin (as Mao said, "Stalin had a fair amount of metaphysics in him and he taught many people to follow metaphysics"), but more than that it is true of the international movement more generally, including at its foundation. In "Immortal Contributions," while stress is correctly laid on Engels' great contributions to dialectics, it is also pointed out that his treatment of the negation of the negation does tend to promote metaphysics. In fact, as that book (specifically the chapter on philosophy) makes clear, Marxist philosophy has in fact been developed since the time of Marx and Engels, and even since the time of Lenin, especially by Mao and particularly in deepening the understanding of the law of contradiction as the decisive thing in materialist dialectics and in developing a more dialectical understanding of synthesis (which is linked to overcoming such shortcomings as are contained in the negation of negation concept). The point is not so much to criticize Engels (or Marx) but to grasp that Marxist philosophy has been developed since then and in what ways, and to take up and wield these advances in understanding (and continue to advance). But, unfortunately, there is still some lagging on this, too.

In reading over the material on dialectics in *Anti-Duhring* once again I am even more struck by some metaphysical tendencies, not only in the chapter on negation of the negation, but also on quantity and quality (where, at least for the sake of example but I think for deeper reasons than that, this is treated in a fairly mechanical, almost "arithmetic" kind of way). In general, I think some of the influence of the metaphysical side of Hegel—including his straight-linish three-step, thesis—antithesis: synthesis, the related notion of negation of negation and of "sublation"—is reflected in Engels' treatment of dialectics. An example of this is Engels' example of modern (dialectical) materialism as the negation of the negation with regard to primitive, natural materialism. Interpreting it this way is reading backwards through history and imposing on it an "order" or "line of development" that in fact it did not have—that is, to "reconstruct" it in such a way that it is made to conform to an order that then appears (and not only to the metaphysical mind, like Duhring's) to have been predetermined. To put it another way, this example that Engels gives constitutes the picking out of *certain aspects* of the development of philosophy and treating this as though it is a *law* of this development. Why could it not just as well be said that dialectical materialism "takes" its dialectics from 19th century idealism and its materialism from ancient metaphysics and is the product of the following "dialectic": thesis—metaphysics, antithesis—idealism: synthesis—dialectical materialism? The point I am making with this silly example (but not more fundamentally silly, I think, than Engels' example here) is that everything divides into two and things are both the result of the struggle of opposites and constitute themselves a unity of opposites (which means struggle); and as Mao said, as part of his explanation of why he re-

jected the negation of the negation, everything is at the same time negation and affirmation. Primitive materialism was both materialist and metaphysical (and therefore also idealist to a significant degree); Hegelian dialectics was both dialectical and idealist (and therefore metaphysical to a significant degree). Why is it more correct to take one aspect and not the other in constructing the negation of the negation leading to modern, dialectical materialism?

Is it the case that in reality this is how modern, dialectical materialism developed? Not at all. It came about, or was forged, not because of the negation of the negation, à la Hegel, in the realm of philosophy itself, but because of developments in the material world (including society) and dialectically related developments in the realm of human thought—a point well made and emphasized in other places by Engels and by Marx (and even partially by Engels in the same section of *Anti-Duhring*).

But look at Engels' answer to Duhring (and others) on the famous barley grain. He answers the objection that crushing this grain will not lead to the negation of the negation by arguing that "every kind of thing has its characteristic kind of way of being negated" (*Anti-Duhring*, "Part I. Philosophy, XIII. Dialectics, Negation of the Negation," Peking FLP, 1976, p. 181). But what has this to do with dialectics? Why, and who said, that everything has its "characteristic" way of being negated? This to me smacks of predetermination and of the notion of the unchanging essence of things. Mao opposed this kind of thinking when he pointed out that heredity and mutation are a unity of opposites. Engels even says several sentences later that it is not possible to "grow barley successfully" without learning how to do it—which is true, but who says that growing barley is "characteristic" of it and the proper way it should be negated, while crushing it is not? Mankind and nature (apparently) have done more of the former to the barley grain than the latter, so far, but is that something which could not change? Or could not the barley grain change in some other way? In short, when Engels insists that "I must therefore set up the first negation in such a way that the second remains or becomes possible. . . . According to the particular nature of each individual case", he has included an element of metaphysics in this explanation of dialectics. He goes on to say that "If I grind a grain of barley, if I crush an insect, it is true that I have carried out the first act, but have made the second act impossible." The second act, as if there is one required, necessary, "characteristic" proper, pre-determined "second act." Here we can see how the concept of the negation of the negation comes into antagonism with the actual fundamental law of materialist dialectics, the unity of opposites (contradiction). (The point, by the way on quantity and quality is that there are leaps from the one to the other, but the way a thing or a process undergoes change is not that it undergoes quantitative change in a sort of straight-line way and then at a certain point makes a leap to a different quality, but that through the struggle of the opposites forming its fundamental contradiction or other contradictions influencing it, leaps or transformations from quantity to quality and vice versa take place, including leaps representing its development from one stage to another, until its final resolution and the emergence of a new process.)

The objective here is not to polemicize against certain (and certainly secondary) tendencies toward metaphysics in Engels, which can be seen in light of the developments of materialist dialectics since then, but to stress precisely what has been learned and summed up in those developments and from this perspective to criticize the tendency to cling to and apply some aspects of metaphysics. This is important in relation to this letter in particular, but also more generally.

## Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions

by Bob Avakian

A summary of the essence of Mao's thought and teachings, which he developed through the twists and turns of over 50 years of revolutionary struggle.

This book delivers a powerful blow in defense of Mao's revolutionary line at a time when everything he fought for, everything that inspired millions about revolutionary China, is under fierce attack.

It blasts the slander that Mao was an idle dreamer trying to impose an impractical vision on the world. No one knew better than he that there was no straight line to liberation but that through continued struggle the world would be won and remade by the people. "The ceaseless emergence and resolution of contradictions as against all notions of absoluteness and stagnation. . . this Mao grasped as the driving force in the development of all things. . . and this understanding runs like a crimson path through Mao's writings and actions."

### CHAPTERS ON:

- Revolution in Colonial Countries
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- Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat
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# STOP THE RAILROAD OF FREE THE MAO TSETUNG

## Mao Defendants' Battle Reaches Important Juncture

Continued from page 1

rather clearly political. . . They reflect the struggle between different class forces in society and that's what's going to be going on in this case."

An illustration of just how the decisions of the Supreme Court are more reflections of the needs of the ruling class at any given time than decisive elements in shaping the rulers' policy can be seen in several cases involving the interpretation of the 14th Amendment. The 14th Amendment was passed in the aftermath of the Civil War and was supposedly intended to grant "equal civil rights" and "equality before the law" to Black people. In addition, the amendment was designed to ensure the political supremacy of the federal government over the newly conquered southern states. Yet, in 1886, when the rising capitalists had consolidated their rule over the entire country, were in the midst of rapid development through cutthroat competition and in fact had joined with the former slaveowners in the full-scale oppression and suppression of Black people, the Supreme Court was called on to reinterpret the 14th Amendment. In the case of *Santa Clara County vs. Southern Pacific Railroad*, the 14th Amendment was extended by the court to include corporations as "persons equally protected under the law" and whose "property rights" were fully protected by the law, substantially gutting the laws of any content upholding the political rights of Black people. Then, ten years later in 1896, as the U.S. was entering the era of imperialism and was faced with the necessity of reaping and maintaining superprofits from the super-exploitation of the masses of Black people, the Supreme Court once again reinterpreted the 14th Amendment. This time around, the Supreme Court, in the case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, provided the legal rationalization for "Jim Crow" segregation and the intensification of bloody national oppression of the Black masses. Under the infamous banner of "separate but equal," the court stated that it rejected "the assumption that the forced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with the badge of inferiority." And further, if Black people felt discriminated against, "it was not by reason of anything found in the act (a Louisiana law requiring separate railroad facilities for Blacks—RW), but solely because the colored race chooses to put that restriction upon it." Then, in 1954, the Supreme Court overturned the *Plessy vs. Ferguson* decision and ruled for integrated schools in the case of *Brown vs. Board of Education*, a decision which reflected the necessity of the imperialists' industrialization of the South and the demands for equality of the Black masses who were being pushed off the land into the factories and the cities. Chief Justice Earl Warren, who presided over the court at this time and was touted as a liberal "civil rights" element, several years earlier, as Governor of California had signed the order for the internment of 250,000 Japanese

people in concentration camps during World War II.

Each and every decision of the Supreme Court can be traced to the needs of the ruling class and, as Bob Avakian stated, is a reflection of those needs and of the struggle going on throughout society. In deciding whether or not to have the Supreme Court hear this case, the ruling class is going to have a hard look at its necessity, especially in relation to the tumultuous situation in the world and their increasing need to gear up for war, and related to that, their need to squash any and all opposition, particularly revolutionary opposition, to their rule. But that's not all. At the same time, they are going to have to measure that necessity against the political price they're going to have to pay—against the amount of political exposure they will suffer for it. Already the price is high and a serious blow has been struck.

Literally thousands have come forward in opposition to this attack and continue to do so. At the time of the filing of the petition, a number of progressive legal organizations have associated themselves with the case by filing amicus briefs. The National Lawyers Guild has submitted a brief that was joined by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the Center for Constitutional Rights and the Mountain State Bar Association in West Virginia.

On March 10, an ad will run in the *Washington Post* signed by hundreds of people, well known in their fields and broadly influential in many sections of society—a list including revolutionary and progressive people from various social movements, many who were active in the '60s and early seventies, artists and performers, lawyers, educators, progressive clergy, and others, including even a number of politicians now in office. The published list is only a small part of the list of thousands and thousands who have come forward, and one important aspect of this ad is that many who signed it did not stop there, but actively built support among others. This ad is both a powerful statement itself and will undoubtedly have much broader repercussions throughout society.

The broad support which has been built through much political struggle is an expression of the truth Bob Avakian pointed out in the 1979 Central Committee Report that "what goes on between the ruling class and our Party is not some abstraction without any relation to the class struggle. Rather it is in fact not only a part of but in an important way a concentrated expression of what is going on in society as a whole," that an attack on the Party is an attack on the proletariat and the masses of oppressed people that the Party represents. Many people have come to see this, and while all certainly do not agree with the political outlook and line of the RCP, the broad support rallied against this railroad, on the basis of a revolutionary line, indicates the significance of this case, the depth of the contradictions facing the im-



Bob Avakian

perialists, and growing influence of the revolutionary line and outlook of the Party among the masses of people.

The ruling class had hoped to push this railroad through at a minimal cost to themselves. But the very unusual fact that it has already reached the level of the Supreme Court, even before it's gone to trial, is a vivid indication of their failure to do so. They miscalculated, and as usual, they left the masses out of it. Their own imperialist drive to world war, their increasing necessity to crush revolutionary movements around the world, to stomp on the masses of oppressed nationalities, to attack women and youth, to quiet even the most innocent cultural undertakings, has increasingly aroused the masses of people against them. Iran, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Miami. They have underestimated the impact of a genuine revolutionary line; they thought the masses of people were incapable of raising their heads above the muck and mire of decadent, moribund imperialism. And they have felt the terrible sting of worldwide exposure as Mao Tsetung's heroic comrades, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, upheld the revolutionary banner,

trumpeted a clarion call to the world, and soared as unbeatable symbols of the inevitable triumph of the international proletariat.

In carrying out their desperate railroad, and attempting to crush the revolutionary leadership of the masses in this country and fundamentally the revolutionary movement of the masses themselves, the ruling class has actually given an impetus to the movement. As Bob Avakian pointed out in a speech delivered in Washington, D.C., November 1979 (now available in a pamphlet), "We have to understand that it's a battle. We have fought to keep them from carrying through this railroad and we can and we will fight to keep them from using murder or any other means to crush and cripple and destroy the vanguard party, the necessary weapon of the working class and the masses of people to rise up and make revolution in this country. We are determined to wage that battle and more than that we are determined to win it. The masses of people, no matter what they think, have something to say about whether or not they can destroy the revolutionary vanguard party in this country!" □

# Once and For All!

# BOB AVAKIAN

# DEFENDANTS

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

To the U.S. Supreme Court:

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

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

to the Supreme Court. A petition is now being filed with the Supreme Court.

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

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

- Arrested on misdemeanor charges, the defendants were then charged with felonies, only to be followed by two grand jury indictments eventually upping the charges to 25 felony counts!
- The great majority of the charges are described as being committed by "unidentified attackers" or committed against "unidentified officers." Almost half of those indicted, including Bob Avakian, are charged with no specific criminal act. According to the government, "by presence and knowing participation each defendant aided and abetted each assault which took place..."
- A pre-trial motion, filed by the government, gets to the heart of the political offense which it is actually prosecuting: "The government intends to introduce into evidence those portions of the speech made by Defendant Avakian at a press conference on January 25, 1979." "The government's theory is that Avakian's speech and the ac-

tivity and statement at the church are admissible against all of the defendants because they were in furtherance of a joint enterprise in which all defendants were involved." In other words, the charge is essentially one of conspiracy, and the offense is Bob Avakian presenting his views and critique of the new government of China and of its alliance with the U.S. following the death of Mao Tsetung.

- In response to a defense request to combine the trials of two sets of defendants originally charged in different indictments, the government produced a new single indictment doubling the charges against all the defendants. In court, the government stated that it only "gave the defendants what they asked for." Under the pressure of mounting protests across the country, all the charges were thrown out by the trial judge who declared the government was obviously engaging in "prosecutorial vindictiveness."
- On appeal by the government the charges were reinstated by a 2-1 appeals court decision which by their own admission disregarded established legal precedents to redefine "prosecutorial vindictiveness." This provided convenient cover for the contradictory and

## Sign, Circulate and Post

politically motivated acts of the prosecution, clearing the path for the government to proceed full speed ahead with the railroad.

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

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

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

To make donations or otherwise join in the struggle to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants, contact us by writing to:

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

### Partial List of Endorsers

ACLU, Dayton Chapter; Eqbal Ahmad, New York; Ismael Ahmed, Director of Resources, Arab Community Center (ACCESS)\*, Detroit; Timothy Ahu, M.D., Honolulu; Roosevelt Alexander, Member, National Caucus of Black Lawyers, Alderman, Evanston, Illinois; Joe Amoon, NYACK Peace Center, New York; Molefi Asante, Professor of Communications, University of Buffalo; Ruth W. Avakian, Santa Cruz; Spurgeon Avakian, Santa Cruz; Robert B. Babcock, Boston Ethical Action Team\*; Byron E. Barnes, Chairman, Board of Directors, Seattle Indian Center\*; Norma Becker, New York; Mark Benson, L.E.S. AID, New York Anti-Klan Network\*; Anne Bernard, Catholic Lay Minister\*, Cincinnati; Reverend Daniel Berrigan; Philip Berrigan; Barbara Bilge, Professor, Wayne State University, Detroit; Murray Bilmes, Ph.D. Berkeley; Black United Front, New York City; James Boggs; Rick Bouchard, Counselor, Los Angeles Indian Center\*; Andy Bradford, National Jury Project\*, Atlanta Chapter NLG\*; Lemuel Bradley, Black Student Union\*, Los Angeles City College; Laura Brown, revolutionary feminist, Director, Oakland Women's Health Center\*; Roy Brown, Puerto Rican revolutionary singer, composer, and fellow musician Carl Royce, New York City; Jack L. Brummel, Administrator, Northwest Intertribal Court System\*; Buffalo Chapter, National Lawyers Guild; Cassandra B. Burnett, Hawaii Alliance\*; Bobby Caldwell, Attorney, Houston; Kenneth Cameron, Historian and scholar, New York; Robin Woodworth Carlsen, Canadian author; Douglas W. Cassel, Attorney, Chicago; Plo Celestino, La Casa Del Pueblo, Dayton, Ohio; Reverend Ben Chavis, Washington, D.C.; Robert P. Chercasen, Indian Legal Project\*, Los Angeles; Robert Chrisman, Publisher, Black Scholar; Reverend George Clements, Chicago; Ken Cloke, Attorney; John Coatsworth, Latin American Studies, University of Chicago; Columbus Chapter, National Lawyers Guild; Columbus TUFF (Those United to Fight Fascism); David Cortwright, Executive Director, SANE\*, ex-GI activist; Harvey Cox, Professor of Divinity, Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass.; Robert Creeley, Poet, Department of English\*, University of Buffalo; Ron Dellums, U.S. Congressman, California; Charles Dreksmeier, Professor, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California; Bob D. Duren, Black Panther Party, Southern California Chapter\*; John P. Egan, Priest, New York; Expatians, New Wave Band, New York; Leslie Fiedler, Buffalo; Fifth Avenue News, Portland, Oregon; 5 Graffiti Writers, New York; Norman Fong, Director, Bilingual After School Program, Cameron House\*, San Francisco; John Fox, Seattle Downtown Neighborhood Alliance\*; The Free Venice Beach Head Collective; Rabbi Jeffery Foust, Morgantown, West Virginia; William Ganley, Professor of Economics, State University College, Buffalo, New York; Jimmy Garrett, Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund\*, former SNCC member, Washington, D.C.; William Garret, Filmmaker, Los Angeles; Carlton B. Goodlett, M.D., Publisher, Reporter Publications, San Francisco; Stephen Goldstein, President, San Francisco Art Institute\*; Norman K. Gottwald, Professor, New York Theological Seminary; Alan Greenfield, Atlanta Anarchist Alliance\*; Dick Gregory; Reverend Earl Grice, Director of Ethnic Minority Higher Education, Wayne State University, Detroit; Nancy Grigsby, counselor for battered women, Cincinnati, Ohio; Vincent Harding; Dr. Nathan Hare, Psychologist, San Francisco; David Harris, Author, Menlo Park, California; Paul Harris, Attorney; Trudy Herod, Executive Director, West Virginia Civil Liberties Union; Dr. Will L. Herzfeld, Bethlehem Lutheran Church\*, Oakland, California; Jack Hirschman, Poet, San Francisco; Al Horn, Attorney, Atlanta; Abbie Hoffman; Gloria House, Assistant Professor, Wayne State University, Detroit; Brother Joseph A. Izzo, C.F.X., Campus Minister, Catholic University, Washington, D.C.; Alison Jaggard, Professor, University of Cincinnati; Lenore Peters Job, retired dance teacher, San Francisco; Fr. Carl Kabat; Sanford Katz, Attorney, New York; Aron Kay, Yippie pie thrower, New York; Flo Kennedy, Black Women United for Political Action\*, New York; Mel King, State Legislator, Massachusetts; Arthur Kinoy, Professor of Law, Rutgers University; Yuri Kochiyama, New York; Reverend Charles Koen, United Front of Cairo, Illinois; William Kunstler, Center for Constitutional Rights\*, New York; George Laine, former president, Los Angeles Newspaper Guild; Lamont Laird, Shawnee Indian, Los Angeles; Laury W. Larson, Clergy, United Presbyterian Church,

USA, Cleveland; Arthur C. Latham, Affirmative Action Coordinator, San Francisco State University; Gerald Lefcourt, Attorney, New York; Sydney Lens, Chicago; Karen Lindsey, Writer, Poet, Women Opposed to Registration and the Draft\*, Boston; Richard Lipsitz, Attorney, Buffalo; Conrad Lynn, Attorney, New York; Felipe Lizama, Chilean poet in exile, San Francisco; Manning Marable, African Studies, Cornell University\*, New York; Logan Martinez, Dayton Full Employment Commission\*; May Day Legal Defense Team, Los Angeles; Father Richard McSorley, S.J., Center for Peace Studies, Georgetown University\*, Washington, D.C.; Stewart Meacham; Charles Meconis, Seattle Religious Peace Action Coalition\*; Law Meyers, Attorney for the Pontiac Brothers; Mexican American Bar Association, Board of Trustees; Ron Milner, Writer, Los Angeles; Jeff Mori, Director of Japanese Community Youth Council\*, San Francisco; Curtis Mohammed, former SNCC member; Maey Morse, woman from Pentagon Action; Mother of a Pontiac Brother, Los Angeles; Kathy Myers, Documentary filmmaker, Houston, Texas; Dr. Khalil Nakhleh, Boston; The National Organization of Iraqi Kurdistan Students in the U.S.; Osha Neuman, Marxist, Berkeley, California; Pierre Noyes, Stanford Linear Acceleration Center\*, Stanford, California; Akimshiju Chinua Oia, Marion Political Collective, New York; Bertell Ollman, New York University, Department of Politics; 104 Garment workers, New York; Henry F. Owens, III, Attorney, Boston; Grace Paley, New York; Michael Parisi, Veterans for Peace\*; Janet Fay Peak, lesbian feminist activist, Cincinnati; Phrancé, Folksinger, Los Angeles; Luis Prado, member, National Executive Committee, Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee\*, New York; Matt Piers, Chairman, National Lawyers Guild Committee on Government Repression and Police Crimes; Mark Pollock, Attorney, Los Angeles; Reagan for Shah, Dayton, Ohio; Tom Reed, Jonah House\*, Baltimore; John Reinekie, the Hawaii Seven; John Reinstein, Attorney, Boston; Republic of New Afrika, Detroit; Frances Rhodes, M.D., Hawaii; Rickey, ex-Panther, Charter member of NCCF (National Committee to Combat Fascism), Cleveland; Margie Robertson, Director, Cincinnati American Civil Liberties Union; Rosco Louie Art Gallery, Et Al, Seattle; Richard Rosen, Attorney, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Richard Rubenstein, Professor, Antioch School of Law, Washington, D.C.; Safe Energy Coalition, Wayne State University Chapter, Detroit; Frank Schaeffer-Corona, Washington, D.C. Board of Education; Margaret E. Schmitt-Habein, retired professor, Hawaii; C.A. Smith, Satyagraha Publications\*, Cleveland, Ohio; Afeni Shakur, Harlem, New York; Lawrence H. Shoup, Author, San Francisco; Steve Sonora, Los Angeles Representative of La Raza National Legal Alliance\*; Marty and Elizabeth Sostre, New York; Christopher Stanley, Attorney, Cleveland; John Steinback, Arbor Alliance, Ann Arbor People's Food Co-op\*; Robert Stoddard, Musician, Local 47, Los Angeles; Bill Strickland, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; Student Government Association, Medgar Evers College, New York; David Sunderland, Dean, College of Community Services\*, University of Cincinnati; Bill Sutherland, Pan African Committee for Peace and Prosperity\*, Philadelphia; Studs Terkel, Chicago; Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael), All African People's Revolutionary Party; Turkish Students Association of Southern California; 12 Ex-Black Panthers from the San Francisco Bay Area; 23 Students at Howard University, Washington, D.C.; UN2—Glenn Gan and Steve Yip; The Undertakers, Punk rock group, Los Angeles; United Feminists Against the Right, Portland, Oregon; Yori Wada, Executive Director, Buchanan Y.M.C.A., San Francisco; Reverend Lloyd Wake, United Methodist Clergyman, San Francisco; George Wald, Professor Emeritus, Harvard University, Nobel Laureate; Marilyn Waller, Attorney, San Francisco; Doron Weinberg, former National President, National Lawyers Guild; Phil Wheaton, Washington, D.C.; Preston Wilcox, Professor of Social Work, Columbia University, New York; Reverend Mamie Williams, Calvary United Methodist Church\*, Washington, D.C.; Paul Williams, National Black United Front\*, New York City; John Womack, Jr., Professor of History, Harvard University; Carolyn Womnroot, radical feminist lesbian, Cincinnati; Guy M. Yates, M.D., Honolulu; Paul Zarembka, Professor of Economics, University of Buffalo; Howard Zinn, Professor, Boston University.

\* (organizations listed for identification purposes only)

# Supreme Court Enters the Act Revealing Developments in UN 2 Case

As we go to press, the decision for the stay of mandate for the UN 2 (which would mean that they could stay out of jail on already posted bail, pending appeal) has gone to the Supreme Court. Justice Thurgood Marshall, to whom Judge Ward of New York had passed the political hot potato of the UN 2, in turn refused to rule on the stay and stated that it would have to go before the entire Supreme Court on Friday. This turn of events in the UN 2 battle occurred after several days of maneuvering by the courts after Glenn Gan went to court on an order to surrender (see *RW* No. 94).

"U.S.-Soviet Moves Toward War—That's Not What We're Fighting For—Free the UN 2! Our Flag is Red, Not Red, White and Blue—Free the UN 2!" A group of supporters gathered at the steps of the U.S. District Court in New York City on Monday morning, March 2, the day Glenn Gan had been ordered to surrender and to begin serving out a one year and a day sentence in the federal penitentiary. From the instant red paint drenched the U.S. and Soviet UN representatives on April 30, 1980, politically exposing the war moves of both superpowers and tearing the veil of "peace" and "neutrality" politically from the UN, the U.S. imperialists have hounded the UN 2. And in doing so, they have attempted to send a message to all who would dare oppose world war and to all who were inspired by this bold act that, "We will deal with you."

Two appeals of the conviction on felony charges have been denied. A stay of mandate, which would keep the UN 2 out on bail pending further appeal, was also denied by the lower courts. On Monday morning the government was quite anxious to lock them up. Outside the courthouse, sales of the *Revolutionary Worker* were brisk as gripping agitation exposed the bloody hand of U.S. imperialism feverishly preparing for war.

In the past ten months since the UN action, the war moves of both superpowers, the struggles in El Salvador and Poland, draft registration, war maneuvers in Europe, etc., have drawn increasing numbers of people into motion against them. As one telegram sent to Judge Ward's chambers that morning pointed out, it did not go unnoticed that the decision to imprison the UN 2 went hand in hand with the prosecutor's denial of permission for

the UN 2 to go to the trial of the Plowshares 8, where once again, opposition to world war is on trial.

Defense attorneys for Glenn put before the court two motions to postpone the order to surrender. The U.S. Assistant Attorney, Peter Sudler, was steamed by any attempt to delay getting Glenn off the streets. "Now is the time to pay the price," Sudler argued in court, adding that they will "get no relief from the government"—as if there has been any! Sudler also argued that the order to surrender should be carried out because the justice system is plagued by delay. In a moment of self-exposure, Judge Robert Ward quipped back that if justice had not proceeded "swiftly" with this case then it hasn't anywhere, referring to the vicious 3-day political railroad of the UN 2.

Sudler went so far as to blurt right out that there never should have been a trial for the UN 2. It has been a constant exposure of such repression and the reasons behind it which has had the ruling class—in both the appeal hearing and in the hearing to postpone the surrender order—attempting to restrict the terms of the battle to "impartial" fine points of law.

Judge Ward, who easily plays the role of benevolent despot, struck such a pose in court Monday morning. Hearing the "pros and cons" Ward recessed court to think over whether he had any jurisdiction in the matter, and instructed the defense attorney to contact Justice Thurgood Marshall in Washington, D.C. to find out the results of the stay of mandate now before the Supreme Court.

During the four-hour recess, haggling went on behind closed doors, and when the court reconvened, U.S. Assistant Attorney Sudler, who had exclaimed earlier that the government would grant no relief, had changed his mind to postpone the surrender order until Friday when Steve Yip must also surrender. Such leniency! Attempting to avoid further political exposure, Ward agreed to the demand that Glenn Gan be allowed to travel to Pennsylvania for the trial of the Plowshares 8, at the same time threatening Glenn that if he failed to return on Friday, the consequences he would face would make what he already faces "pale in comparison."

The Supreme Court is not likely to rule on the stay until Monday, and since

the UN 2 have an order to surrender on Friday, the prosecutor is attempting to use this to further hound and harass the UN 2 to jail before the court can rule. It is quite clear that in this matter, the vindictiveness of the prosecutor is merely a foil for the so-called "benevolence" of the court, which is nothing but an instrument of their dictatorship. At the same time that they have tried to limit the risk of exposure on the political nature of this case by allowing Gan to travel to the Plowshares 8 trial, they have clearly made some very high-level political decisions about where they want this matter settled and when.

Justice Marshall had the authority to rule on this matter but he did not, deciding neither to risk the political exposure of denying it on the spot nor to give in to the demand for a stay and risk even a minor political victory for the UN 2. Instead, he passed it on to the entire court. While it is not unusual for the judges to do this when there is clearly a hot political case at hand, the timing in this whole thing is very striking—

that is, the fact that this case is going before the Supreme Court at precisely the same time as the case of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants is before the court. This sheds further light on the maneuverings of the last several weeks in the case of the UN 2 and in particular, the refusal of the lower court to accept the motions filed by the lawyers for the UN 2, and force the matter into the Supreme Court now. There is every likelihood that the Supreme Court will attempt to use this "coincidence" as an opportunity to voice their opinions about how such political cases are going to be handled by the imperialists, and to create public opinion for them. At the same time, it is an illustration that they are weighing their options carefully and trying to limit the exposure of the political nature of their so-called "criminal" trials, as they tack and maneuver against opposition to their vicious and rotting system.

(Following are some of the statements sent to Judge Ward on Monday morning)

## Statements of Support for UN 2

The decision to send the UN2 to jail seems to me part of the ugly mood of militarism growing in Washington. The plans for intervention in El Salvador require putting radicals behind bars to try to shut off criticism. But I don't believe the millions of Americans who have learned to distrust U.S. foreign policy since Vietnam will be silenced.

Howard Zinn, professor of Political Science at Boston University

The severity of the sentencing of the UN2, combined with the arbitrary revoking of bail of Glenn Gan and Steven Yip obviously has nothing to do with the only legitimate function of the law, the protection of citizens from violence or harassment. It is an act of political repression, a warning to all of us who openly object to our government's policies. As such it constitutes a danger to our right to protest, at a time when many of us feel an urgent need to exercise that right.

Karen Lindsay, poet, feminist, member of Women Opposed to Registration and the Draft, Boston

Two recent events have concentrated the hatred of growing numbers of people in this country and around the world for the ever-more blatant war preparations of both the U.S. and the USSR. In April the international working class denounced the diplomats of death by disrupting their hypocritical "peace" deliberations in the UN Security Council and dousing the ambassadors of the two superpowers with red paint, symbolic of their bloody deeds. Then in September, 8 men and women placed their bodies in the path of the war machine by destroying the nose cones of mass destruction at the General Electric plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania and painting these death merchants with their own human blood. The conviction of the UN2 and the trial of the Plowshares 8 are in themselves both an outrage and an exposure of a system compelled blindly toward world war 3, a system which cannot tolerate the people's growing opposition to its plans to incinerate millions in the name of "freedom." Your decision to jail Glenn Gan and Steven Yip, the UN2, currently free on bail, because they continue to make clear their refusal to repent, most recently by requesting permission to attend the trial of the Plowshares 8, is yet another outrage which further exposes you and the system you serve. Free the UN2!

Dr. Jim Ryan, Boston

To the Court,

I have just heard that the "stay of sentence" has been revoked for the UN2. I am writing to reaffirm my support and solidarity with the actions of the UN2. The latest actions of your court system demonstrate how desperate the rulers of this country are to try to stamp out the growing consciousness and actions of people in opposition to your war preparations, especially the actions of revolutionaries such as Steven Yip and Glenn Gan. It does not go unnoticed that the "stay of sentence" was revoked at the same time that the UN2 were denied the right to express their solidarity with the actions of the Plowshares 8 and that the attempted railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants has been escalating.

As the ruling class attempts to rally the masses behind the red, white and blue rag in preparation for world war with their Soviet counterparts, the actions of the UN2 were heard round the world and represented the sentiments of millions internationally who oppose your dying system and who want to move society forward. Your blatant attempts to destroy both revolutionary leadership and keep the UN2 off the streets and away from the ever-increasing, politically conscious masses will fail. To quote a revolutionary comrade from China, "We vow that we will seize political power and put it... in the hands of the proletariat. If you don't believe it, just watch!" Free the UN2!

Scott Gilbert, Boston

Dear Judge Ward,

I am writing you in regard to the case of Glenn Gan and Steve Yip, the "UN2". Specifically, I am troubled by the disposition of the case. Glenn has been ordered to surrender himself on March 2nd, 1981. This even though he still has possible appeals pending with the United States Supreme Court.

First, I ask you to issue an order to stay the surrender order. Second, I ask you to reconsider the sentence which has been imposed. I believe you have it within your power to reduce the sentence. I ask you to do so. While I personally do not support the specific tactic used by Steve and Glenn, I do feel that the issue they were confronting, that of the imminent possibility of war at the instigation of both the United States and/or Soviet Union is a real one. The times may well demand drastic action to alert us to the dangers around us.

I believe that in light of their intention, the exposure of this war danger, Glenn and Steve's action can be seen in a different light. We might do well to consider who the real criminals are, who the real terrorists are, in times like these.

I would be happy to discuss this with you. I urge you to do all that is within your power in this matter.

Sincerely,

John F. Backe, pastor, Trinity Lutheran Church, New York City

## Torchlight March in Cannanore, India in Support of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao

Dear Comrades,

I am in receipt of your Special Issue of *RW* (on the sentencing of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao—*RW*) and the copy of "Basic Principles." The Special Issue has instilled immense inspiration in us.

The news of the worldwide protest against the outrageous verdicts was the one satisfying our aspirations. We were listening to the outside world for such a report. The Ceylon comrades and others very rightly have done it. Here in Kerala also we could note that revolutionary cadres and other progressive people even from remote villages have risen in protest.

On the very day the news of the verdict was broadcast by the All-India Radio, revolutionary comrades and people of various progressive organizations from different villages marched into the Cannanore Town with torch lights in their hands in protest against the counter revolutionary action of the present Chinese leaders and in support of Mao's revolutionary comrades.

They raised slogans:

Down with the Chinese Revisionist leadership!  
Long Live Chiang Ching, Long Live Chang Chun-chiao!

Long Live the Cultural Revolution!  
Mao Tsetung Thought is Invincible!

In the end the marchers addressed the people and dispersed. It was said that all this happened in a guerrilla type of activity. You can note more details from *Mass Line*.

Though Mao's comrades and people in China were defeated temporarily today, they will surely raise up tomorrow again. It is certain, despite revisionism—whatever forms it may assume—the revolution will triumph.

Let us stand firmly on the side of struggling revolutionary comrades and people in China in particular and rally maximum support in solidarity with them.

We the comrades under Kerala State Committee of CPI (M-L) from this inferno declare our solidarity with the genuine Marxist-Leninists in China and extend our revolutionary greetings. Long Live Comrade Chiang Ching! Long Live Comrade Chang Chun-chiao! Mao Tsetung Thought is Invincible!

With Red Greetings,  
A Political Prisoner  
Kerala, India

## Massive Anti-Nuke Demo Explodes in W. Germany

# THE BATTLE OF BROKDORF!

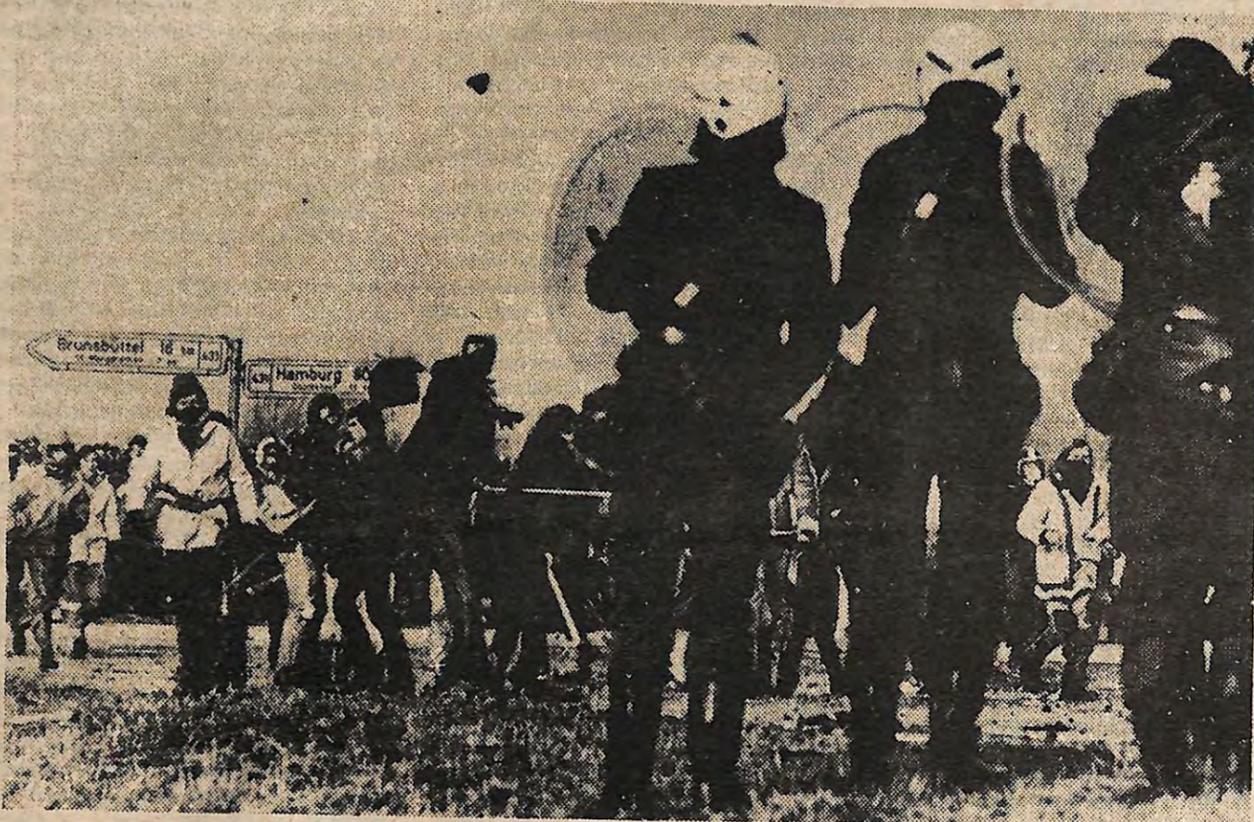
On February 28, a demonstration against the building of a nuclear power plant at Brokdorf, West Germany developed into a battle of major proportions between the state and the growing movement among youth and students here. At its height, more than 100,000 people were in the Hamburg area (in northern Germany) trying to reach Brokdorf in the face of a government ban. This was the largest illegal demonstration in West Germany since World War 2.

The West German government went to some extraordinary steps to prevent this demonstration from taking place. Over 10,000 riot police and Bundes Grenzschutz (Border Guards, similar to the National Guard in the U.S.) were mobilized and deployed in several defensive lines around the construction site. They were backed up by barbed wire, tear gas, water cannons, armored personnel carriers with machine guns and a fleet of troop-carrying helicopters.

When the demonstration was declared illegal the week before it was to happen, the authorities cancelled charter trains and put out a call to the bus companies to refuse to rent buses to the demonstrators. Furthermore, they declared that the demonstrators' intent to occupy the construction site would never be realized, no matter what. To emphasize this "no matter what," it was made known generally that any one attempting to storm a NATO atomic weapons storage area near the nuclear site would be shot on sight.

But every attempt to intimidate people and crush the demonstration only further inflamed the situation. For a broad section of youth and students the demonstration began to symbolize not just an action against nukes but a much broader statement in opposition to the state and the system itself. Each repressive move only served to further strip away the cover on the bourgeoisie's actual dictatorship over the masses and further strengthen the resolve of tens of thousands to demonstrate no matter what the obstacles. These feelings were reflected in one of the main slogans of the demonstration: "Legal-Illegal, Scheissegal!" which translates "Legal or Illegal, Who Gives A Shit!"

As Saturday dawned it was clear that the authorities were preparing for a major battle. In addition to the 10,000 riot cops and troops at Brokdorf itself, the



One small scene from the action at Brokdorf.

autobahns leading into the Hamburg area were blocked with huge trash containers filled with sand. All cars were searched, all suspected demonstrators had their names taken. One autobahn was closed completely for nine hours just outside Hamburg and no one was allowed through. Buses from Holland were turned back at the border and everyone's passports were stamped with a notice denying them entry to West Germany for three days. In many cities around Germany buses and car caravans were stopped by machine-gun carrying cops as they were about to leave. Searches and ID patrols were conducted and often people were just detained for hours to try to prevent them from going. All the roads around Brokdorf itself were completely closed to traffic.

But nevertheless they came, by car, bus, train and on foot. From all parts of Germany, from Holland, Switzerland and Denmark. Thousands came a day early to make it through the police cordon. Thousands parked their

cars at police roadblocks and started marching toward Brokdorf on foot. The entire area was filled with people moving in all directions trying to break through police lines and go around roadblocks. Groups of two, three, five thousand marching in one direction or another not sure exactly which way to go and regrouping to try again.

As the day went on some began to leave but more continued to arrive. At least 100,000 and very probably more were in the area demonstrating. Clouds of tear-gas filled the air and troop-carrying choppers swarmed overhead racing to reinforce police lines where the marchers had broken through. The scene around Brokdorf was chaos on a grand scale.

An estimated 20,000 made it to the construction site itself where the battle raged hot and heavy for hours. The police attacked with water cannons, clubs, gas grenades and mace. The demonstrators replied with rocks, bottles, slingshots and Molotov cocktails. When the smoke had cleared, 128 cops

were officially listed as injured, and medics had treated 68 demonstrators with 11 of them being hospitalized. Over 3000 people were arrested either at the demonstration or coming and going. As one participant remarked, "It reminded me of a scene out of 'Apocalypse Now'"—in other words, it looked like war.

The nuclear plant at Brokdorf has been the focal point of controversy and struggle since it was first proposed in 1973. In January 1976, 10,000 demonstrated against its construction and in February 1977, 60,000 marched in opposition. So when in December 1980 the government gave final approval for the groundbreaking, the battle lines were drawn for a major showdown.

In West Germany there has been, for a number of years, a very large anti-nuke movement. One result of this has been that large sections of the youth, students and the population generally are very much aware that the capitalists'

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## U.S. EXONERATES ORLANDO LETELIER'S ASSASSINS

On Monday, March 2, the Solicitor General's office in Washington, D.C. announced that it would not appeal last September's ruling by the U.S. Court of Appeals that overturned the conviction of the murderers of Orlando Letelier. Letelier, Ambassador to the U.S. under the Allende government in Chile, and Ronnie Moffitt, a researcher at the Institute for Policy Studies, were assassinated in Washington on Sept. 21, 1976 when a bomb placed under their car exploded. In early 1979 three anti-Castro Cubans, an American-born agent of the Chilean secret police (DINA), Michael Vernon Townley, and three Chilean DINA agents were indicted for the killings. Eventually the three Cubans and Townley stood trial. Two of the Cubans were convicted of murder based largely on the testimony of Townley, who, although he admitted placing the bomb under Letelier's car was given a lighter sentence in exchange for his testimony. The Pinochet government in Chile refused to extradite the indicted Chilean DINA agents and in response the U.S.

instituted mild economic sanctions against Chile as part of Carter's highly touted "human rights" ploy.

The conviction of the assassins was overturned by the U.S. Court of Appeals, and the assassins were ordered free on bail pending a new trial. All this was accomplished on the grounds that the two Cubans had bragged about the killings to two fellow inmates in a New York City jail who were acting as government agents and later testified against them. The government's announcement that it would not appeal the overturned convictions means that the assassins will be given a new trial. However, the chief U.S. attorney, Charles Ruff, provided a powerful hint as to what the outcome of this "new trial" would be when he stated that he wasn't sure just how strong the government's new case would be since the testimony of the two New York jail inmates is now unacceptable.

The freeing of Letelier's killers follows hot on the heels of the U.S. lifting of all sanctions against the

Pinochet government, lifting a ban on export/import bank loans to Chile and inviting Chile's armed forces to participate in joint military maneuvers.

Gone is the "human rights" policy associated with the early Carter years—a policy much in line with the needs of the U.S. imperialists at that time. This, of course, was all changing long before Carter left office, as indicated by the reversal of the convictions last year. And just how much current U.S. policy is being dictated by stepped up rivalry with the Soviets can be seen by Reagan's and Haig's choice for Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Ernest Lefever. He once said: "Economic and military aid should be given or withheld to encourage sound external practices, but not to reform domestic institutions or practices, however obnoxious." Of course, Pinochet's "domestic practices" aren't really obnoxious to Lefever at all; it's not the point anyhow. The liberal bourgeois weekly *The Nation* correctly

noted that with Lefever's formula, "any despot systematically engaged in torture, murder, or even genocide, is eligible for American economic and military assistance so long as he proclaims that he is on the side of the United States and against the Soviet Union." *The Nation* also comments that Lefever "is an outspoken apologist for the barbarous practices of right-wing dictatorships. If the choice of a man to fill this post were delegated to a search committee consisting of President Chun of South Korea, Prime Minister Botha of South Africa and President Pinochet of Chile, Lefever is the man one would expect them to appoint." Naturally, *The Nation* won't and can't draw the appropriate conclusion from all this. After all, Letelier's murderers have been freed by the rulers of the USA, the same who have brought forward Lefever. And the crimes of this "search committee" puts Chun, Botha and Pinochet to shame.

# Break the Chains!

Continued from page 1

enslaving feudal and bourgeois traditions that held that women could not and should not march in the forefront of the proletarian struggle; who blazed new trails in driving the emperors, princes, sages, overlords, and zombies from the center stage and waged a fierce struggle to make revolution in the cultural arena; who as First Deputy Chairman of the Cultural Revolution Group, played a vital role in leading the Chinese people in scaling the highest peak mankind has ever reached in the tortuous ascent to communism. Chiang Ching, who stood firm in the face of vicious attacks and brutal imprisonment, refused to capitulate to the enemy or "lay low" to save her own skin, put everything on the line and held high the red banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought as a clarion call to revolutionaries in China and throughout the whole world to carry that banner forward. For all this, all the imperialists and that pack of revisionist dogs now ruling China, despise and defame Chiang Ching, and revolutionary people everywhere cherish her all the more. To our beloved comrade Chiang Ching, who will never be silenced by the prison walls of the walking mummies, we dedicate this International Women's Day. And in this spirit of sweeping away every form of oppression and exploitation, all that is old and dying, raise the cry of "Break the Chains! Unleash the Fury of Women As A Mighty Force for Revolution!"

International Women's Day is a revolutionary holiday of the international proletariat. It's not a holiday for refined ladies and gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, or a day to narrow our sights and sip tea from the empty cup of economism or schemes for reform which the ladies and gentlemen of the bourgeoisie so graciously invite us to drink our fill of. International Women's Day was born in the fierce struggle of working women in this country in 1908 when strikes and demonstrations demanded an end to brutal working and living conditions for women. Two years later, on the anniversary of these demonstrations, an international conference of socialists and communists declared March 8 International Women's Day. V.I. Lenin, the great leader of the Bolshevik Party and the Russian Revolution, who raised the slogan, "Every housewife must learn to run the state," was among those who voted to establish this revolutionary holiday. The spirit of International Women's Day is the spirit of the women at the Paris Commune in 1871,

who fought ferociously, smashing one tradition after another and who caused a horrified bourgeois observer to exclaim, "If the French nation were a nation of women, what a terrible nation it would be." This, the proletariat certainly cannot fail to grasp much more deeply than any bourgeois—and to act upon in a way the bourgeoisie never can or would. Indeed International Women's Day is a celebration of fury of women unleashed in the struggle to revolutionize all of society. It is the spirit of women in Iran, who went into the streets and took part in toppling the King of Kings, Shah of Shah's from his peacock throne, the spirit of the women in Vietnam who carried rifles on their backs and shot down the U.S. imperialist bombers in the Vietnam war. It is the spirit of the women in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Poland, and in every country around the world where the masses are fighting against imperialism. It is the spirit of the women who rose up in Miami, women who fought in the '60s against national oppression, against the war, and all those who broke with the bourgeois models of "womanhood" fighting against the oppression of women and standing in the front ranks of the overall revolutionary struggle of the times. It is the spirit of tens of thousands who have taken to the streets against rape and degradation, shouting, "Take Back the Night," and the women who demonstrated powerfully against the imperialist war moves at the Pentagon. The tradition of International Women's Day is a revolutionary tradition, a tradition of the masses—the masses of women together with men, especially from the proletariat—who all over the world are rising up to break the chains that bind the proletariat as a whole and further degrade, enslave and humiliate women in particular.

As the Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party says: "Revolution is impossible without the constant breaking with old ideas and old institutions, and the practices and values which promote the oppression of women are a key prop of the old; they must be a key target of the proletariat in destroying the old and creating the new."

Today great storms are on the horizon and tremendous revolutionary tasks and possibilities are before us. As the U.S. imperialists and their bloc lurch towards world war with their rival bloc, headed by their equally imperialist rivals, the Soviet Union, they are increasingly launching vicious at-

tacks on the masses of women to whip them into line. They have paraded before us their sickening Marie Osmond barbie dolls who parrot the morality of "woman keep thy place," they are attacking the right to abortions, while they push forced sterilization, and promoting the family as the highest goal a woman should aspire to, as though they give a damn about the families of the proletariat and the oppressed masses, anyway. But as the fearful bourgeois at the Paris Commune also noted, "nothing is sacred to these proletarians." As Mao Tsetung pointed out, the family has to be viewed in its historical context: "The family which emerged in the last period of primitive communalism, will in the future be abolished. It had a beginning and it will come to an end. . . . When we reach the stage of communist relationship of distribution of 'to each according to his need,' many of our concepts will change. After maybe a few thousand years, or at the very least several hundred years, the family will disappear. Many of our comrades do not dare to think about these things. They are very narrow-minded. But problems such as the disappearance of classes and parties have already been discussed. This shows the approach of Marx and Lenin was lofty, while ours is low."

Of course, while the bourgeoisie preaches "family morality", nothing is supposed to come between Calvin Klein's and the masses of women. Their multi-billion dollar sex industry is touted by the *New York Times* as "legitimate business" in the great tradition of capitalism, and they produce movies where the main attraction is women getting raped and cut to pieces. If there were nothing else wrong with this thoroughly rotten imperialist system, that would be reason enough to overthrow it.

Meanwhile, they come around and preach equality in the name of World War 3 and the draft. This week, the *Chicago Tribune* went so far as to tout a recently published military manual for officers on sex discrimination, trying to put forward the imperialist army as champions of equality for women. And one thing the masses of people are supposed to die for is to preserve the bourgeoisie's servile image of what women should be, the bourgeois family, the church and above all, American imperialism. And while the proletariat opposes their war preparations, take note that when they pressgang their army, they are going to have to put guns in the hands of the masses. As Bob Avakian puts it: "You go ahead and draft, not only the young men but the young women. Excellent. You take these women, out of your necessity. Break the chain that holds them in the kitchen as a slave in their own household. Drag them out into the larger world. Give them a gun. Put a uniform on them.

Give them military training. Get them physically fit. Teach them technological and logistical skills. Don't only do that with the men, do that with all the women that you can get too! Take every one of them and train them as well as you know how. But you see, we understand one thing—that while they're going to be doing a lot of work for us, giving people technical skills, logistical understanding, getting them better physically fit, in shape to fight a war—that they are never going to be able to rely in the final analysis on these troops. . . ." And when the slaves rise up to burn the master's house down, let there be millions of women in the battle, armed with the very weapons the slavemaster passed out to defend his rule.

The bourgeoisie drônes piously about freedom and equality, but as Lenin said, "Bourgeois democracy is the democracy of pompous phrases, solemn words, lavish promises and high sounding slogans about freedom and equality, but in practice all this cloaks the lack of freedom and the inequality of women, the lack of freedom and the inequality for the working and exploited people. . . . Down with this lie! Down with the liars who speak about freedom and inequality for all, while there is an oppressed sex, oppressing classes, private ownership of capital and shares and people with bursting bins who use their surplus grain to enslave the hungry. Instead of freedom for all, instead of equality for all, let there be struggle against the oppressors and exploiters, let the opportunity to oppress and exploit be abolished." No, the imperialists are incapable of liberating the masses of women from their chains, because their system thrives on and spawns anew all that is old, decadent, degrading and oppressive for the masses of people and the masses of women in particular. Only in the revolution to wipe this oppressive system from the face of the earth can women break the chains which bind them, only in the fight to end all oppression can women achieve genuine equality and take part in doing away with all the ideas and traditions in society which hold half of humanity in a subservient position. But this revolution will not be possible without the participation of women, it will not be possible if the proletariat does not stand in the forefront of the fight to end the oppression of women. Mankind cannot scale to new heights unless together we break the chains which keep women in narrow confines and out of the class struggle and truly unleash the fury of women as a raging torrent, to batter down the walls of this outmoded, antiquated system. And in this great battle, let the masses of women, and all oppressed and exploited, take inspiration from comrade Chiang Ching who is herself, truly a harbinger of Spring. □

**Break the Chains!**

**Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution**

**Pamphlet by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA**

From speeches delivered at International Women's Day, 1979. And a solidarity message from the League of Fighting Women of Iran.

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## The Power of Political Exposure

# The Winter Soldier Investigation—1971

It is April 1971, and U.S. imperialism is continuing its vicious and ultimately futile terrorism against the Vietnamese people, desperately trying to bomb them into submission to its neo-colonial rule. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has put these war criminals on the run and millions all over the world have been aroused against the U.S. invaders, including tremendous upheavals right here in the "belly of the beast." And at this time, the headquarters of imperialist state apparatus in Washington, D.C. is under siege—the bourgeoisie beset by a revolutionary upsurge is on the defensive.

In one of the most powerful demonstrations of the Vietnam war era, 2,000 young men whom the U.S. had relied on and indoctrinated to carry out its aggression against the Vietnamese people are camped out for five days in the imperialists' citadel, defying the injunctions of the Supreme Court to demand an end to U.S. involvement in Indochina. The stirring climax to this battle occurs when one after another, the veterans walk—or limp—up to the Capitol steps and hurl their putrid medals back in the face of the gangster class that press-ganged and brainwashed them to carry out its foul deeds—a truly inspiring display of internationalism. And one that speaks for the sentiments that are rapidly growing among a significant section of the veterans and others in the United States, "...The next time we fight, it will be to take these steps."

The five-day operation, known as Dewey Canyon Three, was called by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), and it hit the imperialists right where it hurt and played a powerful role in awakening broader forces to new activity against the Vietnam War. But this action itself, in a significant way, was a product of something that occurred less than three months earlier. On January 31, February 1 and 2, VVAW held a national hearing to expose U.S. war crimes in Southeast Asia. Called the Winter Soldier Investigation, the three-day hearings in Detroit were designed to expose the fact that U.S. atrocities against the Vietnamese people, far from being some unfortunate and misguided policy as bourgeois forces claimed, were part of a conscious military policy formulated at the highest levels of the U.S. government.

Over 125 veterans testified at the hearing, organized according to the divisions and units they had fought with in the war, and encompassing every year from the start of the U.S. escalations up to 1970. Testimony was taken from former GIs of the 1st Marine Division, 1st Air Cavalry, 3rd Marine Division, 5th Special Forces, 101st, 82nd and 173rd Airborne Divisions, 25th Infantry, 1st, 4th and 9th Infantry Divisions and miscellaneous units. Additional panels which also included professionals, journalists, attorneys, and the mother of a prisoner captured by the North Vietnamese were held on the use of outlawed chemical-biological warfare, torture and murder of U.S.-held POWs contrasted with the relatively humane treatment accorded to Vietnamese-held POWs, denial of medical treatment to Vietnamese civilians and even ARVN troops of the U.S.-puppet army, and racism against both the Vietnamese and oppressed nationalities within the U.S. military. By the end of the third day, both the volume and the content of the testimonies had thoroughly exposed that the My Lai massacre was merely a small part of a total all-out assault on an entire people fighting for their liberation from an imperialist superpower.

The vets described how an imperialist army indoctrinates its soldiers from the first day to fight such a war: "When you're told something to do, whether to go to the bathroom or have a cigarette... you preface it or end it with VC or Gook or Slope, kill-kill-kill... even in the hospitals, they're passing out pictures of mutilated bodies, showing this is what we do to the gooks, this is what's fun to do to the gooks... you're not to question, you're not to ask why. If you're told to kill, you're to kill. You're not supposed to say why or who says so? Or why should I kill this person? For what reason? How is this benefitting me? How are they hurting me? It's just to be a machine. When you're wound up and your button is pushed, you've gotta react. If you don't react the way they want you to, you're in trouble with them."

As the vets spoke about the content of U.S. imperialism's war against the Vietnamese, it became clearer just why they had to be trained the way they were: "...They didn't believe our body count. So we had to cut off the right ear

of everybody we killed to prove our body count. I guess it was company SOP (Standard Operating Procedure)." "... We test-fire (d)... our weapons into a whole village of people." "We were told not to waste our heat cans on food but to save them for the villages because we were going to destroy all the villages and we didn't give the people any time to get out of the villages." "... For every ear you cut off someone would buy you two beers, so people cut off ears." "My testimony concerns the leveling of villages for no valid reason, throwing Vietcong suspects from the aircraft after binding and gagging them with copper wire and racism in the assignment of priorities to medical evacuations where white people were given priority over non-white people." "These guys would take a full can... (of C-rations) and throw it as hard as they could at a kid's head. I saw several kid's heads split wide open, knocked off the road, knocked into tires of vehicles behind, and knocked under tank tracks." "When we went out, I would say 50% at least of the villages we passed through would be burned to the ground. There was no difference between the ones we burned and the ones we didn't burn. It was just that where we had time, we burned them." All this doesn't begin to describe even a small part of the overwhelming testimony that came out, as the real meaning of *free-fire-zone*, *strategic hamlets*, *pacification*, etc. was exposed to the thousands who packed the Detroit hotel where the hearings were held.

VVAW had started building for the hearings in the fall of 1970, carrying out an 86-mile "search and destroy" mission march to Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, going on a highly-publicized tour of college campuses with Jane Fonda and raising money from a number of wealthy people who opposed the war and were inspired by the stand of the vets. They even got a free ad donated in *Playboy* magazine. Over 8,000 responded to the ad, including a number of active duty GIs, with many requesting to testify. Some had become radicalized while in Vietnam and had participated in acts of resistance, from demonstrations, to refusal to go on maneuvers, to fragging of gung-ho officers. Many others had been deeply influenced by the storms and upheavals spreading throughout the society at the time, from

the anti-war movement to the Black rebellions that had inflamed every major city in the country. And a significant number had come to openly side with the Vietnamese liberation struggle and to actively work for the defeat of their "own" bourgeoisie in the war. In fact, the hearings were originally scheduled for Detroit so that a number of Vietnamese could testify, via closed-circuit TV from Windsor, Ontario in Canada just across the border. But the Canadian government, either due to pressure from the U.S. or because they are an imperialist bourgeoisie in their own right, refused to grant visas to the scheduled visitors.

Not surprisingly, most of the major media tried to blackout coverage of the hearings. The Detroit newspapers, though, had no choice but to carry coverage of the Winter Soldier Investigation on their front pages for all three days. Radical and progressive magazines also carried articles on the hearings. The most significant breakthrough in taking this powerful exposure out and breaking the press blackout was made when progressive and revolutionary-minded filmmakers and people experimenting with video tape took up the Winter Soldier hearings. A New York collective of radical media people made cassette tapes of the proceedings and advertised them in the Left press, selling them in bunches and getting them played over a listener-sponsored radio station in New York. A book featuring excerpts of the testimony was published. A feature length film and two shorter ones were made and shown all over the world, including winning a prize at the Cannes Film Festival and being shown on two TV stations in New York. When the film began to play in theatres in the United States and began to attract large crowds and critical praise, many of the major newspapers that had refused to cover the hearings originally were forced to review the film, and even the most reactionary film critics had a difficult time figuring out ways to attack, or undercut the message of, the movie. In fact, there was so much turmoil created around the Winter Soldier Investigation that the *entire transcript* of the hearings was introduced into the Congressional Record by Senator Mark Hatfield, one of a number of bourgeois politicians who were desperately trying to keep the

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

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

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

\*\* Representatives of U.S. imperialism would also be invited to attend and defend their views and actions. Former hostages, certainly, would be challenged to appear, since they missed their opportunity for such a trial when they were in Iran.

\*\*\* Veterans, foreign born, all proletarians and progressive groups and individuals contact the RCP, USA locally or nationally and assist in making these plans and launching them into action soon.



Painting entitled "She craves not Spring for Herself Alone," published in Chinese Literature, March 1974.

*ODE TO THE PLUM BLOSSOM*

*December 1961*

*Wind and rain escorted Spring's departure,  
Flying snow welcomes Spring's return.  
On the ice-clad rock rising high and sheer  
A flower blooms sweet and fair.*

*Sweet and fair, she craves not Spring for herself alone,  
To be the harbinger of Spring she is content.  
When the mountain flowers are in full bloom  
She will smile mingling in their midst.*

*Mao Tsetung*

## Bob Avakian on the Fight Against the Oppression of Women

# You Can't Break All The Chains But One

Following are several excerpts from a number of speeches by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, which deal with various aspects of the oppression of women and the powerful revolutionary force of women against all oppression. These excerpts have been selected from previously unpublished material taken from his 1979 national speaking tour, as well as from two pamphlets, *Break the Chains! Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution!* and the newly released, *Bob Avakian Speaks On the Mao Tsetung Defendants' Railroad and the Historic Battles Ahead.*

### Material Basis for the Oppression of Women

Why is it that women in particular are forced under the present system to bear the greatest burden of trying to hold the family together and to have the most direct responsibility for seeing that the children are fed and clothed and their basic necessities are met? Why is it in fact that women are put in a position, even more so than men, let's be honest about it, where the marriages are miserable and, even where the right of divorce is formally granted, they are often times forced—if not physically then through intimidation or through economic compulsion to remain in those kinds of relationships which have become miserable. Let's face it, fellows out there, it's not that we're really all that irresistible. There's something much more fundamental going on out here. We've got to just get rid of, put aside and put down, all these old bullshit ideas about what it is that makes a person have some pride, in particular what it is that makes a man be a man—and how he's not really supposed to be a man unless he's getting over on some lady. We've just got to put all that crap in the garbage can and look at society the way it really is. Let's look at the struggle we've got to wage to get rid of every form of oppression and degradation of any section of the people.

With the first development of private property and together with it the system of slavery in ancient times, there arose a need for people to know specifically who their heirs were, who their children were, in order to pass on to them the private property, including their slaves, that was owned by a small group of people. And from that time the position of woman has been one of being subordinate to a man in the household and in society. Within the division of labor in society as a whole, owing to biological functions which could not be overcome in those ancient times, the women would be the ones to tend to the homes, because after all they were the ones who had to and did have the children. This original division of labor arose in

primitive society—communal society before there arose slavery, before there was even an abundance with which it would make sense to have slaves working to produce. This original division of labor was between the man who went out and procured the livelihood and the woman who stayed home and tended the fires, literally, and took care of the children and had the children.

But with the emergence of private property and the taking of slaves to produce, this division of labor turned from merely that into one of subjugation of women, to where their position became an inferior one; to where all the wealth, cattle, slaves, land, produce, etc., belonged to the man, who was the one who was directly involved, either through his own production or increasingly through driving slaves, in the production of this surplus. And down through the different forms of class society that have emerged and successively replaced each other—from slavery to the feudal system of peasant-serfs and landlords, down to today's capitalist system—this division of labor has meant that women have been kept in a subordinate position, forced to be responsible for the tending of the household and degraded and crushed with the grinding individual, isolated (and let's face it) the not very uplifting work of keeping the house in order.

### Society Must Advance to Communism

Today when capitalism is on its last legs, when we can see on the horizon a new and far higher system and the bright future beginning to dawn for people in their great majority in society—the socialist system and beyond it the communist system, where classes and the exploitation and oppression or the subjugation of any section of society will be finally eliminated—against this, the oppression of women and the need to end it and to smash it as part of smashing the capitalist system altogether stands out all the more sharply. But we cannot wait until the entire material foundation of the oppression and subordination of women has been eliminated. We cannot sit around and wait for the advance to communism for the oppression of women to be “automatically” eradicated—or there will be no advance to the socialist revolution and ultimately to communism. There will be no such advance except through the most determined struggle against the capitalist system and its oppression of the people on every front, and a most important front within that is the oppression of women.

This is a great task that history has presented the proletariat, the first class in history which in rising up and overthrowing its own oppressors and exploiters is in a position to and must make thoroughgoing revolution—not to replace an old system of exploitation and oppression of the people with a new one, but to advance and continue the revolution until it has uprooted every

basis for oppression, for the exploitation of the people and for the division of society into classes. And we can say that the period of history of people on the earth in which society has been divided into classes, and in which together with that women have been subordinated and oppressed, that this period is a very brief one indeed—only a few thousand years. This is very short compared to the long period of primitive society, primitive classless society, before that. And it pales in significance compared to the period that lies ahead with the abolition of class society, with the abolition, together with that, of the oppression of women, and with the opening up of the new dawn of communism, when men and women together, people throughout the world, will march together to consciously struggle—yes, struggle—but consciously take up the task of transforming and remaking the world.

But as I said, we cannot simply wait for the advent of communism, we cannot wait for this to be handed to us as a gift by history. It is up to the proletariat and its party in particular to consciously educate the masses of people to their interests and lead them in making revolution—and as a crucial part of this to take up the fight against every manifestation of the oppression of the people as a whole, and in particular the oppression of women.

And we must recognize very clearly that our aim is not in fact to go backwards. Ours is not the aim simply to eliminate classes, nor will it be the result of our struggle to go back to the kind of primitive condition that existed more than 5,000 years ago when classes were first arising, a condition which because of the backwardness of production and what people could do in confrontation with nature was bound to give rise to class divisions, was bound to give rise to a situation where there were slaves and slave masters, the exploited and those exploiting them, and was bound to give rise to the subordination of women. Look at it even in terms of what society is now capable of doing. Not only have the productive forces of society, the tools and instruments we use, tremendously advanced in the past several thousand or even the past several hundred years, but even in the specific realm of women and the family we see tremendous advances which certain so-called reformers and even self-proclaimed communists are trembling at the sight of, but which genuine communists and more and more of the masses of people welcome.

And I'm talking in particular about the steps being made, which—horror of horrors!—will separate the creation of children from the human body. This is supposed to be a terrible thing. Well, I've taken a survey among women I know who have been pregnant and they don't think it's so goddamn terrible. What the hell's so terrible about the fact that we can advance to the point where a person doesn't have to go

around swollen up for 9 months? What's so terrible about eliminating that burden and even certain biological differences will be done away with—now I'm not saying they're all going to be eliminated, don't get me wrong—but those that have a social role and character and which still mark the period in which the division of labor can be turned into a position of subordination.

What is so terrible, and in fact why isn't it fine, that society will be able fully and consciously under the rule of the working class to do this, in a progressive and revolutionary way to break down even further these divisions? Because we are not striving to go backwards and recreate primitive conditions. No! We are building on the progress that has been made through thousands of years of people sweating and groaning under the various backward conditions and the divisions of society into classes. We are building on it, but we're going forward to a qualitatively new and higher form of society, not back to primitive communalism, but to a whole new dawn, to communism, where for the first time, there will not only be actual equality between men and women but no longer any basis for that equality to be replaced by the subjugation of women.

And as I've stressed several times, while this is our goal and it's a lofty one and one we must keep forever in front of us and forever the bright light guiding us, at the same time we must recognize that at every stage we must do everything we can to push the revolution forward, to advance the most at each point.

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### Women—A Mighty Force in Overthrowing Capitalism

... And I'd like to speak to one of the ways that the bourgeoisie is trying to play both sides of the street, and that is around the question of women in the military. “How horrible!” say the Phyllis Schlaflys and others. “Making women not only put on uniforms, that might be all right, but taking up guns and fighting in the war.” And of course the bourgeoisie also has another answer, “Oh, it's fine, let women be cannonfodder as well as men, that's true equality.” But we say, as Lenin said more than 60 years ago, about the youth in general and about women in particular: go ahead, bourgeoisie, train them in military techniques, arm them with your most advanced weapons, teach them how to shoot, teach them all the military knowledge that you can possibly teach them; and we, the proletariat, men and women alike, we'll teach them the one thing you never can—who their real enemy is and where and how to use those weapons to do the real thing that has to be done—to make revolution to change the world entirely.

And today we can see more and more that this capitalist system is historically obsolete, that it's headed for extinction,

Continued on page 22

# Cop Opens Fire On Black Band at Mardi-Gras

New Orleans. The story flashed for an instant across the late night TV screen last Sunday and then just as quickly was buried: SHOTS FIRED AT MARDI GRAS PARADE. A little drunken revelry perhaps? Yes, but not the kind the media was particularly anxious to delve into. The next day it leaked out that a white plainclothes cop had pulled his gun on a chaperone for the St. Augustine High School Band—an all-Black marching unit that broke the parade's color barrier in 1967. By the time it was over, Ray Johnson, a 17-year-old drum major in the band, had been shot in the neck, a young bystander had been hit in the groin and another whose face had been right next to the cop's gun suffered powder burns on the eye.

How did all this come down? The authorities just don't seem to know what happened. The news desk at the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* didn't know either, nor does the reporter who covered the police detail that night. "Even Internal Affairs doesn't really know what happened," he said, sounding more than a little skeptical. Indeed, the authorities' feigned ignorance over this matter is unconvincing, to say the least, especially since according to the papers the shooting "sent thousands of

screaming spectators running for cover on the edge of the city's French Quarter" and at least 30 witnesses were interviewed by police in their subsequent investigation.

It is certainly no mystery why the cops are so "baffled." Anger has been seething in New Orleans' Black community in the wake of a string of brutal police murders of Blacks in the past few months. Last November, after a cop was found shot in the vicinity of the Black community of Algiers, the New Orleans pigs went on a killing spree in retaliation. In a 24-hour period they burst into residences centered around the Fischer Housing Project in Algiers and cold-bloodedly executed a total of four Black people in three separate incidents. Since then the situation has only grown more intense, and now the word is out to minimize the publicity on any further police shootings.

Of course it didn't take Sherlock Holmes to get to the bottom of this latest shooting. One newspaper photo told more than a thousand police "investigations." It showed several members of the band carrying off their wounded friend, gesturing angrily at the camera. The next day the St. Augustine High School Band, one of the most popular attractions of the

several days of Mardi Gras activities, refused to march because of the incident. According to the wounded drum major's account, the chaperone—a Black man—was one of several who were helping to clear the way for the band through the tightly-packed crowd of hundreds of thousands that spilled into the streets for the Bacchus parade, one of the events leading up to Mardi Gras. Standing in the way was a plainclothes detective, John Walters of the Family Service Division, holding a plastic cup as he sipped his way through an assignment on a "lost child" detail. Walters belligerently refused to move, then apparently decided to teach this "uppity Black" a lesson. A scuffle ensued with the chaperone naturally attempting to defend himself against an inebriated white man brandishing a gun. While Walters' shot missed the chaperone, this racist fool who was supposedly looking out for lost children managed to put three young people in the hospital with serious injuries!

Adding to the authorities' growing necessity to whitewash the murderous activities of their rabid police carried out "in the performance of their duty" was the fact that this particular parade was being held to honor nine of their precious marine hostages recently re-

turned from Iran. Indeed, the overriding concern of the *New York Times* in its rather sparsely detailed report on the shooting was that "The floats carrying the marines were well ahead of the spot where the shooting had occurred and were not endangered." And how fitting that one of these hostages, Marine Staff Sgt. John McKeel (who announced when he was freed that he would be devoting his time to "chasing women and drinking beer"), reigned over this annual spectacle of "drinking, dancing and debauchery" (as the *Times* put it) dressed up as Bacchus, the God of Wine—a deity reputed to be merciless to those who opposed his worship. In this case, however, it was apparently one of his drunken cop disciples who took it upon himself to play "Great White Father" when a Black man refused to act appropriately humble.

Obviously if this chaperone had pulled out a gun himself and shot up some people, he would be up for attempted murder if not executed on the spot by New Orleans' finest. But a boozed-up white cop shooting at a Black man? Temporary suspension for "discharging his weapon in an unauthorized manner" pending an "investigation" by the department!

## The Maon: A New Tribute to Mao Tsetung and Dialectics

Despite the attacks and vilification by the bourgeoisie, the powerful influence of the liberating science of dialectical materialism as developed and enriched by Mao Tsetung continues to grow throughout all spheres of society including within the field of subatomic physics. A recent article in the "Science and the Citizen" column of the February 1981 *Scientific American* entitled "Inside the Quark" provides an illustration of this truth. The article reads in part:

"Atomism, the ancient doctrine that the world is constructed out of indivisible units of matter, has been abundantly confirmed by the physics of the 20th century, but at the same time it has been profoundly subverted. Atoms certainly exist, but it is equally certain they are not indivisible. An atom can be broken down into a nucleus and a surrounding cloud of electrons; the nucleus in turn can be decomposed into protons and neutrons; it appears that the proton and the neutron are also composite structures, made up of the smaller entities called quarks. Now several tentative and speculative proposals could extend this progression of wheel within wheels one stage further. It has been suggested that the quarks themselves may be composite particles assembled from a few simpler or more fundamental objects. . . . in the past 10 years or so the idea that quarks and leptons (subatomic particles outside of the nucleus of the atom like the electron—RW) might have an internal structure has been suggested repeatedly, and at least a dozen models of such a structure have been formulated. The hypothetical constituents of the quarks and leptons have been variously named prequarks, preons, subquarks, maons (after Mao Zedong, who once expressed an interest in the quark model). . . ." (emphasis ours—RW).

Based on a firm understanding of the dialectical nature of the world both Mao Tsetung and Lenin before him held that atoms and their constituent parts were "inexhaustible" and could in fact be divided infinitely. They have continued to be proved correct even though many bourgeois scientists have strived to put an end to the discovery of the internal nature of subatomic particles, jumping to declare each newly discovered particle of matter the "ultimate particle." It appears however

that more than a few scientists have continued to search for the truth and have been influenced in this by Mao Tsetung's sweeping dialectical view, to the point where they have seen fit to name a subatomic particle after him. This is fine, indeed. In 1964 Mao made the following points in his Talk on Questions of Philosophy: "Lenin said that all things can be divided. He gave the atom as an example, and said that not only can the atom be divided, but the electron, too, can be divided. Formerly, however, it was held that it could not be divided; the branch of science devoted to splitting the atomic nucleus is still very young, only twenty or thirty years old. In recent decades, the scientists have resolved the atomic nucleus into its constituents, such as

protons, anti-protons, neutrons, anti-neutrons, mesons and anti-mesons. Those are the heavy ones; there are also the light ones. For the most part, these discoveries only got under way during and after the Second World War. As for the fact that one could separate the electrons from the atomic nucleus, that was discovered some time ago. An electric wire makes use of dissociated electrons from the outside of copper or aluminum. In the 300 li of the earth's atmosphere, it has also been discovered that there are layers of dissociated electrons. There, too, the electrons and the atomic nucleus are separated. As yet, the electron has not been split, but some day they will certainly be able to split it. Chuang-tzu said, 'A length of one foot, which is divided in half each day, will

never be reduced to zero.' (*Chuang-tzu*, Chapter 'On the various schools', quoting Kung-sun Lung.) This is the truth. If you don't believe it, just consider. If it could be reduced to zero, then there would be no such thing as science. The myriad things develop continuously and limitlessly, and they are infinite. Time and space are infinite. As regards space, looking at it both macroscopically and microscopically, it is infinite, it can be divided endlessly. So even after a million years scientists will still have work to do. . . .

"We should always be bringing forward new things. Otherwise what are we here for? What do we want descendants for? New things are to be found in reality, we must grasp reality."

A new and inexhaustible chunk of matter called the Maon. It has a wonderful and refreshing ring to it. The Maon—yet another victory for the dialectics of Mao Tsetung! □

### NOW AVAILABLE!

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

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

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# BOB AVAKIAN SPEAKS

ON THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS' RAILROAD AND THE HISTORIC BATTLES AHEAD

# Scientists Discover New Sex Gland: The Brain

In the last couple of years, an increasing number of books and articles have been published, and a growing number of research projects have been funded, on the structure and function of the human brain. Within this, a particularly marked trend has been the one that claims to find significant differences in the brains of men and women, which considers them to be largely biologically determined and resistant to change through education and upbringing. Beyond that, it speculates that these differences are the basis of or even the primary reason for the division of labor between men and women and the overwhelming relegation of women to a subordinate status under capitalism. Descending upon us is a refurbished, "up to date" and "scientific" argument for the "natural inferiority of women."

And indeed there is nothing fundamentally new or surprising in this. It is in the best bourgeois tradition that scientific and medical "authorities" should be trotted out to attest to the existence of an allegedly inescapable biological basis for the inferiority of women. In the 19th century, these authorities' "contributions" included the pseudoscience of "phrenology,"

whose guiding practical principle was the ridiculous idea that mental faculties varied with the size and shape of the skull. A leading American phrenologist, Franz Josef Gall, claimed he could distinguish male and female human brains by their superficial appearance. And a student of his elaborated that the frontal lobes (at the forehead) of the brain, which were thought to be associated with reasoning, were "markedly diminished" in women.

As phrenology went the way of palmistry, into oblivion, the focus of the biological assault on women moved to the female reproductive organs. In the words of one critic, "In their textbooks and medical practices, male physicians promoted the idea that uterine and ovarian factors lurked behind almost every female virtue as well as every female complaint. As one gynecologist wrote in 1870, there could be no doubt about the 'gigantic power and influence of the ovaries over the whole animal economy of woman.'" (Chorover, *From Genesis to Genocide*, p. 151) Although this idea proved so useful that it was clung to for over 100 years—it was not long ago that Hubert Humphrey's physician asserted that women could not be trusted to hold important political

positions because they were subject to "raging hormonal influences"—nevertheless, in recent years the women's movement and criticism from scientific circles dealt it some telling blows. So today, continuing to maintain that women are "biologically inferior," means shifting the debate back to the brain—now seen as itself controlled by hormones. The view that's now popularized is that the brain is a gland, "even a sex gland," in the words of the cover story in last October's *Quest/80* magazine, "Men, Women and The Brain: Are Our Brains As Different As Our Bodies?" Summing up the recent "discoveries" of brain research in a way typical of this whole trend, the author says:

"...this may well mean that the differences in ability between men and women...are also true genetic differences, established in the womb and governed, more or less immutably, by a hormonal influence.

"This is important. For some years now we have been encouraged to believe that gender roles and behavior are the results of education and upbringing; that the jobs and expectations of the sexes are dictated solely by the educational and attitudinal milieu in which they are

raised; and that sexual preference is molded only by experience and mediated by free choice. Science agreed with this view; indeed, it was largely responsible for it. Now, though, science may have to change its mind, and we may have to change with it. Having given the various sexual liberation groups their philosophical underpinnings, it may now force us to reconsider them, and to reconsider in general the nature of our evolved humanity. This is why brain science is the cutting edge of our future." Leaving aside the grandiosity of its claims for brain science, this statement captures the social aims of the "new trend," and also calls for brain science to develop *along certain lines*. (After all, reconsidering the "general nature of our evolved humanity" holds promise for "proof" that not only are women inferior, but so are Blacks, Chicanos, Indians and others. This has been the long-standing stock-in-trade of such reactionaries as Shockley.)

Of course, it is no easy matter to understand an organ system as extraordinarily complex as the brain—its 100 billion nerve cells with their myriad interconnections and levels of organization. It is precisely this

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## International Women's Day Poster

### Still Available

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

The materials for reproducing the poster shown at right—color separated printer's negatives and reduced size full color samples—will continue to be available for individuals and organizations to look over and make arrangements for local printing. Posters are 17 in. x 22 in., but smaller size negatives are available on request. The foreground photo of Chiang Ching was taken as she defiantly entered the courtroom on the day the revisionists sentenced her to death. The background scene is from the revolutionary Peking Opera "Red Detachment of Women" in which Wu Ching-hua, an escaped bondmaid who joined the Red Army, and her comrades battle the Kuomintang reactionary troops head on in a mountain pass. This opera is one of the most well-known of the model works produced during the Cultural Revolution under the leadership of Chiang Ching.

All those who want to print and/or distribute this poster can contact the RCP in one of the following cities: Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D.C. (for phone numbers and addresses, see page 20) or send \$50.00 in check or money order *now* to RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, Illinois 60654. Cost includes printing negatives, full color sample and express postage. Specify English, Spanish or French. Please include your phone number, address and the nearest Post Office or Airport to your location.

## March 8, International Women's Day



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

# Revolutionary Activity Hounds Chinese Revisionists

We recently received this text of an article that ran in the Japanese press. The report was filed with the Kyodo News Agency from Peking on January 27, 1981. While it is only a few paragraphs long, what comes through is the fact that the Chinese revisionists are facing revolutionary exposure of, and resistance to, their rule. The article's reference to "a 50-page printed pamphlet," signed by "The Central Committee of the China Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)," is clearly a reference to the document that the RW received and reprinted in RW No. 90—our Special Edition on the trials of Mao Tsetung's revolutionary comrades, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao—that appeared on January 30, 1981. It is interesting to note that to date no mention of these documents or their authors has appeared in the Hong Kong press, which follows events in China closely. It is clear that these handbills and pamphlets are not only getting around China and to other parts of the world under the very noses of the revisionist rulers, but are getting under their capitulationist skins.

But like Mao Tsetung said, "If the Right stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 percent of the population." Following is a slightly abbreviated text of the article from Japan:

(Report from Beijing, January 27, 1981)

"Copies of underground handbills and pamphlets denouncing the Chinese leadership started to appear in Beijing ten days ago despite the law enforcement authorities' strict watch. The handbills

and pamphlets, widely distributed to foreign residents here, censured party vice chairman Deng Xiaoping as a reactionary and defended the convicted "Gang of Four," including Chairman Mao Zedong's widow Jiang Qing (Chiang Ching). They also criticized party secretary-general Hu Yaobang and premier Zhao Ziyang by name, saying that Deng and his leadership are seeking a capitalist line. The underground handbills and pamphlets praised Jiang Qing and her co-defendant in the special trial, former vice premier Zhang Chunqiao (Chang Chun-chiao), saying that the two have a self-sacrificing revolutionary spirit without fear of death. They said the "Gang of Four" had nothing to be accused of.

"Revolution has been suspended by the reactionaries (Deng and his leadership), they said. But there exist a number of people having revolutionary spirit throughout the country and they will finally destroy the present leadership, the handbills and pamphlets claimed.

"So far, four kinds of anti-leadership handbills and pamphlets have been confirmed. They range from a mimeographed low-grade paper to a 50-page printed pamphlet. Their publishers call themselves 'The Central Committee of the China Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)' or 'The Masses Who Are Superficially Obedient.'

"Watchers here believe that fairly wide organized anti-government groups are behind the underground publications. Official publications have been issued often recently to appeal for continued fighting with the remnant followers of the purged 'Gang of Four.' This proves that anti-government groups of this kind are appearing in various parts of the country, the watchers said." □



Pamphlet received this past January, published underground in China, which denounces the current regime there.

**COMING FROM BEHIND TO MAKE REVOLUTION**

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

This major analysis originally appeared in the Revolutionary Worker, issue no. 49, under the title of "Is Revolution Really Possible this Decade and What does May First Have to Do with It?"

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## Brokdorf

Continued from page 9

nukes are nothing more than disasters waiting to happen. But for the bourgeoisie, nukes are an ever-growing necessity.

Germany has the third largest economy in the world—but almost no oil or natural gas. The West German industrial machine is the bedrock of the U.S. war bloc in Europe economically and politically and is counted on strategically by the Western imperialists in their arms buildup in preparation for another world war. A vital question for them is how to ensure the continued operation of industry here as things heat up in the world and they face threats of disruptions and cutoff of oil and gas from the Middle East, on which the West German industrialists rely heavily.

Thus, they have no choice but to build more nukes (of which they already have the highest concentration in the world). So despite the fact the decision to push ahead with building the nukes in Brokdorf and other places was sure to result in mass opposition for the bourgeoisie here, it is "the people be damned, we will have our nukes." In other words, this is a dictatorship and we are the dictators.

At the same time as West Germany's rulers did everything they could to block the demonstration, they called out their political troops and reserves to work against the movement from the other side. Both in building for and during the demonstration itself, the youth groups of the ruling Social Democratic Party and the Free Democratic Party (as well as the pro-Moscow German Communist Party) pushed a steady diet of reformism and non-confrontational pacifist tactics, like passing out flowers the day of the battle. While this failed, what did have some success was the limiting of the terms of the debate around the demo to tactical questions—chiefly non-violence

vs. confrontation—and obscuring some of the more fundamental questions involved.

In fact, the battle at Brokdorf marked not so much a resurgence of the anti-nuke movement, which has died down to some extent the last couple of years, but was more a reflection of heightening contradictions in Germany and the world. The economic crisis, the moves toward war between the U.S. and Soviet blocs—even though these questions weren't addressed by the organizers of the demonstration—have begun to impel growing numbers of people in Germany to more deeply question the nature of capitalist society, where it is headed and why it needs its nukes—and to take mass action in opposition to the bourgeoisie on this front.

In the days succeeding the battle at Brokdorf, the West German authorities congratulated themselves on preventing the construction site from being occupied. But for this "victory" the bourgeoisie had paid a stiff political price. In fact, it was almost laughable—in the last few months the West German bourgeoisie has repeatedly denounced the possibility of the use of Soviet troops against the Polish masses, and they had now turned right around and called out the troops against their "own" people.

The fact that they were willing to go to such lengths to make clear to people that dissent, any form of militancy, will not be tolerated is a very sharp indication of what they see ahead—crisis, social upheaval and war. Particularly here in Central Europe, which is almost certain to be on the front lines of World War 3, the prospect of such upheaval is a haunting spectre indeed.

To drive the point home, the West German authorities have declared their intention to hold as many of those arrested as possible liable for all costs, which they figure at 17 marks per hour per cop plus damages. Even at those rates the actual bill was quite a bit higher. □

# EL SALVADOR

Continued from page 2

communism.” Really Ronnie, can’t you muster anything better than that?

Many will also remember how the word “advisors” was used initially to cover up sending U.S. troops to Vietnam under the guise that they were nothing more than military coaches. Unfortunately that term has already been blown by the U.S. so Reagan had to go through the following contortions to make clear that the U.S. was not sending “advisors”—only “training teams.” Reagan explained: “Now, you use the term ‘military advisors’. You know there’s sort of a technicality there. You could say they are advisors in their training, but when it’s used as ‘advisor’, that means military men who go in and accompany the forces into combat, advise on strategy and tactics. We’re not—we have no one of that kind.” And to assure everyone that this is all cool he added, “. . . we have such training teams in more than 30 countries today. And we’ve always done that. . .” Imagine that—U.S. “training teams” in 30 countries, many not even in “our hemisphere,” training reactionary governments in such things as helicopter gunship counterinsurgency, warfare and how to fly, drive, and shoot U.S. weaponry. For a minute there we were under the impression that just maybe the U.S. was an imperialist superpower. Guess Ronnie dispelled all those rumors.

But the best was yet to come.

Question: “What, really, philosophically, is different from our going down to help a democratic government sustain itself against guerrilla activity, promoted from the outside—Soviet and Cuban aid, as we believe it to be, or as your Administration says it is—and Afghanistan? El Salvador is in our sort of geopolitical sphere of influence; Afghanistan, on the border of the Soviet Union, is certainly in their geopolitical sphere of influence. They went in with troops to support a Marxist government friendly to them. What—where—why isn’t that a parallel situation?”

Answer: “I don’t—well, I don’t think there can be a parallel there because. . . it was the Soviet Union that put their man as president of Afghanistan. And then their man didn’t work out to their satisfaction. So they came in and got rid of him and brought another man that they’d been training in Moscow and put him in as their president and then, with their armed forces, they are trying to subdue the people of Afghanistan, who do not want this pro-Soviet government that has been installed by an outside force.”

OOPS! Sorry “Mr. President” you blew it again. The parallels are in fact quite striking. Let’s just take El Salvador for one example. Just who is it that has backed every coup to go down in El Salvador, including the recent one which overthrew the former U.S. dictator, Romero. And where was the present fascist Duarte trained? Why, lo and behold, at a university called Notre Dame located in. . . the U.S. Stunning footwork. Simply stunning.

Reagan’s obvious difficulties here are not primarily rooted in the fact that he is a nit wit, but reflect a very real dilemma that the U.S. is facing. Their war moves in El Salvador are exposing the hell out of them and generating tremendous opposition the world over including right here in the U.S. of A. This exposure and a number of very real potential dangers involved in the escalating U.S. military role in Central America have set off a flurry of worried warnings and even some opposition to certain aspects of the current policy in El Salvador from a number of quarters in the U.S. ruling class itself and among the rulers of other U.S. bloc countries. This opposition from the ranks of the imperialists themselves, however, does not revolve around whether the U.S. should be stepping up its counter-revolutionary activity in Central America, or not. In fact while there are indeed tactical differences among the U.S. bourgeoisie about how to pursue U.S. imperialist aims in the area, there



Photo above: Young El Salvadoran guerrilla fighter.

is basic support for the Reagan administration’s policy. The great bulk of this opposition amounts to nervous admonitions that if the latest steps don’t work, the U.S. may find itself in even deeper trouble than it is now. A well-founded uneasiness lingers in the minds of the U.S. ruling class as they remind themselves of what happened in Vietnam not that long ago. And it’s not around how the U.S. got involved in that war but that they lost it badly—that it was a devastating defeat which seriously weakened them on a number of fronts at a time when Soviet social-imperialism was gaining strength and coming into its own as a formidable imperialist rival.

What is worrying the ruling class as it finds itself increasingly compelled to shore up its domination of its own “backyard” with direct U.S. military force (though all avenues of political maneuver are not yet exhausted) is that there are great dangers involved that could have even more dire consequences than what went down in Southeast Asia. The world situation today is not the same as it was then. In the next period the whole “ball of wax” goes on the line and what goes on now in the geopolitical jockeying and maneuverings of the superpowers will have a profound effect on the outcome of the eventual showdown. And it is these geopolitical considerations that are governing U.S. policy decisions relating to El Salvador. Obviously, the U.S. cannot afford to lose its grip on Latin America and yet it finds its past position as the undisputed (by any other imperialist power, that is) king of “its hemisphere” turning into its opposite—a situation graphically illustrated today in El Salvador and with the fall of Somoza in Nicaragua, but manifesting itself through the whole region. The very fact that it has been the brutal ruling power has made it a target of the struggle of the masses of people who refuse to continue to live under U.S. domination. And U.S. moves to deal with this situation inevitably aggravate not only this contradiction but others as well, including sparking heightened opposition to U.S. imperialism, increasing dissension within the U.S. bloc, and of course, sharpening the contention between the

two superpowers.

It is the U.S.’s very real problems and weaknesses that the Soviet Union is trying to take advantage of in Latin America, just as the U.S. is trying to do in areas of Soviet domination, like in Poland for example. And in El Salvador their maneuverings haven’t even mainly been on the directly military front although weapons have been sent (U.S. weapons captured in other countries from its world “exploits”) and certainly some among the guerrilla forces have received training from Cuba. In fact, a strength for the Soviets has been that it has made political advances within El Salvador and in other Central American countries. With the help of its Cuban frontmen and the pro-Soviet revisionist Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS), as well as pro-Cuban guerrilla leaders such as Salvador Cayetano Carpio of the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), himself a former general secretary of the PCS, the Soviets have a considerable influence in the Faribundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) coalition of guerrilla organizations and through this influence a significant role in the overall opposition coalition, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR). The FDR represents an alliance with more pro-U.S. bourgeois forces, including former junta members like current FDR president, El Salvador’s number one social democrat, Guillermo Ungo, and former leading members of the Christian Democratic Party. With this alliance the revisionist forces in El Salvador are trying to implement the strategy of “historic compromise”—hoping to gain a foothold in a new bourgeois government.

By its actions the U.S. has made it abundantly clear that it is not prepared to let such a coalition government come to power in El Salvador. This would only serve to further weaken their position. Thus it is left having to throw its weight behind an isolated fascist junta devoid of any popular support, wracked by a severe economic crisis, and the target of the armed struggle of the masses of people. With the Soviet Union challenging them throughout the world, the U.S. is being forced to

“draw the line against Soviet expansionism” in a country and a region where it finds its position weakening (and we emphasize this is a relative weakening and not necessarily impossible for them to turn around). With the possibilities for forcing a split in the FDR and isolating the pro-Soviet forces slim, and the chances of the junta actually being able to militarily defeat the opposition forces, even with massive U.S. aid, also slim, the commitment of U.S. troops on a large scale in the area looms as a very real possibility. Even the employment of proxy troops from U.S. regimes in Guatemala and Honduras is considered very risky as these countries, Guatemala in particular, are having their own internal difficulties. The chances for a quick victory with a U.S. invasion are not good and such a move would risk bringing the whole of Central America into the war. This would of course not only further expose the nature of U.S. imperialism—which runs counter to their necessity to couch their moves toward world war as the pursuit of peace—but also provide the Soviets with an excuse to play a much larger and open military role in the area. And all this holds great potential for even escalating further. The point here is not to say that all of this is going to come about next week or something, or in a straight-line way, but to highlight the big questions which are involved here and causing more than a few ulcers in U.S. ruling circles.

In the face of these looming contradictions, there has been some disagreement in the U.S. bloc around the recent moves in El Salvador. A number of its western European allies, led by West Germany, and Latin American dependencies, led by Mexico, have refused to back up the U.S. support for the junta. They are in favor of a more cautious approach and have pushed to set up negotiations to reach some kind of “settlement to the conflict.” They are more concerned about the “instability” in the region that is the result of the near unanimous opposition to the junta than they are about some Soviet influence in a new government. Mexico and some other Latin American countries are particularly concerned about their “own” very

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# Nuclear War Ruled "Irrelevant" in Plowshares 8 Trial

The trial of the Plowshares 8 is proceeding this week in Northtown, Pennsylvania. The 8 are accused of a variety of criminal charges arising from their actions in destroying two Mark 12A nose cones inside the King of Prussia General Electric plant with hammers and symbolically dumping blood all over the warheads. As Daniel Berrigan explained in court: "You have heard people talk about hammers. These things are the hammers of hell... The eight of us could not continue our lives in a kind of spurious normalcy while these things were being built in secrecy." In the course of this trial the defendants have continued to seize the opportunity to expose the moves of the U.S. rulers toward incinerating millions in WW III and to bring out the criminal nature of their nuclear plans. And in response to this, as well as the defendants' declaration that they were completely justified in doing what they did, Judge Salus has repeatedly bellowed, "Nuclear warfare is not on trial here, you are!"

Defendant John Schuchart has already been cited for contempt of court once and most of the 8 have been threatened with similar action numerous times for continuing to refer to the larger questions of what is going on in society, especially but not limited to U.S. moves toward war. Take the following exchange:

Defendant: "We suggest that these multiple and fabricated charges are intended to confuse the jury." The D.A.: "Your honor, these defendants are not treated any differently than any other criminal defendants in this country." John Schuchart: "That's right! Every single defendant in this county has charges fabricated! I want to emphatically agree!" Daniel Berrigan: "Two charges in the morning and thirteen by the evening. That's the situation of the poor and Blacks in this county, so then they have to plea bargain." Schuchart to the judge: "And you by your behavior are putting your stamp of approval on it!" Judge Salus: "You know that criticism of the judge in the performance of his duties on the bench is immediate grounds for contempt of court. That's blasphemous and could be contempt right there!"

This kind of exposure is, indeed, quite blasphemous to our rulers who are being put in an awkward position by the uncompromising and irreverent stand of the Plowshares 8 in the courtroom as well as by the widespread support for the defendants. All 8 have long

histories of religious anti-war activity and some have been jailed repeatedly. Phillip Berrigan was one of the Harrisburg 7 and served a long term in jail in that anti-draft case that attracted international attention and support demonstrations of thousands. Given this, the government has not been able to get over with its initial attempts to portray the Plowshares 8 as "terrorists," "violence-prone radicals," etc.

Further complicating the government's attempts to extinguish the spotlight being shone on plans for nuclear war is the fact that this trial has drawn the support of a broad spectrum of anti-war activists and well-known scientists and experts (as well as hundreds of supporters who have filled the courtroom and held daily protest vigils on the courthouse steps)—who are opponents of nuclear arms. Scheduled to testify for the defense were Harvard professor Emeritus George Wald, a biologist and executive committee member of the Federation of American Scientists; Helen Caldicott, president of Physicians for Social Responsibility; Robert Jay Lifton, M.D., professor in the Foundations Fund for Research in Psychology at Yale University (Robert Lifton has conducted extensive studies of survivors of Hiroshima); Philip Morrison, professor of physics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and collaborator in the development and first tests of nuclear weapons; and Daniel Ellsberg.

Also scheduled was Robert Aldridge, a former Lockheed aerospace engineer and designer of submarine-launched strategic missiles. He was to testify on the nature of the Mark 12A warheads and their intended use in modernizing the Minuteman III and mobile MX missiles which together are key in U.S. first strike plans.

Faced with the potential for further exposure by such prominent persons whose testimony would carry considerable weight in the realm of public opinion, the government has now come out with their latest maneuver behind a rather transparent screen of legal mumbo-jumbo. Judge Salus ruled that none of the defense's expert witnesses would be allowed to take the stand because their testimony would be "irrelevant"—a move which of course is right in line with the government's strategy of confining this trial to the question of the defendants' "criminal" acts which, allegedly, are the *only* reason they are being tried. "I have

agonized over it every night," Judge Salus cried in reference to testimony from the proposed defense witnesses. "Believe me, it is not relevant."

Of course there was considerably less agonizing by his honor over the relevancy of the prosecution's case. They have already been allowed to present their "expert witnesses": 14 FBI agents, an endless string of policemen, GE managers, security personnel, and one tool maker (with an American flag displayed on his lapel). Interestingly, all the GE employees, except for one, testified that they had no idea what the nose cones were used for. When that one, a financial expert, estimated damages at \$28,172, Daniel Berrigan sardonically asked if that included overruns. He then went on to turn the question of "damages" against his accusers: "What would be the extent of damage if one were used? Do you believe a weapon of mass extermination has any value?" Naturally, these questions were ruled out of order.

In view of the widespread support for the Plowshares 8, so far the government has been somewhat restricted in its freedom to simply slap them in irons with gags over their mouths as most certainly they would like to. At the same time, the demonstrators outside the courthouse have been restricted to the sides of the front steps, behind police barricades, as Judge Salus frequently reminds the jury to ignore "anything going on outside of the courthouse that may influence you." Demonstrators and spectators have been continuously harassed by the cops, to the point where the defendants themselves raised the issue repeatedly in the courtroom. The very same day, the defendants won a

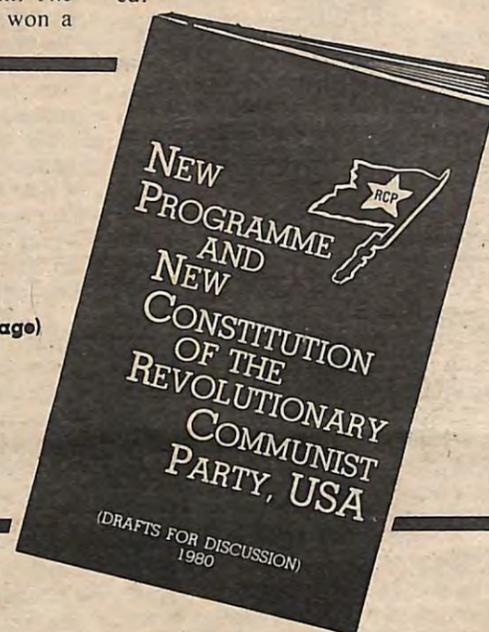
"promise" of a reduction to two deputies outside the courthouse, 11 supporters and one reporter who was taking photos at the time were arrested when a van of policemen suddenly appeared and busted them for "obstructing the sidewalk."

The Plowshares 8 have been assured that they can present their defense of "justification" themselves—that is, if they speak only to "relevant" points and don't make "speeches." In other words, forget the irrelevant issues of nuclear weapons and nuclear warfare. When Phillip Berrigan tried to inform the jury about the ruling barring the expert witnesses, he was overruled as Judge Salus amazingly added: "No one has muzzled you in any way. You have an absolute right to say anything you want."

But seeing that the government is determined to prevent them from conducting a political defense, four of the defendants in a bold move threw down the gauntlet to this whole kangaroo courtroom farce. On Thursday, after the lunchbreak, they defied the judge and walked right out of the courtroom, reappearing at a protest in front of the King of Prussia GE plant where they announced that if they weren't going to be allowed to present their defense in court then they would present it right at the scene of the "crime." As we go to press, it is not yet clear what the response will be to this latest challenge or whether the judge will issue warrants for their arrest. One thing that is clear, however, is that the U.S. rulers are not going to get off the hook in this trial quite as easily as they might have planned. □

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## EL SALVADOR

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volatile masses and the definite possibility that increased struggle against the U.S. and its fascist junta will spark off a situation that they cannot control. In addition, some of the actions taken by these countries are actually done on behalf of the U.S. in its behind-the-scenes maneuverings. Some U.S. bourgeois forces have suggested that Mexico or possibly West Germany might be in a good position to initiate negotiations between the FDR and the junta. And in fact, the latest maneuvering in this direction might be coming from the recent meeting in Panama of the Socialist International, the international social-democratic group headed up by the West German imperialists, which met specifically to discuss the situation in El Salvador. The meeting recommended that Willy Brandt, former prime minister of West Germany, attempt to "mediate an end to

the Salvadoran conflict." While more may be heard from this, so far Brandt has backed up the FDR in its demands that the U.S. participate directly in the deal-making. But the fact that all this jockeying and influence-peddling in Central America is going on by some of the U.S.' most important imperialist allies is a sharp reflection of the seriousness with which the U.S. bloc views the situation in "tiny El Salvador."

While twists and turns and more feverish maneuvering are undoubtedly ahead in this very volatile situation, the U.S. has overall continued to be forced into greater military escalations, combined with more economic aid to prop up the failing Salvadoran economy. Indeed, this latter aspect has been more emphasized by the junta itself, as it desperately tries to gain even a small measure of support from some forces other than U.S. imperialism. As for the worried expression within U.S. bourgeois circles that the U.S. might get bogged down in "another Vietnam," Secretary of State Alexander Haig has

repeatedly tried to assure them with countless variations on the theme—"This will not be another Vietnam, we will deal with the problem at its source" (meaning Cuba and ultimately the Soviet Union)—each one dutifully headlined and reprinted in the bourgeois press.

As part of this, the U.S. government has escalated its threats against Nicaragua as well, despite the fact that the Sandinista government has offered guarantees to the U.S. that it will prevent any arms flow to Salvadoran guerrillas. The U.S. admits that this is the case and, further, that no arms movement has been detected of late. But Haig announced that a previously secret 30-day ultimatum he had given the Nicaraguan government still has two weeks to go. Haig said that unless the U.S. is "satisfied" that the Nicaraguans are succumbing to U.S. bullying, it will not only formally terminate the \$14 million in aid that is currently suspended, but demand *repayment* of \$60 million in aid already "given" by the U.S. last year. Since the Sandinista

government is in dire economic straits, as the U.S. well knows, there is no possibility of this occurring; rather, it serves the function of "justifying" possible further military escalation by the U.S. against Nicaragua.

More bad news for the U.S. came out of El Salvador this week as heavy fighting between government troops and guerrillas—most of whom are teenage Salvadorans determined to fight to the death against U.S. imperialism—was reported for the fifth consecutive day in two strongholds of guerrilla activities. Since no reporters are allowed in the region—the town of San Lorenzo and the Conchagua Volcano region near the port of La Unión—details of the results are unclear, but these are areas where the junta initially claimed to be carrying out "mop-up operations." It is obvious the junta's claims of having the military situation under control in El Salvador are greatly inflated. It is also obvious that more desperate days—and desperate escalations—from U.S. imperialism are in the works. □

**Seattle: KZAM Goes Mainstream**

**New Wave Banned on Airwaves**

At midnight, February 20, Seattle's "Rock of the 80s" was put to death: the New Wave format of AM radio station KZAM was yanked from the air. Flanked by two cops, KZAM's general manager, Michael Henderson, arrived on the fateful night to make sure that the station's transition to a format of "soft rock" went exactly as planned. Earlier in the same week, Sandusky Newspapers, the Ohio-based corporation which owns KZAM, pulled the plug on another station playing New Wave and one which it also owned: KDKQ in Phoenix was hit with a sudden format change.

"We've created a monster and we've got to kill it," Henderson told a meeting of KZAM DJ's only two days before the change in the Seattle station. But Henderson knew full well that putting an end to a station that in its year-and-a-half of existence had been one of the most novel and innovative stations in the country would be no easy task. In the hope of muzzling the KZAM staff, Henderson offered them a job for 2 more months and severance pay if they would not express their opinions about the change from New Wave to "soft rock" on the air or in public.

The announcement of the death of "Modern Mono KZAM" triggered an immediate outpouring of protest. At noon on the Friday the station was scheduled to switch to the new programming, 50 protesters picketed the station. The following Sunday some 200 youth turned out for a candlelight rally, there to express their anger at the suppression of this music.

"To them radio is just a tool for making money," said one of the many University of Washington students at

the rally. "Oppress radio and you're a Nazi," read one message scrawled on the remains of a cardboard box. One group of youth chanted, "Save KZAM or Smash the State." Most attending the rally saw the banning of New Wave music from Seattle's airwaves as clearly a political move. "It threatens them because it's music that thinks," one woman active in the Rock of the '80s Committee told the *RW*.

Hundreds of petitions protesting the end of the "Rock of the '80s" are being circulated, with many supporters reprinting more copies of the petition on their own. A benefit to raise money for legal expenses to fight the format change is already scheduled for March 15, and a large number of local bands have volunteered to play. KZAM buttons are being worn now more than ever. Seldom, if ever, has the changing of the format of a Seattle area radio station brought on so much public attention and protest, and we hear that similar actions were sparked by the change at KDKQ in Phoenix.

In its year and a half lifetime KZAM played a big role in the growth of the new music scene in Seattle. The existence of a radio station airing a wide range of fresh, innovative music served to help break what one Seattle artist described as "a vicious cycle of mediocrity" of mainstream rock. KZAM's programming boosted the developing New Wave scene. New music clubs began to open up, music stores and New Wave art galleries grew, local bands gained much more exposure and the larger audience brought more bands from other states, Canada and England to Seattle.

A singer for the band The Enemy told the *RW* how 2 years ago the police broke up a concert they were at, break-

ing the singer's wrist and arresting the band for "obstruction" and "reckless endangerment" in the process. But with the New Wave station in the city their songs got some air time: "KZAM is the one station that would play our music." (A line from one of The Enemy's songs runs: "Don't ask what you can do for your country, ask what your country has done for you.") In fact, only recently The Enemy had been on a Sunday morning program that had local bands do the disc jockeying.

KZAM disc jockeys produced a whole series of programs aimed at promoting local music, including special programs a month ago which featured over 250 home-made tapes sent in by listeners, and had planned to do more of these specials in the future. Requests, suggestions and all sorts of listener input were a regular part of KZAM's programming. Programs like "Music for Moderns" in the "post-Modern Hour" gave special attention to records released by small independent record labels and to imports. Without KZAM, west coast bands like Dead On Arrival (DOA) and the Dead Kennedys would have never been heard on Seattle radio, and even well-known bands like the Clash would have gotten little air time. This is not to say that everything KZAM did or played represented a progressive direction. But its programming was clearly a break with typical pablum and generally expressed the rebellious mood of youth.

KZAM management claims that the only reason for the change to the "easy rock" format was a poor performance in the recently released Arbitron radio ratings, but this hardly passes as an excuse. As one KZAM supporter put it,

"Arbitron is the Nielsen of radio. These are the same people that brought you Charlie's Angels. Can you trust them?" For one thing Arbitron ratings in Seattle radio sample the entire Puget Sound area, but KZAM's weak signal can't be picked up in much of this area. Secondly the sampling techniques of the ratings companies are well-known for being biased against youth. Henderson is said to have never liked the New Wave format, and very little money was ever spent promoting KZAM-AM. This was reserved for what KZAM's manager called "a more viable product," the "soft-rock" format of FM-KZAM. That the political and social content of New Wave was starting to get to KZAM management was indicated in the fact that they refused to air a commercial for the Roscoe Louie Gallery, which has played an active role in promoting rebellious and New Wave art and which hosted KZAM's "Music for Moderns" poster contest. The commercial was for an art show satirizing the Pope and KZAM management banned it on the excuse that it was "offensive to Catholics." As one of the owners of Roscoe Louie put it: "They (the Sandusky Corporation) thought they could co-opt the music and make some quick money. But they found out it wasn't that easy to co-opt the music and they didn't make that much money at it."

So they shut it down. But, sorry Mr. Henderson, the hundreds of youth outside the KZAM studios chanting "New Wave! New Wave!" shows that it will take more than the Bee Gees to kill this particular "monster."

**The Brain**

Continued from page 15

complexity which "new" theoreticians of women's inferiority hope will relieve them of any worries about refutation as they unleash a torrent of distortions dressed up as neuro-science. Mark Twain once commented wryly that the business of science was to get "a pound of speculation from an ounce of fact." Paraphrasing him, we may say that the bourgeoisie's recent fascination with some of the superficial facts, or more accurately half truths and distortions, about the mind, stem from its desire to reap the proportionate amount of speculation from the three pounds of a human brain.

But what, if any, are the "facts" which they hope to seize on to prop up their timeworn arguments about the "innate inferiority" of women? In the main, the new trend being promoted does not openly argue for the inferiority of the female brain; rather, they say, it's just different. And how do they know? Well, certain studies show that boys perform better than girls on tests involving visual and spatial imagination, whereas girls excel on certain tests of verbal fluency. Now there is nothing new in the finding that males and females perform slightly differently at some of these tasks; it is a result that goes back over 60 years to a time when women—to testmakers—outperformed men on the original Standard-Binet "IQ" test in 1916. (The test items were promptly adjusted to equalize the male and female averages.) Of course, in recent years, the cultural and class biases built into "IQ" tests and the bourgeoisie's very concept

of "intelligence" have become increasingly exposed, so some of their army of hired prizefighters in psychology and neurobiology have begun exploring less embattled terrain—studies of brain structure and physiology—in an attempt to bolster their prejudices toward women, minorities, and workers.

To strip away a lot of details, their argument now boils down to this: boys' and girls' brains are "lateralized" differently between the two halves of the brain, so that in boys, the spatial abilities are said to be controlled by centers in the right side of the brain and the verbal abilities by centers on the left side, whereas in girls the centers for both functions are more evenly distributed between the two sides of the brain.

Second, those old reliables, the hormones. Some studies show that sex hormones are not only found in more primitive parts of the brain not directly related to cognitive function—such as the hypothalamus—as was previously believed, but are also found in the cerebral cortex, which is the center of rational thought; and it is argued that the differences between the two sides of the brain are under hormonal influence. Finally, it is argued that since these differences in brain organization between males and females are (allegedly) a result of purely biological factors, therefore the associated differences in function, as measured by performance on the tests of spatial and verbal ability, are also ultimately controlled by biological factors.

Virtually every link in this chain of "reasoning" has been demolished. Chorover, for instance, arguing that this model of the brain is simplistic, points out: "Brain scientists today understand that localization of function exists, but not in the terms used by the phrenologists. The sense of vision, for example, is localized in that there are discrete pathways and centers in the brain whose integrity is essential for seeing. But the

faculty of sight (or visual perception) involves an integration of activity in these primary visual pathways or centers and in many other brain regions as well. In general, the more complex and subtle aspects of behavior (such as spatial or verbal thinking—*RW*) arise not out of the independent activity of individual brain organs but rather out of the integrated functioning of both localized and diffuse systems." (*Ibid.*, pp. 148-49)

In other words, there is no causal relationship between differences in "brain lateralization," to the extent that they exist, and differences in performance. Further, the degree to which hormones affect brain lateralization and at what ages, is challenged from a number of angles; and more generally, the whole idea that brain organization itself may be profoundly influenced by environmental factors has been elaborated. In short, the whole "argument" that there are significant innate differences in the structure, organization and function of male and female brains which determine differences in mental ability does not, to say the least, stand up scientifically.

It's not even supposed to. In fact, the bourgeoisie is willing to concede, on paper at least, a certain equality in intelligence between men and women, so long as there are other allegedly biologically determined traits in men, such as greater aggressiveness, outgoingness, emotional stability, etc., which are said to be controlled by "more primitive" parts of the brain and which determine that men will come out on top in the social hierarchy anyway. In fact it was considerations more of this order that led Edward O. Wilson, founder of the "sweeping" pseudoscientific doctrine of sociobiology, to declare a few years ago:

"... My own guess is that the genetic bias is intense enough to cause a substantial division of labor (between the sexes—*RW*) even in the most free and most egalitarian of future

societies... Even with identical education and equal access to all professions, men are likely to continue to play a disproportionate role in political life, business and science."

So long as this "correct" conclusion is reached, the bourgeoisie doesn't care whether the path leading to it goes by way of the "rational" cerebral cortex or the more "animalistic" parts of the brain—the bottom line is that there is an elaborate biological myth about the inferiority of women that can be used. ||

**COMMUNISTS ARE REBELS**

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

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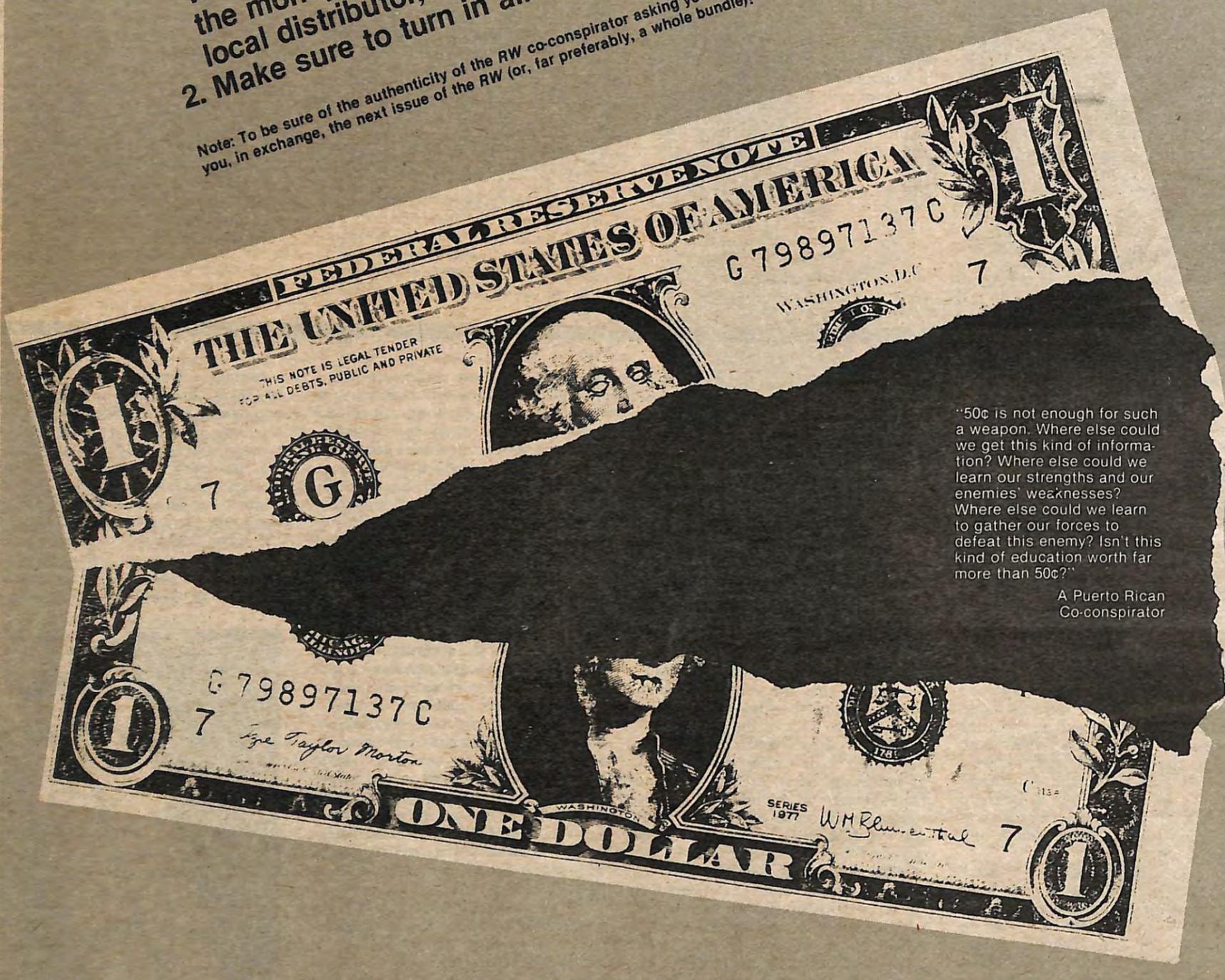
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## "Fetus Rights,"

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that even Reagan's morality changes—consistent with the needs of the imperialists. (Perhaps Reagan didn't know what he was signing, maybe he thought it was the death penalty.)

Since the beginning of class society, all morality has been class morality, expressing the interests of one class or another. While the imperialists promote their reactionary anti-abortion amendments, at the same time they are gearing up for war and face certain necessities in being able to draft women. As we have pointed out before, babies will not stand in the way of this, and it is likely that some so-called liberal elements will be quick to raise this point in the name of equality. Meanwhile, Reagan has thrown another sop to his Moral Majority social base which was whipped up during his election campaign, and which every major editorial at the time of Reagan's inauguration predicted would give him grief now that he was in office and actually carrying out the overall strategy of the U.S. imperialists. (Some of these Moral Majority elements have been so enfeebled by reactionary bourgeois ideology that they actually believe they have a mission to fulfill.) Nonetheless this sort of activity keeps them busy, keeps them riled up and creates public opinion for the new Confucian program of "restrain oneself and restore the rights." While they are at it, it would not surprise us if the Congress restored the "right of the first night" accorded to feudal lords. This would be completely consistent with the pro-life amendments since capitalism has always been the perfect marriage of family morals, rape and prostitution. Lenin said, on the question of

morality, "Is there such a thing as communist morality? Of course there is. It is often suggested that we have no ethics of our own; very often the bourgeoisie accuses us Communists of rejecting all morality. This is a method of confusing the issue, of throwing dust in the eyes of the workers and peasants.

"In what sense do we reject ethics, reject morality?

"In the sense given to it by the bourgeoisie, who based ethics on God's commandments....

"We reject any morality based on extra-human and extra-class concepts. We say that this is deception, dupery, stultification of the workers and peasants in the interests of the landowners and capitalists.

"We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interest of the proletariat's class struggle. Our morality stems from the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat." ("The Tasks of the Youth Leagues," *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 291.)

The denial of women's right to abortion is part and parcel of the general oppression of women. It is part of the attempt to keep women "in their place." The right to safe and legal abortions must be upheld. Likewise, forced sterilization must be opposed. Denial of abortion and forced sterilization are two sides of the vicious and forcible enslavement of women. The new proposed amendments have outraged many. It is unlikely that the bourgeoisie will be able to wish this through Congress without a huge fight. The amendments are bound to unleash broad forces, including many women, who are not in motion against them right now, and in the process, many will learn more about the system which spawns such enslaving ideas and turn their fury on the source of the problem. □

## What Chief Gates Regrets

One year ago, on March 12, 1980, several cops from the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), responding to a complaint about noise, interrupted a group of people in Hollywood. After "subduing" one with a choke hold (with which the LAPD has killed as many as 10 people over the last couple of years), they arrested the whole group of 14 for "disturbing the peace."

The 14 people arrested were a rabbi, Shlomo Cunin (the local head of the Lubavitch Order of Hassidic Jews, who was put in the choke hold), and 13 students. Apparently the sound of prayers coming from the West Coast Talmudical Academy in Hollywood was more than these cops could take. One of the arresting cops called the rabbi a "fat porker." While they were be-

ing booked, another cop told the students, "We have ovens waiting for you."

This incident created a considerable stir, so the LAPD launched an immediate "investigation." Last week, one year after the incident, police chief Gates concluded they were "not able to determine whether or not these acts did occur." Of course, while the rabbi and students all offered to take lie detector tests, the cops involved all refused, "on advice of counsel"! While never admitting any of this occurred, Gates "apologized" and said he "regrets" the arrests. Of course, what he regrets is not the rather typical brutality, but the exposure of the anti-semitism of the LAPD. □

## The Winter Soldier Investigation—1971

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anti-war movement within "respectable" bounds at the time. Its appearance in the Congressional Record touched off more controversy and exposure as other imperialist politicians objected to paying for something which so sharply exposed the nature of their class.

The impact of the Winter Soldier Investigations was far-reaching and struck deep chords among broad sections of the masses. Here were the soldiers themselves—those who had resisted, those who had been press-ganged, and even many of those who had gone to Vietnam, blinded by imperialist gangster logic, who found out the truth—testifying against the U.S. government, exposing the crimes of the imperialists, and in a living way, deepening people's understanding of the nature of the U.S. war of aggression, bringing it home to those who did not quite believe what the young revolutionaries had said about the war and even those who thought they were just plain crazy. Following the Dewey Canyon Three events, which were a fitting response by the vets to the exposure they had themselves helped to put out, local hearings were set in a number of cities around the country. A brother who was a VVAW activist at the time, recently told the *RW*, "It seemed like everybody wanted to testify at that point, even a bunch of guys who had

been a little hesitant, and maybe a little afraid, to speak out before." By the summer of 1972, the impact of the Winter Soldier Investigations and Dewey Canyon Three, combined with the overall mass upsurge of the times, had resulted in the growth of VVAW from a small organization to one with a registered membership of 17,000, with 8,000 more occasional members and many more actively supporting its efforts.

What's more, VVAW speaking engagements and Winter Soldier Investigations film showings were challenging long-cherished patriotism and other false beliefs about the U.S., before every variety of social, cultural and religious group in the country from the Ethical Culture Society in Brooklyn to a Methodist Church Center at the United Nations to schools and churches across the country. The exposures by veterans of U.S. war crimes in Vietnam were an important part in creating public opinion that the U.S. was waging an unjust imperialist war. The Winter Soldier Investigations certainly helped to create the "Vietnam syndrome" that the ruling class today is desperately trying to reverse, and is one good example from that period of revolutionary upsurge in this country of how exposure is a powerful weapon in the hands of the masses. □

# You Can't Break All The Chains But One

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that it's long since outlived any historic usefulness, and indeed it becomes clearer every day that its functioning is like a backed-up sewer spewing forth crap and crud all over the society and drenching and bathing us in this crap and crud every day. And it's against all this stinking filth that they call the greatest country in the world and the greatest possible system that the hatred of women as well as of men is burning. And of course the bourgeoisie, as much as it tries to paint the picture; as much as those who rule over us try to drum into our minds, that the masses of people in general and women in particular can play no positive role, can have nothing to say and especially nothing to do about all this; as much as they preach that there can be no way to bring about change and especially that the masses cannot sweep away at its foundation the capitalist system which gives rise to and backs up like a sewer spewing forth all of this; as much as they try to convince the masses of this, still in their own perverted and twisted way the bourgeoisie fears the masses of people. They fear that another nightmare (for them!) like happened in Iran can happen yet again in another stronghold of theirs and even in their own homeland. Much as they don't understand the masses of people and never can really or fully understand the masses of people, they can sense, like an historically obsolete beast headed for extinction, they can sense the hunter tracking them down.

As Mao Tsetung once so powerfully put it, they are like people who are frightened at the mere rustle of leaves in the wind. The mere sign of rebellion, of people standing up and determining not to be crushed and broken into slaves but to be free and rise up and cast off this burden of oppression, sends the bourgeoisie into a frenzy. Look at Houston, Texas.\* The lengths that the bourgeoisie is willing to go to, the degree that it is willing to drop its so-called "fair and impartial" procedures, and the degree to which it is willing to let drop its tattered "democratic" mask, indicates the fear that these slave-drivers of capitalism have in their hearts for the slightest sign of rebellion. And whenever the slaves become restless and begin to rise up and demand to live like people and no longer to live like slaves, as much as the capitalists encourage backward tendencies, as much as they bring to the fore their own spokesmen and spokeswomen, they still fear the rumbling and the rustling and the gathering of discontent and anger among the masses.

## Unite with and Lead the Struggle against Women's Oppression

They certainly fear the masses in this country, and they are paying particular attention and have since the upsurge of struggle against women's oppression in the 1960s and early '70s, to promoting the most backward tendencies, to promoting the most reformist schemes, the most utopian and unworkable notions of how women's emancipation and equality can be brought about. They're working overtime to promote their spokeswomen—from the empty-headed people like Rosalynn Carter to the loudmouths like Bélla Abzug—and it should be stated that dialectics teaches us that there is not necessarily a contradiction between an empty head and a loud mouth. The capitalists are working

overtime to promote these people and their own program, the program of a decadent and increasingly desperate ruling class, which at most grants a few tokens and the shows and varnish of equality in the upper reaches of society, in the boardrooms and in the military circles (and not even there fully), while the position of the masses of women is one of being further subjugated and oppressed and degraded by the functioning of this system and its rotting decay. And this makes it all the more important that the working class—the proletariat, the people in this society who are truly propertyless, who own no means to live except our ability to work—who really and truly and in fact (no matter how much they mock it, they will learn and they will be taught not to mock it!) have nothing to lose but our chains, it is of the utmost importance that the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, stand at the forefront and provide concrete leadership and direction to this struggle, as well as all others, give leadership and direction to the struggle of the masses of women and others against their actual inequality, against the thousand and one ways in which they are broken and degraded by the system. And more than that it is essential that our Party give leadership and direction and conscious guidance to the masses of women together with the masses of men in the all-around struggle against this system, uniting all who can be united under the leadership of the working class and its party, in order to bring this bloodsucking system down once and for all.

We have deepened our understanding through the struggle against that reformist and capitulation-minded cancer in our own ranks—those Mensheviks, sniveling sycophants of this system—that we cannot stand aside wherever the people are rising up against oppression. Of course we understand there will be erroneous ideas, just as there are even in our own ranks and just as there always are in the ranks of people first awakening and arising in struggle against oppression. Naturally, there will be mistaken ideas and erroneous ideas, reactionary or at least backward tendencies and influences, and the bourgeoisie will everywhere attempt to gain control and misdirect these struggles. But this is not a reason and must not be a reason for the class-conscious forces of the revolutionary class, the proletariat and its party, to stand aside from, and to chastise and wag its finger and to criticize from the side, the struggle of any section of the people—and tonight in particular we are speaking of the struggle of women, a most important struggle in this society. No! It's all the more reason for the class-conscious forces of the proletariat, led by the vanguard party, to plunge into the ranks of the struggling masses wherever they rise up against their oppression, to carry on all-around exposure of this system to lay bare the actual foundation and roots of the oppression people are striking back against and to develop that spontaneous outrage and outpouring of struggle into a conscious battle, united with all the various forces and strains of struggle to form the powerful battering ram that can knock and shatter this system apart and replace it with the rule of the working class and advance through socialism to classless society, communism, and actually fully begin human history for the first time in the history of the world.

## Ideological Struggle

And that takes me to the next question I want to speak to—the question of ideological struggle. We've talked about, or touched upon the material

and social conditions that form the basis of the oppression of women and the historical tasks before the working class in eliminating this oppression and how it's linked with the overall historical mission of the working class. But here, briefly, I want to touch upon the ideological questions that arise in connection with this, particularly among men...

There has to be an ideological struggle. How can we go out and educate the masses of people to the historic mission of their class, the proletariat; how can we talk about abolishing all exploitation, all oppression of the masses of people; how can we talk about sweeping away every remnant in which one section of society rides upon and lives parasitically off another; how can we talk about sweeping into the garbage bin all of the inequalities left over from capitalism—except one? How can we talk about doing all that and yet at the same time leave intact or take a liberal attitude toward one of the most important cornerstones of the foundations of capitalism—the oppression of women and the whole ideology of male superiority and the degradation of women that goes hand-in-hand with it and must go hand-in-hand with it? There is no way we can do this...

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## Equality Between Men and Women

Let's talk about the relations between men and women because this is a decisive question and another way that they keep us running around in circles and keep us divided and keep their system going. When I was a kid growing up there was this song—I don't remember the name of the group—but here was the message of the song: "If you want to be happy for the rest of your life, never make a pretty woman your wife. Go from my personal point of view and get an ugly girl to marry you." Now the whole point of this song was that women are nothing but a glittering little commodity, an ornament, and a piece of meat to be owned by a man. And a woman's role is to find a way to sell that commodity at the highest price by being the best-looking and having all the virtues that women are supposed to have according to the capitalist system and all of its ideology. If you are a man, why, you want to get a woman to do what she is supposed to do—to be your subordinate, to carry out all your duties for you, and to make your life tolerable for you. Then if you get your ass kicked every day on the job and on the way home you are degraded and humiliated by these pigs—if your life is madness out here, everytime you turn around they are trying to take another hunk of your flesh and you have to drink alcohol and pop tranquilizers just to try to make it through the week—that if they are beating the shit out of you every day and every time you turn around, then at least you can go home and be lord and master over your wife and kids. On top of that, this song comes out and says: look here, if you are really slick, don't just go in for the superficial thing, don't get yourself a pretty woman because while you might enjoy that for a little while, that might be something pretty to wear on your arm, a nice ornament and prize to show off, you are going to suffer for it because a pretty woman can leave you and go get another man. If she meets up to the standards of what is so-called good-looking in this society, she can sell her commodity for a higher price. She does not have to stay with you, she has got the freedom to break away from you. But now if you get an ugly woman, if you get a woman who does not meet the standards of what a woman is supposed to look like and be like and act like in this society, if you get one who does not measure up in that kind of way, she does not have any choice! Nobody is going to want her. She cannot sell her commodity but very cheaply. So therefore you can do any damn thing you want and she will go along with it. You can beat her and she will still put up with it. You can humiliate her and she will still put up with it. She will cook when you say cook, she will clean when you say clean, she will sit at

home while you run around—you can get over with anything you want as long as you have an ugly woman.

Now they have a little bit different version of the same song out, if I am not mistaken, it is by Dr. Hook and it is called, "When You're In Love With A Beautiful Woman." Again, they come at us both ways. This is what they tell you, in all the soap operas and the Harlequin romances and all the rest of it: that if you find this mysterious and perfect mate for you, if you find the perfect love somewhere in the streets of Paris amidst a bunch of intrigue or even down the street from you—in your very own neighborhood, the girl next door or the man next door—if you find the perfect love, then the heavens will open, the lights will come down, the breeze will blow softly, and you will go off into the sunset with a happy life forever. None of these contradictions that are going on all around you are going to affect you any longer. And just in case they do, they have the soap operas to tell you, "Well shit, after looking at what these people have to go through all the time, my problems don't look so goddamn bad."

So on the one side they come at you and say: "Well, listen, if you find the perfect love and the perfect relationship then everything is going to be all right. Your whole life may be miserable all the way around—we may beat the shit out of you day in and day out and we may take more and more of your flesh—but nevertheless as long as you have that good thing going at home, as long as you have that perfect relationship, everything is going to be all right." Then on the other hand they come at you from the other side, because those lies do not measure up to reality, because those myths and illusions explode in people's faces, then they come along and try to find a rationalization for it. So here you have Dr. Hook out here and they have a new variation of an old theme, "When You're In Love With A Beautiful Woman." Now if you listen to what they tell you most of the time, you would think that when you are in love with a beautiful woman that everything would be unbelievably beautiful. When you finally get that prize that every man is after, when you get that good-earning commodity, a high-priced piece of meat that you can use and show off—man, you are going to have it made! Everything is going to be beautiful! But No! They come at you this way with this song and tell you just the opposite. When you are in love with a beautiful woman—it is miserable! It is unbelievably terrible. You will suffer from one day to the next and never be able to have any peace—and why? Because think about it, when you have a beautiful woman, yeah, that is a high-priced commodity, but the problem is that everybody else wants it. This possession that you have and that you are so proud of and that you show off, everybody else—not only your enemies but even and especially your best friends are going to try and take it away from you. When you are in love with a beautiful woman you have to watch your friends the song says. When you are in love with a beautiful woman, when you have this high-priced commodity, you can never rest at ease, you can never feel contented, you can never leave your house without having to worry and wonder who is sneaking in the back door while you are leaving out the front, or who is climbing in the window while you are driving down the street. Now think about it, if there was nothing else wrong in this whole country, and there are a hundred and a thousand other things wrong and monstrous and criminal with this system, if there was nothing else wrong with this whole system except the rotten and filthy outlook that a song like this puts out—that would be reason enough right there to rise up and overthrow it and bury it once and for all. What is this song telling us?—that a woman is not really a person, is not really equal to a man, should not equally take part in society and all the affairs of state and the whole world but is really just a possession, is really just a piece of meat, is really just a commodity. A man

\*This refers to the 1978 Houston Rebellion, which was sparked by the brutal murder of Joe Torres at the hands of the Houston police.

may get his ass beat every other way around but at least he can be lord and master and commodity-owner in relationship to that woman.

#### You Can't Eliminate Every Form of Oppression Except One

I am going to say this straight up, some of these guys out here will say, yeah, they dig revolution but they cannot go along with this part about equality between men and women. Bullshit! If you are serious about making revolution, if you are serious about abolishing every form of exploitation and oppression, if you are serious about sweeping away all this humiliation and degradation that we have to put up with and be subjected to every day—even as we resist it—if you are serious about sweeping away this system and all its monstrous crimes, how are you going to tell me that you want to eliminate every form of oppression except one, every form of inequality among the people except one, every form of degradation in society except one? You can't do it! How are we going to achieve equality and unity between different races among the masses of people and overcome all the other divisions they put in our ranks and yet still maintain among ourselves a position of slavemaster and slave, of commodity-owner and owned, of possessor and possessed between men and women? No, we cannot do that! And why should we want to? We want a world free of any form of exploitation, oppression, discrimination, and degradation among the masses of people. We do not want, it is not the outlook of our class, and it is no consolation—let's say for men—to have somebody to kick around and somebody to lord it over. If you want to put it straight out, that is the same outlook that tells somebody who is white, who is miserable, who is poor, who has worked hard all his life, and who has nothing but the same future to offer his kids: "At least you are better than the niggers or spics so you ought to go along with it and help us keep them down—and yourself in the process." There is no difference. We cannot afford any of it. We have to sweep all of it away and bury it forever. Our class, the working class, is going to rise up and remake this whole world in our image: the image of cooperation, equality, and the thoroughgoing complete abolition of every form of exploitation and oppression and degradation, and advance humanity to a whole new stage where nobody owns anybody or oppresses anybody in any form whatsoever! And if we are going to do this, we cannot break all of our chains but one; we cannot break all of our mental shackles but one. We have to break and smash and bury them all forever!

#### Two Different Kinds of Violence

... The nature of the beast that we are dealing with, the nature of its very system and what it has in store for us right in the period ahead make it clear that they will go to any length and stop at nothing, not only to try to crush revolutionary leadership that rises and leads people to rise up against them, but in an all-around way to try to preserve and prolong their bloodthirsty system here and around the world. And when you are dealing with a system that lives by and can only maintain itself by, not only exploiting and oppressing people, but constantly expanding that empire of exploitation and oppression at the cost of the suffering and the bloodshed of millions of people throughout the world, it is an idle and indeed a dangerous illusion to think that any other way than the revolutionary violent uprising of the working class and the masses of people in this country could ever put an end to all this. It is a dangerous illusion...

You see the fundamental error of people who advocate non-violence in an all-around way is that they don't draw any distinction between the class nature of different kinds of violence. They don't take the Marxist scientific method of asking, which class does it serve, what kind of purpose is it being used for, what would it lead to in the final analysis? Because the objective of com-

munists, the objective of our Party and all genuine revolutionary communists throughout the world, is not to maintain society and humanity at this backward and degraded and barbarous level where people are forced to go off and commit mutual slaughter in the millions and tens and hundreds of millions to preserve a blood-soaked system. Our stand unquestionably, definitely and beyond all doubt, as Mao Tsetung put it, is to move beyond the stage where mankind ever again has to engage in mutual slaughter and warfare. But the only way to move beyond that is to rise up, take up guns in hand—to violently rise up and overthrow the rulers of this system who are the cause of this suffering and of the fact that people are forced to go off against their own will, against their own interests, and slaughter each other only for the benefit of a handful of bloodsuckers.

We may wish to see some other way to bring this about, but there is no other way to bring it about. And failing to understand this fails to draw a fundamental distinction between the uprising of the oppressed to overthrow and finally bury their enslavement and all forms of enslavement, and the violence of the oppressor to keep the masses of people in an enslaved condition. Let's use a simple example. You mean to tell me that if a woman goes out here somewhere in society and is subjected to the brutality and degradation of being assaulted and raped, that in the face of that, in the face of such a vicious assault, such a demented attack, she fights back and even better than that takes a gun out of her purse and blows that vicious attacker away, you mean to tell me that there is no distinction between the violence of that rapist committing that degrading act, and that woman's violence in fighting back against that? You mean to tell me that by engaging in that violence, she degrades herself and corrupts herself on the same level as her attacker? Wake up and realize what is going on in the world and what it's actually about!

Now our objective, our aim, and our goal, and the highest vision that we have is not to see every woman have to walk around with a gun in her purse in order to be able to blow away or at least fend off rapists. No! Our vision is clearly to move beyond such a rotten, corrupt, decadent, degenerate and filthy society as this, where the question of people raping each other will be once and for all eliminated from society and where never again will the possibility of rape even exist. That's our objective! And rape, and all the other evils that are inflicted on us, that we have to suffer under, will never be eliminated until we do become politically aware, become politically armed, and when the time is ripe, become literally and militarily armed and organized with a conscious and clear revolutionary military strategy and tactics to go up against, defeat, overthrow, shatter and disintegrate the armed forces of these oppressors in order to be able to move society and ultimately all of mankind beyond the stage where a handful of people control, choke and suffocate the very means to existence for the masses of people and keep people in a degraded condition.

And when we have done that; when we have not only overthrown this system, but when we have advanced the revolution together with our brothers and sisters all over the world. When all of mankind is free and every basis has been uprooted upon which any form of enslavement or exploitation by one person over another, or by one group of society over the majority of society. When we have finally uprooted and eliminated any basis for the division of society into classes, into exploiters and exploited. When together with that we have therefore eliminated any necessity and any basis for warfare of any kind—at that time, at that great time in the history of the human race, the people as a whole will hold a grand celebration and finally will be able to carry out the long talked about and sung about dream and idea of finally burying and destroying every weapon of destruction or turning them into tools of creation and construction for the benefit of mankind as a whole.

At that time, beyond question, when there is no longer any more basis for exploitation and oppression and therefore no longer any need or basis for warfare—at that time the people of the whole world will once and for all bury and destroy or reconvert into productive means every weapon of war and destruction. At that time, *but not one minute before that*. Because we know we're going to have to shed our blood in order to be free of this oppression. And we know that we're going to have to maintain our political consciousness, maintain our political awareness, remain politically armed and at the same time we're going to have to maintain our political rule of society, including our organized military force and keep guns in hand in order to defeat enemies from within and without who would try to destroy, drag back, corrupt, and defeat our revolution.

This is not a game that we're playing. The lives and the suffering of millions of people here and around the world are not playthings. And the cause that we have declared that our Party is determined to lead the working class and masses of people in this country in carrying through, the historic task that is placed on our class, the working class, is not a gimmick. It's not a plaything, it's not a game. It is a life and death question for hundreds of millions of people, and more than that it is the historic task of the working class internationally and represents an historic advance for all of mankind. And for the oppressed to rise up and fight back against their oppressors, for them to take into their hands the means to first overthrow, and then to suppress and prevent from rising again the exploiting and oppressing classes in society, in no way can be compared to the vicious brutality that is brought down to keep the various forms of enslavement of the people and to chain society and the great majority of the people in this backward condition. It is not degrading, it is uplifting for the masses of people to take guns in hand and rise up and fight back against and more than that to overthrow and thoroughly defeat their exploiters and oppressors. Ask the Iranian people, once again, were they degraded or uplifted when

they rose up against the Shah and went from unarmed demonstrations to an armed struggle to crush and break his stranglehold over them? Ask them—and they have delivered their message loud and clear. And like the song said earlier, what they did there, we can, we must and will do here.

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#### No More Tradition's Chains Shall Bind Us

The revolutionary proletariat in this country needs the fullest participation of all the oppressed. "No more tradition's chains shall bind us" is how the *Internationale* goes, and this should be our outlook too. The masses of women who are awakening to political life today and the millions more who will enter the political arena, the arena of class struggle, need to have their energies and concentrations channeled away from domestic drudgery and other traditional tasks and channeled toward our revolutionary tasks.

There are some programmatic steps we can take today that can help make this a reality. We need to combat liberalism in the revolutionary ranks that has people tailing behind or even joining in with our fellow workers around backward crap around the woman question so that we can be accepted as "one of the guys." (This applies mainly to men, but women can fall into this too!) Of course this crap is a contradiction among the people and should be handled that way—but blindly going along with it fosters age-old divisions in the working class, corrupts the proletariat's ranks and holds back the full participation of women.

We need to pay more attention in our agitation and propaganda to the political and ideological questions that hold back or stand in the way of women participating in the struggle. We need to do more exposure around the oppression of women and to unite with the masses in progressive struggles around this question, and we also need to take whatever practical steps we can to make it possible for women, especially those with young children, to participate as fully as possible in the proletariat's revolutionary activities.

These steps are small, but are nonetheless important ones, aimed at bringing forward the masses of women into the overall political struggle to end the tyranny of this capitalist system. Until class society is overthrown, the chains on the masses of women cannot be totally eliminated—but they will be weakened tremendously as we build up our mighty movement to overthrow this system that has not only caused tremendous suffering for the masses of this country, but the world over. We will overthrow these bloodsuckers and break through their shackles. The working class will liberate the productive forces from these dinosaurs and the absurdity will no longer exist of gigantic socialized production controlled, fettered and strangled by individual ownership—where society can send people to the moon but tells each family to scrape and fend for itself. Gone will be a society of untold waste of the physical and mental activities and even the lives of the masses of people in the capitalists' endless drive for profit and in their wars over who shall rule the roost and plunder the most.

Let's cast away the silly illusions, phony hopes and ridiculous models that our rulers give us. Getting "into" soap operas, reading tons of books on how to raise a good child or even burying our heads in some textbooks at a university to try to get ahead in this rat race—none of this is going to change the course of what's going on in the world: the inevitable clash of reactionary decadent war-mongering capitalism with the most revolutionary class the world has ever seen—the proletariat. Let us join this struggle and this struggle alone—pouring our energies into the fight, the work and the study that will allow the working class to emancipate itself and all humanity.

**Break the Chains—Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force For Revolution!**

#### MILITIA WOMEN

February 1961

*How bright and brave they look, shouldering  
five-foot rifles*

*On the parade ground lit up by the first gleams of  
day.*

*China's daughters have high-aspiring minds,  
They love their battle array, not silks and satins.*

Mao Tsetung

