

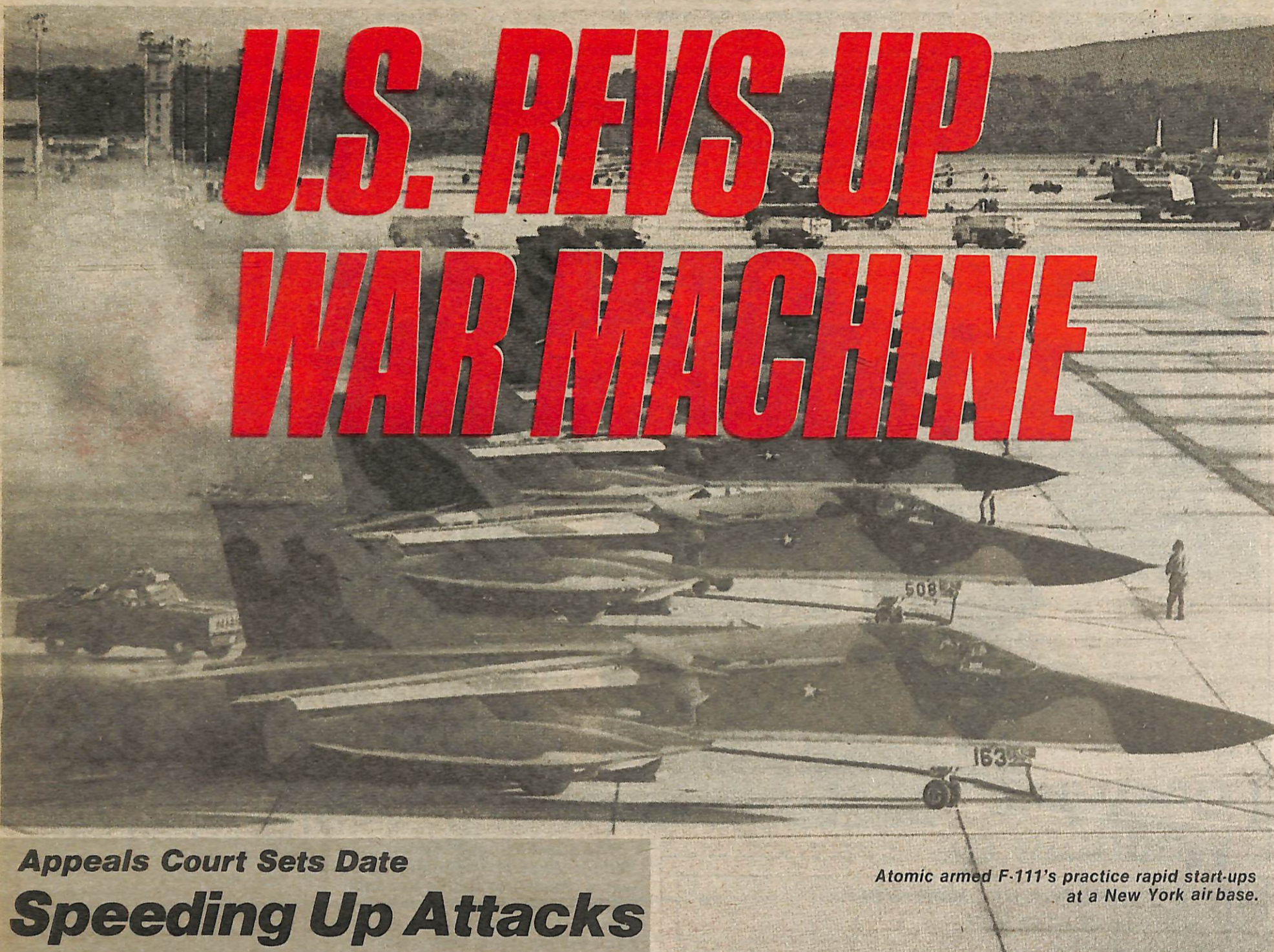


# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

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## Afghanistan: Superpowers Spar



# U.S. REVS UP WAR MACHINE

Atomic armed F-111's practice rapid start-ups at a New York air base.

### Appeals Court Sets Date Speeding Up Attacks on Bob Avakian

If you've been thinking that the case of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants was securely resting on a back burner to simmer somewhere in a court of appeals in Washington D.C. for a while—then move on back 'cause you just might get burned! The heat's been turned up and the timer is set to go off in a matter of weeks, signaling a new and escalated attack.

On January 11, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals ruled in favor of the U.S. government's motion to expedite their appeal of the dismissal of 25 felony charges against the 17 defendants last November. As the U.S. prosecutor had requested in that motion, the court indicated that a hearing to rule on the appeal itself would be set for early February. The court also ordered that the defendants respond to the government's appeal brief in writing by turning in their reply brief to the government by January 29, 1980. January 29! This is some "coincidence" in this increasingly open political trial—the very anniversary of the police attack on the demonstration that gave rise to this case in the first place.

Although the government's motion to expedite the appeal is in one sense just "routine" procedure (the U.S. government does in fact routinely appeal and move to expedite such appeals in cases like this one where government indictments are dismissed before a

trial)—and certainly the appeal court's ruling in favor of this motion was not unexpected—the apparent "routine-ness" of these latest developments cannot be allowed to obscure what is really going on here.

For one thing, the U.S. government has shown itself to be highly skilled at carrying out sharp attacks under the cover of "routine procedures" and "protecting your rights"—in this case, your right to a speedy railroad. Contained within this most recent court order is yet another front of attack. "Routinely," the court sends out orders such as these to all defense attorneys in the case—but not this time. Three of the six defense attorneys' names were entirely left off the court order on expedition. Instead, a new attorney's name appeared on the document, that of a lawyer never before involved in the case. It seems this new attorney (who works for the public defender's office, as do two of the three attorneys "left off" of the document) has been appointed by the court to represent at least some (and possibly all) of the 17 defendants, taking the place of their former court-appointed (and/or possibly even personally retained) attorneys.

It is quite probable that the court will try to justify this attack with the explanation that it was only trying to "simplify" matters and it hoped to

Continued on page 11

In case anyone had forgotten, the world was reminded this week of the symbolic location of the United Nations—smack in the middle of Manhattan Island, only blocks away from Wall Street, a one-hour flight from Washington D.C. In the halls of the majestic UN building, "world opinion," as it has come to be called, was marshalled by the U.S. imperialist ruling class against its arch enemy, the equally imperialist Soviet Union. In a move coming close on the heels of Jimmy Carter's statement that "the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is the greatest threat to world peace since the Second World War," the General Assembly passed a resolution condemning the Soviet incursion.

"The General Assembly," stated the resolution in part, "...reaffirming the inalienable right of all peoples to determine their own future and to choose their own form of government free from outside interference...reaffirms that respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state is a fundamental principle of the Charter of the United Nations, any violation of which on any pretext whatsoever is contrary to its aims and purposes...."

A stunning cry from the U.S. imperialists, is it not? All people must determine their own future! All people must "choose their own government free from outside interference"! And by all means, let *no one* violate the "territorial integrity and political in-

dependence" of any state! Oh, no—this is a "fundamental principle of the Charter of the United Nations."

Of course, the adherence to these "fundamental principles" on the part of the U.S. imperialists is well known and is even illustrated by their relationship with most of the countries which signed the resolution. May we ask: whose "future" was "determined" when the Allende government was overthrown in Chile? Did the people of Haiti "choose their own government" when the U.S. installed the murdering Duvaliers? Was the "territorial integrity and political independence" of the Dominican Republic defended with the landing of U.S. troops?

Naturally, nobody believes that the U.S. imperialists give one hoot about such "fundamental principles"—least of all the U.S. imperialists themselves. The meaning of the resolution is that it represents further movement by the U.S. to tighten its war bloc against the Soviets. It is also a shoddy attempt to convince the world that because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the stepped-up maneuvers of the U.S. are entirely justified and simply in "retaliation" against Soviet aggression. But sorry, U.S. imperialists—there are *two* imperialist superpowers, not one. *Two* aggressors, not one. And any claims to uphold worldwide freedom and independence are as empty as your attempt to absolve yourselves from any complicity in the coming world war.

Continued on page 10

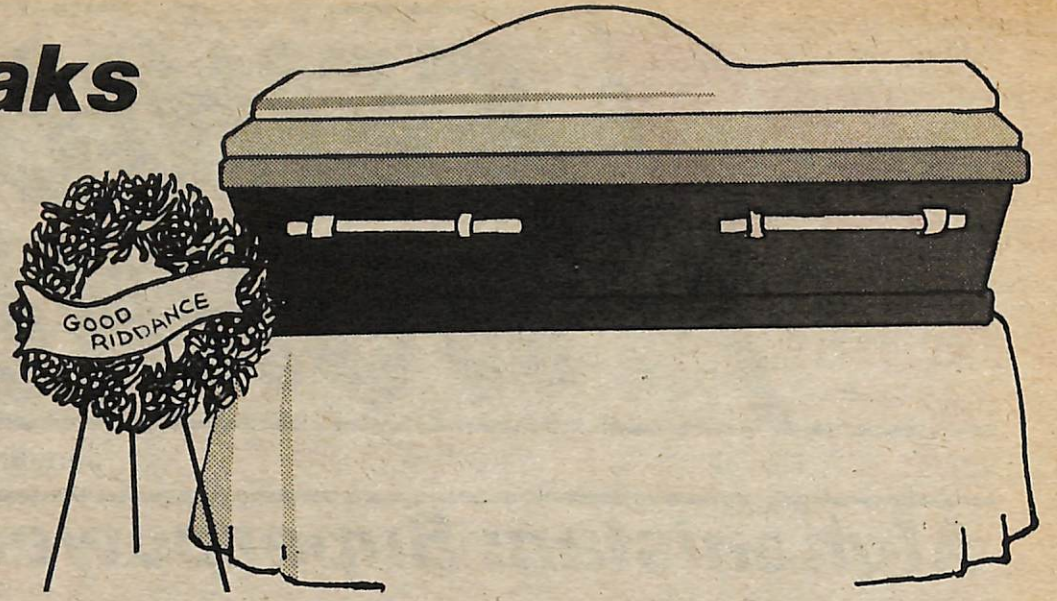
# Bloated Toad(y) Croaks —Finally

George Meany died on Jan. 10. He was the bloated toad "labor leader" who more than anyone else in the last quarter of a century symbolized the shameless bootlicking and undying loyalty to U.S. imperialism of the fattened-up class collaborators who base themselves on what Lenin called the "labor aristocracy" (the upper crust of the workers bribed with the imperialists' superprofits from their worldwide plunder). The working class and all those who burn with hatred for oppression are only disappointed about one thing regarding the death of this bourgeois hack—that we were unable to get our hands on him first.

Meany's funeral was indeed a fitting tribute for a man who devoted his entire life to the loyal service of reaction. As his embalmed corpse was hauled up the steps to the cathedral in downtown

Washington, whose walls were appropriately covered with golden mosaics of lions lying down with lambs, 1,400 hundred of "the rich and powerful"—representatives of the decaying and rotten system he sought to preserve looked on. Among them were Jimmy Carter, Walter Mondale, and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, along with the entire cabinet, members of Congress, several ambassadors, and corporate executives. There were none of the "plain people" Meany was supposedly a spokesman for in attendance. But even at this scene those who he claimed to speak for could not be silenced (see story below).

He was, of course, eulogized in a manner that the bourgeoisie reserves for one of their own with numerous trite, boring, and pompous praises by equally pompous and boring dinosaurs.



Monsignor George Higgins said, "The cause of freedom everywhere (read: freedom for the capitalists to exploit and oppress—RW), both at home and abroad, has been greatly enhanced and, in these troubled times is now the more secure because he did his job so well."

Meany was a product of and a servant for U.S. imperialism's world-wide

consolidation after World War 2. His career as a union hack had begun a quarter of a century earlier, in 1922, when he became business agent of New York City Plumbers Local 463. As his sister explained, "He wanted to do something in life other than be a workman." He rose steadily and quickly to the top of the New York State Federation of Labor, and in 1939 was appointed secretary-treasurer of the AFL.

His "interest in foreign policy and international affairs" led to wartime collaboration between the AFL and the OSS—the forerunner of the modern-day Central Intelligence Agency. While the working class internationally was shedding its blood in World War II, George Meany and his OSS buddies were skulking around for U.S. and western imperialism, sabotaging any revolutionary workers' organizations and communist trade unions that were developing in western Europe during and after the war. When the war was over, they even recruited former Nazis to help organize anti-communist trade unions!

This was the inauguration of Meany's treachery on an international scale, and of his (and the AFL-CIO's) long and continuing association with the CIA, an association which Meany stubbornly denied until his dying day.

George Meany was bourgeois from head to toe. His aspirations were those of the bourgeoisie, and his outlook was theirs. He recognized that there was a relationship between the imperialists' ability to reap superprofits abroad and their own well-being (and his as well) at home. As a result, he geared the international policy of the AFL (and later the AFL-CIO) in such a way as to make that organization a blood-stained partner in crime of U.S. imperialism. Under Meany's tutelage, the AFL-CIO, in conjunction with the CIA, has played a role in virtually every U.S.-engineered coup and attempted coup since the end of World War 2.

But Meany didn't squander all of his reactionary backstabbing on the working classes of other countries. He saved plenty for "his own" workers as well. His service to the ruling class in this country included bending every effort to keep the workers' sights narrowed down to the most basic economic issues and to steer their political activity into harmless reformism. A rabid anti-communist from the outset of his career, Meany was quick to attack any budding revolutionary sentiment that might be developing among the workers or in society as a whole.

Meany is perhaps best remembered for his die-hard support of U.S. aggression in Vietnam. He worked overtime trying to popularize the notion of the working class in this country as a bunch of neanderthal flag-wavers like the hard-hats in New York who attacked anti-war demonstrators in 1970. Did the ruling class want to whip up some patriotism, some national chauvinism against the Koreans, against the Vietnamese, against the Iranians? This was Meany's cup of tea.

One of Meany's hallmarks was his consistent attacks on the Soviet Union both when it was a socialist country, and later when capitalism was restored there by Krushchev and Co. who soon turned it into an imperialist superpower—the chief worldwide rival of the U.S. bourgeoisie. Interestingly enough, however, George Meany and Nikita

Continued on page 10



The guest list read like a "Who's Who" of Washington. It was a "must" for Carter, Kennedy, David Rockefeller and their ilk to attend. Over a thousand in all, each getting out of their black limousines—the "prominent" people in their three-piece suits and their wives in mink stoles.

The scene was prestigious at St. Matthew's Cathedral. George Meany, paraded around as the "leader" of the U.S. working class, was now getting a king's funeral. Another fringe benefit for fifty years of faithful service to the U.S. ruling class.

As the pallbearers solemnly brought out Meany's luxurious casket, suddenly an unexpected, but highly appropriate, eulogy was delivered. From out of nowhere came two representatives from the mills of Chicago, as well as an unemployed Black woman. The declarations for May Day 1980 were boldly thrust onto Meany's casket. The declaration contained this message: "It's long overdue for the slaves of this country to break openly and powerfully with the slavemasters. The image of the U.S. working class as a contented and ignorant bunch of fools must be shattered and destroyed."

Within seconds, Secret Service agents pounced on the revolutionary workers, but it was too late. The words were posted on Meany's casket: "... marching in the streets on May 1, 1980, we will be saying in a way unheard of before in this country, 'Capitalist, the working class—not your stable backbone of society, but your gravediggers—have arrived.'"

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**May Day—Opening Shot**

# 1,000,000 Leaflets

Over a million leaflets across the country.

"They are calling on workers to take history into their hands May 1st!" The Detroit T.V. Channel 2, local news announced that the May Day 1980 committee will be distributing 100,000 leaflets in Detroit in the next couple of days. Their cameras panned the main gate of the Dodge Main plant, deserted at 10 A.M., covered with May Day manifestos and symbols. They focused on a red banner "On to Revolutionary May Day!" and a Black worker proudly holding up a copy of the *Revolutionary Worker*.

The news had been drawn by the sacrilegious action of two Washington D.C. workers who slammed manifestos on George Meany's coffin. This action opened up this week of mass leafletting coast to coast—1,500,000 leaflets in major cities across this country.

The leaflet answered the question for all those who have been wondering *what* day won't they work, and brought the powerful image of what we can accomplish on May Day 1980. "Picture it," the leaflet said, "thousands of pri-

soners escaping—defiantly off the assembly lines, and out of the classroom doors, refusing to be the ignorant nobodies they say we are, proclaiming our real worth...tired bodies...usually just extensions of their machinery—revived, thrusting clenched fists militantly into the air... We will march, all nationalities, our own unity

smashing the lie that we can never get it together. Men and women side by side. A multitude of languages, merged together in one powerful voice. Red flags raised like bayonets."

The challenge has been thrown down. The call is out. The first broad offensive in a campaign that will culminate at May Day. If the ruling class and their press

were shocked and amazed at two workers speaking for our class denouncing *their* bloated toad in the midst of this funeral regalia, just wait until they see thousands waking up and mobilizing their fellow workers and inspiring others to step forward on May Day 1980. ■



**RCP Issues Call:**

## Enlist in Revolutionary May Day Brigades

"If they think they've seen political mobilization so far, wait till you see what's in store for building Revolutionary May Day."—Bob Avakian, RCP Chairman, at the Nov. 18 rally in Washington D.C.

The Revolutionary Communist Party is issuing a call to those who urgently see the need to wake up our broader ranks to volunteer to join Revolutionary May Day Brigades. These brigades will travel to key battle areas, spreading experiences and heightening this fight as a nationwide effort of our class.

The storm around May Day will be built mainly through local efforts in the industrial and urban centers of this country, and the major cities where workers and others will march on May 1. May Day will be built in these cities by drawing forward and activating new revolutionary-minded workers in a way never seen before in this country. At the same time, these Revolutionary May Day Brigades will build boldly for Revolutionary May Day and help buttress these local efforts, leaving behind a much more politically hot situation for the locality to fan and defend around May 1.

These brigades will be traveling for the three months from now right up to when May Day will occur, striking with lightning force to electrify the scene. We can see from the volunteers who went to Washington D.C. to fight the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants what a powerful impact we can have on our class and society overall by concentrating our forces in the key fronts of the battle, striking while the iron is hot.

Just imagine: Brigades of fighters from the working class of all nationalities, native and foreign-born, students and others who enthusiastically see the potential for May Day 1980, converging together on cities and also hitting other areas of capitalism's powers; challenging their class brothers and sisters to actually march May 1 in their true revolutionary interests and join the ranks of the international proletariat; miners from the hills of West Virginia; brigades of auto and steel workers; workers from the garment sweatshops that rot in the shadows of New York skyscrapers; workers in defense plants that churn out preparation for World War 3—stirring up those cities lingering under the stillness of once booming factories.

We're calling on workers and others to make the sacrifice of leaving home and family to carry the message to distant neighborhoods, factories, mills and unemployment offices—living proof of the strength our class has when we're unleashed, a potential that will bust loose on a grand scale on May Day 1980. And as these brigades roll out, thousands more must come forward to donate and raise the much needed funds to bring this about.

These brigades will be running ahead and diving into the quickening movement, linking up with those who have already stepped forward; laying the ground work, summing up the lessons, getting down on the questions, beckoning many others to step out. And together with local forces, they will leave behind a force many times greater than before, awakened, galvanized and steeled in its determination to make its mark on the '80s—so that on May 1 a significant developing section of the sleeping giant, the army of the proletariat, will be roused, preparing for the future prospects and possibilities as never before.

We must strike with all our fury in building Revolutionary May Day, pull out all the stops that have held our class back. Contact the *Revolutionary Worker* in your local area right now to answer this call, to be part of the Revolutionary May Day Brigade and/or to be part of these efforts in your localities, including donating and raising funds to get these brigades on the road soon. ■

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A key article from the *Revolutionary Worker*

50¢

**A Year,  
A Decade  
of  
Historic  
Importance**

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

**New Pamphlet!**

# Olympics: Only Imperialist Politics Allowed

As part of the response of the U.S. imperialists to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Carter announced in his televised speech that "although the U.S. would prefer not to withdraw from the Olympic Games scheduled in Moscow this summer, the Soviet Union must realize that its continued aggressive actions will endanger both the participation of athletes and travel to Moscow by spectators who would normally wish to attend the Olympic Games."

On cue, Senator Charles Percy and a host of other faithful bourgeois mouthpieces began screaming about how the U.S. ought to sponsor a "Free World" Olympics outside of Moscow to make the Soviets "pay a price". And now Secretary of State Cyrus Vance has suddenly set a mid-February deadline for the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops or face a likely American boycott of the Moscow Games, adding that he does not expect the Russians will comply.

It was only four years ago that the U.S. was yelling about how the Olympics are "not the place for politics" when more than 20 African and Arab nations boycotted the Summer Olympics in Montreal to protest the tour of South Africa by a New Zealand rugby team that served to legitimize the vicious repression of blacks by the U.S.-backed apartheid regime. But, of course, what the U.S. imperialists obviously mean by "no politics" at the Olympics is no politics but *theirs*.

For decades the U.S. rulers have been accustomed to utilizing the Olympic competition for their own political purposes. Millions have been spent grooming and training U.S. athletes (as well as those ripped off from countries the U.S. imperialists dominate) and pointing to them as evidence of "American superiority." The Games have been promoted time and again into a patriotic, flag-waving circus where every four years the U.S. demonstrates its national "greatness," flaunting it over the supposedly "second rate" countries. An indication of this political atmosphere is the fact that, since 1908, the U.S. has been the only nation that refuses to dip its flag to the host nation in the traditional opening day Olympic parade!

In fact the Olympic Games have always been a field for intense political, as well as athletic, rivalry between the big imperialist countries. As far back as 1936, Hitler used the Berlin Games as a showplace for his racist theories of a "master race," even having his girlfriend, Leni Reifenstahl, make a spectacular propaganda film to glorify and idealize Nazi "superiority" in a celluloid montage of glistening and athletic German bodies. And of course, the U.S. also pulled out all the stops, exhorting *its* athletes to beat the pants off the Germans and thereby prove that it was American, not German, imperialism that was great and powerful.

After the great Black athlete, Jesse Owens, blew Hitler's bit by winning four gold medals against Germany's best, the U.S. rulers wasted no time in demonstrating that their politics were no less racist than the Nazis'. As soon as the exhausted Owens refused to attend one of an endless series of grueling exhibitions scheduled in Europe, he was promptly suspended by the AAU and thrown out of amateur sports for life. "When the 'Buckeye Bullet' next raced," relates Harry Edwards in his book, *The Revolt of the Black Athlete*, "it was for money against horses and motorcycles in sleazy hippodromes in Mexico and Reno."

But beyond this, the U.S. imperialists have been especially adept at using the Olympics as a stage to further their particular political goals. For two decades the U.S. refused to allow the then-socialist People's Republic of China into the Olympics, as part of their strategy of isolating them from the rest of the world, insisting that Taiwan was the official "representative" of the



Chinese people. But in 1976 when the Canadian government acknowledged world opinion and refused to admit the Taiwan team instead, President Ford threatened to pull the U.S. out of the games in mock horror at this "intrusion of politics" into the field of Olympic competition!

Likewise in 1968 the U.S. tried unsuccessfully to readmit South Africa to the Games after being forced to ban them in 1964. Avery Brundage, the U.S.'s man who headed up the International Olympic Committee for decades, spent much of his time personally lobbying on behalf of this bloody white-racist regime his masters wanted so desperately to legitimize.

### Black Athletes

But the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City proved that it was not only the imperialists who were capable of entering the Olympic political battlefield. The



Remember the Mexico City Olympics of 1968—when the U.S. Committee shrieked that "sports and politics don't mix"? The sort of politics they had in mind was symbolized by the clenched fists of Black athletes Tommy Smith and John Carlos (who were kicked off the U.S. team for their act of defiance), and the Black berets (above) of Lee Evans, Larry James, and Ron Freeman. Another "intrusion" of politics that year was Mexican students protesting government repression and U.S. imperialism; 400 of them were shot down. Above, Mexican army guards the gates of the stadium against any further manifestation of this kind of politics.

Black Liberation Movement was sweeping America and a revolution was exploding among Black athletes in sports programs all over the country. Many were sick of being used by the U.S. rulers to garner gold medals by the truckload, tired of standing in Olympic stadiums listening to the Star Spangled Banner—which in Edwards' words "was a monument to the hypocrisy of America"—and then returning to face the degradation and discrimination that is life for Black people in the U.S.

So when Tommie Smith and John Carlos—the gold and silver medal winners in the 200 meter dash in Mexico City—mounted the winners stand, they did something that will not soon be forgotten. As the national anthem began to play they bowed their heads and, in unison, raised their gloved fists in the Black power salute—a powerful political statement that was heard round the world. Both men were im-

mediately suspended from the Olympic team and given 48 hours to get out of Mexico as the U.S. rulers blew a gasket. The "injection of politics" into the games had suddenly become "intolerable," especially since the Olympics were being used as a political forum against *them*.

But now the first word out of the U.S. rulers' mouth is "Boycott!" And since they have always managed to inject *their* politics into the Olympic arena in one form or another, the fact that they are now so openly using the Olympics as a political bludgeon is a sure sign of trouble, of their escalating contention with the Soviet Union which is heating up to the boiling point. Even before Afghanistan events, the U.S. had threatened a pullout if Israel—their reliable "Middle East enforcer" which the majority of countries cannot stomach—was barred from attending

Continued on page 11

## Jan. 29—Contribute to the Million Dollar Fund Drive

On the first anniversary of the demonstration in Washington against Chinese Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping—a demonstration which upheld Mao Tsetung and revolution and was attacked by police—the RCP is calling on workers and all oppressed by this system to contribute their money to the successful completion of the Million Dollar Fund Drive.

As Mao Tsetung said, "A thousand deeds cry out to be done." This is more true every day, making this fund drive even more important.

There is the *Revolutionary Worker* to produce and get into the hands of tens and hundreds of thousands; there is May Day 1980 to build, a day that will mark a big leap forward or backward in the revolutionary movement; there is the reactionary blitz and war moves to expose and defy around Iran and the whole world; there are agitators and propagandists to train and dispatch to every corner of this country to spread the word, to produce *Revolution* magazine and books to spread and develop

the science of revolution; there is the pressing need to build the unity of Marxist-Leninist organizations internationally so we can more effectively take on our enemy, imperialism, which is also international. All these pressing, immediate tasks require money.

And on the anniversary of the D.C. demonstration in an attack whose openly political nature has sharply escalated since a year ago, the government is oiling its legal machinery for another, more serious, attack on RCP Chairman Bob Avakian.

All this takes on much more urgency as developments in the world accelerate. As Bob Avakian stated in his 1980 article, "As the decade opens, the future, the possibilities of war and revolution open before us. Now so too does the press of the immediate tasks in the present, which become all the more important, which reach their full significance when viewed in light of the future and the long term goals we cherish. We see the outlines of the period before

us—right before us and the stormy, tumultuous decade of the '80s—and we see clearly, that, as the Central Committee report of our Party put it, 'The question is not whether heavy things are going to be happening, the question is whether they're going to be one-sided or two-sided in a basic sense.'"

And, to have our side, the side of the working class led by its Party, prepared for the revolutionary storms ahead requires financial support now. Therefore, on January 29, we are calling for a Million Dollar Fund Drive Day.

We are urging all advanced workers to contribute a day's wages or even a week's wages—as much as you can—to take your modern-day slave wages and with your eyes on the future, donate it to end wage slavery. We are calling on all those oppressed by this ravaging system who support any and all of our Party's efforts against this system and its attacks to give as much as you can. Ask your friends and family to step forward. What is there that is more important than this? ■

# POLITICIANS VIE FOR MOLDY MANTLE OF M.L. KING

The 1980 observances of Martin Luther King's birthday, falling in a presidential election year, saw still more politicians falling over one another to associate themselves with the "King heritage." The familiar story of King as the martyred savior of Black people, preacher of nonviolence and brotherhood, sounded from pulpits and platforms across the country. At a large memorial service in Atlanta, Georgia, first lady Rosalynn Carter and Coretta Scott King together led the crowd in singing "We Shall Overcome." In Brooklyn, Mayor Koch was addressing a memorial service at a Black church when thirty Black protestors shouted Koch down, denouncing school and hospital cuts and widespread police brutality. The pastor, Rev. Marshall, ordered the organist to start playing "America the Beautiful." "And the choir began to sing until police got the situation under control. The mayor and I just stood in the pulpit singing. He didn't flinch and neither did I," Marshall told reporters.

In one sense, scenes like this shed a revealing light on the real nature of King's "legacy." But more important than the routine scramble of politicians to pick up a piece of the Black vote by making ritual appearances at memorial

meetings (in the same way as the hacks fight it out to march at the head of the St. Patrick's Day Parade) is the persistence of the myth itself and its hold among the people. And that stubborn myth is the idea that Martin Luther King, like the Kennedys with whom his career was so closely identified, truly represented and fought for—and died for—the aspirations of Black people and all poor people for equality, freedom and liberation.

This fable is played out in a popular way in the song which throws the two Kennedys and King together as the "good men" who "always die young": *Anyone here seen my old friend Bobby, Can you tell me where he's gone, / Thought I saw him walking on the hillside with Abraham, Martin and John.* The association of King with the Kennedys isn't just because all three were assassinated. In the early '60s, at the peak of the civil rights struggle, King consistently tried to use his prestige in the Civil Rights Movement to bring the mass movement under control and confine it within the narrow channels acceptable to (and useful to) President John Kennedy and the bourgeoisie as a whole. In return, Kennedy and his political associates proped up King, as the "man with the ac-

cess and the power," the only Black leader who could really get the ear of the president and "make things happen." King's prestige and saintly aura rubbed off on the Kennedys; the Kennedys' power rubbed off on King—and today, the Kennedy legend and the King legend are tied together.

Malcolm X, in his speeches, exposed again and again the direct links existing between King and the Kennedy wing of the bourgeoisie. In his "Message to the Grassroots," Malcolm ran down what happened at a meeting of King and other bourgeois Black "civil rights leaders" at a Kennedy-owned hotel, the Carlisle of New York. The meeting took place right before the march on Washington—a march which was at that time "growing out of control" in the wake of the Birmingham rebellion:

"...They had a meeting at the Carlisle Hotel in New York City. The Carlisle Hotel is owned by the Kennedy family; that's the hotel Kennedy spent the night at, two nights ago; it belongs to his family. The philanthropic society headed by a white man named Steven Courier called all the top civil rights leaders together at the Carlisle Hotel. And he told them, 'By you all fighting each other, you're destroying the civil rights movement. And since you're

fighting over money from white liberals, let's set up what is known as a council for united civil rights leadership'...

"Once they formed it, with a white man over it, he promised them and gave them \$800,000 to split up among the big six; and told them that after the march was over they'd give them \$700,000 more..."

"As soon as they got the setup organized, the white man made available to them top public relations experts; opened the news media across the country at their disposal, which then began to project these big six as the leaders of the march. Originally they weren't even in the march...but then they became the march. They took it over."

"And as soon as they took it over, it lost its militancy. It ceased to be angry, it ceased to be hot, it ceased to be uncompromising...If you think I'm telling you wrong, you bring me Martin Luther King and A. Philip Randolph and James Farmer and those three, and see if they'll deny it over a microphone..."

King was so useful to the bourgeoisie during his lifetime because he was able to speak passionately and convincingly of the oppression and suffering of Black people at the same time as he promoted the illusion that certain reforms and an alliance with "good" bourgeois men like the Kennedys could eventually

Continued on page 7



The King "Legacy" in the making, Birmingham, Alabama, April 1963. While crowds fought police in the streets defying fire hoses and dogs, (Upper left) King called for a "Pilgrimage of Prayer." (Lower left) In May over 1,000 demonstrating youth were arrested and herded into the yard of City Jail. King, who had also been arrested, was released at the insistence of Bobby Kennedy to negotiate an agreement. (Upper right) The terms of the agreement become clear. After all the ar-

rested youth are expelled from school, King announces that the struggle should be taken off the streets and fought in the courts. (Lower right) King's funeral was attended by many representatives of the ruling class, who recognized his value to them. Note Robert Kennedy, Archbishop Cooke of New York, Gov. George Romney of Michigan, Mayor John Lindsay of N.Y., and the symbol of monopoly capitalism, Nelson Rockefeller.

## Iran Demo Jan. 26 Berkeley At It Again

On January 26 in Berkeley, California, in numbers too large to be ignored by the ruling class, people are going to take a stand. They will take to the streets in a major march and rally. As the Iran Day Committee "Call to Action" puts it, "We will not go along with the 'never has American been so united...to go to war in Iran' atmosphere being created by the daily barrage of lies and half-truths reported in the U.S. press. We declare our *disunity* with the past U.S. domination of Iran and their plans to regain control either through a CIA-backed coup or direct military intervention. What we do will be decisive."

All over the country, millions have been sickened by the reactionary flag-waving, the anti-Iranian hysteria that's being pumped up by the politicians and media. It's long past time that there is another force massing out there for people to turn to other than the blood-thirsty designs of the U.S. rulers as they try to halt the forward march of the Iranian revolution and reinstate a fascist, pro-U.S. dictatorship over Iran as

an important part of their preparations for World War 3. Under these conditions an action taken by even one section of progressive and revolutionary-minded people can have real historic significance, inspiring and activating people nationwide and driving the bourgeoisie nuts: "Damn, Berkeley again!"

A number of forces have stepped out to help lead the way forward, united behind the slogans, "Send the Shah Back! U.S. Out—No Military Intervention! Stop Attacks on Iranians in the U.S.!" Endorsements for this demonstration are streaming in, and an initial and partial list of organizations and individuals includes: Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center, Casa De Nicaragua, the Abortion Rights Movement, Revolutionary Communist Party, Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, Black Thoughts UC Berkeley, National United Workers Organization, African Activist Association UCLA, Solidarity Bloc With the Struggles of the Salvadoran People, Dan Siegal (Fruitvale Law Collective,

former ASUC president, UC Berkeley), Charles Schwarz (professor, Dept. of Physics, UC Berkeley), Hilda S. Cowan (Peace and Freedom Party, Alameda County), George Laine (President, L.A. Newspaper Guild Local 69), Ramone Vakiva (President, American Indian Student Association, Cal State L.A.). (Organizations to which individuals belong given for identification purposes only.)

This broadening group is going into action January 26. The Iran Day Committee will be an inspiration to all progressive people around this country, many of whom were demoralized and confused by the lies and half-truths we are hit with every day.

This demonstration has high goals that it must and certainly can accomplish. And one of them is certainly that by Monday, Jan. 28, the daily papers around the country will be running outraged letters from reactionary fools deploring that "Berkeley" (written with a sneer) "certainly hasn't changed," perhaps suggesting that its citizens "go to Iran" if they don't like it here. And millions of people will read these words, laughing, knowing that we've begun to turn the tide, that we hit a nerve. ■

## Dog of Dogs Still on Run

This week marks the first anniversary of the day that the Shah—self-proclaimed King of Kings, Lord of Lords, and U.S. butcher par excellence—fled in panic from Iran, leaving behind him his 14 some-odd gold-lined palaces and a garbage can filled with empty whiskey bottles. And it is certainly fitting that he has been fleeing ever since, from Egypt to Morocco, from the Bahamas to Mexico, and now from the U.S. to Panama, where he is presently begging the U.S. rulers to perform the impossible feat of finding him a home where he is wanted.

"Nobody can overthrow me—I have the power," proclaimed this towering tyrant in 1978. And armed to the tune of \$18 billion by the U.S., backed up by torturing secret police and a murdering army, he and his U.S. overlords appeared terrifying indeed. Yet in the months that followed, the Shah would choke on his words as the Iranian people erupted like a pent-up volcano and blew this strutting puppet from his peacock throne. In their millions they rose up again and again, defying the bullets of the U.S.-trained Imperial Army, grabbing history by the shoulders and storming the palaces of "heaven."

The departure of the Shah was an extremely heavy blow to the U.S. imperialists. And with his departure, they immediately maneuvered in attempts to minimize their defeat. Bakhtiar, a hand-picked flunkey appointed by the

U.S. to run things for the Shah, fled for his life during the salvos of the February insurrection as the people surged toward the doors of his offices. And after him, the U.S. pinned their hopes on Prime Minister Bazargan, a wolf in sheep's clothing, who worked to strengthen U.S. influence in the government. The Imperial Army was still intact and was a haven for U.S. intrigue and plotting. And the telephone of the U.S. Embassy rang off the hook, as the imperialists schemed their return to complete power, with the aid of Iran's big capitalists and landlords.

Just as the U.S. imperialists appeared to be squeezing in the back door, the masses of Iranian people rose up again and slammed it shut. They seized the U.S. Embassy and called it out for the spy nest that it was, exposing the continuing plots of the U.S. to reestablish their stranglehold on Iran. Bazargan was forced to quickly resign, along with Foreign Minister Yazdi, another U.S. man whose allegiance was to Washington. And they were followed by Bani Sadr and others as, one by one, these openly pro-U.S. elements were battered by the anger of the people and knocked down from their high positions.

But cornered rats lash out. And today, one year after the Shah's departure, the plotting and the scheming of the U.S. imperialists in Iran continues,

albeit not from the embassy in Tehran. The regional significance of Iran to the U.S. has grown all the sharper since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan—an event which it has used as a reason to vastly beef up military presence in the area. A high ranking Washington official recently bragged that the situation within Iran's borders is "spectacularly unstable". And to be sure, the U.S. is attempting to stir up contradictions among the people of Iran for its own ends.

But against these odds—the Iranian people are standing firm in their demands that U.S. imperialism get completely out of Iran and that the Shah be returned to pay for his crimes. They have righteously proclaimed this first anniversary of the Shah's departure as "Burn the Shah Day" and called for it to be celebrated around the world—including Panama! Meanwhile, the Shah is sitting in his Panamanian villa, undoubtedly emptying more whiskey bottles, and feverishly poring over travel folders. Ironically, the one place that would surely accept him—the U.S.-backed fascist government of South Africa—has probably been vetoed by his advisors. For it was there that his father, the notorious Reza Shah, died in ignominious exile after being booted out of Iran before him. ■

## Goon Squad Responds to NUWO Debate Challenge

The Boston chapter of the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) recently answered a call put out in the Dec. 23 issue of the *Revolutionary Worker*. The call was issued in response to AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland's attempts to rally workers behind the U.S. imperialists' deepening attacks against the Iranian revolution. It demanded open debate over the question of Iran in the factories of this country.

The Boston NUWO chapter handed out a leaflet to workers at the General Dynamics shipyard in Quincy, Mass. It challenged Kirkland to "defend your master's blood soaked flag...let the two lines be out there, the internationalist stand of the working class in solidarity with the Iranian revolution, and the putrid reactionary stand of the AFL-CIO." Lane Kirkland did not show, but the reactionary stand of the AFL-CIO did. In the shop, many of the hated union official and company kiss-asses, and members of the South Boston Marshalls (a reactionary, KKK-type organization), immediately began to trash the debate. A union steward said to one of the NUWO members, "I have friends in the Klan to take care of you." They ran around the shop hysterically crying, "They're going to burn an American flag!"

The debate was scheduled for

January 10th at lunchtime, outside the main gate of the yard. Before the NUWO arrived, more than a dozen cops were lurking around along with other slimy characters from the press, like Bill Harrington of Boston's Channel 5 News as well as a *Boston Herald* reporter. Neither of these "journalists" were contacted by the NUWO. As the lunch whistle blew, a herd of reactionary goons came stampeding out of the shop, forming a wall between the NUWO and the rest of the workers who had come out to discuss the question of Iran. The cops watched approvingly as these monkeys began kicking and beating the NUWO members. The workers were disgusted and angered by this premeditated assault. One Black worker, outraged, pulled a NUWO member from the claws of the goons as he shouted to them "You're damn right I'm with them, now get the fuck out of here." The cops eventually broke up the brawl, telling the NUWO members to leave.

Later that night the NUWO members that worked at the shipyard got phone calls from workers expressing their outrage. One worker called Revolution Books in Boston condemning the reactionaries as "fascists sons-of-bitches" and "ignorant fools". He spoke for a lot of his fellow workers saying, "talk

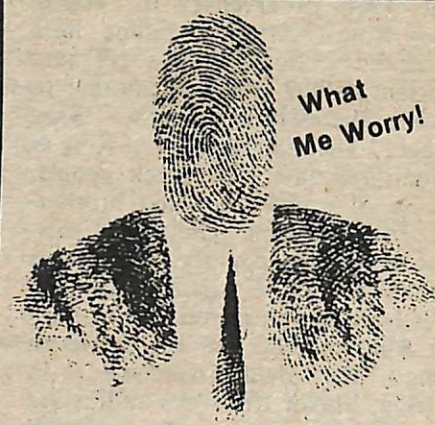
of freedom and democracy won't make it. We know there ain't none. A lot of guys didn't dig what happened."

But this sentiment was consciously excluded that evening on the Channel 5 news, as they tried to put forward these Klan and South Boston Marshall types as the typical yard workers. One reactionary and a known Klan supporter was interviewed by Bill Harrington of Channel 5. He said, "I don't care what kind of person you are, you're going to come down here and protect your flag." The portrait painted here of the working class was clear—workers are nothing but the cheering squad protectors of the red, white and blue.

The attacks on the NUWO stepped up in the days that followed. Among other things, a NUWO member was suspended from General Dynamics. But what are these capitalists and reactionary union hacks afraid of? If the workers are nothing but flag-waving fools, as they would have every one believe, then what is there to worry about?

Of course, they have everything to worry about. Far from proving that no willing ears exist among workers for revolutionary politics, their reactionary attack on the NUWO proves the opposite. ■

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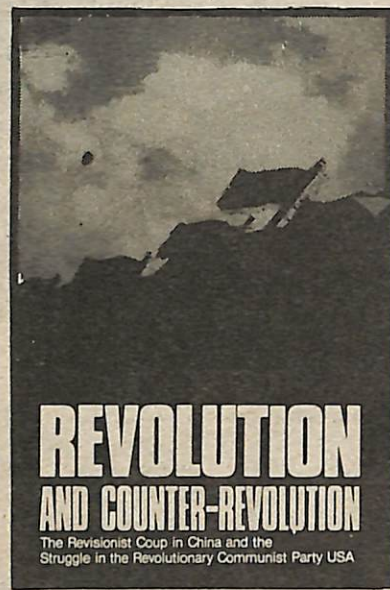


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# Iran's Latest Export - U.S. Newsmen

The U.S. press, noted for its arrogance around the world, was "exported" from Iran last week. Friday, January 11, saw some 100 of them packing up their expensive gear and hightailing it out of Iran. The Iranian government had charged that the U.S. press had been focusing all their attention on the embassy hostages' captivity and not why they were being held. Oil Minister Ali-Akbar Moinfar, speaking for the Revolutionary Council, explained that the Americans were being expelled "for reporting in a biased manner and insulting the Islamic revolution and Islamic beliefs. The government has decided that it cannot tolerate this any longer." West German and British journalists were also put on notice that they were close to being tossed out.

Predictably the U.S. let out a howl. "No amount of censoring can make the world forget about the hostages inside the embassy," wailed ABC. "It will not long retard the accounts of continuing unrest and political deterioration" warned a *New York Times* editorial. These barkers for imperialism are telling the truth when they vow to continue their hatchet job on Iran's revolution. And they're quite right in admitting that it doesn't matter whether they are in Iran or not; for all the hackneyed and fictitious trash they ground out from Tehran, they might as well have stayed in the U.S. in the first place. While in Tehran, their reporters spent most of their time commiserating with each other about the Iranians' "humiliating abuse of Americans" and looking for a drink. (The Islamic government forbids alcohol.) Moreover their dispatches were carefully "edited" by their bosses in the States, anyway, since Iran is too hot an issue to allow any honest reporting to slip in, even if they did any.

What really enrages these deans of the "free press," however, is that Iran has called out their reporting for what it is—U.S. imperialist propaganda. The bourgeoisie's constant complaints about how the Iranians have been trying to "manipulate" the news is a classic case of the thief yelling, "I've been robbed." When one of the hostages, Marine Corporal Gallegos, admitted that no harm had come to him in an NBC interview last month, all of a sudden he became the "alleged" William Gallegos. When the 3 American clergymen visited the hostages at Christmas and reported that they were fine, again the chorus was heard, "The

Iranians are using this trip for their own propaganda purposes." All of this is pure gangster logic—We can spew out any distortions and lies on behalf of the U.S. that we want, but the Iranians can't say what they want—especially since it's the truth.

The Revolutionary Council's decision undoubtedly reflects the Iranian people's feelings of disgust over the U.S.'s news coverage. One Iranian official said, "It's what the whole nation wants." But at the same time there looks to be a darker side to the Revolutionary Council's decision. They are hoping that by removing the U.S. press—"this visible source of anger"—that this will cut into the students' political leverage. Abol-Ghassem Sadegh, the director of foreign press at the Ministry of National Guidance, announced that with the U.S. press gone "the students might be more relaxed... I think it will be good for Iran, the U.S., and the hostages," for it "could lower the temperature." This decision may well be linked to as yet unconfirmed reports that Khomeini has agreed to UN Secretary General Waldheim's proposal to mediate between the U.S. and Iran, around the "compromise plan" of an international tribunal on the Shah and U.S. policy in Iran in exchange for the U.S. hostages' release.

The majority, at least, of the Revolutionary Council want to get the hostages freed to cool things out in the streets. One of the high-ranking officials told American newsmen before they left that "the students should not be allowed to think that they are the only reliable interpreters of the Imam's (Khomeini) wishes and ideals." These bourgeois forces are feeling very threatened by the revolutionary upsurge within Iran, which endangers the "stability" of their own class' political power. And their fears have certainly intensified with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Such views dovetail with what the United States is currently trying to do. One State Dept. official baldly stated, "These terrorists are swimming in a sea of support from the Iranian government and people," and the goal is "to separate them from that support." But while the imperialists may be having some success with the Iranian government, the same cannot be said of the Iranian masses. As one American correspondent said in his very last report from Iran, "the militants are still being militant." ■



Demonstrator in Iran holds Carter doll—when you pull a string its hands beat against its head.

## MANTLE OF M.L. KING

Continued from page 5

usher in an era of universal brotherhood. The sordid backroom deals and King's role as a one-man "cool it" squad whenever the struggle threatened to get out of hand eventually took their toll on both his support among the masses and his usefulness to the capitalists as the '60s wore on. But his assassination allowed the weaving of a myth which still today exerts a strong appeal to many: that King, and the Kennedy brothers, were all killed because they were moving more and more in the direction of championing the oppressed and opposing U.S. imperialism, and that their deaths snuffed out what "might have been," a bright new era for the people of the U.S. and the world.

The old ruling class game—keep the people paralyzed waiting in the hope of a bourgeois savior—should be getting tiresome by now, especially when what comes "from above" is more and more attacks. And of course every concession forced by the mass struggle is used as an example of how generous the rulers are. King and the Kennedys' "solutions," pinning all hope on pressuring the federal government, were getting exposed. King said "cool it," but the riots happened anyway, often threatening to burn up the cool-it squads sent in by the ruling class. When he died *Time*

magazine wrote that, "King was dangerously close to slipping from a prophet to a patsy."

### Teddy Inherits the Myth

The fact that King and the Kennedys are lumped together in many people's minds means, of course, that the one who today benefits the most from this myth is the "last Kennedy brother," Teddy, who is counting heavily on the halo this provides him in his run for the presidency. Oh sure, Corretta King in a typical display that would have been her husband's way, too, has sold herself to the highest bidder, Carter. But the force of old memories is far stronger than Corretta King endorsements.

By now, the King halo is plenty tarnished. And the situation in the 1980s is vastly different than the 1960s, when the capitalists were able to make some concessions and create "great society" style illusions of the possibility of real change. Teddy Kennedy still flashes his liberal voting record and his "consistent stand" for cradle-to-grave national health insurance to establish his credentials as leader of the poor and downtrodden; but this is more useful today to get across the idea that "the '80s may be hell, there may be hunger and war—but let's at least have a leader who has the interest of the masses at

heart, no matter what."

Both Bobby Kennedy and Martin Luther King came out against the Vietnam War at about the same time. Bobby, of course, was part of the administration that formulated U.S. policy for the Vietnam war in the early '60s. King, despite his much ballyhooed stand of nonviolence, kept his mouth shut until the section of the capitalists he was tied to decided that the war was a tactical mistake for the U.S. imperialists. Then both Kennedy and King hustled to wrap themselves in the mantle of the anti-war movement, seeking to control it in the same way they had controlled the civil rights movement earlier in the decade.

Teddy Kennedy's recent criticism of the Shah as a "ruthless tyrant" follows the same pattern—a couple of years ago Kennedy was glad-handing the Shah as a guest in his palace. As more and more people wake up to the fact that the U.S. imperialists are planning on using them as cannon fodder in another world war, Kennedy is right there to "sternly disassociate" the U.S. from any "ruthless tyrants" and try to make World War III look like a noble and uplifting undertaking—the Peace Corps with a BANG!

Covering the brutal realities of exploitation and capitalist dictatorship with a lot of noble rhetoric and visionary ideals, hoodwinking the people to set them up for the kill, hypocritical posturing of all kinds—that's the intertwined legacy of King and the Ken-

nedys. After plainclothes police clubbed and dragged out protestors during Mayor Koch's eulogy for King in Brooklyn, after the last strains of "America the Beautiful" had died down, the good Rev. Marshall bitterly attacked the protestors for desecrating the sanctity of the church and "violating Dr. King's most fundamental creed—the creed of nonviolence." Such a creed, such a legacy, is certainly worth cherishing—but the question is by which side? ■

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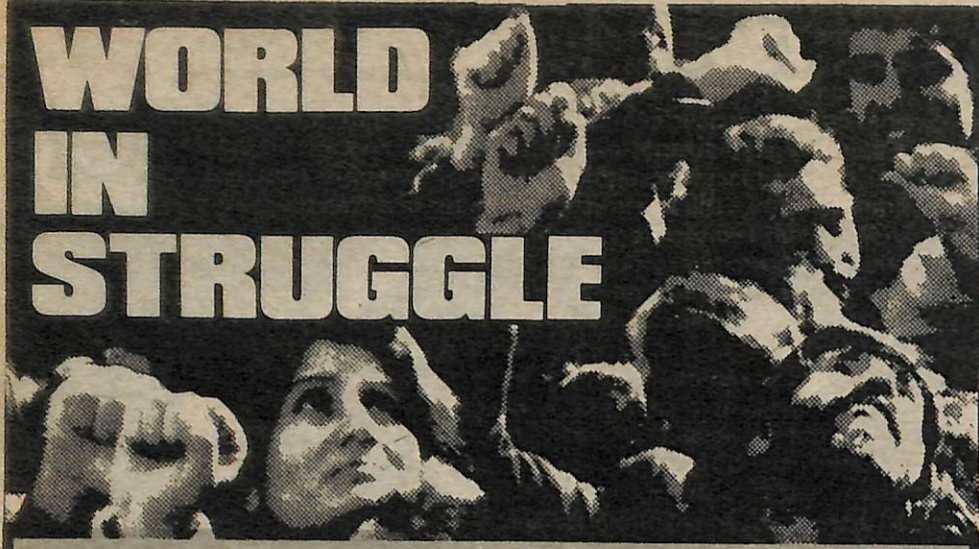
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# WORLD IN STRUGGLE



## New Junta Members Named in El Salvador

In a frantic attempt to halt El Salvador's quickening polarization as the revolutionary forces grow and the U.S.-backed junta becomes more and more isolated, the government has had to find replacements for all three of the civilian junta members who recently resigned, along with three-quarters of the cabinet. A deal made last week with the Christian Democratic Party ("the bastard child of the CIA and the Christian hierarchy"—see *RW* No. 36) put two Christian Democratic Party members in the junta, Secretary General Antonio Morales and Hector Dada. After much difficulty they finally dredged up an unknown for the remaining junta slot, Dr. Jose Ramon Avalos. The junta made a big deal of promising not to put any faces from the industrialist and landowning classes in the government.

Meanwhile, soldiers described by the newspaper *La Opinion* as "visibly nervous" patrolled San Salvador's streets with machine guns, setting up roadblocks and searching everyone. Significantly, on January 11, some 8 left groups opposed to the junta, including the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), merged under a coordinating body called Unidad Popular. The Unidad Popular immediately called for a march to show its strength. Despite a total Salvadoran press blackout about this merger, over 5000 people came out on a day's notice. One-third of the Christian Democratic Party membership reportedly resigned in protest over support of the junta. And Salvador Samayoa, former Minister of Education for the junta, called a press conference, then left with twelve masked guerrillas to "join the people's army" because "the only way to resolve El Salvador's problems is through armed struggle."

U.S. State Department spokesman Hodding Carter, with a perfectly straight face, announced U.S. support "for the social change being effected in El Salvador, especially in the field of human rights. . . . We will continue our support as long as the changes begun by the Salvadoran government continue in seriousness." He also said Washington is watching El Salvador "very attentively."

## Ecuadoreans Protest Massive Price Rise

At least five students were wounded and one killed January 9 and 10 when police opened fire on demonstrators protesting sharp price hikes in all basic necessities (milk went up 150%). Schools and universities were shut down. Truckers threatened to strike if their fees were not raised to meet the hike in gasoline prices. The "democratic" government of Jaime Roldos immediately informed the press that the new prices "had not yet been fixed." President Roldos has been hard at work since his election in August 1979 on a budget and a five-year plan that will place the burden of Ecuador's \$3 billion foreign debt and other economic problems squarely on the masses of Ecuadoran people. With great fanfare, he announced a raise in the minimum monthly salary to \$160, which had already been swallowed by the price increases of January 1. The Roldos government, hailed by the U.S. as another one of its Latin American "democracies" (the new government followed nine years of military dictatorship) is finding it tough to keep a tight rein on its 8 million workers and peasants in this land of oil wells (Ecuador is a member of OPEC) and coffee plantations.

## Juror Goes to Jail

Shortly after the proceedings concluded, Gary received a phone call. The authorities requested that he return to the courthouse. They wanted to "ask him some questions" about the trial. When he got to the courthouse Gary was immediately arrested and charged with "obstruction of justice." Evidently, the authorities had gotten wind of Gary's remarks during the jury deliberations and were infuriated at the mistrial. They also charged him with perjury—he had failed to report a juvenile shoplifting charge during jury selection.

Gary is sitting in jail today on \$25,000 bail.

Gary Gerald, a 21-year-old man from Baltimore, was recently selected from a jury pool to serve as jury foreman in the criminal trial of one Mr. Leach. Leach had been arrested and charged with selling heroin to an undercover Maryland policewoman. After hearing all the evidence, Gary concluded that Leach had been the victim of a police set-up.

The jury retired to deliberate, and Gary made it clear that he would take no part in the conviction of a man based solely on police testimony. He noted, among other things, that "all cops are liars." The case ended in a mistrial, but for Gary the matter was far from settled. ■

## Kentucky Prisoner Writes On *RW*, May Day

We received the following edited letter from a prisoner in Kentucky.

. . . I have started a scrap book on the *Revolutionary Worker*. I have every issue that you have ever sent me, even when the paper was just called the *Worker*. I plan to put the most important articles from each issue in the book.

One of my reasons for starting this book is because I see that this country is very close to revolution and when everything is over with, I will have some very important newspaper articles before the revolution and after.

. . . I have read 52 issues of the

paper now. I really know who Bob Avakian is and the great job that he has in front of him. I have read books about Mao, Marx, and Frederick Engels.

As you can see that I am writing this letter December 25, 1979, Christmas night. This day has never meant nothing to me since I was a kid. The day that I am looking forward to in 1980 is May Day. I want this day to make every newspaper, magazine, television program across the world. You can believe that if I am the only person in prison that won't go to work on that day I will stand alone. ■

## Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

### Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and

need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* is establishing a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

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# FOUL CHINESE POEM ATTACKS MAO TSETUNG

In the January 7 issue of *The Call*, the CPML takes note of yet another addition to the long list of attacks by its revisionist mentors in China on Mao Tsetung and what he stood for. *The Call* comments on a poem which appeared in the Dec. 26 issue of the *People's Daily* on the occasion of Mao's birthday: "In China this year Mao Zedong's birthday was observed by the Communist Party newspaper *People's Daily* in a poem, which hailed him as a great revolutionary.... The poem reflected a current effort in China to demystify Mao Zedong's role historically, while continuing to acknowledge and learn from his contributions."

What they mean by "demystifying Mao" is exactly what Teng Hsiao-ping and Co. mean—knocking down the banner of Mao Tsetung. In tearing down the banner of Mao, it is, of course, necessary for them to occasionally pay homage to him as a "great revolutionary." This latest "birthday poem," just like a number of poems written by Mao's bitter enemies while he was still alive, adopts this method of thinly disguising some of its venom with sweet syrupy flattery. The real message of this poem is quite clear, especially to the masses of people in China who are familiar with its references: the banner of Mao Tsetung must be torn down.

It is a practice of long standing in China for various leaders to send poems to each other and carry on political debates by means of poetry. These poems are an important part of the political superstructure in China. Therefore, the appearance of this "birthday poem" in the *People's Daily* is not an insignificant event by any means. The poem takes on added significance since it makes its attacks on Mao by twisting his own poems and using them as weapons against him and everything he stood for. This could very well signal a series of much more open and vicious attacks on Mao and his line in the near future.

The Dec. 26 poem is reprinted below. It is a literal translation into English.

## "DECEMBER 26"

I.

What day is Mao's birthday?  
In the past it was almost like a secret  
Because, it's not permitted to hold  
celebrations for leaders,  
This was written into the Party resolution.

A few years ago suddenly it was publicly  
promulgated,  
In a fashion that was very strange,  
We are but ordinary people,  
We'll never get used to such rigid ritual!

Shameless Lin Piaos and Chiang Chings  
(Mao's wife),  
Perform many acrobatic tricks!  
Just short of following feudal traditions and  
change the year of the dynasty:  
"Swallowing dragon eggs" and "following a  
big man's footsteps" (1)

In reality, it's clear as daylight in  
everybody's minds,  
That Comrade Mao Tsetung is also made of  
flesh and blood;  
He considered the Anyuan miners his  
brothers,  
He carried big loads of rice for the Red  
Army soldiers.

To this day there is in Juijin a sweet well,  
In this well his sweat is still preserved;  
Have you counted how many date flowers  
blossomed in the date garden?  
The bees still work as hard as him making  
honey.

Under 3,000 to 1 scale military map,  
The arrows he drew were so sharp,  
Wherever they pointed to, victory brewed  
Of course, it takes blood for these victories  
to come into being.

Without a doubt, he is a great banner,  
But what is a banner? It waves in the wind,  
it charges forward  
A banner must forever be comrade-in-arms  
of the wind,  
And the wind is the breath of the people.

If the flag is riddled with bullet holes,  
It is a great honor, why be so upset!

Only waving bravely in the wind can prevent  
the banner from gathering dust and  
growing moldy,  
Why are there still those who insist on  
hiding it at the bottom of a chest?!

II.

We finally call him Comrade Mao Tsetung  
again,  
He would be joyous to hear it;  
Nowhere in this world is there a title so  
affectionate as Comrade,  
For a comrade, we could shed our blood.

To me, as a Communist Party member and  
a poet,  
His name carries two burning meanings;  
He was a leader loved by the whole party,  
He was also a great master of poetry.

Perhaps his teachings in poetry could be  
looked into further,  
But he only wrote about the human world,  
this is for sure;  
Even a poem describing the pouring of a  
mighty rain from heaven,  
But actually it comes from Xia Gu's tears  
not the Moon Palace. (2)

He always advocated Foolish Old Man  
Moving Mountains,  
He always hated the inequality in human  
society;

So he even loudly scolded the Kunlun  
mountain:  
Ne'er all your height nor all your snow is  
needed.

Yes, the mountain is too high, the villages  
are merely anthills,  
Yes, there is too much snow, people turn  
into fish and turtles,  
The good and ill, you have wrought these  
thousand autumns,  
He himself led in passing judgment.

Foolish Mother Earth,  
Stop your formation of mountains.  
In our country of 9.6 million square  
kilometers,  
How can we have room for so many  
towering mountains?

What we embrace are rivers, plains, rice  
paddies,  
What we reject are high peaks, petrified  
rocks, and steep slopes,  
What we like to watch is the dance of the  
plowing tractors,  
What we like to hear is the roar of the  
combines.

Although an accountant can write one  
billion—1,000,000,000,  
But the accountant himself doesn't want to  
live as a "0",  
Who wouldn't want to celebrate one's own  
birthday:  
There is wine in front of you, in the future  
are good days.

He is sleeping now, but the brain of the  
Party is very active,  
Mao Tsetung Thought will for sure be  
developed—  
Yangtse river will never cease to flow,  
And the flood walls will never break!

This is a memorial for the birthday of a  
great man,  
We should know that this day affects half a  
century and all of China.  
Future leaders please remember this point,  
Tie together yours and the whole people's  
birthday into one close, amicable knot.

(1) These are allusions to old Chinese  
classics which mystify the status of the  
emperor.  
(2) Xia Gu refers to the first wife of Mao.

## Tear Down the Banner

To begin with, it was Mao himself who initiated the Party resolution forbidding celebrations for leaders, and this was done in order to combat tendencies toward warlordism and other feudal and bourgeois methods of leadership. The first part of the poem makes a big deal about Mao's birthday being secret (because of this resolution) and then being "publicly promulgated." While at certain times certain forces in China may have pushed to publicly celebrate Mao's birthday either out of good intentions or for opportunist reasons, his birthday has not been officially celebrated in recent years, as the poem implies. Nor did Chiang Ching or the so-called "gang of four" (referred to in the poem as "shameless Lin Piaos") have anything to do with publicly celebrating his birth-

day, as the poem states. The point that the author of the poem is trying to get over with in the first three verses is that Mao's birthday was shrouded in all kinds of feudal traditions while Mao and The Four were in power. The direct implication is that they were, in fact, reactionary feudalists. All this is, of course, completely ridiculous lies and slander, typical of the reactionaries now in power in China.

Here Mao is indirectly referred to as an emperor. The references to "change the year of the dynasty," "swallowing dragon eggs," and "following a big man's footsteps" which the "gang of four" are accused of following are all references to the activities of those who seek to follow in the emperor's footsteps. "Swallowing dragon's eggs," for example, refers to proving one's worth to the emperor by eating dragon's eggs. These absurd accusations of feudal practices are made this way precisely because it was Mao and The Four who led campaign after campaign to wipe out these very practices before the counterrevolutionary coup by Teng and Co. in 1976.

The next two verses of the poem portray Mao as simply a hard worker "made of flesh and blood" (just like everyone else) who "carried big loads of rice for the Red Army soldiers." In the next verse, even Mao's widely recognized major military achievements are qualified, with the final line which says, "Of course, it takes blood for these victories to come into being." This is a completely outrageous attempt to downplay Mao's gigantic contributions to military theory and practice that even the imperialists have been forced to take note of. This last little line, which appears to be simply a statement of the obvious, is, in fact, a way of saying "he made some contributions, but they weren't so great since he wouldn't have been nothing without his soldiers."

It is at this point that all pretense of praising Mao is cast aside and a more out-front assault on Mao begins. He is called "a great banner," and then the banner is attacked. So what if the banner is "riddled with bullets"? The banner of Mao should not only be criticized but torn to shreds, and this is a "great honor." Obviously, this is being directed to those who still refuse to completely reject Mao. Thus the statement "why be so upset" and the question "Why are there still those who insist on hiding it at the bottom of a chest?" (This refers to a Chinese tradition of storing highly valued articles at the bottom of a chest.) It is also directly implied that while he was alive Mao was "gathering dust and growing moldy."

## The Mountain is Too High

The bulk of the second part of the poem uses references to Mao's own poetry to attack him and even calls for reevaluating his contributions in poetry. "Perhaps his teachings in poetry could be looked into further" (in Chinese the implication here is that they should be criticized). But first a point is made that he should no longer be referred to as Chairman Mao but just plan old "Comrade Mao." This is just another way of calling for Mao to be "knocked down to size."

Mao's poetry is slandered as only being "about the human world," meaning that he was not concerned with big sweeping historical, philosophical and scientific questions, which is, in fact, totally the opposite of the truth. Here reference is made to a poem by Mao called *Reply to Li Shu-Yi* which speaks of his first wife (nicknamed Xia Gu) who was killed by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. The poem ends with the following lines: "Earth suddenly reports the tiger subdued (the Kuomintang defeated—*RW*),/Tears of joy pour forth falling as a mighty rain." Here the "birthday poem" makes the point of saying the tears came only from Mao's wife (implying his poem

was simply a personal note), while in Mao's poem he actually is making a much more sweeping and universal point by describing all of heaven (referring to all those who have given their lives to free mankind throughout history) shedding a "mighty rain" of tears.

The next part of the poem is really the heart of the attack. Direct references are made to the two poems by Mao published in 1976 that were direct attacks on the revisionists led by Teng—*Reascending Ching Kangshan* and *Two Birds: A Dialogue*, and use is also made of whole lines from a poem written by Mao at the end of the Long March called *Kunlun*. Here, in addition to being an attack on the call made in *Reascending Ching Kangshan* ("Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights")—the "birthday poem" says "What we embrace are rivers, plains, and rice paddies,/What we reject are high peaks..."—Mao is directly attacked by analogy. The references to mountains and peaks symbolize Mao himself. And Mao's own poem *Kunlun*, where he talks about cutting Mount Kunlun down to size, is used to make the attack. Thus "he even loudly scolded Kunlun mountain.... Yes, the mountain is too high," and the clincher, "He himself led in passing judgment." This refers to what Mao writes in *Kunlun*:

"To Kunlun now I say,  
Neither all your height  
Nor all your snow is needed.  
Could I but draw my sword o'ertopping  
heaven,  
I'd cleave you in three."

Here again the poem is trying to make the point that Mao himself was the first to approve of Mao Tsetung being slandered and attacked.

This whole section is littered with vile attacks. Mao is alternately referred to as a mountain that must be removed, a high peak that must be rejected, and a petrified rock. Also, the line Mao criticizes in *Two Birds: A Dialogue* is put forward. Steep slopes are rejected in favor of "the dance of plowing tractors" and "the roar of the combines." Here we hear the squeak of the sparrow (revisionists) Mao polemicizes against in this poem. Just give us meat and potatoes, scream these vulgar "practical men." When it comes to struggling to move society forward to "scale the heights," they just want to "flit and fly away."

Then the poem prepares for the grand and despicable finale. The verse about the accountant writing one billion is saying that the Chinese people don't want to be zeros attached to a 1 (meaning Mao). According to this little lie, the one billion Chinese people were in fact treated as zeros by the one (Mao). Next the reader is assured that the brain of the Chinese Communist Party is hard at work. This is in reference to the Chinese revisionists' current campaign to attribute all that was good (according to the standards of Teng and Co.) under Mao to the "collective leadership" of the Party, referring to themselves. The point here is that the current leaders are continuing to "wisely lead China" as they always have, even when Mao was alive. "Sure Mao did some good things, but we are really responsible for the great advances China has made in the past," these con artists boast. And they arrogantly swagger around, bragging that "Yangtse river will never cease to flow" (their rule will never end). This is wishful thinking indeed.

Having proceeded to totally stand reality on its head, the poem takes its parting shots. The final two lines are a final direct criticism of Mao as being isolated from the masses of people. This caps off this vile and none too subtle attack on the greatest revolutionary of our time—by a handful of two-bit reactionaries now running China. ■

# U.S. Revs Up War Machine

Continued from page 1

Events at the UN occurred in the midst of a flurry of U.S. political and military moves which show that not only are the U.S. rulers preparing to fight a war, but they are preparing, they hope, to win one.

In the press, the hypocritical blustering about Soviet aggression now sits side by side articles continually calling attention to our rulers' needs to expand U.S. military power even further. Calls for a return of the draft have reached a high pitch. In reference to plans to increase military spending by 5% a year, the press asks—is this *enough*? Headlines in the *New York Times* warn, "U.S. Can Match Soviet Military Might... But Not Before 1990." An editorial in the same newspaper entitled "Extending America's Military Reach" let it all out: "... the greater danger at the moment is that America's military reach may be inadequate to defend its diplomatic and economic interests in western Asia." (So much for the lofty aim of defending "freedom and independence"!)

In this *Times* editorial and elsewhere, the Rapid Strike Deployment force has been widely promoted. This is a combination of air force, marine, army and navy units that could go anywhere at a moment's notice and have enough supply and maintenance apparatus on hand to stay for as long as it took to control the area. The idea for this has been on the drawing board for a while, and to a limited extent it exists already today.

As the U.S. proceeds to expand its military operations in the Middle East and South Asia, it has been forced to publicize the fact that it has long been quite active in the area militarily. The U.S. already has a military base on the British-owned island of Diego Garcia. And now it has announced that the Diego Garcia base is going to be expanded to twice its previous size. Other announcements, such as the fact that the U.S. has been secretly using Egyptian military facilities for some time, and that the U.S. came to an agreement with Turkey to continue to operate 26 (!) bases in that country which borders the Soviet Union, don't even begin to reveal the extent of the already large U.S. global warmongering now being greatly expanded.

In a similar vein, the U.S. is about to pull off a geographical miracle, with its stretching of the "North Atlantic" to include the Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean, and China. Plans for North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) members to join in arms sales and grants to Pakistan and China, and to maintain war ships and NATO bases in the Indian Ocean, are presently being worked out in Brussels. While there have been reports of various differences within NATO, when Warren Christopher, Deputy Secretary of State, arrived at a NATO council meeting on January 15, the "allies" of Western Europe quickly reached agreement to back their leader in what Christopher called "a need to take strong action."

Christopher's traipsing about Europe is only one of numerous sojourns being taken as the diplomats and politicians of the U.S. bloc crisscross the globe to make sure everyone gets the message. Harold Brown, Secretary of Defense, concluded his China trip (the first ever by a U.S. Defense Secretary) with an inspection of a "top secret" naval shipyard. He then immediately flew to Japan where he told Japanese Prime Minister Ohira that it was time for a big

increase in Japanese military spending. The same day Brown left Tokyo, the State Department announced that a senior advisor, Philip Habid, had been sent to that city to "coordinate the Japanese contribution" to the U.S. bloc's anti-Soviet maneuvering.

Meanwhile, the British Foreign Minister, Lord Carrington, went to Pakistan the same day that the Pakistani Foreign Minister, Agha Shahi, met with Carter administration officials and flew back to Islamabad with an offer of \$400 million in new weapons. Having received his instructions from the U.S. Defense Secretary, Huang Hua, Chinese foreign minister, announced that he was also flying to Pakistan. Spain's prime minister got into the act, flying over to have a 90-minute lunch with Carter and then immediately returning home. An obvious point of discussion was the status of the U.S. military bases in Spain.

The political and military moves of the U.S. throughout the recent period indicate the seriousness with which it views the developing world situation. These moves also indicate the fact that the U.S. is a far cry from the toothless tiger that many have grown fond of portraying it as. There is a common idea that the "get tough" measures frequently reported these days will actually delay, or even prevent, the outbreak of war. But the opposite is the case. The "tougher" the U.S. "gets"—in other words, the more developed its actual political and military preparations for war become—the *sharper* is the sign that the sparring between the two imperialist rivals over Afghanistan is only a prelude to the main event to come. ■

## Toad(y) Croaks

Continued from page 2

Khrushchev have more in common than they have differences.

Both were fond of pointing to their background as "workers." Both took pleasure in coming across as rough, table-pounding, down-to-earth "men of the people." Both Meany and Khrushchev evidenced the obesity of the over-stuffed aristocracy, living high off the hog from the toil of others. And, most importantly, both men were full-fledged members and representatives of the same class—the capitalist class—doing their dirty work in the name of the workers. They were scabs and traitors until the day they died.

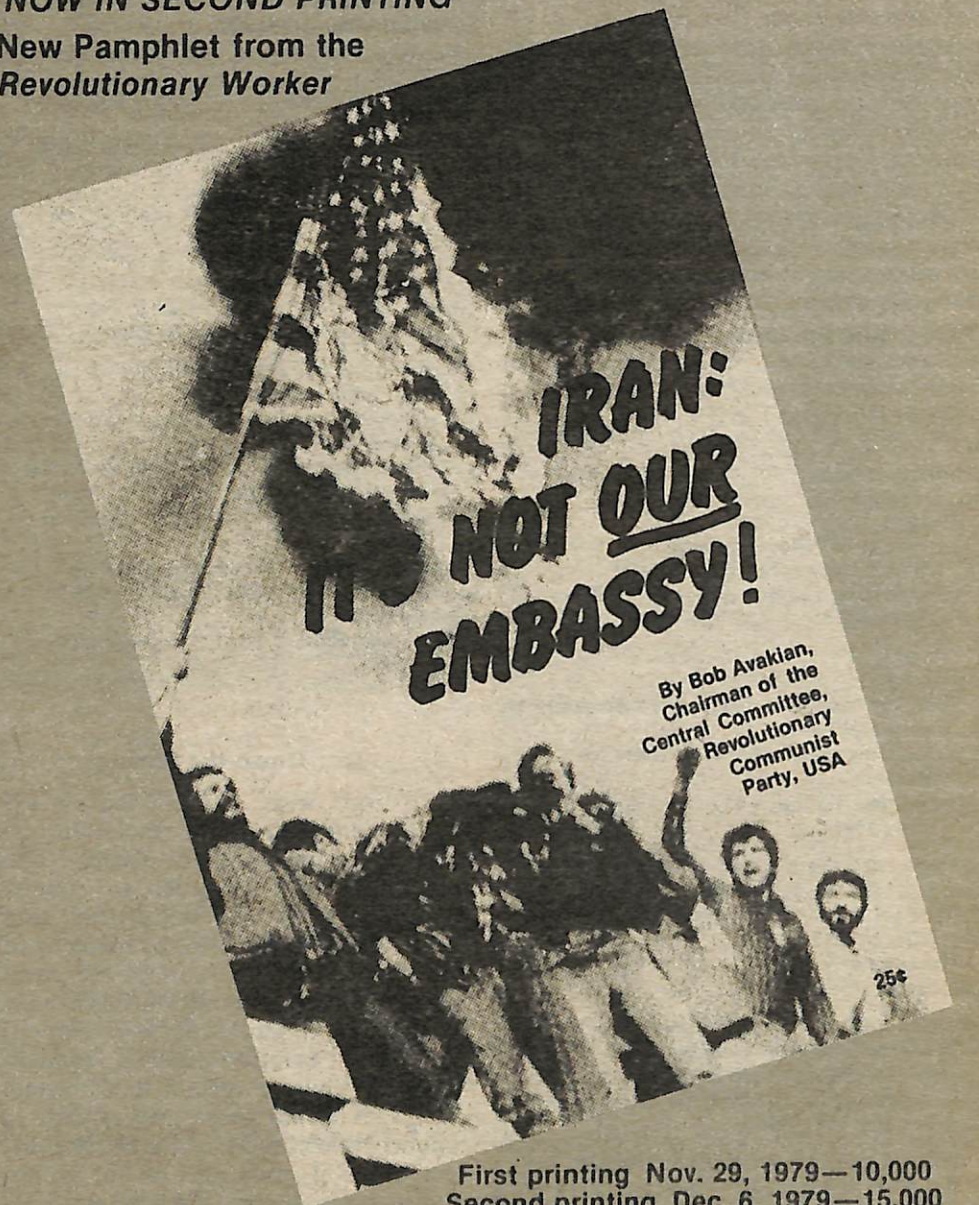
Lane Kirkland, Meany's successor as AFL-CIO president, called him "the best there was" in his eulogy. In a slightly humorous vein he added, "And we now have faith that better days lie ahead for the working people of America, and of the world, because George Meany is up there negotiating the matter with God." The working class and oppressed people of the world are not exactly waiting for the outcome of the negotiations with the Lord & Co.

But as the cigar smoke hovers above that great bargaining table in the sky, and George no doubt longs for a return to the call girls and bourbon of fancy Miami Beach hotels, the working class celebrated the fact that we will never see his ugly mug on the face of the earth again. In fact, there is no better place for George Meany than where his corpse now actually lies rotting. Let the maggots dine on one of their own. ■



The Soviet Union has continued its imperialist occupation of Afghanistan, moving out to the point where it has replaced the Afghan army holding the towns and main roads of the country. But it too is having difficulty controlling the countryside, and the Afghan liberation struggle continues. In addition, Babrik Karmal's much publicized release of political prisoners backfired when it became clear that only those in his Parcham Party would be set free. Afghans stormed the Pul-i-Charki prison, (above) demanding the release of all the prisoners, but were turned back by the combined forces of Soviet and Afghan soldiers. Two people were killed, one a soldier.

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# Bourgeoisie Changes Fuehrers for the 80s

Former Nazi leader, Frank Collin, looking for all the world like an unmade bed, walked out of Chicago's Criminal Courts Bldg. Friday morning after posting a \$5100 cash bail. This would-be fuehrer had been arrested late Thursday evening, charged with taking indecent liberties with children at the headquarters of the National Socialist Party of America (NSPA). This pervert was accused of having sex with young boys and taking nude pictures of them posed with rifles.

Who was responsible for fingering the philandering fascist? "Quite frankly, we handed Frank Collin to the cops on a silver platter," said new Nazi Party Leader Harold Covington.

This was hardly the result of any deviation by Collin from Nazi morality. In fact he was simply acting in the best rodent-like tradition of Nazism on that front—from the top of the Third Reich on down through the troops. No, Collin's set up was the culmination of a strong-arm shake-up in the NSPA leadership that had been in the works for close to a year.

Collin's demise caught many by surprise. He had received an avalanche of

publicity in the bourgeois media around his attempt to lead a Nazi march into heavily Jewish suburban Skokie in the summer of 1977 (150 articles, many on the front page, appeared in the Chicago *Tribune* alone), yet in its wake he had failed to make any substantial gains.

Collin ran a pitiful campaign for alderman in Chicago, unable to generate much press attention, much less any votes. "The news media refuse to discuss our campaign anymore," he moaned. "The paper curtain has been lowered on us," candidly admitting the Nazis dependence on the bourgeoisie. In Sept. '79, Collin's last attempt to organize a white power rally in Chicago's Gage Park community turned out a pitiful *four* supporters. Collin, deflated, didn't even bother to get out of his car.

Earlier in April, Collin had been iced out of the national administration of the NSPA by Gerhard Lauck, editor of "The New Order." Covington himself was appointed Chief of Staff of the reorganized "Stormtroops", the paramilitary arm of the NSPA which was formerly under Collin's control. Covington announced he'd change the

"haphazard, hit or miss approach...no longer adequate to the tasks." His success at a "hit approach" with the acknowledged co-operation of the cops. (see *RW* No.27), showed itself in the recent Greensboro massacre of 5 anti-Klan demonstrators.

The nature of this Nazi leadership shuffle and the personalities involved makes it very unlikely that this was simply some internal Nazi power play. It stinks of the hand of the bourgeoisie and their plans for the Nazis. Collin's stock was sinking. Of course it had only been up in the first place courtesy of massive efforts on the part of the ruling class to promote him. The same is true of Harold Covington, and he looks like a man who the bourgeoisie has a lot invested in. If there was ever a likely candidate for a CIA man heading up the Nazis, Covington is it.

Covington served the imperialists eagerly in Vietnam. Then he popped up as a "volunteer" in the Rhodesian Army as an ordinance and ammunition technician. In 1976 Covington followed in CIA footsteps to Angola where he served in an air supply unit.

Collin may have been a bit

unreliable, if often useful, to the bourgeoisie. With connections like these Covington seems like a well schooled and loyal functionary of the ruling class, one whom they can count on in his new post. Covington, one-upping Collin, even seems to enjoy appearing as an intellectual—a very conscious and studied reactionary. Again in the mold of the CIA he brags about his wide reading of his "primary ideological opponent"; as he puts it, "Marxist thought" and fancies himself a theoretician, authoring a number of articles such as "National Socialist Revolutionary Tactics." All in all he seems groomed by the capitalist class for his Nazi post.

\* \* \* \* \*

The hand-written sign hurriedly posted outside the NSPA's 71st St. Chicago headquarters reads "Under New Management". Certainly Collin, the "old management", was ill-suited to building a well-disciplined tightly organized Nazi Party to serve as stormtroops for the bourgeoisie. ■

## Olympics:

Continued from page 4  
the games in Moscow.

### Soviets—Warmed Over U.S. Lies

Now with the Russian invasion, they are taking it a step further, calling for the Olympics to be moved back to Montreal or Munich where the U.S. will have a clear field to run their politics without any major Soviet hurdles. And meanwhile, of course, the U.S. is clinging tenaciously to its Olympic propaganda platform, the winter Olympic Games at Lake Placid.

For their part, the Soviets, who have their political plans staked on hosting the games in Moscow, suddenly sound like the U.S. did four years ago. They are whining that the U.S. rulers are "using sports as an instrument of political blackmail" and cynically pointing to the U.S. as "foes of the Olympic movement" and "enemies of peace and detente."

Ironically, however, the Carter administration is having trouble mustering support among the bourgeoisie for its boycott efforts. It seems the 60 U.S. corporations that have already con-

tributed over \$7 million to the U.S. Olympic effort in return for promotional considerations would judge their money better spent if Americans *did* compete in Moscow. And while NBC said they will "follow the President's lead," they are obviously not so thrilled about \$170 million in advertising revenues they will lose if the Moscow Olympics are not televised. It may prove to be quite a problem in this "me first" system to subordinate these individual capitalist interests to the interest of the capitalist class as a whole!

Only the "higher" capitalist interest of world war could pull this one off. So just in case it didn't sink in, Vance reminisced back to when the Games were held in Nazi-run Berlin, slyly adding, "I think in hindsight that it was a mistake for us to attend the 1936 Olympics." Cyrus put it right out there: Remember? 1936? Just before the outbreak of World War 2?

But unfortunately for the U.S., even their faithful allies like West Germany are balking at involving themselves in this latest U.S. propaganda effort. The West German Interior Minister piously proclaimed that, "In the opinion of the Government, sports cannot be used as a means for political ends." Apparently

## Avakian

Continued from page 1

"unify" a defense strategy for responding to the government's appeal. However, none of the 17 defendants nor any of their lawyers were consulted about their view of this kind of "help" before it was dished out. This is an open, and highly out-of-line, attempt to deny the right to counsel of choice one year after the six attorneys on the case had been involved.

he was hoping that no one would remember Munich in 1972 when the West German government sent their stormtroopers blazing into the Olympic village to slaughter protesting Palestinians and their Israeli hostages alike in a valiant effort to keep politics out of the Olympic Games!

Whether the U.S. boycotts the games or not, the 1980 Olympics are clearly shaping up as a hot one with a grueling political marathon between the U.S. and the Soviets already featured as the main event. And even if the Games come off as scheduled, it may well be the last imperialist Olympiad, as the two superpowers square off for a truly Olympic battle—World War 3. ■

But the most significant thing about this recent court order to expedite the appeal is simply the fact that it makes very concrete what was already shaping up in the government's case—the fact that the railroad is back on its track and is stoking up. What is significant is that the government appealed this case at all, and in particular, is bringing it to a head right now.

A ruling by the court of appeals in February could reinstate the whole 25-count indictment against Bob Avakian and the 16 others, and in that sense, such a ruling would put the clock back in the legal battle to the time preceding the dismissal last November. But the U.S. imperialists are quite aware that such a court ruling cannot and will not put back the clock on the rapidly sharpening political situation in this country and around the world. Time is ticking away on a political bomb as the contradictions the imperialists face at home and around the world intensify almost daily. The very fact that they can do nothing to turn the clock back is driving them to go forward *now* with this battle—even after having nakedly exposed their political aims in the past.

Proceeding "routinely" in today's political situation does not mean the same thing it did 12 months ago or even two months ago. Proceeding with this case, even after the mass outrage and intensifying struggle that began to rage in society around it forced them to tactically retreat for a time, means that the U.S. imperialists have decided to conduct an openly political case against these defendants, to risk self-exposure in order to get the RCP and particularly its Chairman. This is why their appeal brief lets their political motivations and conspiracy theory in this case hang out so blatantly. This is why the Secret Service attack on Bob Avakian followed hot on the heels of the dismissal, and this appeal is following hot on the heels of the Secret Service attack itself. They cannot afford to wait.

In 1979, the Revolutionary Communist Party said that the case of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants would set the stage for the 1980s—and now it is 1980. In 1979, it was said that the U.S. imperialist class's aim in attacking Bob Avakian and the RCP was to wipe out revolutionary leadership as the world headed into the storms of the 1980s—and now it is 1980. In 1979, it was said that the decade ahead would be a decade leading rapidly toward world war and rising revolutionary struggles worldwide—and now it is 1980. The stakes in the battle to keep Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants free concentrate the stakes of the period we are entering. The enemy knows this and has brought this battle to a new juncture where it is being joined again. ■

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A new book! Now in preparation. To be published in the next few months. Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and the Line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. This book will contain, in concentrated form, the foundations of the science of revolution. A science whose importance was summed up by Lenin: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." Over the next month the Revolutionary Worker will be publishing a series of articles which will summarize and give an introduction to the basic points of this indispensable book.

"In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class." This basic truth, sharply stated by Mao Tsetung in his article "On Practice," particularly applies to philosophy.

Different classes have always promoted different philosophies reflecting their respective class interests. Philosophies are concentrated, systematic ways of understanding the world. They are neither impossible to understand nor a pointless pursuit, but are a crucial arena of class struggle. Without a correct philosophy, no revolutionary movement in this epoch can hope to persevere through to victory. Instead it will be lost and disoriented in the storms and turmoil, whipped from pillar to post like a ship without a compass.

Today the capitalist class everywhere promotes the philosophical outlook that serves capitalism and promotes its principles as eternal. The U.S. ruling class for instance, pushes *pragmatism*—a philosophy formulated in opposition to Marxism that denies humanity's ability to know the *essence* of the world, and makes the truth of an idea depend on whether it enables the bourgeoisie to tinker with and adjust what already exists, namely, capitalism.

This, and other bourgeois philosophies, serve the capitalists, not only by directly influencing those who study them, but also by filtering down to influence the thinking and actions of the broad masses, whether they are aware of that influence or not. The proletariat's weapon on this philosophical battlefield is *dialectical materialism*. Dialectical materialism reveals to the proletariat its real place in society and arms it with the methods and outlook it needs to change it.

Dialectical materialism alone of all philosophies not only admits to but proudly upholds its class standpoint, while at the same time insisting on its quality of being universally true. All other philosophy ultimately serves exploiting minority classes and strives to cloak that service to exploitation in the myth that philosophy is "above classes"—all the while whitewashing the division of society into classes! Since dialectical materialism represents the proletariat which needs to end exploitation, it has no interest in lying about or covering up society's division into classes. Thus because of the nature of the class which it represents, Marxist philosophy is both true and partisan.

Dialectical materialism differs in one other essential—it openly avows that the only reason for people to study philosophy and understand the world is in order to *change* it. Today that can only mean making revolution to overthrow capitalism. As Marx wrote, "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it."

### The Materialist Conception of History

Marx and Engels were revolutionary students active in the political storms that swept Europe in the 1830s and '40s. To find a way forward they studied philosophy, science and history and through much struggle and investigation developed dialectical materialism. Immediately they set about applying this philosophy to human society in order to advance the revolutionary struggle.

A basic discovery made by Marx and Engels was that the ideas and institutions of an age stem from the

economic relations that people enter into with each other in carrying out production—the *class* relations of society. These relations in turn are ultimately determined by the level of development of the productive forces, which people do not choose for themselves but inherit from the previous generation and then develop. The productive forces include the laboring peoples themselves and their skills and knowledge, as well as the instruments of production and technology, raw materials, etc. The productive forces are not only the basic foundation of all society, they are also its most revolutionary element. Since people are always developing new technique and raising production to ever-higher levels, the productive forces constantly change beneath the framework of the class relations (known as the *economic base*) and the political and ideological forms (or *superstructure*) arising on that base.

These contradictions—between the forces of production and relations of production, and between the economic base and the superstructure—take the form of *class struggle*. The carrying through and resolution of this struggle through revolution has been responsible for the development of class society from the earliest slavery up through today, when humanity stands on the threshold of wiping out all forms of slavery and class divisions forever.

The relatively rapidly developing forces of production soon strain against the relations that originally arose to serve the old level of development. Classes that embody the more advanced relations corresponding to the more highly developed productive forces clash with the classes representing and bound up with old relations. This conflict in turn gives rise to tremendous struggle in the superstructure, with the new and rising class attempting to smash the old superstructure and replace it with one that will protect and serve its economic base.

Let's apply that to modern society. Capitalism differs from every previous system in that production is mainly carried out by people working together cooperatively, and not by individuals working alone. That is, productive forces are for the first time in the main *socialized*. But production *relations* are stuck in the era of individual production and ownership. Thousands labor in factories, producing wealth beyond the wildest dreams of people 200 or even 100 years ago—and yet that collective product at day's end is taken by a few individuals who may never have even seen the factory or the people who slave there!

On one hand, socialized production carried out by the proletariat. On the other, private ownership in the hands of the capitalists. *This* is the fundamental contradiction of the epoch. And until the proletariat, embodying and representing the more advanced socialized relations that correspond to the socialized productive forces, resolves this contradiction by totally eliminating the bourgeoisie and all traces of capitalist relations, class struggle will rage between the two.

This class struggle must lead the proletarian revolution and then the dictatorship of the proletariat to resolve the contradiction. But proletarian dictatorship itself is only transitional to something still higher—communism. The proletariat uses its power to hold down and keep down the old exploiters and beyond that to continually overthrow new exploiters that base themselves on the vestiges of inequalities and backwardness characteristic of societies ruled by exploiting classes. In waging those struggles the proletariat must simultaneously "dig up the soil" from which the new exploiters grow.

Communism—the *goal* of the proletariat's struggle—will open up a whole new era in human history; in fact, as Marx and Engels put it, communism will represent in a fundamental sense the real *beginning* of human history, to which the previous centuries of human existence, including the thousands of years of the division of society into classes, will serve only as a primitive prologue.

Thus the bourgeoisie's fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable. This is the essential truth revealed by historical materialism, and that is



Mao Tsetung speaking to cadre

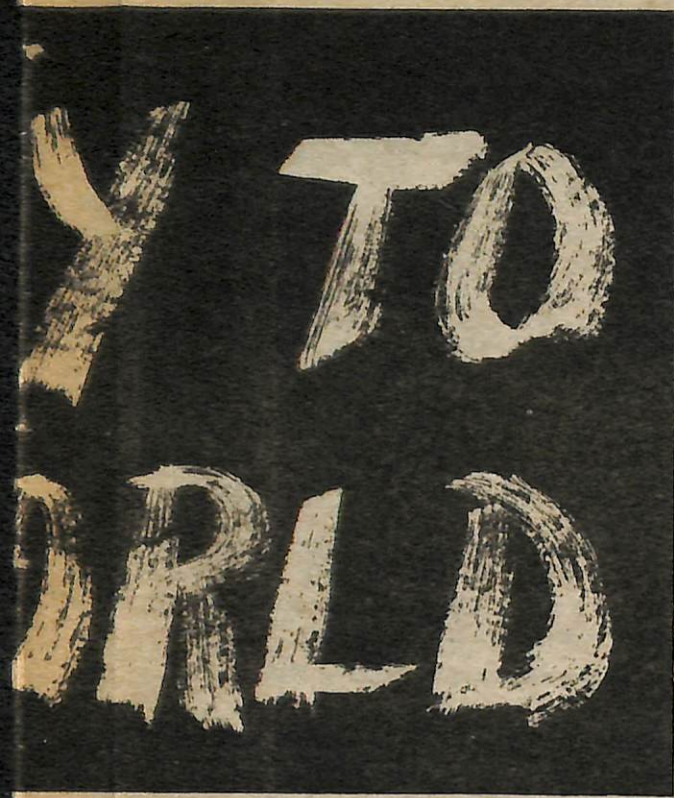
why the bourgeoisie hates and suppresses it and why the proletariat cherishes and applies it, and enriches it in the process.

### Materialism

Historical materialism is the application of dialectical materialism to society and history. But both dialectics and materialism demand study in their own right.

Materialism developed in struggle against an opposing philosophical camp, idealism. Idealism generally presents the physical world as the creation of spirit, and in one form or another invents a supernatural, all-knowing but unknowable, spirit as the source of creation. Truth then is not to be sought in the material

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world but in the spiritual one. Man's ideas, his values and his "nature" supposedly exist independently of, and even are said to form the basis for, his material existence as a member of a particular class in a particular society. And these ideas, values, "nature," etc. are seen as the product of some force external to and higher than humanity and human society. This is idealism.

Directly opposed to idealism is materialism, based on the recognition that the world, indeed the whole universe, all of existence, is only different forms of matter, animated not by some unknowable spirit but by their innate physical properties. "The materialist world outlook," wrote Engels, "is simply the conception of nature as it is, without any reservations."



Karl Marx, arrested in Brussels during the revolutionary upsurge that swept Europe in 1848.



V.I. Lenin at May Day celebration, 1919.

The raw material for consciousness is people's experience in the material world. Ideas of beauty, truth, virtue and so on are conditioned by social experience in class society. Materialists, in contrast to the popular definition, are not hedonists or gluttons, unconcerned with the loftier things of life—it is exactly the opposite! Marxist materialists possess high ideals indeed—and not only possess them, but struggle to realize them by transforming the material world in accordance with the forward motion of history.

**Free Will?**

But what of free will, objects the bourgeoisie. "By ascribing people's actions and thinking to class relations," they cry, "you eliminate free choice and free will."

But this sacred free choice and free will touted by the bourgeois philosophers turn out to exist within very narrow limits indeed.

A worker might like to console himself that he has

freely chosen to work for the boss that exploits him—but he certainly had no hand in choosing the class relations of the society he was born in. And those class relations determine that, choose as one might, you will always be free to choose only between masters—though when unemployment goes up, we find yet another freedom: the freedom to starve!

Dialectical materialism does *not* deny freedom. It grasps, instead, that freedom only has meaning in relation to its opposite, *necessity*, that is, to the actual limits of a given situation and the laws governing it; and further that the entire point of understanding reality is to then be able to transform it.

For instance, the proletariat may wish that classes could be abolished overnight, and on seizing power "choose" to abolish the state. But since the bourgeoisie still exists and for a long time will be constantly engendered after the revolution, such a choice would allow forces working to restore capitalism to re-

Continued on page 14

# Philosophy

Continued from page 13

group and take back power, and our supposed free choice would have got us exactly the opposite result from the one we wanted. By grasping the laws governing the class struggle during and after the revolution—and in fact discovering them through engaging in revolutionary struggle and using materialist dialectics to constantly sum up that experience—communists have been able to understand that the ongoing class struggle demands a transition period of proletarian dictatorship to lay the basis to eventually abolish all classes and forms of government, and on the basis of that understanding, carry out the revolutionary practice that will step by step transform reality towards that goal.

Mao Tsetung formulated this principle as being that "matter can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter." That is, by all-sidedly and correctly summing up the material world and developing correct theories and policies on that basis, those theories can then be used to transform and change the world. Materialism reveals the real links between matter and consciousness and in doing so allows the greatest scope for consciousness of any philosophy.

Marxism not only opposes the idealists who deny that consciousness grows out of matter and in fact also deny the need for ideas to, in turn, be based on the material world; it also does battle with "vulgar (undialectical) materialists," who downplay the role of consciousness, passively trailing along in the wake of events. Each of the great Marxists has had to fight this perversion of materialism and uphold the dynamic role of consciousness. Speaking particularly of Mao Tsetung, Comrade Bob Avakian said that

"For this, of course, the bourgeoisie, the revisionists and opportunists of all stripes, inside and outside China, have labeled Mao an 'idealist'. But Mao was a thoroughgoing materialist. He based himself on the real world, in its process of constant motion and change, from the lower to the higher, on the inevitable supersession of the old by the new. Because of this he never lost sight of but continually grasped the link between the present and the future, the existence of elements of the future within the present, and the fact that the struggle of the proletariat world-wide against the bourgeoisie and all reaction would eventually and inexorably, despite twists and turns and temporary reversals and setbacks, advance mankind to the historic goal of communism, which itself would be propelled forward by contradiction and struggle." (Mao Tsetung's *Immortal Contributions*, p. 324)

To sum up: idealism promotes an upside-down view of the world where consciousness in one form or another comes before and is the source of the matter that in reality produces it; where men's ideas come before or are created independently of, or even are the source of, the social conditions that actually create them; and where, for all the fine talk of free will, people cannot change the world on their own but must trust their fate to a "higher being."

The materialist outlook seeks truth in the material world, understands people's ideas as the products of their social experience, and by more deeply grasping the laws of the material world and especially society, seeks to change the world and the people in it.

## Dialectics vs. Metaphysics

But if all the world is different forms of matter, how then are we to understand these different forms in their motion and development? This question leads to an even more fundamental philosophical struggle between the metaphysical and dialectical world outlooks.

The metaphysical outlook, as Mao explained, views things

"as isolated, static and one-sided. It regards all things in the universe, their forms and their species, as eternally isolated from one another and immutable. Such change as there is can only be an increase or decrease in quantity or a change of place. Moreover, the cause of such an increase or decrease or change of place is not inside things but outside them, that is, the motive force is external."

The metaphysical outlook sees rest or stability as the natural order of things and change as unusual. Development then is simple adding on—not a process of the new struggling against and finally conquering and replacing the old.

In opposition to metaphysics, Mao Tsetung summed up dialectics in this way:

"... the world outlook of materialist dialectics holds that in order to understand the development of a thing we should study it internally and in its relations with other things; in other words, the development of things should be seen as their internal and necessary self-movement, while each thing in its movement is interrelated with and interacts on the things around it."

The cause of all change and development is the contradictions within things—that is, a unity of opposites that both coexist with and struggle against each other. This is the fundamental law of the universe.

In everyday language, "contradiction" is generally used to mean something stands in contrast to the way

things are supposed to, or appear to be—to contradict an argument is to show up the inconsistencies in it. A "contradiction in terms" implies that two different qualities cannot coexist within the same thing, or that something cannot contain both its characteristic quality and its opposite at once.

The dialectical use of the term "contradiction" is more profound and true. A contradiction is the simultaneous coexistence and struggle of opposite forces within a process or thing; this determines its—temporary—existence. A living being is certainly alive, but does it not contain also elements of death? Don't cells within it die and doesn't it constantly struggle to get rid of these dead cells within it, doesn't it transform non-living matter (food, oxygen) into life, and doesn't it eventually die when the struggles within it cease, when death wins out over life within it?

Let's look at some other examples. War is certainly different than peace; but it is the contradictory forces that coexist in peacetime whose struggle eventually intensifies and transforms itself into war. The "peaceful" competition for markets, the cutthroat power plays to ensure (or disrupt) the *status quo*, the feverish arming of the great powers—don't all these exist in peacetime, aren't they characteristic of peace, and yet don't they at the same time constitute elements of war within peace? The same is also true of just wars of oppressed classes and nations for their liberation—which develop as a qualitative leap out of the "peaceful" struggle of the oppressed against their oppressors.

Mao popularly expressed this principle as "one divides into two"—meaning that everything exists and develops through the struggle between its two contradictory aspects. Within society progress results from the struggle between two opposing classes, within the Party from the struggle between right and wrong ideas characteristic of those different classes. This goes right down to the atom in nature, which can be broken into the struggle and unity of its electrons and protons, which in turn are further divisible, and on and on.

"The interdependence of the contradictory aspects present in all things," wrote Mao, "and the struggle between these aspects determine the life of all things and push their development forward. There is nothing that does not contain contradiction; without contradiction nothing would exist."

## Development Through Leaps

The two contradictory aspects of a process or entity do not struggle indefinitely. At a certain point a leap in development occurs—that is, through the struggle and transformation of opposites a totally new process comes into being. Thus development is not circular but spiral-like, going to ever higher levels through the course of twists and turns, advances and setbacks, which finally lead to leaps to a whole new stage.

This concept of development through qualitative leaps goes against the "vulgar evolutionists" who acknowledge change but portray it as smooth, without breaks, leaps or revolutions.

Take the birth of a baby, for example. An embryo is created by the union of opposites, the sperm and ovum. But this embryo immediately begins dividing, adding on cells, developing into a fetus. For the rest of the gestation period this fetus exists as one kind of thing, with its own particular contradictions and processes, even as it is growing quantitatively and developing into something different. At the moment of birth, the old unity of opposites is shattered, one divides into two, the fetus goes out of existence, the afterbirth is discarded and something *qualitatively* new comes into being—an independent baby.

## The Spiral Development of the Proletarian Revolution

Only the dialectical notion of spiral and not circular development can reveal the real motion of history, in particular proletarian revolution and the transition to classless, communist society. The proletariat has made three landmark attempts at transforming society—the Paris Commune of 1871, the Russian Revolution and the Chinese Revolution. Each of these attempts, however, was eventually temporarily defeated by the bourgeoisie and capitalism was restored.

This, in a sweeping way, has been the history of proletarian revolution so far—but only so far, for it represents really only the early history of this process, only the first attempts, however monumental, at overthrowing and moving towards the elimination of capitalism, attempts which have in themselves ended in setback.

Thus we see what seems a cycle of revolution-restoration-revolution-restoration, and the metaphysician asks what all the sacrifice really accomplished.

This was spoken to in the book *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, by the RCP, which analyzed the betrayal of the revolution in China.

"And it must be frankly admitted that the working class has not been able to hold onto power for an extended period of time. But the international working class is not at point-0. It is not as though history simply repeats itself. The working class movement has advanced to a higher level through the experience of making revolution, learning from past experiences, summing up new conditions and charting out a clearer path forward. It was only a little more than 100 years ago that the working class first rose up in an organized way and established the first workers government, the Paris Commune. It was short-lived, but it put the question of workers' rule on the front burner. The

problem of seizing power and consolidating the rule of the working class was resolved through the experience of the Bolshevik revolution. And with the Chinese revolution, the problem posed by the Soviet experience, how to mobilize the masses to prevent restoration, was theoretically and practically resolved through the Cultural Revolution.

"But each of these resolutions brought forth new contradictions and difficulties which will be resolved through the world-wide experience of the proletarian revolution. For this reason, though the working class held power in China for a shorter time than in the Soviet Union, its ability to push past the contradictions posed by the Bolshevik revolution has brought the working class movement to a higher level. Mao Tsetung Thought concentrates these experiences and lessons of class struggle and will make it possible for the working class to advance even further."

An introductory article of this length can only touch on a few of the essential points of dialectics, and readers are urged to go into the readings listed at the end, especially "On Contradiction" by Mao.

## Development of Marxist Philosophy

As touched on earlier, Marx and Engels' earlier discovery of dialectical materialism, and its application to human society, historical materialism, was truly a world-historic breakthrough. But these foundations of Marxism have had to be continuously defended and further developed. Society and nature ceaselessly develop, and new challenges constantly arise.

Lenin further defended Marxist philosophy, particularly around the question of materialism vs. idealism, especially in the forms the latter took in the late 19th century—empirio-criticism, positivism, and pragmatism. Lenin's defense of Marxist philosophy was closely linked to the battle against revisionism, and the firm scientific foundations forged in it enabled Lenin and the Bolsheviks to stand firm in the storms that inevitably would and did come while others who had fallen for the myth that "capitalism works" cut and ran like cowards. Lenin also developed dialectics, insisting on the unity and struggle of opposites as the most important law of dialectics. But it remained for Mao Tsetung to develop this point of Lenin's, and in doing so, to raise the understanding of dialectics to a whole new level.

Mao's landmark work "On Contradiction" directed its fire against the dogmatists who were choking the life out of the Chinese Communist Party. Dogmatism characteristically considers only one aspect of a contradiction, or absolutely separates the two aspects (as well as generally divorcing theory from practice). Mao insisted on grasping both the unity and the struggle between opposites as key to a vital understanding of things in their motion and development, and from this starting point forged a number of important concepts of dialectics.

Mao's dialectics was crucial to his greatest overall contribution to Marxism-Leninism: the discovery of the class struggle as the main contradiction in socialism, and the character of and basis for that struggle. Without thoroughly grasping that opposites both struggle and coexist simultaneously, and transform themselves into each other in the proper conditions, how could it be understood that a bourgeoisie continues to coexist and struggle with the proletariat under socialism? Without understanding this, how could the proletariat be armed to win? This brings home again with full force that grasping and applying philosophy is indeed not an "interesting side pursuit," but an absolute necessity to the revolutionary proletariat to successfully carry through its struggle.

## The Proletariat Must Grasp Materialist Dialectics

The proletariat can only make revolution, transform society and emancipate itself and all mankind in the process if it masters, grasps and applies materialist dialectics.

Dialectical materialism enables the proletariat to finally penetrate to the *essence* of capitalism: to see it, as Marx put it, as only a "particular historical phase," and to understand what inevitably must replace it. In a word, it reveals to the working class its historic mission.

Further, dialectical materialism enables the working class to analyze society and solve the strategic and tactical problems facing it in making revolution, and in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. And finally, by fully grasping and developing dialectical materialism mankind will not only advance out of the phase of class society and make the qualitative leap into communist society—it will continue to battle even then, not against antagonistic exploitative classes, but in the struggle to master nature and dialectically related struggle against the outmoded relations, institutions and ideas that will still have to be defeated for society's advance even under communism.

## Some suggested readings on philosophy:

Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*  
Mao Tsetung, *On Contradiction*  
Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Chapter I, sections 4, 5, 6; Chapter II, sections 1 and 2; Chapter III, section 6; Chapter V, sections 2 and 3.*  
Bob Avakian, *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions, Chapter 4, "Philosophy."*