



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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## BOB AVAKIAN RXR BACK IN COURT

March 27, 1980—The moving of the case of the United States of America vs. Bob Avakian from the courtroom on the first floor, where legal proceedings took place last summer and fall, up to the 6th floor Court of Appeals in the Superior Courthouse in Washington, D.C., is symbolic of the escalation of attack represented by the government's appeal in this case. And most recently, of the further sharpening of this government offensive concentrated in the hearing of oral arguments held before that court last Thursday, March 27th.

The scene itself revealed the stakes wrapped up in this battle. At 9:30 a.m., the hushed atmosphere of the tomblike chamber on the top floor of this mausoleum of bourgeois justice was broken by a sepulchral voice intoning, "All rise..." Three pairs of 20 foot high curtains slid open on electronic tracks, the hum of the hidden modern machinery barely audible in the room. As if on another set of electronic tracks and pulled by another hidden machine, black robed figures seemed to float through the giant opening into the chamber and up to the judges' bench high above the rest of the courtroom. Like ghastly ghouls returned from the dead, the judges took their places to preside on what was to come.

On behalf of the dying, stood top U.S. prosecutor Farrell, pledging his allegiance to the already dead and demanding that the dead stand with, defend and expand the attacks launched by

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When you say May Day 1980... Earlier this week the Budweiser billboard stopped going along with the program. Instead of flashing out the usual advertising messages, revolutionary slogans greeted passing motorists.

### Button Day

## CLASS CONSCIOUS FORCE EMERGING

As we go to press, the reports of the intense battle to sell 30,000 May Day buttons are still coming in to the National May Day '80 Committee. But even now, some things are clear. In open defiance of the re-opening of the railroad of Bob Avakian on Thursday, March 27, thousands and thousands wore the May Day button. Like a signal of the revolutionary future, many proudly wore it. This symbol of the powerful fist of the working class, holding firmly the red flag of revolution, displayed on the shirts and collars of thousands, marked an advance for May 1st, 1980. The buttons gave a visible voice to the determination of the revolutionary-minded workers to protect their revolutionary leadership.

From the first call for 30,000 May Day buttons to be worn, this battle has been marked by great turmoil. March 27 was an advance because it mobilized a part of that revolutionary section of the working class, a section that is beginning to be tapped, drawn forward and welded into a class-conscious force at the forefront of the revolutionary movement. At the same time, the ad-

vances were only realized through intense, often wrenching struggle, not just against the ruling class, but even more critically, within the ranks of the revolutionary forces building May Day themselves.

Of course all this was bound to be so. In the coming years we are approaching one of those rare moments in history when the possibility of revolution may

emerge. Against this backdrop, with new forces beginning to swirl into motion, those who step forward are bound to face struggle, though ultimately this still small number represents the decisive force.

The battle became sharply focused in major plants around the country. At the Ford Rouge complex in Detroit,

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### New Book Analyzes Imperialism's Greatest Crisis *America in Decline*

Chapter serialized in the Revolutionary Worker.

# Newark Prisoners Rebel

Sixty prisoners seized the 11th floor of the Essex County Jail, rocking Newark, New Jersey and the surrounding New York area, March 25th. These prisoners, awaiting trial for 6 months, a year, two years, tried to break out, shooting one guard to get the keys and taking ten others hostage. They demanded shotguns, rifles and a helicopter.

While the authorities went through the motions of negotiation led by a Harvard-trained liberal, they attempted to crush the rebellion by force. Their early moves and trickery were countered by the prisoners. When the authorities turned off the water on the tenth and eleventh floors, a guard found himself dangling out the window. And when the prisoners heard a SWAT team sneaking up the stairs, a guard with a gun up against his head was held out the window.

This decisive act of inspired tens of thousands. Hundreds poured out of the prison-like projects just blocks away from the jail to stand with the rebellion. Many were veterans of the Newark rebellion of 1967 when the Black masses rose up in this city and from one end of the country to the other. One man who walked miles to get there said, "Newark's on fire again." People wanted to be there. You got the feeling they'd been waiting a long time for something like this to break. For hours the people on the street and the prisoners yelled back and forth to each other, "Keep it up. Hold out till morning. We're going to the projects to mobilize more brothers. Keep it up. Right on!"

Street corners, restaurants and bars raged with debate. The pigs were on the defensive for a change. Even with SWAT teams and trucks from New York City and helicopters buzzing over-

head, they were well aware that the masses surrounding the jail and in the area generally were for the prisoners, that they were tasting liberation and that this was potentially very dangerous.

When most people had left the sidewalk surrounding the jail, at 3:00 in the morning, the state struck and crushed the rebellion. A "settlement" was reached.

But far from settling the matter, the rebellion pushed out into the forefront sentiments and feelings that had been lingering in people's hearts and minds for a long time. Far from settling the matter, the rebellion and even more revolution is now being debated on the streets, intently in the homes and projects in every corner of Newark.

A banner reading "To the Essex County Prisoners: It is right to rebel. Forward to Revolutionary May Day" was brought into the heart of downtown Newark by the RCP and the Revolutionary May Day Committee. The call for Button Day was grabbed up by thousands of outstretched hands, and the necessity of conscious revolutionary struggle and in particular the revolutionary leadership, line and Party of Bob Avakian were discussed.

The '80s are here. Rebellions like that of the Essex County prisoners will be increasingly frequent. Inevitably, most if not all of these will be put down, exactly because the bourgeoisie has state power. But the oppressed will inevitably rise up against the oppressors and every rebellion of the masses will bring forward many resisters even beyond the actual participants—those rebels, those hungry for revolutionary action and leadership, exactly those whom the Party and the class-conscious proletariat have to forge together and lead to consciously take history into their hands. [ ]



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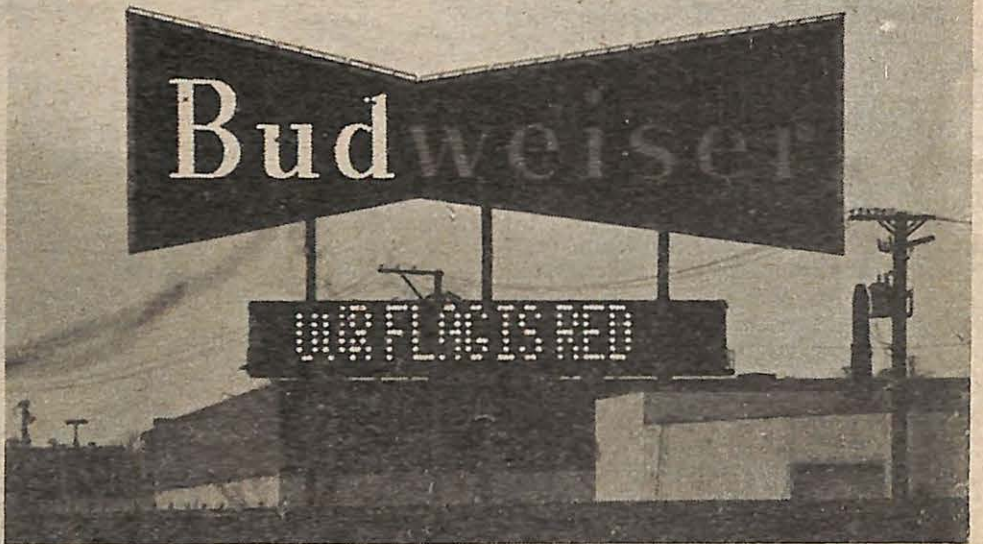
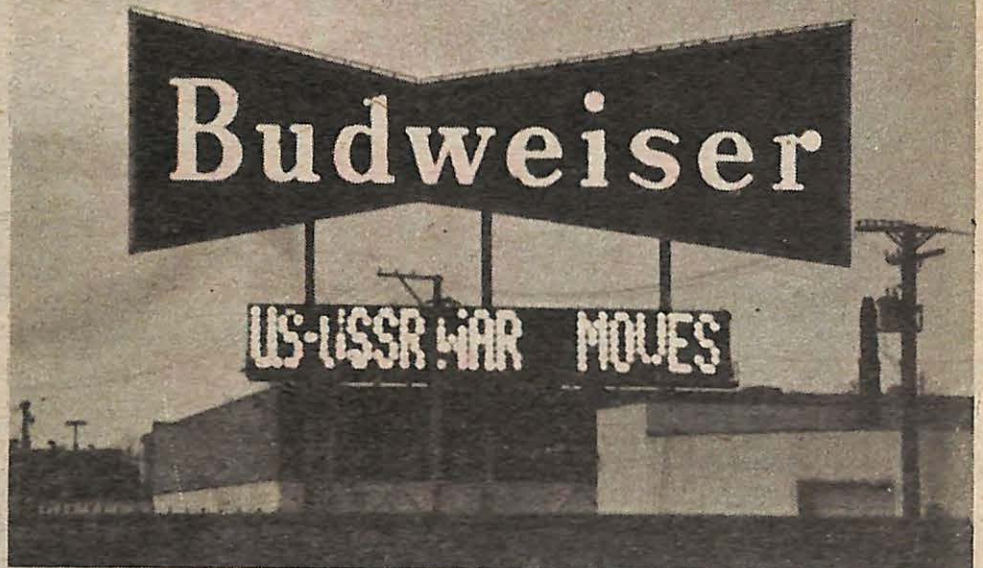
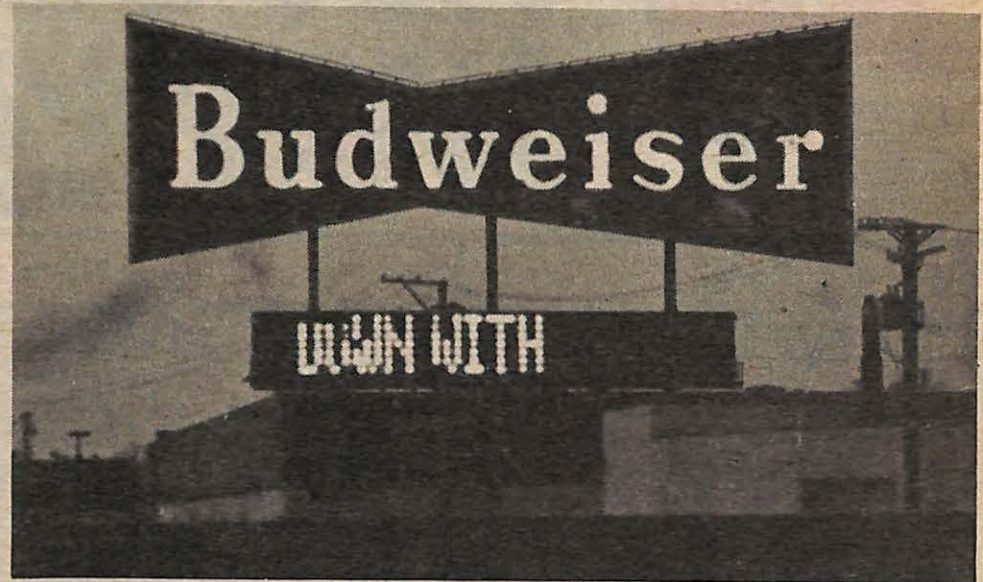
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# The Shah Shuttle: U.S. Colony to U.S. Colony

On Monday morning, March 24, one of the "most wanted" men in the world today, the ex-Shah of Iran, left Panama to find a new rock to hide under. Flanked by two former Iranian colonels, two plainclothes U.S. "advisers" and a host of bodyguards, the Shah flew off to Egypt where his close friend, President Anwar Sadat has offered him a new home. Within a day, the first protests against the Shah's arrival in Egypt started at Cairo University. And in Tehran, a massive demonstration of more than 250,000 people was held in front of the U.S. embassy on Tuesday, demanding the Shah be returned and that the spies inside the embassy be put on trial.

As daily demonstrations have continued all week, the students holding the embassy released a statement describing his latest move supposedly for medical treatment as "a game which the U.S.A. is playing. Just like before, when he went to the U.S.A. because of being ill, now he's ill again—a political illness." A spokesman continued, "Our demands have not changed. We want the extradition of the Shah and the return of his wealth from the United States."

Only three months ago, the U.S. government flew the Shah into Panama when it became clear that their hopes of destabilizing the situation in Iran and provoking a pro-U.S. coup attempt by admitting the Shah into the U.S. for "medical treatment" had grossly backfired. In December, a month after 1500 militant students, supported by the overwhelming majority of the Iran-

ian masses, had seized the U.S. embassy, it had become necessary for the U.S. to ship the Shah to a U.S. neocolony such as Panama, where he could be kept on ice.

## An Increasing Liability

Throughout this period, the Shah has become an increasing political liability for the U.S. imperialists. Yes, he had served them loyally for more than 25 years, and they still had hopes that he could be a rallying point for the remaining counter-revolutionary forces in Iran to make a comeback, as well as to bolster pro-U.S. regimes around the world whose rule is getting shaky.

But increasingly, the seizure of the U.S. embassy and the Iranian people's demand for the return of the Shah has exposed to tens of millions worldwide—including to increasing numbers of people here in the U.S.—the U.S. ruling class' support for this hated dictator and its continuing attempts to reverse the Iranian revolution. Inside Iran itself, the continuing "crisis" has greatly strengthened the position of the democratic, anti-imperialist forces in opposition to the hardcore pro-U.S. reactionaries, as well as in relation to

the vacillating middle forces grouped around Khomeini and Bani-Sadr who are overall trying to stabilize the situation and consolidate their position as a new "Islamic" bourgeoisie.

Over the last month or two, as the U.S. was counting on Bani-Sadr and the Revolutionary Council to force the students to release the embassy personnel, they were able to keep the Shah on a tight leash, keeping him in Panama (where he apparently did not want to live to begin with). But with the collapse of the UN Commission's mission in Iran (which never released the results of its "investigation" into the Shah's crimes) and with the decision in Iran—forced by the continuing struggle of the masses of people—to delay any discussion of releasing the hostages until after elections are held and the new parliament is seated, the U.S. government was apparently no longer able to prevail upon him to stay put.

As usual, the U.S. media is claiming that the Shah flew to Egypt because of "medical problems," including disagreements between U.S. and Panamanian doctors over how to proceed with his next operation. This, however, is a naked attempt to obscure the fact that his fate is a *political*—and not a medical question.

Clearly one important factor in the Shah's leaving Panama is the rising tide of revolution in El Salvador and

throughout Central America, including in Panama itself. The regime of Gen. Omar Torrijos, as much as it is a loyal lackey regime of the U.S., is clearly more worried about saving its own neck than in protecting the Shah, who has already been the focus of repeated demonstrations by opposition forces in Panama City. Furthermore, part of the original deal worked out by the U.S. was for the Shah to make sizable investments in Panama in order to remain a "guest of honor," and these billions never materialized.

The Shah himself was beginning to get the jitters, possibly noticing some similarities between his Central American "paradise" and Iran. This week the Panamanian government was to receive formal extradition papers drawn up by the Iranian government, and though there is no real possibility that they would have been acted on, the Shah was not about to take any chances. As his chief press agent said in Egypt, "Some Panamanians were very uncooperative."

When the U.S. learned of the Shah's planned move, several heavies were immediately dispatched to Panama at the end of last week, including White House chief of staff Hamilton Jordan and President Carter's chief counsel. They argued that for the Shah to move again would further set back the U.S. plans to work out the hostages' release and would also risk more mass upheaval in Egypt and throughout the Middle East. But to no avail. National security adviser Brzezinski indicated the consternation of the imperialists at not being able to control the Shah's every move, announcing that the U.S. no longer has "any obligations or commitment" to the Shah.

What this really means is that this ex-"King of Kings" is no longer a cen-

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## 30,000 Blast the Draft



Revolutionary Worker

**Saturday, March 27, Washington, D.C.**—It was 10:00 a.m., and only a few thousand people had shown at the ellipse just south of the White House. Less than two hours later, about 30,000 students and youth had gathered in the park, anxiously waiting to take the march against the draft and war into the streets. People came with all kinds of political ideas. "Anderson for President" buttons were displayed by a good number. This was the first demonstration some had attended. Others had been active for years. Anarchists, libertarians, democrats, social democrats, fuck-it-all rebellious youth, old '60s movement people, religious people, people who "look to some form of socialism"—many political ideas were present. Most could sense that the '80s would be a time of some kind of turmoil and change in the world, but what kind of turmoil and what kind of change?

All these questions demanded answers. And among a significant number of people, the old reliable answers couldn't cut it any more. A hilarious example of this came when one of the march organizers tried to rally people around the chant, "We'll go when Amy goes!" Within seconds large sections of the crowd started shouting, "Fuck Amy, they can have her, we're never gonna go!" A high school student from Boston whose coat was jammed with political buttons said, "War, that's part of why I'm here. I don't want to die in a war... yeah, I got more on my mind than that, though. I go to high school in Boston. We got a group, a political group, we know the whole world's screwed up today. Our whole group came down here. I wanted to speak—I thought that would be important, you know, a high school student speaking at the rally. I told them what I wanted to say and why, and they said no, there's no room on the agenda. Fuck that—make room on the agenda. They wouldn't let me speak because they're afraid.... I hate this shit, but it's not the '60s any more, it's different. Yeah, we want change, but we got to figure out what we're gonna do... that's what I wanted to say."

The rally and march was, in the main, organized by the Mobilization Against the Draft (MAD), a collection of congressional lobbyists, labor

hacks, a couple of congressmen and various political groups ranging from the right-wing Student Libertarian Society and the United States Student Association (formerly the National Student Association, a CIA-funded student group in the '60s), to the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and others. MAD wanted people to stick around for a couple of days after the march to go lobby Congress. And far from ignoring questions like those of the young brother from Boston, the MAD organizers were actively striving to expand their influence and put out *their* answers to these questions. And their answers were as insane as they were backward.

There was one answer these clowns didn't want anybody to hear—revolution. But it was too late, because the Revolutionary May Day contingent *arrived*. Led by a giant red flag, with dozens of other red flags and mounted posters of Bob Avakian, the May Day contingent marched into the park. Immediately, thousands of eyes were riveted on the column of red.

Black, white, Latin—all together. This alone was something new. But more, these people were clearly workers—workers with red flags. "Screw the Draft," read some flags, "Register for May Day." A banner read, "Down

with U.S. and Soviet War Moves—Our Flag is Red, Not Red, White and Blue!"

From the MAD leaders and some others came the expected shouts of "Disrupters! You're ruining everything!" MAD was getting madder. Others were blown away, shocked, electrified—discussion raged as people fired off their questions. And for a significant number of people (from those like the one youth who shouted, "You're the crazy ones, I'm with you!" to others who clearly had something a hell of a lot bigger on their minds than a MAD lobbying effort), this contingent was right on target.

After a 20-block march through downtown D.C., 30,000 people gathered at the Capitol building for a rally. While any number of political pimps for U.S. imperialism circulated through the crowd, plying their wares, a much more significant swill was being tossed from the stage. For example, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee leader Michael Harrington stated straight up, "We are not here to burn the American flag but to cleanse it." Mr. Clean's message was developed by a couple of "dissident" congressmen, namely, Kastenmeier of Wisconsin and Weiss of New York. Weiss stated that "We don't really need registration today. In World

War 1 we registered one million people in one day, in World War 2 we registered one million people in one day, so why have registration today? We can get enough people when it's necessary." Kastenmeier followed Weiss and babbled about how "the draft brings about war. There's never been a draft without a war." Following up on this absurdity, he offered this solution: "Plead with Congress not to divide the country by re-instating the draft."

While this got over with a few people, higher attempts to pacify the crowd were left up to the bulk of the speakers' list—the "official radicals." Speaker after speaker called on the demonstrators to "build a stronger, more unified peace movement in the U.S." in order to deal with "a new Vietnam in the Mideast."

The rulers of this country exactly intend to "get enough people when it's necessary," and it won't be for a "new Vietnam in the Mideast" either. Their system is driving them to war all right—but world war with their imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union. As we said in the last issue of the *RW*, it's not hard to see where the "opposition" to the draft represented on the speakers' platform on March 22 will lead when *that kind of war* breaks out.

The March 22 demonstration revealed three important things. First, that there is important motion, particularly among the youth, in opposition to the U.S. rulers' plans for the draft and war. Second, that we have far from seen the end of the Weisses or the "official radicals," and that as the movement develops, we should expect more, not less, of this straight-up populist reaction.

Third, and most important, the Washington demonstration revealed something about the possibility and necessity of May Day 1980. A real political movement is developing here; thousands thrown into activity by forces beyond their control. The need of the influence of conscious workers is obvious. The literal support of significant numbers at the demonstration for genuine proletarian revolutionary politics and, in turn, the punch that the May Day contingent added to the march stands as a portent to the hallowed halls of Capitol Hill. □

# "Bob Avakian and Mao Defendants Must Stay Free" International Meeting in Paris

The struggle to keep Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants free continues to broaden overseas as well as in the U.S. A very important development took place on March 15 when a public meeting was held in Paris, home of the Paris Commune, the first proletarian revolution in 1871, to support the revolutionary movement in the U.S. and oppose attacks on the RCP, USA.

Well over 300 people jammed into an undersized room to hear a speech delivered by Pat Richards, one of the Mao Tsetung Defendants, Banners reading "Bob Avakian and the Mao

Defendants Must Remain Free," "Long Live the Revolutionary Movement in the U.S.," and "Workers of All Countries and Oppressed Nations, Unite" decorated the hall. In asking for support from comrades in other countries, Richards pointed out that "the revolutionary movement in the U.S. is not the private property of the RCP, USA nor even of the masses of people in the U.S.; it belongs to the international working class and oppressed masses throughout the world." In this spirit, she reported to the meeting on the development of the class struggle in the

U.S. and the line of the RCP, emphasizing especially the RCP's analysis of the deepening of the crisis of imperialism, the quick acceleration of moves toward world war, and the real possibility of a revolutionary situation developing in the 1980s in the U.S. Together with this analysis was an explanation of how the RCP is preparing today, through the use of the *Revolutionary Worker* and building Revolutionary May Day 1980, so that the opportunity will not be lost when a revolutionary situation arises.

The speech was warmly received by the participants at the meeting and provoked quite a bit of interest in understanding better and struggling over the line of the RCP, USA.

Following the main speech, short speeches were given by seven organizations which had helped organize the meetings. These included: For the Proletarian International; Union of Communists of France, Marxist-Leninist; Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile; Union of Iranian Students in France (For Proletarian Democracy); Union of Students from Turkey in France and Association of Workers from Turkey in France; Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee Proletarian Way; and the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada *In Struggle*. Support messages were read from: the Red Flag Party of Venezuela; "Echoola," a Marxist-Leninist organization in Tunisia; and Progressive and Anti-Fascist Greek Students in France.

After the support statements were made, the meeting sent the following message to the District Attorney who is in charge of the inquisition against the Mao

Defendants. It read: "Over 300 people, including representatives of 11 Marxist-Leninist and progressive organizations from 8 countries, met in Paris to condemn U.S. political repression against the RCP, USA. Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants must stay free! Persist in your reactionary plans and you will be met by worldwide opposition."

During the meeting there was a discussion period in which many people asked questions or made comments regarding the speech and the line of the RCP. For example, there were questions regarding the RCP's activity among the masses, its view of revolutionary agitation as the most important means of preparing for revolution, and so on. The discussion, while not able to go thoroughly into all this, indicated that these are some of the same questions being struggled over in other countries as well as the U.S.

The RCP, USA's stand on the international situation and the international communist movement was also discussed. The questions of the "strategy of the three worlds," how the revolution in China was reversed, and the attacks on Mao Tsetung by Enver Hoxha, as well as how to understand the current international situation, are all of great interest to Marxist-Leninists in France and other countries. All copies in Paris of the French translation of the RCP's reply to Hoxha (*Beat Back the Dogmatic-Revisionist Attack on Mao Tsetung Thought*) were sold out.

The meeting was an important step forward. The turnout was considered very successful by revolutionaries in France. And although there were differences on some important questions, all were united on the need to defend the RCP, USA against the attacks from the U.S. bourgeoisie. The meeting also underscored the need and the possibility

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## A Call to Battle A Challenge to Dare

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

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

"Seize the Day, Seize the Hour."



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## Strike at Federal Torture Chamber

Marion, IL., March 28—As we go to press, a work stoppage involving all 400 inmates at the Marion Federal Penitentiary, the heaviest maximum security prison in the U.S., has entered its 11th day. This is their third work stoppage in six months. They remain locked in their cells for refusing the "privilege" of working in the prison's kitchen, its furniture factory and printing plant where pay ranges from \$10-\$75/month. The immediate demands of this work stoppage are not clear yet as communication from within the prison is very limited. But what has been reported so far is that the prisoners are protesting prison conditions, including a 20% cutback in the food ration, and are resisting the prison administration's attempts to force them to construct more boxcar cells for the infamous "Control Unit" (CU) of the prison. The ten boxcar cells already in use are no more than torture chambers, the most glaring expression of what this prison is really all about. These cells were supposedly ruled illegal by a federal judge 2 years ago.

A total of 120 inmates are walled up in the Control Unit, almost one-third of the entire prison population at Marion. The inmates in the CU are not chosen by the warden but by the regional directors of the Bureau of Prisons in Kansas City and Washington, D.C. from inmates throughout the U.S. According to the glib public relations man at Marion, the CU is for people who "have demonstrated a need for close supervision." More to the point, the CU is a special hell reserved not merely for "rule breakers," but for those inmates with a history of rebellion, a refusal to have their spirit broken, and particularly those who have been political activists on the outside and at other prisons. Leonard Peltier, Native American freedom fighter, was jailed here following his arrest by the FBI for his participation in the armed uprising at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. Two participants in the Walla Walla Prison rebellion last year were held here, as are 21 inmates transferred

from New Mexico State Prison after the recent uprising there.

Any prisoner labelled "dangerous" or "aggressive" can be held indefinitely in the Control Unit. Prisoners have spent up to three years here locked up 23-1/2 hours a day in cells that are only two square feet larger than the standard dog kennels shown in the Sears Roebuck catalog. They contain one steel slab with a thin mattress, a toilet and a basin. Beatings, macings, racial taunts by guards and inadequate medical care are routine. Most reading material is denied. Although all visiting is done through a clear plexiglass shield via wall telephone, inmates are still strip-searched before and after each visit.

For those who can't be broken in other parts of the Control Unit, there are the boxcars, the most modern and up-to-date torture equipment designed not only to crush a person psychologically, but literally to drive him insane. They were originally small, plain cells with a solid steel, soundproof door with a slit in it. Psychologists call them "sensory deprivation" units because it is almost completely dark and noiseless inside. The effect is one of being nailed into a coffin. In order to make these boxcars legal again after they had been "outlawed," the slit in the door was replaced by a slightly larger plexiglass panel. The rest of the cell remained identical to the original. Officials now deny the existence of any such thing as a boxcar cell at the prison.

According to a press release from the warden's office, "Few indications have surfaced as to the underlying cause of the stoppage." According to the prison's P.R. man, "Warden Miller makes it a point to talk to most of the prisoners each day and they like him." He brushed aside reports from prisoners that the food ration has been cut back 20%, saying, "You'll always have concern for issues like food, laundry and health care in—what's the sociological term?—oh yeah, 'closed societies' like prisons, the military or schools." □

## Kennedy New York Win Makes it a Race!

# Setting Up the Sucker Game

Teddy Kennedy's "shattering upset" twin wins over President Carter in the New York and Connecticut presidential primaries, which came at a time when most press coverage of his campaign seemed more suited for the obituary page, would at first glance seem to reinforce the impression that election 1980 is a chaotic crazy quilt of the unexpected and the inexplicable, in which a "volatile electorate" continually befuddles pollsters and pundits and no clear pattern can be discerned. This perception contains a partial truth—it is clear that the question of who to install as the next president, which is a critical issue for the ruling class as America jolts and lurches into the coming whirlwind of crisis, rebellion and war, has not been clearly settled within the ranks of the bourgeoisie itself.

The electoral process does serve as a proving ground to "test the mettle" of various candidates, to determine which of them can most effectively serve as their representative and most effectively unite the masses in defense of their rule. In addition, the rapid development in world events and the deepening economic mess at home rule out a completely orchestrated "advance script" for the course and outcome of the election. But it is precisely these maneuvers and shifts on the part of the bourgeoisie as they struggle to gear up for the coming life-and-death struggle that determine the pattern of the campaign.

In addition, the ruling class is trying to do its best to make a horserace out of this election in order to suck people into their whole election con game. They are trying the tried and true methods of turning the masses of people into participants in their "democratic process" farce—chumps who take a keen interest in which particular representatives of the class of people who are stomping all over them will get the nod this time around. The old "underdog coming from behind to win victory" trick is one of their commonly employed methods to accomplish this and clearly they played this to the hilt in the New York and Connecticut primaries.

In the last months of 1979, prior to Senator Kennedy's formal declaration of candidacy, it was quite clear that the bourgeoisie was looking for a replacement for Jimmy Carter, and that the majority view was that Kennedy was an extremely attractive, if not the only logical choice to serve as its chief spokesman. Kennedy was being widely hailed in the press, and favored daily with intense and adulatory media coverage. His stock demurrals, during his "coy" period—"I would expect President Carter to be the nominee, and I would expect to support him"—only brought forth fresh appeals, new "draft Kennedy" committees, new polls demonstrating that he would crush Carter in the primaries and roll over any Republican in the general election, new specials on his life, new reminiscences of the glorious Camelot, new hype about the once and future King. Kennedy has in fact been groomed for the presidency for a long time, and it was clear that if there was any time the rulers of this country needed to pull out their charismatic "ace in the hole", 1980 was the time to do it.

With the great turmoil and upheaval ahead, especially with world war looming, the bourgeoisie has "got to sell hell," and get people to believe they're fighting for a wonderful and glorious cause. While Teddy Kennedy will not be able to revive the same "glory" of the Camelot created by his brothers and their legions of bourgeois publicists, he has worked hard to maintain this legend, to hold himself out as the promised savior who can lead the masses in a reactionary cause while appealing to their higher aspirations.

But the very same crisis which caused the bourgeoisie to tap Teddy Kennedy on the shoulder in the first place has intensified so rapidly that it has made it impossible to have any smooth and painless transition in leadership and even raised the question of whether it is

desirable to have someone like Kennedy as President in the first place. Perhaps a more straight out "it's going to be hell, but take it or leave it" type is what's needed. The seizure of the American hostages by the Iranian revolutionary masses, with their righteous demand that the U.S. should return the deposed Shah to face justice at the hands of the people, meant that the American people had to be quickly rallied behind President Carter, whose image was quickly brushed up. Kennedy blasted Carter for ever having allowed the Shah to come to the United States, and piously observed that the Shah "ran one of the most violent regimes in the history of mankind."

Kennedy was articulating the line that bringing the Shah here was a disastrous blunder—not, of course, because the U.S. didn't soil its hands with dictators, but that deposed and exposed butchers are merely a liability, and that the move to bring them into the U.S. blew "promising opportunities" for pro-U.S. forces within Iran to gain power and crush the advance of the revolutionary struggle. This reflected real policy differences within the ruling class.

But the ruling class as a whole, including those sections who privately shared Kennedy's assessment, felt compelled to publicly denounce his "breaking ranks" at a time when they had the propaganda machine straining every nerve to whip up a frenzy of jingoistic hysteria among the masses. And political commentators described Kennedy's statements—which he did not repeat—as a "major campaign blunder."

All of a sudden big Chappaquiddick stories began appearing by the score in the press. Kennedy was portrayed as lackluster and lame. Now the dashing knight of the living dead seemed more like a turkey, stumbling through speeches and gobbling unconvincingly and sometimes incoherently. The word was spread around, "After all, it's easy to hang around the Senate basking in the magic of the Kennedy name, playing the role of plaster saint—now he's falling flat on his face." Kennedy's poll ratings quickly plunged. He was soundly thrashed by Carter in the Iowa caucuses—and there went the myth of Kennedy invincibility.

This turn of events led to a major campaign reassessment within the Kennedy camp. Because of earlier expectations that Kennedy would be ushered into office on a velvet carpet, his campaign line in general has reflected a shift towards the "center" retreating somewhat from his "extreme liberal" posture—a tactic designed to make him appear the broad consensus candidate. However, this tactic was a failure, as Carter had at least temporarily regained the mantle of "national leader," and it merely demoralized Kennedy's hardcore liberal boosters.

Throughout these trials and tribulations, the Kennedy camp was looking toward Illinois where they expected Kennedy's so-called "natural constituency" of Blacks and blue collar workers in a heavily industrialized state would hand him a decisive victory. Kennedy also had the support of Mayor Byrne, and therefore the Chicago Democratic machine as well as the support of the bulk of the trade union bureaucracy.

Instead, Kennedy got his ass blown away. There were a number of reasons pointed out by bourgeois commentators: Mayor Byrne is unpopular; the machine she ostensibly controls was sharply divided on Kennedy and dragged its feet in Chicago; the machine ain't what it used to be anyway; the Chappaquiddick scandal hurt Kennedy among Catholics who would normally be expected to turn out in droves for him, etc. One result of this was a large cross over vote of Democrats into the Republican race to vote for John Anderson, who is trying to steal some of Kennedy's "liberal" thunder while also portraying the image of a man of iron character and unimpeachable

chastity—qualities which Kennedy is quite justifiably perceived as lacking.

Following the Illinois defeat, most commentators pronounced Kennedy finished. Jody Powell, Carter's press secretary, subtly suggested that the Senator retire from the field. Polls taken in the looming primary states of New York and Connecticut showed Carter with a vast lead. With Ronald Reagan's commanding lead in delegates on the Republican side, it appeared that a Carter vs. Reagan race was almost inevitable.

However it is not by any means a given that the ruling class wants to see a Carter/Reagan race. Reagan is a 69-year-old proto-fascist; and Carter, who has to do all the bourgeoisie's dirty work, and who is now rapidly losing the aura of resolute leader of our nation in crisis, is pretty damaged goods. It is true that if they decide that they have no choice but to stick with Carter, which is possible, Reagan is the logical man to set up against him. What would be hoped for then would be a repeat of the 1964 Johnson/Goldwater farce, where Johnson posed as a "peace candidate" during the election while Goldwater said things like "lets lob one into the men's room of the Kremlin" and advocated dismantling the social security system. Once elected, by the largest landslide in America in electoral history, Johnson piled 500,000 troops into Vietnam. So, if anybody could make Carter look like the lesser of two evils, Reagan can—although obviously the situation today is not 1964, and Carter will not be posing as a "dove" in 1980.

But the 1980 campaign is far from over and the results of the New York and Connecticut primaries attest to it. The bourgeoisie is intent on making the campaign a horserace as mentioned earlier and they have not as yet reached a consensus on who would best suit their purposes as president. Kennedy has to be kept solidly in the running. While the *New York Post* blared, "Carter vs. Reagan!" on the morning following the Illinois primary—and virtually all polls and commentators predicted a Carter victory would definitely spell the final death to the Kennedy campaign, this

very fact was utilized to sway people towards Kennedy for the voting in New York.

A number of editorialists cranked out tear-stained prose about Kennedy in his twilight hours: how calm, how resolute he seemed, not what one would expect from an embittered candidate deserted by many who had called for him to run; without funds, reduced to flying tourist class and taking public transportation, he plugs along. One writer observed that Joe Kennedy, the father of the Kennedy Klan, had always taught his sons how to win; both he and his brothers would be proud if they could see that Teddy knew how to lose with honor—with dignity. Teddy has taken to helping his campaign aides on with their coats (so touching, they work without pay you know, so loyal and he's so kind to them) and it was sad, you know, that it would be the voters of New York, once thought to be Kennedy's staunchest supporters, who would drive the final nail into the coffin. And what character the man showed, fighting for his ideals, which he considers truly important; perhaps an impossible dream, yes, but...

The obvious purpose of all this was to negate the Chappaquiddick affair and questions about Kennedy's "staunchness and character" by striving to show that he had proved himself a man of noble character and in a time of great adversity. At the same time, other things were breaking Kennedy's way. Both New York and Connecticut had heavy concentrations of Jewish voters. Historically tending to vote liberal, in recent years, their vote has grown more conservative. Among the more conservative Jewish voters, the U.S. vote in the UN Security Council in favor of the resolution calling for Palestinian autonomy—a vote quickly retracted by Carter but which became a major "embarrassment"—led to a huge protest vote against Carter.

In addition, in mid-week, Carter announced new massive cuts in aid to cities, with New York hard hit on the list; a visit by Vice President Mondale to Mayor Koch, a key Carter supporter, in which he assured Koch that

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Revolutionary Worker

NEWS ITEM: Pro-America rally held in Juneau, Alaska last week.



"The New Patriotism"

# R x R

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the dying. But something else rose in the room as well. At the defense table and throughout the audience were red shirts and scores of May Day buttons worn that day sparkled in the gloom, the newly born rose to do battle for the future. And the battle was joined.

The prosecutor began his argument with an "explanation" of what, in the government's view, this case is all about to the panel of appellate court judges who apparently "knew little about the case" before them, in spite of the fact that hundreds of pages of legal documents have been in their hands for weeks (to say nothing of the fact that the ruling class is clearly quite aware of its own conspiracy to railroad Bob Avakian to jail). Where the prosecutor's jumbled distortion of the "facts" hit two obvious roadblocks of unclarity, the "neutral" judges were happy to prompt him with neutral questions, such as: "Is the government's motive important in this case?" Response: "I don't think so, your honor. Actually the motive of the government is irrelevant here." "Are there any issues of credibility in this case?" "I don't think so. Judge Pratt (the lower court judge who dismissed the charges giving rise to the appeal—RW) never questioned our credibility."

What seemed a brazen and almost incredible attempt to turn the world on its head to some in the courtroom, was a routine question and answer session to the prosecutor/judge team. The facts of the actual legal issue before the Court of Appeals—the dismissal of the 25 felony count indictment against Bob Avakian and the 16 other defendants on the legal grounds of "prosecutorial vindictiveness" and the additional fact that Judge Pratt's November ruling actually cited "vindictiveness in fact" and not merely the appearance of vindictiveness—are suddenly "irrelevant here."

These "questions" and "answers" set the scene for the thirty minute dialogue between prosecution and judges. With the issue of vindictiveness disposed of, Farrell went on to remind the Appeals Court that this case is "laden with policy decisions." He stated, "It was a fear of serious prejudice to our theory of liability which forced us to seek indictment on all charges. The stake we had in seeking reindictment was the danger to our theory of joint liability. That's not vindictive."

The ridiculously obvious fact that the U.S. attorney had brought the reindictment, which more than doubled the stakes from 105 years in jail to 241 years in jail, in direct response to the defendants' exercise of their right to join two originally separated indicted groups of defendants into one group to present a common political defense in this case (providing a clearcut legal basis for the dismissal order), was even more ridiculously and obviously denied by Farrell. "We only found out at the arraignment (in early July) that they wanted a political trial," claimed Farrell. Come on, bourgeoisie, who the hell are you trying to fool? After you launched a fullscale police attack on a political demonstration which got worldwide recognition, and after months of

political demonstrations at your court houses and federal buildings across the country, piles of telegrams expressing outrage at this political attack adorning your desk, fat files of the surveillance reports of your political police against the RCP and its political campaign around this case passed back and forth between your top representatives—why do you bother to vomit up this vile lie now?

But this see-thru argument only serves to underline and expose the real arguments of the prosecution for their reindictment of the 17 defendants. "We felt that we would have difficulty in convincing a jury of the theory of joint liability. (If the two separate 12 and 15 count indictments were brought together as the basis of prosecution for all 17 defendants.) Defense counsel would have had a field day. He would have ridiculed the prosecution. 'If the prosecution had the courage of their convictions, why didn't they charge everybody with everything', he could have argued before the jury." And no one's going to say that the U.S. imperialists don't have the "courage of their convictions"—having been vindictive all along and faced with the exposure of this fact, they found the obvious solution—an escalation of vindictiveness.

But Farrell didn't rest here. He went on to openly bare the bloody fangs which the U.S. imperialists have been trying to sink into the neck of Bob Avakian with this case all along. "We were concerned about serious prejudice to us in what is essentially a conspiracy case." Now the U.S. attorney has finally come out in the open and admitted what defense attorneys have charged all along—that the government's case is not (and never has been) a criminal case at all, but is a political conspiracy case.

The government also expanded on and deepened the argument made in its appeal brief. This was amply demonstrated by the fact that Farrell openly stated that vindictiveness or lack of vindictiveness should not even enter in here at all in the court's decision, as well as by the fact that the prosecution is still clinging to its now-exposed dual tactics of claiming that on the one hand, "this case arose from an episode where 27 officers were assaulted, some of them injured," crimes for which the government claims to be able to make "specific identifications" of a number of the defendants—and on the other hand, claiming that their "theory is that all are jointly liable," that they "have evidence which they will present at trial that this was a planned assault" or as referred to above, even more sharply, "a conspiracy." But all of this, while more than ever flaunted as the actual means by which the U.S. government intends to pursue this attack, still remains just that—the means. And the special significance of the government's arguments on Thursday goes far beyond that. For what came out in this hearing, in fact what not only came out, but what the prosecution's whole argument to the appellate court was fundamentally based on, was the reason for this attack on Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants.

U.S. attorney Farrell bluntly stated in his closing rebuttal to the argument made by defense attorneys to the court, "There is a policy question here. If the courts are too ready to dismiss these charges, it would hamper the govern-

ment's ability to make selective prosecutions." And here it stands in all its glory: the case of the United States of America vs. Bob Avakian is not and never has been a routine criminal case. The charges against the defendants have never "described what they did," as U.S. prosecutor Mary Ellen Abrecht once attempted to claim. There is in fact an important question of "policy" for the U.S. imperialist class here. What policy is clear—their policy towards the revolutionary leadership that stands as the greatest threat to their rule today. Their "policy" towards pursuing attacks against this man and this Party by means of their legal apparatus, their "democratic justice" system which in fact is here openly revealed to be one important means by which they carry out their dictatorship.

There is, as Farrell admitted and repeatedly reminded the court on March 27th, something special about "these charges". They stand today as the foremost test of the government's "ability to make selective prosecutions"—to single out the greatest threat to their political rule and under the cover of "prosecution" attempt to crush it into the dust.

But the stand of those they are so afraid of was also made clear. Right inside the courthouse, the spectre of the future that haunts them and is preparing to hunt them down arose and boldly declared its intentions. A sea of red flags, crested by a single giant scarlet banner, roared its challenge falling not only on the marble walls but on the ears of the hundreds of people who saw it there. The routine "workings" of the justice system were jolted by the revolutionary fighters from the May Day brigades who had united with the Com-

mittee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants to mobilize a show of opposition to the greasing of this railroad of Bob Avakian. Dozens of pigs, including their riot squads, turned out in the courthouse area which became a hotseat of debate. "What's going on?" "Why the red flags?" "What's this case all about?" A "Protest of the Appeal" appeared in *The Washington Post* that same morning, hitting the newsstand and getting into the hands of hundreds of thousands across D.C. at the very moment when the two sides in this battle faced off in the courtroom. The breadth of opposition to this attack which the protest represented, when linked to the open challenge being hurled at them and their rule by thousands who answered the call of the RCP for button day, freaked out the enemy so much that they refused to allow supporters who came to the courtroom to even bring copies of *The Washington Post* into the hearing.

On March 27th, the lines were drawn still more sharply in the battle to keep Bob Avakian on the street and defeat this and every other attack unleashed against revolutionary leadership. This happened in D.C. inside the courtroom and in the demonstration in front of the courthouse. And it was concentrated in the stand of thousands who wore May Day buttons across the country that day. Now the legal battle is lodged in the appeals court. And the court's deliberations leading to its verdict will take place while the battle for May Day 1980 continues and moves into high gear towards victory on May 1st. The stakes involved here were made clear in the courtroom itself on March 27th, and the enemy knows it and fears it: The

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"The students all over the world are the ones who bring about a change; old people don't bring about a change. I mean I'm not saying this against anybody that's old—because if you're ready for some action you're not old, I don't care how old you are. But if you're not ready for some action, I don't care how young you are, you're old... Some of us get too old while we're still in our teens."

Malcolm X



High school students struggle over who will hold up the red flag.

Bury Them With Telegrams!

Defeat the Appeal!  
Drop All the Charges Once And For All!  
Keep Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants  
Free!

District of Columbia Court of Appeals  
500 Indiana Ave NW  
Washington, D.C. 20001

Judge George R. Gallagher  
Judge Julia Cooper Mack  
Judge William C. Pryor

# BREAK OUT IN BENTON!



Jerry Lower 1980



Jerry Lower 1980

**“We saw the Iranian people do it on TV”—“We heard about how people revolted against the war in Vietnam—we figured ‘this is our chance’,” several students told the *Revolutionary Worker*.**

**Benton, Illinois.** Population 6800. A coal mining town 300 miles south of Chicago. Every morning the youth gather in bunches across from the high school. These are the ones the administration calls “delinquents,” “truants” and “rowdies”—the working class youth who break the rules, who haven’t yet learned “their place.” There is nowhere to go, nothing to do. A cloud of smoke rises over the parking lots as the students light up. The kids brace themselves for another day at Benton High, designed to mold them into “young adults”, obedient slaves to be fed into the profit machine.

The mine rescue station located right next to the high school stands as a constant reminder of exactly what kind of future these youth are being educated for—a future of being blown up in a coal mine, or dying a slow death from years of backbreaking, mind-numbing toil. “My grandfather and uncle died in the mines,” said one student, a common story here not far from the site of the infamous Franklin Mine Disaster of 1951 in which 119 died. And many of these kids will be snatched up by the Ar-

my before they even get a chance at a job in the mines. The Army goes right into the high school to do recruiting.

But on Wednesday, March 19, things were different. At 1:20 p.m. the school doors exploded open with a bang, unable to contain the pent-up anger and frustration any longer. Sunlight pierced the gloom of Benton High as 400 students, more than half the school—came flying out, shouting, laughing, running, throwing their fists in the air. The walkout had begun, sparked by the firing of two sympathetic teachers who the administration said “were not able to maintain discipline” because they committed such heinous crimes as allowing the kids to talk for the last four minutes of class. “School sucks!” “The administration sucks!” they shouted. It was a jailbreak. The joy of the oppressed rising up was written all over their faces—the joy of busting loose, of spitting in the face of the deadly, suffocating future symbolized by Benton High School.

A demonstration formed up and started moving toward the town square. **Continued on page 15**

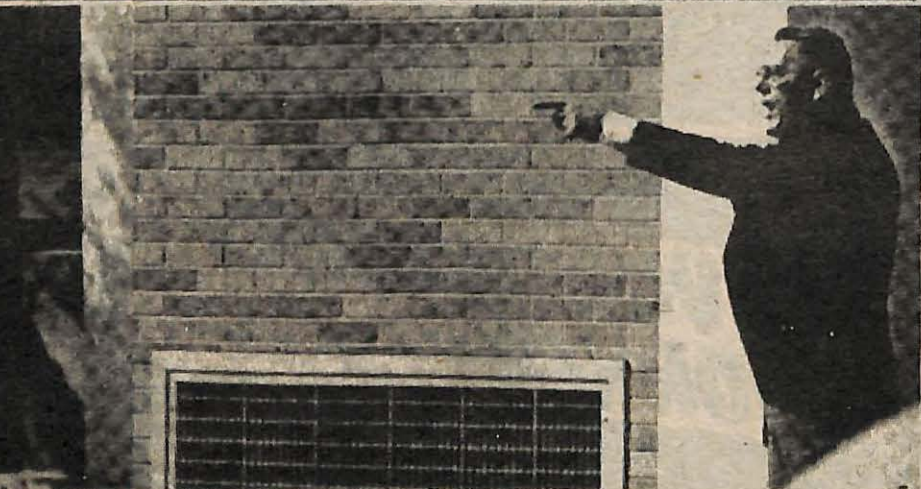
**Below: The front page of the Benton Evening News reflected the impact of the students’ actions on the small town.**

## Benton Evening News

\$1.00 PER WEEK

BENTON, ILLINOIS, THURSDAY, MARCH 20, 1980

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**FAR APART WEDNESDAY** were students and administrators at Benton high school after what appeared to be more than half of the student body walked out of classes in what some said was a protest at school board action in not renewing the contracts of two teachers. The confrontation above between a student and principal Charles Oyster came after the demonstrating

students returned to the school grounds after parading to and from the Benton public square. Administrators asked them to leave the grounds because “you have made your choice.” Other students were still in class. More photographs will be found on page 9. (Evening News photos)

## Communist Book Shakes Iran Government

# SAVAK Exposed

A political storm has been created in Iran by the recent publication of a book giving the names and identifications of almost 8,000 SAVAK agents and employees. The book has become a best seller in Iran while leading government officials like Ayatollah Behesti, head of Iran's Supreme Court and Secretary of the Revolutionary Council, have denounced the publication as a SAVAK-like action.

The reason for the furor is that officials of Iran's new government have steadfastly refused to make public the files of the Shah's Secret Police, the SAVAK. Instead, the SAVAK's files, particularly those on working-class organizations, and many SAVAK

agents themselves, have been incorporated into the government's new intelligence organization, the SAVAMA.

The new book, entitled "8,000 SAVAK Agents and Plotters," was published by the Union of Iranian Communists (UIC). For most of the agents the book gives the first and last name, father's name and government identification number which all Iranians have. The UIC stated that the files were obtained by attacking the house of a certain spy. Armed with this new information the masses immediately began attacking and exposing Savakis (former SAVAK agents) who had wormed their way back into jobs in factories, schools and government agencies.

Screaming like stuck pigs, Behesti, Rafsanjani, Tabatabaee (the latter two are close associates of Khomeini) went on TV and radio to denounce the book as "inaccurate and irresponsible." Behesti, a red, white and blue Iranian featured in a recent issue of *Time* magazine, has initiated legal proceedings against the UIC.

The UIC has replied to the government by challenging them to release their files since they claim the book is in error.

The book has been welcomed by the masses and is being read everywhere in spite of the government's attempts to confiscate it. Attacks by the masses on the hated Savakis have increased so

much that on March 18 Ayatollah Khomeini exposed his stand by publicly proclaiming a general amnesty. This amnesty order explicitly applied to all former SAVAK agents except those accused of specific crimes of murder, torture and "misusing the people's wealth." The result has been the release from jail of many SAVAK agents.

The government's harboring of the former secret police has enraged the masses. In Washington, for example, one group of Moslem students has publicly demanded that the Iranian Embassy in Washington purge itself of agents of the old regime. The sharpness of the struggle shows once again that, far from seeking to destroy the state apparatus of the Shah's regime, the bourgeois government of Bani Sadr seeks to harness and utilize that machinery to continue the repression of the masses of Iranian people in the interests of a new set of home-grown exploiters.

## Mother Arrested

# Contributing to the Revolutionization of a Minor

East St. Louis, IL.—Last week, three comrades from the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade were brightening up the boarded-up shells and bus stops in this predominantly Black community which sits across the Mississippi River from St. Louis, Mo. News of the May Day Brigade hit this city that has only one plant left working—Hunter Packing—a plant that's about to close down.

Up went the paste. Up went the poster. And up rolled an unmarked pig car. Two plainclothes cops with guns drawn jumped out. Witnesses thought it was a holdup, which is not far off. They called the police station. Meanwhile, Rick tried to slide off to safer ter-

ritory. The cops captured him and forced all three to lie face down on the sidewalk. Anthony was beaten.

Shortly, Anthony's mother, Coralie, got a phone call from a screaming pig who said, "We have your son down here and he's in serious trouble!" So Coralie, her husband and a friend went to the police station. The cops then arrested Coralie for contributing to the delinquency of a minor, namely, Eric—the third youth. The summons stated that Coralie "knowingly let Eric X, a child under the age 17, join the Communist Party at her home without his mother's consent."

Meanwhile, a pig yelled at the friend, "You ain't related to them!" "I'm in-

terested in Rick." "Well, go down the hall and stand."

"What's the charge?" asked the friend. "About a hundred things," said the cop. "I ain't gotta tell you. Get the hell out of here before I throw you out!"

Anthony had his T-shirt confiscated which says "Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade" on one side, and on the other "I Was Born In The Sewer Called Capitalism But Now I'm Living for Revolution." He was taken along with Eric to Juvenile Detention Center without any shirt.

While Coralie's fellow workers were getting bail together, the mayor of East St. Louis, Carl Officer, strolled into the

station with four bodyguards to lay down the line to Rick. "You can come to City Hall Monday and get a permit to demonstrate any time. But if we catch you putting up posters again, I can't guarantee you'll make it back across the river. And we'll just consider it an unfortunate accident."

Rick was held in jail for eight days before his \$4,000 bond was reduced. An ACLU lawyer, outraged by the arrest, had taken up the case. Charges on 23-year-old Rick are two counts of contributing to the delinquency of a juvenile, one count of criminal damage to property and, of course, resisting arrest.

## Paris

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to forge unity between genuine Marxist-Leninists in the coming period.

The Paris meeting, as well as other activities that have taken place overseas and the many messages the RCP, USA has received from Marxist-Leninist groups, have a very significant effect on the struggle to defend Bob Avakian and defeat the attacks on the Party. Making the case known to broader circles of people around the world puts the enemy on notice that they will not be able to carry

through the attacks on Comrade Avakian and the Party generally without stirring up a storm of opposition—not only in the U.S. but around the world.

The fact that Marxist-Leninists in many countries have come to the aid of the RCP, USA at a critical time in the development of the U.S. revolutionary movement also makes it clearer to the Party and the revolutionary workers in the U.S. that we are indeed part of a single worldwide class with a common objective of achieving communism throughout the world.

The meeting ended with the singing of the *Internationale*, the anthem of the international proletariat born out of the Paris Commune.

## Sucker Game

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"New York would be taken care of" had failed to get over. Mayor Koch's main base of support is among Jewish voters and the conservative petty bourgeoisie generally—he is an openly racist arrogant strutting runt, intensely hated by the oppressed nationalities. On the morning the polls opened, the new inflation figures came out—up another 1.4%. Also on the morning of the election, Jimmy Breslin, the Irish beer-swilling columnist who writes for the *Daily News*, the largest circulation paper in New York, wrote an impassioned appeal for a strong Kennedy vote that had racist overtones. His basic message was that unless we keep the Blacks and Hispanics on welfare, and find them some kind of minimum wage jobs, our city will be destroyed by them, and Kennedy is the only candidate who understands this.

The effect of the media barrage, and the clear attempts to piece back together, by hook or crook, old-style Black-Jewish-working class liberal democratic formula for victory, had unexpectedly gotten successful results, voter turnout overall was not heavy except among Jewish voters. But they voted for Kennedy 3 to 1. Turnout among Black and Hispanic voters has always in recent years and for obvious reasons, not been heavy, but those who did go went to vote for Kennedy by a strong margin. (It should be noted however, that the Kennedy victory cannot be attributed to his "message" suddenly catching fire among the poor and minority people. It did not.) And the Irish and Italian Catholics decided to do the Christian thing and vote for Kennedy in the spirit of forgiveness. The result overall was a strong Kennedy victory in New York. The pattern in Connecticut was fundamentally similar.

The effect of Kennedy's turn around in these important states is not clear in all respects. It does mean that he continues to be a viable option for the ruling class, and it is now possible to pro-

ject him as a gutsy guy who laughed in the face of adversity and snatched victory from the jaws of defeat—perhaps a useful analogy to the type of guy we need to lead us against the big, bad Soviet Union. His period of defeat will be portrayed as redemption for the sins of Chappaquiddick. It is obvious that Kennedy intends to stay in the fight all the way to the convention; should the right people give the nod even if Carter goes into the convention with a majority of delegates, this won't save him from a well-orchestrated "spontaneous" convention rush to Kennedy.

A lot of illusions have been flushed down the toilets since John Kennedy took a slug in the brain in 1963 and since Bobby followed in his brother's footsteps on primary night in California 1968. What remains of these illusions, however, is still best concentrated in the last of the Kennedy brothers, and he remains, in all probability, the only alternative to limping along with Carter as best as can be done.

The final decision on who will be president will be made on the basis of the freedom and necessity, confronting the ruling class as they desperately prepare for the coming upheavals, the first rumblings of which already have them shaking in their boots. Either they will go with trying to put a thin coat of paint on the rusty hulk of their "ship of state"—with the more silver-tongued warmonger who carries out the bourgeoisie's crusade in the name of the cause of the working class and oppressed people in the United States. Or they will go with a more outright figure who puts it out more straight up, "You will go to war, you will sacrifice, and we aren't making any promises, that's it." But regardless of which way the situation the ruling class faces dictates them to go, they have the same basic program for the masses of people, and we have the same basic task—to overthrow them at the soonest possible time.



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Part 2**

# in Decline

The following is the second of three articles serializing a chapter from an extraordinary new book, AMERICA IN DECLINE—Imperialism's Greatest Crisis: An Analysis of the Developments Toward War and Revolution in the U.S. and Worldwide in the 1980s—to be published soon by Banner Press. This is a pathbreaking effort, written by a writing group under the leadership of the RCP Central Committee and its Chairman, Bob Avakian.

Do you want to really understand why Bob Avakian said "the imperialists are in a lot of trouble... you may not think that revolution is a serious possibility, but the rulers of this country think that it is a real possibility."? ("Opening Remarks" at the recent RCP Central Committee meeting) This book analyzes why this is so. When you read it, including this chapter, the possibility of revolution, the urgent necessity—and basis—for preparation now like May Day 1980 jumps off the pages at you.

This particular chapter deals with the present condition of the masses in the U.S., its relation to their political mood, and how this objective situation will develop in the future. It is being serialized in the RW and appears in its entirety in the current issue of the Party's magazine, Revolution. Subheads are ours.

## Watershed Times

Overall in the U.S. 1974-75 was a watershed. It was possible to discern the outlines of a major social crisis in the massive layoffs and the shocks felt throughout society. For a brief period, routine and convention in the masses' lives, especially the more strategically situated in the working class, was no longer so certain or desirable. To many it became more dangerous not to act than to sit back and let things take their own course. That no real upsurge materialized does not detract from the significance of what was happening to people and how they began to perceive things differently. No doubt many within the working class felt, and feel that they have a lot of things, more than their parents, certainly more than people in other countries. But people also realized just how wobbly and fragile it all was.

Which brings us back to the question of impoverishment. People have not in their tens of millions been crushed and ground down. What really exists are ropes around people's necks, like credit, and if there is a real collapse—which, as explained in this book, is a distinct possibility—then the effect on people's lives could be more devastating than the Depression, since living standards in this country are anchored in credit, fringe benefits, government programs and assistance. Everything that has enabled people to hang on can become the hangman's rope. It becomes apparent how precarious it all is whenever workers go on strike and in a few months' time face the prospect of losing their homes. It becomes apparent when a job is lost and with it health insurance. It becomes a vicious cycle: a person may be overextended due to easy credit only to find himself or herself without any income to retire these debts, due to illness or loss of job. Or, reversing the situation, a person may begin to over-depend on easy credit after suffering a real hardship. One account of a typical bankruptcy in this period is worth reproducing:

"She hung her head and spoke so softly that her voice was barely audible in the dingy bankruptcy courtroom... Yes she was still working as a telephone operator and earned \$13,000 a year. No, she had nothing of value aside from a few articles of clothing. The plumbing backup that flooded her apartment with sewage had left all her possessions unfit for use. Even before the accident, Estelle was living perilously beyond her means. Despite her modest salary, she owed a total of \$10,352 to 12 creditors, mostly department store and bank credit card accounts... She owed more than \$4500 on just one of her Visa cards... and was behind on her rent and telephone bill. Nonetheless, Estelle had managed to stay one step ahead of the collection agency by nimbly juggling her meager resources. But her house of credit cards collapsed after the apartment flood. Her salary was attached by a creditor and—as have hundreds of thousands of other over-burdened consumers—Estelle filed for bankruptcy."<sup>19</sup>

By no means exceptional. This is New York. In Youngstown, a parking lot attendant says that before the mill shutdowns, the lot was always filled up.

Now this is the case only on Mondays—when bankruptcy court is in session. It should be pointed out that new bankruptcy statutes allow for repayment over time as opposed to outright liquidation. This is the product of the continuing pyramiding of credit. But with consumers unable to pay their debts and lending institutions impaled between delinquent accounts and very thin profit margins (the difference between what they pay for money and charge for its use), this can only go on for so long. While there has been and will continue to be a gradual erosion of the living standards of the U.S. working class, it is the prospect of a collapse that will send things reeling. The various means by which the masses have been able to "hold on" are being pressed to the limit. As of 1977, more than 40% of all homebuyers were families in which a second wage owner contributed anywhere from 20% to 50% of total family income.<sup>20</sup> The ability of wives, however, to supplement the incomes of two-spouse families has more or less reached a plateau: earnings are not rising and these jobs, themselves, are quite insecure. Teen-age children can be sent into the work force, but that is another story in itself, what with unemployment rates among youth at extraordinary levels.

The rising volume of credit obligations (bank credit card volume was triple what it was in 1974 by late 1979) puts tremendous pressures on consumers whose wage and salary increments are less than the credit they have taken on. The result has not only been a rise in delinquencies, the sort of thing described in the account of the young woman, but a tightening up: financial subsidiaries have begun to pare down the number of stores and purchases they finance, many department stores have raised minimum monthly payments, and savings banks and

credit unions have periodically experienced disturbances such as big withdrawals, new cash-reserve requirements, and an outflow of funds to other markets, all of which limits their lending capacity. The point is that already the debt which has propped up consumer spending is stretched thin, and tighter money supply policies and attempts by lending institutions to minimize losses have put a crimp on such spending and resulted in a tremendous increase in personal bankruptcies. But this, again, is nothing compared to what will happen when there is another precipitous downturn—with more thrown out of work than in 1974-75. There is an increasing vulnerability and sensitivity of the masses of people in this country to any radical change in the conditions in which they get by—tenuous as they are. Millions will be pushed into bankruptcy—and, yes, impoverishment.

Take the case of housing, again. If some international event, political or otherwise, touches off a round of banking failures and a massive scramble on the part of banks for cash and liquid assets, what will the average homeowner be faced with? With a demand to pay a higher rate of interest? Not likely. Rather, homeowners who default on payments (which is bound to become more frequent) will be confronted with demands for repayment of their entire mortgages. But housing prices will probably decline, and quite violently at that. So people who have been making \$400 monthly payments for years will find their home investment wiped out. It is a situation which has been prepared exactly by the artificial stimulation of home purchases through the extension of government-backed credit.

The very things that have enabled people to hold on and which were in some respects expanded dur-

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## REVOLUTION

Organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

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America  
in Decline

## Crisis and War: The Mood and Conditions of the Masses

Revolution is the organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party. It is published as a monthly magazine, featuring articles that give a deep and many-sided analysis of major social questions and problems facing the revolutionary movement.

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## A Call to Battle, A Challenge to Dare

The RCP has published drafts for discussion for a new Party programme and new constitution. A statement from the RCP Central Committee.

## Notes on the Movement Against Nuclear Madness

## America in Decline—Crisis and War: the Mood and Conditions of the Masses

The majority of the working class is living on the precipice: able to get by, but only by the skin of their teeth. This article analyzes why, given this condition (brought on by the recent downturn in the economy, especially the 1974-75 recession), the mood of the working class is decidedly non-revolutionary and its consciousness backward. Further, it paints a dramatic view of the future—political and economic crisis on a scale unseen in this country before—that along with or immediately preceding the outbreak of world war, could well give rise to a revolutionary storm led by the working class.

## Slipping Into Darkness: "Left" Economism, the CP and the Trade Union Unity League.

The Depression which hit the capitalist world in 1929 moved through the U.S. like a hurricane, tearing up the economy and ripping the very fabric of society, shaking this country more deeply than anything had shaken it since the Civil War. Never had the illusions of the "American dream" seemed so deceitful, so mocking. The CPUSA threw itself into the work of preparing the workers for a revolutionary upsurge.

Yet a decade later there was not a trace of a mass revolutionary movement!

What happened? This article examines the particular role of "left" economism in laying the basis for later moves and open revisionism, by analyzing the Communist Party's trade union work, especially the Trade Union Unity League (1929-1935).



# LENIN ON THE PARTY OF THE CLASS-CONSCIOUS WORKERS

How important is political struggle and political agitation in relation to economic struggle? What about the needs and role of the advanced, class conscious workers as opposed to the mass of "ordinary" workers? These are crucial questions today as they were in 1899 when the Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin wrote *Apropos of the "Profession du Foi"*. Lenin was criticizing this document (the "statement of Belief") written by a group called the "Kiev Committee". Below are some excerpts from Lenin's article, taken from Volume 4 of the *Collected Works of Lenin*.



Lenin denounces Mensheviks and other reformists at 1906 meeting of workers and others in St. Petersburg.

The very first sentence of the *Profession de foi* gives rise to the most serious bewilderment: "While admitting that the struggle for the political rights of the proletariat is the immediate general task of the working-class movement in Russia, the Kiev Committee nevertheless does not believe it possible at the present time to turn to the mass of the workers and call on them to take political action, in other words, it does not believe it possible to carry on political agitation, because the Russian workers have not, in the mass, attained the maturity for political struggle."...

"The Russian workers have not, in the mass, attained the maturity for political struggle"! If this is true, it is tantamount to a death sentence for Social-Democracy (Communism—*RW*) as a whole; for it means that the Russian workers have not, in the mass, reached the maturity necessary for Social-Democracy. In actual fact, there is not and never has been a Social Democracy anywhere in the world that is not inseparably and indivisibly bound up with the political struggle. Social-Democracy without the political struggle is a river without water, it is a howling contradiction, it is either something in the nature of a return to the utopian socialism of our forefathers who despised "politics," or to anarchism, or to trade-unionism. . .

Indeed, how can one speak of the "political education" of the workers, if one does not recognise the possibility of conducting political agitation and political struggle? Surely there is no need to prove to Social-Democrats that there can be no political education except through political struggle and political action. Surely it cannot be imagined that any sort of study circles or books, etc., can politically educate the masses of workers if they are kept away from political activity and political struggle. Surely Russian Social-Democracy does not have to go back to the viewpoint of the serf-owners who declared that it was first necessary to educate the peasants and then to emancipate them, or to the viewpoint of those ink-slingers who grovel before the government and say that the people must first be educated and then granted political rights. How can one undertake to bring the workers to recognition of the need to struggle for political rights and at the same time not believe in the possibility of calling on them to take political action, in the possibility of conducting political agitation? Arouse the consciousness of the need for political struggle and at the same time not call for political struggle?! What faldersal is this? What does it mean? This kind of tangle is not the result of something left unsaid or of the unfinished nature of a rough draft; it is the natural, inevitable result of the dualism and equivocation that permeate all the views of the Kiev Committee. The Committee wants, on the one hand, to remain true to the basic principles long established in international and Russian Social-Democracy and, on the other, is infatuated with the fashionable Bernsteinian catchwords, "necessity," "gradualness" (end of Section I of the Kiev Committee's *Profession de foi*), "the directly economic character of the movement," the impossibility of political agitation and struggle, the

necessity of adhering to the solid ground of real demands and needs (as though the struggle for political liberty is not called forth by the most real demand and need!); in a word, it is infatuated with the fashionable catchwords out of which such writings *à la mode* as the *Credo* (a reactionary economist manifesto—*RW*) and the *Separate Supplement to "Rabochaya Mysl"* are spun. Let us examine in its essence the thesis in which all the weak aspects of the *Profession de foi* now under discussion are focused, the thesis that it is "impossible at the present time to turn to the mass of the workers with the call to take political action"; that it is impossible, in other words, to conduct political agitation, because the Russian workers have not yet attained the maturity for political struggle. This last assertion is, fortunately, untrue (we say "fortunately," for were it true, it would inevitably lead Russian Marxists and Russian Social-Democrats into the quagmire of trade-unionist and bourgeois-liberal vulgarisation into which the authors of *Credo*, *Rabochaya Mysl*, and their numerous hangers-on in our legal literature are trying to push them). The Russian workers have, in the mass, not only attained maturity for political struggle, but they have on many occasions demonstrated it by engaging in acts of political struggle, often even spontaneously.

Is not the mass distribution of manifestos in which the government is condemned and castigated really an act of political struggle? Have not the Russian workers in the mass "used their own means" to deal with the police and the soldiery when these became excessively arrogant; have they not liberated arrested comrades by force? Have they not in many places fought in real street battles against troops and police? Have not the Russian workers in the mass, for more than twenty years, sent the best, most developed, most honest, and most courageous of their comrades into the revolutionary circles and organisations? But for the sake of a fashionable doctrine of bourgeois vulgarisation we, representatives of the revolutionary Social-Democratic Party, are supposed to forget all that and admit the impossibility of calling on the working masses to take political action! The objection will probably be raised that the cited instances are more often spontaneous outbursts rather than political struggles. To which we answer: Were

not our strikes mere spontaneous outbursts until the revolutionary circles of socialists undertook extensive agitation and summoned the working masses to the class struggle, to the conscious struggle against their oppressors? Can one find in history a single case of a popular movement, of a class movement, that did not begin with spontaneous, unorganised outbursts, that would have assumed an organised form and created political parties without the conscious intervention of enlightened representatives of the given class? If the working-class urge, spontaneous and indomitable, to engage in political struggle has so far taken mainly the form of unorganised outbursts, only *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* and *Grazhdanin* can draw from this the conclusion that the Russian workers have not yet, in the mass, attained the maturity for political agitation. A socialist, on the contrary, will draw from it the conclusion that the time has long been ripe for political agitation, for the broadest possible appeal to the working masses to engage in political action and political struggle. If we do not make this appeal, we fail in our duty and, in actual fact, cease to be Social-Democrats, since economic and trade-union organisations without political struggle have always and everywhere been advocated by zealous champions of the bourgeoisie. For this reason the persistent ignoring of the political struggle and the political tasks of the Russian working class, such as we see, for instance, in *Rabochaya Mysl*, cannot be called anything but criminal and disgraceful. This hushing-up is tantamount to demoralising the political consciousness of the workers, who see and feel political oppression, who revolt spontaneously against it, but who meet with indifference on the part of their socialist leaders or even with polemics against the ideas of political struggle. When we are told that the ideas of political liberty must be brought "gradually" to the masses, what can we call this but indifference and extreme narrowness? One might think that hitherto we have been too hasty in bringing these ideas to the masses, so that we need to curb and moderate ourselves!!! Or, when we are told that "a political clarification of the condition of the working class" is necessary only "to the extent that there is reason for it in each individual case," as though "reasons" for political agitation are not furnished by a multitude of

the most widespread, day-to-day facts of working-class life!

The effort to limit political agitation to the existence of reasons in each individual case is either senseless or it reflects a desire to take a step backwards in the direction of *Credo* and *Rabochaya Mysl*, a desire to narrow the scope of our already far-too-narrow propaganda and agitation. **The objection will also probably be raised that the working-class masses are not yet able to understand the idea of the political struggle, an idea that is comprehensible only to certain, more developed workers.** To this objection, which we hear so frequently from "young" Russian Social-Democrats, our answer is that, firstly, Social-Democracy has everywhere and always been, and cannot but be the representative of the class-conscious, and not of the non-class-conscious, workers and that there cannot be anything more dangerous and more criminal than the demagogic speculation on the underdevelopment of the workers. If the criterion of activity were that which is immediately, directly, and to the greatest degree accessible to the broadest masses, we should have to preach anti-Semitism or to agitate, let us say, on the basis of an appeal to Father Johann of Kronstadt (a priest who incited Great Russian pogroms against non-Russian nationalities—*RW*).

It is the task of Social-Democracy to develop the political consciousness of the masses and not to drag along at the tail-end of the masses that have no political rights; secondly, and this is most important, it is untrue that the masses will not understand the idea of political struggle. Even the most backward worker will understand the idea, provided, of course, the agitator or propagandist is able to approach him in such a way as to communicate the idea to him, to explain it in understandable language on the basis of facts the worker knows from everyday experience. But this condition is just as indispensable for clarifying the economic struggle: in this field, too, the backward worker from the lower or middle strata of the masses will not be able to assimilate the general idea of economic struggle; it is an idea that can be absorbed by a few educated workers whom the masses will follow, guided by their instincts and their direct, immediate interests.

This is likewise true of the political  
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# Why There Was No Revolution in the '60s and Why There May Be in the '80s

**Bob Avakian Speech in Cleveland**

*Following are excerpts from a speech given by Chairman Bob Avakian in Cleveland, Ohio during his national speaking tour last summer. See RW, March 21, 1980 for Part One.*

I want to address, in the time we have left, one basic question that many people raise when we expose and bring to light what people feel, and concentrate their experience that this capitalist system is rotten through and through and can only bring more suffering and destruction on people, and needs to be overthrown; that revolution is the only possible way and the only road forward. Many people raise the question that I want to spend the rest of the time addressing, and that's the question of not only is it possible in general to make revolution, but what many people raise specifically: "Listen, I agree with you, this system is rotten, it needs to be scrapped, it needs to be swept out of the way, it needs to be buried; but listen, a lot of people have talked about and struggled and strived for revolution in this country before—I've heard this same talk before, this is the same shit I heard back in the 1960s. People were talking about revolution then, people tried to make revolution then, people went to jail for revolution then, people were killed for revolution then. So, since revolution didn't come about then, since all that effort didn't actually bring about a revolution, and in fact capitalism is still ruling over us, why then should we think that now, or in the future even, revolution is a real prospect? That revolution could actually come about? If it couldn't be made then, why do we think, or do we even dare to hope, that revolution can actually be made in the future?"

Now this is a big question, obviously. I can't and we can't go into it thoroughly in one meeting, but I think it needs to be addressed in a couple of aspects and we need to get down on some of the basic points on this. First of all, when we're talking about the movement of the 1960s and the revolutionary developments of that time, the revolutionary organizations, the revolutionary sentiments—the hopes and the dreams that were in the hearts of thousands, perhaps even millions of people, that a fundamental change could be brought about in this society—when we're talking about that, and then we look at what's here today and see that in fact that did not happen, we have to look deeply at it and we have to analyze, what was the character of the movement at that time? What gave rise to it? Why did it take the form that it did? And why ultimately was that particular movement not able to be carried all the way through to the goal of revolution?

And we have to understand this from two sides, in two aspects. First of all, from the standpoint of the enemy, from the strengths as well as the weaknesses of their system, from the ability that they had to maneuver and the moves that they made, the steps they took to prevent revolution from occurring; how and why they were able to do that, has that changed and if so how? And second of all, we have to look at it in terms of the revolutionary forces at that time, the people who stood to the forefront, called on others to take up the goal of revolution and fought for that goal: What were their achievements? What were their accomplishments? And what, on the other hand, were their mistakes, their shortcomings and their limitations? Why in fact did many of those forces fall by the wayside, why were they either destroyed or disintegrated as revolutionary organizations? And what can we learn from the positive and negative aspects of their experience?

In order to understand this, we have to look at and understand that we've been living in a rather unusual period in history in this country, and also how and why it is coming to an end. We have been living in a situation where those who rule over this country and who make our lives miserable every day have until recently been undisputed kingpins among all the imperialists, holding sway over vast parts of the world. They have had an unparalleled ability to plunder and rob and loot hundreds of millions of people and large parts of the areas and resources of the whole world. This is a period that existed coming off of and as a result of World War 2, and it is now coming to an end. And the capitalists in this country are trying to regain their "undisputed kingpin" position by going to war

once again and grabbing more of the world and beating out their Russian rivals at the cost of millions of lives.

But let's go back to what happened at the end of World War 2. Why was great struggle unleashed right within the U.S., along with rebellion against U.S. imperialism all over the world and especially in the colonial countries, in that period? Why did it erupt to tremendous dimensions in the 1960s and why did it take the shape that it did? You see, coming off World War 2, certain far-reaching changes came about in this society, not out of any concern on the part of the ruling class for the well-being or the needs or the conditions of the oppressed people in this country, but out of their own capitalistic drive, their dog-eat-dog necessity, their law of "gobble up or be gobbled up by others" (just like Chrysler has faced: even though it's a billion-dollar corporation, it's still on the verge of bankruptcy). And this never ending dog-eat-dog, eat or be eaten, swallow up or be swallowed, drive that these capitalists all have pushes them on and on to expand and gobble up more and to push workers out of the way and to replace them with machines, only to see this in turn cause more ruin and bring about more chaos and bring a greater threat to their system. And coming off World War 2, it's important to look first at the millions and millions of Black people who, even after the slave system was ended, formally abolished, at the end of the Civil War, still for many generations lived in virtual slavery, with the physical chains removed but the chains of debt strangulation, of being owned—if not outright, then still belonging almost body and soul to the man who still lived in the big house and owned the land and forced you to sharecrop from "can't see in the morning till can't see at night"—not much different from the old slave days, a system of sharecropping on the same plantation reinforced by KKK night riders, by the police, by all the laws and codes and conventions of segregation and all the rest of it. And this went on for decades, for nearly a hundred years, from the end of the Civil War until the beginning of World War 2. Millions and millions of Black people (along with several million poor white people, who had some privileges denied to Blacks and were often incited against them on this basis, but were poor and powerless themselves)—forced to live on plantations, working with only a mule and perhaps a little seed and having to turn over the greatest part of what they produced to the master, the owner of the land—not much different from in many of these countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America that still have widespread feudal conditions.

And what happened through and at the end of World War 2? First off, out of their need for war production, when millions were in the armed forces and the so-called defense plants and other industry had to be (and was temporarily able to be) cranked up almost to full gear, the capitalists needed and lured many Black people off the plantations of the South to the cities of the North—where many were promptly laid off once the war came to an end. But also, after the war, again out of their own drive for more profit, out of their need to compete with other capitalists in this country and even around the world—in Pakistan, for example, or in Egypt where the British still had control—out of all that, the capitalists in this country finally decided that it was more profitable and necessary for their survival as capitalists to introduce machines massively onto the plantations. And so they brought in tractors in a big way, they brought in picking machines, they brought in planting machines and they pushed millions and millions of people who had been sharecroppers off the very land they had for generations held them on, chained by debt and terrorized by the KKK, the police, and other night-riding scum. Now they unleashed the same terror to drive them off the land, forcing them onto the road. In this great land of opportunity—where everybody, of course, lives and works exactly where they've always dreamed of living and working!—millions of people were forced to leave the land that they'd worked and poured their sweat and toil into and were driven into the cities, some in the South but more and more into the North, into the Cleavelands, Chicagos, Detroit, the New Yorks, the Pittsburghs, driven by the anarchy and the dog-eat-

dog ways of this system.

But something new also happened. A very important change took place along with this. Because before, while people had been chained in backward and isolated conditions, each or only a few on separate plots of land with backward conditions, often not seeing each other, now all of a sudden millions were thrown together in the miserable, teeming and sweating slums of the cities. The system could not assimilate them on any basis even approaching equality, it had long since become parasitic and declining; it gave a few jobs to the Black people driven into the cities, but the great majority it kept in the most menial positions, always last hired and first fired, barely able to survive if they had a job at all, forced at more than twice the rate of whites into unemployment and in large numbers even into the degradation of welfare. But at the same time, millions were being crowded more and more in this hellhole and rat-infested housing of the city slums, hundreds of thousands strong in many different cities. And this actually provided a stronger basis for them to fight back.

It is a fundamental law that wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Wherever you look in history or whatever country you look at, the oppressed have never passively accepted their oppression. They have always found one way or another to resist, to rise up, to revolt, to rebel. The history of this country is no different and the history of Black people in this country is certainly no different. If you look back to the slave years, there were over two hundred recorded—actually recorded—slave revolts, to say nothing of the others they wrote out of history to keep the slaves, along with those who sympathized and stood with them, from learning about them. And when the Civil War came along, and finally the slaves saw their chance to be free of slavery—much against all the lies of *Gone With the Wind* and all the rest of this reactionary Robert E. Lee bullshit—hundreds of thousands of slaves enlisted in the Union Army and went to the front ranks and fought the most decisive battles, despite the fact that even in that war and that Union Army they were paid *half the wages* of the white soldiers. The history of all the oppressed people in the world, including this country, has always been that wherever they're oppressed, they seek and strive and struggle to rise up and find a way out of it.

But, again, something new had developed. Millions of people were no longer isolated and kept largely apart from each other, but were thrown together—yes, in miserable, wretched conditions—but nevertheless able to recognize and realize a potential strength—for the first time, perhaps, even if in the most menial, dirtiest jobs, working together with others in industry, crowded into the same slums and ghettos. And particularly the youth who were not born in these backward conditions but were born (the first generation perhaps) on the streets of the city slums, particularly they marched to the forefront, struck out first, rose up and burned this country down from one end to the other and brought forth many of the older people. And I remember seeing at that time on the television news old people hobbling out with a cane in one hand and a shotgun in the other to take part in these rebellions. And I remember myself and thousands of others feeling a pulse of joy leap up from our hearts at seeing the oppressed rising up and setting an inspiring example for people all over this country and indeed the whole world.

This is what was happening all across the country. And at the same time, throughout the world, because the rulers of this country were the biggest world-wide looters and plunderers, because wherever England had to pull back at the end of World War 2, wherever France had to pull back at the end of World War 2, wherever Germany and Japan or Italy or Holland or Belgium was no longer able to hold on to their colonies, wherever they were forced to pull back and try to liquidate their losses, in came the rulers of this country, letting a bunch of puppets run up a phony national flag and squeezing the life blood out of the people of the country even more viciously. And because of that position all over the world, from Asia to Africa to Latin America, and throughout the world, "Yankee

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# May 1st 1943: The War

May 1, 1943, Warsaw, Poland. The sound of pistols and the smell of kerosene from molotov cocktails filled the narrow streets of the Jewish ghetto. It was the 12th day of the Warsaw uprising; thousands had turned their doorways into fortresses, taking on the mighty German imperialist army—routing German patrols, destroying tanks, battering the Nazi chauvinist propaganda about the “passive, inferior race” with homemade weapons and even bare hands. Now, from the barricades and the bunkers, hundreds of fighters made their way through tunnels, across rooftops, to 18 Mila Street, the headquarters of the Jewish Fighters Organization (JFO), which had called for and organized the uprising. Many literally fought their way through. There were no big parades or demonstrations this day, but here in the largest of the 631 underground bunkers of the ghetto, May Day, International Workers Day, was celebrated in the midst of the battle. In the Mila Street bunker, the class-conscious workers of the Warsaw Ghetto pinned badges of red linen to their shirts and listened to a broadcast from Radio Moscow which told them of Stalin’s May Day speech. Then, in the first action of the uprising carried out in broad daylight, the fighters donned German uniforms they had stolen, goose-stepped through the streets right up to the German patrols, and suddenly opened fire. Just as suddenly they retreated, fighting their way past other patrols to get back to the Mila Street headquarters to sing the anthem of the worldwide working class—*The Internationale*. One fighter later wrote, “Holding our weapons, we softly sang

the *Internationale* amongst the charred ruins, bearing witness to youth battling in the ghetto who do not forget its meaning...and the words and the meaning of the singing reverberated....”

Almost from the beginning of the German takeover of Poland, with its accompanying unleashing of terror against the Polish people and the Jews in particular, the Jewish working class in Warsaw had resisted. In April 1940, when the Nazi occupiers stirred up Polish lumpen (petty criminal) elements to begin a pogrom (mob attack and killing) on the Warsaw Jews, they were met by “defense groups made up of slaughterhouse workers, truck drivers, carpenters, and stone masons, (who) drove off the attackers with clubs, fists, iron pipes and brass knuckles. The pogrom ended abruptly....”

But right from the beginning, the Nazis relied on a force of murderous traitors who not only opposed resistance against the German occupation by the Jewish workers, but literally carried out the political rule for the Germans in the ghetto. Half a million Jews had been forcibly herded into the walled ghetto of Warsaw. The Nazis appointed Zionist elements—propertied Jews from the upper and middle classes—to Jewish councils (called Judenrat); their task was to administer the ghetto for the Germans.

When the Nazis began their “liquidation campaign,” the Judenrat compiled lists of all Jews and their property, registered all births, maintained police forces whose main job was to round up Jews to be sent to the extermination camp at Treblinka, and even collected

taxes from those being shipped to their death to pay for the expenses. Meanwhile, the leaders of the Judenrat opposed all resistance to the imperialists, claiming, “It may be assumed in Warsaw, in the heart of Europe, the Germans would not dare exterminate the Jews.” They turned in 6000 Jews a day in exchange for which they and their families were exempt. By the time of the uprising, of the original half million people in the ghetto, there were only 60,000 left alive.

The head of the Judenrat said that resistance to the Germans was wrong, that it angered them and “endangered the ghetto.” He brought out some religious figures to call the resistance fighters “provocateurs” for refusing to go peacefully to the slaughter the imperialists had in store for them. The activity of these Jewish “leaders” is a telling exposure of the whole Zionist philosophy. (This was an idea which came to full flower only after the war when the state of Israel, the so-called “Jewish homeland,” was set up by Britain and the U.S. Zionist gangs drove countless Palestinians and other Arabs off their land at gun point. Thousands and thousands were murdered.)

But also telling was the role played in Warsaw by the Jewish Workers Bund. This organization claimed to represent the working class, it claimed to be socialist. But actually the Bund was a nationalist group guided by the idea of “my people first.” It made up the majority of the ghetto trade unions and included some professionals. The Bund’s main social base was among the more skilled workers of the ghetto and the relatively privileged position of these workers effected the attitude of the Bund toward struggle against the Germans: *the Bund opposed the call for the uprising*. Bund leaders used the cowardly excuse that *everybody* in Poland wasn’t ready to rise up against the Germans, so the Warsaw ghetto workers should wait and wait some more until “conditions were ripe.” This was, of course, a flimsy cover—and here the Bund fared no better than the Zionists. The masses were condemned to a peaceful walk to the extermination camps by these so-called leaders.

But the workers, particularly the more politically advanced workers, along with the youth of the Warsaw Ghetto especially, had other plans. Led by the Polish Workers Party (a Communist Party which had been reconstituted in 1942), the JFO began to form combat teams in the factory districts to carry out sabotage, organize slowdowns in the workhouses and on the labor gangs, and collect German uniforms for



later use. They also published illegal literature which, among other things, called for preparations for a mass uprising and linked the struggle in Warsaw to the international struggle of the working class.

These workers saw what the real situation was and refused to let themselves get dragged down by the backward sentiments the Zionists and Bundists had promoted among many in the ghetto. They had been inspired by reports from Stalingrad, where the masses of the then-socialist Soviet Union had sent the supposedly invincible German army on the run. By seizing the time, they knew they could galvanize the hatred of the broad masses for their oppression and turn it into all-out struggle against the oppressor.

On April 19, 1943, outnumbered, surrounded by heavily armed German troops that eventually would number



**MAY 1st —  
WELD THOSE WHO  
HATE THIS SHIT  
INTO A  
CLASS CONSCIOUS  
FORCE!**



# Warsaw Ghetto Uprising



Resistance fighters.



Warsaw in flames.

5,000 while they had only 7 rifles and 50 revolvers, suffering from starvation and disease due to four years of Nazi occupation, they issued the call—"Resist! Make the ghetto another Stalingrad! Every threshold a fortress!" Against strong opposition from the Zionists and Bundist leaders, many youth of those organizations answered the call and joined the JFO.

Organized into three main districts based on the main factory areas, the JFO planned for people to make their stand in the factories. Jurgenstroop, the German SS General called in to try to prevent the uprising, complained, "The managers knew so little of their own shops that the Jews were in a position to produce any kind of arms inside these shops, especially hand grenades, molotov cocktails, and the like."

On the first night of the Jewish holiday, Passover, when the German patrols marched into the ghetto, the workers and youth began crossfiring from factories on opposite sides of the narrow ghetto streets. The main body of the German patrols was wiped out that night. There was later found a young ghetto girl's diary with this entry for April 19: "The ghetto has arisen! The ghetto has arisen! The great and glorious hour of the future has struck because the survivors of misfortune, degradation and gruesome torture... have dared to straighten their spines!"

The next morning there were three flags flying from the walls of the ghetto, to let the rest of Warsaw know that the ghetto was rising up. The German soldiers were able to tear down the Polish national flag and the Zionist flag, but the workers rescued the third flag before the imperialists could get to it. It was the bright red flag of proletarian revolution.

Fearful that the revolt would spread beyond the ghetto to Warsaw itself, the German high command instituted a siege of the ghetto, beginning to burn buildings to the ground in an attempt to force the fighters to surrender. But it was too late. The underground tunnels and bunkers that had been built in

preparation for this battle were alive with the spirit of the uprising, as combat groups continued to crisscross the ghetto, striking at night and hiding in the day. Half of the groups were made up of women, causing Jurgenstroop to complain bitterly, "We never know which girl might have a hand grenade up her bloomers, so many of them did." While most of the fighters knew that there was no possibility at all for their survival, surrender was out of the question. There was truly nothing to lose, and a whole world to win.

This is the spirit of the Warsaw uprising that the May Day celebration that year concentrated and pushed forward. Jurgenstroop had thought that the resistance had finally been put down because things had been quiet for two nights prior to May 1. But the reports he ended up turning in that day were the gloomiest of the battle, partly because the German casualties were higher than on any other day except the opening of the uprising, and partly because his aides reported widespread dismay and unrest among his troops during the battles of May Day.

May Day also marked the formation of "wild detachments" (as they were called in the diaries of the people who fought in the ghetto). These were groups of workers who would leap out of doorways in broad daylight and attack the German troops, calling on people to come out of their houses and join the fight. In one neighborhood, where the imperialists had used flamethrowers to set the houses on fire, old women stormed out into the streets during a wild detachment attack and clawed out the eyes of several German soldiers.

On May 16 the Warsaw uprising ended. To wipe out the resistance, the German army had to raze all but eight buildings in the entire ghetto, and kill all but 100 of the residents, many of whom escaped to the forests and swamps in the Polish countryside to join other resistance fighters. The heroic struggle had destroyed numerous German tanks, killed 300 Nazi soldiers, and wounded 1,000 more. At a time

when the German imperialists' military machine had been forced to go on the defensive and was badly in need of time to reorganize, the uprising inspired millions throughout Europe to step up the struggle. At least six more armed uprisings in ghettos and even in death camps broke out in the following three months.

In order to wage the Warsaw uprising, the Warsaw Ghetto workers had to overcome the obstacle presented by backward forces who sneveled that "oppression isn't so bad" or "let's wait un-

til later to fight." But *later* would have been *too late*. The heroic and selfless struggle of the workers of the Warsaw Ghetto stands today as an inspiring example—one which not only dealt a severe blow to their immediate enemy, but moreover, an example which pointed the way for people the world over to free themselves from the yoke of the imperialist beast.

"Without question," said a JFO leader to his comrades on May Day 1943, "our struggle will have great historical meaning...." □

## Pick Up the Red Flag

A May Day argument with myself.

Pick it up, pick it up.

A whisper.

Pick it up.

A demand.

People shot before you in the street!

Pick it up

You loved him dearly

Pick it up

You never knew him

Pick it up

Will you ever have the chance again?

Pick it up

It is your blood running in the streets

Pick it up

It is your living, flaming heart

Pick it up

**PICK IT UP**

Yes.

Into the future.

Carry it, carry it.

# LENIN

Continued from page 11

sphere; of course, only the developed worker will comprehend the general idea of the political struggle, and the masses will follow him because they have a very good sense of their lack of political rights (as the Kiev Committee's *Profession de foi* admits in one place), and because their most immediate, everyday interests regularly bring them into contact with every kind of manifestation of political oppression. In no political or social movement, in no country has there ever been, or could there ever have been, any other relation between the mass of the given class or people and its numerically few educated representatives than the following: everywhere and at all times the leaders of a certain class have always been its advanced, most cultivated representatives. Nor can there be any other situation in the Russian working-class movement. The ignoring of the interests and requirements of this advanced section of the workers, and the desire to descend to the level of understanding of the lower strata (instead of constantly raising the level of the workers' class-consciousness) must, therefore, necessarily have a profoundly harmful effect and prepare the ground for the infiltration of all sorts of non-socialist and non-revolutionary ideas into the workers' midst.

To conclude the analysis of the Kiev Committee's views on the political struggle (I add the following). The Committee, in a manner that is highly strange and, at the same time, highly typical of the entire *Profession de foi*, not considering it possible at the present time to call on the masses of the workers to take political action, recognises the desirability of organising partial demonstrations for purely agita-

tional purposes (and not for the purpose of bringing pressure upon the government) on issues that are comprehensible to the broad masses. Socialists calling on the workers not to bring pressure to bear on the government!!! That is about the limit... Only it is beyond our ken how demonstrations that do not bring pressure to bear on the government are possible. Should we perhaps recommend to the workers that they demonstrate within the four walls of their hovels and lock the doors before they begin? Or perhaps they should demonstrate by making the gesture of the fig with their hands in their pockets? That would probably not bring such harmful and ruinous "pressure upon the government"! And we also despair of understanding what is meant by a "partial demonstration." Does it, perhaps, mean of one trade, on issues of that trade alone (again: what has this to do with socialism?), or, perhaps, on partial political issues and not against the entire political system, the autocracy in its entirety? But if this is so, are these not purely and simply the ideas of *Credo* and of the sheerest opportunism, ideas that extremely lower and obscure the political consciousness and the political tasks of the working class? If this is so, hadn't we better repeat the "winged phrase" of a "young" metropolitan Socialist-Democrat: "It is premature to discredit the autocracy among the workers"?

The *Profession de foi* displays an extreme narrowness of views not only in regard to the question of "politics." "At the present time," we read, "agitational influence brought to bear on the masses can only take the form of, firstly, assistance in the economic struggle of the proletariat. The Committee, therefore, takes advantage of every clash between the workers and the employers, or every important fact of abuse on the part of the employers, to address a manifesto to the workers ex-

plaining to them their situation and calling on them to protest; it takes a leading part in strikes, formulates the workers' demands, shows the best way to win the demands, and by all these means develops class-consciousness in the workers." That is all; nothing more is told us on the economic struggle. And this is a *profession de foi!* Read these passages over again carefully: Again we have here the language of the *Credo* and the ideas of the *Credo* (which illustrates once more the abysmal blundering of the *Rabocheye Dyelo* editors who stubbornly desire to conceal the views of the "young economists" and to see in them nothing but the deviations of individuals).

For the socialist, the economic struggle serves as a basis for the organisation of the workers into a revolutionary party, for the strengthening and development of their class struggle against the whole capitalist system. If the economic struggle is taken as something complete in itself there will be nothing socialist in it; the experience of all European countries shows us many examples, not only of socialist, but also of anti-socialist trade unions.

It is the task of the bourgeois politician "to assist the economic struggle of the proletariat"; the task of the socialists is to bring the economic struggle to further the socialist movement and the successes of the revolutionary working-class party. The task of the socialist is to further the indissoluble fusion of the economic and the political struggle into the single class struggle of the socialist working-class masses. The diffuse expressions of the Kiev Committee's *Profession de foi*, therefore, open wide the doors to Bernsteinian ideas and legalise an impermissibly narrow attitude to the economic struggle.

Lastly, the narrowness and specific character of the Kiev Committee's views are reflected in its organisational

plans. It is true we agree fully with the Kiev Committee that this is not the time to announce the re-establishment of the Party and to elect a new Central Committee; but we view as utterly erroneous the opinion concerning the "directly economic character of the movement," the opinion that the Russian proletariat "is not prepared for political agitation." It would also be an error to wait until "local groups grow stronger, increase their membership, and strengthen their connections with the working-class milieu"—such reinforcement often leads to immediate collapse.

On the contrary, we must immediately set about the work of unification and begin it with literary unity, with the establishment of a common Russian newspaper that must make an effort to prepare for the re-establishment of the Party by serving as an organ for the whole of Russia; by gathering correspondence and news items from the circles in all localities; by providing space for the discussion of disputed questions; by extending the scope of our agitation and propaganda; by devoting special attention to organisational questions, to tactical and technical methods of conducting the work; by satisfying all the demands of the most developed workers, and by constantly raising the level of the lower strata of the proletariat (attracted by workers' correspondence, etc.) to an ever greater conscious participation in the socialist movement and in the political struggle.

Only in this way, we are convinced, can real conditions be provided for the unification and re-establishment of the Party, and only a direct and frank polemic against narrow "economism" and the growing spread of Bernsteinian ideas can ensure the correct development of the Russian working-class movement and Russian Social-Democracy.

## Why There Was No Revolution In the '60s and Why There May Be in the '80s

Continued from page 13

long as they can, they also move to shackle people's minds—and they didn't do this by accident, so, again let's learn from them—they made a very deliberate attempt to say to people in this country, especially people rebelling against this system, "the working class in this country is not only not revolutionary now, *it never will be*. It is reactionary and it always will be." And why do you think, other than to say that, they put Archie Bunker on TV? Now first of all, he's just a goddam foreman (just like the foreman in *The Deerhunter*—the guy they had in *The Deerhunter*, who's supposed to be a "Joe Dumb Worker," was in reality a goddam foreman in a steel mill in Gary that they got to act in the movie to say "this is your typical worker"). They know what they're doing! They hold up as examples and models of the working class the most hide-bound, idiotic, sour-bellied, narrow-minded backward fools! And they say to the masses of people, workers and others in this country who are looking for people to unite with to make revolution, "Give it up, forget about it, here is your working class—people who don't give a damn about oppression in this country and this world, who don't know about it, don't care about it, and don't want to know about it—they just love this system and they even love Richard Nixon when millions of other people hate him." They didn't put that on TV by accident, they put it on there on purpose. And we know there are Archie Bunkers and there are Edith Bunkers out there in this working class of ours. But even they—like the people in Levittown I spoke of earlier (see last week's *RW*, March 21, 1980—Ed.) are being banged on the head and forced to question, and millions more people will be in the period ahead as things sharpen up.

But in the short run, in the late '60s and early '70s, the capitalists still had enough strength, economically and therefore politically and ideologically, to keep the majority of the working class divided, fighting among itself, and playing a backward, not an advanced, not a revolutionary role—not a role at the forefront but a role of largely standing aside from this struggle. Though thousands of workers, young and old, Black, white and others, joined in the various movements of the time, nevertheless, as an organized united force, conscious of its interests as a class, our class did not step to center stage and rally the oppressed forward. We have to face up to this, but more than that we have to analyze why. And what we have to understand most basically is this: that it stemmed from the position and the temporary strength, the top-dog imperialist in the world position and strength that our ruling class still maintained at that time—and to a certain degree still

maintains, though it finds it challenged more and more, at home and abroad, through the very workings of its system, through the struggle of people oppressed by it throughout the world and through the growing rivalry of yet another powerful imperialist force, the Soviet Union.

This temporary strength, the remaining reserves, of the imperialist rulers of this country, stemming from their top-dog position and enabling them to pass along crumbs to pacify crucial sections of the working class—this is the basic reason why that movement at that time did not get carried all the way through. In the face of it, serious questions and problems and obstacles posed themselves for revolutionaries at the time, questions they came up against and attempted to deal with. What to do in the face of that? How, in fact, could the revolutionary movement be maintained, what direction did it have to take, how did it have to move in the face of the fact that this upsurge of the '60s and early '70s was ebbing, how did it have to and how could it prepare for the next upsurge, and prepare in such a way as to make it decisively and qualitatively different, get ready for the future possibility of bringing the working class to the forefront when crisis deepened and conditions sharpened up in the period ahead?

Most of the revolutionary forces at that time broke their heads against these obstacles and were not able to find the way forward. But a tremendous achievement, and the most lasting and most important product of the movement of that time was the formation of a genuine Marxist-Leninist vanguard party, that because it went deeply into the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, because it fought for a correct political program and ideological understanding and outlook, was able not only to survive but to become strengthened and tempered as a revolutionary force. This is our Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, which was formed in 1975 but whose roots lie in the revolutionary upsurges of the 1960s and early '70s, not only in this country but world-wide, and which was able, for the reasons I've just stated, to advance beyond the limitations of that movement, especially in this country, to build on its real achievements but to learn from its shortcomings and make the leap to a revolutionary organization on a level that in truth has never existed before in this country. This does not mean we can stand still and sleep on our achievements—just the opposite, we have to keep on advancing and prepare for much heavier struggle than anything that has come before. And to do this, and more than that to arm and bring forward many, many more people to join in this process, it is extremely necessary for us to deeply sum up the experiences and lessons, positive and negative, of the movement of the 1960s, through which many thousands of people turned toward revolution and out of which our Party, the

vanguard party of revolution in this country, developed.

And in particular, it is important for us, in the time that we do have left tonight, to look at what was in fact the most advanced revolutionary organization at that time, the organization that more than any other in the upsurge of the late '60s up to the early 1970s stood as the most militant, most serious organization calling for and leading people toward revolution and stood in the most fundamental way at the forefront of the upsurge at that time. What were its strengths, what were its accomplishments, what were its achievements, and what on the other hand were its shortcomings, weaknesses and limitations that led to its ultimate destruction as a revolutionary organization? And I think you know that I'm talking about the Black Panther Party.

(To be continued next week)

### The Loss in China and The Revolutionary Legacy Of Mao Tsetung



Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA at the MAO TSETUNG MEMORIAL MEETINGS 1978

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# Decline

Continued from page 20

ror of war. The caskets came back, but the streets were not piled high with corpses from the ravages of war. Total U.S. casualties during World War 2 were just over one million, less than half of which were deaths.<sup>24</sup> In absolute and percentage terms this was a small fraction compared to the casualties in Europe and Asia.

The fact that these wars have been fought elsewhere, and that the United States had gained from them in its strength and position without suffering material damage, fuels the idea held by many among the masses that, maybe, a war is just what is needed to revive the economy. This divides into two. There is a recognition that wars and the economic system are interlocked, and that when things get bad the capitalists prepare for war. (However, of course, the capitalists do not go to war simply to rev up the economy: wars of aggression are launched to put down challenges to an empire, such as in Vietnam, and world wars are caused by inter-imperialist rivalry and the need to re-divide the world.) On the other hand, there is the illusion that things will necessarily get better for people with the economic stimulus of war. In the past there has been truth to this; but things will not be the same this time around. The kind of war shaping up will directly affect the lives of tens of millions in this country and it won't just be in the higher casualty figures.

A point which is made throughout this book is that the United States, having been the main beneficiary of the outcome of World War 2, of necessity became the policeman of the world. Pillaging and plundering the world, it became the target of revolutionary uprisings. Interventions, police actions, limited wars, counter-insurgency assistance—this was the stuff of 30 years of world domination. And now, with a rival in the Soviet Union challenging it throughout the world, the U.S. must play the decisive role in organizing and preparing its bloc for war. It cannot scuttle the preliminary skirmishes or let others do the fighting and wear themselves out; the reason is quite simple: it is U.S. imperialist interests which are directly at stake and which are threatened. And because it has built up a far-flung empire, losses tend to reverberate. The Soviets, if they are to build up an empire, must collide with the U.S. imperialists—which is what has been happening. If they are to succeed, they must thoroughly vanquish the U.S. imperialists, and this will require, ultimately, that the U.S. imperialists be defeated in their own backyard, even if the war begins and is fought elsewhere for a period.

The U.S. imperialists are no less compelled to trounce their rival in order to protect and expand their empire of plunder. The megatonnage is there, the monstrously accurate technologies have been

developed, and the targets are pre-planned. The scenarios and contingency operations on both sides take as their point of departure destruction and attacks on each other's soil. The Department of Defense has undertaken several studies which coolly calculate how many millions of lives in the United States can be spared, how many can be evacuated, and in what space of time—for purposes of winning the war.

What will it mean for a third world war to take place and how will it affect the lives of the masses? First there is the question of the preparations for war—politically and economically. The ruling class will not be in as strong a position economically going into this war as in the previous two world wars (because of their international entanglements). The main reason for this is the high degree of integration of the U.S. economy with the rest of the bloc that it controls and the burden the U.S. has of shoring it up to avoid collapse. It is a two-way street: the United States is neither insulated from the disturbances that are multiplying throughout its bloc nor in a position to destabilize it further with expansive and inflationary policies. Concretely, this means that it will be harder for the U.S. ruling class to make concessions and accommodations to the working class as part of its drive to seal some sort of national unity.

To be sure, crumbs will still be thrown to a number of workers, but this will be in the context of a much tighter squeeze on the living and working conditions of the masses; these crumbs will be offered up much more directly and explicitly as rewards for loyalty and productivity. In addition, laying the economic foundations to prosecute a war of the dimensions that is shaping up requires more centralized control over labor and resources, and while there may not be a return in form to the wage/price boards and panels of the early 1970s, workers will be subject to control and coercion on a scale that will most certainly exceed that of the previous two world wars. The gas shortages of the last few years are but a faint prefiguring of what will be happening. Working and driving hours will only be one aspect of people's lives that will be strictly regulated. A war economy in a country which is not only in the grips of a major crisis but very much at center stage of the international contradictions propelling this war will force a rather sharp turn in the kind of life people have been accustomed to: from the further restrictions in availability and distribution of basic necessities to an imposed labor discipline which few have experienced.

Politically, the ruling class has already revealed the lengths to which it must go to rally public opinion and intimidate opposition to its war plans. The hysteria whipped up around Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan were merely the opening shots. If people are to be press-ganged into the most devastating war in history, then it is absolutely essential that the right climate be created. The imperatives of the ruling class were spelled out candidly in the somewhat infamous "Eisenstadt Memo" of 1979.

This was the sage advice from an advisor to President Carter to quickly find some outlet for the frustration and anger of the masses, to seek out some scapegoat which was named and later invoked—the oil-producing countries. Here again, the enormity of the crimes to be committed by the U.S. imperialists in launching and attempting to win this war will require a stable home front—something which will be more difficult to secure both because of the experiences of the masses through the 1960s (of which more will be shortly said) and the hardships that millions will face, sooner and later. The level of class struggle so far preceding the outbreak of this war is lower than that which raged before the last two world wars. However, the potential for this is very great—and the ruling class is well aware of this and determined to snuff it out.

Despite the cloudburst of national chauvinism around Iran, Afghanistan and the 1980 Olympics, the ruling class was still skittish. The American people had to be primed further and one Marine commandant described the reaction to draft plans as "underwhelming." While the political struggle and consciousness of the working class, in particular, was not highly developed, the country was not "united" in a durable way. With so much on the line in this war for the imperialists, and with the American people having to sacrifice in fighting and directly experiencing this war, the political "work" of the bourgeoisie becomes very important. The level of repression directed at revolutionary forces began to pick up markedly as the 1980s opened—not so much because of the existing level of struggle but on account of what could happen.

By the same token, the ruling class is going into this war following a period of discord within its ranks—from Watergate and other scandals to the abbreviated political lives of presidents. This tended to undermine the cohesiveness of the U.S.-led bloc in the 1970s. The pap about how "America lacked resolve" to carry through on her commitments abroad and stand firm against the Russians, though mainly a crude attempt to stir up chauvinism and serve as a pretext for expanded defense expenditures and military activities abroad, did reflect reality: the U.S. imperialists had taken a drubbing in Vietnam, the ruling class was wracked with scandal, and the American people had indeed become cynical and distrustful of authority. Politically, the ruling class must close its ranks more firmly (this is not to suggest that there are any fundamental disagreements within the ruling class over the need to go to war—only over how to pull it off in the strongest possible position), both to weld the U.S. bloc together as firmly as possible and increase the initiative of the U.S. ruling class and to exact the submission of the American people. This is a war which will be accompanied by more savage repression than any before it in this country's history. □

19. *New York Times*, op. cit.20. "Who's Buying Homes," *Dollars and Sense*, April, 1979, p. 13.21. "Workers' Pensions: A Penny Saved is a Penny Robbed," *NACLA Reports*, April 1976, Vol. X, No. 4, p. 16.22. David Caplovitz, *Consumers in Trouble, A Study of Debtors in Default* (New York: Free Press, 1974).23. *Ibid.*, p. 281.24. *Ibid.*, p. 284.25. *New York Times*, March 11, 1979.26. Newspaper Enterprise Association, *The 1973 World Almanac* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1972), p. 510.

## Books on Mao Banned in China

**"CHINA WANTS YOUR BOOKS."**

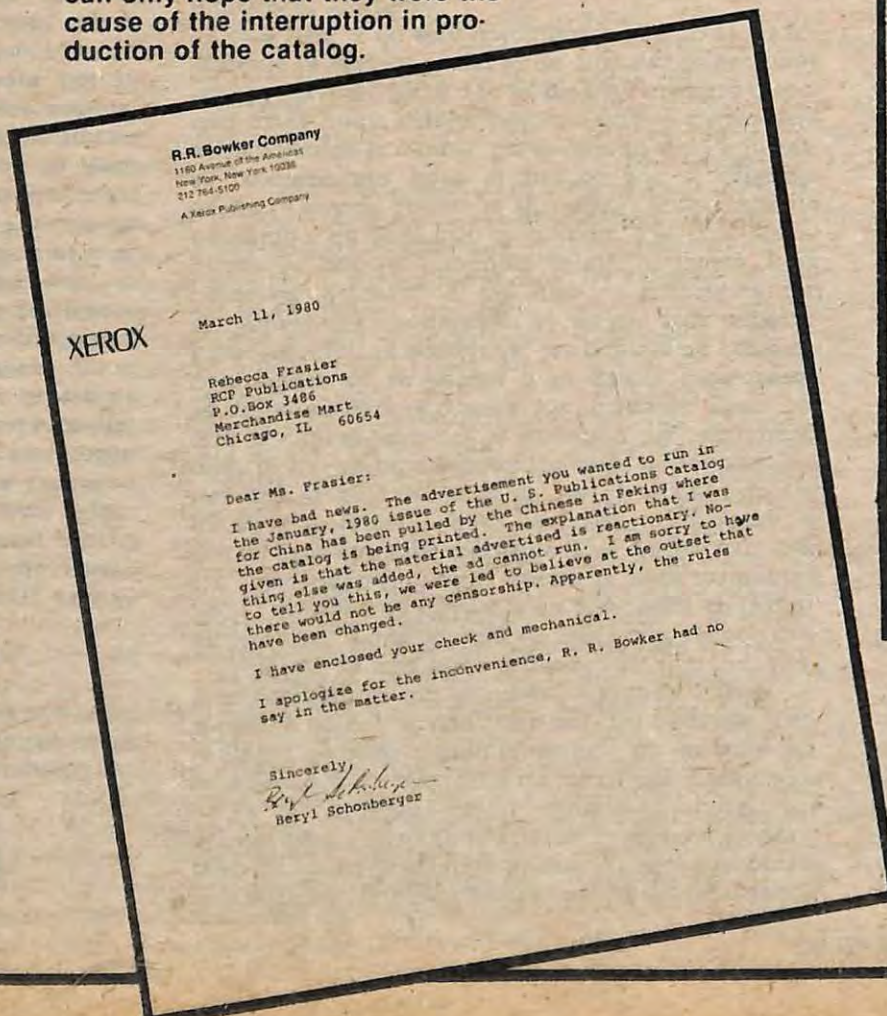
Or so read the ad in *Publisher's Weekly*, R.R. Bowker's major magazine about book publishing. "The new China represents an unprecedented marketing opportunity for American publishers... China has dramatically opened long-shut doors to foreign ideas and foreign ways..." Bowker had struck a deal with the Chinese to co-publish a monthly magazine, to be printed in Peking, promoting English-language books approved for importing into China. When we heard that Bowker was aggressively seeking ads for the first issue of their new magazine, we figured we had some books we'd like to see distributed to the Chinese people. These books expose the counterrevolution in China and uphold the revolutionary contributions of Mao Tsetung which are being slandered and smashed by the traitors presently in power.

Months after we'd submitted our ad (reprinted here) we called to see why the magazine had not yet come out (it was scheduled to be out in January 1980). Bowker said that "there's been a hold-up in production, but we should receive it any day." Last week we received a letter (also reprinted here) saying that Peking had rejected our ad as reactionary! The only ad to be pulled! Undoubtedly the volumes of bourgeois scien-

tific and technical books, along with a generous helping of Jacqueline Suzann, were much more acceptable.

While we would have preferred slipping this ad past their attention and into print, we consider it an honor and a tribute to the value of these books that they were singled out for censorship. We can only hope that they were the cause of the interruption in production of the catalog.

Right:  
Rejected ad.



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

卜·阿衛乾，美國革命共產黨

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中國修正主義政變（此書有中文版）

發行者：革命共產黨出版社

RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654

Note: The Chinese are not only banning literature that upholds Mao but are also phasing out his writings and other Marxist-Leninist works as well. Last July, in reply to a purchase request from Liberation Books in California, China Publications Center replied that *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung, Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tsetung, and Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* had been sold out, and "there are no plans at present to reprint any of these books, so they are not likely to be available in the future."