



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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D.C. Appeal Judges Signal Thumbs Down

Another Court Adds Its Steam to Railroad of Bob Avakian

On January 2, the full D.C. Court of Appeals announced their decision that there would be no sidetracking of the government's railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. In a 6 to 3 decision, the Court of Appeals denied the defendants' petition to rehear the case, re-activated in October by a three judge panel, before the entire 9-judge court. With this decision, the ruling class has both refused to retreat from their October 21 decision and affirmed their determination to press ahead with their attack.

The January 2 court decision was made public in a curt 3-sentence court order that reeked with contempt for the thousands of people who have expressed their outrage at this political railroad. In the first sentence, these "honorable" hatchetmen cynically grant the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) the "right" to file an amicus brief in support of the defendants' petition for a re-hearing. Then, in the next breath, they rapidly and summarily deny the petition, without so much as even a word of comment.

But it was much more than contempt that was the motivating force behind their court decision. Given the wave of outrage from people of all walks of life and from every part of the country that had flooded the chambers of the D.C. Court of Appeals over the last two months, it is once again made evident that the ruling class made a very

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Part of Closing Statement Leaked

Chiang Ching's Revolutionary "Point of View"



Chiang Ching

December 24, Chiang Ching made a 2 1/2 hour statement in the courtroom, upholding Mao's line and bombarding the revisionists. We referred to this closing statement in last week's RW, but more details have since come to light. Chiang Ching apparently delivered a stunning blow to the revisionists, judging from their swift and desperate action to keep a lid on the details of this statement. The regularly scheduled TV program on the progress of the trial was cancelled that night, and the official Party newspaper, the *People's Daily* would only issue a terse report in its edition the next day that, "the accused Chiang Ching made a defense statement on behalf of herself." For five full days, the revisionists bashed their heads against the wall trying to figure out how to wiggle out of the delicate situation

they were in. Obviously they had to come out with something, for the extraordinary measures they were taking to black out the content of Chiang Ching's speech and the rumors among the different news sources were creating quite a stir already. But at the same time, they could not afford to let themselves be seen being humiliated and reduced to puny, pitiful figures by Chiang Ching once again.

On December 29, The Chinese TV finally aired a brief portion of Chiang Ching's speech, concentrating on the written statement she read out at the end of her long presentation reportedly entitled "A Point of View." According to the Hong Kong revisionist daily, *Ta Kung Pao*, which printed this statement, "this strange document fully

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Hopes and Pitfalls in MLK Birthday Demonstrations

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"Labor Activists" Shot in El Salvador

AFL-CIA Loses 3 Hit-Men

In the past week, El Salvador's U.S.-backed fascist junta has continued its 10th straight month of martial law, conducted more search and destroy missions in the countryside backed up by the U.S.-made helicopter gunships and airplanes, and upped its murder total for the past year past the 10,000 mark. But what has filled the pages of the U.S. press is a deluge of tear-jerking tales of the "ironic and tragic deaths" of two beloved American counter-insurgency experts—oh, excuse us, "labor activists"—and a Salvadoran "associate," who had dedicated their lives to stomping on the struggle of the Salvadoran people by any means necessary—oh, excuse us again, we mean "improving the lot of the poor Salvadoran peasants"! It seems that these modern-day saints met their untimely end in a fitting style, assassination at the hands of some of their own kind (disgruntled elements of the Salvadoran ruling class) in a Sheraton Hotel coffee shop in San Salvador.

The State Department was quick to announce that it was "perplexed" at the "death of three men... (who) were actively working on behalf of an agrarian reform program which brought new hope for a better life to thousands of El Salvadoran rural poor." Michael T. Hammer, who had served 17 years with the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), "had an obsession to distribute land," according to "associates." Mark David Pearlman was a former Peace Corps volunteer in the Philippines who had spent the last four years trying to do just as much for the Salvadoran peasants as he had done to advance the cause of "free labor" in that bastion of freedom. And José Rodolfo Viera, student of the AIFLD and head of the Institute for

Agrarian Transformation (ISTA) in El Salvador, had recently told an interviewer that he would not give up his efforts to give land to the peasants, "even if it means my life."

Apparently, the State Dept. has been keeping its agricultural mission of mercy in El Salvador and its tremendous successes (according to the press, anyway) quiet out of modesty, and only now with the deaths of these "martyrs for the cause" have they chosen to reveal the wonders that U.S. imperialism is working in the countryside of El Salvador. Surely, this must be the case. This story must have gotten lost among the thousands of others of great works of U.S. imperialism throughout the world.

The real story of what these three U.S. imperialist operatives were doing in El Salvador, however, is quite different from the fairy tales being spun for U.S. public consumption in a cheap and shabby attempt to generate some desperately needed political support for the reactionary interests of U.S. imperialism in El Salvador. The AIFLD for which they worked is in reality a CIA front group, set up in 1962 by the AFL-CIO together with government officials and 95 U.S. multinationals. Its purpose is to carry out U.S. counterinsurgency activities throughout Latin America under the guise of helping the workers and peasants to "organize," or as George Meany put it, "...to train Latin American workers in the fundamentals of trade unionism as it is practiced in this country." That's what's meant by "free labor"—that is, labor that is free for the imperialists to super-exploit and oppress. Or as Pearlman once put it, his job was to "take the wind out of the Left's sails."

Michael Hammer learned to appre-

ciate this freedom at the Georgetown University Foreign Service School, an infamous training ground for imperialist spokesmen in Washington, D.C., and was known as one of the AIFLD's "top guns." Mark Pearlman's agricultural apprenticeship under the martial law Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines prepared him well to head the AIFLD office in El Salvador. And José Rodolfo Viera was one of the running dogs they trained—the first head of the Salvadoran Communal Union (UCS) set up by the AIFLD in 1966 to complement and recruit for the paramilitary group ORDEN that has been terrorizing peasants and all political opponents of the Salvadoran regime ever since its founding. All three of them are proteges of a leading war criminal and AIFLD advisor, Dr. Roy L. Prosterman, a Washington University professor who has traveled the world setting up "agrarian reform" programs modeled after his early work in a Vietnam "pacification" program known as Operation Phoenix. Appropriately, this counter-revolutionary planner proposed that Hammer and Pearlman be buried in Arlington National Cemetery with full military honors, saying, "They died for their country, died as heroes just as surely as men in combat."

Prosterman is the architect of El Salvador's program, which he euphemistically calls "land to the tiller." A more appropriate name would be "death to the tiller." It was put into effect last March, two months after major peasant uprisings at the end of 1979 resulted in the takeover of 72 large plantations. Its companion was a country-wide "state of siege," commonly known as a declaration of martial law. Accompanied by Salvadoran troops, about 300 UCS or-

ganizers were sent throughout the countryside to form "cooperative organizations" of peasants. In order to be eligible for the supposed land redistribution, the "cooperatives" had to register with the Salvadoran Dept. of Agriculture, submit their finances to review by Salvadoran officials, and most importantly, hand over a list of all members of the organization. A worker for the Institute for Agrarian Transformation told an interviewer for NACLA (North American Congress on Latin America) how the process works: "The troops came and told the workers the land was theirs now. They could elect their own leaders and run it themselves. The peasants couldn't believe their ears, but they held elections that very night. The next morning, the troops came back, and I watched as they shot every one of the elected leaders."

This was not an isolated incident. Since the "agrarian reform" was put into effect, there have been hundreds of similar examples cited, as every peasant who might possibly be developing any "political" ideas gets weeded out. The *Washington Post*, which is today praising the benevolence of the plan, ran an article last July 1 which stated "...a squad of more than 20 men in National Guard uniforms with complete battle dress and an armored car drove to a government agricultural cooperative with a list of cooperative leaders considered to be subversive. 12 of the leaders... were killed, and the 160 families living there fled in terror." The massive terror and bombing campaigns have driven thousands of the peasants off the land and into the already overcrowded tugurios, or shantytowns, of El Salvador and other cities. This has been especial-

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The money from sales of the Revolutionary Worker is urgently needed every week to publish future issues of the paper. It's important that all co-conspirators who take bundles of the paper make sure their sales money gets turned in according to arrangements made with your local distributor, or contact the Revolutionary Worker in your area.

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HOPES & PITFALLS in MLK BIRTHDAY DEMONSTRATIONS

January 15th, the birthday of Martin Luther King, has become the focus of a movement to demand that Congress declare King's birthday an official national holiday; and a mass rally and march has been called in Washington, D.C. on that day. Among those most actively building for this rally is the talented and well-respected musician, Stevie Wonder, who has been actively working on this project for over a year. His latest album contains a song in tribute to King, entitled "Happy Birthday" and a statement on Martin Luther King, calling for recognition of this holiday on the record sleeve which depicts King in the center surrounded by scenes from the Black protests and rebellions of the 1960s.

Among some significant sections of Black people and other nationalities, participation in this march is seen as

taking a stand against the vicious and intensifying oppression of Black people on the part of the ruling class and its agents. Further, various political groups and forces such as anti-draft and anti-nuke organizations and other progressive groups and individuals have expressed their support and have become involved in building for this march. Other actions are planned locally in various cities on that day, by organizations such as the Black United Front in New York City, in solidarity with the Washington march, opposed to the increased terroristic attacks on the Black masses, and putting forward various demands centering on the question of equality for Black people.

The extent to which this event has become a mass question not only reflects growing political ferment and response to the rapidly deepening im-

perialist crisis, of which the intensification of national oppression is a crucial component for the ruling class, but also the fact that the people are faced with—and increasingly beginning to seek answers to—crucial political questions concerning the road forward for the mass movement in the 1980s.

Some of these questions are focused up among people who wonder why the rulers of this country haven't already made King's birthday a national holiday. This is one question among many who had political experience in the '60s and who remember King's role in opposing especially the direction that the movement took in the latter part of that decade when it was marked more by the influence of Malcolm X (though he had been killed earlier), the Panthers and rebellions, not to mention in the international struggle against U.S. im-

perialism. Why hasn't King yet been really honored by the ruling class if he played this kind of fireman's role for them in relation to the whole revolutionary thrust in the movement of that period?

The Congressional resolution to make King's birthday a holiday is not a new issue. It has been introduced on the floor of the Congress every year since 1968, when King was assassinated, by John Conyers, Black congressman from Michigan, whose credentials include having been run out of Detroit during the 1967 rebellion when he attempted to go in and order an end to the revolutionary upheaval of the masses. Last year for the first time the resolution made it out of committee to the floor of the House of Representatives, where it fell short of passing the re-

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STATEMENT BY COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG, CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA, IN SUPPORT OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE AGAINST VIOLENT REPRESSION

(April 16, 1968)

Some days ago, Martin Luther King, the Afro-American clergyman, was suddenly assassinated by the U.S. imperialists. Martin Luther King was an exponent of non-violence. Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists did not on that account show any tolerance towards him, but used counter-revolutionary violence and killed him in cold blood. This has taught the broad masses of the black people in the United States a profound lesson. It has touched off a new storm in their struggle against violent repression sweeping well over a hundred cities in the United States, a storm such as has never taken place before in the history of that country. It shows that an extremely

powerful revolutionary force is latent in the more than 20 million black Americans.

The storm of Afro-American struggle taking place within the United States is a striking manifestation of the comprehensive political and economic crisis now gripping U.S. imperialism. It is dealing a telling blow to U.S. imperialism, which is beset with difficulties at home and abroad.

The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly

capitalist class. It is a tremendous support and inspiration to the struggle of the people throughout the world against U.S. imperialism and to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism. On behalf of the Chinese people, I hereby express resolute support for the just struggle of the black people in the United States.

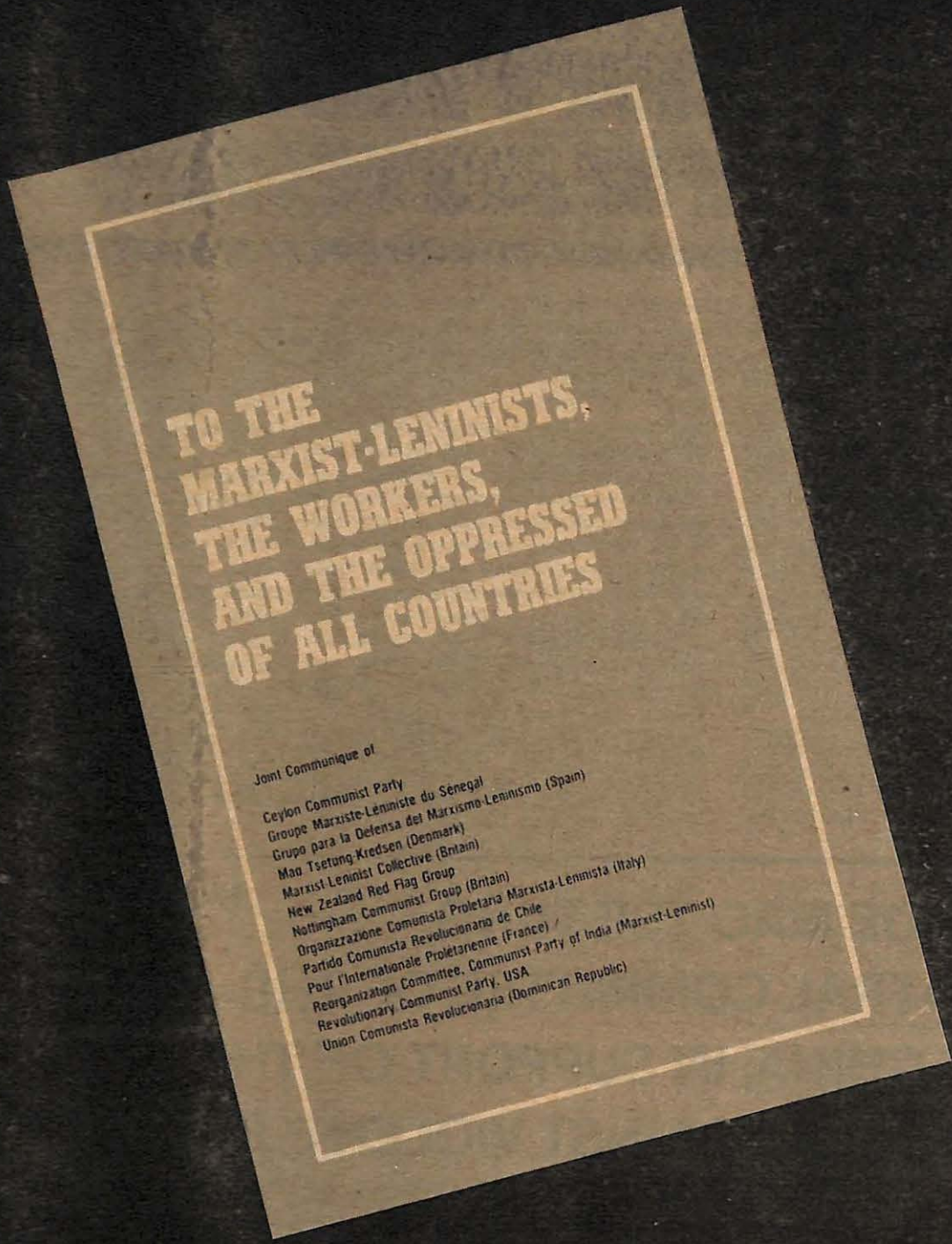
Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the black masses in the United States and U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and im-

perialist system can the black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States share common interests and have common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

In 1963, in my "Statement
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Tiananmen Square, Peking. Thousands of people poured into Tiananmen from morning till night in support of Mao Tsetung's April 16th statement on the day after it was released.



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A Day In Downtown L.A.

Scaling New Heights in 100,000 Campaign

The battle to go over the top in distributing 100,000 *Revolutionary Workers* swept through the streets of Los Angeles this past week. From Chinatown, to the largely Latino downtown and MacArthur Park areas, to South Central—and into Westwood. There were struggle, debate, and major advances in the battle. Over 2,500 *RW*'s in Chinese, Spanish and English went out on Saturday alone.

In two housing projects in one area of town, over 1,000 papers were distributed, mostly in bundles. In Chinatown breakthroughs were made for the first time, as every Chinese edition paper in the city—over 300—was distributed on Friday night and Saturday morning. The *RW* and especially its stand on Mao and Chiang Ching became the center of a storm of debate that raged through the streets there. Over 2,000 leaflets in Chinese announcing a program upholding Mao's revolutionary comrades fueled the debate further. The call to take up the *RW* was a big question, and Chinese language networks were formed.

But the major battle of the day came in the overwhelmingly Latino downtown section of the city. Downtown is a concentration of the oppressed, with many people recently arrived from countries throughout Latin America (and elsewhere in the world as well), people with experience of U.S. imperialism and the plunder of their own countries and many, too, with revolutionary experience in the fight against it. Virtually every political action and group among Latin Americans goes through this area, as well; it's become something of a political center for such activities. So when the agitation hit the streets here, it wasn't exactly a surprise when the cops pulled the sound truck

over immediately.

A significant battle had been under way here over the past year as the cops desperately tried to stop the already substantial and growing influence of the *RW*. Agitators report finding that "everyone knows about the *RW*" and find people saying they've been "watching us."

May Day 1980 had a big impact in this area. Verbal agitation and *RW* sales went into the garment sweatshops as well as the markets and along the streets. Homemade red flags appeared from the garment shops on May Day itself as the march came through, after the police failed in a desperate attempt to keep the march from getting into downtown (attacking it three times, beating people, and arresting 28). Clearly, the *RW* already had a lot of support here, and how much this has grown and its impact on the area became apparent as the 100,000 co-conspirators battle hit the streets of downtown last week.

As the *RW* sellers began to circulate among the thousands of shoppers along the sidewalks, papers and money changing hands, agitation from the sound truck began to boom through the streets. Within minutes the cops had pulled the sound truck over. After arresting the driver and agitator, the cops furiously hacked away at the banners of Mao and Chiang Ching on the side of the truck—desperate to stop the message these banners were delivering to the hundreds of people now gathering on both sides of the street. Suddenly, to the delight of the crowd, and with the pigs apparently oblivious, their efforts only revealed another banner underneath—it read "Abajo Con Opresión Nacional" (Down with National Oppression), an unplanned but telling ex-

posure.

Pig Delivery

After removing the final banner the cops announced that they were impounding the truck—they still had bundles of *RW*'s in the back. How to retrieve the papers became a pressing question. Drunk with their seeming power, the pigs arrogantly began throwing the bundles into the gutter! From within the crowd, agitators called on people to take up both the bundles "delivered" by the cops and the ones being distributed through the crowd. On both sides of the street people began to respond. One man opened a copy of the paper, holding it in front of his face as he defiantly passed along the police lines! The pigs freaked again, charging after the agitators and slamming one seller against the wall three times, and while two cops held her down, a third bashed her forehead with his club. Her cry of pain "Ohh..." turned into another yell of "Obrero Revolucionario!" The crowd tensed around this scene as she was quickly carted off by the cops, charged for felonious assault on an officer with a deadly weapon—her feet. Another felonious assault charge against an agitator with a "deadly" bag of *RW*'s. And then a third—the weapon? The truck.

The papers were definitely getting into people's hands. As one of the six people arrested watched from a squad car, one paper was thrown into a trash can. Someone came by and pulled it out, looked it over, crumpled it up and threw it back. Another person came by, pulled the paper out again, looked it over, straightened it out and then folded it into his pocket and walked off.

The bundles of papers were now being swept up—over 400 went out in all.

Seeing this, the rest of the selling team moved on to the next intersection, getting out some more bundles there. When things had settled down, the team returning to their cars passed by the exact spot of the arrests. Their decision to move on rather than make a "last stand" proved correct, as where bundles had once lain on the street, not one could now be found—they continued on to their next stop and with the plan to get out the 2500 *RW*'s that day, passing people along the way who had open copies of the *RW* in their hands.

But the battle downtown had not ended yet, as word of the police attacks and the response of the people taking up the bundles of papers spread quickly throughout the area. Networks were discovered that had not previously been known of. A Jamaican man came into the Revolution Books store several blocks from downtown. He had seen the events downtown. He had been regularly reading the *RW* but had never contacted anyone before. "Your newspaper is widely distributed and well received by Jamaicans in L.A.," he said. "The articles on Jamaica are broadly discussed."

To a number of people who already read and distribute the *RW*, the events downtown and the leap in distribution was a challenge to them, and in turn they began to put new demands on the Party. One Salvadoreño came into the bookstore on Saturday demanding to know why he had not been called on to go out with the paper downtown that day, saying, "You're not the only revolutionaries around, you know!" He took what was left of the bookstore's Spanish *RW*'s and went back to

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Scene in Los Angeles street, earlier this week.

Bob Avakian Railroad

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calculated decision in re-activating this case knowing full well the stakes involved in that decision. For almost two years now, the government has been pursuing its prosecution of Bob Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants. In November 1979, they were forced by the political response of people from all walks of life to retreat, while maneuvering, by throwing out the indictment at the lower court level. But their decision this fall to overturn that dismissal in appeals court signalled that they felt their necessity to pursue this attack on revolutionary leadership had become greater still. In fact this latest court decision serves to drive home even more firmly the point, as we said in *RW* No. 77 after the October 21 Appeals Court decision, that "the stakes of the battle have gotten higher...the bourgeoisie is even more compelled to lash out, even at the expense of dropping some of their flaking democratic cover and revealing their real dictatorship..."

So far each step of the way, as with this most recent decision, they have moved through the mechanism—and under the cover—of their "normal" legal channels. But even as they do, they cannot help reveal their underlying

political motivations as they pursue this case.

Supreme Court

At this point in the battle, the next legal step is filing a petition within the next month or two to have the case heard by the U.S. Supreme Court. (Although technically the defendants have got to file a petition soon requesting that the D.C. Court of Appeals issue a "stay of the mandate", that is, that the court hold back on sending the case back to the trial court.) With the work already done, together with developments in the objective situation today in the world, a very favorable basis has been built to broaden and intensify the battle to defend these comrades and to protect revolutionary leadership. The response to this court decision can only be to step up efforts, to activate those already reached by this work to reach out again to more and more progressive and awakening people, from all classes and strata in society, and to deepen people's understanding of what is at stake in this battle and the forces behind it, and on that basis mobilize them. While today, the call is not being issued for a continuing flood of

telegrams to the court, at some point in the coming weeks or months all of the many different forces reached will be brought to bear on the battle when it reaches the Supreme Court—both legally and, most importantly, in the sphere of public opinion. It is here that the ruling class will have to continue to weigh its necessity to persist in their railroad against what they are doing politically by doing so. The Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants has called on people and organizations, starting with those who have come forward in the recent stage of the battle, to continue to spread the word. Particularly urgent right now is the need for big fundraising in order to meet the legal and other mammoth expenses necessary to wage this battle.

Many people who have come forward recently have expressed a feeling about its close ties with many other world events, including the present trial of Mao's revolutionary comrades in China. While there is a direct connection in the sense that the arrests here stem from a demonstration to uphold Mao and to expose Deng Xiaoping and his fellow revisionists ruling China today, even greater is the fact that all these events are part of a bigger world picture of sharpening contradictions and increased opportunities for the proletarian revolutionary cause in the coming period. This underscores the need for people also to step forward in this all around fight, and to join the Party's efforts to contribute to pushing it ahead on every front.

This requires ever increasing understanding by more and more peo-

ple just who Bob Avakian is and why the government wants to nail him. For this reason new materials are being prepared in addition to the *Revolutionary Worker* and Defense Committee literature. The new pamphlet, *Bob Avakian Speaks: On the Mao Tsetung Defendants Railroad and the Historic Battles Ahead* will soon be available. Special efforts are also being made to make available video copies of Bob Avakian's appearance last year on the Tom Snyder *Tomorrow* TV show.

In November of 1979, at the rally following the temporary retreat by the government, Bob Avakian spoke to the basis of this "retreat and maneuver" as well as of the renewal of this attack and the launching of other attacks by the ruling class. "The period of the '80s is going to find upheaval unlike anything even in the '60s in this country and internationally. The challenge and the stakes are going to be up during that period. They are going to be much higher and much more life-and-death for them and for us than anything we've seen in several decades." It's this bigger picture, one already beginning to emerge, that underscores and adds a special urgency to the task of protecting and defending our revolutionary leadership. And, in the context of this bigger picture, this task can only be carried out both by waging the particular battle and by forging forward on all fronts, by continuing to carry out and intensifying the all-round preparation of the masses of people for seizing the revolutionary opportunities that lie ahead. Defeat the Railroad of Bob Avakian! Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

Funds are urgently needed for legal expenses and for the work of publicity around the case of Bob Avakian and the other Mao Tsetung Defendants

Make checks and money orders payable to:

**Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants
Box 6422 "T" Station
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New Pamphlet, Soon to be Available!

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

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

BOB AVAKIAN SPEAKS
ON THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS RAILROAD AND THE HISTORIC BATTLES AHEAD

Major Events in the Mao Tsetung Defendants Case

In October, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals reversed a lower court ruling and reinstated a 25 felony count indictment against Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. This latest move is a serious escalation in the government's attempt to cripple the RCP. From its beginning, the case has represented a sharp political attack:

* The charges stem from a police assault on a January 1979 demonstration protesting the U.S. visit of Chinese revisionist leader, Deng Xiaoping. Initiated by the RCP, the demonstration upheld the revolutionary banner of Mao Tsetung, denounced the revisionist coup d'etat which had taken place after Mao's death, and protested the

enlistment of China into the U.S. war bloc.

* Originally, 78 people were arrested. Six months later, 17 were indicted, then shortly after, reindicted, the charges mushrooming to 25 felonies and possible jail time of 241 years. The government tried to hide the political nature of its attack behind blatantly fabricated criminal charges.

* On November 14, 1979, the charges were dropped before the case had gone to trial. "Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian—Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants" had become a battle cry in the months prior. The political support of thousands and thousands of people had been mobilized, and in the face of this, the bourgeoisie was forced to tempor-

arily retreat. But events that followed showed that the enemy was also maneuvering.

* Immediately following the dismissal, government prosecutors filed an appeal. This appeal was actually an escalation of the political attack. It admitted what they had been denying all along, that they were prosecuting the case on the basis of political conspiracy.

* Throughout the year that the case hung in the appeals court, the bourgeoisie stepped up attacks on the RCP on other fronts. The Secret Service was unleashed on Bob Avakian, over 800 RCP members and supporters were arrested, especially in connection with Revolutionary May Day, 1980, and RCP member Damian Garcia was

murdered by police agents.

* On October 21, 1980, the charges were reinstated.

With the reinstatement of the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, the stakes have again been raised. A major counter-offensive is called for, and ever broader forces must be mobilized in the battle. Join the struggle to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants! Contact the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants or the RCP in your area.

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

Comrades from Turkey Support Mao Defendants

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

We have just heard that the U.S. government is trying to reactivate the charges against Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, and 16 other people known as the Mao Tsetung Defendants for their participation in a demonstration that took place in D.C. on January 29, 1979. This demonstration was directed against the utmost reactionary Deng Xiaoping and against his sell-out of the Chinese revolution to U.S. imperialism.

Today, December 20, 1980 we workers and students from Turkey are demonstrating against the reactionary and imperialist domination of our country. The same imperialists who for many years have oppressed and exploited the people from Turkey are now threatening the 17 Mao Tsetung Defendants with 241 years in prison each. And it is no coincidence that exactly at the same time that the U.S. rulers are trying to hit back at the growing revolutionary movement in the U.S. by attacking revolutionary leaders like Bob Avakian, they are also working overtime to try to stop the growing revolutionary struggle of the peoples from Turkey by giving their full support to the fascist junta. The U.S. imperialists and imperialists of all colors know all too well that their parasitic system of worldwide exploitation and plunder is presently under heavy and sharp attacks from millions of people in all parts of the globe.

The mass arrests, torture and executions of revolutionaries, workers and

students in Turkey, the attempts of the West German imperialists to ban "ATIF/ATÖF" (Federations of Workers and Students from Turkey Living in West Germany), and the attempts of the U.S. imperialists to rob the working class in the U.S.A. of its revolutionary leadership, are nothing else but clear signs of the desperate situation in which the imperialists find themselves. But try as you will, as representatives of a dying class, you will never be able to stop the forward motion of the wheel of history from advancing—the triumph of the international working class against all forms of imperialist domination is certain, and nothing that you do can prevent this. Our victory is only a matter of time, and we fully realize the importance of the role that revolutionary leaders play in bringing us and our class closer to the time when we will rule the day. The U.S. imperialists and their fascist flunkies in Turkey have already taken a highly esteemed revolutionary Marxist-Leninist leader from our ranks. This was Ibrahim Kavtakkava, the founder and first Chairman of the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist, who was tortured to death in 1973. We will not let you take another Marxist-Leninist fighter of the international working class away from us!

Stop the railroad of Bob Avakian! Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

38 workers, 7 university students, and 4 high school students from Turkey who participated in a demonstration in Cologne, West Germany, on December 20, 1980

Revolutionary Recounts Political Awakening "Mao Tsetung was the Guiding Light..."

The charges, political content and the blatant intent by the U.S. government to silence and railroad Bob Avakian and the other Mao Tsetung Defendants in Washington, D.C. all reawaken in me a revolutionary drive that has lain dormant following the death of China's Mao Tsetung in 1976. Actually, my original political awakening had come about years before while I was still in the service of the United States Imperial Navy during WWII.

During 1945-47 I happened to be part of the U.S. Seventh Fleet. Part of this fleet's job was the coastal patrol of the China Seas. Between these coastal patrols we stopped at many Chinese cities, some large, some small. In the past I had read the regular run of books on China—its huge population and its equally huge territory. I had also read about its Manchu Dynasty, emperors, its supremely wealthy ruling classes and palaces and about its fragilely beautiful and dainty people in their silk and satin clothing. Of course I also read about the poor peasants of China who could easily survive through life on a bowl of rice! I thought I had a pretty fair picture of China as given to me by my U.S. schooling.

But what I saw with my two eyeballs had not been included or mentioned in any history book that I had ever read! In every city that I went to, large or small, I saw the Chinese people living under the most miserable and abject conditions ever imaginable. Even in large cities like Tientsien I saw people in extreme hunger, with no type of sanitation, no street lighting, no sidewalks, no cars, no type of public transportation other than "rickshaws", human powered wheelbarrows only towed instead of pushed.

If you happened to be a foreigner out walking around by yourself you stood the good chance of getting robbed, daytime or night and many, many times it would be by mobs of 15 or 20 young kids of 8-10 years! Their practice was that playfully one kid would jump on your back, kind of like piggy-back, and laughing and giggling another would come running out of nowhere and also jump on you—instantly 15 or 20 would leap on you and quickly pin you down while taking everything from you—heavy coat, boots, pants, shirts; they sometimes let you keep your shorts! They did in my case! I couldn't strike any of those kids—they

had real hunger and desperation on their faces. When you looked real close at their faces they weren't laughing or giggling—they were looking at you as just another possible meal for them and their families. These things happened right out in the open, nobody intervened in any way to stop what was happening—a meal is a meal. I couldn't blame them but I sure as hell blamed the Chinese government of that time for perpetrating such gross social conditions.

Shanghai, at that time the prostitute of China, with its many beer joints and cat-houses, was no better off as far as the poor peasants were concerned. In spite of the fact that the docks of the thousands-of-miles-long Yangtse River were always full of wealthy American, British and other foreigners shipping, its thousands upon thousands of riverboat people were literally starving to death!

As an unranked seaman aboard a large transport it was one of my unpleasant duties for a while to man a garbage disposal detail. This job consisting in wheeling back to the stern of this ship 2 or 3 fifty-five gal. container drums of garbage-swil. This was dumped into the mighty Yangtse River but many, many times not only did the garbage go into the river alone but whole Chinese families as well.

These countless thousands of directionless riverboat people were actually dispossessed, landless peasants who had nowhere on earth to live except on these tiny boats in which complete families lived, jammed like so many sardines! These people could not really fish the Yangtse, for its waters were far too polluted to yield enough, if any fish to survive on. They had to literally live by eating whatever garbage was thrown overboard by the river's shipping traffic. Can anyone imagine such inhumanity? These people had never had access to a hospital, electricity, a school, a hot bath, even a full meal! Scores of times people saw babies' bodies bobbing down river, thrown into the river after having starved to death! Anybody wants to deny it? This was Shanghai 1946 mind you. More. Part of this garbage detail also involved manning powerful water hoses to sink the garbage and to disperse the "chinks" for they would come around it in droves and desperately fight each other for some of it. They all carried long-

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Pick up the pen

Correspondence from readers is literally crucial for the *Revolutionary Worker*; it's key in building the newspaper as the lifeblood of the revolutionary movement. The newspaper needs active, all-round political contributions from Party members, revolutionary-minded workers and all others who support the cause. All such people should correspond with the *RW* and work to develop this paper, the Party's voice, as their own revolutionary voice.

We need to hear from you. Reader correspondence is absolutely indispensable for the *RW*. The importance of such correspondence to the revolutionary press was spoken of by Lenin in 1899. In the midst of the struggle to create a nationwide newspaper, Lenin wrote:

"... Let us take one of the conditions for the success of this plan—that the newspaper be assured a regular supply of correspondence and other material from everywhere. Has not history shown that at all times when there has been a resurgence of our revolutionary movement such a purpose has proved possible of achievement even in respect of papers published abroad? If Social-Democrats (communists—*RW*) working in various localities come to regard the Party newspaper as *their own* and consider the maintenance of regular contact with it, the discussion of their problems and the reflection of the whole movement in it to be their main task, it will be quite possible to ensure the supply to the paper of full information about the movement...."

Only through active correspondence can we forge a truly powerful, truly conscious revolutionary Party with its finger on the pulse of the objective situation in its development. There is a burning need for information on the pulse of the movement. Pick up the pen!



Immigrants from Turkey in W. Germany

Thousands Denounce Military Junta In Turkey

On Saturday, December 20, in the streets of Cologne, West Germany, 8,000 workers from Turkey, youth and students marched in a powerful demonstration under the overall slogan of "Down with the military junta in Turkey!" This extremely significant demonstration, filling the streets for block after block, shook not only the city of Cologne, but the reverberations certainly reached the ruling circles in Washington, D.C. and Ankara, Turkey. Between 1.5 and 2 million workers and students from Turkey live in West Germany, spread throughout the country, and concentrated in the industrial areas. Those workers have been forced to seek work in Germany and other European countries because of the miserable economic and political conditions that imperialist domination has enforced on their homeland.

The coalition of organizations that called this march included ATIF/ATOF, (Federation of Workers from Turkey/Federation of Students from Turkey), Halkin Kurtulusu, and Halkin Birliđi (Revolutionary Unity of the People). In addition to the overall slogan against the junta, other slogans included "Death to West German Imperialism! Death to Fascism! Down With Imperialism, Social-Imperialism and all Reaction!" Targetting the West German bourgeoisie's huge economic stake in Turkey—the largest of all the Western imperialists—demands were raised against West German aid to the junta. Not only did this massive display of consciously anti-imperialist and revolutionary sentiments among workers from Turkey in Germany put the lie to the bourgeoisie's attempts to paint the junta as the people's choice, it also revealed a key reason for the coup itself: the mounting anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle in Turkey.

Ever since the military coup in Turkey in September, the bourgeoisie has had its press working overtime to attempt to portray the U.S.-backed military junta as "democratic" and "firm yet fair," etc. They have especially worked at trying to present the image that this fascist coup and the extension of martial law to the whole country was warmly welcomed and supported by the masses. The ruling class is faced here with the problem of trying to paper over an embarrassing hole in



Cologne, West Germany, December 20th.

their disguise. After all, how does it look, when at the same time they are trying to line up cannonfodder for the coming showdown between what they portray as the "Western democracies" and the "Eastern dictatorships," they find it necessary to establish an open military dictatorship in one of the NATO allies?

The efforts of Turkey's rulers to paint their blood-soaked regime as representing the "will of the common people" has taken the form of portraying Turkey as a country "torn by violence of the extreme Left and Right" while the masses of people long only for peace and tranquility so they can be quietly and willingly exploited by the various Western imperialists and their local retainers who have their fangs in Turkey. But according to official statistics, 30,000 people have been arrested since the coup while the actual

number is more like 100,000 giving the lie to their claim that it is a few isolated extremists who are the cause of "unrest and anarchy."

In Turkey much has been made of the general so-called even-handed policies toward the Right and Left, but, it is common knowledge that the right-wing terror squads are in fact made up of police and army elements. If one or two right-wing leaders are actually jailed, it is only to keep up appearances and to let them know who's boss in case they try to get too independent. The actual situation is made clear by a recent interview with Sukru Balci, the Istanbul security chief. According to the *New York Times*, "He asserted that 24 extremist groups, 21 leftist and 3 rightist, had been either uncovered or broken up."

The attitude of the government toward the revolutionary movement is

illustrated by an incident at the Technical University in Ankara, (the universities in Turkey are known to be hotbeds of anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle.) In an effort to control and stamp out this activity, the new government ordered that anyone entering or leaving a dormitory at the university must go through the official entrances that are, of course, police-controlled. To enforce this order, they found it necessary to plant a mine field around the building!

As a 17-year-old revolutionary who has been tried and executed since the coup for allegedly shooting at some soldiers said in court, "You can jail and execute revolutionaries like myself, but one day the people will sit in this court along with you and a proper verdict will be rendered, and your criminal rule will be ended." □

3 Hit-Men

Continued from page 2

ly concentrated in Chaletenango, Cuscatlan, and Cabanas, provinces where the peasants have been particularly rebellious. But even the low-level ISTA workers and many rank-and-file UCS members have become targets as well, as anyone who actually believes in any real form of distribution of land to the peasants is a potential threat to the established order. Thus, Prosterman's statement to the *New York Times*, "...this reform can't be stopped by assassins' bullets"; this "reform" is based on assassins' bullets.

But there is more to this insidious "agrarian reform" designed to serve the political and military interests of the U.S. in El Salvador. Attempting to use the bourgeois ideology accompanied by land ownership (or at least the promise of it), the imperialists hold out the promise to a very small section of the peasants of being able to own their own land and make a go of it if they agree to be nice and cooperate with and capitulate to their U.S. and El Salvadoran masters. The idea is to create a buffer of loyal peasants who will oppose the revolutionary upsurges of the masses and join the U.S. in their suppression. The bourgeoisie has referred to this as "breeding capitalists like rabbits."

While the profitable coffee plantations in El Salvador—which account for 65% of the country's exports—have remained untouched by the "agrarian reforms," there have been a small number of less profitable cotton and sugar plantations that have been legally turn-

ed over to peasant cooperatives who have made peace with imperialism and agreed to be its docile servants, although the number is nowhere near the grandiose figures being bandied about in the bourgeois media. In these cases the U.S. buys the land from the landlord, paying a handsome sum, and then divides it up into small parcels, renting it in turn to the peasants. Nobody has been given anything really, only continued slavery. Their reward is a small plot of earth that they are forced to slave on day in and day out, producing crops for the imperialists. Of these few peasants, the AIFLD executive director boasts, "We changed their title from feudal serf to freeman."

The key word here is "title"—because actually these peasants have only gone from being vassals of the landlords (while being more indirectly exploited by the U.S.) to becoming direct vassals of U.S. imperialism and its most trusted section of the Salvadoran comprador class as a whole. Once an estate is turned over to the cooperative, its planning and policies are decided by government officials (under the direction of the AIFLD, of course) until such time as the peasants reimburse the government for the entire amount paid to the original owners as compensation for their land. Current estimates are that it will take 30 years for most landed estates to be paid off if those who work the land are ever really able to pay their rent without going further into debt on loans from the U.S. for materials needed to farm the land. Actually, a number of the cooperatives have already gone bankrupt, since there has been a noticeable lack of access to credit for machi-

nery, fertilizer and tools allotted to them. And even though the U.S.-controlled Inter-American Development Bank recently announced a \$45.5 million loan to provide credit to the cooperatives, this will only further tie them directly to the rule of the imperialists. The *New York Times* proudly states they "legally own the land they till and no longer pay rent to the landlords." It neglects to mention that the actual owner of the land is now U.S. imperialism, and the peasants are simply paying rent directly to it.

Of course, the few big landlords that have "lost" their land to this arrangement aren't hurting either. In all cases, they have been fully compensated at prices well above the current market value of their land. Some of them have taken the money and run to Miami, while others have remained on their plantations in virtually the same position as before, now acting as overseers managing the plantations for the U.S. But some are pissed off anyway, mostly because they fear that this "reform" will cause more unrest in the long run, especially as these peasants begin to realize that their dreams of land ownership are really just another imperialist nightmare, something which is already happening in many cases. It is these landlords that are most likely responsible for the assassinations of the imperialist agents and their Salvadoran lackey. But overall, the majority of the Salvadoran oligarchy now supports the program in their desperation to do something about the struggle of the masses of Salvadoran people.

However, neither Prosterman nor his U.S. imperialist backers have a very

good track record at this sort of thing. Despite murdering 40,000 Vietnamese peasants with a similar program, they were run out of that country. The "White Revolution" in Iran didn't manage to keep their beloved Shah on the throne. Prosterman designed an identical program for the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines, but martial law has been unable to quell the revolutionary struggle in that country. Somehow, the masses just haven't heeded the good doctor's advice that "people around the world should avoid seeking political and ideological solutions to hunger, they should instead seek to put their hunger in a positive context."

The essence of the "agrarian reform" in El Salvador is in fact the same as U.S. imperialism's role throughout the world. Its solution to the people's "hunger and want" in all of the countries it dominates boils down to the same thing—a steady diet of lead from the muzzles of U.S. guns. And this is precisely why they must and will be overthrown. The real deal has nothing to do with reform, agrarian or anything else. This was fittingly borne out in the January 5 issue of the *New York Times*, which ran an article amidst its barrage of fairy tales about the "free labor martyrs" which was headlined, "Senators Meet on Salvadoran Aid." The article reports that after hearing witnesses from the State Department, Pentagon and CIA, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs agreed to send six new helicopter gunships to El Salvador. Apparently, the U.S.'s "dedication to improving the lot of the peasants" is escalating. □

Excerpts From:

Cuba, The Evaporation of A Myth— From Anti-Imperialist Revolution to Pawn of Social-Imperialism

With the world-wide face-off between the U.S. and Soviet superpowers growing in intensity, the role of Cuba as a frontman for the Soviet social-imperialists especially in the Caribbean and Latin America generally (along with that of the pro-Soviet revisionist "communist" parties in a number of countries) is becoming increasingly key to their strategy to wrest control of a number of countries from the U.S. imperialists. There is much confusion about the role of the Soviet Union and their Cuban lackeys, headed by Fidel Castro, among many who yearn to see U.S. imperialism's domination throughout the world overthrown. And precisely because the Soviet Union is trying to take advantage of the fact that in many countries the U.S. is widely exposed and hated to advance their own interests, it is crucial to understand how and why they were able to turn Cuba, itself a former U.S. colony, into a neo-colony and a political and military pawn for their imperialist interests.

We are reprinting here a portion of the pamphlet titled *Cuba: The Evaporation of a Myth*, written in 1976, because it sums up many of the negative lessons of the twisting of the 1959 anti-imperialist revolution in Cuba into a plaything and tool in the hands of the USSR. While there is much rich material on events in Cuba and its role in the world, especially in the "backyard" of the U.S., since this pamphlet was published, its analysis is very relevant to the situation today.



A billboard on a road east of Havana—Castro hand-in-hand with Cuba's latest imperialist master

Introduction

Cuba's role in the world today makes it increasingly important to expose the class nature of its leaders and the real character of Cuban society.

In words, Cuba is socialist. Its thousands of troops fighting in Africa under Soviet leadership are said to be there to advance the cause of proletarian internationalism. But the American paid-for mercenaries fighting there also wave banners of freedom and "anti-imperialism." Obviously it is necessary to go beneath the appearance of things to understand what's really going on in the world. To understand a country we have to ask what class is in power there. And to understand a country's politics we have to ask what class these politics serve.

The revolution led by Fidel Castro in 1959 was a tremendous step forward for Cuba, clearing away the rule of the U.S. imperialists and the Cuban landlords, dependent capitalists and all their parasites, pimps and gangsters. Because of this, and because of the revolutionary goals that Castro and those around him proclaimed, many people all over the world looked to Cuba for inspiration and guidance in their struggles.

But the class outlook, political line and methods that the leadership promoted have led to nothing but setbacks and defeat everywhere in the world they've been taken up. They have proved wrong and harmful to the development of the revolutionary struggle.

In Cuba, the revolution has turned into its opposite. Cuba today is as much a colony of the Soviet Union as it once was of the U.S., its economy dominated by sugar, and its working people wage-slaves laboring to pay off an endless mortgage to the USSR. The leaders of the anti-imperialist revolution of 1959 have now themselves become a new dependent capitalist class.

The question of Cuba is particularly sharp right now for two reasons. Internationally, the Soviet Union, which is itself an imperialist country trying to upset the applecart of U.S. domination in order to grab up the apples for itself, is making increasing use of Cuba. It uses Cuba as both a carrot and a stick. In Angola, Cuban troops spearheaded the Soviet drive to conquer that country under the cover of opposing U.S. imperialism (which is trying to do the same under the cover of opposing the USSR), while the Soviets pointed to Cuba as an example of how Soviet "aid" has bought socialism for Cuba and offer the same deal to Angola and other countries. This combination of "anti-imperialist" rubles and "anti-imperialist" tanks is key to the Soviet social-imperialists' efforts to replace the U.S. as the world's main imperialist power, and for that reason Cuba is invaluable to the Soviets.

Humble Words at Party Congress

Within Cuba, the first congress of the country's revisionist "Communist" Party in December, 1975, marked the economic and political consolidation of Cuba into the Soviet bloc and the formal emergence of capitalist relations into the sunlight in Cuba, after years of being hidden under "revolutionary" rhetoric.

This congress ratified Cuba's new "Economic Planning and Management System," sanctifying "the profitability criterion" as the country's highest principle. It also featured a long self-criticism by

Castro for not coming around to the Soviet's way of thinking sooner, a "self-criticism" in which he tries to justify Cuba's present situation and bows down so low before the New Czars that it serves as an outstanding indication of Cuba's present neocolonial status.

"Had we been humbler, had we not had excessive self-esteem," Castro explained, "we would have been able to understand that revolutionary theory was not sufficiently developed in our country and that we actually lacked profound economists and scientists of Marxism to make really significant contributions to the theory and practice of building socialism..." (Castro's speeches and other congress documents can be found in *Granma*, the official Cuban publication.)

Humble words indeed from the Cuban leadership who, not that many years ago, were portraying themselves as the lighthouse of revolution for the Third World and elsewhere, in contrast to what they considered the "conservatism" of the revisionists, and what they slandered as the "dogmatism" of the genuine Marxist-Leninists.

In the 1960s the Cuban leadership had actually become very humble in serving as a Soviet political errand boy whenever it was necessary to pay the rent—for instance, by attacking China and Mao Tsetung in 1966, backing the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and so on. But at that time the Cubans did try to maintain some distance between themselves and the Soviets, if only to maintain Cuba's prestige and "ultra-revolutionary" image at a time when the new Soviet capitalist ruling class was beginning to smell worse and worse to a growing number of revolutionary-minded people.

But now the Soviet strings which hold up the Cuban regime have been pulled very tight, and the Cuban leadership is to be more "humble" than ever. Today, Castro says, Cuba's foreign policy is based "in the first place, on staunch friendship with the Soviet Union, the bastion of world progress."

The use to which the Soviets have put the "staunch friendship" of Cuba has changed over the years. In an earlier period the weaker Soviet imperialists' relationship with the U.S. imperialists tended more towards surrender and collaboration. Now with their competition with the U.S. becoming sharper and more violent every day, the Soviets' use of so-called "detente" is mainly as a cover for Soviet aggression and preparations for war—while the U.S. imperialists use it for the same purpose themselves. Times have changed. But it seems *anything* the Soviet rulers want is fine with Cuba.

Castro goes out of his way to make this point unmistakably clear by going back over the 1962 missile crisis, when the USSR rashly set up long-range missiles in Cuba, and then, when challenged by the U.S. imperialists, not only capitulated completely by taking the missiles out, but also promised the U.S. it could inspect Cuba to make sure that they were gone—without asking the Cuban government. At that time, Castro correctly denounced the Soviets for it.

Now, Castro says, he was wrong for "not understanding" that this cowardly use of Cuba as a bargaining chip with the U.S. was "objectively" a "victory for the socialist camp."

But this is not the only crow Castro was forced to eat at the congress. Not only should the Cuban leadership have been "humbler" regarding Soviet foreign policy, they also should have been "applying correctly the main useful experiences in the sphere of economic management" in the Soviet Union.

Laws of Capitalism Govern Cuban Economy

What experience does he mean? That "economic laws" (especially the law of value) "govern socialist construction," and that "money, prices, finances, budgets, taxes, credit, interest and other commodity categories should function as indispensable instruments...to decide on which investment is the most advantageous; to decide which enterprises, which units, which collective of workers performs best, and which performs worst, and so be able to take relevant measures." (Speech at party congress)

This, Castro claims, is dictated by "reality," but it's not the reality of socialism. The working class must take these laws and categories into account so that it can consciously restrict and limit their sphere of operation and develop the conditions to do away with them once and for all. But socialism can't be *governed* by the economic laws of capitalism or else there wouldn't be any difference between the two systems! Castro's words here are taken lock, stock and profit margin from recent Soviet economic textbooks—summing up the experience of restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The "new economic system" Castro goes on to describe is based on the same principles that govern all capitalist countries, especially in the form of state capitalism: that prices be fixed according to the cost of production; that the factories and industries which produce the highest rate of return on their investment should be the areas of most expansion; that the managers of these units should be paid according to their social position and also the profitability of their enterprises; that the workers be paid according to the profitability of the enterprises they work for and lose their jobs if production would be cheaper without them; and furthermore, that workers be paid strictly according to their productivity as measured by piecework (which, Castro reported, now determines the wages of 20% of Cuban workers) or by whether or not they meet the production quota set for their jobs—in other words, whether they make rate (this is already in force for 48% of Cuba's workers).

This is truly capitalism in its full glory. Nowhere is this more ugly than when Castro says that he's sorry that there's such a terrible housing shortage in Cuba, but "the revolution hasn't been able to do much" about it—while later revealing that the government is building 14 new tourist hotels and expanding others. Clearly, the consideration isn't what people need, but what's most profitable. Of course, Castro doesn't call this capitalism, any more than do the present capitalist rulers of the USSR. All the revisionists claim that this kind of thing is just a little more "realistic" version of socialism.

Cuba's \$5 Billion Mortgage

The irony of it is that for many years the Cuban leadership argued that Soviet aid and sugar purchases

Continued on page 20

**US EMBASSY
HOSTAGES...
PART 1**

A ROGUE'S GALLERY OF

Ever since the seizure of the 52 embassy personnel in Iran by the Iranian people, we have been treated to a steady stream of bourgeois propaganda attempting to portray these spies and embassy operatives as "innocent victims of kidnapping"—implying that their main duties were things like stamping passports and helping to replace lost travelers cheques of American tourists. The question of just what these people were doing in Iran and just what the U.S. embassy compound in Tehran was really all about has been scrupulously avoided except for an occasional admission that, "Yes, the U.S. embassies around the world are engaged in collecting information, everyone knows that." This is, of course, followed by typically arrogant comments that it is the U.S.'s right to do whatever it wants in its embassies.

The truth is that while the U.S. government was most definitely running a highly sophisticated information gathering network in Iran, it was doing much much more. It was using its embassy command post to put a stop to the continuing revolution and to move towards bringing a pro-U.S. regime back into power. The embassy in Tehran, like all U.S. embassy outposts throughout the world, was truly a den of counter-revolutionary activity—from rallying pro-U.S. forces in the country to foment a right-wing coup, to organizing economic sabotage programs and assassinations of progressive religious figures.

Actually, the recent talk in official circles about calling the hostages "prisoners-of-war"—in a blatant attempt to drum up support for possible military adventures in Iran as well as their preparations for World War 3—has a ring of truth to it. For these embassy personnel were serving on the front lines of the U.S.'s covert political warfare against the Iranian revolution.

U.S. Embassy in Tehran—Center for U.S. Plots Against Iran

Over the past few years, especially after the exposure of the CIA, et. al., in overthrowing the popularly elected

government of Salvador Allende in Chile in 1973, there has been literally tons of information appearing about the activities of the CIA and other assorted counter-revolutionary, covert work of the U.S. imperialists. But *none* of it has been willing to touch what was (and is still) going on inside Iran. This was especially the case after the embassy was seized. One powerful example of this is the fact that Kermit Roosevelt's book, *Countercoup*, first published in late 1979, was removed from the bookshelves three days after the hostages were taken! Because it was about the CIA that installed the butcher Shah to the throne in Iran in 1953, and because of Roosevelt's bragging overtones about his key role in it, the parallels were just too painfully obvious. The stakes were too high for the U.S. bourgeoisie—involving their increasingly frantic attempts to regain control of their former key military outpost in the Persian Gulf—for them to let this book circulate at the time.

However, in Iran it was no secret that plots against the revolution were being hatched out of the American embassy (though the actual details and extent of the dirty work did not become clear until after it was seized). For several decades, this huge 27 acre walled compound in the middle of Tehran had been the headquarters for U.S. imperialism in Iran. It was here that the plans for the 1953 coup d'etat were carried out; it was here that the U.S. advisors who instructed SAVAK, the Shah's secret police, in the latest arts of torture and repression, were based; and it was through this embassy that the Shah received day-to-day guidance in brutally suppressing the revolutionary struggle, killing 60,000 people in the last two years of his reign alone.

With these crimes seared in the Iranian people's memories, the howlings of U.S. officials and newscasters about "disrespect for international law" after the hostages were taken fell on deaf ears in Iran, as well as on tens of millions of others around the world who have witnessed U.S. imperialism's bloodthirsty rule. Likewise, the U.S. government's insistence that American

embassies are supposed to be entitled to "diplomatic immunity," got a similar reception. All these pleas amount to is saying that, "We demand the right to conduct counter-revolutionary operations out of our embassies and generally bully our way around the world, with impunity." And in the case of Iran, their protests over the violation of this "sacred principle" have been all the more strident precisely because they have had *so much to hide* behind the walls of their embassy in Tehran.

Take the following confidential memo, sent to Secretary of State Vance by National Security Advisor Brezinski, a copy of which was discovered in the embassy files. It is dated August 14, 1979 and reads in part: "As to the actions designated to influence developments in Iran, the President is of the opinion that they should be worked out in coordination with the Department of Defense, the CIA, as well as other agencies and offices where necessary... The President also stressed that in view of the unpredictability of future developments in Iran, it is just as important to establish contacts with all political trends and organizations, without exception, including the minorities and extremist groups which are able to provoke armed uprising against Khomeini's regime."

At the highest levels of the government, the U.S. was desperately attempting to reverse and crush the continuing revolutionary upheaval inside Iran after the fall of the Shah in 1979. From the outset the imperialists took a dual approach to bringing Iran back into their camp. With the overthrow of the King of Kings, Shah of Shahs, Dog of Dogs, their most loyal allies inside Iran were too disorganized and dispersed to launch a head-on confrontation with the revolution. Therefore, they moved to aid those bourgeois forces inside the Iranian government centered around Prime Minister Bazargan, who saw the need to come to terms with the U.S. At the same time, the U.S. actively tried to protect and pull together the scattered old line pro-U.S. forces inside the country so that if the Bazargan

government could not be "peacefully" brought back into the U.S.'s grip, a reactionary coup to overthrow the Islamic government could be prepared and launched.

But the U.S. did not have a clear field in carrying out its counter-revolutionary strategy. Particularly in the months right after the February insurrection in 1979, they were on the defensive—so much so that even having past acquaintances with Americans from the embassy, could very well bring the righteous wrath of the people down upon one's head. By June 1979, this situation was putting a severe damper on the efforts of the embassy to function, as this CONFIDENTIAL document (reprinted in *RW* No. 33) from former Charge d'Affaires, Charles Naas, reports:

"Unwanted consequence of turn for worse in U.S.-Iran relations is drying up of many of our best sources and an increasing unwillingness on part of Iranians to be seen with or talk to U.S. embassy officials... Four-year veteran econ officer notes that many who would formerly receive him in their offices or answer queries by phone now at best ask for private meetings or will phone at night (convinced that the embassy phones are compromised) and are generally reluctant to discuss matters they talked of freely six or eight months ago... Farsi-speaking petroleum officer, finishing three-year tour, reports similar difficulties with many of his extensive contacts." And all this lamenting was pouring out even *after* the U.S. had made sweeping changes in their embassy personnel, who they felt were too badly exposed in the wake of the Shah's fleeing! While there were some of the "old hands" left in the embassy, the new conditions of a society in revolution against *them*, clearly called for new faces and no amateurs.

U.S. Embassies—Designed for Covert Operations

The worldwide spy network that the U.S. imperialists maintain with their embassies and consulates is not an amateur operation. The overall



(1) **Bruce Laingen**—Number one diplomat; Charge d' Affaires. Wife, Penne, Editor of FLAG bulletin. 1943-46—Lt. in U.S. Navy overseas. 1949—Joined State Dept. as foreign affairs analyst. 1953—Stationed in Tehran, as economic officer, in October, just two months after U.S.-backed coup. 1954—Mashad, Iran, acting principal officer, 0-5. 1955—Tehran, economic officer. 1956—State Dept. international relations officer, 0-4. 1960—Stationed in Karachi, Pakistan as political officer, 0-3. 1964—State Dept. officer in charge of Pakistan-Afghanistan affairs. 1967—Detailed to National War College, Meritorious Honor Award. 1968—Stationed in Kabul, Afghanistan, as Deputy Chief of Mission. 1973—Becomes acting deputy assistant secretary for Bureau of Near-East/Southern Asia affairs 0-1.



(2) **Moorehead S. Kennedy, Jr.**—Number 2 Diplomat. Wife, Louisa, is spokesperson for FLAG. 1952—AB from Princeton. 1954—U.S. Army overseas. 1955—State Dept. as GS-7. 1959—Becomes intelligence research specialist in June. 1960—North Yemen, 0-8 administrative officer. 1962—Athens, Greece, consular officer. 1964—0-7 political military officer in Athens. 1965—0-6, Stationed in Beirut, Lebanon, key U.S. post in Middle East for combatting Palestinian liberation movement. 1969—Promoted to 0-4 and stationed at State Dept. as a financial and economics officer. 1971—Acting Director of Office of Investment Affairs. 1972—Director of OIA. 1973—Promoted to 0-3. Languages: Arabic and French.



(3) **Richard Morefield**—Number 3 diplomat, Consul General. 1951—BS from U. of San Francisco. 1956—MA from U. of California. U.S. Army overseas as 1st Lt. Joins State Dept. as R-6. 1958—Stationed in Colombia as 0-6 commercial officer. 1964—Stationed in Montevideo, Uruguay as 0-5 economic officer. (During these years U.S. worked closely with secret police of Uruguayan military junta to brutally suppress the Tupamaros, urban guerrillas.) 1969—Stationed in State Dept., 0-3. 1973—Detailed to Sloan Management Program at Stanford U. Language: Spanish.



(4) **Victor L. Tomseth**—Chief of Political Section, CIA officer. Born: 4/14/41. 1964-66—Peace Corps in Nepal. 1966—MA from U. of Michigan. Stationed at State Dept. in the Foreign Service Institute as an R-8 in August. 1967—Stationed in Bangkok, Thailand. In June, stationed in Udorn, Thailand, site of huge U.S. air base where B-52 air raids against Vietnam launched. 1969—Bangkok staff assistant, 0-5. 1970—Bangkok political officer. 1971—State Dept. as personnel officer. 1972-73—Detailed to do area studies at Cornell Univ. 1973—International relations officer. 197-78—According to Counter-Spy magazine, as of December 1978, Tomseth was CIA officer at the U.S. consulate in Tabriz, Iran. Languages: Thai and Farsi.



(5) **Elizabeth Ann Swift**—Political officer, coding specialist. 1962—BA from Radcliffe College. Joins State Dept. as a GS-7 and trained as a message analyst dissemination specialist. 1963—Stationed in Philippines as 0-8. 1965—State Dept., 0-7 international relations officer. 1968—Stationed in Djakarta, Indonesia, as 0-6 political officer, then economic commercial officer. (Swift arrived in Indonesia in the aftermath of U.S. sponsored military coup that led to massacre of more than one million Indonesian communists and progressives from 1965-67.) 1971-72—Detailed to Cornell U. Becomes education cultural officer. 1974—International relations officer, 0-5. Language: Indonesian.

IMPERIALIST SPIES AND AGENTS

ORGANIZATION OF A SPY NEST THE U.S. EMBASSY IN TEHRAN, IRAN AS OF NOVEMBER 4, 1979

RANKING STATE DEPARTMENT DIPLOMATS

No. 1—**Bruce Laingen**; Charge d' Affaires and Ambassador-designate
No. 2—**Moorehead Kennedy**
No. 3—**Richard Morefield**; Consul-General

POLITICAL SECTION

(State Department, International Communications Agency (ICA), CIA employees engaged in intelligence gathering; influencing cultural and media outlets; organizing covert actions such as recruiting agents, assassinations, etc.)

Victor Tomseth; chief of political section, CIA officer
Elizabeth Swift; 2nd in command of political section
John Limbert; political officer, Iran specialist
Michael Howland; political officer
Michael Metrinko; political officer, former CIA officer in Tabriz
Thomas Ahern; "narcotics control coordinator", CIA officer.
William Daugherty; "embassy employee", part of CIA "SRF" program
Malcolm Kalp; "embassy employee", part of CIA "SRF" program
Donald Sharer; "embassy employee"

Katherine Koob; ICA, head of Iran-America Society
John Graves; ICA (Veteran of U.S. "rural pacification" program in Vietnam)
William Royer; ICA, cultural affairs
Barry Rosen; ICA, embassy press agent

Robert Ode; Temporary Consular Officer
Donald Cooke; vice-consul
Gary Lee; administrative officer (Stationed in Oman, 1974)
Bert Moore; administrative officer (Stationed in Rhodesia, 1964-69)
William Belk; records specialists

ECONOMICS SECTION

(Organized programs to maintain dependence of Iranian economy on U.S. imperialism; running economic destabilization programs.)

Robert Blucker; economics officer
Bruce German; "budget officer"

(Consul-General Morefield mainly served as an economics specialist in the diplomatic service.)

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

(Operation of all communications equipment; decoding and encoding secret cables)

Philip Ward; communications officer
Paul Needham; USAF communications
Duane Gillette; U.S. Navy communications
Charles Jones; communications/CIA, only Black hostage left.
Frederick Kupke
Jerry Miele

MILITARY SECTION

(Assigned to reestablish ties between U.S. and Iranian armed forces with advisors, spare parts, etc. and to maintain active contacts with pro-U.S. officers in Iranian military.)

Thomas Schaefer; Colonel, ranking military officer in Defense Attache Office
Charles Scott; Lt. Colonel, served as attache in Iran previously
David Roeder; Lt. Colonel, Air Force attache
Regis Ragan; military attache
Robert Engelmann; Naval attache
Joseph Hall; military attache
Joseph Subic; Army Staff Sgt.
Donald Hohman; Army medic

EMBASSY SECURITY

Leland Holland; Colonel, chief of security
Allan Golacinski; security officer
William Gallegos; Marine guard
Kevin Hermening; Marine guard
Steven Kirtley; Marine guard
Paul Lewis; Marine guard
James Lopez; Marine guard
John McKeel; Marine guard
Michael Moeller; Marine guard
Gregory Persinger; Marine guard
Rodney Sickman; Marine guard
Steve Lauterbach; maintenance

MISC.

William Keough; "educator" visiting embassy from Pakistan
Jerry Plotkin; California businessman in embassy at time of takeover

INFORMATION UNAVAILABLE

(52nd hostage does not appear on January 1981, Life, list of hostages.)

John O'Keefe; listed in *Newsweek* but absent in *NY Daily News* list
Clair Barnes; listed by *NY Daily News* but absent in *Newsweek*

FORMER HOSTAGES

13 Blacks and women (mainly secretaries and Marine guards) who were released by the Iranian government in the opening weeks of the embassy seizure.
6 who escaped through the Canadian embassy in 1980 (5 consular officers and one employee of Dept. of Agriculture).
Richard Queen, consul, released for medical treatment

organization of an embassy is nicely suited, in fact it's designed, for the most efficient carrying out of covert activities. It is divided into specific sections: diplomatic, political, cultural,

economic, communications, military, and security. (See chart) The CIA places operatives in all of the sections, particularly the political division. In Iran, many of the CIA employees at the

embassy were case officers who were in charge of giving direction to a particular program, such as maintaining contacts with agents under deep cover.

According to Philip Agee, ex-CIA operative, in the introduction to *Dirty Work 2, The CIA in Africa*; "Covert action seeks the strengthening or

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Key

i0—Foreign Service Info. Officer (USIA/ICA)
0—Foreign Service Officer
R—Foreign Service Reserve Officer
S—Foreign Service Staff Officer
(Rank increases with lower numbers)



(6) **John W. Limbert**—Iran Specialist
1964—BA Harvard
1964—66—Peace Corps in Iran.
1969—72—Instructor at Pahlavi University (named for the Shah) in Shiraz, Iran.
1971—MA from Harvard
1973—PhD from Harvard. Stationed at State Dept. Moved to Persian Gulf state Abu Dhabi as an O-7 to work as an economic commercial officer.
Language: Farsi.



(7) **Michael J. Metrinko**—CIA officer.
Born: 11/11/46.
1968—BS from Georgetown Univ. in D.C.
1968—70—Peace Corps in Turkey.
1970—73—Peace Corps in Iran.
1974—Became a Foreign Service Reserve Officer and stationed at State Dept. as an R-7.
1975—Stationed in Turkey.
197—According to Counter-Spy magazine, Metrinko was serving (along with Tomseth) as a CIA officer in Tabriz, Iran as of December 1978.



(8) **Thomas Ahern**—Supposedly "narcotics control coordinator," CIA officer with Belgian passport.
Born: 4/12/40
1963—BA from U. of Maryland
1963—64—Worked at George Washington Univ. in D.C.
1963—65—Listed as civilian in U.S. Army, but actually worked as an analyst in the Military Intelligence Service (MIS).
1965—Appointed to an R-8 State Dept. There he was trained for diplomatic corps. Assigned to San Salvador, capital of El Salvador, as an assistant attache.
1967—Assigned to the Dominican Republic (immediately after the invasion of 22,000 U.S. Marines to install pro-U.S. regime.)



(9) **Robert Ode**—Temporary Consular Officer.
1941—46—U.S. Navy overseas. His "private experience" listing also covers the years 1938-1947; probably OSS for 41-46.
1946—Assistant export sales manager for unnamed chemical corporation.
1947—Joins State Dept. as an S-14, Warsaw, Poland, clerk/stenographer.
1951—Palermo, Italy, S-9 administrative officer. (U.S. on offensive against strong communist influence in Italy during these post-war years.)
1959—Liberia, chief of consular section O-5.
1961—Stationed in Bern, Switzerland. Deputy Consular Affairs, O-4.
1970—Hamburg, Germany as consular officer.
1971—Genoa, Italy. (Returned again in 1975)
Language: German.



(10) **William Daugherty**
(Picture—no biography)



(11) **Malcolm Kalp**
(Picture—no biography)

Chiang Ching's Revolutionary "Point of View"

Continued from page 1

shows that this self-styled 'standard bearer of the Cultural Revolution,' 'the leader,' is illogical in her writings and her train of thought is confused. The whole document is incomprehensible, and also reveals Chiang Ching's irrationality."

Although it might be very possible that Chiang Ching's statement as shown on TV or printed in *Ta Kung Pao* was censored in part or distorted in some way from what she actually said in the courtroom, still in the form that has come out, it is clear that Chiang Ching is not only "logical" and "comprehensible" but that she delivered a devastating blow to the revisionists. Her declaration, which is in the form of a series of Chinese colloquialisms, is translated below with explanatory notes by the RW (in the parentheses).

"While Xiang Zhuang performs a sword dance,
His real target is the Duke of Pei."

(This historical reference is to the period of turmoil in the 2nd century after the breaking up of the first emperor Qin (Ch'in). One of those struggling for power, Xiang Yu, invited a rival of his, Liu Bang (Duke of Pei) to a banquet as a trap. Under the guise of putting on a sword play act as entertainment, Xiang Yu intended to kill Liu Bang. Chiang Ching is pointing out that although the revisionists hold a sword over her neck literally and figuratively, their real intent is to stab at Mao.)

"You are capitulating and betraying,
Submitting yourself to others' control."

(As Chiang Ching points out, revisionism means betrayal of Marxism as well as to the people of China, and capitulation to imperialism. These "mighty" revisionists are selling China to the imperialists—particularly the U.S.; maybe the Soviets tomorrow. She might be also taking a jab at former "Gang of 4" revolutionary Wang Hongwen, who has reportedly asked he be given a chance to "reform and repent.")

"The vital question,
is the true program,
Take class struggle as the key link,
When the key is grasped, other factors
will follow,
Continue making revolution;
Or take the three directives as the key
link,
And raise the secondary to confuse the
key."

("Taking the three directives as the key link" is the infamous formulation that Deng and the revisionists peddled, under the guise of following Mao's instructions, to push their revisionist program in the period after the upsurge of the Cultural Revolution, as they actively and openly prepared for a coup. The 3 directives were separate instructions that Mao issued at different times in 1974 to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, promote stability and unity, and promote the national economy. By eclectically raising all three as a whole, as the key link, the revisionists were trying to bury the real key link of class struggle, specifically in the form of the mass campaign to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat that was initiated and led by Mao. Mao himself blasted Deng's

thinly-disguised ploy, saying, "What! Taking the three directives as the key link! Stability and unity do not mean writing off the class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it.")

"Revisionist reaction,
Inexhaustively murderous and
extremely vile,
is exposing its true face in a big way,
trying to cover up its crimes,
beautifying its hide,
erect prestige,
deceive the world and steal a name for
itself,
manifest the new and establish the
novel.
Uttering sinister words,
its big lies cover up the sky,
hiding the truth.
In this scheme to steal the sky and
change the sun,
There was a despicable conspiracy
from top to bottom,
to put Zhang's cap forcibly on Li's
head,
transplant the flower on another
branch,
use fake goods to frame up others,
shift the blame and steal public
opinion,
maneuver people's line of vision,
attempt in vain to wash clean their
stained names,
and pick out little things to frame up
the Central Committee Cultural
Revolution Group
in order to persecute and shut off the
voices
of those who know the real story."

(The sun referred to above refers to Mao. The phrase "steal the sky and change the sun" is very possibly meant to evoke the song recently banned by the revisionists, "The East is Red," which starts off, "Red is the east, rises the sun, China has brought forth a Mao Tsetung," and goes on to sing the praises of Mao and the Communist Party.

This whole section drills mercilessly at the revisionists' cynical and feeble attempt to pin the blame for everything from problems in the economy, to trains not running on time, on the revolutionaries. She is especially pointing to their attempts in the trial to put the blame for excesses that did occur in the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution on Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao and those following Mao's line. As Chiang Ching says, this is "picking out little things"—or as she is also reported to

have said, "picking bones from an egg," i.e. trying to find something that is not there—in order to confuse right and wrong, revisionists and revolutionaries. The Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee was set up by Mao as a leadership body for the Cultural Revolution, and Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao played major roles in it. Mao set up the group because he knew he could not count on the old core leadership like Zhou Enlai, Ye Jianning, etc., to unleash the mass struggle. And as Chiang Ching points out, all the revisionist garbage about the persecution committed by her and other revolutionaries was just to cover up the widespread persecution the revisionists carried on, both before and after the coup, against revolutionaries and the masses of people.)

"The ability of the revisionists is like
that of a mantis' arm,
the ability to make world history
belongs to the heroic masses of
people."

(There is a Chinese folk saying that goes, "A mantis trying to stop a cart." That is, a mantis (an insect) if looked at from the point of view of another insect, might look powerful and imposing, but it would just get squashed by the wheels of a cart. In the long run, the revisionists are like a pitiful mantis trying to stop the wheels of history made by the masses of people.)

At the start of the trial, the revisionists tried to portray Chiang Ching as confused and unsure, even spreading rumors that she had broken down and cried. That the revisionists had to dredge up the same ploy to characterize Chiang Ching's statement as "incomprehensible" and "illogical" is a measure of their desperation. They just have not been able to contain her incisive, explosive, consciousness and revolutionary fury!

The powerful ending to her statement where she reduces the revisionists to insects trying to stop the wheels of history made by the masses of people, fully reveals the strategic process and confidence that has enabled her (as well as Chang Chun-chiao) to beat back the frenzied attacks. It is this revolutionary proletarian optimism that enables her, in the face of the temporary defeat of the revolution in China and at great personal risk, to declare, "I dare you to sentence me to death in front of a million people in Tienamen Square!" □



RW sellers on the streets of Chinatown in Los Angeles recently overheard a conversation between a Chinese couple. The husband refused to give his wife money to buy a copy of the RW so she told him,

"Well, I'm just going to be like Chiang Ching then!"

Why the U.S. Imperialists Are Watching the China Trial

As we go to press, there has been no word of the sentencing of Chiang Ching (Jiang Qing) and Chang Chun-chiao (Zhang Chunqiao). The Chinese revisionists must be trying frantically to pick up and put back together the pieces of the facade of unshakable authority and legality that was shattered to bits by these two revolutionaries during the course of their month and a half long trial. In the last session on December 29, the prosecution demanded the death sentence for Chiang Ching who had to be dragged out of the courtroom after denouncing the revisionists and their sham trial. Before being forcibly removed, Chiang Ching challenged her sniveling and pitiful accusers: "I dare you to sentence me to death in front of a million people in Tienamen Square!" A few days earlier the prosecution demanded, "Severe punishment" (i.e. death) for Chang Chun-chiao, who ignored the whole farce and sat firm and impassive as he has done for the whole trial.

The two most likely possibilities for the final sentences for Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao: immediate execution or the death sentence with a waiting period of 2 years before execution. Various revisionist mummies and

widows of revisionist ghosts have been clamouring for immediate execution, claiming that this is "the will of the people." This is of course the will of these hardened reactionaries, but an indication that this is hardly a "mass demand" is that demonstrations in Peking to demand the death of the two that were rumored to be in the planning during the last few weeks of the trial never came off. Deng and other top revisionists are considering the possibility of a waiting period, but not out of any softness of the heart. What they are weighing are the political choices of either executing the two now, thus delivering a harsh warning to their followers but also drawing further attention to and admiration for their revolutionary stand, or delaying the execution, hoping to defuse the highly charged situation.

Deng and Co. are also weighing the "international reaction" to the sentence. Of course what they mean by international reaction is the kingly opinions of those to whom they are capitulating and selling out China—the imperialists of the world, particularly the U.S. imperialists.

And the U.S. bourgeoisie is indeed looking with some real concern at the

way this trial has been turning out. And their concerns have nothing at all to do with the "humanitarian" and democratic desires for "justice" and a "fair trial" in which their mouthings have sometimes been disguised. They are worried about their imperialist stake—both against the revolutionaries of the world and also their Soviet imperialist arch-rivals.

The trial has received extensive coverage and much recent "commentary" in the U.S. media. This in itself is a sure sign that the revolutionaries of the world, most especially including Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, are not alone in their understanding that this trial and the revolutionary stand being taken by these two, is of great significance on a world scale as we enter a period of crisis, war and revolutionary opportunity.

Of course, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie look to the trial for completely different reasons. Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao's actions have given great inspiration to and helped deepen the understanding of the international proletariat; as for the U.S. bourgeoisie, they're looking with quite a lot of apprehension at the way the trial is turning out. Their concern stems

from their perception, even through their distorted eyes, of the tremendous revolutionary effect that the two in China are having on people internationally. The infighting among the Chinese ruling clique, brought to a high pitch by the trial and the conscious action of Chiang Ching disturbing the pot, also greatly perturbed the U.S. rulers, who are trying to solidify and secure their war bloc in anticipation of the coming showdown.

U.S. press accounts and editorial comments have been a curious mixture of vile slanders against Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao coupled with an almost begrudging respect for their actions, although fundamentally the U.S. rulers, and the bourgeoisie worldwide, despise and fear everything represented by Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, and of course Mao.

An editorial in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on Dec. 31st said Chiang Ching "Simply walks away with all honors of playing the role of the defiant defendant," and that "Possibly no female anywhere in the world since Joan of Arc has put on a greater courtroom performance than this

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“The ability of the revisionists is like that of a mantis’ arm, the ability to make world history belongs to the heroic masses of people.”

Chiang Ching

Hu Yaobang

Deng Xiaoping



Revolutionary Worker

Deepen Materialist Analysis

More On The Article: "Russell Means' Attack On Revolutionary Marxism"

I feel that it is necessary to register some criticism of the article, "Russell Means' Attack on Revolutionary Marxism" which appeared in *RW* No. 68, an article which I helped write for the newspaper.

The original article was an overall correct response to an idealist, metaphysical and capitulationist speech given by Means—a well-known figure in the Native American movement—at the "International Survival Gathering" held last summer in South Dakota. This speech was an open attack on revolution and revolutionary Marxism. It sought to diffuse the growing influence of revolutionary ideas among Native American activists and others by confounding Marxism with "European culture" in general and blaming a classless conception of "industrialization" for the oppression of Native Americans. Means' speech demagogically advocated waiting for "Mother Earth" to take its revenge on mankind, at which point those "natural beings" who remained could return to the "inherently superior" society of American Indians as, in Means' view, it existed prior to European colonialization of North America. The *RW* article exposed Means' opportunism and his program of capitulation, particularly significant in the face of the sharpening struggle by Native Americans. The article answered Means' thoroughly idealist presentation of Indian society to date with a materialist analysis of the development of society. A good part of the article was devoted to showing how the customs and beliefs of Native peoples corresponded to, and changed in accordance with, the development of the productive forces. The main problem, though, is that the article doesn't sufficiently speak to those aspects of Native American culture which have been extremely important in the struggle against oppression nor to the scientific content of certain Indian practices, as in medicine. Because of this, the materialist—and therefore dialectical—thrust of the article is undermined. Because of this, it sometimes tends to ignore or even dismiss certain important forms of cul-

tural resistance by Native Americans to U.S. imperialist oppression. This resistance—which is quite contrary in its direction to Means' overall capitulation and turning away from revolutionary struggle—often plays an important and positive role.

Sharp and broad controversy has developed both over Means' speech, and over the *RW* reply. Discussion and struggle has developed among Indian activists and many, many others. Means' speech recently received wide distribution when it was published in the December, 1980 issue of *Mother Jones* magazine. *Mother Jones* went so far as to feature a photo cover of Means titled: "Russell Means: For the World to Live, 'Europe' Must Die." While *Mother Jones* indicated some differences with Means' speech, the overall effect of their presentation of it was clearly to promote it as a positive contribution to the struggle against oppression. This makes it all the more important for us to set things straight.

Along with further study, my recent travels to the Navajo and Shoshone homelands (See *RW* No. 73, 74 and 75) made me much more aware of the important role being played by traditional Indian culture in today's struggle. From the Shoshone's insistence that selling land was against their religion (a point made to resist the U.S. government's extortion attempts to pave the way for the MX missile deployment), to the continual testimony of the young Navajos about basing their struggle against the coal and uranium companies on traditional religious beliefs handed down from their elders, most of the Native Americans I met expressed a determination to defend and uphold their culture, especially in the face of continuing capitalist attempts to destroy it. Russell Means and others seize on the most backward aspects of the culture (which also exist, to be sure) to try and transform the whole thing into a reactionary fantasy—a plunge to the depths of capitulation to capitalism under the signpost of a return to the supposed glorious days of yesteryear. But in combatting this bourgeois rant-

ing, our article fell short.

First, a point about the use of the "Second Harvest," the term referring to anthropological discoveries that primitive peoples stored human feces so that, in time of famine, they would be able to extract undigested seeds and other things for food. Since the article correctly stresses the point that all societies ultimately have their origin in the level of development of the productive forces, it was wrong to adopt the haughty and rather flippant tone towards this concept—as for example in the article's subhead: "Searching for the 'Second Harvest'." The people who relied on the "Second Harvest" did so out of necessity, not because it was particularly desirable but because the conditions of extreme scarcity under which they lived meant that being unable to produce any surplus, they were constantly at the mercy of, and whipped around by, the forces of nature. A thoroughly materialist analysis of the "Second Harvest" would neither praise nor snicker at this practice—but rather recognize that it was a result of the low level of the productive forces that existed at the time. Means' speech strips everything away from the material base. The nature of society and the relations between people are completely divorced from the actual material base of society.

On the question of Native American cultural forms, our article showed how changes in the level of the productive forces led to corresponding changes in cultural forms and spiritual beliefs of early Indian societies. For example, the article refers to the Hopi tribe, whose ancestors developed from hunters and gatherers to a more complex, mainly agricultural society, and later shows how this development led to certain religious beliefs related to the need for rain to water their crops in the dry Southwest where they live. In regard to other tribes, the article also notes that certain cultural forms were actually conditioned by contact with colonial and later capitalist expansion. But there were further cultural changes which came about as a very direct result of sharp resistance and struggle mounted by Indians against the well-known bloody oppression this expansion created. The article fell short in taking stock of this. For instance, the cross has become a forbidden symbol in Hopi ceremonies, and furthermore, within Hopi religion there has been a greater emphasis placed on those ceremonies and dances that the invaders, especially the Christian missionaries, had the most difficulty understanding.

The traditional Hopi spiritual leaders, known as Kikmongwis, have formed the core of the opposition to capitalist attempts to steal the mineral wealth that sits underneath their land. To facilitate strip-mining and other mineral developments by corporations such as Peabody Coal, the U.S. government instituted its own puppet Hopi tribal council against the overwhelming objections of the majority of Hopi people (who have boycotted the original and subsequent Tribal Council "elections" and all further dealings of the council). In the face of this Kikmongwis have publicly released spiritual doctrines, such as the Hopi Prophecy in 1948, which upholds the Hopi "way of life," and predict the downfall of western civilization if attempts to stomp it out are not reversed. These have been used politically in international conferences and elsewhere, to create broader public opinion, in favor of the Hopi resistance, and to expose the capitalists' continuing attacks on the Hopi people.

Clearly, then, this traditional movement of the Hopi has played an important role in their struggle. Our article against Means should have brought this out and shown how, not only among the Hopi but other tribes as well, certain cultural forms have been an actual

weapon of Native Americans against oppression.

Scientific Content

The draft *New Programme* of the RCP makes an important point in the section "The Proletariat, Upon Seizing Political Power, Will Immediately Take Up the Transformation of Society." Concerning Indian peoples, the draft *Programme* notes that: "Local customs and practices—such as medicine—usually dismissed (or occasionally 'glorified' in all cynicism) by the capitalists today as 'pure mysticism' will be studied for those aspects that have an underlying scientific content and these aspects will be promoted and applied generally by the proletariat." (p. 63)

By not taking full stock of exactly the point made here in the *Programme*, our article against Means leaves him some undeserved maneuvering room. As noted, he seizes on the backward aspects of customs and practices to promote his own reactionary political program. Likewise, he trades on some progressive aspects of this for the same purpose. But the field does not have to be left open to Means and must not be—there is much in different customs and practices of Indian peoples that should and will be promoted by the proletariat.

For instance, Indian medicine has a long history of contributing to the health of Native Americans. (It is only in recent times that the capitalist medical establishment has even begun to conduct a few tests to discover the curative abilities of Indian treatments—undoubtedly egged on by pharmaceutical companies fishing for a way to generate more profit.) An Indian tribe in British Columbia has been discovered to have used a solution of hot water and a shrub known as Devil's Club (*Oplopan horridus*) as a cure for diabetes. When some physicians at a Canadian hospital experimented with it on rabbits, they found that it substantially reduced the level of blood sugar in the animals. Unlike insulin which is administered through a hypodermic needle, this substance has the advantage of oral administration. One simple study discovered that 60% of the herb cures used by the Rappahannock Tribe in Virginia had properties that were already known to be cures in medicine. An article in a scientific journal has estimated that among the known Indian herbal medicines, there are 88 cold remedies, 113 fever reducers, 101 wound treatments, 68 laxatives, and over 100 cures for stomach disorders. All this is certainly just the tip of the iceberg.

But most Indian medicine remains shunned and unavailable to the majority of the population. This is partly due to the long period starting from before the mid-19th century where a study of Indian medicine was totally negated by the capitalist medical profession. Coinciding with the massive westward push of American capitalism and the resultant all-out war against the Indian populations, the medical establishment condemned all Indian medicine as complete quackery, and any doctor who resisted this prevailing viewpoint was subject to ridicule. In more recent times, when there have been capitalist efforts to profit from the study of Indian medicine, there has been a widespread refusal on the part of many medicine men to reveal any but the most general information about which herbs they use in their treatments. This refusal itself has been part of resistance. The Indians know what happens everytime the capitalists discover something useful on Indian land (e.g. minerals). And also, the manufacture and distribution of medicine for profit is against Native American beliefs.

Given the role of medicine under
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Outrages: Official and Unofficial Another Black Youth Missing in Atlanta

The tension in Atlanta is again running high as the series of brutal murders of Black youth continues to mount. With two more youth murdered in the past two months, and yet another listed as missing, the total of murdered and missing youth has climbed to 19 in the past 18 months.

For the masses of people in Atlanta, the hideous stench of national oppression (which everyone knows is embodied in these murders) cannot be sweetened. All hell began to break loose here last October, following a highly suspicious explosion in an all-Black housing project day care center which killed 4 children and one teacher. This explosion brought a storm of anger to the boiling point—anger which was fueled for months prior as more and more bodies of Black youth were being found. In a revealing move after the explosion (and based on absolutely no evidence), the authorities launched an all-out battle for public opinion to promote the notion that the murders were the work of deranged "Black criminals," that the explosion was a "tragic accident," and that there was absolutely no connection between the two. 800 cops were unleashed to patrol the neighborhoods and imposed a curfew in a frantic attempt to clamp down on the situation that was racing fast out of control. A massive campaign to support the police was headed by the American Bar Association (ABA), who erected a statue to the cops downtown at a rally applauded only by the local capitalists and their boys in blue. And a task force was formed to "find" the murderers.

The carefully constructed image of Atlanta as the "model city of the South" was slipping through the fingers of the ruling class like sand, and the city's power brokers were using their mostly Black public structure to try to keep things cool. As one progressive Black minister, interviewed recently by the *RW* said, "The whole focus in Atlanta is in evading anything that makes this look racially motivated or organized and racially motivated. It's an indication of how determined the

powers that be are in not wanting to let the cat out of the bag..."

Recently in Atlanta, some very sinister tactics have been adopted by the authorities as they scramble to deal with new developments and rising anger. The two youth who were found brutally murdered in the past two months have been discounted by the police and their deaths are not even being investigated by the "task force." The police are saying that these killings are completely unrelated to the others—highly dubious speculation, to say the least. One of those recently found dead was a 13-year-old girl. Her body was found in a motel room. "So what?" the cops said—she must have been a prostitute! And then, when a 15-year-old youth was found floating in the river miles north of his home, his skull cracked by a fatal blow, the cops chirped that he must have been caught stealing! Few are swallowing the police lies. Many vividly remember that the 15-year-old pulled from the river was a youth who had been abducted last November after he had walked his younger brother to the school bus stop. No one saw him alive again. The murderers have continued to stalk certain neighborhoods, grabbing Black youth in the light of day.

The latest missing youth disappeared last Saturday. He was picked up somewhere near a busy shopping center after his Saturday afternoon job. But his case is the *first* to be turned over to the "task force" in several months, because, as the public safety commissioner commented, "He does not have a history of running away." The stable background of this youth (never missed school, etc.) prevented the cops from blaming him for his own kidnapping or murder, as was done with the other two.

There is a method behind the madness of the authorities. They are consciously working overtime to dispel the widely held view that all these murders are in fact connected—and connected at bottom by the vicious, murderous oppression of Black people.

Means

Continued

capitalism, it's not surprising that practitioners of Indian medicine are neither respected nor listened to by the supposedly enlightened medical establishment. Such arrogance is typical of the idealism of the bourgeoisie. But the proletariat needs a thoroughly materialist outlook to lead it in carrying out its historic mission of abolishing all exploitation and oppression. In trying to get a deeper understanding of this question, I looked to the experience of revolutionary China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung prior to the revisionist coup of 1976 which overthrew working class rule. One example of how Mao dealt with a similar situation was the whole area of traditional Chinese medicine, an area of great controversy within the sphere of public health. Many doctors had been trained in Western medicine and tended to negate the great contributions that Chinese medicine had made to medical science; they looked down with contempt at the doctors of traditional Chinese medicine and dismissed out of hand all those practices. They were undoubtedly encouraged in this by the revisionists and their idealist line of slavishly worshipping all things Western and modern. But Mao, making a Marxist analysis of the situation, recognized the importance of fighting forcefully against this vestige of imperialist domination. He saw the need to integrate Chinese and Western medicine.

In 1954, Mao issued a directive instructing public health administrators

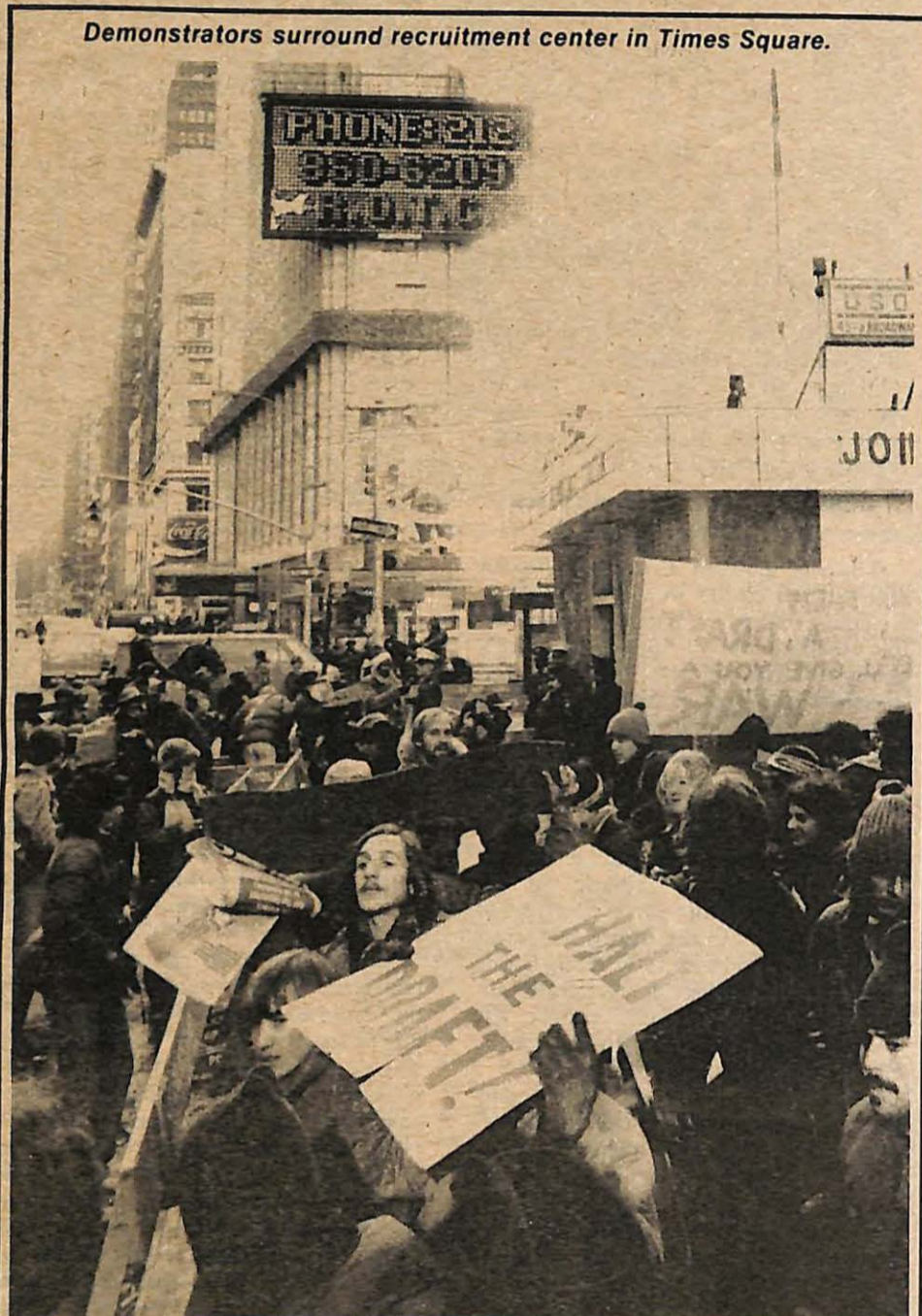
to change the way they were operating in this sphere. He set out concrete steps to promote Chinese medicine, such as the protection and the codification of various herbs and the assignment of medical students to learn from doctors of Chinese medicine. In this directive, he pointed out, "For a number of years, there was no fostering of the medical heritage of the motherland. On the contrary, it was despised and repudiated. (For example, examinations for doctors of Chinese medicine were held in which there were papers on physiology and pathology. Those who failed these examinations were not given diplomas. In addition there were regulations prohibiting doctors of Chinese medicine from entering hospitals.)" And he further pointed out that it was important "...to do away with the line dividing Chinese and Western medicine and turn the two into a unified medicine of China and make a contribution to the world... Chinese medicine of our country has a history of several thousand years and is an invaluable treasure of the motherland. If we let it wither away, then it is our fault..."

This is a Marxist line, and is the same orientation set in the draft *Programme*. It's a sharp blow to idealism—and to Russell Means in particular. It's also very exciting and inspiring. The original article should have stressed all this.

The overall materialist approach of the article against Means should be upheld—it is correct. But it's also important to recognize the weaknesses of that article, which I have spoken to in this letter. These are significant questions, and I hope that our readers who are familiar with the role Native American culture has played in the struggle will contribute further to this discussion by writing in their comments.

Are the authorities investigating anyone for the murders? Yes they are. In December, in a truly stomach turning move, the FBI launched their own offensive in the cases. They gave the parents of the missing and murdered youth lie detector tests! Afterwards, these pigs spread the rumor far and wide that several parents had flunked. If the kids couldn't be blamed for their own deaths then maybe the families could! One mother was even arrested in the murder of her only child. She was held in jail until her family could prove that the child's blood on the floorheater in their house was actually a result of a knee injury that had required stitches. The mother was later released, but not

before she was emotionally devastated by the vile maneuvers of the pigs. The point of all this is readily transparent and goes hand in hand with what has been the general approach by officials. The media, no doubt with more than a little coaching, has also picked up on these tactics. A couple of mothers have been so harassed by the media (along the lines of the FBI "investigation") that now their families won't let anyone talk to them. And every step the authorities take to cover for and virtually excuse these murders, has deepened the hatred of this system—and its protectors—among broader and broader numbers of people.



Demonstrators surround recruitment center in Times Square.

Significant demonstrations and sit-ins were held in 14 cities across the country last week by a broad range of people in opposition to the government's second national week of draft registration. The protests in Boston and New York were especially sharp. In New York over 300 marched on Monday morning from the General Post Office to the Armed Forces Recruiting Station on Times Square (see photo above). A large number of high school students participated in the march including a group of 20 students from Peter Stuyvesant High School, where an attempt to organize a walkout had been made. After a planned sit-in was begun, mounted police showed up and brutally attacked the crowd arresting 32, some being dragged into police vans by their hair. A rally at the recruitment office was addressed by several anti-war activists, including two members of the "Plowshare 8," the eight members of the Atlantic Life Community including Daniel and Phillip Berrigan who were arrested for smashing missile nosecones at a General Electric plant in Pennsylvania in September. A number of the Plowshare-8 are still in jail on heavy felony charges. The *New York Times* glumly reported that fewer than a dozen people had registered at New York's General Post Office by Monday at noon.

In Boston, a march was held from Post Office Square to the McCormick Federal Building where a sit-in on the second floor near the Selective Service office was begun while a chanting protest was held in front of the doors of the building. After a contingent of furious cops eventually succeeded in dragging out those who were sitting in, another group of demonstrators got into the building again to continue the protest until the cops moved in for a second time. At the demonstration outside, an agent provocateur dressed in a blue jumpsuit, and reported in the bourgeois press to be an ironworker, suddenly lunged for the banner of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) which contained the text of the Brigade's Pledge of Internationalism. Immediately people came forward to defend the banner. It was rescued and carried to the front by the speakers of an impromptu rally which had begun. This successful action was only the beginning of a week of activity in the Boston area, including a Tuesday morning picket of the post office in Cambridge by Vietnam veterans and another action planned for Saturday at the Harvard Square Post Office.

Not only did a number of the anti-draft demonstrations around the country have a militant character, but in a number of cities demands such as an end to U.S. involvement in El Salvador were raised.

China Trial

Continued

remarkable, if sinister, lady." The China correspondent for the *Far Eastern Economic Review* writes in an article on Jan. 2 that "Chiang Ching has awakened the grudging admiration of many people in the outside world, and not a few in China." Of course then this same article goes on to express the imperialists' hatred for this revolutionary (which goes along with their "grudging" respect) with remarks like, "Chiang Ching chose to build her case—if that is the right word for the muddled succession of invective, abuse of witnesses and even the reading aloud of her own poetry to which she treated the court—on her professed loyalty to Mao and his approval of her deeds."

The *New York Times* in a January 5 editorial revealed even more of this imperialist hatred for the revolutionaries, even while it gave the ruling Chinese revisionists some tactical advice, "Shooting one dog is not likely to eliminate rabid dissent." While one thing that this editorial reveals is a "rabid" hatred for socialism and Chiang Ching in particular, it also reveals the U.S. bourgeoisie's fears that the trial has not strengthened Deng's rule but has intensified the contradictions, and raises questions about the stability of Deng's rule. This editorial, titled "China's Trial, And Error," says, "The question has to be asked whether the execution of Chiang Ching would signal confidence on the part of Deng's regime, or insecurity."

Imperialists Advise "Don't Rock Boat"

The *Far Eastern Economic Review* article cited earlier went even further, "Deng's rightist policies for economic and social recovery look increasingly shaky." Clearly the Western imperialists are worried about the effect that the trial and the heightened criticisms of Mao is having on the stability of the revisionist leadership. Many of the imperialist commentaries have spoken of Deng's "imprudent" actions, particularly against Hua Guofeng and other sections of the bureaucracy, and have counseled "moderation." In the Confucian terms of the new mandarins now ruling China, the U.S. imperialists are generally advising "restrain oneself, restore the rites." In other words, "Don't rock the boat. Our interests are at stake."

As the *RW* has analyzed, Deng's using the trial and attacks on Mao to ice out Hua Guofeng does not mean that now the revisionists are entering a period of greater "unity and stability." In fact, there will be even more anarchy as the force of capitalism is further unleashed. As China scholar Kenneth Lieberthal analyzed in the McNeil-Lehrer Report on PBS, "The trial in part is signalling to people throughout China that there will be a harsher line taken toward the 'leftists,' if you will, and that now they are going to be purged instead of brought in or carried to or inticed to join the crowd, and those who have not yet joined up are going to be cut out. I think that the logical response from them will be to dig in their heels and try to delay the purge and ward off its effects." By "leftists" he's not referring to the close supporters of the Four, most of whom have already been purged, but those in lower and mid-level leadership, numbering in the millions that are intermediate elements or form a social base for Hua. These are people

CORRECTION

In the last issue of the *RW* (No. 86) an error was made in the article "Barbaric Verdict Approves Racist Murder." A sentence in the article reads, "The issues involved in the murder of Chuck Staten struck right at the key element of this reactionary ideological structure—the barbaric condemnation of sexual relations between Black men and white women." This sentence should have read, "The issues involved in the murder of Chuck Staten struck at an important aspect of this reactionary ideological superstructure, etc...."

who did not oppose the revisionist coup, but are now looked upon as lagging behind in carrying out Deng's policies.

Of course this does not mean that Deng and his clique are literally on the verge of collapse. As Lieberthal points out again, "The trial in part indicates both Deng's strength at the top of the system, his ability to stage this, but also his insecurity to sustain the momentum over the very broad reform program that he has been supporting." In the long run, the revisionist rule in China is built on a foundation of sand and is bound to collapse. But in the short run, Deng very well may be able to crack the whip and tighten the ranks.

Soviet Rivals

This inner-instability in turn is going to have an effect on stability in China as a member of the U.S. war bloc. An article by William Safire in the *New York Times* several weeks ago points out, "Surely Americans want to encourage China to take the limited modified capitalist road chosen by Deng rather than the path of communism urged by the radical Maoists. Because Deng and his followers Hu (Yaobang—Hua's replacement—*RW*) have introduced a modicum of free enterprise and decentralization—even at the risk of alienating the Chinese Army—should we not hail the downfall of Hua, who represents the last high-level link to the old radicalism? No. America's strategic interest in China is centered on her internal stability, her inclination to oppose expansionism by Soviet clients in Asia and the Soviet embrace of India, and the slow growth of her military strength, so that China remains a threat to, but does not provoke a war with, her superpower neighbor." Although the U.S. bourgeoisie will do everything possible to prop up China's "inclination to oppose expansionism by Soviet clients in Asia" in the service of the U.S. war bloc, they are also coldly calculating the possibility of China switching sides. As the *New York Times* article last August pointed out, "It is not too fanciful to think that with another turn of its wheel, the final Soviet hostility of today could be reversed tomorrow—as it has been in the past—if pragmatic necessity demanded."

Safire, as well as some other bourgeois commentators, tries to cloud the situation by attributing Deng's moves against Hua to "vengeance"—a way at getting back at Hua for having spoken out publicly against him in the past. This is pure nonsense. First of all, Hua played an important role for the revisionists, with his ability to give the new revisionist regime a semblance of continuity from Mao's era and fool many people for a certain period of time. Although Deng indeed may have disdain for this "oatmeal man" of a revisionist, much more to the point is that Deng has no choice but to get rid of him.

In order to lay the necessary groundwork for further "readjusting" (a favorite word these days among the revisionists when referring to economic policy) their economy in the capitalist groove, the revisionists must escalate attacks against Mao. This means also those like Hua, who with his false claim of being "Mao's true successor" served a useful role for the revisionists in covering up the capitalist restoration, and are now excess baggage that must be discarded.

Hua in fact is increasingly becoming the fall guy for the economic problems that the revisionists are now facing, since it is becoming somewhat ridiculous to keep on blaming everything on the Four, four years after the coup. An editorial in the *New Year's Day* edition of the official *People's Daily* said there's a serious underlying crisis in the economy because, "In the first two years after the fall of the 'Gang of Four,' we did not take into account well enough the serious results created by the 10 years of destruction, and did not clean up the 'left' ideological errors in leading the economic work, instead going after quick results. We also put forward some unreachable, unrealistic slogans and goals, and large scale of basic constructions which had already surpassed

the capabilities of national wealth." The first two years after the fall of the "Gang of Four" has by now become a code phrase for attacks on Hua. The glaring problems in the present Chinese economy—the first ever budget deficit, inflation, big cutbacks in capital construction, slumping production, etc.—they're all blamed on the so-called "left" line carried out by Hua during the first two years. In fact it is ridiculous to blame Hua, because the grandiose plans to build a modern country on a capitalist basis "by the year 2000" was the general program at that time of all the revisionists, Deng first among them.

Taiwan Connection

Also very much related to U.S. imperialist concerns about shoring up its interests in China against the Soviets was the recent visit of two prominent Republicans, Senator Ted Stevens and Anna Chennault, leader of the pro-KMT "China Lobby," to Peking. (The Kuomintang is the reactionary force ruling Taiwan.) Although Stevens denied repeatedly that he had come to China in any kind of official capacity, he made the object of the trip very clear, "I hope (the Soviet Union) understands my first trip as the Chairman of Defense Appropriations Subcommittee is to China. It is not accidental, not at all, that I came here." The U.S. has already agreed to sell "non-lethal" military equipment, such as radar, vehicles, etc. to China, but not weaponry. Stevens said that he would "certainly not rule out" arms sales in the view of the "Soviet aggressiveness in Afghanistan, Vietnam and in Poland."

Chennault, a Peking born widow of Lt. General Claire Lee Chennault, one of the most prominent U.S. backers of the KMT regime, has been a vocal opponent of normalization of relations between China and the U.S. Her trip to

Peking represents an effort by Reagan, who himself has long been associated with the "China Lobby," and the U.S. bourgeoisie as a whole, to bring the Taiwan forces into line with the reality of China's membership in the U.S. war bloc. It also represents the U.S. rulers twisting the arm of the Chinese revisionists, who are being forced to welcome this long time KMT supporter and even now an opponent to the way in which the U.S. established relations with China and cut off ties with Taiwan. As Chennault said while in Peking, "My way of looking at the world in the '60s was different from the '50s, and in the '70s it was different from the '60s, and now we are coming into the '80s. We have to reassess our position, broaden our base, be humble enough to learn and have the courage to change our position."

Yes, it is the '80s, and the two superpowers are rushing headlong toward world war. The U.S. is trying to shore up its alliances in this area, just as they are doing all over the world, in preparation for the showdown. The revisionists and the KMT, after all, have much more in common than differences, so why not "reassess" and "be humble" enough to change positions?

It is in this kind of context, as the world enters this period of war and revolution, dangers as well as opportunities, that Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao are making their historic stand in the Peking courtroom. They're not only defending the red flag of Marxism-Leninism and Mao's revolutionary line but also making a call to the revolutionaries worldwide to pick up this flag, heighten preparations to make full use of their opportunities ahead and push forward the cause of the international proletariat. The U.S. imperialists are basing all their actions on the fact that "now we are coming into the '80s." So why shouldn't we?!

Guiding Light . . . Continued from page 7

handled swimming-pool-net-type scoops with which they picked up their "food." Here I also saw the bitter heartlessness and cruelty of Americans toward totally harmless and defenseless peoples. On many occasions I saw my fellow servicemen turn the powerful water hoses on these tiny boat homes and actually capsizing them, throwing everybody on board, women, children, old people into the drink. It was a lot of fun and laughter. To me it was unbelievable that supposedly civilized people from a civilized country could act so barbarically. Luckily the riverboat people were used to these Yankee "pranks," preparing some of the men of the other boats to quickly rescue their own people after one of these despicable acts. The Chinese were said to be "nasty people who ate garbage."

How anyone could look at a mother, crying and holding her baby up and pitifully pointing to its mouth indicating extreme hunger and still hose them down is very hard for me to understand. It was out and out criminal!

Back in the U.S.A. my mind was always going back to China. I knew that that country was in a bad way. Something would have to give! Then finally the news started telling of a Mao Tsetung and how he was going around the countryside guiding, inspiring and leading the Chinese masses into a proletarian revolution. It excited and even inspired me way over here in the U.S.A. Then in 1949 I was extremely happy to hear of the success of the Chinese people's proletarian revolution. But I was also very amazed—amazed because I thought that since the Chinese people were so terribly poor they would surely never be able to confront the reactionary forces of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and his U.S.-imperialist backers. But confront they did and overthrow they did too, sweeping Chiang Kai-shek clean of the mainland. All this with no outside military help. The Chinese people formed their own unranked peoples Red Army and shook out the oppressive parasitic classes. Mao Tsetung was the guiding light and thought that had made this possible.

But unfortunately, with the death of Mao in 1976 the revolution was betrayed. I started reading the strangest words coming out of China's new communist leadership. Words that had the audacity to slander some of Mao's closest collaborators including his wife Chiang Ching, whose political beliefs were of course always identical to Mao's, of criticizing the Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Red Guards. I right away smelled a rat. I had seen the Cultural Revolution and the actions of the youthful Red Guards as perfectly proper and necessary steps in the total Proletarian Revolution. I saw this as a needed weeding out of harmful weeds—that's all. Unfortunately the weeding wasn't complete—the revisionist forces spread out and engulfed temporarily the true revolutionary forces left after Mao's death. I turned away from China until recently when I learned that the RCP upheld the Mao Tsetung Thought and fully supported the courageous Chiang Ching, who I always expected would succeed Mao Tsetung and should have!

I feel the success of world proletarian liberation movements throughout the world can gain much by following the example of the Chinese People's Revolution; its peoples unranked red armies, its people's awakened consciousness and its application of Mao Tsetung's principles. His thoughts can bring together oppressed peoples and supply methods of fighting off oppressors. This is absolutely possible as it was in China in 1949.

Fortunately, the RCP carries much of the Mao Tsetung Legacy in its *RW* pages. This paper is, perhaps, one of the few publications left that can carry the true people's revolution. I urge workers and all people under the heel of capitalism-imperialism, domestic and foreign, to read the vital information in the *RW*.

THE TIME IS NOW! BREAK THE SHACKLES!
MAKE IT A PROLETARIAN'S WORLD!

A CLENCHED SUCCESS TO ALL MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS—ANYWHERE ON EARTH!!

A Revolutionary Worker of the World
Houston, TX

Behind the Walls at Walla Walla

Eyewitness Account of Recent Revolt

We have received some more information about the December 29 revolt of prisoners at Walla Walla reported last week. As we go to press, the struggle has flared up again with a prisoners' strike which began on January 7. The strike shut down prison industries and the prisoners say they will not return to work until prison superintendent James Spalding is replaced. The following report, written December 31, is from a prisoner at Walla Walla who describes the revolt on the 29th.

The fire and smoke had barely died and cleared at the State Reformatory at Monroe (a reference to a rebellion at nearby Monroe prison—RW) before the flames were blazing at the State Penitentiary at Walla Walla. At about 4:00 on December 29, 1980, a prisoner was leaving a visit with his wife when he was stopped, searched and harassed by a guard who is notorious for his dislike of prisoners.

During this search, the guard alleged that the prisoner swallowed some contraband, and, without a hearing, the brother was locked in segregation. After entering segregation, the prisoner was harassed again and beaten by the riot squad before being locked in a "box car cell."

When the prisoner's friends learned of the arrest and beating, they tried to organize a protest in opposition to the arbitrary action. Before this could be done, however, the administration ordered the riot squad out to arrest and detain the brother who had set about organizing the protest.

At around 10:00 on December 30, the administration was advised that there would be a protest if both prisoners were not released. About 200 prisoners then rallied in front of the Control Center and in an area called People's Park to support their demands.

The rally continued peacefully, until suddenly a window shattered and some smoke was seen pouring from the offices of the prisoners' club room. Before long the offices were engulfed in flames, and cheers could be heard coming from the rally.

Like a prairie fire, the idea to burn the prison to the ground quickly caught on; the prison's holy chapel was set ablaze and the store emptied of its goods. Rather than concede to the demands of the demonstrators, the administration reacted to their struggle with immediate repressive action.

While a fire hose was rigged up to cool off the rebellious flames, approximately 20 guards cautiously approached the crowd, ordering people back into their cells. When no one responded, the goons were helpless, and afraid to directly confront anyone for fear of the large crowd. Instead, riot force SWAT team guards and state police reinforcements were called in to forcibly suppress the rebellious upsurge.

The official response to the outbreak of rage has been to downplay its seriousness while condemning the violence and praising the repressive police and guard actions. The bourgeois press has reported the official version of the protest by printing it or broadcasting every lie the authorities have uttered, word for word.

At present, the Penitentiary remains on lockdown, and mass arrests have been made. Officials say the deadlock could end today, but only if prisoners are "cooperative." This "cooperative" means accepting guard brutality, overcrowding and other illegal conditions the courts have outlawed. There is little question that there will be future conflict, regardless of the understanding which may be reached at the moment. Human rights cannot be ransomed off, and neither can the fight against oppression. Where there is repression, as in the Monroe State Reformatory and

the Walla Walla State Penitentiary, or the penal system in general, there will always be rebellion.

Directly following the uprising, 12 prisoners, 3 Native Americans, 2 Chicanos and 7 Blacks, were thrown into the prison segregation unit. Prison officials are attempting to charge at least one of these prisoners, Bennie Washington, on the felony charge of setting a fire. Washington is one of the leaders of Black prisoners at Walla Walla who has been repeatedly singled out for harassment by guard officials. In one incident last Aug. 20, guards, under the direction of Associate Superintendent Larry Kincheloe and an Assistant State Attorney General, stormed into the prison's predominantly Black 6-wing and began to ransack prisoners' cells. When Washington objected to this overt harassment, the Assistant Attorney General for the State of Washington replied, "You don't have any constitutional rights because you ain't nothing but a black nigger."

In this particular case, guards were unable to get away with framing up a prisoner by planting contraband in the

cell because of the large number of witnesses in the wing at the time. There have been countless incidents like this over the past few months. And when Julius Gillespie, a Black prisoner who heads the Inmate Advisory Council (referred to in the report above as the organizer of the protest), was thrown into segregation, prisoners exploded in revolt.

Presently, in the segregation unit itself, prison officials have been stepping up repression. Jimmy Simmons, a Native American whom the state is trying to frame on charges of killing a guard, has recently been having his cell in seg repeatedly ransacked by guards. Guards threatened him and destroyed his personal property as often as three times a week. He has been kept in isolation for two weeks straight (which is supposedly illegal). This means he is kept in a dark cell around the clock, except for 10 minutes a day when he is let out to take a shower. He has been repeatedly prevented from calling or seeing lawyers. None of the Native American prisoners in seg are allowed to participate in religious ceremonies.

We have also learned that a guard named Sergeant Godding, one of a

group of guards who participated in the most vicious attack on seg prisoners, has recently been made a supervisor of the segregation unit. Godding participated when the prison riot squad systematically beat and tortured 8 prisoners in July 1979. The screams of tortured prisoners ended only after the guards had systematically and severely beaten each of the prisoners. One prisoner, Carl Harp, had a riot club forced up his rectum by these pigs.

But as we pointed out in past articles, the intensity of this oppression, far from breaking seg prisoners, has turned seg into a center of resistance. Recently prisoners have started fires and flooded their cells almost every other day in protest of the intolerable conditions. Some prisoners now have water in their cells totally cut off as officials attempt to stop the flooding, and the militant struggle of seg prisoners has undeniably had an important impact on the rest of the prisoners.

Today Walla Walla remains a powderkeg, and there is no telling when another spark might set off an explosion even greater than the rebellion on Dec. 29 and the current strike.

300 March in Frankfurt, Germany



December 27 marked the first anniversary of the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. In Frankfurt, West Germany, 300 people, students, workers and youth, marched to demand an end to the Russian occupation of Afghanistan and all imperialist domination, including by the U.S. imperialists and its allies.

The demonstration was called by the Union of Afghani Students in Germany (GUAFS). Along with the Afghani students it included a large contingent organized by ATIF/ATOF (The Federation of Workers from Turkey in West Germany/Federation of Students from Turkey in West Germany), as well as Iranian students, Americans and Germans.

Stacks of leaflets targeting the Russian social-imperialists were handed out as the militant march wound through the downtown streets crowded with shoppers. As thousands watched, loud chants echoed off the walls: "Down with the Russian invasion of Afghanistan/Down with U.S. imperialism, Russian social-imperialism, and all other imperialists and reactionaries/For a free, independent and democratic Afghanistan."

Press accounts of the demonstration naturally focused on its opposition to the Soviets, concurrently omitting its targeting of U.S. imperialism as well. The highlight of the demonstration, a rally in the heart of the city, was omitted in the bourgeois press. At the close of the rally, a large figure of Brezhnev was burned in effigy. Such displays are illegal in Germany. Officially, it is termed "insulting a government leader." And while the authorities may see fit to attempt to use protests against Soviet imperialists to hide their own predatory nature, they like to keep all this within certain controllable bounds.

But when police moved and grabbed one of the demonstrators near the effigy, the riot cops found themselves in a panicked retreat from the fury of 300 angry demonstrators determined to free their comrade. The cops barely made it to the safety of their tank-like water cannon. For the next 45 minutes it was a tense stand-off, as the demonstrators chanted slogans and sang revolutionary songs. Three times they were ordered to disperse under threats of use of the water cannon. No one moved. Finally, in the face of the uncompromising demonstrators, and in an effort to defuse an already volatile situation that could quickly escalate into a major incident, the cops released the arrested Afghani, claiming they had only wanted to get his name. Fists were raised, and "Long Live International Solidarity!" rang out as the cops slinked away and the arrested demonstrator rejoined his comrades.

MLK

Continued from page 3

quired 2/3 majority by five votes.

The voices of opposition to it have put forward various reactionary distractions and excuses which represent a feeble attempt to cover up the heart of the reason why up 'til now this resolution has not been able to pass the Congress. Representative Downey from Tennessee made a counter proposal that a holiday be declared in honor of King and Howard Jarvis, author of Proposition 13 in California, the ridiculousness of which is only matched by the not too subtle attempt to make the point that a holiday honoring a Black man would have to be counter-balanced by one honoring a white man whose proposition was aimed at appealing to the interests of the petty-bourgeois proprietors and home owners. The main opposition in Congress came in the form of less blatant but no less transparent protests that because the country is behind in productivity, the ruling class could not afford another official, paid holiday. Others protested that since there was no such holiday in honor of John or Bobby Kennedy—why have one for King; in other words, since the U.S. imperialists have not seen fit to honor one of their own that they bumped off in an intra-imperialist squabble which came to blood, then why should they have a holiday in honor of Martin Luther King?

Here some of the sick pervasiveness of national oppression in this country does stand out. True, King was *their* man in the movement, increasingly exposed in the upsurges of the Black masses which rocked the country and inspired millions here and around the world, as the chief fireman for the U.S. imperialists—both in practice and in his philosophy—to run around and attempt, rather unsuccessfully we might add, to put out the flames of rebellion against national oppression. But still there was powerful enough opposition at these top levels of government to prevent King's birthday from becoming a national holiday. This is not because any of these imperialist gentlemen really believe the myth of King as the great crusader against oppression. True, some of these "distinguished leaders" are such far gone neanderthals that anyone who speaks too loudly against plantation slavery is suspect. But even these die-hards can usually be united to faithfully act in the overall class in-

terests of the modern imperialists they serve. No, the reason this bill has not yet passed is because Martin Luther King was a Black man. One who fundamentally served them well, but a Black man nonetheless. What is exposed here is not so much that they have been unwilling to do this for King, but the depth of the system of national oppression that this fact reveals. That even a man who preached reformism and ultimately capitulation would be denied such a spot of honor says something indeed about the *real* question—the history and present day reality of the national oppression which confronts the masses of Black people and the fact that it is a key component part of the overall imperialist system of oppression and exploitation.

Further opposition to the movement for King's birthday has come from such reactionary henchmen of the imperialists like the Nazis who have reportedly called for a demonstration on January 15th in opposition to Martin Luther King in Buffalo, New York, where a wave of vicious murders and stabbings of the Black masses by Ku Klux Klan and other reactionaries has been met by increasing outrage by the people. This planned Nazi activity has aroused intense anger and hatred among the masses and resistance to this attack is also being planned.

For all these reasons, many people have come to support the demand for Martin Luther King's birthday to be a national holiday. And because more than the question of King, but also the question of national oppression is involved, it would definitely be a mistake for revolutionary forces to oppose this demand. And we should support every form of opposition to national oppression. But the problem here is that it is impossible to avoid the question of King himself, and the fact that in the struggle against national oppression, and in the international struggle against imperialism, King's program overall helped the imperialists. A movement with its focus being Martin Luther King cannot help being a fertile field for the imperialists to peddle their influence.

As for those in the halls of Congress who have supported this resolution, it is likewise because of what is coming down in the 1980s, that these elements of the imperialist ruling class, while they coldbloodedly plot a new war that will lead to the slaughter of tens and perhaps hundreds of millions of people throughout the world, invoke the "spirit of Dr. King" and the "creed of non-violence" in attempting to smother

mass opposition to their own violent dictatorship by fostering illusions and playing on the sentiments for peace and equality among the masses. While their police and their troops and their gangs of hired fascist thugs murder and mutilate Black people and other minority people and anyone they consider the slightest threat to them, while they unleash and sanction their Greensboro massacres, and McDuffie murders, when the oppressed rise up in violent rebellion, as they inevitably and righteously will always rebel, we are given lectures on "love" and "meekness" and reminders of Dr. King's philosophy of "turning the other cheek."

While the bourgeoisie incites the nationalities against one another in enforcing their vicious system of national oppression, attempts to whip up hatred for the revolutionary people of Iran and oppressed people everywhere fighting imperialism, waves its hideous flag and promotes every form of chauvinism and backwardness—when people actually begin to unite to strike blows against the system of imperialism which breeds all this wretchedness, we are treated to pious calls for "brotherhood" and "unity" from the press, the pulpits and the halls of Congress. These hypocritical vultures don't give a damn about peace, love and brotherhood. Among them, even those who support the resolution for celebrating King's birthday don't themselves believe in his god of peace or in equality, for them, these words are just a weapon to bludgeon minds and disarm the masses of people. And especially they pick up this weapon, along with the others in their arsenal, when there is an opportunity, as they sense there may be in the coming period, for people to more than only rise up and fight but to put an end to this entire system.

To this end and only to this end support has come from the halls of Congress, for the January 15th resolution. Increasingly, the bourgeoisie have maneuvered to lead and keep control of the movement. In the last few weeks an official office opened in Washington, D.C. which is "coordinated" by the president of a public relations firm in Washington, D.C. with close ties to the congressional Black Caucus. The petition which is supposed to be presented to Congress, for example, was drafted as follows:

"We, the undersigned, believe that in the interests of improved human relations in our country, there should be a national holiday honoring a Black American. We believe further that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. dedicated his life to justice, equality and brotherhood for all Americans, Black and white, and that Dr. King's life and work represents the highest patriotism and the very spirit of democracy."

The official statement of Coretta Scott King, Martin Luther King's widow, the director of the Center for Non-Violent Social Change, and a thorough opportunist in her own right, reads:

"Our reasons for supporting a January 15th holiday go beyond personal reasons because we deeply believe that a national holiday in honor of a Black American will help to improve race relations, a burning need in these troubled times. But Martin Luther King

holiday would mean even more than commemorating the contributions of Blacks to American society. It would serve as an annual reminder that non-violence can make the promise of democracy a reality."

But how many of those who will be coming to D.C. on January 15th are coming in order to participate in a rally "honoring an American patriot"? The reason that this issue is assuming such a broad mass character this year and is attracting the active support and sponsorship of some genuinely progressive groups and individuals is not some abstract desire on the part of the masses to enshrine King's memory. It is definitely not a desire on the part of the masses to link arms with the mayors and congressmen. It is not a desire of the masses to kneel at the steps of the White House, to honor patriots or salute the flag (not that such backward tendencies do not still exert influence, in one form or another, even among some progressive forces).

No. For the progressive people of all nationalities who support the January 15th events in Washington, D.C. this is seen as an occasion to take a stand for an end to national oppression, a stand for equality and against the division between nationalities, and more broadly for peace. Looking toward the future, toward the storms of the 1980s whose outlines sharpened considerably in the first year of the decade which promises to be earthshaking, many people view this as an occasion to uphold the movements of the '60s in opposition to the period of ebb in the mass movement of the '70s—the "me generation" politics. But the problem is in focusing on Martin Luther King, Jr. as the heart of the matter they profoundly misjudge, not only King's role historically, but more importantly the historic tasks confronting the masses of people in the coming period. Because the bourgeoisie has taken great pains to keep alive the myth of Martin Luther King as a "champion of the oppressed" and because many people who were not directly involved in the upsurges of that period are now awakening to political life and some have stood aloof from the revolutionary struggle of the masses, because of the influence of pacifism and utopian ideas among the masses, for all these reasons the intentions of many progressive people actually stand in contradiction to what is really required for the masses to advance.

Indeed their intentions stand in contradiction to the role that Martin Luther King himself actually played, which was not as "champion of the oppressed" but as champion firefighter for the imperialists. While King had the ability to speak movingly about Black oppression and the dream of equality, a dream shared by countless millions of all nationalities, his fine words were little more than demagoguery. For a number of years before his death King had ceased to play any progressive role whatsoever in struggle against national oppression and had become a reactionary force within that struggle; his outlook and political line and the harm he was doing were denounced by developing revolutionary forces such as SNCC, Malcolm X and the Panthers. In his "Message to the Grass Roots," Malcolm X ran down the role of leaders like King

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Heights

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the community, selling them and raising money for bail. Later he called back. Having distributed the rest of the RWs, he said, "I had trouble with my agitation," and called on them to get him training to deal with this.

Clearly the conspiracy was spreading and deepening as 15 regular RW readers from downtown called or came into the bookstore Saturday afternoon after hearing of what had happened there from friends and neighbors. Going back into the community, they distributed the rest of the store's English RWs and collected over \$300 in bail! They also came back with sales money for all these papers. Already the conspiracy was much broader and deeper than had been thought and now there had been a new leap in distribution! Bundles had been placed in the masses' hands and a change had gone on, with hundreds eagerly stepping forward to help spread the conspiracy.

Following upon this success in the broad selling on Saturday, others went back into downtown on the following two days both to consolidate advances and lay the basis for more, discovering still more networks and starting new ones. At bus stops, on the buses, at night schools in the area and downtown unemployment offices, and among cab drivers, another 1100 RWs, almost all in bundles, went out. A Nicaraguan showed a picture of himself as a Sandinista fighter carrying red flags; he set up a meeting to discuss distribution of the RW and took some with him. One Black bus driver who speaks no Spanish

took a bundle of the papers in Spanish. His route goes through downtown (where he has seen the paper before and saw the police attack on Saturday), and almost all his passengers speak Spanish. The owner of a store near the Saturday busts said he had seen the paper and liked it. He decided to take 25 English and 25 Spanish to sell. More newsstands are considering selling the papers, and more circles around the paper were discovered and new ones started. Notes are going out tucked in all the bundles this week telling people where they can turn sales money in.

Also on Monday, a press conference was called at a nearby courthouse where the paper seller who was beaten and arrested Saturday was on trial for a misdemeanor bust from when she and others were building for May Day 1980. That bust went down in almost the exact spot and by the same pig as the bust on Saturday (there have been many other similar busts there during the last year). Clearly, a battle over the influence of the Party and its press has been going on here. While the press coverage largely repeated the police story of the incident, the TV news programs did full-page pans of the front page of RW No. 86 with the Joint Communiqué, "To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries" displayed to millions throughout the city. What they were seeking to suppress was clear.

One day after the press conference and as the jury in this relatively minor misdemeanor began its deliberation (which has continued for 3 days now!), the house of one of the lawyers in the case was ransacked while he was in court. All his legal files had been gone through. □

STATEMENT BY MAO TSE-TUNG,

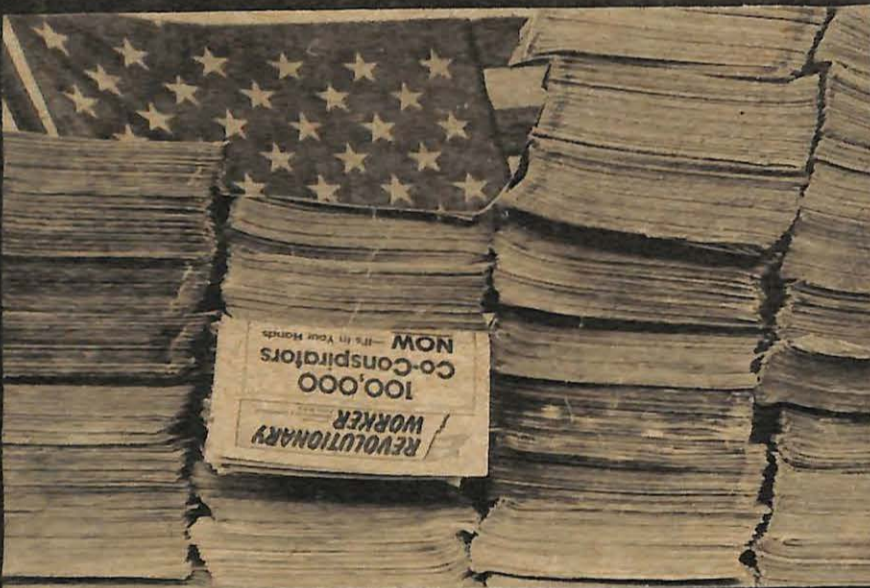
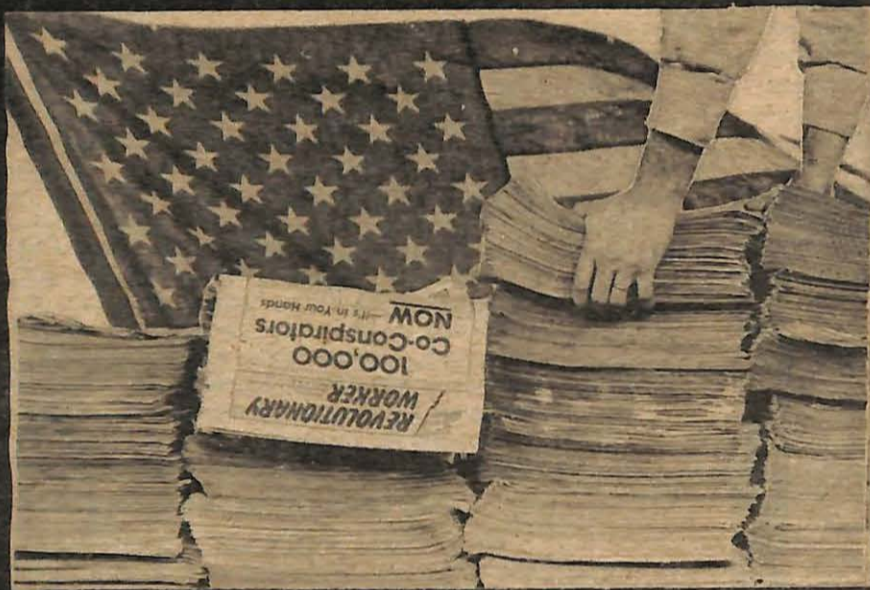
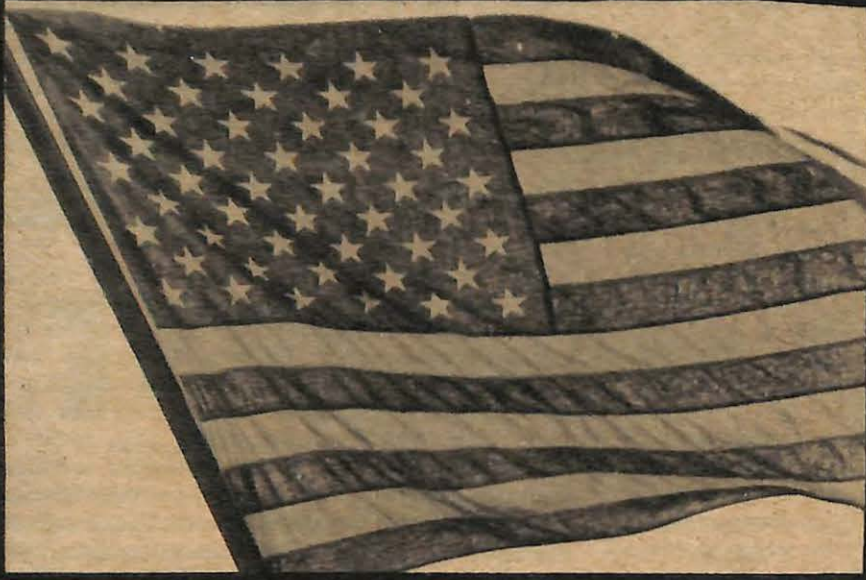
Continued from page 3

Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism" I said that "the evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people." I still maintain this view.

At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The struggle of the black people in the United States for emancipation is a component part of the general struggle of all the people of the

world against U.S. imperialism, a component part of the contemporary world revolution. I call on the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals of every country and all who are willing to fight against U.S. imperialism to take action and extend strong support to the struggle of the black people in the United States! People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and against its accomplices! It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off. □

This series of photos was submitted to the RW by a revolutionary artist inspired by the battle for 100,000 co-conspirators



Cuba

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were allowing them to buy everything they needed to "build socialism and communism simultaneously in Cuba." Now, with the island \$5 billion in hock to the USSR² and more dependent on it economically than ever, it's pretty clear that what really happened was exactly the opposite—the USSR was able to buy itself a neocolony. This development also makes it clearer than ever that the Cuban leadership's strategy had nothing to do with the working class' strategy for building socialism—that in fact Cuba was never a socialist country. It raises the question of what kind of revolution Cuba did have and why it was turned into its opposite, so that, far from being socialist, Cuba today has not even won its independence and national liberation.

Petty Bourgeois Radicals Come to Power

This isn't the first time that an imperialist power has taken advantage of the Cuban people's struggle for national liberation in order to take over the country for itself. The Soviet rulers' present tricks are nothing new in the world—although painted red, they are fundamentally no different from what the U.S. imperialists have been doing for years.

In 1898, when the Cuban people were on the verge of winning their independence from Spain after many years of fighting, the U.S. stepped in under the pretext of helping Cuba against Spanish colonialism and thereby seized the island as a neocolony for the U.S. With monopoly capitalism only recently established in the U.S., this was the U.S.'s first imperialist war to open up new areas for the export of American capital and to seize sources of raw materials.

The flood of U.S. investment to Cuba reinforced the colonial and semi-feudal nature of Cuban society that centuries of Spanish colonialism had created in Cuba. The U.S. imperialists propped up the rule of the landowners in Cuba and created a handful of

capitalists dependent on U.S. capital, thus transforming Cuba from a colony of Spain to a neocolony of the U.S., stifling all possibilities of progress. At the time of the 1959 revolution the system of the ownership of land in Cuba had remained almost unchanged since the days of the Spanish empire, and the country's one-crop economy had long been stagnant.

This system laid the most crushing burden on the urban and rural working class and the landless and small peasants. At the same time, it also held back the fortunes of all but the richest landowners—the small and very weak national bourgeoisie (confined to manufacturing the few things not made by U.S. subsidiaries or imported) and relatively large urban petty bourgeoisie.

Throughout most of these years, Cuba's workers played a leading role in the country's fight for independence and national liberation, as well as fighting bitterly for their own immediate interests. This reached a high point in the 1930s, when under the leadership of the then-existing Communist Party the working class and its allies unleashed a huge wave of strikes and demonstrations, including armed uprisings and the establishment of soviets (revolutionary workers' councils) in the sugar mills.

The existing U.S. puppet government was overthrown, but it was soon replaced by an army coup led by Fulgencio Batista. Although the struggle was very intense for the next several years, the working class was not able to consolidate its advances and eventually was driven back. As some of its previous errors came to the fore, the Communist Party became more and more revisionist. In the 1940s its leadership accepted a partnership in the Batista government, then, when Batista dropped them, crawled into the woodwork, where they remained until the eve of the 1959 revolution. This contributed greatly to the weakening of the workers' movement as a conscious and organized force, although the workers never stopped fighting their conditions.

Volatile Petty Bourgeoisie

By the 1950s the petty bourgeoisie had become the most volatile class in Cuba. The political groups that arose from it were the best organized to fight for their interests. Castro's 26th of July Movement came from the urban petty bourgeoisie, 25% of Cuba's popula-

tion—the tens of thousands of businessmen with no business, salesmen with no sales, teachers with no one to teach, lawyers and doctors with few patients and clients, architects and engineers for whom there was little work, and so on. In its 1956 "Program Manifesto," it defined itself as "guided by the ideals of democracy, nationalism and social justice... (of) Jeffersonian democracy," and declared, "democracy cannot be the government of a race, class or religion, it must be a government of all the people."

This certainly expressed the outlook of the petty bourgeoisie, with its hatred for the big bourgeoisie that held it down, its repugnance for the revolution of the working class, and its dreams of a "democracy" above classes. Its practical program aimed at restricting the U.S. and the landlords by ending the quota system under which the U.S. controlled Cuban sugar cane production, restricting the domination of the biggest landlords over the medium-sized growers, distributing unused and stolen farmland to the small peasants, and a profit-sharing scheme for urban workers to expand the market for domestic manufactures and new investment.

With this program, Castro and a small group took up arms against the Batista government in the Sierra Maestra mountains, while other young intellectuals and professionals organized resistance in the cities. This war won support from nearly every other class except the tiny handful of people directly tied to the landlords and the U.S. Many workers supported it and joined in. In the fighting itself, the most decisive force was the rural petty bourgeoisie, especially the small peasants for whom armed struggle was the only way to defend their land from the landlords and the army. Made up largely of peasants itself, Batista's army soon began to fall apart.

The Batista government disintegrated after two years of fighting involving only a few hundred armed rebels. In the last months, even the U.S. government dropped some of its support for the Batista government, believing that it was more likely that the July 26th Movement would agree to come to terms than that the Batista government could survive.⁴

Just after seizing power in 1959, Castro went to the U.S. on a "goodwill tour," declaring in New York, "I have clearly and definitely stated that we are not communists... The gates are open for private investment that contributes to the development of Cuba." He even called for a massive U.S. foreign aid program for Latin America, "in order to avoid the danger of communism." But these words weren't enough to reassure the U.S. ruling class.⁵

Despite Castro's proclaimed desire to get along with the U.S. government and the U.S. imperialists' desire to get Castro to support their interests, nothing could change in Cuba without seizing the sugar estates and mills and ending the monopoly American business held there. These were the pillars of the economic and political system that had given rise to the rebellion. To challenge them meant challenging the whole colonial system and its master, but to retreat in the face of them was not possible without abandoning everything.

Fidel Castro: Secret "Marxist-Leninist"

When Castro proclaimed the first agrarian reform law which limited the size of the biggest estates (many of them owned by U.S. sugar companies), all hell broke loose. The U.S. began applying economic and political pressure to topple the rebel army—which in effect now was the government—and in turn the Cubans began to take over the property of those forces whose interests were opposed to the island's independence. By 1961, the government found itself in possession of key sections of the economy, while the U.S. had imposed an economic blockade. In April, the U.S. launched the futile Bay of Pigs invasion.

Early in that year the USSR had sent its first trade delegation to Cuba, and Khrushchev had offered to protect Cuba with Soviet missiles. On May 1, Castro announced that henceforth Cuba would be a socialist country. Later that year he declared that he was and always had been a Marxist-Leninist, explaining, "Naturally if we had stood on the top of Pico Turquino (in the Sierras) when we were a handful of men, and said we were Marxist-Leninists, we might never have gotten down to the plain."⁶

The U.S. imperialists used this development to say that the revolution's leadership had hidden its real intentions all along and came to power under false pretenses—in other words, to find some excuse other than naked self-interest for why they had opposed the Cuban revolution the minute it had touched their property. And they also used Castro's sudden announcement to slander communism by saying that this was how communists operate, by sneaking their system in through the back door without bothering to tell the masses what's going on, and that communists don't really rely on the masses but operate as "masters of deceit."

The great majority of Cuban workers and peasants were strong supporters of the revolution, and very much in favor of the measures it had taken, such as taking over the estates and mills and guaranteeing small peasants the right to their land (and in many cases giving them more), reducing rent, electricity and other prices, putting thousands of unemployed workers to work constructing hospitals, roads, schools, etc., launching a tremendous literacy campaign, and other steps which removed some of the weight from the masses' backs and allowed their enthusiasm for change to show itself in action. And

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Cuba: The Evaporation of a Myth

Cuba, home of the first successful revolution against Yankee imperialism in Latin America, a country which as a result became a symbol for revolution for a great many people opposing imperialism around the world.

Cuba, which despite all this has become a pawn of Soviet social-imperialism, a breeding farm for cannon fodder for the expansionist ambitions of the revisionist superpower.

This pamphlet contains a critical analysis of the development of the Cuban revolution and the nature of its phony "socialism." Drawing the lessons of this negative experience is necessary to make clear the real road to liberation and socialism.

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ROGUE'S GALLERY

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weakening of individuals and institutions, whether they be governmental or private, in order to safeguard certain perceived interests of the intervening party (read: U.S. imperialism—RW). The targets are governments, political parties, military and security services, trade unions, youth and student organizations, cultural and professional societies, and the public-information media. The objectives of covert action operations normally require that *action be taken* within these institutions by spies who follow instructions from the sponsoring secret service." (RW's emphasis)

It is behind the ethereal veil of "diplomacy" that a U.S. embassy carries out its dirty work, and therefore, at its helm are the diplomats. Men like Charge d'Affaires Bruce Laingen, Moorehead C. Kennedy, and Consul-General Richard H. Morefield—the number 1, 2, 3 men in Iran respectively (See biographies 1, 2, and 3). Between these three, there is over 75 years of experience in espionage activities for the U.S. imperialists. All of these men served overseas in the post-WW 2 period, probably with the CIA or its forerunner the Office of Strategic Services (OSS, which was re-organized as the CIA in 1947). And all of them have rather "illustrious careers" in the diplomatic corps.

Laingen spent nearly a year and a half in Iran from 1953 (immediately following the CIA coup) until 1955. And due to his extensive work in the Middle East (for instance, serving as Deputy Chief of the Mission in Kabul,

Afghanistan), he is considered a South-west Asian "regional specialist" for the CIA. One of Laingen's additional political credentials is his stint at the National War College in Washington, D.C. This "college" is not your everyday school, and requires special assignment in order to be enrolled. It, along with the Industrial College of the Armed Forces (also in D.C.) is under the direct supervision of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the Pentagon. The National War College emphasizes the political aspects of the national policy of the U.S., as well as other countries under study. Clearly, only the best and the brightest of the rising stars in the intelligence circuit attend this college.

Captured embassy documents show that Laingen was responsible for much of the political reporting to the Secretary of State—either drafting, approving, or overseeing the communications from the embassy—especially the highly sensitive stuff such as his reports on the impact of bringing the Shah to the U.S. (Reprinted in RW No. 5.) One of Laingen's other tasks was the clearing of new CIA agents like Malcolm Kalp and William Daugherty (See pictures 10, 11). As one of the SECRET documents, dated August 1979, so graphically illustrates:

"I concur," it begins, "in assignments Malcolm Kalp and William Daugherty as described REFTELS (in the telegrams referred to—RW). With opportunity available to us in the sense that we are starting from a clean slate in SRF coverage at this mission, but with regard also for the great sensitivity locally to any hint of CIA activity, it is of the highest importance that cover be the best we can come up with. Hence there is no question as to the need for second and third secretary titles for these two officers. We must have it."

There is also reference in Laingen's reports to secret meetings he set up between the U.S. Secretary of State and former Foreign Minister Yazdi—an example of U.S. attempts to work closely with pro-U.S. forces inside the Iranian government.

Richard Morefield cut his teeth down in South America, serving principally as an economist in Colombia and Uruguay. He speaks Spanish fluently and was such a good operative that he was sent to study at Stanford University in California under the auspices of the Sloan Management Program. As we will see later in the case of several Iranian informants (who wanted to be able to seek refuge in the U.S. in return for their "cooperation" with political officers at the embassy), Morefield's duties as Consul General in handling the issuance of visas to the U.S. was a very political job, one that was tied closely into the overall counter-revolutionary operations of the embassy.

The wives of these high-ranking diplomats, like Louisa Kennedy and Penne Laingen, also play a direct role in service to U.S. imperialism. They are not naive hand-wringing sit-at-homes, keeping the yellow ribbons flying, by any means. No, as pointed out in the book, *Dirty Work 2*: "...it must be said that CIA wives (and husbands) nearly always know what agency is employing their spouses. Normally, they have an active role to play in maintaining cover, even on occasion taking part in specific operational activities. Thus, the spouse of a CIA officer is not 'just a wife or husband.'" Certainly, as far as the State Department and at least these two spouses are concerned, the Family Liaison Action Group (FLAG) is just such an "operational activity."

FLAG's stated purpose is to have the

hostage families "speak as one voice" so as not to allow any of them to "fall prey to media manipulations or Iranian propaganda." One of its functions is to clamp down on things like Barbara Timm's trip to Iran last year to see her son, Marine guard Kevin Hermenting—that sort of thing (with her apology to the Iranian people no less) is much too embarrassing! But more importantly, FLAG's usefulness comes in being a handy tool of the imperialists in manipulating public opinion. Its headquarters inside the State Department facilitates their access to the media. FLAG is a virtual clearinghouse for reactionary, Custer's Last Stand-type statements from these two, and other selected wives—statements like, "the national honor may very well come before the life of my husband and I (we) will have to face that reality." Such reactionary utterances have placed Louisa Kennedy as the spokesperson for FLAG, and Penne Laingen at the editorship of the FLAG bulletin. What better conduits for the foul venom of the U.S. government.

Political Section's Dirty Work

As the many secret documents released by the Iranian students occupying the embassy have demonstrated, the political section of the U.S. embassy was at the center of its "normal functioning." While any of the consular officers and administrative personnel could have been CIA agents operating under cover (e.g., Laingen's placement of CIA-men Kalp and Daugherty as "embassy secretaries"), the embassy's political officers were in most cases highly trained CIA case officers, either involved in directing a specific intelligence program inside Iran, recruiting or maintaining contact

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Cuba

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many were enthusiastic about the idea of going on to socialism.

But socialism is not just an idea, nor a matter of words, nor just a government take-over. It's a social revolution, a revolution in the relations of classes so that the working class is not just the owner of things in theory, but also in practice the actual master of production and society, through the leadership of its own Marxist-Leninist party, and the political rule of the working class—the dictatorship of the proletariat. On this basis the working class can lead repeated and successful struggles against the bourgeoisie and in the process it is able to transform material conditions and itself, so as to gradually do away with classes altogether.

This is not the road that Castro and those around him took, despite all their rhetoric to the contrary. They had rebelled against the neocolonial, semi-feudal conditions of old Cuba, but their petty bourgeois position and outlook which had given rise to the longing for a quick and radical change in their status also gave rise to the ambition to retain—and strengthen—their privileged position above the masses of workers and peasants. This only capitalism could give them. This same class outlook also caused them to hate and fear the difficult class struggle and long years of hard work that proletarian rule and the real transformation of Cuba would mean. While the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia did hate the ugly features of capitalism, especially as it had oppressed them, they didn't want to change society's division of labor, which had placed them above the masses, free to develop their careers instead of laboring as wage slaves.

In the early years following the revolution, their class position and outlook was manifested in an idealist political line. This line reflected the desire of the petty bourgeois revolutionary intellectuals to see a world without oppression. But it also reflected their contempt and fear for the only force in society that can lead the process of transforming the world, the working class.

This so-called "Cuban line" reflected the impetuosity of the petty bourgeoisie in wanting their "ideal society" right away and without class struggle, especially without the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Cuban leaders talked as if communism was right around the corner and as if classes were eliminated simply by expropriation of individually owned property.

In fact the essence of utopian socialism, an early form that the idealist world outlook took among the Cuban leaders, is that the building of socialism depends on "enlightened" rulers with the interests of the masses at heart. The Cuban leaders, who viewed themselves as among the most enlightened "saviors" of the masses of all time, believed they could impose their wishes on society. In fact this whole line had great appeal for many revolutionary minded people

from the petty-bourgeoisie in this country and around the world who wanted to see a better society but shared the Cuban leadership's view of the working class.

The same "left" political line stemming from the idealism of the petty-bourgeoisie was manifested in the activities of the Cuban leadership in international affairs. They developed the so-called "foco theory" in which small bands of armed men begin waging guerrilla struggle in the countryside, acting as the "detonator" to the masses, who are inspired by them to rise up and more or less spontaneously overthrow the old regime, putting the "heroic guerrilla" in power.

This is against the experience of every successful communist revolution, which is based on the conscious and organized struggle of the masses. In China, for example, this meant people's war: mobilizing the peasantry, under the leadership of the working class, establishing base areas in the countryside, and waging a protracted war. When Che Guevara tried to put the "foco theory" into practice in Bolivia, he was killed, the whole operation a complete fiasco.

People, Not Things, Are Decisive

Underneath the petty-bourgeois "left" political line and coming more and more to the surface was undisguised revisionism. Instead of mobilizing and relying on the working class to change the actual class relationships that existed in Cuba, to eliminate the warped economy that imperialist plunder had created in Cuba, and on this basis to develop the productive forces, the Cuban leaders looked for something that could substitute for the masses and class struggle. Despite the rhetoric of building the "new man," they more and more based themselves on the line common to all revisionists, that things, not people, are decisive; that in order for their version of "socialism" to triumph in Cuba, productive capacity had to be obtained from abroad. Their class outlook insured they could never understand that revolutionizing the relations of production is the key to developing the productive forces. Still less could they understand that, in Marx's words, the "greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself." In place of the conscious struggle of the masses the Cuban leaders sought to purchase socialism by mortgaging the economy to the Soviet Union.

Lenin said, "Clearly, in order to abolish classes completely, it is not enough to overthrow the exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, not enough to abolish *their* rights of ownership; it is necessary also to abolish *all* private ownership of the means of production, it is necessary to abolish the distinction between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual workers and brain workers. This requires a very long period of time." (*A Great Beginning*)

This is the line of the working class in building socialism and carrying on the revolution to communism. In Cuba it certainly would have meant mobilizing the workers to break down the divisions of labor inherited from the old semicolonial society. This would especially mean changing the organization of the island, which served the almost single purpose of

producing sugar for the imperialist world market. But the Cuban leaders, because of their petty bourgeois position and outlook, rejected this path.

Castro said that the main problem facing the revolution was how "to produce the abundance necessary for communism"—meaning, to him, trading sugar for the means of production and machinery that he felt the working class could never produce by relying on its own efforts. And to do this the Cuban leaders' plan amounted to putting the *substance* of the old relations of production, in somewhat altered form—society's division of labor and its sugar plantations—to work at top speed to produce the goods to sell to get this wealth. Now the buyer and "provider" was no longer to be the U.S., but the Soviet Union.

Once this line was adopted, the enthusiasm of the masses for changing the old society was increasingly perverted so that the role of the working class, rather than revolutionizing society, was reduced to working hard to produce the necessary cash. Thus the basic capitalist relation of production was preserved and strengthened—the subordination of the working class to production for profit. Rather than a new socialist society, and still less communism, this was, in essence, the same old society with new masters. The workers' role was to work hard. The Cuban leaders more and more became bureaucratic state capitalists dependent on a foreign imperialist power.

Even the revolutionary fervor and desire of the Cuban people to support anti-imperialist struggles, exemplified by their support for the people of Vietnam, was twisted to support Soviet adventures abroad against their U.S. rivals, as in Bangladesh and in Angola.

Once the basic political road was taken of buying "socialism" instead of relying on and mobilizing the class struggle of the working class and masses which alone could revolutionize society, the basic economic policy of the Cuban revisionists followed as surely as night follows day. The cash that Castro sought could only be obtained by preserving and strengthening the very lopsided and semicolonial economy that had led to the Cuban revolution in the first place. The production of sugar for sale to the Soviet Union became the basis of economic policy, which all the get-rich-quick schemes, "socialist" proclamations and gimmicks depended on and served. And this economic dependency, in turn, became the basis for the further development of the political line of the Cuban leadership. □

1. *Granma*, Jan. 4, 1979.
2. John E. Cooney, *Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 16, 1974.
3. "Program Manifesto of the 26th of July Movement," in *Cuba in Revolution*, Rolando E. Bonachea and Nelson P. Valdes, Editors, New York, 1972.
4. U.S. Ambassador to Cuba E. T. Smith, *The Fourth Floor*, New York, 1962.
5. *Hispanic-American Report*, May 1959.
6. *Revolución* (organ of the 26th of July Movement), Dec. 22, 1961.

LETTERS ON THE DRAFT PROGRAMME & DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE RCP, USA

"Dare to Grapple with the Battle Plan for Revolution," was the call issued by the Revolutionary Communist Party some time ago. This was a call to take up, discuss and criticize drafts of the New Programme and New Constitution of the RCP, USA which were published in early March.

The drafts of the New Programme and New Constitution are truly profound and pathbreaking documents. They are a battle plan for proletarian revolution and the establishment of socialism—the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat—in this country. The documents are drafts, weapons in preparation. They represent a concentration of the science of revolution—Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought—and the application of this science to the specific conditions we face in this country. The real possibility for revolution in the next decade demands that those who burn with the desire for such change seriously throw themselves into the struggle over the draft New Programme and New Constitution.

We have solicited comments, questions, agreements and disagreements over the new documents, and encourage the submitting of letters for publication in the Revolutionary Worker. Groups and individuals are urged to contact the Party with their ideas and to set up discussions.

Any topic covered in the drafts will be open to discussion. The publication of letters does not indicate that the Party necessarily agrees with the position stated in them. Others are free to respond to the points raised in any letter. The Revolutionary Worker will on occasion respond directly to points raised, but as a rule we will not. This is because this process is not a series of questions and answers, but a process of discussion, struggle and sharpening of the drafts which will culminate in the final version of these documents. This process will last for a couple of months and will conclude with an even higher concentration of a correct proletarian revolutionary line by the leadership of the RCP. The final New Programme and New Constitution will be published shortly thereafter. The result of this process directly involving thousands will not only be deeper unity over the political line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, but a deepening of the line itself. And the proletariat will have an even sharper weapon in its revolutionary struggle for political power.

Homosexuality and Materialism

I am writing to defend the section on homosexuality in the Draft Programme against the attacks in RW No. 82 and No. 85 (B.C.) These letters, especially the second, have a certain spirit I can unite with—of throwing all the "sickness" crap back in the putrid hypocritical face of the bourgeoisie. But both letter writers are, in fact, influenced by the "ideology behind homosexuality" and as a result have turned this anger against the correct stand of the Draft Programme.

"Homosexuality... is a product of the decay of capitalism, especially of the increasing ripping apart of the family... In particular it stems from the distorted, oppressive man-woman relations capitalism promotes." (p. 67) This is essentially correct. These sentences briefly expose the "material roots" of homosexuality in bourgeois society. They do not pretend to say what the biological and historical-social basis is for homosexuality. Obviously, homosexuality pre-dates capitalism, but the point of the Draft Programme is to show what is the present material basis for its existence, what is the material basis for eliminating it under socialism, and how this is basically a non-antagonistic contradiction.

The first letter asks the question—why eliminate it? Essentially arguing from an agnostic point of view—no one (especially experts) knows what causes it, people "feel" their homosexuality long before puberty, etc., etc... so why not just assume it's natural? This question deserves an answer which I will give below, but I don't think the answer belongs in the Programme. The second letter is much more belligerent along the same lines. Arguing that lesbianism is a good thing because it is a reaction against oppressive man-woman relations and therefore has been historically not tolerated by the ruling classes. "Feminism is the theory, Lesbianism is the practice" is a button I've seen. And this brings into sharp

focus the "ideology behind homosexuality"—namely that the reactionary social relations characteristic of capitalism can be fought and abolished not by uprooting the economic relations on which they rest (by means of political revolution) but by countering them with other social relations. This makes homosexuality (even lesbianism—which is in fact hated by ruling classes because it disrupts—though not in a fundamental way—the normal net of oppressive relations) not only a product of, but also compatible with, capitalism. It also means that quite a few women who are determined and advanced fighters against imperialism, but who lack class consciousness, also put forward lesbianism as a theory. This is why it is necessary to go deeply into what is wrong with this theory.

Human sexuality is profoundly different from that of all other mammals. After our huge brains and tool-adapted hands, the most striking difference between humans and lower animals is sexuality, especially in women. Women don't go into heat, but have sex during their entire cycle. They are the only female capable of orgasm (and, in fact, apes aside, are the only females who appear to get any sexual pleasure). Humans have far more extensive and highly developed sexually sensitive areas on our bodies than lower animals and a huge array of specifically human emotions are closely linked to sexuality.

These facts alone are sufficient to show the total bankruptcy of the theory which rigidly links "procreation as the purpose of sex," which is the basis of most of the criticism of homosexuality as "unnatural."

This extraordinary sexuality, like every human characteristic, is stamped thru and thru with the role of labor in human evolution. In particular, humanity and human labor emerged on the basis of a biological division of labor. And this division became more intense, the more humanity evolved.

Even among apes, there is considerable specialization in caring for the young. But as the size of the human brain (and skull) increases, and the birth canal is more and more constricted by the upright tool-using posture of the woman, human children come into the world in a more and more underdeveloped and helpless state. Even more important, as the role of intelligent labor grows, the young require not only food and protection, but training. Training in productive skills and principally in social skills and habit, since it is only thru society that humans master nature. Thus, the bearing and nurture of children becomes an enormous and specialized task. In like proportion, the task of securing food etc. becomes the specialized task of men.

In this way the early human horde is divided into two camps by its labor which differs widely in character—and often location. On the other hand, the utmost cooperation is required of the entire horde for its bare survival. It is out of (and in direct proportion to) this contradiction that human sexuality grows far beyond "the instinct to reproduce", i.e. it grows to become a social force which binds the horde together.

Homosexual theorists, pointing to the fact that human physical love has more to it than just reproduction, draw the erroneous conclusion that human sexuality is a general tendency toward an orgy of human-loving. This *idealist* theory which goes back to Freud and Feuerbach is part and parcel of the "ideology behind homosexuality" which separates sexual (and all social) relations from the economic relations on which they rest. All these theories are fundamentally no different than Christianity (sorry!) in that they give first place to love in human relations—in particular putting it before class relations.

Homosexuality first makes its appearance not with the development of class society (I don't know where people get this idea—I suppose they make it up, but if there's some "authority" behind it, let's hear about it) not with class society, but with the differentiation of the human horde. When the productivity of labor reaches a certain point, tribes of a larger size become both necessary and possible. The homogeneous horde is no longer suited for these larger groupings. It divides in two, and these two divide again, and so on. In order to hold the various sub-groups together, sexual relations are restricted (and become more intense). A fairly complicated system of exogamy (out-marriage) between the sub-groups emerges (as opposed to the earlier free sexual relations). As the tribe becomes bigger and more complex, so does the system of group-marriage and blood relations which bind it together. Eventually monogamy develops. These new sexual relations and the accompanying new sexual-social identities of individual tribe members are produced by very powerful *blind* social forces which are independent of the will of the tribe and appear to it not as rational rules of social organization but as supernatural forces. Exactly because these forces are blind, they may well produce social-identities which don't fit into the social scheme especially as society becomes more complex. For this reason, homosexuals occasionally appear in some tribes—often enough that some of them developed systematic (non-antagonistic) policies to deal with (at least male) homosexuality.

However, so long as these blind social forces are non-antagonistic, such abnormal social development must remain a rare exception. But, in class society, this whole process takes a leap. Sexual-family/blood relations are no longer the main form of social organization, but are subordinated to class relations. Now, not only are the form of sexual relations seemingly imposed from without by "supernatural" forces, but this "imposition" is oppressive—and is specifically bound up with the oppression of women.

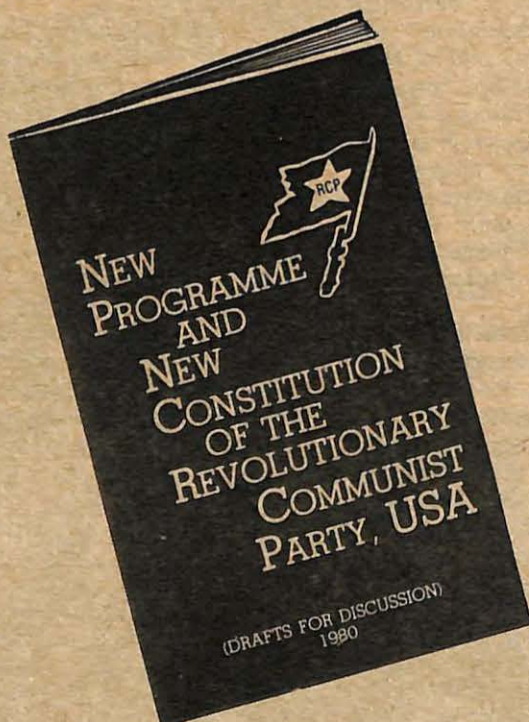
Is it any wonder, surveying the vast degeneracy of capitalist sexual relations (not only pornography, incest etc., but also "normal" things like bringing girls up to be pretty playthings) that young children are objectively faced with the question "How the fuck am I going to fit into this?" Even before they can talk. This is why some homosexuality develops before puberty.

It is also why, as these oppressive relations are eliminated along with the division of labor (including the now-stultifying biological division of labor) on which they are based, as humanity moves toward where it can consciously control its own social relations (communism), the basis for homosexuality will cease to exist and, exactly as the Draft Programme lays out, it will be consciously eliminated.

Communists call for the elimination of homosexuality because it is a diversion—not from reproduction—but from the struggle to abolish classes. B.C. is perfectly correct in pointing out that it is no more so than oppressive heterosexual relations, but this is no reason to defend homosexuality. On the contrary, it makes clearer the necessity to "Unleash the fury of women as a mighty force for revolution". Because B.C. fails to grasp this, her signature—"Break all the Chains"—is objectively pitted against the revolutionary content of this slogan. This again is part of the "ideology behind homosexuality."

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MLK

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and A. Philip Randolph in collaborating with John Kennedy to defuse the explosive potential of the 1963 March on Washington—a march which was at that time “growing out of control” in the wake of the Birmingham rebellion. Malcolm describes a meeting which included King and five other so-called Black leaders at the Carlisle Hotel (owned by the Kennedy family) in New York City, where a bourgeois philanthropic society set up a funding operation called the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership to funnel money from white liberals toward King and his cronies: “As soon as they got it set up and organized, the white man made available to them top public relations experts; opened the news media across the country at their disposal, which then began to project these big six as the leaders of the march. Originally they weren’t even in the march... but then they became the march. They took it over.

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

King, who attempted unsuccessfully to go into the Watts rebellion to make a “peacemaking speech” near the end of the rebellion and was mercilessly heckled and booed and had to leave town, made this comment about the Watts rebellion in his book “Chaos and Community”: “As long as people are ignored, as long as people are voiceless,

as long as they are trampled by the iron feet of exploitation, there is the danger that they, like little children, will have their emotional outburst which will break out in violence in the streets.”

Martin Luther King stood dead opposed to the revolutionary struggle of the masses. His legacy is a legacy of reformism and capitulation, a message to the masses to get on their knees and pray, and rely on the good graces of the bourgeoisie and condescending saviors like himself. It is important for people to remember that during his lifetime broad sections of the masses, even without having a thorough or rational summation of his bourgeois line, were moving well beyond him and against him and raising far more profound questions about the nature of their oppression and the possibility of revolution.

The reaction of tens of millions of Black people to King’s death itself serves as an extremely vivid demonstration of this contradiction. In the week following the assassination of King, the country was rocked by a series of violent rebellions in what Mao Tsetung, in his “Statement in Support of the Afro American Struggle Against Violent Repression,” described as “a storm such as has never taken place before in the history of that country.” Well over 100 major cities were rocked by these rebellions—including Washington, D.C. where full scale rioting and pitched battles with federal troops took place within a few blocks of the White House. These rebellions, which struck a very heavy blow to imperialism and seriously shook the whole U.S. ruling class, revealed the depths of hatred of the Black masses for their oppression and objectively served as a liv-

ing rebuke of the political and ideological line and program of Martin Luther King—even though many who took part in these uprisings did not have a clear understanding of King’s role and in fact were propelled into the streets against his assassination! This legacy of these powerful rebellions is a significant part of the legacy of the 1960s—the revolutionary legacy which King himself opposed.

His legacy was “on your knees,” and it is this “legacy” which the ruling class and their agents seek to promote and try to make people forget and smother the memory of all that nasty revolutionary stuff that had them on the defensive. A case in point is a story about one of King’s heirs and successors, Jesse Jackson and a stunt he pulled on May 17, 1980 in Washington, D.C. In what was supposed to be a nationwide mobilization for a “Youth pilgrimage for jobs, food stamps, peace and justice,” Jackson led the small crowd that actually turned out, not only in waving the American flag while Jackson linked arms with a number of Black congressmen and mayors—but in literally kneeling in front of the White House to pray that “god grant our leader some enlightenment.” Suddenly a Black youth, outraged at this sight, rushed over from across the street and yelled, “Get up off your knees! We’ve been down there too long. Stand up, throw your fist in the air. This ain’t the ‘60s no more, we need a new agenda, an ‘80s agenda.” Jackson’s security goons dragged him away—and Jackson responded by throwing his head back, casting his eyes to the sky, and leading the group in singing “We Shall Overcome.”

The following day, the masses rose in

rebellion in Miami: one legacy. And Jackson headed south to try to cool things out: quite a different legacy—the legacy of Martin Luther King, and like the one that went before him, Jackson failed.

We do indeed need a new agenda.



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Correction

In last week’s *RW* in the Centerfold article (pp. 14 & 15) on Chiang Ching, a line was left out. The end of column 6 and the top of column 7 should read: “She recounted the history of the Cultural Revolution from the May 16th Circular of 1966...”

ROGUE'S GALLERY

Continued from page 21

with “deep cover” agents, or a combination of assignments.

The work of recruiting “friends” in the “host” country (host is exactly an appropriate term, as the presence of a U.S. embassy is just like the presence of a deadly parasite), is a vital part of the work of the CIA. This may range from an “innocent” (to the person being lied for information, that is) weekly conversation at work, school, or a social event; to the actual step of placing someone on the payroll. Due to the nature of the more informal contacts, they tend to supply mere tidbits of information that only become useful when added to the complete body of intelligence data.

What is more fruitful for the CIA, etc., is the establishment of a “deep cover” operative—someone who is living (or that can be set up) as a legitimate private citizen, working in government or business or professional spheres—whose “credentials” are beyond reproach. The principle here is *quality* of information—not quantity—because of the extremely large amounts of time that a “deep cover” agent must devote to his/her legitimate occupation. Therefore, placement is the key objective. Reaching someone in another country’s embassy, a revolutionary organization, a military junta (if the imperialists don’t pull the strings already), an ethnic minority, etc., is a notch on a CIA agent’s belt.

It is this type of work that hostages Victor Tomseth, chief of the embassy’s political section, and Elizabeth Ann Swift, his second-in-command, were responsible for overseeing (See biogs. 4 and 5 respectively). For example, according to a document dated October 1979, it was under Tomseth’s supervision that numerous meetings were held between U.S. agents and the former governor of Azerbaijan province, Moghadam-Maraghie. In one of these meetings, Moghadam strongly urged that Charge d’Affaires Laingen make a special visit to Khomeini “to convince Iranians of USG (U.S. government—*RW*) acceptance of revolution”—at a time when the U.S. was working behind-the-scenes to rally rightists all over Iran and to force those tied most closely to Khomeini out of the government. Moghadam’s advice to U.S. agents must have been quite

valuable, for the students occupying the embassy found a passport belonging to him with a new American visa in a section of the embassy reserved for people getting special treatment.

The same was true in Tomseth’s directing of the CIA’s handling of Mehdi Rowghani, who for 27 years had been the main Ford car dealer in Iran and was a family relation to Khomeini. In another document dated May 1979 and cleared by Tomseth, the following is revealed: “Rowghani will be willing to talk with Precht (head of the Iran desk at the State Department—*RW*) and may be willing to have private discussions with others. Because of his family relationship with Khomeini, he is an interesting source of information on Khomeini entourage.” For his singing, Rowghani was also rewarded with a visa to the U.S.

The U.S. embassy had contacts with high ranking officials in the Iranian government. Abbas Amir Entezam was found to have had extensive contacts with the CIA according to uncovered documents in the embassy—both when he was the Deputy Prime Minister in 1979 and former spokesman for Bazar-gan, and also while he was serving as Iran’s ambassador to Scandinavia. He was recalled to Iran in December 1979, and upon his arrival he was arrested for his crimes.

It was also revealed by the students holding the embassy that Tomseth had been in contact with Forghan, a counter-revolutionary terrorist group that assassinated Ayatollah Motehari and several other religious leaders close to Khomeini in 1979. Besides eliminating such forces whom the U.S. distrusted, Forghan’s use of “revolutionary” sounding Islamic slogans was a sophisticated attempt to divide the masses, and particularly to bring the Left under suspicion. Further evidence of U.S. complicity in Forghan’s activities came to light when it was learned that the aforementioned honcho at the State Department, Henry Precht, was actively inquiring in early 1979 into the writings of the Islamic scholar that Forghan constantly referred to in its messages.

These are but a few (and the more obvious) examples of the work of the political section’s officers. And both Tomseth and Swift are well equipped for their assignments. Tomseth has been identified by *Counter-Spy* magazine as being a CIA Officer in Tabriz, Iran, as of December 1978, and for an unspecified period of time before then. He was also assigned to Bangkok

and Udorn, Thailand in the late 1960s, at the height of the Vietnam war. Udorn was the site of a major U.S. B-52 air base, for bombing Vietnam, as well as the headquarters of the U.S.’s counter-insurgency operations that were directed against the Communist Party of Thailand. No doubt he had his hand in some, or all, aspects of these deeds. Tomseth is fluent in both Thai and Farsi, the principal language spoken in Iran. He along with Swift (although at different times), got their area training for their Iran assignments up at Cornell University in New York.

Tomseth’s right-hand spy-person, Elizabeth Swift, was one of the two women left in the embassy after the Iranians freed the rest. She has been portrayed by the media as the “tough cookie,” with the early reports following the embassy seizure, describing her as bravely sticking to her post on the phone to D.C. while the “hordes” burst in. She was trained as a “message dissemination specialist” (the coding and decoding of secret cables) by the State Department, one reason why her initials appear in the corners of many of the documents that were sent from the embassy. Her 18 years in service to the imperialists—including an important stint in Indonesia in the late 1960s right after a right-wing military coup—has brought her to where she is right now.

Hostage John Limbert was certainly another one of those in a particular position to serve the interests of U.S. imperialism (See Biog. 6). John W. Limbert is considered an “Iran Specialist,” and is well known as a CIA operative by members of the Iranian Student Association (ISA). Limbert’s position from 1969-1972 was as an instructor at Iran’s Pahlavi University, a branch of the U. of Pennsylvania, located in Shiraz. Limbert’s “academic” work undoubtedly involved recruiting students and teachers into work for the CIA. Limbert also served in Iran for two years (1964-6) as a member of the Peace Corps. Not only does the CIA use the Peace Corps as a cover, but it trains and recruits perspective agents from its ranks. Limbert, Tomseth and Michael Metrisko were all Peace Corps proteges. Limbert’s fluency in Farsi and his valuable contacts and “friends” among intellectuals made his presence at the U.S. embassy in 1979 invaluable.

Hostages Michael Metrisko, Thomas Ahern (See Biogs. 7 and 8), along with Kalp and Daugherty mentioned before, all operated out of the political section too—and all four are CIA employees.

Metrisko has been identified by *Counter-Spy* as a former CIA Officer in Tabriz in 1978. Prior to this assignment, he spent five years in the Peace Corps—three of them inside Iran.

In the current *Life* magazine spread on the hostages, Ahern is featured as the “narcotics control officer” for the embassy. What has never been reported in the U.S. press is that when the embassy was seized a passport was found in Ahern’s possession—listing him as a “Belgian businessman.” In fact many of the U.S. agents and Special Forces personnel who were sent to Iran to prepare for the “hostage rescue” fiasco last April, travelled under the cover of European businessmen.

Further, it was reported in the *Tehran Times* of November 17, 1979, that two special Iranian visa stamps for forging entry and exit clearances were found inside the American embassy. A number of secret documents released by the students have described in detail the cover story for this “Belgian businessman,” his phony itinerary, his instructions on how to activate his passport, and even his inoculations record. Ahern was obviously betwixt and between his destinations when he was rounded up.

No description of the workings of the political section of the U.S. embassy in Tehran would be complete without the mention of a nefarious character named Charles W. Naas, a high-ranking CIA operative who left Iran in mid-1979 and is not a hostage.

Naas was Laingen’s predecessor as Charge d’Affaires in the spring of 1979, and before that is listed in *Counter-Spy* as the Deputy Chief of the CIA Mission in Iran during 1978. The following is an example of the kind of work Naas directed out of the embassy. In April, just two months after the Shah’s overthrow, a leader of the People’s Mojahadeen (an anti-imperialist Islamic organization) was arrested by one of the government’s so-called revolutionary committees (komitehs) for the “crime” of investigating the continued activities of the CIA and SAVAK in the country. As it turned out, this komiteh was based inside the U.S. embassy (!), and it was later revealed that the reactionary head of the komiteh had been meeting regularly with Naas and was on the embassy payroll.

In next week’s *RW*, we will examine the other sections of the embassy and their contributions to the activities of the U.S. diplomatic mission in Iran—truly a “spy nest” if there ever was one.



**WEAR THIS ARMBAND
WHEN THE
REVISIONISTS
SENTENCE
MAO'S
REVOLUTIONARY
COMRADES**



**Long Live
Mao Tsetung's
Revolutionary
Comrades**

**Long Live
the
Revolution
Worldwide**

*Cut out armband and paste onto
cloth or heavy paper strip.*

DEMONSTRATE

**LONG LIVE CHIANG CHING AND
CHANG CHUN-CHIAO!
LONG LIVE THE GREAT
PROLETARIAN CULTURAL
REVOLUTION!
MAO TSETUNG DID NOT FAIL,
REVOLUTION WILL PREVAIL
ALL OVER THE WORLD!**

*Very shortly after the sentence is
announced in China, the RCP, in
unity with other forces, will hold
demonstrations in:*

- Washington, D.C. —Embassy of the
Peoples Republic of China (P.R.C.)**
- New York —U.N. Mission of the P.R.C.**
- San Francisco —Consulate of the P.R.C.**
- Houston —Consulate of the P.R.C.**

*For more information about these demonstrations contact the RCP in
your area (See page 2 for addresses and phone numbers).*