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EL SALVADOR:

IS THERE NO LIMIT TO U.S. LIES?

For the past few weeks the people of the world have been subjected to yet another in a long line of U.S. government PR campaigns designed to paint its imperialist rape of the world as a tender love affair with an accompanying compelling desire to defend the object of its want from the clutches of its equally rapacious imperialist rival—the Soviet Union. We are speaking here of the recent profoundly cynical U.S. efforts to justify its continued domination of and stepped-up military moves in El Salvador as necessary to save the people of El Salvador from “a strikingly familiar case of Soviet, Cuban and other communist military involvement in a politically troubled third world country.”

This latest propaganda barrage reached its peak last week with the issuance of a State Department special report on “Communist (meaning Soviet social-imperialist—RW) support for the

insurrection in El Salvador.” In it the U.S. declares its intentions of “drawing the line in El Salvador” against “a textbook case of indirect armed aggression by communist powers through Cuba.” (Haven't we all heard this one before, somewhere?) As many have come to expect from the likes of U.S. imperialism, this “report” is a cheap and truly feeble attempt to stand reality on its head in order to defend its increasingly exposed role in trying to hold on to “U.S. turf” (stolen fair and square) by any means necessary. As usual the government has offered up a garbage pile of lies. The stench from this rotting mass will surely make it impossible for anyone capable of thinking for themselves to put up with either its odiferous contents or the even more putrid acts it's meant to justify. All we can say is that gas masks are definitely in order.

The fact that this particular docu-

ment has, as expected, been given such widespread and prominent promotion in the front pages of the bourgeois press and on every TV newscast requires us to comment on its fraudulent content at some length, however, if only just to clear the air. The report claims that its evidence of Soviet-bloc political and

military support for the Salvadoran guerrilla organizations comes from a combination of captured guerrilla documents and information gathered by the U.S.'s spy apparatus, which is undoubtedly scurrying around Central America in record numbers at the present time. Supposedly, all this data shows that Soviet bloc countries have made “commitments to supply the insurgents nearly 800 tons of the most modern weapons and equipment” of which nearly 200 tons, “mostly through Cuba and Nicaragua,” have already been delivered, and that Fidel Castro and the Cuban government has given

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War Plans Hammered; Rulers Counter with Trial of “Plowshare 8”

Daniel Berrigan: “We're Taking Great Chances—As We Should!”

The trial of the Plowshare 8 is beginning in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, just north of Philadelphia. The 8—including Daniel and Philip Berrigan—are anti-war activists who entered a GE assembly plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania last September, destroyed two Mark Twelve-A nuclear missile nosecones with hammers and poured blood on machines and blueprints. They are charged with burglary, criminal trespass, criminal conspiracy, disorderly conduct, criminal mischief, simple assault, harassment, and criminal coercion. If convicted, they could be sentenced to up to 64 years each.

The government is typically trying to present this as an ordinary criminal trial. Montgomery County Judge Vincent Cirillo (who entered the legal proceedings early, but was later replaced by trial judge Samuel Salus) stated, “If

they've done what they said they've done, that's burglary.” But the highly untypical political action taken by those on trial last September sent the government into a wild frenzy: \$40,000 damage was done to the nosecones, but the Plowshare 8 are on trial for the political damage that was done to the war moves of the U.S. imperialist ruling class. Targeting the Mark Twelve-A missile—part of the U.S. “first strike” arsenal—was a vivid exposure which caught international attention. Judge Cirillo continued: “If you know you're guilty of violating civil law, then you're culpable for the deeds even if you're called upon by a superior being.” Thus the only morality recognized by our rulers is that which serves their own class interests—in this case, their need to go to war—and rally people behind it. Even the protests of militant pacifists such as the Berrigans and the others—

religious people with a background in radical Catholic cities—are virtually intolerable to the government.

As the proceedings opened on Monday, February 23, Judge Salus stated that he expected the trial to be completed by the following Friday and would even conduct evening sessions if necessary. By trying to speed through the trial, the authorities are clearly attempting to limit the defendants from using every opportunity to bring out the reasons for their own actions.

The judge set the terms at the beginning of the trial, “We will not have irrelevant speeches and soliloquies today. I'm not interested in international law, a great power, any philosophy or superceding morals. They are not involved.” Daniel Berrigan set the terms of the defendants: “We have this advantage that we have no interest in legalism. We are just confronting these

people with the truth. The thing is a volcano: I think we're taking great chances, as we should.” At this writing the trial has not actually begun and jury selection is still in process. Out of the original 60 prospective jurors, 40 who were being interviewed on the first day were disqualified after an “outburst,” as the judge termed it, by defendant Dean Hammer. Hammer had asked that 11 jurors, who had indicated that they were not unbiased, be excused. The judge has radically changed the procedure for

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Deportation Into Zionists' Hands Looms Third Appeal Denied in Ziad Abu-Ein Case

Chicago. On February 20 a three-judge panel from the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that Ziad Abu-Ein, a 21-year-old Palestinian, must be extradited to Israel to face trial. Israeli authorities have accused Ziad of supposedly planting a bomb in the occupied West Bank town of Tiberias on the anniversary of the founding of Israel, May 14, 1979. This charge is based on a confession extracted under torture of a Palestinian currently being held in Israel—a confession that has been since recanted twice. If returned to the Zionists, Ziad would face the usual treatment reserved for freedom fighters—jail, torture and possible death. This is the second appeal that has been denied since the court handed down the original decision on December 18, 1979 that Ziad must be extradited following a kangaroo-court type of trial. Ziad's attorneys plan to file an appeal for the case to be heard before the full panel of Appeals Court judges; if this is denied there is only one legal step left—appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

From the beginning of this case, the government has made it absolutely clear that it has every intention of extraditing Ziad by performing whatever legal handstands and chicanery necessary. Far more than the case of one Palestinian fighter is involved here. This case has received widespread attention in the U.S. and worldwide precisely because with Ziad's extradition, the U.S. is intending to make a statement of its continued firm support for the imperialist created and backed Zionist state of Israel and its continuing occupation and theft of Palestinian land and its brutal attempts to crush the struggle of the Palestinian people. This extradition is a declaration by the U.S. that it backs the suppression of the Palestinian people 100% as a central part of maintaining its Israeli junior partners as a key imperialist stronghold and base in the strategic Middle East. They have never wavered from this position, even as they have attempted to find some kind of token "negotiated settlement" of the "Palestinian problem," in order to facilitate alliances with strategic Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia.

With all this as a backdrop it would

seem patently absurd for the U.S. to try to extradite Ziad on the basis that this is a "non-political" case involving supposed "criminal actions" by one individual. Yet this is what the government has persistently attempted to do from the start. And the more they have wriggled and squirmed to keep up this facade the more their courtroom farces have been exposed for the blatantly political (and brazenly reactionary) acts that they are. Not only is this tactic of trying political cases a standard modus operandi of the U.S. imperialists by now, but in this particular case, it is necessary because it seems that a U.S.-Israeli treaty prohibits extradition for political offenses. So according to the written opinion of the Appeals Court, neither the bombing which Ziad is accused of (although there is absolutely no proof that he was involved in it) nor anything else about the case has any political nature, and all that is involved is a "criminal act" (the bombing) by an individual totally unrelated to the struggle of the Palestinian people in the Israeli-occupied territories. Their opinion states, "...the alleged bombing directed at a civilian population was not incidental to political upheaval, however characterized, which was occurring at the time in Israel."

But the court's opinion doesn't stop there. It goes on to make some very interesting "non-political" statements:

"Terrorists who have committed barbarous acts elsewhere would be able to flee to the United States and live in our neighborhoods and walk our streets forever free from any accountability for their acts (if the bombing is labelled 'political'). We do not need them in our society. We have enough of our own domestic criminal violence with which to contend without importing and harboring with open arms the worst that other countries have to export." In near hysterics, the judges conclude by warning that America must not become a "safe haven" for "terrorists."

Here the judges are obviously not referring to the numerous fascist dictators and butchers the U.S. has rolled out the red carpet for, such as the Shah of Iran and Somoza, nor are they referring to the U.S. imperialists themselves,

or their Zionist henchmen who have committed and continue to commit untold crimes and atrocities against the Palestinian people, including the mass slaughter of entire villages. Instead they are simply running out for the umpteenth time U.S. screams of "terrorism" at anything which challenges their rule.

The judges' naked hypocrisy was sharply exposed in this latest appeal when Ziad's attorneys brought up the 1959 case of one Bishop Artukovic, a well-known Nazi collaborator who now resides comfortably in California. Defense attorneys challenged the court to explain why it was ruled that Artukovic, who co-operated with the mass murder of the Yugoslav people, has been protected from extradition on the grounds that his was a "political case" (which it indeed was; he was being politically protected by the U.S. government and his crimes were most certainly political), while Ziad, a Palestinian freedom fighter, is facing extradition on the grounds the offense he is accused of has nothing to do with politics of any kind.

The response of the court was classic. In attempting to explain why the "political offense" exemption should not apply to Ziad as well, the judges drew a vast and deep distinction between his case and Artukovic's. Supposedly the bombing in Tiberias (again, there is no proof that Ziad was even involved in this) was aimed at the "general populace" and therefore, akin to murder, the judges replied in their opinion, while Artukovic's acts were aimed solely at the "enemies" of the Nazi-puppet regime and therefore "political." Now how is this for some not-too-fancy and all-too-reactionary legal footwork by these black-robed henchmen.

The judges should be thanked, however, for making it crystal clear that they are indeed diehard imperialist representatives. A real distinction is being drawn here between two very political acts. Clearly Artukovic's mass murder in the service of imperialism and reaction is upheld by the bourgeoisie's courts, while the violence of the Palestinian people against their



Ziad Abu-Ein

oppressors is labelled "criminal." Fine! Thanks again your honors.

All this is simply another example of what has gone down throughout Ziad's trials. The courts systematically suppressed testimony that would reveal the real situation today of the oppression and resistance of Palestinians living under military rule in the West Bank. Defense attorneys were not allowed to dispute the key piece of evidence brought against Ziad consisting of a "confession" made by Jamal Yassin while held in an Israeli prison and, almost certainly subjected to torture. The signed "confession" produced by Israeli authorities was written in Hebrew when Yassin speaks only Arabic. While held in prison, Yassin twice recanted his statement to defense attorneys, but the judge refused to allow this as evidence. The judge also denied permission for the very crucial (and very damaging to the government) testimony of Alexandra Johnson, the former U.S. vice-consul in Jerusalem. In defiance of this, Johnson issued a press release detailing what some of her testimony would have been:

"We found that in political cases Israel systematically uses torture and denial of due process. Here is how the system works. There are three distinct levels of torture, involving associated sets of techniques:

"Level one: beating on the head and torso with fists and sticks;

"Level two: beating on the genitals with hands and sticks; beating with whips, immersion in cold water; inter-

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RACIST MURDER AND MEDIA TARGET ATLANTA BLACKS

In the past 8 weeks, four more Black youth have been abducted and murdered in Atlanta. The murderers have grown bolder, breaking the previous pattern of murdering one child a month by grabbing twice that number of youth in recent weeks. Skeletal remains of several other youth killed months ago have also been discovered during this same period, bringing the total number of Black youth murdered in the past 20 months up to twenty with two others listed "missing" and most likely murdered. Seven of the youths' bodies have now been found in the same heavily wooded area of the city, obviously linking their deaths to the same hands, and another six bodies have been linked together by identical fibers found on their clothing—proving conclusively what was already the common belief: that an organized group is responsible for these crimes.

The thin attempts of the bourgeoisie to conceal the racist nature of these

murders only grows more disgusting. Millions watched ABC's Nightline Wednesday night as Ted Koppel blatantly evaded this question by likening the Atlanta murders with those committed by Son of Sam, John Wayne Gacy, the Boston Strangler, etc.

These developments have thrust Atlanta into the forefront of a nationwide struggle that is raging over the intensifying oppression of Black people. The cold-blooded viciousness of these clearly racially motivated murders has jolted awake and deeply angered tens of thousands and the tension has begun to mount at each new escalation of the attack.

Some have shown their glee at these murders and have put out calls of support to the murderers—among others, racist ex-governor Lester Maddox. Last week he offered \$10,000 for legal defense of the murderers if they will "turn themselves in"—a veiled call to fellow reactionaries to gear up for any

arrests.

The local authorities have responded to growing tension by frantically tightening the repression that has hung over the city for months. A stricter curfew has recently been imposed against youth 14 and under, youth whose parents face 1 year in jail and a \$500 fine if the kids are caught outside from 7 p.m. to 6 a.m. The mayor openly admits that this curfew is designed to keep youth off the streets and won't do a thing to stop the murders, which have mostly occurred during the day. 160 new police recruits are being trained with 240 more being hired as the city fathers beef up their repressive apparatus. Literally dozens of investigators from every law enforcement agency in the country roam the streets. These combined forces were recently brought under the wing of a federally-coordinated task force, claiming to be the "most extensive investigation in the nation's history."

But even this massive buildup of forces has not been able to sidetrack the fury of the people's anger away from the police. Many people believe these pigs are, at the very least, operating a vicious kind of protection racket for the murderers and some people believe the police themselves are the actual murderers. An *Atlanta Journal* article on February 11th reported that one of those recently murdered was last seen getting into a marked police car—a bit of information that was never mentioned again, except among the masses. And the taped voice of a man who was calling the Task Force claiming to be the murderer is being tightly guarded by the police, who absolutely refuse to air the tape for public identification. So far this man has correctly "tipped" the police to the location of one of the bodies and he even boasted of the date he would kidnap the next child. True to his word, a youth was abducted from a

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International Women's Day

Poster

Now Available

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

The materials for reproducing the poster shown at right—color separated printer's negatives and reduced size full color samples—are available this week for individuals and organizations to look over and make arrangements for local printing and use in connection with various events on and around March 8, 1981, International Women's Day. The foreground photo of Chiang Ching was taken as she defiantly entered the courtroom on the day the revisionists sentenced her to death. The background scene is from the revolutionary Peking Opera "Red Detachment of Women" in which Wu Ching-hua, an escaped bondsmaid who joined the Red Army, and her comrades battle the Kuomintang reactionary troops head on in a mountain pass. This opera is one of the most well-known of the model works produced during the Cultural Revolution under the leadership of Chiang Ching.

All those who want to participate in the fundraising, printing, and distribution of this poster can contact the RCP in one of the following cities: Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D.C. (for phone numbers and addresses, see page 16). Those wishing to produce this poster in other areas should send \$50.00 in check or money order now to RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, Illinois 60654. Cost includes printing negatives, full color sample and express postage. Specify English, Spanish or French. Please include your phone number, address and the nearest Post Office or Airport to your location.

March 8, International Women's Day



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

UN 2 Send Support Message to "Plowshare 8"

Glenn Gan and Steve Yip Ordered to Prison

As we go to press, an order to surrender to federal court on Monday, March 2, and to begin serving a year and a day jail sentence has been issued to Glenn Gan, one of the UN 2. The court is expected to issue a similar surrender order for Steve Yip. At the same time, the U.S. Assistant Attorney, Peter Sudler, who readers may recall as the eager prosecutor during the trial of the UN 2, denied permission for either of them to travel to Pennsylvania, where the trial of the Plowshare 8 has been going on. (See article page 1.)

On February 5, the U.S. Court of Appeals denied a motion to rehear an appeal of the conviction of the UN 2. The court noted that the request for a rehearing had been transmitted to all of the appeal judges and that "no such judge has requested that a vote be retaken thereon." This rejection has closed off all legal avenues except for appealing directly to the Supreme Court.

Following this decision, defense attorneys had seven days to file a stay of mandate, notifying the court that they were going to pursue appeal of the conviction and to continue bail conditions. The court had been notified by phone by Glenn's attorney that such a stay of mandate was being filed. The court instructed him to send it through the mail. It was sent. However, with the holiday of George Washington's birthday and the weekend, the court claimed it was received late and refused to accept it. Sudler's office was then notified, and they quickly issued the order to surrender. None of this would even have been known to the UN 2 or their lawyers until they called Sudler's office asking what the delay was in granting travel permission for the UN 2. Sudler didn't even bother to deny that he is most anxious to see the UN 2 in jail. And although Steve Yip's papers had been received in due time by the court, Sudler refused to allow him to travel to Pennsylvania, either, and the court notified his lawyer on Thursday, Feb. 26, that his stay of mandate had also been denied. In response, a motion to revoke the final order of mandate and the order to surrender was immediately filed on behalf of the UN 2.

It was ten months ago on the eve of May 1st 1980 that the UN 2 entered the

"sanctified" chambers of the UN Security Council and splashed brilliant red paint on the U.S. and Soviet representatives. As a red flag was hoisted in the air, shouts of "Our Flag is Red, Not Red, White, and Blue! Down with U.S.-Soviet War Moves!" rang out. Within minutes, news of this historic event flashed across the world, as millions upon millions of people were elated and inspired by this action.

The UN 2 were convicted of felony charges and sentenced to a year and a day in federal prison, with a 5 years suspended sentence carrying an additional 3 years probation. The trial of the UN 2 was itself a further exposure of how sorely stung the imperialists were by this action. In a three day, up-front political railroad, the U.S. imperialists who are coldly calculating the incineration of hundreds of millions in World War 3, even went so far as to send their UN representative vanden Heuval as witness for the prosecution, to whine about being a "man of peace." (See RW No. 61)

The action of the UN 2 received widespread support here and internationally. Over 9,000 people signed a statement of support which was published in the *New York Times*. Thousands of dollars were raised. Posters in support of the UN 2 went up around the country as red armbands were worn in communities, factories, and schools across the country. When

the UN2 embarked on a national speaking tour, over 3000 people attended meetings, gatherings, etc., including active-duty servicemen.

As the imperialists' moves toward world war stand more and more exposed, the significance of the UN 2's action, of upholding a revolutionary path of opposition to both superpowers, has become all the more threatening. As much as the court may now like to view the matter as finally over, the fact that they are most anxious to get the UN 2 behind bars, and the fact that they do not want the UN 2 to be at the trial of the Plowshare 8 where again resistance to war is on center stage, indicates that the matter is anything but over.

From New York City the following message was sent to the Plowshare 8: "We, the UN 2, Steve Yip and Glenn Gan, are sending this statement because we have been denied permission by the U.S. government to come to your trial. At this very moment, they are preparing to imprison us in one of their federal hellholes.

"We are reminded as your trial is under way of a statement made on our behalf by Philip Berrigan, 'Who are the real criminals? The international terrorists? Those who hold the bombs. Those who threaten first strike. Those who make millions from producing doomsday weaponry. Not those who...unmask complicity in atomic bloodletting.'

"What was once unthinkable—the slaughter of hundreds of millions in a nuclear war to determine which imperialist superpower, the U.S. or the USSR, will dominate the world—is now thinkable and being furiously pursued. Carter's presidential directive No. 59, the continued Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the giant war maneuvers of both sides in Europe, only show just how deadly serious they are about World War 3. But the only thing they don't include in their plans is the resistance and struggle of the masses of people from Poland to Miami to El Salvador.

"Your action at General Electric gave great inspiration to millions. Their attempts to jail and cage the Plowshare 8 is a desperate maneuver to crush our growing strength and movement. It will only bring forward thousands more, here and worldwide, into the struggle against them and their criminal system. They are only picking up a rock to drop it on their own feet.

"We must all intensify our movement to expose and oppose them and their imperialist system which breeds war. As we see it, this is all the more reason to make revolution, here in the belly of the beast of one of the superpowers, and end their insane and obsolete system before they can unleash this war of devastation and destruction.

"Free the Plowshare 8! Down With U.S.-Soviet War Moves!"



Steven Yip and Glenn Gan, the UN 2.

Uneasy Truce in Poland

The wave of workers' strikes and protests by farmers and students that has rocked Poland since late December has subsided—at least for the time being. But, as the Polish revisionist rulers take the opportunity of this "breather" to jockey for position—and as the U.S. and the Soviet imperialists continue to eye the situation closely—there isn't, nor can there be, any lull in the basic contradictions which have driven the upheaval in Poland since last summer.

In the past few weeks the Polish government had been scrambling to cool out the spontaneous struggles among millions of workers (as well as the farmers' protests and student sit-ins at Lodz and other universities) which had erupted in spite of the increasingly moderating posture of the leadership of the independent trade union, Solidarity. With the Soviet 26th Party Congress rapidly approaching, Poland's rulers were faced with a rather urgent

necessity of maneuvering to bring the situation under at least a semblance of their control as quickly as possible—and in this effort they were ably assisted by those like Lech Walesa and others in the national leadership of Solidarity. Lech and company have done their utmost to subordinate any differences with the Polish rulers over the ultimate direction of capitalism in Poland to the larger question of mitigating the contradictions of the Polish bourgeoisie as a whole with the Soviet imperialists, whose troops are still lurking on the country's borders.

Not the least of these maneuvers was the governmental shake-up and the appointment of Wojciech Jaruzelsky, the former Minister of Defense, as Prime Minister—a move designed to reassure the Soviets by putting a military man with close ties to the Warsaw Pact at the head of the government, while at the same time utilizing his reputation as a

nationalist and a "moderate" to provide Solidarity leaders with some leverage in their attempts to convince the Polish workers and other strata to calm down and sit tight in anticipation that things could be worked out without further protest. Moving swiftly, Jaruzelsky—bedecked in full military uniform with a chestful of medals—appeared before the Polish congress on Feb. 12 to simultaneously wave the stick and dangle a few carrots. He warned that, "Forces of evil have been attempting to penetrate Solidarity and lead it toward false positions, anarchy and derailment of socialism... I am convinced that in the brotherhood of arms with the Warsaw Pact armies, our armed forces will always fulfill the tasks which guarantee the independent existence of Poland." At the same time, however, he promised a government that would implement more reforms and that it would operate competently,

efficiently and democratically. His first public utterance was capped with an appeal for a 90 day "cooling off" period without strikes, "in order to sort out the most fundamental matters of our economy."

On cue, Walesa declared that Solidarity "agreed in principle" with the moratorium (though saying there were still many issues to be negotiated), and the national commission of the independent union moved to reassert its control over the workers by promptly passing a long resolution opposing any "uncoordinated strikes"—that is, any strikes not authorized by the leadership of Solidarity. The growing "accommodation" between the government and Solidarity leaders was further emphasized as a few days later the Polish government newspaper published an unprecedented front page interview with Solidarity official Karol

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Chico, California

Women's Health Center Under Siege

Chico, California. The Chico Feminist Women's Health Center, a clinic run by women which provides medical treatment for women including giving safe abortions, is currently under vicious attack by a host of defenders of medieval morality and the barbarous oppression of women. Three times in the past 1 1/2 months the Health Center has been broken into in attempts to ransack its files and records. Each time a calling card was left—the word "bitches" spelled out in cut-out magazine letters. But this is only the latest series in a long string of attacks by the combined forces of the state government, the local medical establishment, anti-abortion organizations, undercover police, and a medical insurance company.

Since it opened in 1975, the Chico Health Center has been one of very few places between Sacramento and southern Oregon where abortions are freely available; women come to it from all over northern California, the southern part of Oregon, and Nevada. And since it is the only medical facility in the area that accepts Medi-Cal (State medical benefits) abortions, it is the only place where many women can even get an abortion. This and the fact that the women who run the clinic have taken

matters into their own hands and challenged the sacred paternalistic authority of the established medical set-up toward women, which makes going to a doctor a form of cruel torture, has absolutely incensed the torturers.

Since the opening of the Health Center, one Dr. Thomas Enloe publicly stated that the Chico Feminist Women's Health Center would open "over my dead body", and the local medical establishment has enforced a boycott of the Health Center. Any local doctor who provided back-up services or who began to do abortions for the clinic was quickly confronted with the choice: stop, or lose all privileges at the local hospitals and face total ostracism from the Chico medical community. Recently, the local medical authorities started requiring doctors coming to practice in Chico to sign statements saying they would not work with the Health Center—before they even set foot in town!

Because of this, the Health Center has been forced to fly doctors into Chico from outside the area to do the abortions (often from the Bay Area, over 200 miles away). Since these doctors have to leave town after finishing their abortions, and no local doctor will

provide back-up service, the clinic has been forced to take women who develop complications either out of town or to the emergency room at Enloe Hospital—where they receive care at the hands of the bitter enemies of the Health Center and of abortions generally.

Two years ago, when a woman receiving an abortion at the Chico Feminist Women's Health Center developed complications, the health workers at this center took her to the emergency room of the local hospital, N.T. Enloe Memorial (named after the above mentioned Enloe's father). The doctor in attendance, Dr. Thomas Lorenz, told one of the workers from the Health Center, "I've been waiting for this," and promptly gave the woman a hysterectomy. The women from the Health Center told him at the time that the hysterectomy was not necessary (an opinion backed by articles in the major gynecological journals and by authorities in the field). Indeed, Lorenz and the local Chico reactionaries had long been waiting for such an "opportunity." Immediately Lorenz and friends began spreading vicious slanders that the Women's Health Center had "torn the guts out of some

poor woman," kicking off a massive campaign to discredit the clinic and close it down (not mentioning, of course, that it was they who "tore the guts out" of this woman).

The state government eagerly plunged into the battle—to the point of state health inspectors going through the Health Center's garbage. And there has been an ongoing probe of the Health Center for the last two years, directed by the State Board of Medical Quality Assurance, with memos referring to it even crossing the state lieutenant governor's desk. Of course, all the local right-to-lifers have gone wild. Anti-abortion billboards have gone up all over Chico, unsigned, but funded by the Knights of Columbus, a notorious men's organization of the Catholic Church.

All these reactionary forces have come together under the banner of "Woman know thy place," in a particularly sharp example of how imperialism brutally enforces the oppression of women. Under this system, even such a thing as women establishing a health center is more than can be tolerated and is something that they are compelled to attack. □

—Please Post

A Call To Artists

Design A Poster For May Day 1981!

May First 1980 was an opening salvo for the decade, with a class-conscious section of proletarians and others in the U.S. seizing the day and proclaiming unity of cause with their class worldwide. May First was put on the map as a fighting proletarian internationalist day and, as a result, as May First approaches this year, the question of where will you be, what will you be doing, is afoot.

May 1 is a Friday, a business day. But in no way will it be a business-as-usual day!

Instead it will be a day imbued with the spirit of bringing the new into being. It will be a day of consciously and actively hastening the elimination of all that is oppressive, decaying and dying. Everywhere the modern day overlords look they will see the unmistakable sights and hear the unmistakable sounds of May First.

In this spirit, the *Revolutionary Worker* is calling on artists to dare to join those forging the future, to contribute to bringing the new into being by submitting your designs, ideas and suggestions for a new poster that will be one of the sights and sounds of May First 1981. Time is short, so send your paintings, drawings, sketches, etc., right away to the *Revolutionary Worker*, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL. 60654. Poster suggestions should be sent in by Saturday, March 14. Please send your name, address and phone number if you want us to contact you, and indicate whether or not you want the *RW* to develop or change your work for the final poster, if your design is chosen.

Specifications: 17x22, Black and White or Color (3 color printing process maximum)

Heidelberg, West Germany

Meeting to Uphold Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao Marked by Multi-National Character

On February 22 the banner of Mao Tsetung, his revolutionary comrades Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao and the Cultural Revolution was firmly held aloft in Heidelberg, West Germany.

An afternoon program entitled, "Revolution On Trial in China" and organized by FightBack and the China Policy Discussion Group drew a widely-varied audience of 150. Included in the crowd were a large contingent of workers and students from Turkey organized by ATIF/ATOF, members of several German leftist organizations and the China-German Friendship Association, as well as a number of youth and students.

Leaflets and posters distributed in the Heidelberg—Frankfurt area had revealed a great deal of interest in the question of what is happening in China today and what this means for revolution. It became clear that this was due in large part to the heroic revolutionary stand of Mao's two comrades and in particular many people had commented to those leafletting that Chiang Ching's actions had helped make clear to them the counter-revolutionary character of the ruling clique in China today. A number of those who attended were surprised at the large turnout, not realizing that so many were interested in these questions.

The main speaker gave an analysis of how both the new capitalists in China as well as the Western bourgeoisie are trying to use this trial to attack Mao's line and the victories of the Cultural Revolution and revolution in general. He further pointed out that it was Mao himself who first analyzed the material basis for the continued existence of the

bourgeoisie under socialism and the need to carry on the revolution and continually overthrow those new bourgeois elements until communism is reached. And further that the Cultural Revolution was a pathbreaking example of how to rely on and mobilize the masses to carry out this struggle. He made clear in his speech that it was exactly because the Four had taken the lead in fighting to implement this line that they were on trial and because Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao had refused to capitulate they were given death sentences.

In addition to the main speaker, a representative from *Partizan*, a revolutionary newspaper supported by the Communist Party of Turkey-ML (TKP-ML) gave a statement upholding Mao and the Cultural Revolution and condemning the trial. Also a representative from the Iranian organization Peykar spoke and condemned the trial as well.

The main presentation was followed by a discussion period during which a number of questions raised were gone into more deeply. It is interesting to note that the members of the KBW who were present (an organization in Germany which firmly embraces Deng & Co.) made no attempt to defend their half-pint guru although they had ample opportunity. Another hot point of interest during the meeting was the Joint Communique, *To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries*, which has just been translated into German. Almost 60 were sold during and after the program. Finally, 43 of those who attended signed a statement to be sent to the Chinese embassy here condemning the trial and upholding Mao and his comrades. ||



Poster Calling for the Meeting.

RCP, Defense Committee Targetted

Distinct Odor of COINTELPRO in Miami Incident

As we go to press, the *RW* has learned of an incident in Miami that has all the earmarks of an FBI/COINTELPRO operation directed against the Revolutionary Communist Party and, more broadly, against the masses who have stepped forward in the face of the escalating attacks against Black people in the area. While many facts remain yet to be uncovered, it is clear that the authorities have been deeply stung by the response to their recent, desperate attempt to mete out punishment for the Miami Rebellion—the railroad conviction of Samuel Lightsey and Leonard and Lawrence Capers on charges of murdering three whites—and, in particular, by the activities of a defense committee formed in the wake of these convictions. The committee is broadly based in Liberty City, including members of the convicted men's families, students from North Miami-Dade Jr. College, political activists from the Liberty City community and several *RW* co-conspirators—and it is openly supported by the RCP whose representatives have attended meetings.

On Friday morning, February 20 a certain Alphonso Jordan, who had attended a couple of meetings of this defense committee—and who, we'll make clear from the start, has never in any way been connected with the RCP—was arrested and charged with murdering his ex-wife, his sister and her husband as well as wounding his brother. Apparently Jordan, armed with a shotgun, had gone on a shooting

spree the night before, killing family members in two different houses and three times firing into his girlfriend's house. While it is not known at this time whether these were the actions of a man gone insane or something more consciously calculated, what is known is that the hand of the state has been busy behind the scenes in this affair. This became apparent the next day as the front page of the *Miami News* loudly claimed that after his capture Jordan told police he was a member of something called the "People's Revolutionary Party"—a non-existent organization whose name just happens to bear a superficial resemblance to the name of the RCP. Accompanying this "news" article about the slayings as it continued on page four was another article (written by a reporter who covered the Lightsey/Capers trial)—an article which, under the guise of "investigating" the existence of this so-called "People's Revolutionary Party," rather transparently attempts to interject the subject of the RCP into the picture surrounding these murderers.

The not-coincidental juxtaposition of these two articles and the none-too-clever lies and distortions contained within them add up to the conclusion that something stinks. The lead article is headlined "Triple Murder Suspect Jailed—Janet Reno Fled Her Home After Warning." Reno, in case anyone has forgotten, is the Dade County States Attorney who orchestrated the acquittal of the Miami pigs who

murdered Arthur McDuffie last May, sparking the Miami Rebellion. Recently she has been the object of two separate demonstrations by the defense committee at the Metro Justice Building since the railroad convictions of Lightsey and the Capers brothers. Yet according to this article: "Police said he (Jordan) claimed to be a member of the People's Revolutionary Party, a local group that on Wednesday demonstrated outside the Metro Justice Building protesting what it called crimes against Black people by Dade County States Attorney Reno. Jordan and other People's Revolutionary Party members demanded to see Reno... Police said they threatened to go to her home and serve indictments charging her with crimes against Black people... Last night when police realized Jordan was part of that group they warned Reno who decided to leave her home..."

While the defense committee (not the mythical "People's Revolutionary Party") attempted to present her with petitions signed by over 6,000 people demanding justice for Lightsey and the Capers brothers at the Metro Justice Building, Jordan himself was not even present at either of the demonstrations at Reno's offices. This strongly suggests that the "warning" Reno received from the police was deliberately engineered to provide grist for their propaganda mill the following day. But more, after portraying the defense committee as members of the "People's Revolutionary Party," the *Miami News* then

did an about face, using the obvious fact that there is no such organization as the basis for the companion article which attempts rather unsubtly to inject the RCP into this whole incident.

Interestingly enough, the headlines of this companion article drops the word "People's" and is titled: "Jordan Joined Protests, But 'Revolution' Party Unknown". Get the transition? Revolution Party? RCP? Then right in the opening sentence it is reported that there is neither "a People's Revolutionary Party or a Revolutionary Communist Party in Miami" as the RCP abruptly becomes the focus of the reporter's "investigation": "Asked if there was an investigation of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Reno said, 'I've never heard of the Revolutionary Communist Party'... Members of the Party from out of state distributed red armbands in the Black community which said 'It's Right to Revolt' (sic) for spectators to wear after the verdict in the Lightsey/Caper trial... Metro police Major Steve Berticelli said today that he knew of no 'hard evidence' that the Revolutionary Communist Party has organized here. 'There was some talk during the riots that an outside group was organizing here but I don't know anything concrete was ever uncovered...' The FBI said it has done no investigation of the Party. 'There are no grounds for investigating the Revolutionary Communist Party,' said an FBI spokesman

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SPAIN: Phony Coup, “Nothing New”

The *New York Times* editorial following the so-called attempted coup in Spain, put it this way, “It could have been a Spanish tragedy; it turned out to be opera bouffe.” But while the recent events in Spain certainly resembled a well rehearsed melodrama, there is more than a little evidence to suggest that it was not at all comic opera for the U.S. imperialists, and that much was staked on the election of Calvo Sotelo, a firm proponent of Spain’s entry into NATO, and on the unification of the Spanish bourgeoisie with Sotelo at the helm and King Juan Carlos overriding the Spanish ship of state. Indeed, after the shaky events in Parliament were over, Sotelo emerged with a majority of votes in Parliament, which he had been unable to get five days earlier, and Juan Carlos has emerged as the so-called “mortar of monarchy” which is holding together the crumbling facade of bourgeois democracy in Spain. The calmness with which the U.S. media reported on this event—as though it was a common occurrence for the head of the police motor pool to walk into the European parliament and take over in the middle of an election—the pompous claims to heroism in the face of this “threat to democracy” of the bourgeois parliamentarians; and the seemingly ridiculous performance of the officers who took over Parliament at gunpoint, had all the trappings of a set up; the question was—to what end? And in looking over events leading up to this low drama, much is revealed about what lengths the imperialist bourgeoisie will go to in order to ensure its dictatorship, and the complicity of the U.S. in the whole affair.

While Lieutenant Col. Manuel Tejero Molina, the leader of the Civil

Guard motor pool which took over the Parliament at gunpoint, used the phrase “Sin Novedad” (nothing new), reminiscent of Generalissimo Franco’s 1936 coup, when he announced his takeover to his superior officer General Jaimi Milans de Bosch, long associated with Franco, the recent squabbles among the Spanish bourgeoisie are not at all the same as the split in the 1936 Civil War. All the major parties in Spain from the revisionists to the rightist Popular Alliance, condemned the takeover, and backed the King and the constitution within 24 hours after the takeover.

After spraying the ceiling with bullets, and putting on quite a show, Tejero announced that “a higher military authority” would arrive to explain things, but nobody ever came. At least nobody ever came to the Parliament. A higher military authority did however “appear.” After receiving assurances of loyalty from the military, King Juan Carlos appeared on television early Tuesday morning, in full military dress—as commander-in-chief of the armed forces—to order the uprising crushed and to pledge his faith in “democracy.” While Tejero may have been set up and left in the lurch, the fact that he refused an offer of a plane out of the country on the grounds that he got airsick did not indicate he expected to eat prison food in the near future. The ease with which he and his men entered the Parliament in the first place and the ease with which any support for his attempt was quelled indicates that this attempt was either carried out with full complicity of the highest ruling circles in Spain (or was discovered and allowed to continue by them) in order to create public opinion in favor of the election of Sotelo as Prime Minister, to

unite the bourgeoisie behind the King and the ruling party and their future plans to link up even more closely with the U.S. war bloc, and to remind the masses that bourgeois democracy is after all a dictatorship and if one pokes too far into its democratic mask, there is the possibility that the mask will come off altogether. Thus, the double-edged appearance of King Juan Carlos on TV, as spokesman for “democracy” and in military uniform to remind all those concerned about the nature of the state.

It is also interesting to note that Calvo Sotelo, an avid spokesman for Spain’s entry into NATO has been praised by the U.S. imperialists, and that certain military treaties concerning U.S. bases on the Canary Islands are due to be renewed.

A look into the background leading up to Sotelo’s successful election on Wednesday night after the coup attempt failed (for which he lacked the necessary votes on Friday before the coup attempt took place), reveals an interesting scenario of imperialist politics.

Since the end of WWII the U.S. imperialists have wooed (and bludgeoned) the Spanish imperialists for their bloc. In 1955, Spain, then under the fascist dictatorship of Generalissimo Franco, was admitted into the United Nations backed by the U.S. government. U.S. imperialism also signed a series of treaties with Spain for U.S. naval and air bases in both Spain and the strategically located Canary Islands. With the obviously failing health of Generalissimo Franco in the early ’70s, the U.S. began to take an increasing interest in the question of Franco’s successor. Franco had groomed Admiral Carrero Blanco as his hand-picked suc-

cessor to continue the military dictatorship. But Franco’s impending death offered an opportunity to replace the Generalissimo with a government bearing the facade of parliamentary democracy; this would aid the formal entry of Spain into the NATO pact and the European Common Market, where the open fascist dictatorship of Franco would have proved politically embarrassing for the Western powers at the time. The problem of succession was resolved at the end of 1973 when Admiral Carrero was literally blown away. An enormous explosion went off under his car, hurling the entire automobile over an adjoining 5 story building. In his book, *Terrorismo Internacional*, a retired Spanish intelligence agent, Luiz Gonzales-Mata, revealed in 1978, that the U.S. CIA not only knew about the plot to assassinate Carrero but in fact gave it discreet aid.

The U.S. then set about the grooming of Franco’s appointed heir, Prince Juan Carlos, who ascended to the throne of Spain, with the U.S.’s blessing, only two days after the Generalissimo’s death in 1975. Juan Carlos was to serve as the imperialists’ ace in the hole in Spain. Bringing back a king under the facade of instituting bourgeois democracy had the double-edged advantage of presenting a democratic facade to the masses, and the ever present possibility of rather quickly removing the facade on the basis of “royal” authority. The situation in the 1970s in Spain was in great turmoil, as the mass movement rocked the country—threatening the fascist regime. Furthermore, the Spanish bourgeoisie was sharply divided, and the dominant Spanish imperialists needed a supreme authority to

Continued on page 22

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Burning Questions of Our Movement

“The whole art of politics lies in finding and gripping as strong as we can the link that is least likely to be torn out of our hands, the one that is most important at the given moment, the one that guarantees the possessor of a link the possession of the whole chain.”

“... In a word, the ‘plan for an all-Russian political newspaper,’ far from representing the fruits of the labour of armchair workers, infected with dogmatism and literariness (as it seemed to those who gave but little thought to it), is a most practical plan for immediate and all-round preparations for the uprising, while at the same time never for a moment forgetting our ordinary, everyday work.”

Quotes from “What Is To Be Done?”, a pathbreaking work by V.I. Lenin.

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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 to 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!



Bay Area

New Life Pumped Into Reactionary Rag

About a year ago in the mostly Spanish-speaking Mission District of San Francisco, if you needed some paper to wrap your garbage in, you could use copies of the free (you could hardly give it away) Spanish language paper *Tiempo Latino*. It was a skinny black-and-white rag with few ads. The editor/owner, Luis Alonso Muñoz, is vehemently anti-communist and pro-U.S. imperialism, a diehard reactionary. Such a position is not all that popular in a community peopled with refugees from countries sucked dry by U.S. imperialism. Even *Tiempo Latino*'s reporters nearly came to blows with Muñoz time and again, in particular around the revolution in Nicaragua. Finally, by May of 1980, he had driven away or fired everyone on his staff except three people, and they hung on because he owed them back pay. Then the last one quit in disgust.

But someone had a use for *Tiempo Latino*; suddenly, Muñoz packed his bags and flew to Israel, then Central America, making the rounds in Nicaragua—where he summed up that the people there were worse off than before the revolution—and Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica and El Salvador. He was photographed with the presidents of Costa Rica and El Salvador and appeared on the front page of a Costa Rican newspaper. By late September, upon his return, *Tiempo Latino* transformed from one issue to the next into a 30+ page *National Enquirer*-type rag with a four-color front page. Its offices expanded dramatically: it now has a staff of 28, including reporters, a cartoonist, receptionist, secretaries, distributors, etc.; expensive production equipment and trucks and drivers distribute the paper—some 20,000 copies weekly—all over the Bay Area as far south as San Jose (fifty miles away).

When the *RW* asked Muñoz how his paper got so big in such a short time, he attributed it to an influx of ads. He said without a doubt, "*Tiempo Latino* can't depend economically on the Latin community, because the Latin community hasn't matured (sic!—*RW*) enough to understand the importance of a medium of communication that defends its interests..." Suddenly *Tiempo Latino* has gotten some very big ads, from some of the biggest businesses in the area, like Safeway—ads which it could not get

before his trip to Central America, according to his ex-staff.

What accounts for this sudden revitalization? *Tiempo Latino*'s new masthead provides a clue. On it appear the words "*Miembro de la Sociedad Interamericana de la Prensa*" (Member of the Inter-American Press Association, "SIP"). Says Muñoz, "It's always necessary for a newspaper business to have the support of such an organization because of the attacks the paper can suffer from various angles..." The SIP is a well known international institution—in South America it's known as the "Trojan Horse" (for U.S. imperialism). It was through SIP that the CIA and ITT channeled millions to *El Mercurio* in Santiago, Chile, around 1971, thus rescuing the paper from imminent collapse so it could help shape public opinion to facilitate the bloody coup that toppled the Allende government. It was also SIP that rescued the nearly defunct *Daily Gleaner* of Jamaica, which then used its new-found clout to back the campaign of Edward Seaga (CIAga) for Prime Minister. Muñoz has been trying to get into SIP for some time—now evidently SIP has

taken notice of *Tiempo Latino* and its self-appointed savior of the Latin community.

All these pieces come together at a time when U.S. imperialism needs reactionary mouthpieces around El Salvador very badly. The Mission has one of the largest concentrations of Salvadorans in the United States. Muñoz is also Salvadoran. The puffing up of his venomous and highly reactionary little tabloid is happening right along with the upsurge of the struggle in El Salvador, and the upsurge of support, resistance and revolutionary activity in the Mission in the Bay Area. "San Francisco played a very important role in Central American politics," moans Muñoz. "It was here where a lot of money was collected... where trained guerrillas left (for Nicaragua)." *Tiempo Latino* aims to see that doesn't happen with El Salvador. The first big story printed in the paper when Muñoz returned from Central America in September was a 4-page spread about agrarian reform in El Salvador titled "What the International News Won't Tell," with photos of happy Salvadorans just loving the Agrarian Reform

Program—a CIA special aimed at strengthening U.S. domination in the area and resulting in the deaths of hundreds of peasants (see *RW* No. 87). "Salvadorans Love to Work," a headline says, and "Terrorism has not destroyed their enthusiasm for production, which is the basis of a nation's prosperity."

Muñoz clearly intends not to miss a trick in promoting the lies of his CIA backers. *Tiempo Latino* recently ran an article on a pathetic demonstration in the heart of the Mission in favor of U.S. interventionism in El Salvador—a clearly provocative demonstration of some 35 to 40 die-hards, old ladies and kids, surrounded by over 200 cops. Right now, there are plans to augment circulation to 80,000 by the end of 1981, and he just purchased 400 vending machines so people will be seeing his rag on street corners all over. Apparently, Muñoz's imperialist backers feel they'll be needing his services for some time to come, but to the people of the Mission and the Bay Area generally, *Tiempo Latino* will remain useful only to line their garbage cans with, four color front page and all. □

We ran across this photo recently in the Cincinnati Enquirer:



Statement by Bea Dong

"I Call On All Co-Conspirators to Grasp the RW More Firmly in Your Hands"

This statement was sent to the Revolutionary Worker from Beatrice Dong, a revolutionary activist for many years and full time distributor of the RW. On January 21, Bea was shot in the neck and critically wounded by a woman called Waynetta Cockrell in the Newark train station, which Bea often frequented on her way to and from selling papers (see RW No. 89, January 23). While the authorities are attempting to bury this case, claiming that Cockrell is a "crazy" person (see RW No. 93), an investigation is underway to tear the cover off the foul goings-on behind the shooting of this revolutionary:

When I was shot all I could think about was how desperate the bourgeoisie was in trying to stop the conspiracy of the RW. I even laughed at them for thinking they could shoot one person and stop the paper from going deeper and deeper among the people. For thinking they could use bullets to intimidate the people from wanting revolution. It also made me stop to think about what a dangerous weapon the paper is and I never had so much confidence as now that this newspaper is going to create public opinion to seize power.

I am making this statement to call on all you co-conspirators to grasp the paper more firmly in your hands. To propagate Marxism out among the people and hit the enemy hard with the exposure and agitation of the RW and taking out the political line of Mao Tsetung.

Wield the RW to expose the bloody hand of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, revisionism, so that the masses in our millions worldwide will be prepared to take the right road and strike them down at every opportunity.

The investigation over my shooting is being done right now to bring out the truth. I'll be joining you as soon as I can.

Beatrice Dong

Funds are urgently needed to aid in carrying out the investigation of the shooting of Beatrice Dong. Send contributions to:

Beatrice Dong Investigation
126 Hazel
Westfield, NJ 07090

Ziad Abu-Ein

Continued from page 2

rogation while nude or shackled in an awkward position;

"Level three: refrigeration, use of electricity, hanging by the hands or feet, extreme forms of sexual sadism; interrogation accompanied by starvation, enforced sleeplessness.

"The level of interrogation to which a prisoner is subjected is largely determined by the nature of the charge which the interrogators are investigating... Level three is used with persons interrogated in connection with armed operations. Jamal Yassin was interrogated concerning an armed operation—the placing of a bomb in Tiberias. He was almost certainly subjected to Level Three interrogation. Ziad, who would be interrogated in the same case if extradited to Israel, would also be subjected to such torture. I am certain of this judgment as I am certain that the sun will rise tomorrow."

The defense efforts to meticulously prove to the court what is widely accepted as common knowledge—that the conflict in the Middle East is to say the least a political one—were blocked at every turn. The following exchange during the questioning of Fahd Qawasmeh, Mayor of Hebron in the West Bank, shows not only how defense testimony was abruptly curtailed, but also how the U.S. government attempted to perpetuate claims that the Palestinians do not even exist as a people.

Defense: Is there a state of war between the Arab countries and the State of Israel?

Prosecution: Objection, if all the Mayor is going to do is give an opinion of what he sees is a state of war.

Judge: Sustained.

Defense: From your own personal knowledge, is there a political conflict between the State of Israel and Palestine?

Pros: Objection.

Judge: Sustained.

Defense: Have you been able to ascertain whether there is a political conflict between the State of Israel and the various Arab countries including the Palestinians?

Mayor: Adamantly, yes.

Defense: What is the basis of your personal conclusion that a political conflict exists between the State of Israel and the various Arab countries including the Palestinians?

Mayor: We have lived this conflict since 1948.

Defense: From your personal knowledge, Mayor, can you tell what is the foundation for this political conflict?

Mayor: People living under occupation want a just peace, which will enable them, the Palestinian people, to live as free men in the world.

Defense: In your own view, what is the grievance of the Palestinians?

Pros: Objection. We don't have to hear the subjective feelings of the Mayor about some undefined

group of people.

While suppressing this type of testimony the judge allowed the government to introduce numerous statements and documents relating to various topics, including airplane hijackings, kidnapping of diplomats and various other acts which were totally unrelated and irrelevant to Ziad's case (except for the fact that they involved Palestinians of course). Amazingly all of this was to prove that the struggle of the Palestinian people amounts to nothing more than isolated criminal acts.

Meanwhile just two days after the court ruled on Ziad's case, Israeli commandos crossed into Lebanon to kill three Palestinians in what was described as an attack on a guerrilla base. Such operations are by now commonplace, everyday occurrences. As is clearly demonstrated by the trial of Ziad, actions such as these raids and every other form of attack on the Palestinian people are supported by U.S. imperialism.

The order to extradite Ziad not only constitutes yet another attack on the Palestinian people, but is meant as a clear political declaration of the continued support for the U.S.' Israeli junior partners. For this reason, the case has sparked tremendous and wide protest from the Arab community in Chicago to the people of the Middle East. Even the reactionary regimes of Syria and Jordan, among others, have been forced to lodge formal protests over Ziad's extradition in the United Nations with the U.S. because popular support for the Palestinians is so strong among the masses in the Middle East.

Ziad himself is a symbol of the courage and determination of the

Palestinians. Upon hearing of the latest court decision to extradite him, he announced that he would remain on an endless hunger strike in the jail cell where he has been held without bail since his arrest on August 21, 1979. He is also continuing his refusal to wear prison-issued clothing despite the intensified punishment this has brought from his jailers who have denied him any visitors whatsoever. Ziad began this protest last November, inspired by the stand of prisoners held in the jails of Northern Ireland. As part of their struggle for recognition as political prisoners, they argued that they should be allowed to wear their own clothing since they were not being imprisoned for criminal acts.

A statement delivered by Ziad last May 15 demonstrates his optimism and confidence in the Palestinian masses. "Jailing me will not stop the Palestinian people's struggle for freedom," he said. "But jailing me will advance the course of liberation. I am willing to stay in jail forever. The U.S. imperialists and their Zionist allies, the modern Nazis of the Israeli government, want badly to send me back to Israel so I can be silenced and tortured. But as long as I can speak out I will continue to do so... You may be young or old, mother or father, businessman, student or worker—but you must never waver in your desire to free Palestine. At times you may think our cause is hopeless because our fighters do not have tanks or planes. But always remember that if we have the desire and the will to win we will be victorious in the end. Palestine is our homeland and it will be freed from the Zionists!" □

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New issue of **Revolution** magazine, organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

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-Bob Avakian

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Bill Walton

Bill Walton— Commodity Loses Its Value

On January 29, 1981, Bill Walton went into the hospital to undergo corrective surgery for a malformation of his left foot. The operation was not expected to, nor designed to, completely repair the congenital problem; it was not going to make it possible for Walton to continue his basketball career. Instead, as a spokesman for the San Diego Clippers explained: "The surgery was just to help him live his life without pain every time he takes a step." Walton, who led the Portland Trailblazers to a National Basketball Association (NBA) championship in 1977, would play no more.

Walton sat out most of his rookie season with the Blazers on the injured list; taking below the belt abuse from sportswriters who claimed he was shirking, faking, and not being a real macho superstar by playing in pain. The same thing was the case for his second season as a pro. The year after the championship, the only season that Walton played injury free, he broke the tarsal navicular bone in his left foot, just under the ankle. It has lately been revealed that his congenital problem was high arches and a left heel bone that does not permit his foot to turn out; so whenever he walks or jumps, the

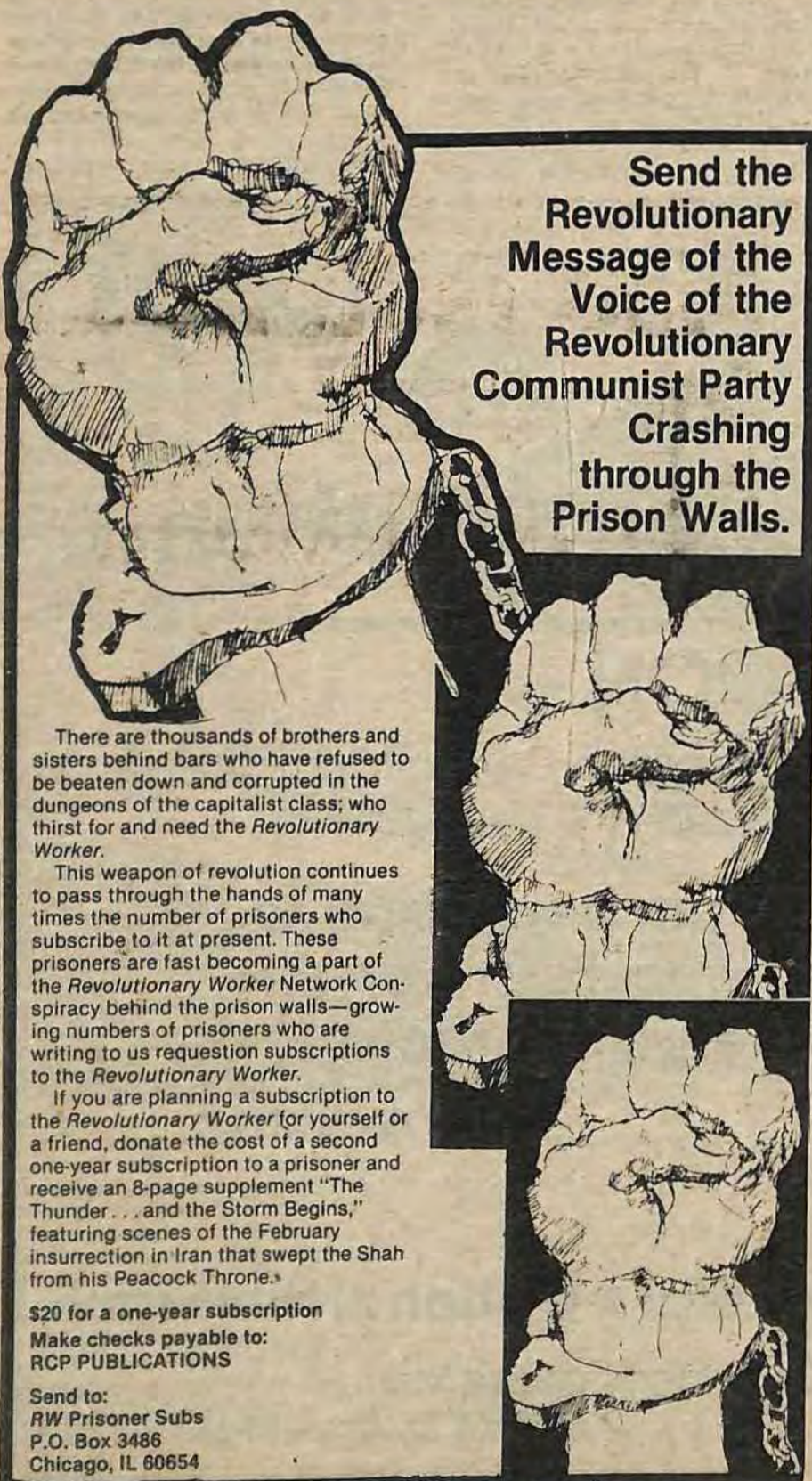
impact is concentrated on the ball of his foot rather than evenly distributed. Imagine the concentrated pain of his 6 ft. 11 inch, 225-lb. frame rising up off the floor for a rebound then coming down full force—enough to break bones, which it did during the 1977-78 season; again in the 1979 exhibition season; and a third time during early 1980.

But there was more to Walton's problems than just broken bones. During the 1977-78 season, even though Walton was sidelined, the Trailblazers still made it into the playoffs. He returned at the start of them. Dollar signs lit up like neon signs in the eyes of Trailblazer management and owners. Get him in there! Walton played in the playoffs, but it was a losing effort—especially for Walton himself. It seems that the club's doctor had injected Walton with pain-killers so that he could play. Playing somewhat numbed to pain did nothing for the injury but make it worse. And Walton has subsequently filed a lawsuit claiming that the drugs that were administered only aggravated the condition.

But Walton never did quite abide by the creed of the arena; he never quite fit the sports czars mold of All-American

jock—a milk-drinking shill for obnoxious sportseasters, who could and should have *nothing* but sports on his mind—and how great this country is to let him play it! Walton had been in the eye of the bourgeoisie for quite awhile as a potential "Great White Hope" in a sport where great Black centers like Wilt Chamberlain, Nate Thurmond, and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar have dominated. But there were things that troubled the image shapers; things like Walton's arrest on the UCLA campus for protesting the war in Vietnam, his backing for the farmworkers, his dislike for "superstar" sports. So they never tired of hounding him, hoping to force him to the line.

Bill Walton, by all rights, should still be playing basketball. His congenital condition could've been corrected when he was in high school. But even then his sitting out might've meant the championship. As Walton's doctor phrased it: "By that time, Bill was already a pretty valuable commodity." Even at the top of the superstar heap, commodity relations still characterize what goes down between players and owners. □

**Send the
Revolutionary
Message of the
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Continued from page 3

neighborhood that is one of the most heavily patrolled by swarms of police—an abduction that went down completely unnoticed. Meanwhile, the cops are heavily enforcing the curfew, picking up youth on the streets in greater numbers than ever before.

In the face of these exposures and the rapidly developing nationwide anger, an all-out attack against Black youth has been opened by the national news media. A front page Sunday *New York Times* article on February 22 set the tone for this attack, trying to shore up the lies that these murders are disconnected and developing the idea that the dead youth and their families should be blamed for the murders. Quoting sources involved in the investigation, the article sneers, "Some law enforcement officers believe that some victims may have been killed by someone in their immediate or extended family," going on to list drug involvement as the reason. Evidence? Who needs it? Apparently not the authorities since, not surprisingly, nothing is offered to substantiate any of these lies. This article recounts the death of one of the girls, implicating an "unknown female relative" supposedly involved in drugs. The murder could have been "a specific warning or expression of anger to adults guilty of doublecrosses" in a dope deal. This girl's mother has been one of the most outspoken of all the mothers, openly critical of the police. This is why she was singled out. The *Times* was rivaled by a recent edition of the *Rolling Stone*, which went a step further by implying that the Atlanta murders are media-created, "lined by a wisp of coincidence, magnified and distorted by the fear and anger in the neighborhoods."

Certain elements are making moves to knock down the Black public officials in Atlanta, taking advantage of the fact that these officials have been largely discredited. The chief political writer for the *Atlanta Constitution* has written a series of articles alluding to "certain businessmen" who are "tired of Black and Jewish mayors" and who are searching for "a WASP

candidate." Another columnist has called for the demotion of the Black police chief and the Black public safety commissioner. Of course, the situation of these Black officials—scrambling to cover-up and at the same time point the finger at each other as the reason why no "progress" has been made in stopping the killings—is not very stable. Mayor Maynard Jackson has been left begging for his political future, boasting of his usefulness in keeping the anger in this "model city" from exploding. As illustrated continually by the *Constitution*, there are racist forces at work who have never liked the Black politicians in Atlanta and would like to see them out. This isn't to say that the Black faces in Atlanta's high places haven't played a valuable role for the bourgeoisie—they certainly have, though a change of such faces may prove necessary. So it is that Andrew Young has announced his candidacy for mayor in the election next fall.

Attempts by the masses to break the stranglehold of the authorities in Atlanta increase with every murder, and have been met by the masters' struggling to keep their grip. The United States Veterans, an all-Black vets group, put out a leaflet in November calling for armed self-defense against attacks on Black people. They got responses from all over the country, hundreds from Atlanta alone. Since then at least one of the vets (known as a radical) has been hounded by the authorities. As a result, he lost his small business and was harassed on past legal charges. A group of Black women workers at a huge electronics factory wrote and xeroxed their own leaflet calling on their fellow workers to raise money for the murdered youth. Their leaflet was applauded by Black and white workers alike. Infuriated over even *this* protest, the company came down, ripping the leaflets off bulletin boards and calling the women into the office to reprimand them. When one of the outraged workers complained to Mayor Jackson, Jackson told her she should "do what the company says."

The number of murdered youth mounts; abuse and slander of the victims is thrust out nationwide; the apparatus of the authorities is strengthened to contain swelling anger: Atlanta has become a symbol of the murderous oppression of Black people in the USA. □

From Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions by
Bob Avakian

If the proletariat doesn't eat up the bourgeoisie, how can there ever be any communism?

The following excerpts from the chapter on philosophy in Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions by Bob Avakian illustrate the tremendous contributions of Mao Tsetung in the realm of philosophy and the relationship between his further developments of materialist dialectics and his pathbreaking contributions in developing the theory and political line of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Struggle and Synthesis

During the several-year period of intense struggle over the Great Leap Forward, Mao made in 1962 the historic analysis that socialist society was a long transition period during the entire course of which there are classes and class struggle and the danger of capitalist restoration (as well as the threat of attack from external class enemies). This became the basic line of the Chinese Communist Party for the entire period of socialism. It represented a historic advance in Marxism-Leninism, and it was the result of the brilliant application of the fundamental law of contradiction to socialist society. Mao applied this law to the material and ideological conditions under socialism, showing how the bourgeoisie would constantly be regenerated out of these conditions, out

of the contradictions that characterized socialism from beginning to end (for more on this see the previous chapter in this book). And, if the bourgeoisie and the proletariat both existed and formed a contradiction—in fact the principal contradiction—throughout the socialist period, then not only must there be struggle between them but the possibility must also exist that they could be transformed into their opposites—in other words, that the bourgeoisie could usurp power from the proletariat, that capitalist restoration could take place.

Again the revisionists viciously attacked this pathbreaking theory and line of Mao's. As early as 1958 Yang Hsien-chen, taking up a new tactic, had attacked Mao and the proletarian headquarters in the party for talking "only about the struggle between opposites, but not their unity." Here Yang became a champion of the unity of opposites and clamored for "using identity of contradiction."

Yang's babbling became especially intense during the early 1960s, particularly in 1961-1962, when Soviet sabotage, natural calamities and revisionist treachery within the Chinese Communist Party were all at a high point and combined to pose great obstacles to the advance along the socialist road in China. At this time Yang insisted that unity of opposites meant "common points," and that the

Chinese people and the Chinese revolution had "common points" with U.S. imperialism and "common points with some differences" with Soviet revisionism. This was the theory of "two combines into one" (or two into one) in direct opposition to Mao's concentrated expression of dialectics, one divides into two, which he had formulated some time earlier. In 1964 Yang, Liu Shaoqi and other top revisionists in the Chinese Communist Party leadership openly proclaimed their reactionary theory of two combines into one. This was aimed at providing a philosophical rationalization for their revisionist line of "the dying out of class struggle."

To counter Mao's line and in an attempt to confuse people, Yang Hsien-chen combined two into one on the question of one divides into two vs. two combines into one. That is, he claimed that "'combine two into one' and 'one divides into two' had 'the same meaning'..."

Here the question of synthesis and its role in contradiction is of particular importance. Yang Hsien-chen argued that "analysis means 'one divides into two' while synthesis means 'combine two into one.'" That is, in analyzing a contradiction it is correct to divide it into its contradictory aspects, but in seeking the resolution—or really, reconciliation—of the contradiction the two

aspects should be combined into one, united into a "common point" so to speak. This is the opposite of the correct, dialectical materialist understanding which holds that:

"Marxist philosophy tells us that analysis and synthesis are an objective law of things and at the same time a method for people to understand things. Analysis shows how an entity divides into two different parts and how they are locked in struggle; synthesis shows how, through the struggle between the two opposite aspects, one prevails, defeats and eliminates the other, how an old contradiction is resolved and a new one emerges, and how an old thing is eliminated and a new thing triumphs. In plain words, synthesis means one 'eats up' the other."

The difference here, the heart of this struggle in the realm of philosophy, is no mere academic debate but the struggle between two fundamentally opposed lines, the revolutionary line of resolving contradiction through struggle versus the reactionary line of attempting to reconcile contradiction through the subordination of the progressive to the reactionary, the advanced to the backward, the new to the old, the correct to the incorrect, etc. And under socialism in particular, this

Continued on page 18



Mao Tsetung Making a Report to Cadres in Yanan, 1942.

Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions

by Bob Avakian

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

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STOP THE RAILROAD
OF BOB AVAKIANFREE THE MAO TSETUNG
DEFENDANTS

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

To the U.S. Supreme Court:

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

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

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

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

- Arrested on misdemeanor charges, the defendants were then charged with felonies, only to be followed by two grand jury indictments eventually upping the charges to 25 felony counts!
- The great majority of the charges are described as being committed by "unidentified attackers" or committed against "unidentified officers." Almost half of those indicted, including Bob Avakian, are charged with no specific criminal act. According to the government, "by presence and knowing participation each defendant aided and abetted each assault which took place..."
- A pre-trial motion, filed by the government, gets to the heart of the political offense which it is actually prosecuting: "The government intends to introduce into evidence those portions of the speech made by Defendant Avakian at a press conference on January 25, 1979." "The government's theory is that Avakian's speech and the activity and statement at the church are admissible against all of the defendants because they were in furtherance of a joint enterprise in which all defendants were involved." In other words, the charge is essentially one of conspiracy, and the offense is Bob Avakian presenting his views and critique of the new government of China and of its alliance with the U.S. following the death of Mao Tsetung.
- In response to a defense request to combine the trials of two sets of defendants—originally charged in different indictments, the government produced a new single indictment doubling the charges against all the defendants. In court, the government stated that it only "gave the defendants what they asked for." Under the pressure of mounting protests across the country, all the charges were thrown out by the trial judge who declared the government was obviously engaging in "prosecutorial vindictiveness."
- On appeal by the government the charges were reinstated by a 2-1 appeals court decision which by their own admission disregarded established legal precedents to redefine "prosecutorial vindictiveness." This provided convenient cover for the contradictory and politically motivated acts of the prosecution, clearing the path for the government to proceed full speed ahead with the railroad.

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

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

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

Partial List of Endorsers

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"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
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SPEAKS**

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

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

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

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

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

“Plowshare 8”

Continued from page 1

jury selection three times, each time attempting to limit the ability of the defendants to “contaminate” the jurors. At this point the judge has taken over the entire jury selection process. The 8, who are each representing themselves, are not allowed to speak and must forward any additional questions in writing to the judge to ask at his discretion. “You have strayed from the issues, you have consistently made speeches and I will conduct the voir dire, that is the questioning of the prospective jurors, from now on,” said the judge. Daniel Berrigan remarked, “We have a hanging judge and he is preparing a hanging jury. Now he is conducting the whole thing and has put us under threat of contempt of court if we try to speak.”

The judge has also excluded the public from this jury selection, giving one excuse after another. First there wasn't room to seat the prospective jurors, the press and the public. After the judge changed the proceedings so that only four prospective jurors at one time were interviewed, the 8 asked that the public be readmitted since there was again room. He refused, stating that he didn't want the “noise and confusion.” At the same time, a number of alternative press reporters including the *RW* and independent journalists were rejected on the grounds that their credentials were not “legitimate,” as deter-

mined by the judge himself, i.e., issued by the police, FBI or Secret Service. Making clear the political basis for this move, all were readmitted the next day except for the *RW* reporter, until a reporter from a major Philadelphia daily interceded and demanded that she be readmitted.

While some of the press has portrayed the judge as something of a bumpkin, he is actually a well-seasoned servant, having just finished presiding over the trial of a prominent gynecologist for raping three of his patients, which ended in acquittal two weeks ago. He has been a clear mouthpiece of the imperialists in the case. In one statement he told the defendants that they had exactly “the same rights as any other criminals,” and repeatedly referred to them as “criminals,” forgetting even the veneer of “alleged.” The Plowshare 8 have repeatedly called on him to excuse himself from the case because of prejudicial views. In one exchange, defendant Molly Rush referred to the Plowshare 8's non-violent views, and Judge Salus interrupted her to exclaim, “If you were such non-violent people, you would have no reason to strike properties.” When they objected he went on “I just wanted to put all the facts on the table. There's a certain amount of violence any time you strike property.” And when the judge “forgets” to be “objective” enough he gets plenty of help from the prosecutor, who repeatedly reminds him of when the defendants can be silenced on the basis that the judge already ruled on what-

ever point they may be trying to raise. Judge Salus, on the other hand, has been helpful in “reminding” the DA when he might want to raise objections.

The trial is the hub of a range of political activity in the area. Every day there has been a vigil and demonstrations with guerrilla theatre, musicians, and other activities outside of the courthouse. At times this has attracted crowds of 200-300 spectators and led the sheriff's department to cordon off a large section of the front steps of the courthouse and to keep the supporters behind barricades. The deputies have told many interested passersby that to talk to the picketers they have to go behind the police lines. This is all obviously designed to intimidate the public.

Hundreds who have come from all around the country and the local area are taking part in the support activities outside the courthouse, and daily vigils are staged outside the King of Prussia, GE Plant where the action took place. On Wednesday, February 25, supporters joined a five-mile march from the courthouse to the plant. On Thursday, 12 people (including 2 defendants) were arrested outside the courthouse for “disorderly conduct.” First, the cops busted two people, then as ten others attempted to block squad cars they in turn were arrested.

But the focus of most of the activity has been the Festival of Hope, programs held every evening at a local Catholic college, where the Plowshare 8 have presented witnesses and opi-

nions—the politics—that they do not believe will be allowed into the trial. David Dellinger, Daniel Ellsberg, Sidney Lens and others have spoken and there have also been cultural presentations and music. These events have served as a forum for the stand of the Plowshare 8 against the war moves of both superpowers. The impact of international events is striking and provides the general framework for these gatherings. World war, El Salvador and the connections with the Plowshare 8 trial and other struggles both internationally and in the U.S. have been constantly brought out. There was one song about Lolita Lebron. Many of the supporters and the 8 themselves have started wearing green ribbons (a movement started in the Black community in Philadelphia about three weeks ago to protest the murders of Black children in Atlanta, and in opposition to the yellow ribbon hysteria). There was very enthusiastic response at the Monday night festival to one group's songs, one with the refrain, “So if you really want to test the neutron bomb, drop it on the Pentagon.” And another, “We talk about how to tear this empire down.”

The actual trial of the 8 will be starting soon. Despite the state attempting to wrap it in the cloak of a “normal” criminal proceeding, and despite the attempts to intimidate people—increased police harassment and provocation of the demonstrators, frisking spectators before they can enter the courtroom, and so on, the word is spreading and support is growing.

Break the Chains!

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

Pamphlet by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

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

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Deng's Ash Transfer?

Chinese Revisionists Rumor Burial With Honors For Chiang Kai-shek

Since the 1976 coup, the Chinese revisionists have reached advanced world levels in rewriting history to transform renegades, hidden traitors and scabs like Liu Shaoqi into "persecuted" heroes. Now the revisionists may be out to perform even more incredible miracles—there are signs that they are preparing the groundwork for a "re-evaluation" of Chiang Kai-shek, including bringing his remains from Taiwan to the mainland for a "proper burial".

Come on, some might say. The revisionists may have reversed the correct verdict on Liu, but they wouldn't dare do the same for Chiang Kai-shek, would they? How can they cover up Chiang's countless crimes against the Chinese people as the representative of the big bourgeoisie and the landlords? What about his treachery after he seized control of the Kuomintang (KMT) in 1927 when he ordered the massacre of thousands of revolutionaries in Shanghai and Canton? And what about Chiang Kai-shek's execution of Mao's wife Yang Kai-hui in Changsha in 1930? How will they make people forget his capitulation to Japanese imperialist invaders and his desperate flight to Taiwan to set up a reactionary, fascist regime under U.S. tutelage?

According to Japanese press reports, a high Chinese official let it be known recently that China would welcome a visit by Chiang Kai-shek's widow (Song Meiling), now living in the U.S., to her sister (Song Qingling), widow of the bourgeois democratic leader Sun Yat-sen and presently vice-chairman of China's National People's Congress. Such a trip by Chiang's widow and a reactionary in her own right would be a blatant move in itself. But a recent article in a pro-revisionist Hong Kong magazine rumors that this may not be just a simple reunion between two sisters; Song Meiling may very well be coming to negotiate the internment of Chiang Kai-shek's remains at the Sun Yat-sen tomb in Nanjing. This rumor is not so far-fetched. The revisionists have already restored the tomb of Lin Sen, a right-winger who was the nominal head of the Nationalist government (the real power residing with Chiang) until his death in 1943. The Chiang clan in China also gathered recently to discuss renovation of the gravesite of Chiang's mother.

Actually, preparations for Song Meiling's trip may have started already with the trip of her good friend, Anna Chennault, to China in January of this year. Chennault, who fled the Chinese revolution 30 years ago along with Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang, is a leading member of the "China Lobby," which has been promoting the interests of the KMT regime, as well as those of U.S. imperialism in Asia generally, since the '50s. Supposedly one of the conditions Song Meiling put up for her trip is that she be given an "impressive reception." This should prove to be no problem—her friend Chennault was wine and dined by the revisionists and photographed standing next to a beaming Deng Xiaoping.

All this is a further exposure of the fact that although the new rulers in China and the KMT may still bite and growl over which gets the better bone from the master, they are both running dogs of U.S. imperialism (at this time anyway) and have much in common. As Chennault said in Peking, voicing the instructions of the U.S. imperialists, "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 positions."

But one big problem for the revisionists as well as the KMT is that the Chinese masses still deeply hate Chiang Kai-shek. Therefore the revisionists must still tread very carefully in reversing the verdict on Chiang. For example



Shanghai workers defy the murderous Chiang Kai-shek regime, demonstrating in the streets during the 1930s.

U.S. war materials intended for Chiang Kai-shek's troops, captured and put to use by the Red Army, during the 1940s.



Song Qingling, who seldom publishes her writings, wrote an article in the January 7 *People's Daily* which mentions in passing some publications during the '30s which "exposed and criticized the capitulation and pessimism spread by the Chiang regime." But at the same time, Taiwan intelligence sources have reported that a forum was held recently by China's Social Sciences Academy to discuss pre-liberation Chinese history. One of the topics taken up for debate was "Reevaluation of a Modern Chinese Historical Personage—Chiang Kai-shek." Some intellectuals have put forward that "credit should be given to Chiang's contributions." This "reevaluation" has the approval of the Chinese leadership as long as it is restricted to the academic and educational circles—for now. After all, anyone who opposed Mao so vehemently can't be all bad!

But no amount of "reevaluation"

can erase what happened to Chiang Kai-shek at the hands of the revolutionary Chinese masses mobilized and led by Mao's line to take hold of the opportunities created by WWII and break their chains. Although a new bourgeoisie has arisen in China to shackle the Chinese people again, Mao's line has not been lost but instead was deepened and held high by his revolutionary comrades, Chiang Ching

and Chang Chun-chiao. With a new imperialist spiral coming to a head many new and favorable opportunities will undoubtedly be presented for the Chinese people to take advantage of to make revolution. Even as they attempt to rewrite the history book on Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese revisionists must surely be having nightmares about following him down the same path toward history's garbage dump. □

L.A.P.D. Knows Its Job

30 Immigrants Deported, Their Kidnappers Walk Free

"Thirty Captive Illegal Aliens Freed by Police" read a recent headline in the *L.A. Times*. The Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), it seems, well-known for its benevolent and freedom-loving nature, had once again come to the aid of the oppressed.

The thirty immigrants, apparently all from Mexico and all undocumented, had been held by "coyotes" (people who smuggle immigrants into the U.S. for profit, typically abusing and terrorizing them in the process). Crowded into a small house in south central Los Angeles, they had all been held there

from five days to two weeks. Some had not eaten in days. They were shot at and sprayed with chemical mace when they attempted to escape. All had been robbed and were apparently being held until relatives in Mexico came up with still more money. Neighbors reported that this kind of thing had been going on for over two years in this very house. But, this time, two of the immigrants managed to escape and called the LAPD.

The LAPD arrived within minutes and "freed" the 30. How? By handcuffing them, sitting them down in the

yard, and holding them there until La Migra arrived and hauled them off to their Los Angeles Detention Center. Migra officials vowed to have them deported within a few days.

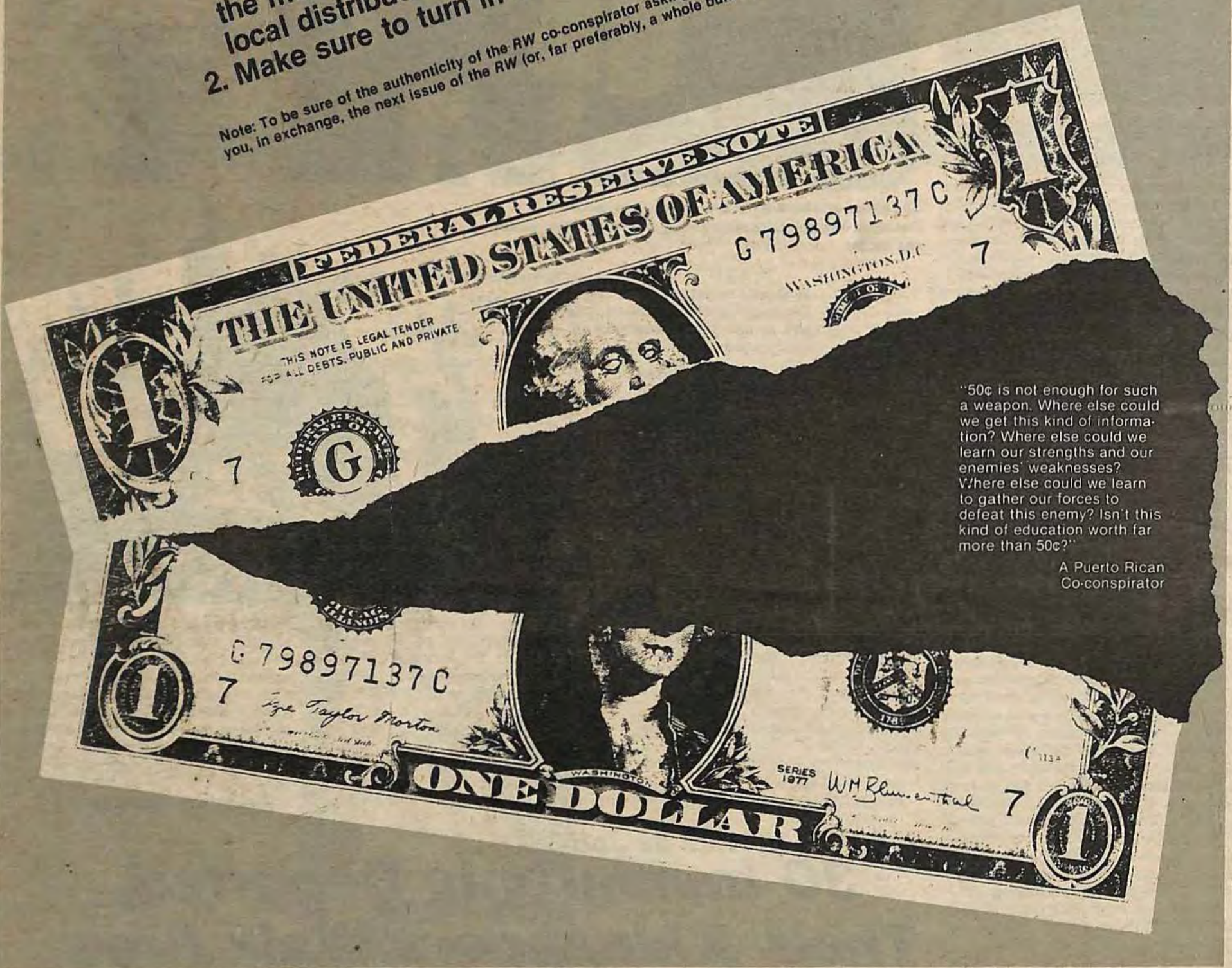
As for the "coyotes," Migra has declined to prosecute them, saying the police are handling it. The LAPD arrested four people for robbery and kidnapping (according to the *Times*), yet a week later the L.A. district attorney's office knew of no such charges. Obviously, the LAPD knows just how to handle such things. □

A Special Call to All Co-Conspirators —Donations & Sales Money—

Money—both sales and donations—is needed every week to publish future issues of the Revolutionary Worker. This is a special and urgent need right now to consolidate the leap to 100,000 sustained weekly sales of the paper. To accomplish this we are making a special call to all RW co-conspirators:

1. Collect donations wherever you are for the Revolutionary Worker and its leap to 100,000 co-conspirators. Turn in the money in person or by other arrangement to your local distributor, center or bookstore.
2. Make sure to turn in all sales money in the same way.

Note: To be sure of the authenticity of the RW co-conspirator asking you for money—be sure that he or she turns over to you, in exchange, the next issue of the RW (or, far preferably, a whole bundle!)



"50c is not enough for such a weapon. Where else could we get this kind of information? Where else could we learn our strengths and our enemies' weaknesses? Where else could we learn to gather our forces to defeat this enemy? Isn't this kind of education worth far more than 50c?"

A Puerto Rican
Co-conspirator

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Reader Recollects More Bourgeois Plots At the Time of Kent State

To the RW:

The article "Kent State, the Movie and the Aftermath" in RW No. 92 brought back some memories which I think will shed further light on some points of exposure in the RW. I was on the East Coast in 1970 at the time of the May First Rally in New Haven, Conn. called by the Panthers around the trial of Bobby Seale and Erica Huggins. This was just three days before the Kent State murders. At the time, Yale University was on strike and completely shut down and I think the main issue of the strike was the trial. There was about 10,000 people at the rally which was a two-day affair. There were some big meetings and workshops held and at one of these big meetings it was decided to put out a call from this rally for a nationwide student strike around the trial in New Haven and the war in Vietnam. At the time, in downtown New Haven, there were thousands of National Guard troops marching around and the whole downtown was boarded

up. It was a very heavy scene.

During the whole buildup for this demonstration on the First, particularly on the East Coast, there was a lot of speculation about whether it was going to be a violent outburst. The Panthers put out the slogan "Free Bobby Seale or the Sky's the Limit." There had been a number of provocative articles in the *N.Y. Times* in the months preceding the demonstration trying to frame up revolutionaries about alleged hijacks of semis and tractor trailers on the highways containing arms destined for U.S. army arsenals. The articles claimed that these hijackings were done by radicals and the weapons were going to be used at these demonstrations and for an assault on the prisons. Then of course, the Kent State murders happened a few days after. The whole thing sort of escalated.

In terms of the question of how the highest levels of the bourgeoisie was viewing things at that time, I had this friend who was working at *Newsweek* magazine at the time. The way the

magazine operated then, the issue closed Sunday and went to the press on Monday, and came out on Tuesday. Usually on Tuesday afternoon the editors would set a tentative cover story for that week. By the time the issue came out, the cover story for the next issue would be decided. This New Haven rally, I think was supposed to be on a Saturday afternoon or Sunday but, in any case, the week before, the rally was slated as the tentative cover story of *Newsweek* and the headline was "Massacre at New Haven." You dig?? Not only that, but he told me that they actually sent out a whole flock of reporters up there, somewhere between 5 and 10 reporters, and they sent someone out to an army surplus store to purchase gas masks to issue to all their reporters. In other words, they knew something was up and they seemed to be pretty ready for some heavy business. You know what I mean? There was no violent confrontation with the National Guard at the New Haven rally, so the cover story was axed. But that

just shows you where they were coming from.

Also, during the weekend that people were in New Haven, as I recall, one night there was a big meeting—a film showing or a big discussion or something—and some guy ran into the middle of this big meeting and made some real provocative statements about how something was going on outside, sort of like we've got to go out into the streets immediately, you know. And a whole bunch of people were taken in by this and ran out into the streets and the beginnings of a heavy thing started. But the Panther leadership began telling everybody this is bullshit, saying we're not calling on people to come out in the streets and they were able to cool things off quickly. Later it was pretty clear to people that there were provocateurs. I mean, who was that guy? Interesting, no?

From a co-conspirator

This article was sent to the Revolutionary Worker by members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (Anti-Imperialist):

We recently read an article in *Army* magazine by General Donn A. Starry, Commanding General, Training and Doctrine Command. This article reflects the dream the imperialist generals have had for years. The dream of leading "ignorant, unquestioning, mindless robots" into battle. Troops who are unthinking, but trained and disciplined... troops that will be willing to fight and die and most importantly, troops who won't think about the bigger things facing them and the world.

General Starry responded to the worried cries on the part of politicians and the finance capitalists that run America, who feel there are serious problems with the armed forces. They are very fearful of the fact that those who make up the military won't fight in time of crises, either competently... or possibly at all. They mask their concern under the cover of discussing the problem of educational levels—the fact that most GIs don't have much formal education, but what they are really concerned about is the social make-up of the armed forces—the fact that most GIs are Black, Chicano, foreign born or working class whites—this is the real reason these critics are challenging the readiness of the army. They see the tremendous social unrest and outbursts we are entering into.

To all this General Starry, in typical puffed-up imperialist arrogance, proclaims: No need to worry, there is a solution to the problem—and that solution is military training and military discipline. As the armed forces prepare for WW3, dragging out models from WW2 is an important device for them. Starry points to that war to ease his colleagues' minds: "On balance, soldiers of today are not radically different from the 12 million or so drafted to serve in WW2... They were a random mixture, that in the combat unit of the army leaned heavily towards the unsophisticated... They were seized by all the problems of mechanization and they adapted and succeeded. They did so for one reason and by one means—training, training, and more training... Should we find it necessary to mobilize (what a joke—"should we find it necessary")—what the hell is bringing back the draft all about—VVAW, A.I.) in the future we will again be confronted with large numbers of men and women... it is therefore more than appropriate that we perfect now, the type of training needed to turn them into effective soldiers." In other words the military is going to have to tighten up now, with increased training and discipline.

Starry so believes in training and discipline as the problem solver, that his vision of youth going over from what they are today to mindless robots is unbelievable. In his words, "Today's

General Starry-eyed's Vision of a Loyal and Mindless Army

young talk for hours on citizen band radios with perfect confidence, using an unknown and often untranslatable language. Nuclear energy and solar power pros and cons are discussed rationally and intelligently by fifth graders. Yet they are not geniuses." His praise of these qualities in youth are later revealed in yet another slanderous statement toward GIs. "True, electronic black boxes are complex, but if the soldier has only to press a button to make them work they are not complex, they are sophisticated. Today's tank soldier must learn to use a laser range finder. They push a button and read a digital number. They are not being asked to build the laser." In other words, any asshole can push a button. This is what the military is training people to do—push buttons, not think. So long as he/she can push a button, read a number and if told to, push another button, that weapon system is functional and hey, if the system fails in the field, the soldier doesn't need to know how to fix it. It's more efficient to bring in fresh troops and equipment to take their place after they've been blown away. Just step up training, gentlemen and things will be fine.

General Starry's vision of keeping the army together and functional relies tremendously on the ability of the military to train people to become mindless and unquestioning. During Vietnam when troops became conscious, began questioning the nature of the war—Was it just or unjust? What the hell are we doing here? Why are we murdering all the men, all the women and all the children?—things broke down. Whole units rose up in rebellion, massively challenging military authority to the point of battling other units sent to quell them—foreshadowing future storms to come. All the military discipline and threats in the world could not stop this once guys began to find out what was happening in the "real world."

Nonetheless Starry feels his plan of training and discipline will be workable. All they need is *more*. Recognizing that the '80s hold tremendous social upheavals both at home and worldwide, Starry still feels it is simply a question of more to save the day for the brass. In an open call to the field commanders to tighten up, Starry says: "It is becoming more and more obvious that we will need more discipline, not less. It is also certain that in modern battle, soldiers must display yet a higher order of discipline."

In their attempt to have complete

control over the troops, the military attempts to keep the troops ignorant as to what's going on. It promotes a narrow view of things. Again Starry hopes to educate the chain of command going down: "Soldiers make few commitments—their world is small. If we train them properly their first commitment is to their buddies, then to their crew, then perhaps to the platoon or company. Soldier commitment to larger units or to the nation is always much less than to Company B, or to the 'Bandit Battalion.' There is nothing wrong with that, in good armies it has always been thus."

But world events are bursting through this plan already. The Iranian revolution and continuing upsurge of the Iranian people against the imperialists; the rebellion of Black people in Miami, then Chattanooga, then Philly—the whole barrage in TV and movies to whip up public opinion for

war will and has already begun to raise questions with the troops. The intense degrading methods of training and indoctrination, which, as Starry himself has indicated, must be stepped up even more brutally to prepare the troops for WW3 (along with all the chickenshit harassment to serve the same purpose) will itself throw more troops into political debate and rebellious defiance, as events in the world accelerate.

The dreams of a stable, mindless robot army on the part of General Starry is truly nothing but a pipe-dream. Try as they may, they will not be able to keep GIs isolated from the events of the world, and the events right there in the ranks. And even as they rush closer and closer to the outbreak of war, these sinister generals will be forced themselves to raise political questions with the troops; they will be forced to drag the troops into political life. But when the troops learn the one thing that General Starry and company will not and cannot teach them—who their real enemy is and how and where to use those weapons to do what really has to be done—make revolution, which is what the proletariat will teach them, then the General's training program may be of some use.

So, dear General, stick that in your pipe-dream and smoke it. □



SUMMING UP THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

by Bob Avakian

"...in the final analysis, the reason for the destruction of the Black Panther Party as a revolutionary organization did not lie outside of it but inside of it. It lay not in the policies and vicious acts of repression that the government carried out—murder, harassment, jailing, hounding people out of the country—not in all that, though that played a crucial role, a vicious, crippling role—but fundamentally in the ideology and philosophy of the Black Panther Party, which ultimately determined how they responded to not only that repression, but how they responded to events in society as a whole." (from the pamphlet)

(Excerpts from a speech given in Cleveland, 1979, as part of a nationwide speaking tour.)

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If the proletariat doesn't eat up the bourgeoisie

Continued from page 11

assumes its most concentrated political expression as the struggle between the Marxist-Leninist line of taking class struggle as the key link and the revisionist line of "the dying out of class struggle."

This law of synthesis applies in all contradictions, both antagonistic and non-antagonistic. In either case the new, rising aspect eventually "eats up" the old, decadent aspect. Only the means of "eating up" is different. The proletariat "eats up" the bourgeoisie by waging class struggle against it, wresting political power from it, exercising dictatorship over it and continuing the class struggle against it under the conditions of this proletarian dictatorship. This is an antagonistic contradiction and is resolved by antagonistic means. On the other hand, with regard to the contradiction between right and wrong among the people, this is resolved by non-antagonistic means, through ideological struggle. But in this process right still "eats up" wrong. And so it is as well with other non-antagonistic contradictions. Synthesis through struggle is a universal law, flowing from the fundamental law of the unity of opposites.

Without this correct view of synthesis "one divides into two" turns into eclectics—into the recognition of the contradictory aspects but an attempt to reconcile them, to reconcile two mutually exclusive things. In other words it turns into "two into one." In popular terms in this country this is expressed as "there are two sides to every story"—meaning you can't tell right from wrong, good from bad, etc.

Mao spoke to this in his "Reading Notes" on the Soviet political economy text. He said that to talk of contradictions that are "not irreconcilable," even under socialism, "does not agree with the laws of dialectics, which hold that all contradictions are irreconcilable. Where has there ever been a reconcilable contradiction? Some are antagonistic, some are non-antagonistic, but it must not be thought that there are irreconcilable and reconcilable contradictions."

Mao spoke to this question of synthesis and its political implications in a major talk on philosophy in 1964. "What is synthesis?" he asked. And he answered:

"You have all witnessed how the two opposites, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, were synthesized on the mainland. The synthesis took place like this: their armies came, and we devoured them, we ate them bite by bite. It was not a case of two combining into one as expounded by Yang Hsien-chen, it was not the synthesis of two peacefully coexisting opposites... Having analysed, how do we synthesize? If you want to go somewhere, you go right ahead; we still swallow your army mouthful by mouthful... This was synthesis... One thing eating another, big fish eating little fish, this is synthesis. It has never been put like this in books. I have never put it this way in my books either. For his part, Yang Hsien-chen believes that two combine into one and that synthesis is the indissoluble tie between two opposites. What indissoluble ties are there in this world? Things may be tied, but in the end they must be severed. There is nothing which cannot be severed."

As applied to the class struggle, such is the case with regard to the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; if, through struggle, the proletariat does not synthesize the bourgeoisie, if the two are not severed through the resolution of the contradiction between them—resulting, through the victory of the proletariat, in the elimination of both as classes and the emergence of classless society—then how can there ever be any communism?

Unity of Opposites is Basic

In this same talk on philosophy, Mao

expresses a further development of Marxist dialectics. He says that "Engels talked about three categories, but as for me I don't believe in two of these categories." Here Mao was referring to the transformation of quantity and quality into each other and the negation of the negation, which, along with the unity of opposites, Engels speaks of as the three basic laws of dialectics (see for example *Anti-Duhring*, "Part I. Philosophy"). As to quantity and quality, Mao says that "The transformation of quality and quantity into one another is the unity of the opposites quality and quantity." And, Mao argues, "the negation of the negation does not exist at all." In sum, he says:

"The juxtaposition, on the same level, of the transformation of quality and quantity into one another, the negation of the negation, and the law of unity of opposites is 'triplism,' not monism. The most basic thing is the unity of opposites."

In other words, to say that these three things are all, equally, basic laws of dialectics is in essence a violation of the law that there must be a principal contradiction. One of these must be basic, and it is the unity of opposites. As Mao explains, the transformation of quantity into quality, and of quality into quantity, is itself a result of the contradiction between quantity and quality and cannot be placed on a par with the law of contradiction.

But why does Mao insist that "There is no such thing as the negation of the negation"? His explanation is as follows:

"Affirmation, negation, affirmation, negation... in the development of things, every link in the chain of events is both affirmation and negation. Slaveholding society negated primitive society, but with reference to feudal society it constituted, in turn, the affirmation. Feudal society constituted the negation in relation to slaveholding society but was in turn the affirmation with reference to capitalist society. Capitalist society was the negation in relation to feudal society, but it is, in turn, the affirmation in relation to socialist society."

Here it may seem that Mao is not so much denying the negation of the negation as making a dialectical application of it. But what he is applying is the law of one divides into two, and what he is getting at is that in the process he describes—the development of human society so far, through stages, from primitive communal society to socialism—the negation of the negation cannot be said to be a law. How, for example, does feudalism represent a negation of the negation with regard to primitive society? Or capitalism with regard to slavery? Or socialism with regard to feudalism?

It is true that in the development of society things can be found which could be described as the negation of the negation. An example is that which Marx uses in *Capital*, Volume 1, and Engels defends against Duhring: individual private property in the means of production is negated by capitalist ownership of the means of production, which is in turn negated by socialized ownership; this gives private property to the individual but in the means of consumption only and on the basis of socialized ownership of production, in conformity with socialized production. Or another example pointed to by Engels can be described as the negation of the negation: the negation of common ownership in primitive society by the emergence of class society and in turn the negation of class society by classless society, leading again to common ownership, but on the basis of a tremendous accumulation of productive forces during the period of class societies between primitive communal and communist society. Other examples may be found in nature and society and

in thought.

But again, can these be said to demonstrate that the negation of the negation is a law of dialectics, applicable to all processes in nature, society and thought? No. In a certain process or a certain stage of a process, the resolution of a contradiction might be described as the negation of the negation, but even here this is not the law underlying and defining the process. The law operating is the unity of opposites, leading ceaselessly to the emergence and resolution of new contradictions. This is what Mao means when he says the negation of the negation does not exist.

Take the example of life and death. All particular things come into existence and go out of existence, all living things become living and later cease to live. But how is their going out of existence, or ceasing to live, a negation of the original negation that brought them into existence, or to life? The negation of the negation may describe what happens to certain things through their life cycle, as for example the barley grain Engels cites in *Anti-Duhring* (which becomes a plant, which in turn gives birth to many grains). But Engels acknowledges even in this case that the grain is transformed into a plant only under certain conditions, and that the first negation must be constructed so that the second is possible. All this is not a demonstration of the negation of the negation as a law of dialectics but in fact of the unity of opposites, the basic law of materialist dialectics.

Grain-plant-grain(s) is the unity of opposites of grain and plant. Engels says that, of course, if you grind the grain down it won't become a plant. But a ground-down grain also demonstrates the law of contradiction: there is the unity and struggle of opposites, the grain and the force grinding it down; and there is the resolution, the ground-down grain. Here there is no negation of negation, but there is the law of contradiction.

Beyond what has been cited before, Mao objects to the negation of the negation as a law of dialectics because it leads to, or is part of, an incorrect view of synthesis. In this view, synthesis is not the "eating up" of one aspect by another through struggle, leading to a new contradiction in which even the principal aspect of the old has been changed; instead synthesis becomes something which resurrects elements of the thing first negated (but on a different and qualitatively higher level) and tends to be viewed as an end product of development—or at most the starting point of the same process once again (though on a higher level). And if the negation of the negation is made a law of development, for example the development of society from primitive communalism to communism, then what would be focused on as the motive force in advancing to communism would not be the basic internal contradiction of capitalism (and socialism) between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie (nor the basic contradictions internal to previous systems), but the process: thesis—primitive communalism; antithesis—class society; synthesis—communism. Again, this is not a correct view of the process and motive force of development of society to communism, nor of synthesis.

Immediately after citing the develop-

ment of society as an example of why the negation of the negation is not a law of dialectics, Mao returns to the question: "What is the method of synthesis?"¹⁰ And he answers: "In a word, one devours another, one overthrows another, one class is eliminated, another class rises, one society is eliminated, another society rises."¹¹ This is the law of contradiction, the basic law of materialist dialectics, and this is the real nature and role of synthesis, in moving things constantly from one process to another, from the lower to the higher level in an endless spiral.

Finally on this matter of the negation of the negation, if this is made a law of dialectics, it will actually tend to promote metaphysics. Of course it should be clearly said that Engels promoted dialectics as opposed to metaphysics and certainly overall he promoted a dialectical, not a metaphysical, view of historical development; but Marxist dialectics have been further developed since Engels' time—especially by Mao. Specifically in regard to the development of society, the concept of negation of the negation will tend to present a "closed system" of development leading to communism and promote a static, "absolutist" view of communism itself as the end product of the negation of the negation and the kingdom of "great harmony." As opposed to this, Mao declares in his 1964 talk on philosophy: "Communism will last for thousands and thousands of years. I don't believe that there will be no qualitative changes under communism, that it will not be divided into stages by qualitative changes! I don't believe it!... This is unthinkable in the light of dialectics."¹²

The importance of this, particularly at that time in China, was more directly in relation to socialism than communism; for some communists were making an absolute, static thing out of socialism, regarding it in effect as the end product of the development of society, the final negation of previous society. On this Mao comments: "Socialism, too, will be eliminated, it wouldn't do if it were not eliminated, for then there would be no communism."¹³

Footnotes

1. "The Theory of 'Combine Two Into One' Is a Reactionary Philosophy for Restoring Capitalism," *Three Major Struggles*, p. 40.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.
5. Mao Tsetung, "Reading Notes" *A Critique of Soviet Economics*, p. 71.
6. Mao Tsetung, "Talk on Questions of Philosophy," in Schram, pp. 224-225.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 226.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-227.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*



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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.

On the Question of Internationalism

Overall the new Draft is real inspiring around bringing a picture of the whole world being transformed through "earth-shaking storms and unprecedented struggles," and the role we must play in the U.S. in contributing to the achievement of international communism. This is not just an advance in relation to the old programme's weaknesses, but much more when viewed at what the errors and nationalist lines that historically have been run out in the international communist movement in the last 40 years. The programme is a dagger in the heart of that patriotic crap that has for too long been run out under the guise of "Marxism." And with the whole world's proletariat and oppressed facing a critical situation, which presents the real opportunities to liberate sections of the world for the world revolution, including the very real possibility of revolution here in the U.S., the overall line in the Draft around the international proletariat is very important in terms of arming both the proletariat and oppressed in the U.S., and also as part of the line struggle internationally around this, because whether or not revolution is made, and whether or not successful revolutions continue to advance as part of the worldwide struggle for communism, depends a lot on combatting the influence of national chauvinism and patriotism both among the masses and among the communist movement. It is in this context that I have some criticisms to make around some particular points that come out in the Draft that I think run counter to the overall. Some are just weak, mainly in terms of being open to being interpreted another way, and others are just plain wrong.

Page 4—"... a war started by the imperialists *must be transformed into a revolutionary war of the people* in all countries to overthrow and shatter the grip of imperialism and reaction..." (Emphasis added) While this is true, it breaks down differently according to what the nature of the country is, in an imperialist country, a civil war against their own bourgeoisie, in an oppressed nation, a national liberation war against the imperialists. Because there is a difference, and because this difference was covered up by revisionists to hide their own capitulation, (whether it was the French CP's fight for the "French Nation," or the present day lap-dogs of Deng in Europe who only have eyes for fighting Soviet Social-Imperialism), it should be made clearer that the content of a revolutionary war for those living in an imperialist country is a civil war against their own bourgeoisie.

Page 8..."... Within the working class two camps, representing two roads, will be increasingly shaping up and facing off: those, a privileged aristocratic minority, who cling to the bribes imperialism affords them and fight to keep U.S. imperialism supreme in order to ensure the bloodsoaked spoils; and those, representing the great majority, who *lead the masses in fighting for their real interests*—to forge a revolutionary way forward out of this outmoded and barbarous system." (Emphasis added) I think that this part should make it sharper that the real interest of the masses is linked with the interest of the masses of people worldwide, otherwise revolution becomes something only to benefit the people who are making it.

Page 20..."... On a world scale, the proletariat in the U.S. has as its *closest allies the workers of all countries* and the revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples and nations—and it is of decisive importance for the proletariat, especially in an imperialist country, to firmly unite and fight side by side with these allies..." (Emphasis added)

Page 102-3..."(the RCP) "... must lead the masses of people in the U.S. to firmly unite with the working class and oppressed peoples and nations of the world in the common struggle against imperialism and reaction, especially where the spearhead of that struggle is directed against U.S. imperialism. Because the working class in the United States is but *one division in the army of the international proletariat*..." (Emphasis added)

Especially when comparing the second quote to the first, the first one's got some problems. I think that calling the rest of the international proletariat the

closest allies of the proletariat in the U.S. is putting it through the "eyes" of the U.S. and not from the view of the international class, which in reality corresponds more to what objectively exists, the working class in the U.S. as a detachment of the international proletariat, not the international proletariat being a collection of alliances of working classes from each country.

Also, why is it of decisive importance? This should be made clear, because it is open to interpretation with the answer that "otherwise the U.S. working class can't make revolution" and not as it is correctly put later on page 103, that "... because the historic mission of communism can only be achieved through the united and mutually supportive struggle of the workers of all countries."

Page 57..."... And wherever capitalism rules and maintains backwardness, it stands as a great barrier to the peoples of all countries in developing the rational use of the world's resources and productive forces..." I think that this tends to portray revolution as leading to a more efficient world, "capitalism don't work, socialism will," and that it is put a lot sharper on page 101..."... (revolution in the U.S. being a step)... toward the emancipation of mankind itself from the fetters of capitalism and every form and manifestation of class division in society..."

Page 99..."... Thus the continuing class struggle within the socialist country and the international class struggle interconnect with and influence each other, and the *proletariat in power* can only defeat attempts at capitalist restoration and continue advancing toward the goal of communism by continuing the revolution within the socialist country and actively supporting and assisting it worldwide, while resisting and defeating the attempts to strangle and crush it from outside." (Emphasis added) I think that this has the tendency to base the support for revolution worldwide on the needs of one section of the proletariat, the one in power, to continue the revolution, and defeat the capitalists' attempts at restoration. This part comes also after mentioning that after seizure of power, the proletarian state will be "surrounded by hostile reactionary states..." Basically I think that this leans to subordinating proletarian internationalism to the needs of a socialist state, something that is not just an abstract question, but has come out both from revolutionaries (Stalin's errors in that direction during WWII) and revisionists (Deng's Three Worlds line having some influence before the scum seized power). The stand of the proletariat in power can not be above or separate from the stand of the whole international proletariat, in power or not, and the role of the socialist state is to advance the international struggle, not the international struggle to advance the socialist state for its own sake (though obviously defending the gains for the international proletariat that a socialist country would represent is an important thing). Also, I think that this thing of capitalist encirclement is one-sidedly brought out, because while it is true that the socialist state will be under the gun of other imperialists, this negates the other aspect, that the class conscious forces in these and other countries will be sources of strength, and that the bourgeois states aren't a monolithic thing, but have gravediggers inside of them, and especially in the context of a world war, with intensification of contradictions, many of these states can be very weak (though this isn't to hinge the point of whether or not the Capitalist encirclement is relatively strong or weak, just that there is the *rising* aspect of the strength of the international proletariat and the struggles of oppressed nations.) In a sense, to make the surrounding a one-sided thing is not far away from seeing the fact that the bourgeoisie in this country has state power as all there is.

Also, I think that in the economic section or some part it should bring out that the proletariat in power in the U.S. will after a revolution abandon control over all its holdings, from oil to copper in the other nations, which isn't brought out, and especially if the economy is going to be transformed, then the aspect of multinational corporations, a big aspect of imperialist economy, should be dealt with.

L.O.

New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (Drafts for Discussion)

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El Salvador

Continued from page 1

the guerrillas both political and military advice in how to use them to overthrow the U.S.-maintained fascist junta in El Salvador, and install a pro-Soviet regime in its place. Undoubtedly much of the particular data they have collected is true, and as we have pointed out many times in these pages, the Soviet imperialists, with the help of Cuban and other revisionist frontmen, are working and maneuvering in a variety of ways to grab El Salvador and all of Central America for themselves, if not immediately, then at a time they consider more favorable in light of their worldwide contention with the U.S. And we might add here that any and all genuinely revolutionary "insurgency" against the imperialists of both stripes throughout the world, is truly fine indeed.

But look who's talking about a "well-coordinated effort to bring about the overthrow of El Salvador's established government and to impose in its place a... regime with no popular support," as the State Dept. report puts it. Perhaps they simply have forgotten who "established" the Salvadoran regime—and has ruled that country through a long succession of puppet dictators—and how the Shah of Iran, Pinochet in Chile, the fascist military in Guatemala and countless other U.S. puppets all over the world came to power and maintained their neo-colonial rule for the U.S. Perhaps they think all the U.S. talk of "armed aggression by outside forces" will help people forget the daily content of their puppets—and their own—class dictatorship from Korea to South Africa to Brazil to every ghetto and barrio in the U.S. Perhaps they think people will forget that there are, in fact, *two* super-powers shoving their noses and their weapons into every corner of the globe to oppress and exploit everyone they can, and who will continue to do so until their long overdue demise is finally achieved. Perhaps there is more than a little *wishful thinking* here on the part of *certain parties*. Gentlemen, please spare us! We are truly getting nauseated by your supposed "shocking revelations" of "internal interference by foreign powers in the affairs of a third world country," and by the charges you make—charges of which *you* are most especially guilty in the first degree.

And nowhere is this more evident and more exposed than in the very particulars that the U.S. has been forced to spew out in this report on El Salvador. How revealing it is, for example, that the Soviet imperialists can manage to carry out, with such ease, what the report calls "the major... effort to 'cover' their involvement by providing arms of western manufacture" to the Salvadoran guerrillas. Why, those weapons were meant to help the U.S. secure its neo-colonial property in Vietnam, Ethiopia, and Nicaragua—all of which, given the U.S.' well-publicized aversion to "outside intervention" must have been considered bona fide territory of the U.S. Now they are being used in another U.S. possession against the U.S.' very own Salvadoran junta. And it seems to be especially disconcerting to them that this is being facilitated by Nicaragua which, according to the report, not only is the final transit point for arms shipments to the Salvadoran guerrillas, but also switched its army's official material from U.S.-made to Soviet-made weapons in order to free the U.S. variety for use in El Salvador. Now where on earth did the Nicaraguan army get all those U.S. weapons? Does the name "Somoza" ring a bell? How about "U.S. policeman for Central America"?

But wait, the indictments against the "interventionists" are only beginning. Before this report came out, we had no way of knowing that the junta's security forces—trained, financed and coordinated by the U.S.—were *not responsible* for the murder of over 10,000 Salvadorans last year. No, this is all an effort to "discredit the Salvadoran government... (by) the Soviet propaganda apparatus," which apparently includes even the Catholic church and

its commission on human rights. Furthermore, the "claim" that virtually all sectors of the population, except the Salvadoran oligarchy and its military, oppose the fascist junta—that too is just "Soviet propaganda," since the opposition has "no popular support." But the junta—now that is a different story since the people of El Salvador supposedly just adore these "social reformers" who have done so much for them.

It is at this point that the report takes a leap from the ridiculous to the absurd. Its description of "The Present Government" is downright *surreal*. For the benefit of those who may have just returned from a two year excursion into outer space, and thus have no idea of what's been going on in El Salvador, we will provide some appropriate quotes from this part of the document, together with brief translations into the language of reality.

● "Aware of the need for change and alarmed by the prospect of Nicaragua-like chaos, progressive Salvadoran military officers and civilians overthrew the authoritarian regime of General Humberto Romero in October of 1979 and ousted nearly 100 conservative senior officers." Translation: Scared shitless by the rising tide of struggle of the Salvadoran masses, and their potential repeat of the fall of long-time U.S. puppets in Iran and Nicaragua, the U.S. organized a cosmetic coup, flying out their exposed and isolated generalissimo—the most recent in a 50 year string of military dictatorships maintained by the U.S.—and replacing him with a military-civilian junta that combined promises of reform with the reality of escalating terror against the masses; more people were murdered in the first three months of this "reformist" junta than in the previous two years.

● "After an initial period of instability, the new government stabilized around a coalition that includes military participants in the October 1979 coup, the Christian Democratic Party and independent civilians." Translation: Caught between the rising struggle of the masses and the escalating U.S. clampdown in El Salvador, the overwhelming majority of the formerly pro-U.S. bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces in the junta abandoned the sinking ship within six months. All that is left is the fascist military and a few non-uniformed politicians who are absolute puppets of the U.S.

● "Since March 1980, this coalition has begun broad social changes: conversion of large estates into peasant cooperatives, distribution of land to tenant farmers and nationalization of foreign trade and banking." Translation: Since March 1980, this coalition

has carried out every counter-insurgency move planned by the United States, without success: a "pacification" program modeled on the one used in Vietnam, a Death to the Tiller land "reform" that mainly involves murdering any peasant who might possibly think he really deserves a plot of land other than a burial plot, financial maneuvers designed to guarantee the profitable coffee and cotton trade for imperialism, etc.

● "The Government... faces armed opposition from the extreme right as well as from the left. Exploiting their traditional ties to the security forces and a tendency of some members of security forces to abuse their authority, some wealthy Salvadorans... have sponsored terrorist activity... A symbiotic relationship has developed between the terrorism practiced by extremists of the left and right." Translation: The government is the "extreme right" and the security forces—and their off-duty officers and soldiers that make up the paramilitary groups—are all coordinated, financed and under the direct and indirect orders of U.S. imperialism. A *parasitic* relationship has long existed between the U.S. and its puppets on the one hand, preying on the Salvadoran masses on the other, and the frenzied bloodsucking of the former has been accompanied by the most brutal, barbaric and widespread torture and murder of the Salvadoran people.

● "The United States has made clear its interests in a complete investigation of... (the murder of 4 American Catholic missionaries) and the punishment of those responsible." Translation: The U.S. knows damn well who killed the missionaries, and sent the FBI in to make sure that links to security forces officers—and ultimately the U.S. itself—would remain covered up. Their murder (and rape) was meant to be a particularly sharp message to the number of Catholic priests and nuns who have opposed the fascist junta.

● "(The junta) has offered amnesty to its opposition." Translation: Lay down your weapons and we'll make sure you never come to trial.

● "The introduction of the reforms—some of which are clearly irreversible—have reduced popular support for those who argue that change can only come about through violence." Translation: The introduction of widespread counter-insurgency techniques has further convinced the masses of Salvadorans that change can only come from a violent overthrow of U.S. imperialist domination. The U.S. desperately wishes *this* were reversible, but realizing the impossibility of this, has been repeatedly forced to escalate its violence against the masses to keep U.S. rule intact.

● "Few Salvadorans participate in anti-government demonstrations." Translation: U.S. puppet forces have opened fire on every demonstration, murdering hundreds, and now it is a capital offense merely to be out of your house between dusk and dawn. Efforts such as these, however, have only intensified the resistance and revolutionary struggle of the Salvadoran people, who in their millions have taken every possible opportunity to fight for the overthrow of the junta and the ouster of the U.S. from their country. Thousands have taken up arms toward this righteous goal.

● "In sum, the Duarte Government is working hard and with some success to deal with the serious political, social and economic problems that most concern the people of El Salvador." Translation: In sum, overthrowing U.S. imperialism and its fascist junta is *the* serious political, social and economic problem that most concerns the people of El Salvador. Neither the master's nor their puppets have had any success, no matter how many they have murdered, in dealing with this "problem."

Other "facts" listed by the U.S. include; the U.S. has "carefully limited" its military activities "because the solution in El Salvador should be of the Salvadorans' own making and non-violent"; and it was only *after* "mounting evidence of communist involvement" that the U.S. felt "compelled" to send "the first provision of lethal items since 1977." Prior to that, only "non-lethal" helicopter gunships, napalm and riot-control equipment was sent—directly, that is. Indirectly, aircraft, weapons and equipment were funneled through Israel and Brazil to El Salvador throughout the period. And then, of course, we also have the U.S. "military advisors"—of whom Salvadoran support groups in the U.S. claim to have documented a total of 200, so far—who are undoubtedly there in an equally "non-lethal" capacity. And let us not forget the "outside training" best represented by the over 300 Salvadoran officers who have learned counter-insurgency techniques—from torture to peasant massacres—in the School of the Americas run by the U.S. in Panama.

Not surprising, all the "good stuff" the authors of this report have invented has been noticeably de-emphasized in the U.S. press, as even the most avid of U.S. doublethinkers cannot hope to maintain even a semblance of credibility with such a total pack of lies. However, what has been publicized to the utmost is the "textbook case of indirect armed aggression by communist powers through Cuba," a statement that has been part of virtually every news story on El Salvador. As more

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El Salvador

Continued from page 20

than one observer, even in the U.S. bourgeoisie, has been forced to admit, this sounds suspiciously like shades of Vietnam. In fact, in the immediate sense, this report is a leaf taken from the Vietnam textbook, and meant to generate desperately needed political support for further U.S. military escalations in El Salvador, a subject which the Pentagon is now "actively studying" and which is sure to include more money, more weapons and more U.S. "advisors." And the fact that it has had to be layered on the masses' eyes and ears so thick is a sign of the severely weakened and exposed position of the U.S., internationally and in this country, particularly in regard to its imperialist domination of El Salvador. But this report and the attendant publicity it has garnered from the oh-so-willing U.S. press is indicative of a great deal more than another Vietnam. It is in fact a "textbook case" of the way the U.S. is presenting and pushing the necessity of rallying around its bloody banner for world war with its Soviet rivals, and this "blame it on Soviet aggression" cry is sure to increase, not only in relation to Central America, but everywhere else in the world as well. In fact, it is the U.S.' feverish preparations for *this* war, and the necessity to tighten up its bloc as a whole and hold on to its neo-colonies like those in Central America as part of that, that is fueling the current U.S. aggression, both military and political, in El Salvador at the present time.

This necessity has driven the U.S. to conduct a frenzied "diplomatic offensive" among its allies and neo-colonies, a number of whom have refused to support the fascist junta, and has led to open speculation among the U.S. bourgeoisie that an invasion of U.S. troops may soon be "necessary" to "stabilize" the situation. Of course, there are real dangers in this for the U.S. and its bloc, and furthermore, some forces that may eventually support such a move are still reluctant to be closely identified with it, especially since there is no guarantee that it would be successful. Both these factors are undoubtedly responsible for the debate that is taking place in the U.S. bourgeoisie at the present time over what should be the precise future course of U.S. activity in El Salvador. Teddy Kennedy has called for a "cease fire" and attempts to "negotiate" a Zimbabwe-like deal and both the *New York Times* and the *L.A. Times*, while praising the Reagan administration's "performance" overall, have "cautioned" against abandoning all efforts at a "political solution" to the crisis. And the West Germans have also gotten into the act, intimating that they might set up a meeting between Guillermo Ungo, the president of the Salvadoran opposition Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) and Jose Napoleon Duarte, the president of the junta, at the beginning

of March; both Ungo and Duarte have close ties to West German imperialist political parties.

While it is possible that more U.S. maneuvering among the opposition may take place, it is highly unlikely that anything approaching a "settlement" of the crisis—even a temporary one—will come out of any of these maneuvers. The leading role of influential pro-Soviet and pro-Cuban forces within the guerrilla coalition, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), who have formed an alliance with significant and more pro-U.S. social-democratic forces such as Ungo under the banner of the FDR, and are pushing for an "historic compromise" type government in El Salvador, has only intensified U.S. fears of the growing influence of its future world war adversary in the U.S.' "own backyard." They are not about to allow this influence to attain any significant proportion of state power in El Salvador if they can help it. And since the other bourgeois forces in the FDR have already tried serving in the junta, and have been unsuccessful at it, there really is nothing much for them to gain by cutting themselves off from the guerrillas and working things out separately with the U.S. Thus, U.S. prospects for splitting the FDR through negotiations are not that bright.

As if to underscore this point, the junta announced the arrest of Col. Adolpho Arnaldo Majano, a former junta member who was ousted last December and who has been living underground in El Salvador ever since. Majano—a U.S. trained officer—never openly hooked up with the FDR, but he has been quite helpful to them by calling on his supporters in the military to join in attempts to overthrow the junta, and a number of these supporters have gone over to join the guerrillas. The junta has announced that it will charge Majano with "disobeying military orders," apparently a reference to the Colonel's refusal to accept an ambassador's post in Spain at the time of his ouster. Given the track record of the junta and the escalating U.S. necessities, it would be no great surprise if Majano's "crime" turned out to be a capital offense.

Still, all this hasn't alleviated the "compromising" tendencies within the opposition, nor that of other similar class forces in the area. The Nicaraguan government, for example, has apparently promised the U.S. privately that it will cut off arms for the Salvadoran guerrillas, even while it continues to publicly deny that it ever sent arms to them. And an FDR spokesman publicly approved of this, telling the Mexico City newspaper, *Excelsior*, "In no way would we accept that our Nicaraguan brothers put their own revolution in danger by aiding ours."

At the same time, the FDR offered up some very weak denials of the Soviet

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BEAT BACK THE DOGMATO-REVISIONIST ATTACK
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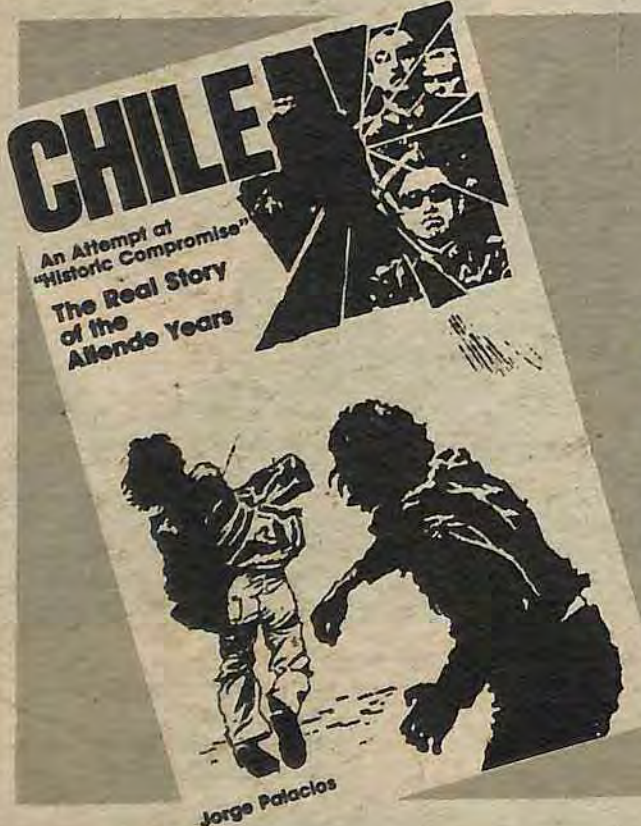
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weapons charges, and once again offered to "negotiate" with the U.S. And, in a *New York Times* article, some guerrilla commanders of the FMLN repeated long-standing complaints of a shortage of weapons, even while they promised another "general offensive" in May at the start of the rainy season. Just how far these forces will go in compromising with the U.S., especially as the U.S. steps up its pressure on the "supporters" of their efforts, remains to be seen.

But even with forces pushing for compromise in the leadership of the opposition, the U.S. still finds itself on shaky ground in El Salvador, with its

junta isolated in the extreme and facing a gigantic economic crisis, as well as being unable to quell the struggle of the Salvadoran people. The U.S. also finds itself and its actions increasingly exposed and opposed throughout the world including among the American people. One sign of this is the notable failure of its "diplomatic offensive" in Mexico. When former deputy director of the CIA, Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters, came to visit Mexican president Lopez Portillo several weeks ago, he had to sneak in unannounced so as to avoid the massive demonstrations that everyone knew would greet him. Still, there were widespread exposures of both Walters and the CIA's role in Mexico spread over the pages of the Mexican press immediately following his visit. And Lopez Portillo, obviously feeling he had to do something to quell the masses' outrage over the fact that he had agreed to even meet with this dog, followed the Walters visit with a public statement that Cuba was the Latin American country "most dear" to Mexico, a rather sharp slap in the face to the U.S. at a time when it is harping on Cuban support for the Salvadoran guerrillas.

It is precisely the very real difficulties that the U.S. is experiencing in Central America that are impelling it to step-up its military involvement, both direct and indirect in the region. Their ability to politically maneuver is diminishing, though not completely exhausted by any means. Their frantic efforts and even intensified infighting among themselves in the past weeks, along with their State Department special report, herald further and even more desperate and vicious war moves toward El Salvador. □



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Phony Coup

Continued from page 7

deal with the uppity bourgeoisie in the Basque country and in Catalonia, where there is a very high level of development in basic industry such as mining, basic metal production, ship building and so on. Almost immediately after ascending the throne, Juan Carlos picked Adolfo Suarez from relative political obscurity, to lead as Prime Minister a "right-center" coalition which won the most seats in the 1977 parliamentary election, but not an absolute majority. For his part, Juan Carlos openly called for Spain's entry into the NATO pact and the admission to the Common Market. While Juan Carlos, the "democratic king" hit the road, visiting 30 countries on "good will" tours, Suarez set about polishing Spain's democratic image at home by granting sham autonomy to Spain's minority nationality areas, such as Catalonia, the Basque region and Galicia. Spain's revisionist Communist Party was even legalized, and its leader, Santiago Carrillo, was installed in the front row of Parliament.

In a pamphlet called, "The Road of Revolution," the Unión de Lucha (M-L), (formerly Grupo para la Defensa del Marxismo-Leninismo), describes the reality of the new parliamentary democracy:

"The might of the army, police and bureaucracy is increasing. With the so-called 'autonomy', they maintain and strengthen national oppression in the Canaries, Catalonia, Euskadi (Basque region) and Galicia. The agrarian problem continues the same and even worse. The economic crisis brings about poverty that increases daily. Conditions for women, youth and intellectuals get constantly worse..."

"The illusions that the 'democracy' awoke among the proletariat and the people have three years later almost completely vanished. Even its most ardent defender, Carrillo, has to recognize the crisis it finds itself in. This is obvious since in these years it has shown in a thousand and one ways its true nature as a dictatorship of the financial oligarchy and of U.S. imperialism, different than the fascist Franco dictatorship only with respect to formal and secondary questions. In reality the working class and people have witnessed how the 'democracy' has not only not resolved any of its fundamental problems, but on the contrary, many of them have even worsened. The constitution of 1978 which has not yet celebrated its second anniversary, and for which the Eurocommunists and Revisionists had high hopes, is now as useless for the masses as the Parliament and lacks popular support.

"And it couldn't be any other way, with a 'democracy' that is so pro-U.S. it's almost a caricature—more militaristic and police-ridden (note: more) than Francoism—with 'autonomy' whose

Corrections

In the article "11 Revolutionaries Face Hanging in Turkey" (RW No. 93, p. 6) the correct name of the revolutionary newspaper from Turkey referred to is *Partizan*. Also, the article said that "They are not being held along with political prisoners from other leftist organizations..." when it should have said, "They are now being held..."

In the article "Judge Upholds MOVE Beatings, Orders Philly Cops Acquitted" in the same issue, the second sentence of the article should read: "The Philly cops' commando team had just assaulted the house in which members of the militant Black organization MOVE lived, carrying out an 'eviction.'"

In "Supplying the Imperialists' Side: Reagan's Economics of Desperation," RW No. 92, 2/13/81, p. 17, the federal deficit was said to be predicted to shoot as high as \$412 billion this year. The figure should be \$41.2 billion. □

purpose is to deny self determination to the oppressed nationalities, with a runaway economic crisis, with the universities and centers of education in complete bankruptcy..."

"The 'democracy' has served the ruling class to destroy (temporarily)—principally through ideological and political means—the potentially revolutionary upsurge of the mass movement of the years 1974-77."

Increasingly exposed among the masses and beset by criticism from all sides, including factions within his own ruling party, Suarez reached great heights of unpopularity. Meanwhile, the five-year treaty for U.S. bases in Spain was slated to expire in January 1981. In January, 1980, Suarez was summoned to the White House for talks. Then in July, Jimmy Carter made a personal trip to Spain for further "consultations" with Suarez and Juan Carlos. Immediately after the Carter visit to Madrid, Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo, Minister of Commerce and a former industrialist, who according to the *New York Times* comes from one of Spain's leading families (in other words, his uncle was a leading fascist), was nominated to the post of Deputy Prime Minister and began preparing to replace the worn-out face of Mr. Suarez. On January 29, 1981, Mr. Suarez rather suddenly resigned from his post as Prime Minister and the very next day the executive committee of the ruling party of the Union of the Democratic Center nominated Calvo Sotelo for Prime Minister, and Juan Carlos immediately began calling in dissident Parliament members to lobby for his election. It is interesting to note that a number of military leaders in the ruling party walked out of the meeting, protesting the rush nomination of Sotelo, and expressing concern that Sotelo, who has remained somewhat aloof from inner party squabbles, would leave them out of things in the new government.

In retrospect, some of Suarez' remarks on his resignation, are quite double edged. Admitting that his time had come he said that the building of "a new model of the state, has been at the expense of my political forcefulness. I think it has been worth it. But I do not wish to see this democratic coexistence become, once again, a parenthesis in the history of Spain." In light of recent events, coup plots and so on, this statement definitely carries a message to Spain's squabbling bourgeoisie to get their act together, and get behind Sotelo. Sotelo, who the *New York Times* described as being more able "to seek the support of the right-wing Democratic Coalition and, possibly, Basque and Catalan region groups" due to his background and influence among the Spanish bourgeoisie, set about wooing the various bourgeois factions.

In the ensuing parliamentary debate, after his nomination, Sotelo got right to the issue at hand—Spain's entry into NATO. While Suarez had attached conditions to the NATO entry such as that England return Gibraltar to Spain (a condition clearly unacceptable to the U.S. and Britain), Calvo Sotelo proposed no conditions and pledged to "choose the moment" to bring Spain into NATO. In short, the feverish preparations of the superpowers for world war dominated the debate in the Spanish Parliament and set the stage for the drama that was about to unfold.

Meanwhile Spain's "democracy" was at work. Jose Ignacio Arregui Izaguirre, a Basque rebel, was captured in a gun battle on February 4, accused of several assassinations, and tortured for ten days by the police in a Madrid prison until he died on February 13. Immediately a general strike was called by the Basque Nationalist Party and the following day, thousands and thousands demonstrated in the streets in the Basque region, throwing stones and firebombs at government buildings. Significantly the demonstrations spread throughout the Basque region and into the Navarre region to Pamplona where demonstrators set up barricades in the streets and fought police. In an attempt to cool out the anger of the masses, five police implicated in the murder of Arregui were detained, and this was immediately followed by the resignation of several high police officials in solidarity with

their fellow torturers, as a warning to those calling for pursuing the investigation, that "democracy" was not meant to be investigated, merely enforced.

Scandal threatened to rock the election of Sotelo, as fissures began to appear in the ruling party, with those trying to cover up the murder being attacked by those trying to expose it in order to save face with the masses, and vice versa. The *New York Times*, expressing the chagrin of U.S. imperialism over this untimely exposure for their trump card Sotelo, lamented the killing of Arregui, not because he was tortured but only because it was exposed. They lamented that this could generate new support for the radical Basque nationalist, E.T.A., and that the exposure threatened to throw a kink in the works for Sotelo's election.

On Friday, February 20, the *Cortes*, the Spanish Parliament, voted on Calvo Sotelo's nomination, but to the chagrin of the U.S., he fell 7 votes short of the required majority needed in the 350

member lower-house of the *Cortes*. The loyal opposition Social Democrats and revisionist Communist Party voted "no" as expected, but the delegates from the Basque region and Catalonia abstained from voting, still stung by massive public outrage in their regions. Sotelo announced with confidence that he would try again on Monday, February 23.

As we know, the *Cortes* was tied up on Monday, participating in imperialist theatrics, which while they appeared somewhat ridiculous, were a deadly serious performance—not by Colonel Tejero, who will undoubtedly be rewarded in obscurity for his role, but by the imperialist bourgeoisie and their U.S. backers who emerged with a Prime Minister and a large display of public opinion for the battered and badly exposed facade of bourgeois democracy in Spain. In this desperate performance, which once again reveals to what lengths the imperialists will go, the last words in the last act of this show were really: Nothing new. □

The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung

by Bob Avakian

Text of the speech given by Bob Avakian at the historic Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings which were held in New York City and in the San Francisco Bay Area in September, 1978. These programs were held on the second anniversary of the death of Mao Tsetung at which time the RCP made public for the first time its analysis of the reactionary October 1976 coup in China. *The Loss In China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung* gives a blow-by-blow account of the class struggle in China leading up to the coup and analyzes why the reactionaries were able to gain the upper hand after Mao's death. It also goes into the effects of the coup on the international situation, and its implications and lessons for the revolutionary movement worldwide. 1978. 151p.



\$2.00 plus 50c postage. 151p. Available from:

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Miami

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in Washington...”, etc., etc.

Aside from the fact that the quoted claims of these various police officials are blatantly ridiculous, the obvious intent of all this is to backhandedly encourage the idea that Jordan may have been hooked up with the Party. The apparent concern for whether or not the RCP is being investigated stems from the police claim that Jordan's motive for the murders may have been an investigation that Reno's office was conducting of the defense committee. "He thinks all his family had become cops," a police spokesman is quoted as saying in the first article. (This despite the fact that in the same article police investigators are also quoted as saying that Jordan was angered that he was not invited to a family gathering.) One thing that is known is that Jordan's girlfriend approached one of the members of the defense committee a few days before the shootings saying she was working with a police task force investigating the

Lightsey/Capers case and requesting the names and addresses of committee members.

Whatever the case, whether Jordan was set-off by a police investigation or a family quarrel, or whether he was in fact working in league with the cops himself, there is a widespread feeling among the masses in Liberty City that in one way or another he is being used by the authorities to spread lies and slander about the defense committee and the RCP and to disrupt the distribution of the *RW*. When the reporter who wrote the companion article (which conveniently lists the names of several people as RCP members for the benefit of any local reactionaries) was confronted by the *RW*, she stated that she had been "used" and "pressured" to write it, revealing that she had been called out of bed early in the morning on the day of the murders and told to knock it out fast (by persons as yet unidentified). One thing that would be interesting to find out is whether she was roused out of bed before or after Jordan's arrest at roughly 6:00 a.m.

At this point not much is known about Jordan except that he lives in Liberty City and that he latched onto

the defense committee at one of its early demonstrations and attended a couple of its meetings during which time he never mentioned anything about a "People's Revolutionary Party." What he did do, however, was repeatedly demand to be the leader of the committee as well as attempting to gain access to the committee's money. According to press reports Jordan has a record of 19 arrests by Miami police (although it is not reported what for). It has also been reported that in 1979 his mother unsuccessfully attempted to get a court order to commit him to a mental institution.

Beyond this, there are any number of unexplained and suspicious circumstances surrounding the events of the night of the murders. One question as yet unanswered is how Jordan—within a relatively confined area—managed to elude 75 Metro officers, homicide and robbery detectives, a SWAT team, several K-9 units and a police helicopter equipped with a high power searchlight as they allegedly conducted an all night search while the killing spree was in progress. And how, for example, did Jordan manage to shoot into his girlfriend's house two different times while the cops, by their own account, had the

place thoroughly staked out as they searched for him? Also unexplained is why the cops rounded up roughly 30 of Jordan's family members after their names and addresses were supplied by the girlfriend, and took them to the police station for "protection," why Jordan surrendered so easily when "found" and why the shotgun used to commit the murders was purchased only the day before and strangely never recovered by police.

One thing that does not need much explaining, however, is that this whole affair smells of a set-up to discredit and attack the defense committee and the RCP. Not coincidentally, all this comes just one week before the scheduled trial of two *RW* co-conspirators for selling the paper in Liberty City. But these blatant efforts on the part of the bourgeoisie to slander the defense committee and the RCP and isolate them from the masses are already the subject of growing outrage in the community as many people see this as an attempt to crush anyone who would dare step out and challenge the authorities. It is only fueling people's anger and their determination to take on and expose the slimy hand behind these vicious attacks. □

Poland

Continued from page 4

Modzelewski (who is also a leading member of the dissident and pro-Western group KOR)—a noteworthy development considering the fact that Modzelewski served six years in prison for criticizing the Gomulka and Gierek regimes and had recently come under fire from the Polish army newspaper, as well as the party organ *Trybuna Ludu* for taking "extreme positions on labor matters." In the interview, Modzelewski declared that the possibility existed for "a truce not for three months, but for good. I think the new government, its personnel changes and principles create a real opportunity to turn back the dangerous course of events particularly visible during the last weeks."

Meanwhile, as Polish Party leader Stanislaw Kania shuttled to meet with Czech Party chief Gustav Husak in Prague, and his East German counterpart Erich Honecker—apparently to convince these two eastern bloc governments that have been most critical of events in Poland that everything was under control in preparation for the Soviet Party Congress—there were joint maneuvers by both the government and Solidarity backers to clean up pockets of continuing protest among the students and farmers. Lech Walesa scurried to the southeastern town of Rzeszow to persuade peasants to end their weeks long occupation of government offices, drop their demand for recognition of an independent farmers' union and accept for now the government's version of a farmers' "association" without collective bargaining rights and whose leaders would be subject to governmental approval. Walesa also made it clear to 10,000 students sitting in at Lodz University that he expected them to end their four-week protest and that Solidarity would not support their actions. He was overheard telling student representatives: "You've got to give this new government a chance; they're our last salvation."

The government, however, had considerable trouble quelling the student protests—which by this time had spread to the Universities of Warsaw and Poznan as well as Jagiellonian University in Cracow and 16 other campuses—and was forced to make some further concessions in order to avert a nationwide students' strike which threatened to pose a considerable embarrassment to the Jaruzelski regime's "honeymoon." In Lodz, after a stormy series of negotiations in which Polish Education Minister Janusz Gorski walked out and took the unusual step of appearing on national TV with a plea for students to drop their strike threat, the government finally agreed to the formation of an independent student union and to a

reduction in compulsory classes in "Marxism" as well as a number of other concessions, including the barring of police from campuses, 30% student representation on school administrative bodies and easing of foreign travel restrictions. But while significant, nevertheless these, like many of the other concessions made by the government during the recent upheavals, were on questions considered "flexible" by the Polish rulers as opposed to hard, non-negotiable issues—particularly the basic issue that the Polish people will be expected to continue to recognize the party's authority, however much it may be dwindling. The Polish government had undoubtedly expected that sooner or later demands for an independent student union would inevitably have to be met. And as for agreeing to make Marxism courses non-compulsory, this is not too much of a problem for these revisionists since they have never been interested in educating the Polish masses in anything resembling *real* Marxism anyway—although certainly it is not helpful to maintaining their "Marxist" cover. Such required courses have already been eliminated by the revisionist rulers of other eastern bloc countries like Rumania and Hungary in response to similar protests there.

But while the protests have apparently died down for the moment, the contradictions that have propelled diverse sections of the Polish people into struggle remain and are daily intensifying. For one thing, the Polish economy is in a severe crisis and it will be quite a herculean task for the latest regime to "sort out its fundamental problems," let alone the political problems that this crisis has in part given rise to. While the principal cause of Poland's economic condition is to be found in the country's relationship with the Soviet imperialist network, and the economic crisis in the Soviet bloc as a whole, it is also the case that the U.S. and its western allies have sunk their financial claws deeply into Poland over the last decade and contributed more than a little to the resultant chaos.

In the early '70s when the Gierek regime consciously funneled in billions of dollars from the West to jack up the sagging Polish economy, it was done with the complete approval of the Soviets in line with their policy of luring huge amounts of capital from their western imperialist rivals into the Soviet bloc in order to strengthen its industrial and technical base. For their part, the U.S. and its allies were happy to accommodate, especially in hopes of utilizing these financial tentacles to drive wedges into the Soviet bloc. By the mid-'70s, this temporary boost turned into its opposite as the Polish economy began to stagnate due to, among other factors, the overinvestment and concentration on heavy industry and the neglect of agriculture (typical of capitalist

development), combined with the world recession that reduced demand for goods manufactured in Poland. (All this incidentally casts in a rather ludicrous light the recent spate of TV specials in the U.S. media focusing on Poland's economic "plight" and portraying the long lines, empty supermarket shelves, etc. as caused by the "socialist system"—since aside from the fact that it is *not* a socialist country, in large part Poland's "shortages" are a result of rechanneling domestically produced consumer goods for export in a desperate attempt to service payments to the western imperialists on debts that now total some 23 billion dollars!)

The Soviets' strategy is to ultimately cancel Poland's debt to the West (as well as that of the other countries within its orbit, including the Soviet Union itself) by going to war with the West. Within the U.S. alliance—which is also increasingly consciously acting on its own necessity to go to war—something of an argument has appeared in recent weeks as regards the best method to pursue western interests in Poland. The question is certainly the topic of high level State Department and National Security Council discussion in the U.S. Should further "economic aid"—largely to repay previous loans—be extended to Poland from the West? Some experts argue for such a course. Writing in the recent year end issue of the prestigious U.S. policy journal *Foreign Affairs*, Sewerlyn Bialer says:

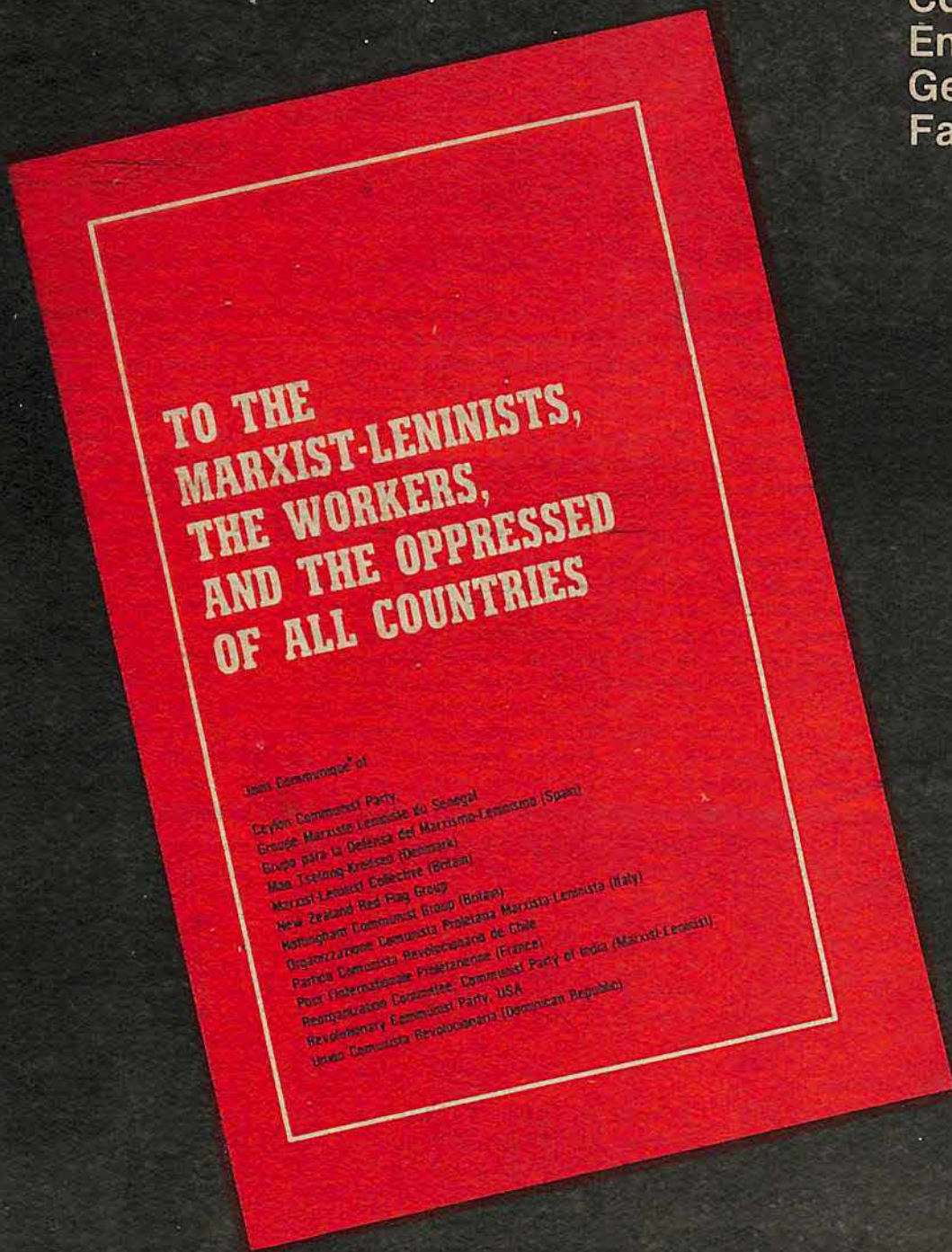
"In my opinion, the proper policy for the United States is to act through a consortium formed with the West European states and especially the Federal Republic of Germany. This consortium would extend to Poland a graduated line of credit and aid in the amount of several billion dollars over the next four to five years, tied to a policy of serious economic reform by the Polish government. There should be a tacit understanding between the Poles and the consortium that particular installments of credit and aid would be forthcoming only to the extent that the Polish government proceeds step by step and quite rapidly to restructure its economic policies and system. It is in the best interests of the United States and Western Europe to ensure that the Polish experiment works. The policy proposed here would provide significant incentives to make it work."

On the other hand, there are those who oppose such a course, as reflected in a February 12 editorial in the *New York Times*. Here, William Saffire essentially argues against "aid" to Poland, particularly in the form of U.S. participation in further rescheduling of the Polish debt. Saffire points out that an International Monetary Fund loan to Poland would necessarily be accompanied by "hard-nosed requirements that the Polish economy set its house in order. That means curbing imports, stopping subsidies, raising worker pro-

ductivity and tightening the belt generally. That is exactly what the Soviet government wants, and the Polish Communist Party wants; but such austerity is exactly what the Polish freedom workers of Solidarity do not want." He concludes that, "... unless the Russians are prepared to pay for a Polish bailout in the coin of political freedom (i.e., freedom for the U.S. to strengthen its political influence—*RW*), we should let history take its course. . . . An epochal event may be taking place; if the Suslovs in the Kremlin overreact and order an invasion by Soviet and East German troops, that could bring about a sustained resistance that would profoundly change the communist world. . . . We all see the danger in that, but there is great hope in such courageous resistance. That is a good time for the U.S. to sit tight. . . ."

Saffire is saying that the U.S. may have little or nothing to gain with an infusion of "aid." And more, that since further austerity measures would be demanded of the Polish government, the West would be working at cross political purposes. Instead, the U.S. should encourage the sharpening of contradictions in the Soviet bloc and "let history take its course," including, possibly a Soviet invasion. It's all a very conscious plan which reflects the rapid development towards world war, an admission of U.S. designs on Poland and a practical laying of the framework within which the West could *literally* pry away Poland after or immediately preceding the outbreak of war. Saffire's point would appear more in line with current U.S. policy than Bialer's.

Meanwhile, as the Soviets stepped up their accusations that the U.S. is using Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America "to give instruction signals as to when, where and how to fan up strikes under slogans of the Solidarity organization," and as Brezhnev's keynote address at the Soviets' 26th Party Congress again warned that "the pillars of the socialist state are in jeopardy in Poland," Poland's Party leader Stanislaw Kania sat woodenly beside the other dour-faced revisionist leaders of the Warsaw Pact, rising only to reassure his Soviet mentors that Poland is "a true ally" and "an unbreakable link" in the Soviet imperialists' war bloc. No doubt when he returns to Poland, his ears will be ringing with admonitions from the Soviet rulers to get his revisionist act together or face the music of Soviet tanks in the near future. For as the imperialist experts in Moscow, as well as their counterparts in Washington, weigh their various options on the "Polish question" one thing is clear—that neither of them are in the least convinced that things have settled down in this country that figures prominently in their respective strategic plans. □

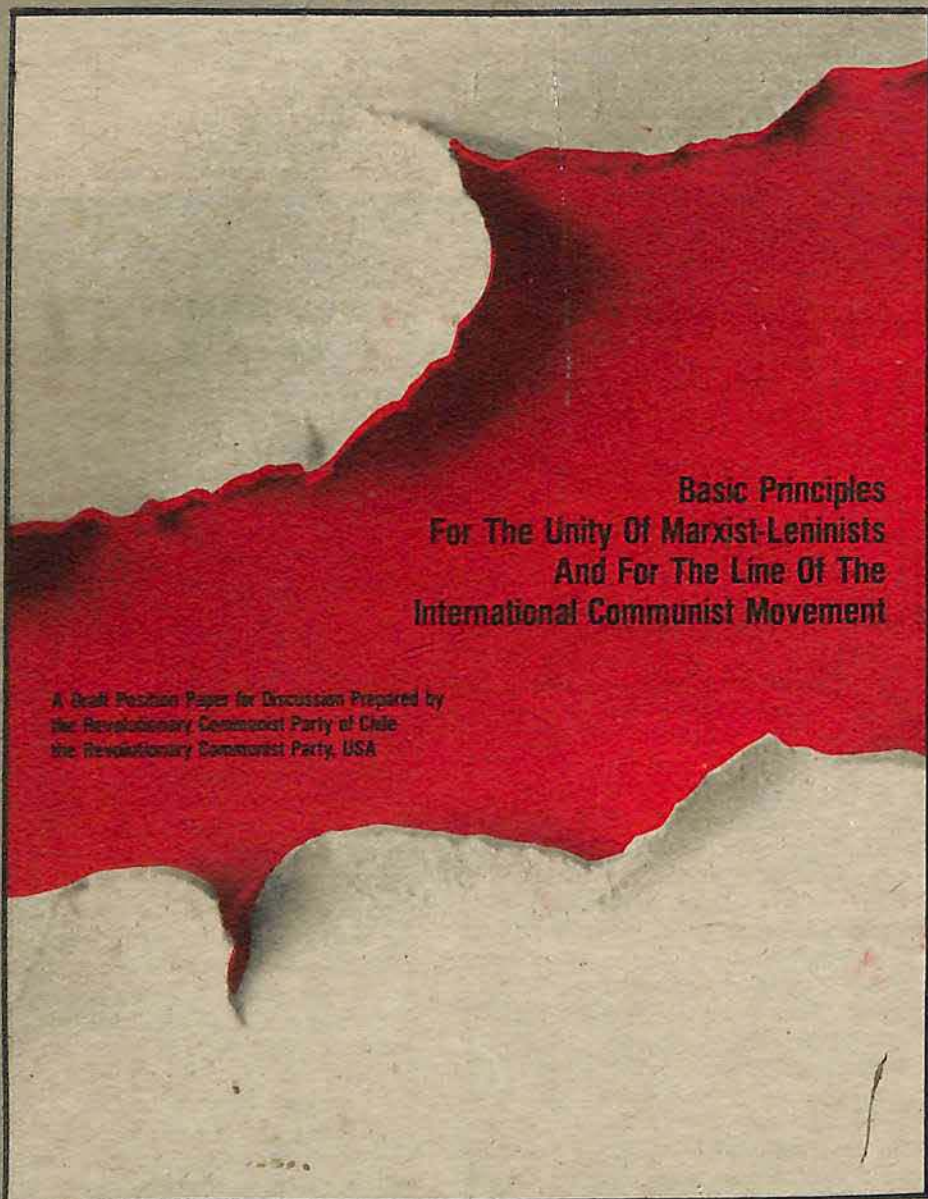


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