



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

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Britain

The Circumstances the pomp can't Hide

Halifax
High Wycombe
Dundee
Scotland
London Districts—
Notting Hill
Brixton
Clapham
Mersea
Atham
Acton
Chiswick
Youthall
alston
ackney
Stratnamstow
Stoke Newington
and others

As the festival of riots that has hit no less than 30 British cities and towns since it began two weeks ago continues, Britain's rulers and the U.S. and other European imperialists as well are in a tizzy indeed. As the storm continues to wrack the British government they have as yet been unable to get on top of the situation—itsself an admission of the depth of the political problems confronting them, impelling them to all the more desperately "put these troubles behind them." And even if the riots are brought under control soon, the events of the past few weeks will have made a profound political mark in England that inevitably will have a great impact on future developments there. England's "troubles," like those of the other imperialist countries, are not destined to die down but to mount. The suppression of these powerful outbreaks of spontaneous struggle among black, white, and Asian proletarian youth (and some older folks too) will be much less of an ending of a horrifying episode for British imperialism than a heralding of far greater contradictions on the horizon than the imperialists wish to think of, and a demonstration of the powerful class forces that have

Continued on page 14

If the IRP Fails Them...

Documents Reveal U.S.-Backed Coup Plot in Iran

The following article was written by C. Clark Kissinger, a contributing writer to the Revolutionary Worker. It is based on materials obtained by Kissinger which he subsequently made available to a number of progressive journalists and publicized through a Washington press conference on Thursday, July 16, 1981. In December of 1979, Kissinger led a solidarity delegation of Americans to Iran and brought back for publication in the U.S. a number of documents from the occupied U.S. embassy in Tehran exposing U.S. government covert actions in that country.

Special to the RW

covertly from a posh suite of offices on Pennsylvania Avenue only four blocks from the White House. These documents, clearly only one part of an overall coup plan, project a massive campaign to prepare world public opinion to accept such a U.S. sponsored coup and contain assessments of the political strengths and weaknesses of the various right-wing exile forces. These documents originated before the recent thrust of the Islamic Republic Party (IRP) to consolidate their reactionary regime in Iran. They are clear evidence that, while the U.S. imperialists certainly supported the IRP moves to consolidate power, they have prepared other options if the IRP should prove unable to repress the Iranian masses or should

the IRP "stabilize" in a pro-Soviet direction. With the sudden and explosive removal of the Ayatollah Beheshti from the leadership of the IRP, the potential for the imperialists to regard such options as necessary has been heightened, although these too are fraught with great dangers for them. According to the first internal document, which emanated from the secret Washington headquarters in late April: "The objective of our communications program is to prepare the way for the eventual change in government. To achieve this we must restore confidence in the United States and Europe, among members of government, the press and the body politic. Effort should also be directed at leaders of the business com-

munity of the Alliance (the U.S.-led war bloc—CK) in order that their financial and trade support can be quickly applied after the change. "All communications and interviews with leaders of the movement should be coordinated from Washington even though these communications will be generated from several locations, such as New York, Paris and London as well as the Washington center. To effect this coordination we will require a full time public information officer to be in place in each of the several cities for the duration of the operation, which we'll assume to be from day one through the first six months of the new government." How arrogant these option planners are! For them, an "eventual change in government" is a settled matter—the people of Iran be damned. And how

Continued on page 19

FLY WARS: THE EMPIRE STRIKES OUT

SEE PG. 3.



Slaves of Thailand

This article is based on a firsthand report written by Don Luce, one of the first people to expose the infamous "tiger cages," used during the Vietnam War by the U.S.-backed regime to torture political prisoners. Thousands (those who survived them) were permanently deformed by months and years of being held in these tiny bamboo and metal cages. This particular report, from his recent trip to Thailand, was printed in the May/June issue of Thailand Update, the newsletter of the Union of Democratic Thais.

There is no known depth to which the depravity of imperialism cannot sink in its rape and plunder of the world's people. And, the twisting, mind-tearing realities that imperialism's domination spawns in dependent and neo-colonial countries, spares not one aspect of society. Such is the case in Thailand.

Thailand is one of the countries in Indochina. It is bordered by Burma to the west and northwest; by Laos to the northeast; by Cambodia to the southeast; and by Malaysia and the Gulf of Siam directly to the south. It is a country that is thoroughly dominated and exploited by U.S. imperialism (and others in its bloc, especially Japan). The local puppet is General Prem, who rules, in league with a figurehead royal family, through the open terror of a military dictatorship. One of the most despicable products of the U.S.' economic, political and cultural domination of Thailand, has been the creation of a profitable system of child slavery.

It is a large-scale, professionally operated supply line that stretches from the impoverished farmlands in the northeast, to the capital city of Bangkok on the southern coast. During the dry season, from November to April, more than 500 children are brought to the main railway station in Bangkok every week. This amounts to over 12,000 children in the space of six months. Most are between the ages of 10 and 14-years old. Almost all are young girls.

They are bought either directly by buyers who go to the northeast region with "contracts" during the dry season, or they are set upon by "fishermen" and "fisherwomen" when they arrive at the Bangkok railway station in the darkness of the early morning hours. These "fishermen" and "fisherwomen" are the intermediaries sent by Bangkok's flesh merchants—the so-called employment agencies—to the train station to pick, choose, entice and haggle over which of the children are best suited for the factories, as domestic servants, or for the brothels and massage parlors. Some of the "fishers" operate independent of the employment agencies and are there to fill a specific order for one of Bangkok's businesses. The prices paid to the children's families range from \$20 to \$100, while some young girls can bring as much as \$500. At dawn in Bangkok, the "fishermen" and "fisherwomen" can be seen making their way to the rows of employment agencies within a stone's throw of the station, or deeper into the bowels of the city, with their catches.

Most of these children will never be seen by their families again. And for the young children, it is only the beginning of their sentences in hell. For, once inside Bangkok, they are completely at the mercy of their owners. In fact, while "contracts" with their families stipulate 6 to 12 months of employment, most will never return home. And the families that actually do come into the city to find their children are told that they have run away. But where they have "run" to is right onto an endless treadmill that passes back and forth through the greasy hands of those who own and operate the factories and

brothels.

It is the very workings of imperialism that have forced these families into selling their children to the slavers. The peasants who live in the northeast region are completely dependent for their survival on one rice crop per year—and a meagre one at that. Aside from the general gross distortion brought to the economy by imperialism, the government has recently instituted a policy that depresses the price of rice in order to increase exports.

Inside the factory sweatshops, the girls often work from 6 a.m. until 9 p.m. It is also common practice to lock the young workers up inside the factories' unventilated storerooms in order to both cut the cost of housing and prevent runaways. In one factory, where the girls were working filling batteries with carbon, they labored unprotected from the debilitating effects of the manganese and many became afflicted with lung diseases or were paralyzed. In another case, where the police actually raided one of the "unregistered" factories where plastics were being produced, they found most of the girls' bodies covered with rashes, and one, exposed so much to the chemicals, that she could not even remember her family name. Of course, these so-called raids

never change a thing. In fact, Thailand's labor laws only cite those factory owners who do not have a government license to "employ" the youth. After a couple of hours of hassle and a \$25 fine, it's business as usual.

Thailand has been transformed into the brothel of Southeast Asia. Prostitution is a key element of the country's economy. Last October, the Deputy Foreign Minister, Boonchu Rojanasathien, actually urged the provincial governors to develop and promote sex-related activities in their own areas to attract more tourism. The government-run Tourist Authority of Thailand (TAT) is right in the middle of it all. There are the now world famous "sex-tours," offered to businessmen (and others) in the U.S., West Germany, Japan, etc. The tourist magazine *Lookeast*, in its December 1980 edition, appealed directly to the business world's sense of value: "The ladies of Pattaya (a resort just southeast of Bangkok—RW) are a natural resource that replenishes itself through the inex-

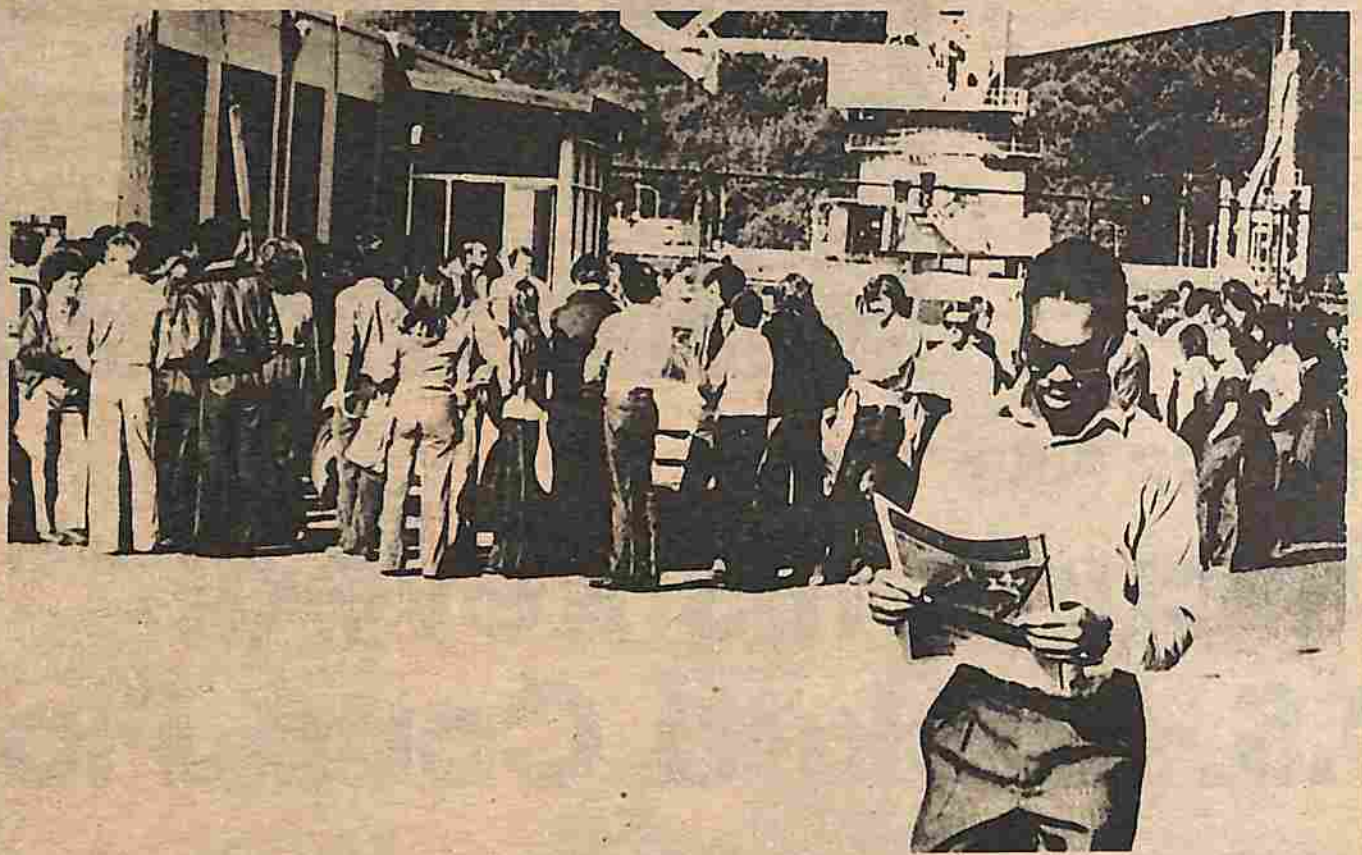
orable law of supply and demand." A tour group from the Netherlands recently bought an entire brothel of 45 women and young girls for the equivalent of \$500 in U.S. currency (about \$11 each), so they could have five or six women for each man.

It is estimated that nearly 20% of the female population of Thailand (over 200,000 women) are engaged in some form of prostitution; about 70% of the women having contracted some sort of venereal disease. As of 1980, in Bangkok alone, there were: 120 massage parlors, 119 massage parlors that call themselves barbershops or teahouses, 97 nightclubs where sexual services are part of the evening's entertainment, 248 whorehouses disguised as various other enterprises, 394 discos/restaurants that also provide sex for sale.

That same year—1980—a "human rights" report issued by the U.S. State Department passed Thailand with flying colors.

ATTENTION CO-CONSPIRATORS

The RW will not be published next week. Our next issue, RW No. 115, will appear on July 31.



The Revolutionary Worker on the employment lines. Photo from a Northwest newspaper captioned: "5 jobs, 1,000 applicants."

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Fly Wars: The Empire Strikes Out



Shannon Wilson, white-haired emergency program coordinator for the U.S. Department of Agriculture, stood out in the street in Palo Alto at 1:30 in the morning and carefully made sure that each time the helicopter flew overhead spraying the pesticide malathion, it sprayed him. "I specifically want to be under the spray" he said. "If I say it's completely safe, this is the best way to show I mean that." You might think that years of being around pesticides has caused Wilson's brain to malfunction. After all, malathion, like many of the most common pesticides in use in U.S. agriculture today, is chemically related to nerve gas, and works by destroying the enzymes that regulate the normal transmission of impulses across the junctions of nerve cells.

But Wilson's problem was more political than chemical; and his John Wayne heroics were only one small part being played out in the drama of the Medfly wars now being waged in the San Francisco Bay Area. The Medfly—as the Mediterranean fruit fly is called—is a small pest which attacks fruits and vegetables and which has caused the authorities to declare "war" in California, including the aerial bombardment of urban and suburban areas which contain about 1 million people with the pesticide malathion.

As this article was being written, the government had committed massive resources to the battle. Inspectors were randomly checking cars entering the airports in San Francisco, Oakland, and San Jose for contraband fruit that might give the Medfly a chance to spread to other parts of the country. A quarantine now covers three whole counties—San Mateo, Santa Clara, and Alameda—and cars leaving on major highways are stopped and searched for fruit—even single apples or grapes. In the core area, which was recently expanded into parts of San Jose, and includes much of the city of Mountain View, Palo Alto, Los Gatos, Los Altos, and others, each night helicopters take to the air between midnight and 6 a.m. They take off from a secret (or supposedly secret) base, fly to the areas to be sprayed, and then start spraying from a height of 300 feet. Because it is night, and they are flying so high (part-

ly to avoid possible snipers) they can't see where they are going or where they have been, and their way is marked by a system of searchlights and weather balloons. They are accompanied by trucks to work the guidance system and the trucks are protected by police and highway patrol.

Up to the point when the aerial bombardment started, the core area was the scene of intensive fruit stripping, with the national guard and the California Conservation Corps (an organization of unemployed youth who have been pulled by the state into a quasi-military group to do jobs like fighting fires and stripping fruit trees for rock-bottom wages) assisting in the stripping and hauling away bags of fruit. Anyone who would not strip their backyard trees and allow malathion to be sprayed on the ground under them faced a \$500 fine. The media has gone wild, with banner newspaper headlines like "Frenzy Prevails on Eve of the Spraying" and "Medfly War Begins". The TV has treated people to such sights as farmers who like malathion so much that they wash their hands in it, and most recently, the head of the California Conservation Corps who actually claimed to drink a whole glass of the stuff!

Massive aerial spraying of malathion to combat the Medfly has gone on before this most recent infestation in the southern Bay Area. In Florida, starting in 1956, over 3 million pounds of malathion were sprayed in an area bordering on Miami before the Medfly was finally eliminated. An article written in the journal of economic entomology summing up the Florida campaign remarked, "A safe, effective toxicant is urgently needed before extensive urban areas are again sprayed from aircraft." Despite this, and despite the tremendously wide use of malathion in all kinds of pest control, no systematic, long term studies of the health effects of malathion have ever been done—in fact, information that the California state government has gathered about pesticides is classified as trade secrets and not released—and the Florida experience is cynically used as proof that blanket spraying of malathion in urban areas is safe.

But it is well known that malathion in

large quantities can injure or even kill people. One 85 year old man, working in a garage where a bottle of malathion had been spilled, died from breathing the fumes. It is also known that different people react differently to the poisons—some are allergic, others do not have the enzymes required to flush it out of the body. The State claims that the concentrations of malathion will be so low that no damage can be done. But even if that were true—and there is much evidence to the contrary—the track record so far, and the fact that a pump broke down on the very first day of spraying lends little credibility to the claims of the State that, in what could end up being millions of pounds of malathion sprayed, there will be no spills, no major and dangerous quantities of malathion dumped on people.

The spraying of malathion has unleashed broad opposition and protest from various quarters. The public outcry against the aerial spraying is in part a product of the exposure of the almost endless list of crimes of chemical poisoning of U.S. imperialism and has revealed deep distrust and unwillingness to believe anything officials say about how safe any particular pesticide is, not to mention a few other things.

A Vietnam veteran at an anti-spraying rally in Palo Alto carried a sign that said: "Is malathion safe? Wasn't Agent Orange?" Speakers at rallies have used the widely known and extremely common pesticide poisonings of farmworkers to drive home the point that the forces behind the spraying care absolutely nothing about the health or lives of the people. Environmental activists at the rallies have set up graphic displays showing how pesticide use in agriculture has poisoned the well waters, killed off large numbers of useful insects like honey bees, and gone from the food into the people.

But the spectre of pesticide poisoning is not the only vision afoot. One cannot help but recall scenes of helicopters dropping napalm in Vietnam, or spraying tear gas on those demonstrating against the war in the streets of Berkeley. Indeed the malathion spraying and all the measures surrounding it have created a war-at-home atmosphere—and one which is fraught

with difficulties for the authorities. Also brought to mind by the breakdowns in their Medfly plan of action are such scenes as the helicopters at Tabas languishing in the dust of an Iranian desert. But not only does this operation call to mind the crimes of imperialism past and present but future scenarios of world war and revolution. The comparisons to chemical and nuclear warfare have been raised in many people's minds, including a section of people who were quite convinced that they would live out their lives without ever coming into serious conflict with the government. One woman in the suburbs commented, "I thought I would be dead before I had to really take sides."

Pesticide Junkies

The government claims that the spraying is a necessary measure to stop the Medfly from spreading from the backyard fruit trees of the three counties, where it has been detected, to the main agricultural fields of the state. And the fact that for *them*, it is the only resort is both revealing of the nature of the imperialist system and a source of great problems for them as well.

The U.S. imperialists are not about to give in on the pesticide issue. As a pamphlet by one anti-pesticide group puts it, "Synthetic chemical pesticides have become as much a part of the farming operation as fertilizer, seeds, water, or the land itself." This pamphlet goes on to cite the remarks of one Sacramento area farmer who admits: "Cut my pesticides off, and I'd be dead next year. Kind of like a dope addict, we're hooked..."

It's an addiction that has come straight from the cutthroat, anarchic nature of the capitalist system. Since World War 2 especially, U.S. agriculture has exploded into one of the major elements of imperialist world domination. Particularly in the 1970's the export of agricultural products—mainly grain and soy beans—has been one of the few bright spots in the U.S. export picture and has helped their international trade position significantly. It has not been just the profitability of food on the world market, formidable as that is, but the

Continued on page 20

Youth Revolts

July 12—West Berlin's fashionable and wealthy suburb of Grunewald looked like a tornado had ripped through it. But the twister turned out to be some 5,000 squatters and their supporters, who had turned out for a demonstration to protest the continuing eviction attacks by West German authorities. The police attacked the demonstration and a pitched street battle erupted, with the protestors, mainly youth, throwing stones and bags of paint at police, houses and cars as they raced through the Grunewald district—inflicting some nasty damages in all three categories. One cop was captured by the squatters, made to strip naked, and humiliatingly photographed and released. And one of the primary targets of the roving groups of youth was the consulate of South Africa's racist apartheid regime, which was pelted soundly with paint-bags. It took a charge by 1,000 police using tear-gas and truncheons to restore temporary calm to the night. This latest outbreak came right on the heels of another squatters' action in which they trashed a number of West Berlin banking establishments and eluded police on bicycles.

Coming as this did—in the midst of the continued street fighting in Northern Ireland, and, while Mother England's urban petticoats were being set aflame—these battles in the streets of West Germany have given new depth and dimension to the spectre of rebellion that is casting its shadow across the face of the Western imperialist bloc. Beginning in the spring of 1980, Amsterdam (Holland), West Berlin and Zurich (Switzerland), have been the sites of serious clashes between the authorities and thousands of youth protesting housing shortages and demanding youth centers; opposing nuclear power and nuclear missiles; and fed up with the sterile and suffocating atmosphere in these imperialist societies.

In the swirl of events that race cyclone-like across Western Europe, new developments have begun to take shape.

Since December 1980, Amsterdam has seen 8 major riots. In Zurich, nearly every single weekend since the first outbreaks by Swiss youth has seen a riot of some significant scale. And in West Berlin, after passing through a brief lull early in the new year, the clashes and street

The Spectre is Haunting Europe

fighting has reached new peaks in intensity, as demonstrated by the July 12 actions.

There has been a "breaking down" of national borders as the youth in these various countries have begun to cross over and exchange both tactical expertise and political experience. Dutch squatters have traveled to West Berlin and other West German cities. West Germans have gone to Switzerland. Some have even visited the U.S. In one recent 5-hour street battle, Dutch authorities cautiously took note of a steel catapult that was hurling stones and steel shrapnel in their direction. The catapult, it turns out, is copied from those used in the struggle in Northern Ireland.

All this is driving the imperialists into fits of handwringing. The latest edition of the British magazine *The Economist*, wails over the growth and spread of these youth rebellions, as well as their organized character. Commenting on an attempted dawn eviction raid in Amsterdam this past June, the authors moan the raid was an utter failure due to the squatters' ability to "phone-a-crowd"! But what perhaps best captures the lament of the beleaguered imperialists is the title of this very article: "But Why Are They Rioting in a Nice Place Like Zurich?" Clearly, this is a question they will probably still be asking even *after* they are overthrown.

What is truly haunting the imperialist rulers is the very rudiments of revolution contained within all of these outbreaks and upheavals that are developing as the imperialists step up preparations for world war. The rebellious youth and West Indian and Asian immigrants in Britain, the large concentrations of workers from Turkey in West Germany, and the youth movements growing throughout Europe, bode ill for these rulers. They cry, "Oh, what a horrible, nightmarish world we live in today!" And, from these rebels, increasingly comes the reply—"What do you mean, we, bourgeoisie." □



"This House Is Occupied"—Squatters in West Berlin.

U.S. Moves to Deny Asylum to Salvadoran Refugees

The Reagan Administration has begun to make official their expected decision to refuse political asylum to Salvadoran refugees. The *L.A. Times'* July 15 edition cites State Department sources claiming that approximately 1200 letters are now being sent out to Salvadoran refugees denying them asylum, essentially denying that the U.S. puppet Duarte regime there is carrying out any persecution. Many Salvadorans have gotten these letters already. For the last year the U.S. government has put off any public decision on the matter during which time about 4,000 applications for asylum by Salvadorans have accumulated. Several times that number have been sent back to El Salvador, forced to sign so-called "voluntary departures" because of extremely high bail and inability to afford legal representation. Many press reports indicate that upon arrival in El Salvador large numbers of those deported are summarily executed at the airport. This latest government move will mean an accelerated deportation of Salvadorans and intimidation of others not to apply for asylum since those who do apply are certain targets for the U.S./Duarte regime upon deportation.

To grant asylum, the U.S. imperialists would have to admit they and their regime in El Salvador are neck deep in the bloody persecution of the people, and just as with their recent moves against Haitian refugees, they're making clear there's no way they can afford to do this. As one lawyer told the *Times*, "It doesn't seem to matter how weak or how strong the cases are. The U.S. government finally has shown it is determined to prove these people are not political refugees, that they are just coming here looking for work."

One National Lawyers Guild immigration lawyer told the *RW*, this latest move appears to be demanding more "proof" of political persecution in these particular cases than in such cases before. The *L.A. Times* State Department source claims they will require the refugees to produce evidence such as newspaper articles naming and threatening the specific refugee involved. How determined the U.S. is in this is indicated in the case of a Salvadoran union activist who, having been denied political asylum, has now been ordered deported. Having been held in an immigration detention camp for the last 8 months, he told the *Times*, "The judge

wanted concrete proof! How am I supposed to give him proof? Three times they came looking for me because I was active in a labor union at my factory. The last time they shot at me but they missed. I know who they were, they were National Guardsmen in civilian dress and they had government guns. Everybody in El Salvador understands these things." A note threatening this man's life was left on the body of his cousin who was murdered.

Another immigration attorney told the *RW* of U.S. government plans to set up two refugee concentration camps, each capable of holding up to 20,000 people. Apparently, the U.S. government is expecting a continued large influx of people "looking for work" from El Salvador and other U.S. dominated Central American countries and Haiti, with their "authoritarian" and, mind-you, *not* "totalitarian" regimes. □

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Chinese Revisionists "Sum Up" Mao, Cultural Revolution

UPSIDE-DOWN HISTORY ОБЪСІДЕ-ДОММІ НІСЛОВЬА

It was 25 years ago that Khrushchev launched a virulent attack on Stalin, consisting of vile personal slanders and name calling, to spearhead the all-around capitalist restoration that destroyed the rule of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. Recently the junior Khrushchevs in China have unleashed a similar vicious attack on Mao with a so-called "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" adopted at the 6th plenum of their Party's 11th Central Committee (in the one year or so that this resolution has been under preparation, nobody ever doubted that "certain questions" would be boiled down to one—Mao). Circumstances are somewhat different today. Khrushchev's attack in 1956 signaled the takeover by the bourgeois headquarters in the Soviet Union, while the Chinese revisionists seized power 5 years ago and have been steadily turning up the heat on the attacks against Mao since then; even now they cannot completely dump Mao's name. But the resolution represents a definite leap, as the revisionists have shed a great deal of the obtuse language they have used before to come up with a much more stark, vicious and comprehensive attack on Mao. Mao is called "arrogant" and accused of fostering "development of arbitrary individual rule and personality cult." A distinct echo of Khrushchev's personal slanders and accusations of Stalin's "personality cult."

They even go so far as to directly uphold Khrushchev's theme in his speech saying, "certain grievous deviations, which occurred in the history of the international communist movement ow-

ing to the failure to handle the relationship between the Party and its leader correctly, had an adverse effect on our Party, too." Marxist-Leninists do have certain criticisms of Stalin. But they do not join in Khrushchev's vile denunciations and total negation of him in the service of restoring capitalism. This document (as did Khrushchev's) goes beyond personal denunciation. Its central point is to attack the decisive features of Mao's political and ideological line as it developed through the critical turning points of the Chinese revolution.

The intention here is not to take on every half truth, distortions and outright lies that are strung one after another in the resolution. To do so would require a book, and in any case, the two works by Bob Avakian—*The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung* and *The Immortal Contributions of Mao Tsetung*—have already given a comprehensive analysis of Mao's revolutionary legacy and the twists and turns of the struggle in China. This article will deal with the heart of the attack, directed at Mao's theory of, and practical contributions to, continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao is now directly charged with initiating and leading the Cultural Revolution (we gladly say, "guilty as charged!") Two other points of interest are the clearer insights given to Zhou Enlai's role as a key figure for the revisionists and their obvious reluctance to deal with the question of the Soviet Union and the China-Soviet split. A future article will deal more with the revisionists' attack and distortions on Mao's overall theoretical con-



Deng Xiaoping

tributions to Marxism-Leninism.

Early Distortions

In order to set the stage for the vicious attacks on Mao's line in the socialist period, the revisionist do some blatant rewriting of the history of the first 35 years of the Party (28 years from its founding in 1921 to the 1949 liberation and the first 7 years of the People's Republic), in order to downplay Mao's role as much as possible. This is the period for which they "uphold" Mao, in words! Whether the

revisionists like it or not, Mao's outstanding role in the struggle of the Chinese people in the new democratic stage of the revolution directed at feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism is indelibly etched in the consciousness of the masses, and this presents them with considerable obstacles in attacking Mao. They must give some empty lip service to Mao's role, saying that Mao "is recognized as the great leader of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people" and that

Continued on page 16



During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought was widely disseminated among the masses of Chinese people. Communities and workplaces became hotbeds of struggle and

discussion as millions of workers, peasants and students took up affairs of state, rising up and overthrowing revisionists who stood in their way.

Spy/Hostage Gets Tribunal Subpoena

July 14, 1981

Dear Revolutionary Worker,

Recently in the Chicago area a symposium was held at Glendale Heights Community Hospital to address the question: the effects of, and how to cope with STRESS. Since the bourgeoisie has been experiencing a lot of it lately—deepening economic crisis, sharpening necessity to make more open moves towards world war, as well as the increased resistance of the oppressed masses (Ireland, England, El

Salvador, South Africa as well as within the U.S.) they sent out one of their 'best' authoritarians on the subject of 'stress' to be the keynote speaker at this event. None other than one of U.S. imperialism's most faithful servants, Colonel William Scott (aka CIA spy/hostage). Direct from such torturous and horrendous experiences as being forced to eat rice and sleep on the floor for 444 days in the world famous spy nest, excuse me, I meant U.S. embassy in Iran.

Now, this was an event that we just

couldn't pass up. So, in the interests of the Iranian masses and the proletariat and oppressed peoples worldwide, we issued a subpoena to the 'stress weary hostage' to appear before the Mass, Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism, demanding that he account for his actions in service to his country as the number two military attaché in Iran.

Some people at this event asked if such a subpoena was legitimate and if he would have to appear at the Tribunal hearing scheduled for Chicago in early

August. We think it is. After all, who would be better able to defend and explain the necessity of such brutal atrocities such as Bloody Friday and other such crimes than one who has helped plan and orchestrate them?

The Tribunal Subpoena Servers

The full text of the Subpoena appears on page 23.

Chicago: A Call to Take Up the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism

The following call was issued by a resident of Cabrini-Green housing project in Chicago:

TO THE PEOPLE OF CHICAGO:

In the beginning of August, the third in a series of 5 hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals will be held in Cabrini-Green, to expose the crimes of U.S. imperialism against the people of the world. Crimes like napalming Vietnamese people, and arming and advising U.S. puppet troops to terrorize the people fighting for liberation in El Salvador, and unleashing our government's "man" in the Middle East, Israel, to attack the Iraqi nuclear reactor. Crimes like the space shuttle, solely for military purposes, and like the murder of Fred Hampton, to try to wipe out our revolutionary leadership, or like today they are trying to get rid of Bob Avakian, who leads the people to overthrow this warring system.

These crimes and millions more must be exposed to let the people know that the U.S. government is getting us ready for war again. Did you see "The Defense of the United States" on Channel 2, trying to prepare public opinion for nuclear war? An example of the way the U.S. government tries to cover up their crimes is here in Cabrini. Behind the 660 Division building the city painted the poles of the swingsets and the basketball poles to try to look good, but they didn't put up any swings or hoops on the poles! This is what they do with their system—try to paint it over with words like "defense" and "freedom" and "democracy" to hide the rotten system underneath.

By the way, the city also painted the merry-go-round, half red and half blue, like their own personal joke to say the people in Cabrini can't raise their heads above anything but gang mentality (red and blue are two different gang colors). But this is a lie, and having this War Crimes Tribunal here in Cabrini is the proof that Black people in Cabrini are concerned and are standing up, to understand and change the whole world.

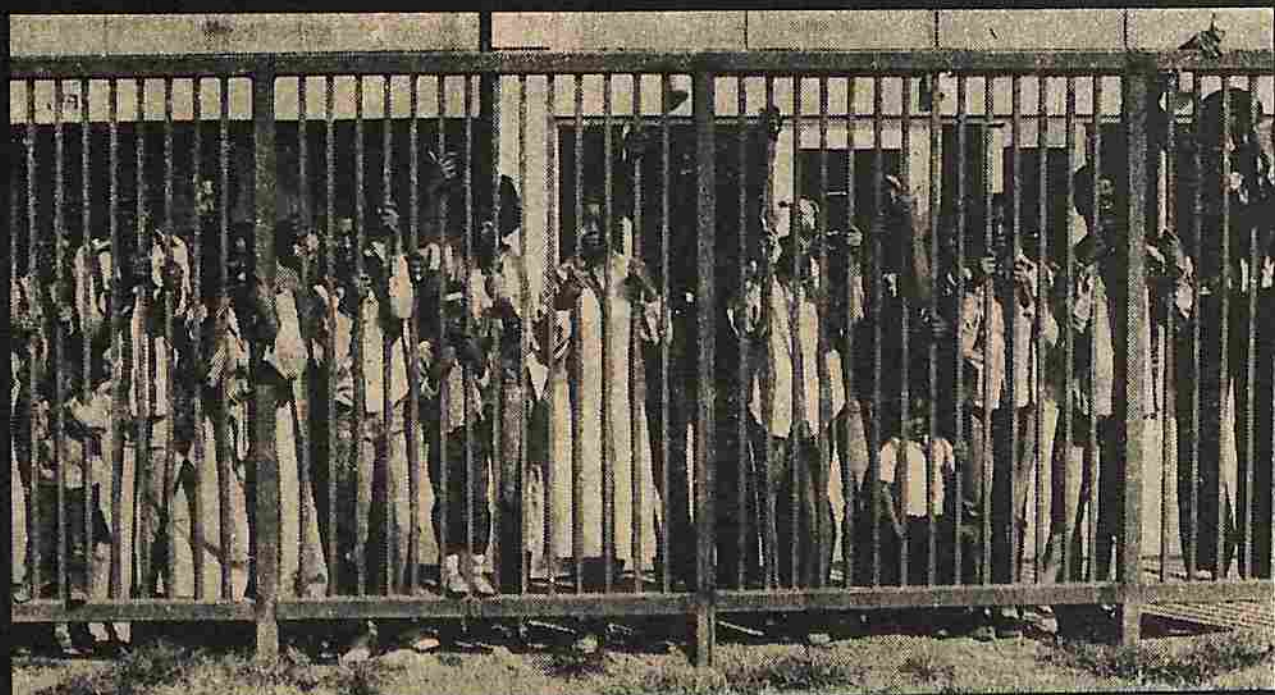
I didn't go to Vietnam when they tried to draft me. Why should I have went to Vietnam? The Vietnamese haven't done anything to me but fight against the same system that's kicking me in the ass. The only thing the red, blue and white is good for is a brainwashing tool of the government. When I was going to grammar school and had to rise every morning, put my right hand over my heart, say the pledge of allegiance every day of school, I thought the red, blue and white meant something, but it dawned on me later it wasn't good enough for a *snot rag*.

I invite you to come to the War Crimes Tribunal, to testify against U.S. war crimes and to learn, and to take part in building for it.

Signed:

A resident of Cabrini-Green

Chicago Hearings of Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal are scheduled for August 7, 8, 9. To participate in the Tribunal or for more information call: (312) 922-1140 in Chicago or write War Crimes Tribunal Box 582 6520 Selma Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90028



Cabrini-Green

WESTTOWN, CHICAGO

POLICE SIEGE IN PUERTO RICAN BARRIO

"Everyone get off the street. This is martial law." The cop car slowly cruised down a main shopping street in Westtown blaring over its loudspeaker at the people clustered on the sidewalk. Just a wisecrack? It concentrates more than a little reality of the bourgeoisie's recent attacks in this Puerto Rican community of Chicago which has blown up in their faces twice before, once in 1966 and again in 1977 in the Humboldt Park rebellion.

Monday morning, July 6. A big, black limousine screeches to a halt in the decaying Westtown area on the east side of Humboldt Park. Out jumps Mayor Byrne who sweeps into a small snack shop with a bevy of inspectors trailing in her wake. After a quick glance around she orders "Shut it down" with an imperial wave of the hand. The inspectors scramble to see what violations they can come up with. By the next day a total of 47 taverns and restaurants are closed down, most for very petty health and building code violations.

This abrupt and sweeping shutdown of small businesses nearly two weeks ago signaled the start of a stepped-up attack against the Puerto Rican people in Chicago. The wholesale shutdown of the taverns and restaurants is an attempt to decimate any potential "hotspots"—the hangouts in and around the bars and burger joints where people congregate, especially the youth. Knots of even two or three Puerto Ricans gathered together are considered too threatening by the cops who regularly sweep through the neighborhood harassing or busting anyone unlucky enough to be in their way. They have made Humboldt Park, the only neighborhood refuge from the sweltering summer heat, practically off limits. Those who retreat to the street corner are threatened with a bust for "loitering" and after dark, people are even ordered off their porches and into their homes. On Tuesday following the business shutdowns 180 people were busted and 120 more on Wednesday in a wave of mass arrests. In successive days the assault escalated to include repeated arrests of various leaders of community organizations who have protested the shutdown of the small businesses.

The official reason for the inspection raid, Jane Byrne announced, is that the taverns are contributing to a "wave of stepped-up gang violence" in the area by selling liquor to minors. This maneuver was held up until the necessary "incident"—a shootout where two people were killed and several others wounded by gunfire in the Westtown area. The *Chicago Tribune* immediately heaped praise on the onslaught against the masses as a crusade against "gang violence." This theme has really come into vogue in recent years as a thinly-disguised cover for racist slanders against Black people and other oppressed nationalities who are all painted as The Criminal Element that's wreaking destruction on Civilization. Following in this vein, the *Tribune* editorial called outright for the continued suppression of the Puerto Rican masses by whatever means necessary, regardless of the bourgeois legal niceties. "One can question the propriety of the methods," in closing down the taverns, intoned the *Trib*, but the end is justified since, after all, the taverns were "centers of street gang violence that paralyzed the community."

All this is very reminiscent of the moves against the all-Black Cabrini-Green housing project starting last March. After a wave of highly-publicized murders at the project (which many suspect to be police-inspired), Byrne made the surprise announcement that she would take an apartment at Cabrini "until all the gang activity is cleaned up. One of her first moves there, incidentally, was to order about a dozen nearby taverns closed down. When Byrne moved in she brought an army of cops with her who

invaded Cabrini and turned it into a virtual police state. Byrne, by the way, has since announced her highly publicized "move" is over. Under heavy guard, she stayed there only a few nights.

Although Byrne has not yet announced that she will be sleeping in a Westtown slum apartment, the objectives in the Puerto Rican community and toward Cabrini are the same—to terrorize the masses of people with the ultimate goal of driving them out of their neighborhoods. Her promise to "crackdown on gang violence" is nothing but a catchphrase for creating public opinion against the rebellious sections of Puerto Ricans, especially the youth, and a justification for tightening the screws of repression. This has already been borne out by the wave of mass arrests in Westtown immediately following the business shutdowns.

The similarity in the fierce attacks on the Black masses at Cabrini-Green and on Puerto Ricans in Westtown is more than coincidental. Both these communities are in close proximity to each other and both are concentrations of oppressed nationalities ringing the "Loop," Chicago's central political, financial and commercial nerve center. And both areas have been the target of vicious plans to forcibly uproot and expel the entire population of the community—euphemistically known as "urban renewal" or "revitalizing the neighborhood." This is exactly what is going on in Westtown today. The impetus for these schemes goes back to the late '60s when ghettos and barrios of the inner city went up in flames. The immediate threat to the downtown business districts sent the bourgeoisie into a panic. So they began to develop a plan for Chicago, as they have for many other cities, to protect this central business district by expelling Black and Latino communities adjacent to it and replacing them with a ring of stable, white middle-class people in newly "rehabilitated" neighborhoods. This plan was formalized in a comprehensive way in the 1973 Chicago 21 Plan.

Military Dimension

As the revolutionary storms of the '80s have approached, this plan has increasingly taken on a military dimension, for any successful insurrection would have to seize this downtown stronghold of the bourgeoisie. So dispersing these strategic concentrations of potentially revolutionary people has taken on more and more urgency as the bourgeoisie is gripped in a profound crisis, and thinking of more than riots.

Cabrini-Green, only a stone's throw from Chicago's commercial and financial heart, is specifically targeted by the Chicago 21 Plan. Westtown, although it stands slightly further away, became a top priority for various "redevelopment" schemes as far back as 1966, after the community erupted in all-out rebellion against the pigs. The bourgeoisie has used the most savage and barbaric methods to dislodge Puerto Ricans, and a minority of whites and Blacks, from the neighborhood, but has failed to do so. From 1968-1976 a wave of arson fires raged through Westtown—an attempt at urban renewal through burning people alive. There was a peak of 400 fires in a one-year period alone confined in just a four-square block area. Today a good percentage of the neighborhood's housing has been totally decimated and every block is scarred with the charred ruins of burned-out buildings.

The death and destruction wrought by this "renewal" scheme, combined with the intensifying national oppression of the Puerto Rican people, certainly contributed to the revolt and street fighting that exploded in the 1977 Humboldt Park rebellion. That uprising jumped off when marauding pigs invaded the park on Puerto Rican Day, indiscriminately clubbing men and women alike under the pretext of "breaking up a gang fight." When the smoke had cleared, two young Puerto Ricans lay dead with bullets in their backs. The bourgeoisie tried to wash the blood of these murders from their hands with the cynical claim that the two youths had shot each other in a gang fight. But the autopsies showed different. Several years later, in a calculated move to kick dirt in the faces of the Puerto Rican people, Lt. Walton, the pig who killed Rafael Cruz and possibly Julio Osorio as well, was promoted to the Police Training Academy. His job—training new police recruits in the areas of riot control and use of deadly force. This was indeed a true statement of the actual position of Puerto Ricans in U.S. imperialist society—living as colonial slaves under the whip of the master.

The tremendous outpouring of resistance represented by the Humboldt Park rebellion once again threw up a huge obstacle to the bourgeoisie's plans. At the same time, the deepening troubles of imperialism demand an even more vicious attempt to disperse the politically volatile concentration in Westtown. The pressing urgency of this became very apparent to the authorities

after this year's Puerto Rican Day celebration on June 20 unleashed a torrent of militant nationalism.

Puerto Rican Day—the day on which both the rebellions of 1966 and 1977 broke out—has become in Chicago a symbol of revolt against the abuse and degradation heaped on Puerto Ricans, a day to stand defiant in the face of the present order whose telltale signs of rot and decay are inescapable in Westtown from the small children playing with the rats to the knots of young men who have nothing to do but hang out on the street corner. The weeds push up through the cracks in the pavement and broken glass glints in the sun on Division St. "I'm 21 years old and I've never had a job. Never," said a barechested young man, deliberately biting off each word and spitting it out through clenched teeth. "I'd do anything, even clean toilets. But I have nothing to do except hustle a bag of marijuana, roll it into joints and sell each one to make some money." For thousands in Westtown survival hangs on threads like these.

To keep all this smoldering tension under control the cops maintain "order" with a vengeance. "They treat us like dogs," said one Puerto Rican. "They laugh at us and spit on our language." They don't need a reason to arrest us," said a young mother angrily. "If we are in the park, they call it loitering and we must leave. But first they open your cooler and take your food. They call us 'motherfucker.' There's one white cop, that's the only word he knows is 'motherfucker.' They say Puerto Ricans are lazy, that we don't want to work. But I punch in every morning at 7:30 and out at 4:30 and I'm tired of being called 'motherfucker.'"

Puerto Rican Day this year was permeated by a joyous mood of defiance and national pride. In particular the liberation struggles throughout Central America as well as the general turmoil in the world, have inspired people this year. There is also the influence of Movimiento de Liberación Nacional, who give political support to the FALN and have done agitation around the need for Puerto Rico to wage a war of national liberation against U.S. imperialism. In opposition to the traditional bash thrown downtown by the Democratic Machine to celebrate Puerto Rican Day, hundreds of people joined in an alternate parade sponsored by the MLN under the theme "A Day of National Dignity."

Continued on page 14

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Waters Clearing in Seattle KDP Murders

After a month and a half of mounting anger in Seattle's Filipino community and among progressive people in general, Seattle police arrested the pro-Marcos reactionary Constantine (Tony) Baruso, the President of the Cannery Workers Union (Local 37 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union), on Monday, July 13. Baruso is currently being held for investigation on charges of first degree murder and conspiracy to commit murder in the assassinations of the union's dispatcher, Gene Viernes, and Secretary-Treasurer Silme Domingo, both of whom were members of Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP, the Union of Democratic Filipinos).

As reported in *RW* No. 111, Viernes and Domingo were gunned down in a gangland-style execution in the Cannery Workers Union Hall on June 1. Viernes and Domingo had recently been elected to positions in the Cannery Workers Union. The reform slate in this election, which included Domingo and Viernes, won 11 of the 17 positions on the Union's Executive Board, representing a serious challenge to the decades-long domination of the local by a clique of gangsters who support the U.S.-backed regime of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines. The union, which controls the dispatch of workers in all Alaskan canneries, plays an important role not only in the Filipino community in Seattle, but for many Filipino workers up and down the West Coast who rely on the seasonal work in the canneries to survive.

The two petty thugs who actually carried out the murders of Viernes and Domingo were arrested shortly after the murders. Since then, the political forces at work have become increasingly clear, particularly the hand of the reactionary tools of the U.S.-backed Marcos regime who are desperately trying to maintain their stranglehold on the Filipino community. Baruso, who apparently owned the .45 pistol used in the murders, is a typical representative of the reactionary "community leaders" who are closely tied to the local Philippine Consulate, and maintain a regime of open and covert terror in the Filipino community. And because of these ties, many suspected Baruso's involvement in the murders weeks before the evidence of the gun turned up.

Baruso got his start in the Cannery Workers Union in 1956, working for the corrupt machine of then union president Gene Navarro. For 20 years, Navarro ruled the unions with the help of his ever-present .45 pistol and a well-oiled machine of intimidation, bribery and favoritism. From his power base in the union, Navarro became president of the Filipino Community Council, a pivotal part of the pro-Marcos power structure. When Navarro died in 1975, Baruso, then business agent of the union, became president. Baruso, who shared Navarro's reactionary political views and connections, also served as a useful tool of the union in suppressing any sign of discontent among the cannery workers to the vicious exploitation and national oppression in the canneries. Baruso is the past president of the Filipino Community Council; the Filipino-American Citizens League and the head of the local Lodge of Caballeros de Dimas Alang, a Filipino fraternal organization. All these groups are key parts of the network of Filipino organizations forming a power structure serving as the agents of the Marcos regime and U.S. imperialism in the Filipino community. To round out his career, Baruso has been active in such noble-minded causes as the Girl Scouts, he has been a candidate for the state legislature, and he has held down a full time job with the Boeing Company.

Immediately after the murders of Viernes and Domingo, Baruso suddenly struck a pose as a champion of "union reforms," claiming the sole cause of the

murders was efforts to reform the corrupt methods used to dispatch workers to jobs in Alaskan canneries. "We will not be intimidated by this action," Baruso demagogically proclaimed. "We will continue to dispatch workers to Alaska in a fair and democratic manner." More significant, however, than Baruso's sudden embracing of the cause of reform has been his consistent efforts to turn attention away from the involvement of pro-Marcos forces in these murders. These efforts were systematically aided by the bourgeois press, which reported the murders almost exclusively as a result of internal trade union disputes and which widely reprinted comments by Baruso dismissing the possibility of the involvement of those aligned with Marcos.

Other reactionary Filipino leaders have branded anybody opposed to their domination of the community as "disrupters," "troublemakers," and the like. Salvadore Del Fierro, several times past president of the Filipino Community Council is, for example, extremely sensitive about anti-Marcos sentiments: "What is happening in the Philippines, by golly, shouldn't be the concern of people here. If the people in

the Philippines want Marcos and martial law, that should be prevailed, by golly!"

As for the two assassins who were arrested shortly after the murders, their connection to this is also clear. They are nothing more than petty hoodlums, tied to the Filipino gangs which thrive on gambling and other activities in the Filipino community, like the corruption that runs so rampant in the Cannery Workers Union. Robberies, "unsolved" shootings and murders carried out by these gangs are commonplace and not only are these gangs tied to the "respectable" community leaders like Baruso, but also through their "parent" gangs in Manila, they are linked to the Marcos regime itself.

The arrest of Baruso is only a beginning revelation of the forces involved in these murders. As we go to press, the prosecutor's office is still saying Baruso is only being held for investigation, and refusing to say whether Baruso will actually be charged with the murders or not. It is the widespread outrage in the Filipino community and among progressive people throughout the Seattle area which has forced the police and prosecutor to even go so far as arresting

Baruso, instead of just closing the case with the arrest of the two assassins. A third man, who drove the getaway car for the assassins, has not been arrested and it is highly unlikely that Baruso planned and organized these murders by himself, without the involvement of other gang members and other reactionary leaders in the Filipino community. The signs pointing to the real criminals behind all this are becoming unmistakably clear. □

Flash

On Thursday, July 16, the King Co. prosecutor's office, instead of charging Tony Baruso with the murders of Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo, released him. The prosecutor's office has refused to comment on the reasons for releasing Baruso, but undoubtedly they will claim he was released due to "lack of evidence," despite the clear indications of Baruso's involvement in these murders. □

1,000 Rally

Inquest in Long Beach Police Lynching Forced

On July 11th, more than a thousand people rallied in Long Beach, California to protest the June 2nd police murder of Cal State Long Beach football star Ron Settles. The composition of the crowd, from veterans of the '60s movements to people who had never before attended a protest, added to the significance of the large turnout. The rally was called by Ron Settles' family and supported by the Cal State Long Beach Black Student Union (BSU), the ACLU, NAACP and others to demand a full investigation, the truth behind Ron Settles' death. Developments since the *RW* article of June 19th make it even clearer that when the criminals in-

vestigate themselves, the truth will remain well hidden.

Immediately after Settles' death, police announced "case closed"—"suicide." Going right along with this, the L.A. County Coroner's Office announced that Settles' death was "consistent" with "self-induced hanging." It was only in the face of massive outrage at the murder and exposure of police lies that the Coroner set a coroner's inquest for July 21st, citing "unanswered questions" and "numerous bruises on the body" as the reason.

"Numerous bruises." When Settles' body was turned over to a family mortician after the autopsy, he released a written statement to the press which said, in part, "...having worked in the San Diego County Coroner's Office for 3 years in which one of my duties was to assist in autopsies, from the first incision...to the final closing, I have observed death by hanging and I've never observed a body condition like that of Reginald (Ron) Settles." Settles' death was no suicide, said the report, in fact it was possibly the result of a severe beating before Settles' was hung.

"There was no rope—or sheet—burns (police claim Settles hung himself with a mattress cover—*RW*) and the left side of his face and his left arm were swollen and discolored" said the mortician's report, noting that death by hanging would cause uniform swelling about the head. "In this particular case, all of the swelling was on the left side of the head and face and eyes...there was extensive damage done."

The Signal Hill Police Chief, who is already exposed as neck deep in the coverup, responded with, "I have no response to make to a mortician—that's ridiculous. There's going to be a coroner's inquest at some time and we'll have everything taken care of at that time." For sure. The County Coroner's Office responded to the mortician's report: "There was no evidence which points to any cause of death other than asphyxia..." And, to go a step further in protecting the police, who had previously claimed they only beat Settles on the legs in a "slight scuffle" during booking, the Coroner suggested that the wounds on Settles' face could have been inflicted in the final stages of Settles' self-induced hanging.

The Signal Hill City Council, squirming in the heat of Settles' death and yet another hanging in a jail only a week later, announced that steel plates would be welded across the upper bars of jail cells to "prevent suicides." (The police chief, in a moment of candor, pointed out to the council that such "suicides" could never be completely eliminated.) As further evidence of his deep concern about the "suicides," the police chief suggested painting Signal Hill jail cells pink (a soothing color) and piping music into the cells.

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Carl Sagan's Materialism and Why They Hate It

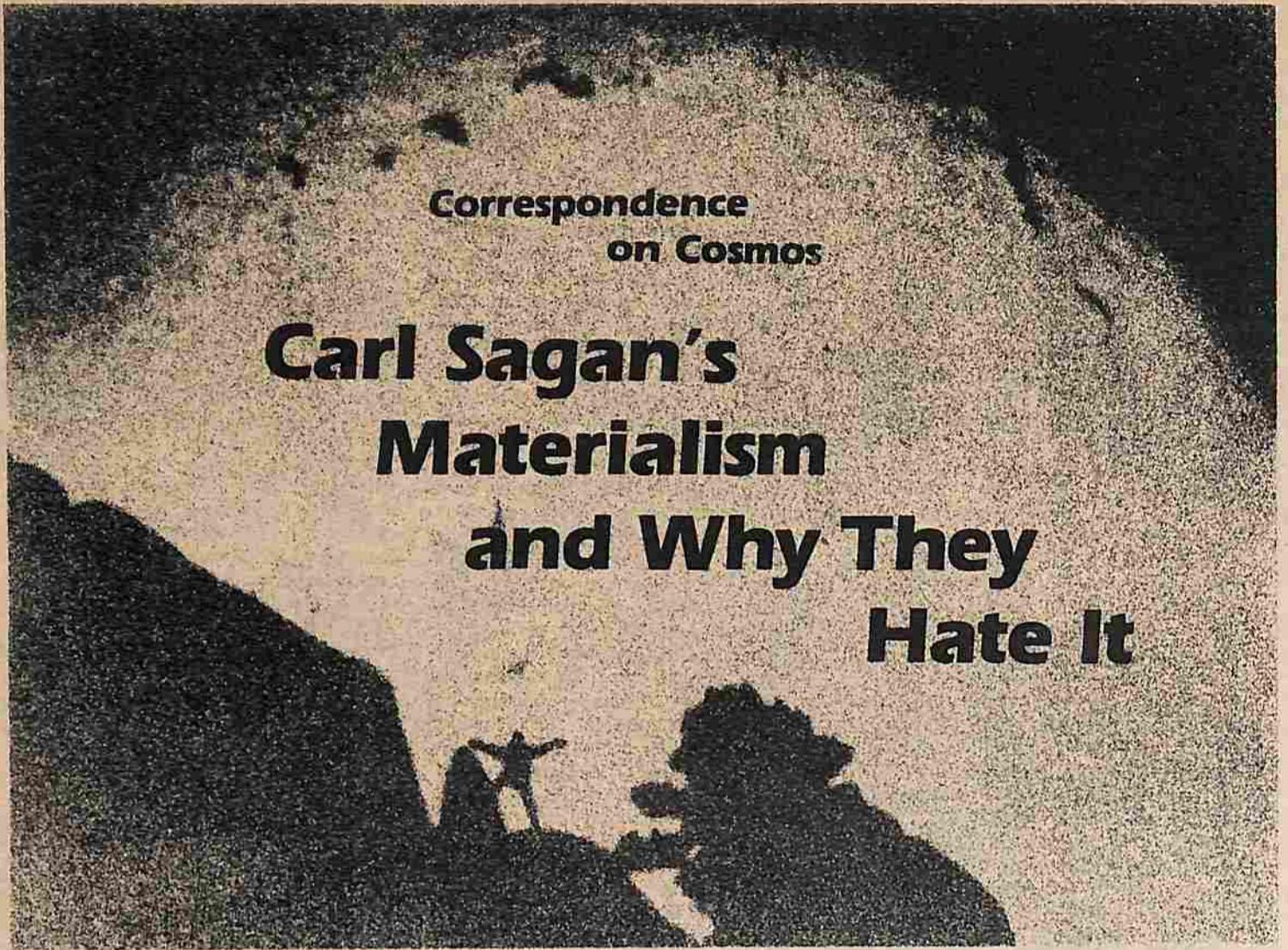


Photo from Sagan's book *Cosmos*: 'A lifeform and its star'

Having read the past letters in the *RW* on Carl Sagan's *Cosmos* series, and waiting anxiously for more to no avail, I felt impelled to write one myself in order to get into some points that I think have been given short shrift so far. While I have found all the letters on the series interesting (though having some philosophical disagreements with the last two, issues No. 99 and 102, around the questions of order and disorder, chance and necessity, and laws etc.), I am dissatisfied that except for the first letter on the *Cosmos* none have addressed the question of the significance of the series, Carl Sagan, and the significant progressive developments that are going on among scientists and in the scientific realm these days. Specifically, I think the trend among some progressive scientists toward upholding and broadly propagating materialism—in direct opposition to the very concerted and massive efforts by the bourgeoisie to promote the most openly reactionary religious obscurantism with its creationism and "scientific" justifications for racism and chauvinism in general—as well as some very interesting advances and debate on the scientific front especially in evolution theory, archaeology, and particle physics, is a very good development which must be firmly supported and seized upon by the proletarian forces in society.

I agree wholeheartedly with much of what has been pointed out in the *RW* about the shortcomings and failings of Sagan's materialism and in fact I think such criticism and analysis has to go further and deeper. But to ignore the fact that Sagan and others are indeed fighters for materialism or simply to tip our hat to this materialism while sitting back and admiring the fact that our dialectical materialism is really where it's at, would be the worst thing we could do. It is very easy to point to the fact that Sagan is not a Marxist (he himself would agree with us on our discovery of this fact since he makes no claim to be a Marxist). It is very easy to rest smugly content with the general knowledge that dialectical materialism is where its at and that any other materialism is at bottom not materialism. Unfortunately such a view amounts to *not* applying this revolutionary science to the real world in the realm of scientific and philosophical struggle and betrays an outlook which is neither dialectical nor materialist, but ossified and dogmatic. And at bottom it amounts to nothing but abandoning this sphere to the bourgeoisie and capitulating to them. From discussions I have had and so forth, I think that there is a real tendency to fall into this or at least to avoid or shy away from taking full advantage of the fact that materialism is raising its ugly head and actually being debated and discussed among many, many millions of people in struggle with some very foul shit that is a direct political tool of the enemy and its reactionary plans.

Before going on, let me make one point here. I don't think that the openly and blatantly reactionary philosophical stuff that is being pushed on the masses of people (creationism, Shockley and Jensen's stuff, sociobiology, etc.) is the only thing that the bourgeoisie is doing on this front nor do they have either the freedom or the necessity to ice out people like Sagan and *Cosmos* completely from the scene. In fact within scientific and educated circles and even somewhat more broadly there is struggle around any number of more subtle, but just as reactionary, "fashionable philosophical trends" vs. some more progressive trends. *Cosmos* did make it on TV, but there are two points here: 1) it appeared on PBS which is aimed at a more limited audience of liberal intellectuals and not CBS which has the

thoroughly sickening Walter Cronkite's *Universe* series and 2) that it got on is due to the fact that there are strata in society who are not satisfied with and will not accept the Moral Majority's view of the world—they demand more. The powers that be have to deal with the fact that many people like this exist and that there is struggle against the crap they want to feed to the masses and they have to make some concessions to this hoping to keep things within certain bounds and hoping to be able to turn it around in one way or another. And obviously, Sagan himself has his contradictory aspects which the bourgeoisie hopes to promote. But I don't think any of this changes the fact that the rulers of this country by and large are opposed to materialism even if it is not thorough. And while they can tolerate promoting people like Sagan somewhat they certainly attack them in various ways and try to render them harmless in others, hoping to influence them in the course of time in a direction away from the path they are now on, and failing this, to discredit them or worse. The proletarian forces, of course, seek to further the struggle for dialectical materialism and support outbreaks on this front.

I also think that the bourgeoisie is not at all happy that the response to the *Cosmos* TV series and the book has been so favorable among broad numbers of people. The book is still high on the bestseller list and the TV series already seen by 140 million people is being aired again in the fall. There is an argument put forward by some to the effect that, the bourgeoisie likes Sagan and what he has come to stand for broadly in society and that what he is putting forward is simply a slick version of what the bourgeoisie wants to be put out. This is dead wrong. Do they really think that the ruling class likes the fact that a major scientific figure is dedicating himself to popularizing a generally scientific world outlook which takes materialism as its starting point, ridiculing religion and superstition and opposing racism and national chauvinism and the justifications for them? Can the bourgeoisie really appreciate someone who goes around making statements in the press and on national TV like, "First, there are no sacred truths; all assumptions must be critically examined; arguments from authority are worthless." Are Sagan's critiques of the reactionary anti-scientific outrages of the past really welcomed by those who are perpetrating them today?

Take for example, this brief excerpt from *Cosmos* on the demise of the Library of Alexandria in 400 B.C. (a

major scientific center at the time). "But I do know this: there is no record, in the entire history of the Library, that any of its illustrious scientists and scholars ever seriously challenged the political, economic and religious assumptions of their society. The permanence of the stars was questioned; the justice of slavery was not. Science and learning in general were the preserve of a privileged few... Discoveries in mechanics and steam technology were applied mainly to the perfection of weapons, the encouragement of superstition, the amusement of kings. The scientists never grasped the potential of machines to free people... Science never captured the imagination of the multitude. There was no counterbalance to stagnation, to pessimism, to the most abject surrenders to mysticism."

Certainly some of this kind of talk is more acceptable (especially as long as it remains *talk*) within circles of the "more educated sections of the population—among the intellectuals and so forth (and this doesn't make it any less progressive) but to have it propagated more broadly presents deeper problems for the bourgeoisie. And they have most definitely mounted a counter-attack. The bourgeois reviews of *Cosmos* have ranged from praise in an editorial of the *Washington Post* to attacks in the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*, but these responses bear some examination. First, all contain a certain amount of praise, even if reluctant, for Sagan's efforts. They almost have to, at least on some level, both because the series and book are so popular and because they are very well and interestingly done. But most of this praise tends to be for the more superficial and secondary aspects of Sagan's contributions. The special effects and pictures are lauded, the fact that the presentation was interesting and that certain scientific theories and facts are presented in a lively way is applauded and so forth. But even the most favorable bourgeois reviews in the main avoid declaring support for the materialist philosophical view that Sagan is trying to promote. For example the *Washington Post* commented, "the series has all the flair and excitement of those ever popular movie and TV space spectacles... What makes *Cosmos* different from all those other space shows—and, God knows, there are enough of them on the air these days—is that it is dealing with the facts and theories of science. Its real contribution is that it has used the techniques and special effects of science fiction effortlessly to communicate a body of knowledge that often seems too dif-

ficult or too tedious to comprehend when presented other ways." While it is true that the series does communicate scientific knowledge about a broad range of things, this in itself is not the main contribution it makes as even Sagan himself has indicated. Its main contribution and its most controversial aspect is that it promotes a philosophical view (and very explicitly in many places) that in the main is a challenge to religion and superstition and other reactionary and backward views. The *Washington Post* chooses to skip over this fact and gloss over the most important part of what Sagan is really trying to accomplish.

Other bourgeois mouthpieces have taken a more direct approach. For example, one John O'Conner, wrote in the December 14, 1980 *New York Times* television section, "... The underlying assumptions, both of Dr. Sagan's comments and of the '*Cosmos*' series are oddly disturbing. In the series, science is approached as a monolithic repository of 'truth.' Throughout '*Cosmos*' there are certain given propositions. Foremost among them is that science is infinitely superior to 'religion and superstition', which are usually linked in Dr. Sagan's observations. Religion, especially is characterized as being opposed to enlightened progress. Certainly, history is stuffed with representative examples of monumental religious blindness, from the trial of Galileo to the 'holy war' of the Ayatollah Khomeini (after all it's not just us Judeo Christians, Dr. Sagan—that's the point here—R.J.). Yet, science is not as single-mindedly enlightened as Dr. Sagan would pretend. Too frequently, his grand pronouncements are merely disturbing... The fact is that '*Cosmos*' has refused, for the most part, to acknowledge the very existence of what might be considered dissenting opinions. Dr. Sagan has progressed blithely from his personal assumptions to grand speculations. Tonight in episode 12, for instance, he begins with the statement that 'in the vastness of the cosmos, there must be civilizations far older and more advanced than ours.' In short he endorses the theory that extraterrestrial beings exist (horror of horrors he attacks the idea that man is 'God's special creation'—R.J.)—Next week's conclusion of '*Cosmos*' offers a recapitulation of the entire series, complete with flashy collages and an extensive review of the special effects. Dropping his mantle of the 'objective scientist', Dr. Sagan pleads for the causes of nuclear controls and, using the example of Hypatia in Alexandria, feminism... He concludes his project with such sweeping pro-

Continued on page 10

Cosmos

Continued from page 9

nouncements as 'with this tool we vanquish the impossible' and 'new worlds are discovered as we decipher the mysteries of the cosmos.'

In this review we find the basic line of attack that is used in several other ones. Sagan is accused of a one-sided and personally biased view that "single-mindedly" attacks the Church and uncritically upholds science. Furthermore he reveals his personal bias by "dropping his mantle of the 'objective scientist' by expounding his views on political questions of the day—there he has definitely overstepped his bounds. The *Wall Street Journal* ran an even sharper attack by a teacher by the name of Richard A. Baer, Jr. "However 'Cosmos' has been advertised, Mr. Sagan is not simply presenting science to his audience. He is also sharing his philosophical world view, his religious testimony—a blend of nature mysticism, materialism and scientism... To the degree that Mr. Sagan suggests that science alone will prove adequate to unravel the mysteries of life, he commits what philosopher A.N. Whitehead called 'the fallacy of misplaced concreteness.' That is, he changes a fruitful method for discovering truth into an all-embracing philosophical world view... such a procedure seems woefully deficient if we want to understand human freedom and responsibility or if we want to deal with the qualitative dimensions of human experience.

"Mr. Sagan's sarcastic voice reveals even more clearly than the script his bias against religion and the church... With a combination of glee and contempt he reminds us that Luther called Copernicus 'an upstart astrologer' and a 'fool'. For Mr. Sagan, the church appears to be little more than the realm of ignorance and bigotry.

"... But perhaps such a truncated and superficial historical perspective should not be too surprising to the thoughtful viewer, for Mr. Sagan seems less concerned to interpret history and culture sympathetically than to discredit rivals to his own scientism."

Here again in this rabid and shameless defense of religion we find the same line of argument. Sagan is attacked for his single-minded "metaphysical" adherence to a scientific and materialistic world view, for making science a new religion ("scientism") of which he is a priest, for rejecting the spiritual side of life in which God grants man "freedom and responsibility" and "qualitative dimensions of human experience." Now Sagan does indeed put forward a view which actually leaves the door open for religion for whatever reasons, not putting forward a fully atheistic viewpoint, and he does in a way view nature (the cosmos) as god or at least views nature in sort of a semi-religious light. He also has a view that natural science alone and natural scientists hold the key to the progress and survival of humanity. These are indeed weaknesses in his philosophy. But what so upsets these critics is precisely that he advances a generally scientific point of view that takes materialism as its basic starting point. Certain weaknesses in Sagan's material are exploited by the arguments with the utmost hypocrisy in cheap attempts to support their contentions that Sagan is a "metaphysician" for not embracing religious superstition. The logic of the argument amounts to saying Sagan is religious (perhaps in a pagan form) because he so idealistically rejects and attacks religion. This line of attack is not new at all nor is it the least bit clever. Lenin writes in this work *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* about a figure similar to Sagan during Lenin's time by the name of Ernst Haeckel and I think the parallels here are striking though not exact by any means nor should they be exaggerated. It is worth quoting a passage from Lenin on Haeckel at length here:

"The storm provoked by Ernst Haeckel's *The Riddle of the Universe* in every civilized country strikingly brought out, on the one hand, the *partisan character* of philosophy in modern society and, on the other, the true social

significance of the struggle of materialism against idealism and agnosticism. The fact that the book was sold in *hundreds of thousands* of copies, that it was immediately translated into all languages and that it appeared in specially cheap editions, clearly demonstrates that the book "found its way to the people", that there are *masses* of readers whom Ernst Haeckel at once won over to his side. This popular little book became a weapon in the class struggle. The professors of philosophy and theology in every country of the world set about denouncing and annihilating Haeckel in every possible way. The eminent English physicist Lodge hastened to defend God against Haeckel. The Russian physicist Mr. Chwolson went to Germany to publish a vile reactionary pamphlet attacking Haeckel and to assure the respectable philistines that not all scientists now hold the position of 'naïve realism'.* Innumerable theologians joined the campaign against Haeckel. There was no abuse not showered on him by the official professors of philosophy.** It was amusing to see how—perhaps for the first time in their lives—the eyes of these mummies, dried and shrunken in the atmosphere of lifeless scholasticism, began to gleam and their cheeks to glow under the slaps which Haeckel administered them. The high-priests of pure science, and it would appear, of the most abstract theory, fairly groaned with rage. And throughout all the howling of the philosophical die-hards (the idealist Paulsen, the immanentist Rehmke, the Kantian Adickes, and the others, and their name is legion) one underlying motif is clearly audible: they are all against the 'metaphysics' of natural science, against 'dogmatism', against 'the exaggeration of the value and significance of natural science', against 'natural-scientific materialism'. He is a materialist—at him! at the materialist! He is deceiving the public by not calling himself a materialist directly!—that is what particularly drives the worthy professors to fury.

"Especially noteworthy in all this tragicomedy*** is the fact that Haeckel himself renounces materialism and rejects the appellation. What is more, far from rejecting religion altogether, he has invented his own religion (something like Bulgakov's 'atheistic faith' or Lunacharsky's 'religious atheism'), and on grounds of principle advocates a union of religion and science. What is the matter then? What 'fatal misunderstanding' started the row?

"The point is that Haeckel's philosophical naïveté, his lack of definite partisan aims, his anxiety to respect the prevailing philistine prejudice against materialism, his personal conciliatory tendencies and proposals concerning religion, all this gave the greater salience to the *general spirit* of his book, the *ineradicability* of natural-scientific materialism and its *irreconcilability* with all official professorial philosophy and theology. Haeckel personally does not seek a rupture with the philistines, but what he expounds with such unshakably naïve conviction is *absolutely* incompatible with any of the shades of prevailing philosophical idealism. All these shades, from the crudest reactionary theories of a Hartmann, to the positivism of Petzoldt, who fancies himself up-to-date, progressive and advanced, or the empirio-criticism of Mach—all are in accord that natural-scientific materialism is "metaphysics", that the recognition of an objective reality underlying the theories and conclusions of science is sheer 'naïve realism', etc. And to this doctrine, 'sacred' to all professorial philosophy and theology, every page of Haeckel gives a slap in the face."

* O.D. Chwolson, *Hegel, Haeckel, Kossuth und das zwölfte Gebot*, 1906, Cf. S. 80.

** The pamphlet of Heinrich Schmidt, *Der Kampf und die Weltreise* (Bonn, 1900), gives a fairly good picture of the campaign launched against Haeckel by the professors of philosophy and theology. But this pamphlet is already very much out-of-date.

*** The tragic element was introduced by the attempt made on Haeckel's life this spring (1908). After Haeckel had received a number of anonymous letters addressing him by such epithets as "dog", "atheist", "monkey", and so forth, some true German soul threw a stone of no mean size through the window of Haeckel's study in Jena.

I think the points made here and Lenin's fundamental materialist spirit here are very important though again the point is not to draw exact parallels to today and the struggle around *Cosmos*. And I just cannot resist dealing with one of the most upfront attacks on Sagan yet. It appeared in the May 1981 issue of *Commentary* magazine, a monthly rag for reactionary intellectuals and openly aligned with the thinking and policies of the present administration. Their broadside demonstrates a keen sense of the political significance of Sagan's philosophical views and the dangers they present. In this incensed attack Sagan is hissed at for propagating the unproven "hypothesis" of evolution with the standard creationist arguments that evolution is only a "theory" not a "fact" since no one was around to witness it and therefore the God hypothesis and Genesis is really the best explanation for how man got here. He is attacked for his opposition to racism and national chauvinism—for his "distaining any particularistic attachment which might suggest that real differences exist among humans even though they belong to the same biological species"; he is even accused of being an irresponsible dupe of the Soviet Union for calling for nuclear disarmament: and the bottom line of it all—his real crime from which all this stems—is his rejection of God Almighty and His law. Here are a few short passages:

"... it is not difficult to understand why Sagan is so concerned to present his version of the universe with more certainty than it actually deserves. If one believes that mankind's future depends on the universal adoption of a scientific outlook, and that a scientific outlook must by definition be based on materialism, the possibility of a fundamental error in this overall view of the universe cannot be seriously tolerated. While there may be mistakes in minor details, and the possibility can be admitted of a revolutionary new materialistic theory, the existence of a valid non-materialistic explanation of the universe must be rejected....

"Even more absurd is Sagan's belief that the salvation of the world depends on adopting the viewpoint on a global basis....

"We have already had over sixty years' experience with one society built according to notions of scientific materialism, where science is hailed as the foundation of a new order which will produce a new man... Not only is this society one of the least free and most imperialistic in the history of mankind, not only is it far more unequal than societies in which the political, social, and economic institutions remain unredesigned, but it cannot even produce enough food for its own population. Clearly Carl Sagan does not regard the Soviet Union as his model of a society based on scientific ideas, but it is a measure of his intellectual irresponsibility that he has not even approached the stage of thinking seriously about who would perform the redesign of society he calls for.

"It is, indeed, Sagan's self-proclaimed cosmic viewpoint that permits him to luxuriate in this irresponsibility... Were he to come down to earth, he would be forced to recognize that this supposedly universalist message of surrender of national sovereignty must appear utterly bizarre to all that vast majority of mankind which does not share Sagan's own benign view of human nature and civilization....

"If people really come to believe, as Sagan suggests they should, that they have been brought into existence through blind chance in a vast and pointless universe which originated with a mysterious explosion and will end in oblivion, is it likely that they will also feel they owe some sort of mysterious 'loyalties... to the species and the planet' and they have an 'obligation to survive... to that Cosmos, ancient and vast, from which we spring'? Talk of loyalties and obligations makes sense in religious terms; to Sagan's world view the more likely response is a combination of nihilism and hedonism.

"There is an alternative to Sagan's explanation for the rise of science, why it happened, where and when it did. The concept of natural law does not follow

naturally from polytheism (as Sagan points out) or from atheism (which Sagan would like to believe) but from monotheism, which insists that everything created must obey its Creator....

"There is also an alternative to his appreciation of the ordered beauty of the cosmos combined with his strange belief that blind chance is what binds man in a mystical covenant with the universe. This alternative too follows from the monotheistic picture of the world which originated with Abraham and which holds not only that God created the universe but that He has a personal relationship with its human inhabitants."

It should be clear from these reviews—even those that offer praise to Sagan—that the bourgeoisie is not very comfortable with Sagan's philosophy and with good reason; for it opens the door to some very dangerous territory that once entered and explored threatens to be a very subversive element in the world today. In addition they have been promoting their answer to "Cosmos" in the form of the inane ramblings of Walter Cronkite in his *Universe* series. This exceedingly boring and banal presentation focuses on such diverse and fascinating subjects as the "scientific" restoration of stained glass windows in Cathedrals, industrial robotics, the computer enhancement of the colors in the Mona Lisa and so forth and presents such amazing facts as that diamonds and graphite are both 100% carbon. This version of pop science focuses on technological advances mainly in the good old USA and a stream of disconnected and supposedly interesting little known facts about this and that. It is an explicit attempt to pass off all this garbage as what science is all about, which of course is implicitly opposed to the development of any kind of consistent materialist world view.

Direct controversy is scrupulously avoided. In a way it is an admission of what the imperialists wish to reduce science to, which is not science in any real sense at all. Religion is fine and never questioned. The political status quo is defended and trumpeted for its great contributions to humanity in the form of various inventions and so forth. Everything is fine and getting finer as more inventions and facts are being discovered for the good of our country first. Even the scientists at the Alexandrian Library in its period of decline, who Sagan criticizes, would be bored to tears in Walter Cronkite's fishbowl "Universe." The only thing it offers the masses of people is a chance to study one of the ways that the bourgeoisie seeks to foist its outlook on people and trumpet its achievements while hiding its crimes and its promotion of ignorance on a mass scale.

These attacks alone indicate the very real philosophical and political struggle that is going on around the work of Sagan and other progressive materialist scientists. Stephen Jay Gould and his developments of evolutionary theory that represent a step toward a more dialectical view of it as well as his efforts to widely and broadly combat creationism and sociobiology is another example of some of the exciting and most progressive developments on this front. Not only should these developments be welcomed but the class conscious must enter the fray in this arena and not only through scientific and philosophical criticism in the Party press but by actually seizing on the fact that this struggle and debate is going on quite broadly to expose the bourgeoisie, its reactionary ideological offensives and its thoroughly bankrupt idealism of which straight-up religious obscurantism and God-building is a direct extension. And in addition, why not openly propagate the most thoroughly materialist outlook there is, dialectical materialism—Marxism, as broadly and widely as possible? There's no room for any tailing here. It will not do to simply uphold Sagan and leave things at that. If there is debate over evolution and creationism or over God vs. atheism in a school or wherever, if Sagan vs. the Moral Majority is being discussed, certainly a little Marxism would be able to do more than hold its own in the fray by uniting with the elementary materialism present and taking the opportunity to venture deeper into subversive territory

Continued on page 11

Steve Yip Denied Parole

Steve Yip was denied parole by the Justice Department on June 26. Yip, one of the UN2, along with Glenn Gan, is locked up in a federal prison at Danbury, Conn. Shortly after his appearance before the parole commission on June 17, Yip wrote the *RW*:

"I went before the panel at about 8:30 am on Wednesday, June 17. It was a short and quick affair. The hearing did not even last 10 minutes. Basically, the Board's recommendation to the Commission, which will make the final decision (big joke), is continuation of the sentence as is. That is until release with good time. [According to the Record Office, I should be out on November 9, with 21 days extra good time.] I am supposed to be eligible for a halfway house in August. But whether they grant that is another question, being that I am also a central monitoring case."

Yip reported that the panel gave him a salient factor score of 11, the highest possible score. These salient factors are things like record of prior conviction, record of prior arrest, history of heroin addiction, etc. A low score means bad chances for parole, a high score is theoretically a positive argument for parole in ordinary cases. But, as is well known, this is no ordinary case. High score or no, Yip's *offense severity* was rated *moderate*. And the guidelines for offenses which are moderately severe call for parole release at between 10 to 14 months—convenient timing considering the fact that Yip's original sentence was for one year and one day! Obviously the *most* "salient factor" was the nature of Yip's offense—expos-

ing the war moves of the two superpowers by throwing red paint on the U.S. and Soviet ambassadors at the UN.

Yip wrote:
"They did not want to hear and discuss the political points raised in my attachment to the Inmate Background Sheet, which they assured me that they had reviewed thoroughly. They asked a few questions touching employment possibilities outside, family, conduct in prison and situation with Glenn. I raised that I should be released because I was politically discriminated. That four months was already too much time. I was convicted on a "terrorist" law and pointed out the political consideration that went into that. I pointed out the situation with Dan White and his parole. Of course they all nodded and said nevertheless, I was convicted of assault. I was interrupted several times and cut short.

"When I returned to the room for their recommendation (outlined above), I asked them why. They couldn't justify going below the guidelines. I asked, 'Have you ever gone below guidelines?' The main examiner, a woman, was a bit taken back but replied yes. I then asked why didn't they go below the guidelines for me? She said they didn't have to tell me. Why not? BECAUSE WE DON'T HAVE TO TELL YOU ANYTHING WHY. Oh, so that's your so-called freedom and democracy? THAT'S ALL, MR. YIP. I left the room with a sarcastic *Thank you!*"

Appeal of this decision will be filed soon. □

Parole Form H-7
(Rev. April 1978)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
United States Parole Commission
Washington, D. C. 20537

NOTICE OF ACTION

Name YIP, Steven

Register Number 09309-054 Institution Danbury

In the case of the above-named the following parole action was ordered:

CONTINUE TO EXPIRATION.

A presumptive parole date is conditioned upon your maintaining good institutional conduct and the development of a suitable release plan. Prior to release your case will be subject to review to ascertain that these conditions have been fulfilled. In NARA cases a parole date is also contingent upon certification of release readiness by the Surgeon General.

(Reasons for continuance or revocation) (Conditions or remarks)

Your offense behavior has been rated as moderate severity because you were convicted of assault for throwing non-toxic paint upon a UN representative. You have a salient factor score of 11 (see attached). You have been in custody a total of 4 months. Guidelines established by the Commission for adult cases which consider the above factors indicate a range of 10-14 months to be served before release for cases with good institutional program performance and adjustment. After review of all relevant factors and information presented, a decision outside the guidelines at this consideration is not found warranted.

Cosmos

Continued from page 10

both in applying the dialectical materialist point of view to questions of natural sciences as well as more basic political and philosophical questions.

In this light, I think that the end of the letter "The Limits of Carl Sagan's Materialism" (*RW* No. 99) has its own limits. It states: "Off of this debate (on *Cosmos*) our attitude toward Carl Sagan, despite his weaknesses must be one of thanking him for raising these profound and timely questions. Sagan's determination to present a thorough materialistic description of the universe can only be welcomed with open arms, and indeed we have to stand a little in awe of the fact that his television series which has been syndicated internationally has been viewed by 3% of the population of earth. Finally, we should learn from Sagan's attitude toward the masses when he described his *Cosmos* project as "dedicated to the proposition that the public is far more intelligent than it has generally been given credit for; that the deepest scientific questions on the nature and origin of the world excite the interests and passions of enormous numbers of people."

Things cannot be left at the level of thanking Carl Sagan for his efforts or simply welcoming his materialism and his mass propagation of it with open arms. And I don't think I'm being

picky here. This is an important point. The view expressed here is one that promotes the tailing behind what is already going on on this front. It is a view that is all too prevalent of slam-bam-thank-you Carl Sagan for raising some things that we welcome and we will take note of, and little more, while we rest content with appreciating the fact that we have something better, standing aloof from the actual struggle that is taking place on this front these days among scientists and intellectuals and significantly among broader masses of people. Still worse are the arguments that outright attack Sagan because he is not a Marxist or, even lower, because he is famous and gets on TV with a show that has an \$8 million budget. The essence of this argument is that it too is only a justification for abandoning the field and miserably tailing while promoting the most dry and ossified philosophy and calling it Marxism. And the point here is definitely not that Sagan's science and philosophy should not be subjected to criticism from the high plane of Marxism. This must be and has just begun to be done with the call for debate in the pages of the *RW*. It is profoundly true that the masses of people and the class conscious too are hungry for and urgently need a thoroughly materialist and dialectical philosophical outlook and want to and do wrangle over philosophical and scientific questions. There is more to do to meet these needs.

R.J.

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

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

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

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Introduction:

The working class in the U.S. will not move as one unified, monolithic bloc toward proletarian revolution. To wait for them to do so will be to miss the proletarian revolution. The revisionists do not represent just another, "mistaken" pro-socialist trend, but an arm of imperialism within the revolutionary movement. To fail to fight their influence and ideology all along the line will be to fail to forge the vanguard necessary to lead the revolution to victory. These are some of the key problems our Party and the revolutionary movement internationally are grappling with today; they are spoken to at length in relation to our conditions in the latest documents of the RCP, USA Central Committee (reprinted in RW No. 98 and 99, and the latest issue of Revolution magazine).

In October 1916, in the midst of the first world war and just a year away from the successful Bolshevik revolution in Russia, V.I. Lenin wrote "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism." The particular conditions he urgently had to address were: a revolutionary situation emerging in many European countries; and yet the "vanguard" parties of the proletariat deserting the revolutionary cause into social-chauvinism—each advocating that the workers of one's "own" country should shoot down the workers of the other countries. This was the "split in socialism" referred to in Lenin's title. Some people argued differently, including the "centrist" Kautsky, a leader of the German Social-Democratic party. They said that, in the interests of "working class unity," revolutionaries should blur over this gross betrayal and desertion. Lenin argued that truly vanguard parties capable of leading revolution had to be built in sharp opposition to all this. He analyzed that such desertion had its roots in imperialism, in particular in the spreading of the imperialist spoils of plunder among a section of the workers. He wrote, "it is therefore our duty, if we wish to remain socialists, to go down lower and deeper, to the real masses." Lenin's thesis and his method are today a crucial compass as we seek in our present conditions to chart the uncharted course to proletarian revolution in an advanced, imperialist country such as the U.S.A.

Is there any connection between imperialism and the monstrous and disgusting victory opportunism (in the form of social-chauvinism) has gained over the labour movement in Europe?

This is the fundamental question of modern socialism. And having in our Party literature fully established, first, the imperialist character of our era and of the present war, and, second, the inseparable historical connection between social-chauvinism and opportunism, as well as the intrinsic similarity of their political ideology, we can and must proceed to analyse this fundamental question.

We have to begin with as precise and full a definition of imperialism as possible. Imperialism is a specific historical stage of capitalism. Its specific character is three-fold: imperialism is (1) monopoly capitalism; (2) parasitic, or decaying capitalism; (3) moribund capitalism. The supplanting of free competition by monopoly is the fundamental economic feature, the quintessence of imperialism. Monopoly manifests itself in five principal forms: (1) cartels, syndicates and trusts—the concentration of production has reached a degree which gives rise to these monopolistic associations of capitalists; (2) the monopolistic position of the big banks—three, four or five giant banks manipulate the whole economic life of America, France, Germany; (3) seizure of the sources of raw material by the trusts and the financial oligarchy (finance capital is monopoly industrial capital merged with bank capital); (4) the (economic) partition of the world by the international cartels has begun. There are already over one hundred such international cartels, which command the entire world market and divide it "amicably" among themselves—until war redivides it. The export of capital, as distinct from the export of commodities under non-monopoly capitalism is a highly characteristic phenomenon and is closely linked with the economic and territorial-political partition of the world; (5) the territorial partition of the world (colonies) is completed.

Imperialism, as the highest stage of capitalism in America and Europe, and later in Asia, took final shape in the period 1898-1914. The Spanish-American War (1898), the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) and the economic crisis in Europe in 1900 are the chief historical landmarks in the new era of world history.

The fact that imperialism is parasitic or decaying capitalism is manifested first of all in the tendency to decay, which is characteristic of every monopoly under the system of private ownership of the means of production. The difference between the democratic-republican and the reactionary-monarchist imperialist bourgeoisie is obliterated precisely because they are both rotting alive (which by no means precludes an extraordinarily rapid development of capitalism in individual branches of industry, in individual countries, and in individual periods). Secondly, the decay of capitalism is manifested in the creation of a huge stratum of rentiers, capitalists who live by "clipping coupons". In each of the four leading imperialist countries—England, U.S.A., France and Germany—capital in securities amounts to 100,000 or 150,000 million francs, from which each country derives an annual income of no less than five to eight thousand million. Thirdly, export of capital is parasitism raised to a high pitch. Fourthly, "finance capital strives for domination, not freedom". Political reaction all along the line is a characteristic feature of imperialism. Corruption, bribery on a huge scale and all kinds of fraud. Fifthly, the exploitation of oppressed nations—which is inseparably connected with annexations—and especially the exploitation of colonies by a handful of "Great

Powers, increasingly transforms the "civilised" world into a parasite on the body of hundreds of millions in the uncivilised nations. The Roman proletarian lived at the expense of society. Modern society lives at the expense of the modern proletarian. Marx specially stressed this profound observation of Sismondi. Imperialism somewhat changes the situation. A privileged upper stratum of the proletariat in the imperialist countries lives partly at the expense of hundreds of millions in the uncivilised nations.

It is clear why imperialism is moribund capitalism, capitalism in transition to socialism: monopoly, which grows out of capitalism, is already dying capitalism, the beginning of its transition to socialism. The tremendous socialisation of labour by imperialism (what its apologists—the bourgeois economists—call "interlocking") produces the same result.

Advancing this definition of imperialism brings us into complete contradiction to K. Kautsky, who refuses to regard imperialism as a "phase of capitalism" and defines it as a policy "preferred" by finance capital, a tendency of "industrial" countries to annex "agrarian" countries.* Kautsky's definition is thoroughly false from the theoretical standpoint. What distinguishes imperialism is the rule not of industrial capital, but of finance capital, the striving to annex not agrarian countries, particularly, but every kind of country. Kautsky divorces imperialist politics from imperialist economics, he divorces monopoly in politics from monopoly in economics in order to pave the way for his vulgar bourgeois reformism, such as "disarmament", "ultra-imperialism" and similar nonsense. The whole purpose and significance of this theoretical falsity is to obscure the most profound contradictions of imperialism and thus justify the theory of "unity" with the apologists of imperialism, the outright social-chauvinists and opportunists.

We have dealt at sufficient length with Kautsky's break with Marxism on this point in *Sotsial-Demokrat* and *Kommunist*. Our Russian Kautskyites, the supporters of the Organising Committee (O.C.), headed by Axelrod and Spectator, including even Martov, and to a large degree Trotsky,

is first the habit of economic parasitism, by which the ruling state has used its provinces, colonies, and dependencies in order to enrich its ruling class and to bribe its lower classes into acquiescence". Concerning the second circumstance, Hobson writes:

"One of the strangest symptoms of the blindness of imperialism [this song about the "blindness" of imperialists comes more appropriately from the social-liberal Hobson than from the "Marxist" Kautsky] is the reckless indifference with which Great Britain, France, and other imperial nations are embarking on this perilous dependence. Great Britain has gone farthest. Most of the fighting by which we have won our Indian Empire has been done by natives; in India, as more recently in Egypt, great standing armies are placed under British commanders; almost all the fighting associated with our African dominions, except in the southern part, has been done for us by natives."

The prospect of partitioning China elicited from Hobson the following economic appraisal: "The greater part of Western Europe might then assume the appearance and character already exhibited by tracts of country in the South of England, in the Riviera, and in the tourist-ridden or residential parts of Italy and Switzerland, little clusters of wealthy aristocrats drawing dividends and pensions from the Far East, with a somewhat larger group of professional retainers and tradesmen and a larger body of personal servants and workers in the transport trade and in the final stages of production of the more perishable goods: all the main arterial industries would have disappeared, the staple foods and semi-manufactures flowing in as tribute from Asia and Africa... We have foreshadowed the possibility of even a larger alliance of Western states, a European federation of Great Powers which, so far from forwarding the cause of world civilisation, might introduce the gigantic peril of a Western parasitism, a group of advanced industrial nations, whose upper classes drew vast tributes from Asia and Africa, with which they supported great tame masses of retainers, no longer engaged in the staple industries of agriculture and manufacture, but kept in

VI. Lenin:

Imperialism and the Split in Socialism

preferred to maintain a discreet silence on the question of Kautskyism as a trend. They did not dare defend Kautsky's war-time writings, confining themselves simply to praising Kautsky (Axelrod in his German pamphlet, which the Organising Committee has promised to publish in Russian) or to quoting Kautsky's private letters (Spectator), in which he says he belongs to the opposition and jesuitically tries to nullify his chauvinist declarations.

It should be noted that Kautsky's "conception" of imperialism—which is tantamount to embellishing imperialism—is a retrogression not only compared with Hilferding's *Finance Capital* (no matter how assiduously Hilferding now defends Kautsky and "unity" with the social-chauvinists!) but also compared with the social-liberal J. A. Hobson. This English economist, who in no way claims to be a Marxist, defines imperialism, and reveals its contradictions, much more profoundly in a book published in 1902**. This is what Hobson (in whose book may be found nearly all Kautsky's pacifist and "conciliatory" banalities) wrote on the highly important question of the parasitic nature of imperialism:

Two sets of circumstances, in Hobson's opinion, weakened the power of the old empires: (1) "economic parasitism", and (2) formation of armies from dependent peoples. "There

the performance of personal or minor industrial services under the control of a new financial aristocracy. Let those who would scout such a theory [he should have said: prospect] as undeserving of consideration examine the economic and social condition of districts in Southern England today which are already reduced to this condition, and reflect upon the vast extension of such a system which might be rendered feasible by the subjection of China to the economic control of similar groups of financiers, investors [rentiers] and political and business officials, draining the greatest potential reservoir of profit the world has ever known, in order to consume it in Europe. The situation is far too complex, the play of world forces far too incalculable, to render this or any other single interpretation of the future very probable; but the influences which govern the imperialism of Western Europe today are moving in this direction, and, unless counteracted or diverted, make towards such a consummation."

Hobson, the social-liberal, fails to see that this "counteraction" can be offered only by the revolutionary proletariat and only in the form of a social revolution. But then he is a social-liberal! Nevertheless, as early as 1902 he had an excellent insight into the meaning and significance of a "United States of Europe" (be it said for the benefit of Trotsky the Kautskyite!) and of all that is now being glossed over by the hypocritical Kautskyites of various countries, namely, that the opportunists (social-chauvinists) are working hand in glove with the imperialist bourgeoisie precisely towards creating an imperialist Europe on the backs of Asia and Africa, and that objectively the opportunists are a section of the petty bourgeoisie and of certain strata of

* "Imperialism is a product of highly developed industrial capitalism. It consists in the striving of every industrial capitalist nation to subjugate and annex ever larger agrarian territories, irrespective of the nations that inhabit them" (Kautsky in *Die Neue Zeit*, September 11, 1914).

** J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism*, London, 1902.

the working class who *have been bribed* out of imperialist superprofits and converted into *watchdogs* of capitalism and *corrupters* of the labour movement.

Both in articles and in the resolutions of our Party, we have repeatedly pointed to this most profound connection, the economic connection, between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the opportunism which has triumphed (for long?) in the labour movement. And from this, incidentally, we concluded that a split with the social-chauvinists was inevitable. Our Kautskyites preferred to evade the question! Martov, for instance, uttered in his lectures a sophistry which in the *Bulletin of the Organising Committee, Secretariat Abroad* (No. 4, April 10, 1916) is expressed as follows:

"...The cause of revolutionary Social-Democracy would be in a sad, indeed hopeless, plight if those groups of workers who in mental development approach most closely to the 'intelligentsia' and who are the most highly skilled fatally drifted away from it towards opportunism..."

By means of the silly word "fatally" and a certain sleight-of-hand, the *fact* is *evaded* that *certain* groups of workers *have already drifted away* to opportunism and to the imperialist bourgeoisie! And that is the very fact the sophists of the O. C. want to *evade*! They confine themselves to the "official optimism" the Kautskyite Hilferding and many others now flaunt: objective conditions guarantee the unity of the proletariat and the victory of the revolutionary trend! We, forsooth, are "optimists" with regard to the proletariat!

But in reality all these Kautskyites—Hilferding, the O. C. supporters, Martov and Co.—are *optimists*... with regard to *opportunism*. That is the whole point!

The proletariat is the child of capitalism—of world capitalism, and not only of European capitalism, or of imperialist capitalism. On a world scale, fifty years sooner or fifty years later—measured on a *world* scale this is a minor point—the "proletariat" of course "will be" united, and revolutionary Social-Democracy will "inevitably" be victorious within it. But that is not the point, Messrs. Kaut-

skyites. The point is that at the present time, in the imperialist countries of Europe, *you are fawning* on the opportunists, who are *alien* to the proletariat as a class, who are the servants, the agents of the bourgeoisie and the vehicles of its influence, and *unless* the labour movement *rids* itself of them, it will remain a *bourgeois labour movement*. By advocating "unity" with the opportunists, with the Legiens and Davids, the Plekhanovs, the Chkhenkelis and Potresovs, etc., you are, objectively, defending the *enslavement* of the workers by the imperialist bourgeoisie with the aid of its best agents in the labour movement. The victory of revolutionary Social-Democracy on a world scale is absolutely inevitable, only it is moving and will move, is proceeding and will proceed, *against* you, it will be a victory *over* you.

These two trends, one might even say *two* parties, in the present-day labour movement, which in 1914-16 so obviously parted ways all over the world, were *traced* by *Engels and Marx in England* throughout the course of *decades*, roughly from 1858 to 1892.

Neither Marx nor Engels lived to see the imperialist epoch of world capitalism, which began not earlier than 1898-1900. But it has been a peculiar feature of England that even in the middle of the nineteenth century she already revealed at least *two* major distinguishing features of imperialism: (1) vast colonies, and (2) monopoly profit (due to her monopoly position in the world market). In both respects England at that time was an exception among capitalist countries, and Engels and Marx, analysing this exception, quite clearly and definitely indicated its *connection* with the (temporary) victory of opportunism in the English labour movement.

In a letter to Marx, dated October 7, 1858, Engels wrote: "...The English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat *alongside* the bourgeoisie. For a nation which exploits the whole world this is of course to a certain extent justifiable." In a letter

* the open social-chauvinists—RW

Continued on page 22



V.I. Lenin

Dancing in the Streets in D.C.

The Wednesday night dance had gone on as usual. Hundreds of youth, mainly Black, came from all over the Washington metropolitan area to the disco Tres Chic in the northeast section of D.C. Also as usual was police harassment of youths hanging around outside the club. However, what started as a routine Wednesday disco ended on a whole different note on July 8th as over 200 youths bombarded D.C. cops with rocks and bottles, injuring two cops, smashing one squad car and freeing a prisoner.

It began when a D.C. cop stopped a youth outside the club supposedly because his bicycle "didn't have a city registration sticker on it" (probably only one of several thousand bikes in the city without such a sticker). According to the cop, the stickerless bicycle naturally aroused his suspicions, so he stopped the youth and ran a check on the bike to determine if it was stolen property. When the youth balked at the cop, the pig decided to show him who was in charge and slapped him around.

That's when the tables began to turn. Instead of cowering before this pig and his "authority" the youth jumped all over the cop. When the fight between

the cop and the youth broke out more than 200 people surrounded the cop, the youth and the cop's partner and immediately began showering the cops with rocks and bottles.

As the rocks and bottles flew, one pig managed to crawl back into his squad car and radio for help. One of the first reinforcements to arrive on the scene was a cop who had been on his way back to the police station with a handcuffed prisoner in the back seat. As soon as he arrived, this cop too was met with a hail of rocks and bottles, and within minutes all of the windows in the squad car were smashed out and his prisoner freed.

By the time the smoke cleared, the cops had without a doubt come out on the losing side of the tally sheet. Two arrests were made in the course of finally "dispersing the crowd"; two cops had received head lacerations. One squad car was smashed, the youth and the bicycle disappeared and the handcuffed prisoner was freed (and as of one week later had not been recaptured). One final note of irony tops this story off. The Wednesday night discos were started to keep the youths "off the streets and out of trouble." □

managed to reopen, and many will undoubtedly be driven out of business permanently. This is right in line with the bourgeoisie's overall objective to tear apart the community and hasten the process of uprooting the masses and forcibly dispersing this politically volatile concentration.

But instead of defusing the powder-keg, this attack on small businesses has only sparked more outrage and given it a focal point. This outrage escalated further when the cops busted into Carmen's Tavern, already closed by the city, to break up a meeting of community organization leaders and businessmen on July 7. This was a planned assault to keep them from mapping out a strategy to fight the shutdowns. Five people were arrested on the spot, including the co-directors of the Westtown Coalition, Peter Earle and Rev. Jorge Morales. A spontaneous demonstration of about 30-40 people formed up on the spot to march to the 13th District Police Station and demand their release. The march was met with enthusiasm, some groups cheering as it went by, and doubled in size as kids turned their bicycles around to join and others fell into line.

This struggle continued to gather momentum over the next week as Jane Byrne steadfastly maintained she would meet only with certain handpicked community leaders and not others. What she meant is community leaders who totally capitulate. Those that show even the least sign of resistance are to be strongarmed, Mafia-style, into going along with the program.

This was the message delivered on July 14 when 17 community groups held a march to City Hall to demand that the businesses be reopened immediately and that police harassment stop. About 150 people joined in, recognizing Byrne's intransigence as a spit in the face of the Puerto Rican people. But despite the appeals of many of these community leaders to obey the law and follow the instructions of the police, as they approached City Hall 100 cops had sealed it off and they immediately busted five people, including once again the co-directors of the Westtown Coalition and the head of another group, Allies for a Better Community.

The Westtown Coalition has been busted several times for opposing the shutdown of the businesses and for opposing police brutality and the city's plans to totally uproot Westtown residents and drive them from the community. Although much of this has been confined well within respectable boundaries, such as the demand for a new Latino district police commander,

with the explosive situation in Westtown the bourgeoisie, while appreciating such illusion peddling, is now working to build up a leadership who will act as total flunkies.

As a reflection of the overall position of the Puerto Rican masses toward the bottom of the totem pole even among Chicago's oppressed nationalities, the Democratic Machine has not even bothered to consolidate its usual political structure of a network of neighborhood patronage workers commanded by the ward alderman in Westtown. Traditionally the Machine could afford to thumb its nose at the Puerto Rican masses, but today the lack of this control mechanism is being sorely felt. To manufacture a reliable base of token mouthpieces in the Puerto Rican community, Jane Byrne recently went to great lengths to actually engineer a split in the Westtown Coalition. A former leader of this group, Carlos Quintanilla, split the organization about two months ago after being given control over scores of Democratic Machine patronage jobs. His new group, Operation Search, is one of the handful of Latino organizations (all well-funded by the City of Chicago) which condoned the inspection raid. In the meantime he has faithfully echoed Byrne's accusation that the leaders of the Westtown Coalition are "supporting gangs and drugs" for opposing the attack on the small businessmen.

This unusual political maneuvering and jockeying to establish open lackeys in the Puerto Rican community is just one example of the extraordinary measures the bourgeoisie is being driven to take in order to whip the Puerto Rican people into line and consolidate a firm grip over them. Not only has a police state type atmosphere been unleashed against the basic masses, but the attack has been broadened out to include sections of the petit-bourgeoisie, including community leaders and small businessmen. Fundamentally these are desperate measures and it is patently obvious that the more they try to tighten their grasp on the situation the more it is spinning out of control. The recent and very similar assault on the masses at Cabrini-Green show that the sharpening political situation makes it imperative that the bourgeoisie move hard and fast on their preparations for the revolutionary storms of the '80s. A key part of this is the brutal intensification of national oppression and the forcible breakup of politically explosive concentrations of people. But as the history of Westtown shows such plans promise to create even more trouble for the bourgeoisie. □

BARRIO

Continued from page 7

During the whole day, the cops were very uptight, constantly kicking everyone out of the park, including the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade. A contingent of 30 pigs quickly descended to disperse them upon seeing their banner inscribed with "A Pledge of Internationalism." Since the park was off-limits the celebration took on the character of a mobile demonstration on wheels. Carloads of people circled the area with people piled up on the roof or hood or hanging out the windows, Puerto Rican flags waving everywhere. Some cars were totally draped with the Puerto Rican flag. There were little gatherings of people around the park all day, and at certain points everyone would cheer and a sea of Puerto Rican flags would go up in the air. The American flag, on the other hand, was notably absent. In one case a vendor tried to sell it and a ten-year-old boy grabbed it away from him and stomped on it. In another case demonstrators converged on an old man with

the American flag, struggling with him, "It's not your flag, put it down!"

Freaked out, especially at this outpouring of national pride and hatred of U.S. imperialism and a feeling of liberation that continued into the night, the authorities opened the National Guard Armory, stationed about 50 pigs in front and actively prepared for riot duty. Huge bus-sized paddywagons stood ready. Squads of nervous-looking police tried to control traffic at the major intersections. This was in sharp contrast to the atmosphere on the fourth of July which wasn't really celebrated by the people, except for setting off a few firecrackers.

Assault Breeds Resistance

Puerto Rican Day was a definite sign that the situation in Westtown was not well in hand at all for the bourgeoisie. It is probably no accident that within a matter of weeks a broad political attack, spearheaded by the closing of 47 small businesses in one fell swoop, was launched not only to suppress the masses but to accelerate the drive to force people from the neighborhood. Only a dozen of these businesses have

coverage of the wedding—any other benefits of the affair for the government are highly dubious save increased revenue from the tourist trade.

As of this writing, British police have been trying to go on the offensive in a number of areas forming "snatch squads" to carry out police raids and make arrests. Plastic bullets, water cannons, and armoured vehicles are now officially authorized for use against the masses. Special courts have been set up to process those arrested, dispensing with normal trial procedures like the right of appeal, and with greater sentencing powers. The authorities have also opened up the Rollestone army camp near London as a detention and trial center for rioters and are considering the use of other military facilities. Meanwhile the government has sent a delegation of senior British police chiefs to Northern Ireland for training by members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary in riot control.

On Thursday night, July 17, Brixton exploded once again after 100 uniformed and plainclothes police in "snatch squads" raided 11 West Indian homes searching for alleged "bomb factories," smashing in doors with sledgehammers and in each case destroying everything inside the homes. In response hundreds of youth poured into the streets hurling gasoline bombs at police and throwing up barricades in retaliation.

Throughout the past week reports of rioting have poured in from the most oppressed districts all over England. The districts are too numerous to mention. Places like Leicester, Nottingham,

Derby, and Wolverhampton where a crowd even attempted to free two men appearing in court on riot charges in a wild melee. Thousands have been arrested throughout the country. Rioting for the first time broke out in Scotland, in the port city of Dundee. In New Delhi, India, part of Britain's old colonial empire, protestors were dragged from the British Embassy after a demonstration against Britain's treatment of Asian immigrants. And the fighting in Northern Ireland continued.

Some reports from the British press covering the first week of rioting begin to paint a picture of the festival of the oppressed these outbreaks are. A reporter from the *Manchester Guardian* writes in horror about the scene in Liverpool:

"Perhaps fewer than 40 percent were black. The rest were mostly white, some with their faces covered by balaclava masks and luridly lit by the flames from buildings they had set to the torch.

"Exulting in their victory, the rioters grabbed fire hoses and played them on retreating police, drove milk floats and a concrete mixer at them. Then the looting began.

"Eventually the riot spread out enough to allow those sheltering in houses to emerge to loot. There was no shame about it, only an assumption that anyone who was not police would help themselves and women, especially white women, were the worst offenders." (emphasis ours—RW.)

In Toxeth, Liverpool, which has been a multinational community of blacks and whites for many years, unity during the riots was very evident. But it was

clearly blacks in the main who sparked things off. Three blacks from Toxeth spoke to a *London Times* reporter. One describes the police harassment and attacks against Liverpool blacks:

"I feel good after the riots. Living with the police here is like having phlegm on your chest, you have to cough it out. When you've done that, you can sleep sound at night.

"Our fight is with the Merseyside Police. They are a bunch of racists. Two years ago, one of their chiefs said the blacks in Liverpool were the result of liaisons between black seamen and white prostitutes. That's how they think. If you have a car in this town it must be stolen. If you have a white girl she must be a prostitute. If you are coming from a club you must be carrying drugs.

"My aim was to kill a policeman. We wanted to leave a few of them in the middle of the road with their arms and legs broken. We warned them weeks ago that this town was about to go up."

The reporter describes the next speaker as "a married man in his thirties with children, a disarmingly friendly smile and no job." He relates:

"If I want to practise my trade I have to leave Liverpool for six months a year," he said. "What kind of life is that? It is like being a transit worker in South Africa". Another youth in his mid twenties reflects on the events surrounding the burning of the Rialto and Liverpool Racquets Club, "with the air of a military tactician":

"It took us half an hour to move them from Grove Street to Jamaica

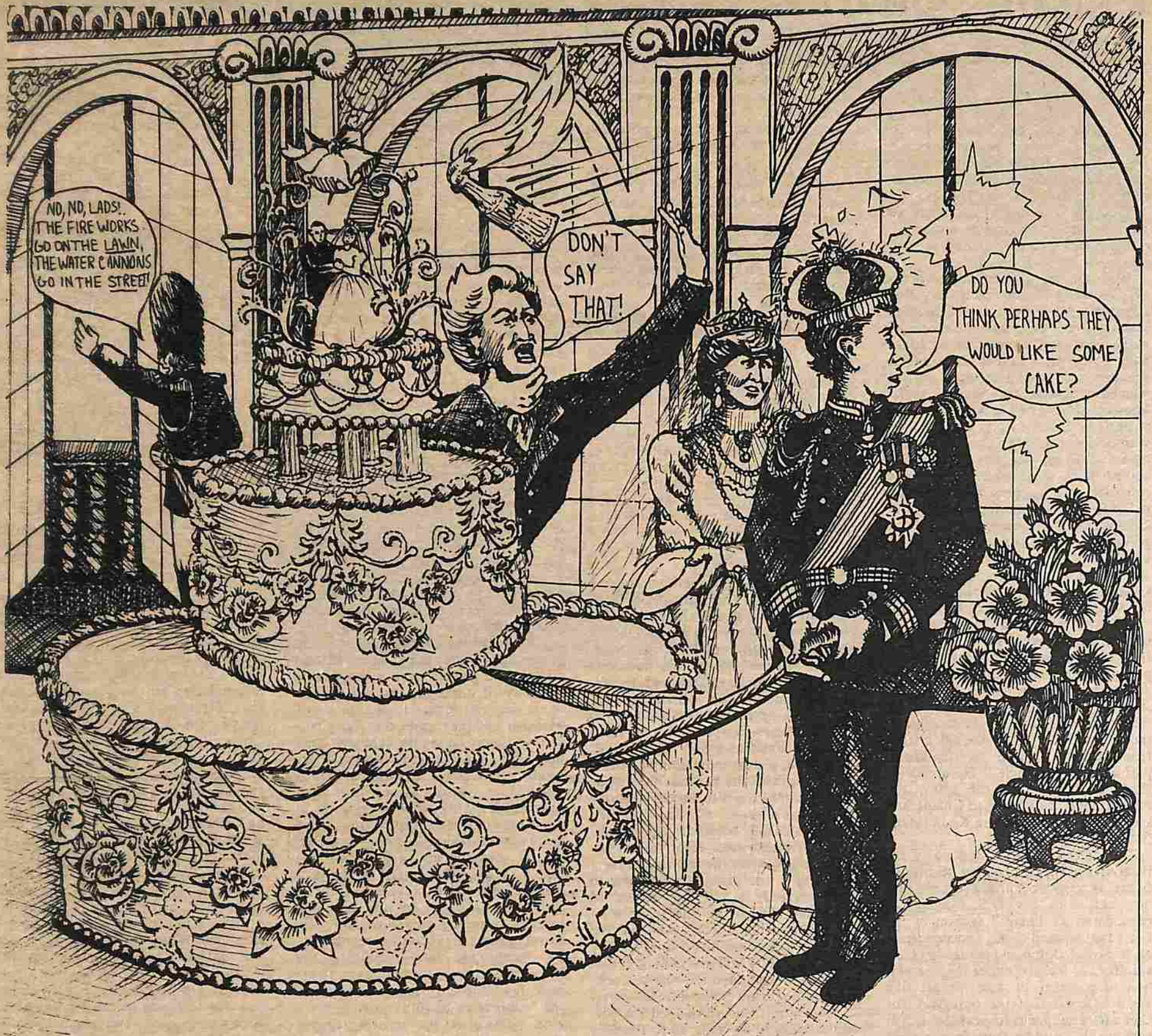
Continued on page 15

Britain

Continued from page 1

been smoldering beneath the surface in British society.

The fact that the best the imperialists can do to reassure themselves and the world that England is strong and will pull through it all is to point to the upcoming wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana and the "pillar of stability" that the English monarchy represents stands as a pathetic admission of the state of bankruptcy and decadence of the British empire in decay. This centuries-old remnant of feudalism in England, as concentrated in the regal marriage rites of two overly inbred descendents of the blue-bloods of yesteryear that is to take place in two weeks, is actually being trumpeted in the press (including all over the place in the U.S.) as the "hope and foundation for Britain" and even as a possible "healing element" for the wounds currently being inflicted upon the worm-eaten flesh of the Empire. Right there you know that England's "troubles" are deep and profound—when hope and prayers are being staked on a medieval procession of bejeweled carriages carrying the crowned figures of Kings and Queens, Princes and Princesses, Dukes and Duchesses, Lords and Ladies, etc., etc. As for their hopes for a regal faith healing, perhaps they will manage to keep the turmoil in England out of the press for a few days by drowning everything out with



Britain

Continued from page 14

House. We used the milk floats and a cement mixer to push them back. They re-grouped at Park Way. They were more ready for a fight then. It took us an hour and a half to get them down to the Rialto and the Racquets Club. They stood their ground pretty well. They were out to protect the Racquets Club. It was a symbol. It's like a hotel for the people who rule Liverpool.

"My father used to tell me that it was where the judges went for lunch after they had sent black people to prison. That's why it was burned. I was in there. I helped loot it. Some guy came out with a pair of antlers. You should have seen him standing on the steps waving them. It was amazing. They's come all the way from Africa—it was like he had got back something that belonged to him.

"It was just like the Zulu wars, only the police had the shields and they were shouting."

The *London Times* reporter describes these proletarians as "bitter, cynical, and utterly proud of what they have done." The pride of the masses who have taken part in these outbreaks is in evidence everywhere. One report from London's Wood Green district describes the following scene:

"Mick was sitting next to Sid with a cassette recorder on his lap, playing back a recording of the news bulletin about the night's events. Other young

people, black and white, came up with copies of newspapers, reading them out, criticising their accuracy, spotting themselves in the descriptions."

And in London, teenagers broadcast their own news using homemade "pirate" radio transmitters to interrupt commercial broadcasts with their own messages like, "This is a warning. There is going to be a riot at Kings Road."

Various liberals in Britain have pointed to the need for better "race relations" programs in the wake of the riots. It would be safe to say that "race relations" have never been better! While the contradictions between whites, blacks, and Asians have not disappeared in the course of the events of the two weeks even among those who are fighting shoulder to shoulder together, definite blows have been delivered to the bourgeoisie's attempts with the aid of fascist groups like the National Front to broadly promote racism, fomenting divisions among the people and mobilizing sections of white youth against blacks, Asian and immigrants generally. Building unity has not been a straight-line or an automatic process and certainly the backward and diehard elements among the white youth continue to play their reactionary role. But the fascist trends and movements have been meeting with difficulties and resistance while inspiring examples of unity in the struggle against a common enemy are many. This in itself is an ominous sight for the British rulers.

The riots in England have sent political reverberations throughout the

country, and internationally. The government finds itself on the political defensive. From all quarters of the government, alternating calls for "more compassion" on the one hand and more cops on the other have grown with equal intensity. While to some degree, this coincides with demagogic railing by both major bourgeois parties—Conservative and Labor—the *New York Times* was exactly correct in noting that the "package" designed to quell urban unrest in Britain "is expected to contain both carrots and sticks." The *Times* editorialized: "the overwhelming imperative is to halt disorder with sensitivity and with force. Yes, communicate an awareness of grievances of poor communities; yes, use enough well trained force to master the situation before contagion sets in."

Yes...yes. Now there's a consensus any Laborite or Tory can live with. One Labor MP said: "No one is going to condone rioting and looting, but we have to understand that there are deeper causes which can not be dealt with simply by a heavy handed clamp-down." Leave it to Labor to point out the complexity of the present situation and the tasks which confront the bourgeoisie as a result.

But the actual features of this "package" are only now being developed. The reason for this was pointed to in an editorial in the *London Times*: "Faced with the worst social crisis this country has suffered since World War 2, the government does not know what to do." There are, of course, already moves afoot to expand the repressive apparatus of the state and

develop new methods of "police work" to deal with the new conditions. But the concessionary element of this "package" is not yet clear. Much attention has been focused on the plight of the inner cities, the high unemployment rate, the conditions of youth and oppressed nationalities, etc. One scheme under consideration, for example, is a "youth employment program" that would supposedly "guarantee a job or a place in a training program for every young person leaving school." Despite the obviously exaggerated pretensions here, it's quite likely that crumbs of some nature will be hurled at the people.

Of course, no partial and temporary concessions—which are still possible if brashly pitiful—can patch over the fundamental cracks in imperialism so evident in Britain over the past two weeks, as on Liverpool youth perceived: "This economic thing is crap. It isn't just unemployment. If you are black and from Liverpool 8, you can't get anywhere." Can things improve?—he was asked. "They can't. The police hate us and we hate them. Things are quiet now. They want to be friendly today, but what will happen tomorrow?"

Upside-Down

Continued from page 5

Mao Zedong Thought "is recognized as the guiding ideology of the Party." But they qualify even these statements by saying this is an "inevitable outcome of the 28 years of historical development" and that Mao Zedong Thought is a "collective" product of the Party and the people. "Inevitable outcome"? "Collective" product? This is nothing but a distortion of history.

For example, in describing the period of civil war with the reactionary Kuomintang (1945-1949, after the Japanese invaders were defeated), the resolution makes no specific mention of Mao's role. This is no "formal" or academic question of "giving credit." Anyone who has any familiarity with this period knows that Mao had to wage an intense struggle within the Party against those who doubted whether they could fight against Chiang, who was being backed up by U.S. imperialism. "All reactionaries are paper tigers," Mao declared in countering those who overestimated the strength of U.S. imperialism, especially fearing the atomic bomb, and underestimated the explosive revolutionary potential of the Chinese people. One of those holding the capitulationist line that Mao had to combat was none other than Liu Shaoqi, who later emerged as the chieftain of the revisionist headquarters. Liu preached right after the surrender of Japan that "China has entered a new stage of peace and democracy" and that "the main form of the struggle of the Chinese revolution should change from armed struggle to non-armed parliamentary struggle." He urged the Party to hand over the army and revolutionary base areas to Chiang and seek official posts in the Koumintang (KMT) government.

Zhou Enlai, another top party official and like Liu a leading revisionist figure, is reported to have secretly sent out feelers to the U.S., saying he represented a "liberal" faction of the Party that wanted to be "independent" of the Soviet Union and requesting U.S. aid. Totally freaked out at the devastation after years of war, people like Zhou believed that the only way for China to rebuild was to work out a deal with the U.S. and be dependent on their assistance. During the same period that Zhou reportedly made his overtures to the U.S., Mao repeatedly blasted "liberals" or "democratic individualists" who "cherish illusions about the U.S. and have short memories." "What matter if we have to face some difficulties? Let them blockade us for ten years! By that time all of China's problems will have been solved," Mao declared to those cowed by the apparent might of U.S. imperialism. Basing himself on confidence in the Chinese masses and especially the working class, along with support from the international proletariat and the then-socialist Soviet Union, Mao said that "the speed of China's economic construction will not be slow but may be fairly fast," and that "there is absolutely no ground for pessimism about China's economic resurgence." Mao compared those who held such a bleak view of the future to bourgeois democrats of the turn of the century who looked to Western imperialism for China's "salvation," and in opposition he made clear that "only socialism can save China."

The revisionists make a similar attempt to downplay Mao's role in the next historical period covered in the resolution, the seven year period after liberation. This is the period of transition from the new democratic to the socialist stage, ending with the basic completion of socialist transformation of the means of production in 1956. Mao's name is mentioned exactly two times here, once in relation to his speech *On the Ten Major Relationships* and the other time in stating:

"On the proposal of Comrade Mao Zedong in 1952, the Central Committee of the Party advanced the general line

for the transition period, which was to realize the country's socialist industrialization and socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce step by step over a fairly long period of time. This general line was a reflection of historical necessity."

If we take their version of history, there was absolutely no struggle. Everyone agreed that China should advance toward socialism, and Mao merely formulated the line which was a "historical necessity." In reality, Mao had to wage struggle not only against those top officials who, once in power, began to take up the corrupt ways of the old rulers, but even more decisively against those who pushed the capitalist road in opposition to Mao's line on socialist transformation. Liu Shaoqi and other revisionists argued that the task was to "firmly consolidate the new-democratic social order," by which they meant that capitalism should be promoted, not restricted for "a long period of time," even preaching that "exploitation is a merit." In agriculture, they insisted that collectivization must wait until the development of heavy industry, which in turn could only be developed with foreign technology.

As the revisionists continue, as they must, to deepen their attack on Mao, they will undoubtedly attempt to chip away more and more at Mao's place in history. Already earlier this year, Zhou's *Selected Works* was published with much fanfare, followed by announcement of Liu's works. By contrast, Volume Five of Mao's *Selected Works* (already tampered with by Hua) has been withdrawn for "re-editing," which gives a clear indication of what is happening with the promise they made right after the coup to publish Volume Six and *Collected Works*. The Red Book has already been banned in effect.

This concentrated effort is an attempt to gloss over the fact that at every juncture, it was Mao who was able to most correctly apply the science of Marxism-Leninism to the practice of revolution in China and who led the struggles against incorrect lines held by those like Liu, Zhou and others. It was Mao who formulated the line and policies for the period of the new democratic revolution; Mao developed the correct military line which led to victories over first the Japanese imperialists and then the U.S.-backed KMT; Mao made important contributions to the development of Marxist philosophy, further deepening the understanding of dialectics. All this had a tremendous and far-reaching effect not only for the Chinese revolution but for the revolutionary movement internationally.

That the revisionists' approach is to indirectly attack Mao in this earlier period by deemphasizing his role then and highlighting the others' is not only a reflection of the necessity arising out of the masses' understanding and respect for Mao's role—it is also a reflection of the two-stage character of the Chinese revolution and the bourgeois-democratic origins of the revisionists. The struggle in China passed through a long stage of bourgeois-democratic revolution, though of a new type led by the Communist Party and leading directly to socialism. There was an inevitable tendency among the broad forces united under the Party's leadership to identify the Party's bourgeois-democratic program at that stage with its ideology and final goal of communism. Those bourgeois democrats that never made the leap to becoming communists became revisionist and formed a leading core of the new bourgeoisie.

Now that the revisionists are in power, they take credit for those secondary aspects of Mao's line and contributions they can unite with. Then they smuggle in all their own theses which were completely opposed to Mao's and peddle this concoction as "Mao Tsetung Thought" and claim it is the "collective" product of the Party as a whole. But in fact they reduce Mao Tsetung Thought into a narrow recipe for making China "strong and econom-

ically developed"—and in fact under the thumb of imperialism—precisely the line of these "bourgeois democrats turned capitalist roaders." This is the bogus "Mao Tsetung Thought" they use as the yardstick to measure Mao in the socialist period, to "prove" that Mao strayed further and further from his "own" thought and finally went completely off track in the Cultural Revolution.

Cultural Revolution

The revisionists move on to the main body and focus of their attack on Mao with their treatment of the developments leading up to the Cultural Revolution and the Cultural Revolution itself. With this resolution, the revisionists dispense with all the b.s. they've spread before about how the Cultural Revolution was started because Mao was "senile" in his later years or because he was "tricked" by the Four, and come straight to the point:

"The 'cultural revolution,' which lasted from May 1966 to October 1976, was responsible for the most severe setback and the heaviest losses suffered by the Party, the state and the people since the founding of the People's Republic. It was initiated and led by Comrade Mao Zedong. His principal theses were that many representatives of the bourgeoisie and counter-revolutionary revisionists had sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and cultural circles, and leadership in a fairly large majority of organizations and departments was no longer in the hands of Marxists and the people; that Party persons in power taking the capitalist road had formed a bourgeois headquarters inside the Central Committee which pursued a revisionist political and organizational line and had agents in all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, as well as in all central departments; that since the forms of struggle adopted in the past had not been able to solve this problem, the power usurped by the capitalist roaders could be recaptured only by carrying out a great cultural revolution, by openly and fully mobilizing the broad masses from the bottom up to expose these sinister phenomena; and that the 'cultural revolution' was in fact a great political revolution in which one class would overthrow another, a revolution that would have to be waged time and again."

The resolution goes on to say that "the history of the 'cultural revolution' has proved that Comrade Mao Zedong's principal theses for unleashing it conformed neither to Marxism-Leninism nor to Chinese reality. They represent an entirely erroneous appraisal of the prevailing class relations and political situation in the Party and the state."

Yes, Mao knew perfectly well what he was doing, he had a clear target and a definite method, when he unleashed the terrible revolutionary potential of the Chinese masses in the Cultural Revolution. The revisionists wish that Mao had been senile! Maybe he wouldn't have targeted them so accurately. But while this passage is more upfront than anything the revisionists have laid out before, it still contains a gross distortion by completely omitting Mao's analysis of the material basis under socialism of the emergence of the bourgeois headquarters inside the Central Committee. This analysis, particularly the understanding of bourgeois right, is an indispensable part of Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It provided a nationalist basis for analyzing revisionism in power in the USSR in the highest levels of the Party. As Mao was to characterize these people later, as *capitalist*—not just "bad"—and for Mao's later precise characterization of these Chinese revisionists (in a formulation they still avoid): "With the socialist revolution, they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party

who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. You are making socialist revolution and yet you don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road."

The resolution offers four reasons to refute Mao: 1) there were no grounds for a struggle against the revisionist line; 2) no such thing existed as a bourgeois headquarters pushing the revisionist line; 3) the Cultural Revolution was divorced from the masses; 4) there is no basis under socialism for a chaotic revolution in which "one class overthrows another." Since the revisionists themselves are bold enough to raise the question of "history," let's take them on. A brief look at how the struggle developed—even using some of the revisionists' own words—only lends more weight to the truth that Mao hit the target dead center in his "appraisal of the prevailing class relations and political situation" which led to his call for the Cultural Revolution.

Two important developments in the socialist countries occurred in 1956. In China, socialist ownership had in the main been established. This represented a victory for the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the basic sphere of ownership of the means of production. At the same time in the Soviet Union, the revisionists headed by Khrushchev seized power and began the process of restoring capitalism. This was bound to have a deep impact internationally and in particular on other socialist countries, including China. 1956 was also the year for the Eighth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. The congress is highly lauded in the resolution as "very successful." Such praise by the revisionists raises immediate suspicions, and justly so. At the 8th congress, Liu and others who wanted to push China along the road being opened up by Khrushchev—capitalism under a "socialist" signboard—were able to get their revisionist "theory of the productive forces" and "theory of dying out of class struggle" adopted as the official line. What they pushed in essence was that since socialist ownership had in the main been established, class struggle was no longer the main thing; now the task was to raise production. Mao's conclusions were radically different—"class struggle is by no means over," and in fact will be "protracted, tortuous and at times even very sharp." He also said, quite prophetically as it turned out, "the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is not really settled yet." Rumbblings of the great clash between the revisionist line and Mao's revolutionary line in the Cultural Revolution could already be heard.

The class struggle did get sharper with the Great Leap Forward of 1958. This was a mass movement unprecedented in its scope in China, or any other country for that matter. Old, repressive rules and regulations and such practices as bonuses and piecemeal were challenged. Especially in the countryside, the masses rose up in a tumultuous upsurge to take matters into their own hands, building small steel mills and other industrial plants that they ran themselves; establishing People's Communes (collective farms larger in size and with a higher degree of public ownership than before); shattering all sorts of tradition and relying on their own efforts to make technical innovations. All these were of great importance in narrowing the difference between city and countryside, workers and peasants and mental and manual labor, and represented steps toward the eventual goal of eliminating all class differences, i.e. communism.

Mao and other revolutionaries in the Party hailed this upsurge, firmly stood with the masses and strove to give leadership to the movement. The revisionist view of Mao's line is given in the resolution: they charge that the line "overlooked objective economic laws" and accuse Mao and others of becoming "smug about their successes" and overestimating "the role of man's sub-

Continued on page 17

Continued from page 16

jective will and efforts."

The mass upsurge was one big, chaotic mess, the revisionists cry out. Mao's answer was, "the chaos caused was on a grand scale, and I take full responsibility!" Mao reminded them of the Paris Commune, and how Marx ardently supported it, although he forecast that it would fail, because of its historic importance as the first proletarian dictatorship. "If we assess it from an economic point of view, it was not worthwhile," Mao said against those who were precisely looking at the Great Leap in a narrow way. The most important thing about it was that the masses had consciously shattered traditions that bound them, which unleashed a strong motive force to advance socialism. There were disorders and excesses to be sure, but what revolution isn't without such things? Besides, the "chaos" produced the People's Communes and other results which would survive and serve to push socialism even further.

Material Basis for Bourgeoisie

By the time of the Great Leap Forward and the struggle over it, the existence of a revisionist headquarters in the Party actively pushing its line becomes increasingly evident. Despite the revisionists' attempts to avoid even raising the question, there is real material basis under socialism for the continual emergence of such headquarters which will attempt, if not overthrown, to topple the rule of the proletariat. Socialist society, while being a qualitative advance from capitalism, inherits many "birthmarks" of the old society. Exploitation of labor is eliminated, but commodity production, money, etc. remain widespread and even the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" contains inequality. Different jobs require different levels of skill and results in differences in pay. There is inequality even in people receiving the same pay, since people have different objective needs (size of family, etc.). The division of labor, especially between mental and manual labor, also contains elements of privilege, even seeds of class distinctions. These inequalities are termed bourgeois right, since they are products of class relations in bourgeois society. Sharp class struggle must be waged to restrict these differences and step by step promote communist relations, because bourgeois right will be a source of newly generated bourgeoisie under socialism, up to the time they're eliminated by communism.

In socialist society, the bourgeoisie doesn't own GM or have huge shares in IBM. They are headquartered right in the Communist Party in its highest levels because it is the Party that is the overall political leadership. And since managers, planners, heads of ministries, etc. are generally Party members, political leadership is a concentration of control over the means of production. That is why Mao says during the Cultural Revolution that if people like Lin Biao (that is people with a revisionist line) come to power, they will quickly rig up capitalism.

The revisionists try feebly to deny the existence of such a bourgeois headquarters, saying, "the so-called bourgeois headquarters inside the Party headed by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping simply did not exist." But chanting "it ain't so" can't wipe out historical truths. Even by their own accounts, the headquarters existed long before the Cultural Revolution and fought like hell to restore capitalism. Taking advantage of serious natural disasters, the revisionists launched an attack to blame Mao and the Great Leap Forward for all the difficulties. The resolution says of this period of rightist counter-attack: "A number of correct policies and resolute measures were worked out and put into effect with Comrades Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Chen Yun and Deng Xiaoping in charge. All this constituted a crucial turning point in that historical phase." Quite a job of self-

incrimination! Here are listed the major figures of the revisionist camp which was coalescing at the time.

And just what were these "correct policies and resolute measures"? They included most notably the "70 Articles" for regulation of industry dished up by Liu and others. The revisionists resurrected strict rules and regulations to put profits back in command, revived in full bonuses and piece-rate, and cut back time for political study in factories, among other measures. It all sounds very familiar, because the exact same things are happening in China today, although on a qualitatively higher level as they are no longer obstructed by Mao and other revolutionaries.

There are other parts of the resolution that nakedly advertise their headquarters. "Rigorous tests" of the Cultural Revolution, the revisionists state, "proved that standing on the correct side in the struggle were the overwhelming majority of Members of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party and the Members it elected to its Political Bureau, Standing Committee and Secretariat." Such claims reveal the power of the revisionist camp arising out of their grip on key positions in the Party and state, and above all in the Central Committee. Through such control, they actively prepared for a counter-revolutionary coup, and they were coming close to carrying it out by the middle 1960s. According to the resolution, the Third National People's Congress in late 1964 and early 1965 "called for energetic efforts to build China step by step into a socialist power, with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology." Putting this in first place, ahead of revolutionary struggle in China and internationally, is exactly the "Four Modernizations," the program of the revisionists. Their capitalist methods of carrying this out are spelled out in the "70 Articles." "But," they whine, "this call was not fulfilled owing to the 'cultural revolution'." Straight from the horse's mouth, an admission that the Cultural Revolution was truly necessary and timely. Can any one deny after all this that Mao's "appraisal of the prevailing class relations and political situation" was absolutely correct?

A Form—"From Below"

Through repeated clashes with the revisionists, Mao's understanding of the nature of class struggle under socialism, especially the nature of the bourgeoisie, got ever sharper. He was also developing the understanding of the form of struggle to arouse the masses and "expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below." That form was the Cultural Revolution. The revisionists, who condescendingly view the masses as ignorant work horses that can be driven with a whip or enticed with a carrot, thought the world was coming to an end when they saw the Chinese people in their millions rise up, led by the revolutionary line, politically conscious and heads raised high. The revisionists claim in the resolution that the Cultural Revolution was "nominally" conducted by relying on the masses but was "in fact divorced from both the Party organization and the masses." Those who approved of launching "ruthless struggles" against the bourgeois Party officials, say the revisionists, were only a "handful of extremists."

As Mao pointed out, the masses divide into the advanced, intermediate, and the backward. Youth moved fast to the forefront. Proletarians moving into the fray stamped the movement with revolutionary class character. The advanced who most deeply grasped Mao's line and led many others in struggle must have seemed like "extremists" to the revisionists. But nowhere do the revisionists mention such "nominally" mass struggles conducted by a "handful of extremists" as the 1967 January Storm in Shanghai. Hundreds of thousands of workers, students and peasants overthrew the municipal Party committee, a stronghold of the Liu-

Deng headquarters, and set up their own revolutionary government. Mao called it a "great revolution in which one class overthrows another." Like the Great Leap Forward but on an even grander scale, there was bound to be some disorder and excesses, including fighting among sections of the masses (much of this was directly incited by these same revisionists). But again, out of such "chaos" were born many "socialist new things" whose effects will endure any temporary reversal affected by the revisionists in China.

The revisionists are especially bitter that just when they thought they had everything sewn up for staging a coup, even succeeding to an extent in isolating Mao physically from other revolutionaries and the masses, Mao was able to break their bureaucratic stranglehold and unleash the tremendous mass upsurge. Nothing but an "undermining" of the "principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism" and "arbitrary individual rule," the revisionists whine.

The revisionists, whose distortions of Marxism-Leninism are so blatant that it's getting questionable whether they can justly be called "revisionists," dare to accuse Mao of "not conforming to Marxism-Leninism"! They say that Mao's "subjective thinking and practice seemed to have a theoretical basis in the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin," but did not. It only seemed so, they say, "because certain ideas set forth in them were misunderstood or dogmatically interpreted."

If we want to see Marxism-Leninism twisted beyond recognition, we only need to turn to the gentlemen who wrote the resolution. Mao based himself firmly on Marxism-Leninism, and moreover strove to spread that science among the masses of people. This is what the revisionists attack by saying "he urged the whole Party to study the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin conscientiously and imagined that his theory and practice were Marxist and that they were essential for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Herein lies his tragedy." Actually, herein lies *their* tragedy, for such scientific understanding was key to unleashing the conscious activism of the masses to deal them hammer blows. The mass movement to study the dictatorship of the proletariat in 1975, for example, hit squarely at the revisionists right at a time when they were making advances organizationally in the Party and government.

But Mao did not "dogmatically interpret" nor stay satisfied with what had developed up to that point. He made immortal contributions in *advancing* the Marxist-Leninist understanding in a number of fields, including his greatest contribution—the understanding that classes and class struggle exist all during the period of socialism and the necessity for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In carrying out his theory in practice in the Cultural Revolution, Mao led the proletariat in reaching its highest peak ever reached up to now and left a rich legacy for the international communist movement.

With all their bluster about the "grave disorder, danger and retrogression" of the Cultural Revolution, the revisionists are forced to admit to some of the advances made during the period, although they quickly sweep them under the rug by saying, "needless to say, none of these successes can be attributed in any way to the 'cultural revolution'." They concede that "Some progress was made in our economy despite tremendous losses" and go on with quite some list of economic achievements. Actually, the economy made tremendous advances in the period of the Cultural Revolution. In fact, it was immediately following the upsurges of the Great Leap and the Cultural Revolution that substantial increases in production were seen. The rate of growth of industrial production in 1970 was a remarkable 18%. Moreover, economic development took place in a planned and proportionate way, with the role of rural areas in the

industrial production increasing greatly.

When the conscious activism of the masses came into motion, remarkable miracles in economy were achieved. It was in Shanghai, the stronghold of the Left, that shipyard workers, defying all bourgeois "experts," built a 10,000 ton ship on a dry dock made only for a 5,000 ton ship. Now, with "experts", revisionists, and imperialists at the helm we are treated to such economic miracles as the stopped, half-completed, boondoggle steel mill at Baoshan. They further admit that "Despite the domestic turmoil, the Peoples Liberation Army bravely defended the security of the motherland. And new prospects were opened up in the sphere of foreign affairs." The nose dive in China's prestige internationally since the coup, caused by their shameless and uninspiring capitulation to U.S. imperialism, is ample proof that the firm stand against imperialism and the advances in the international arena were made *despite* the revisionists. An integral part of the Cultural Revolution was the struggle to uphold proletarian internationalism and expose capitulation, against the revisionist line.

Zhou Enlai's Backstabbing Exposed

While the resolution makes clear Mao's responsibility for the Cultural Revolution, it also further confirms that Zhou Enlai was an indispensable figure for the revisionists all the way through the Cultural Revolution up to his death in 1976 when the revisionists were getting everything ready for the coup. It was only three years ago that the Menshevik "Revolutionary Workers Headquarters," which split from the RCP over the question of China, was exalting the "beloved Comrade Zhou" as "revolutionary communist" who defended Mao's line. The polemics against these Mensheviks analysed the twists and turns of the struggle in China, especially the last battle leading up to the coup, and exposed Zhou as a revisionist. The resolution fully confirms this analysis:

"Supported by Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Zhou Enlai took charge of the day-to-day work of the Central Committee and things began to improve in all fields. During the criticism and repudiation of Lin Biao in 1972, he correctly proposed criticism of the ultra-Left trend of thought. In fact, this was an extension of the correct proposals put forward around February 1967 by many leading comrades of the Central Committee who had called for the correction of the errors of the 'cultural revolution'."

The revisionist lie of Mao's "support for Zhou is well exposed by the resolution itself when it goes on to state, "Comrade Mao Zedong, however, erroneously held that the task was still to oppose the 'ultra-right'."

In 1971, Lin Biao had plotted a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat against Mao and the dictatorship of the proletariat with the backing of the Soviet revisionists, but he was exposed and defeated. The treachery of Lin Biao forced Mao to make use of Zhou's forces against Lin. But the very fact that Lin Biao, who earlier had been one of the main figures associated with the Cultural Revolution, had betrayed it, gave the revisionists a chance to build a powerful tide against the Cultural Revolution in the name of opposing Lin Biao and the Soviet danger. The battle between the revisionists and the revolutionaries at that point focused on the correct summation of Lin Biao. The revolutionaries, guided by Mao, concentrated on Lin Biao's rightist essence and the many points his line had in common with the revisionist line, including pushing "production first" and wanting to put a stop to and reverse the Cultural Revolution—in contrast to the superficial ultra-"left" line that overall characterized Lin Biao's opportunism in the earlier stages of the Cultural Revolution. The revisionists, on the other hand, fought to characterize Lin

Continued on page 18

Upside-Down

Continued from page 17

as ultra-“left” and associate his treachery with the “failure” of the Cultural Revolution. As the resolution admits openly, it was Zhou, who at that time held a powerful position second only to Mao, that headed up this counter-revolutionary tide.

The resolution goes a step further and connects Zhou's stand in 1972 to the “February adverse current” of 1967, an attempt by some top names in the Party, including the likes of Ye Jianying and Li Xiannian, to put a brake to the Cultural Revolution at that early stage. At that point, Zhou was outwardly going along with the Cultural Revolution—and this only after Mao waged sharp struggle with him—but it is apparent that Zhou strongly backed, if not actually participated in, the adverse current. Zhou is also praised in the resolution for “untiringly endeavouring” to “minimize the damage caused by the ‘cultural revolution’ and to protect many Party and non-Party cadres.” We couldn't have done a better job of characterizing Zhou's counter-revolutionary role during the Cultural Revolution.

Such a gush of sentiment for Zhou is an indication that even in death, Zhou plays an important role for the revisionists. During the years leading up to the coup, Zhou was the unifying figure around which the various forces of the Right rallied. One of the key things hit at by Mao and the “Gang of Four” in the Campaign to Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius was precisely this role played by Zhou. One of Confucius' main slogans used as a historical analogy in the campaign was “restrain oneself and restore the rites.” This was Confucius' advice to the slave-owning class to not feud with each other but unite to bring back the old order—rites of Zhou. Applied to the prevailing situation, “restrain oneself” meant the efforts of the different forces of the Right to unite in common opposition to Mao; “restore the rites” meant reversing the Cultural Revolution and pushing Zhou's bourgeois line, whose basic points they all agreed on. Today, as the revisionists struggle desperately to keep internal contradictions from tearing up their rule, they are once again invoking the spirit of Zhou and the Confucian slogan he represents. (The relentless attack on Hua in the resolution and his ouster as Party chairman is an indication of some of this boiling over.)

The resolution also says that Mao “supported” Deng when the latter took charge of the day-to-day work of the Central Committee when Zhou fell seriously ill in 1975. With such “support,” Deng went on to “solving problems in industry, agriculture, transport and science and technology” and magically, the “situation took an obvious turn for the better.” The concrete result of Deng “solving problems” was the infamous “Three Poisonous Weeds”, the revisionist program for capitalist restoration. As with Zhou, Mao never gave such “support” to Deng. Because of the strength of the revisionist camp, Mao was being forced to give some ground organizationally, but at the same time he began to mobilize a mass political campaign to expose Deng and his line. Again, right after claiming Mao “supported” Deng, the revisionists pour out the real situation: “However, Comrade Mao Zedong could not bear to accept systematic correction of the errors of the ‘cultural revolution’ by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and triggered the movement to ‘criticize Deng and counter the Right deviationist trend to reverse correct verdicts,’ once again plunging the nation into turmoil.”

Despite these cynical claims of “support” from Mao, there is no doubt left that Zhou and Deng were acting in collusion against Mao. Zhou and Deng are referred to as the “core of leadership” of the State Council in 1975, when the revisionists were making big advances organizationally. The death of Zhou in January of 1976 signalled the beginning



1968—Massive demonstration of revolutionary workers in Shanghai marches in support of the student/worker rebellions in France and the mass movements that were sweeping Europe and America.

of the showdown between the revisionists and revolutionaries. With the pretext of mourning for Zhou, the revisionists organized the counter-revolutionary Tian An Men riot to rally their forces nation-wide. According to the resolution, the riot was a “demonstration of support for the Party's correct leadership as represented by Comrade Deng Xiaoping.”

The revisionists must also keep up the fiction, however tenuous it may be getting, that Mao and the Four were somehow on opposite sides. In fact they make the preposterous claim that one of the few things Mao did right in the Cultural Revolution was to criticize the Four. But it is getting increasingly ridiculous for them to keep up such a position, so the resolution skips over the issue by saying, “as their counter-revolutionary crimes have been fully exposed, this resolution will not go into them at any length.” No wonder they don't want to “go into” the Four in this resolution. Now that they have finally come out and officially attacked Mao's political line, if they were to get into the line of the Four, it would be blatantly obvious to all that Mao and the Four were united.

The Soviet Question

A conspicuous feature of the whole resolution is the revisionists' rather obvious efforts to skirt the issue of the Soviet Union, especially the China/Soviet split of the late 1950s and early 1960s. The resolution does not even bring up the Soviet Union when discussing Lin Biao, who was killed while fleeing to the Soviet Union after an aborted coup attempt, and who had previously been criticized in China for advocating capitulation to the Soviets. The rise to power of the renegade Khrushchev and the revisionist clique in 1956 and the subsequent polemics between the Soviet and Chinese parties involved a fierce struggle over basic principles and the general line of the inter-

national communist movement. It had world-wide repercussions as the whole movement split into the revisionist trend led by the Soviets and the Marxist-Leninist trend led by the Chinese and in particular Mao. But the resolution only mentions this briefly and in passing:

“Furthermore, Soviet leaders started a polemic between China and the Soviet Union, and turned the arguments between the two Parties on matters of principle into a conflict between the two nations, bringing enormous pressure to bear upon China politically, economically and militarily. So we were forced to wage a just struggle against the big-nation chauvinism of the Soviet Union.”

That's all they have to say about the polemics which, like the struggle waged by Lenin in the Second International, determined the future development of the communist movement and profoundly affected world history. What little they do say reveals a lot. “Soviet leaders,” they call them—how polite, compared to some of the names they call Mao. Notice, also, they never say who was right and who was wrong in the “arguments... on matters of principle”—Mao or the Soviet revisionists. And to make clear this little omission is no accidental slip, the very next sentence refers to their nation's “just struggle” against the Soviets' big nation chauvinism. You can just hear them moaning, “Oh, if the Soviets hadn't been such bullies, Mao wouldn't have been able to nail us on our own revisionism!”

But perhaps we should be more understanding of the sticky situation the revisionists are caught in on this question. How to explain the dramatic change from a very close relationship between two socialist countries into a bitter and antagonistic feud? Of course, for Marxist-Leninists, it's not hard to explain at all. The close ties in the early

1950s were based on fraternal relations between two socialist countries. But as the polemics waged by the Chinese revolutionaries showed, the Soviet Union had been taken over by the bourgeoisie and was embarking on a road to capitalist restoration. This internal change led to the Soviet Union's capitulation to U.S. imperialism at the time (now they are contending sharply) and to the Soviets' openly chauvinist attacks against other socialist countries, developing nations and revolutionary movements worldwide.

But it's not so simple for the Chinese revisionists. They of course espouse everything Khrushchev stood for and agree wholeheartedly with his attacks on Marxism-Leninism. But they can not very well openly repudiate the polemics against Khrushchev as a whole (although they have publicly reversed certain parts, like the verdict on Yugoslavia), for then they would be hard pressed to explain the metamorphosis of the Soviet Union from a close ally into a bitter enemy. If the Soviet Union today is socialist (for that would be the logical conclusion of repudiating the polemics), how can they be the main enemy of the people of the world, as the Chinese rulers claim? Their solution is to gloss over the fundamental questions of principle that were being thrashed out in the polemics and say they were merely “arguments between the two Parties” that became a “conflict between two nations.”

But the passage in the resolution immediately following the one quoted above reveals even further just how sensitive the Soviet question is for the Chinese revisionists:

“In these circumstances, (of the split with the Soviets—RW) a campaign to prevent and combat revisionism inside the country was launched, which spread the error of broadening the scope of class struggle in the Party, so that nor-

Continued on page 19

Coup Plot in Iran

from page 1

their exposure blows to pieces the U.S. ruler's pious pretense of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Iranian people. Speaking to reporters on June 29, Secretary of State Alexander Haig solemnly declared, "I think it is important that again the events in that country (Iran—CK) be able to proceed without outside interference of any kind. That is the American policy, and that remains the policy as it does in other troubled areas where internal situations have added to international tensions and potential outside interventions." And, questioned by this reporter on July 7, State Department Spokesman Dean Fischer said that he could "flatly deny" any implication that the U.S. was involved in planning to effect a change in the Iranian government.

Such denials are, however, flatly contradicted by the newly exposed documents which state: "Key members of the coordinating group should travel soonest to the several locations in Europe. To this end we need the cooperation of certain U.S. agencies to arrange travel clearances and coverage of movements."

"In Europe, and probably in the U.S., the team should have available appropriate vehicles, drivers and aircraft, including helicopters."

"Contact and cooperation will be arranged with the NSC, DOD, USUN and CIA as well as DOS. (National Security Council, Department of Defense, United States UN delegation, Central Intelligence Agency, Department of State—CK) Only after this is accomplished should contact with key members of appropriate Congressional units be made. Similar contact and cooperation must be arranged in France, Germany and the UK." (my emphasis)

Since the documents themselves contain no agency identification, it might be claimed that they are either non-governmental or merely draft options never seriously considered. But in the first case we might ask how a non-governmental body could assure that

U.S. government cooperation "will be arranged" and why it would need to inform "key members of appropriate Congressional units"—presumably Congressional oversight committees for foreign covert actions. On the other hand, if it is merely a draft option does it not still contradict the official denials of involvement in coup planning?

The complicity of the U.S. government is further indicated by the presence on the staff of the "private company" on Pennsylvania Avenue of a graduate of West Point who served in the Logistics Command in Vietnam, who was a White House Fellow, who was an Assistant Secretary of Labor, and who according to "Who's Who" served on the executive committee of the National War College.

Non-Interference?

Finally, the assertion by Secretary Haig that non-interference "remains the policy" strains our power of belief to the limit given the long and exhaustive policy of U.S. internal interventions around the world such as those that led to the overthrow of the Arbenz government in Guatemala, the Juan Bosch government in the Dominican Republic, the Goulart government in Brazil, the Sihanouk government in Cambodia, the Sukarno government in Indonesia, the Allende government in Chile, the Lumumba government in the Congo, the CIA's "grand little war" in Angola, the intervention in the elections of Guyana and Jamaica, and countless other examples.

It is well known that Iran itself has been the target of an extraordinary list of U.S. internal interventions and coups, beginning in 1953 with the U.S. organized coup which overthrew the Mossadegh government and installed the late Shah in power. U.S. involvement in this coup was so vividly described by former Middle East operations Chief of the CIA, Kermit Roosevelt in his 1979 book *Counter Coup* that government agents had to rush about to

book stores buying up all the copies and McGraw-Hill had to re-issue a "cleaned up" version of it.

Then in 1978 there was the "Huysen mission" which saw Al Haig's NATO second in command, Air Force General Huysen, spend a month in Tehran attempting to arrange a military coup in the face of increasing mass demonstrations and street fighting demanding the Shah's ouster. Then there was the mysterious Forghan organization, widely believed to be CIA connected, which engaged in a series of assassinations of officials of the new Islamic Republic. Then in July of 1980, there was yet another coup attempt from within the Iranian military which was nipped in the bud and a number of its ringleaders shot. Finally there is last month's coup attempt by a group of eight reactionary pro-U.S. clerics in the IRP, led by Beheshti. This plot entailed a sham "attack" on the residence of the Ayatollah Khomeini which was to serve as a pretext for full scale attacks on the Mojahadeen and Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, and the arrest of Bani Sadr and his aides. The plan was set back only when it was exposed in advance.

In a rather transparent and pathetic attempt at secrecy, the principal document nowhere mentions Iran by name. The content of the document, however, makes it unmistakably clear what country is being talked about: "We should begin immediately to collect and prepare for distribution, background material on the issues, people and plans of the new government once it is in place. Photos of the new president only should accompany this material to preserve the mobility of the other team members and to concentrate attention on the person most important to the operation's success."

"In our background material we should address, among other issues, people and plans of the new government's position on the border war, land reform, reindustrialization, transportation, women's rights, the problems of the provinces, religious freedom and the general question of economic stability."

Report Card on Rightist Opposition

Besides these obvious references to the U.S. sponsored Iraqi attack on Iran (nominally a "border war") and other Iranian internal issues, the second document revealed contains a detailed assessment of Iranian exile forces and their usefulness to the U.S. Entitled "Status of the Opposition Groups and Leaders," this document begins with a highly revealing assessment of Shahpour Bakhtiar, the last of the Shah's Prime Ministers who has been frequently cited in press reports as a potential coup leader:

"The former prime minister has during the past month made several overtures to Gen. Bahrām Aryana and his Azadegan group in Paris. The General has refused to accept Bakhtiar as a viable leader because he lost whatever credibility he had with his links to Iraq, his mishandling of last year's coup attempt, and his general loss of popularity inside and outside Iran. Dr. Bakhtiar's support is virtually gone. His organization is riddled with informers, some working for Tehran, the Soviets and so on. He remains in touch with the Iraqi Government and there is some suggestion that he continues to receive money from Iraq."

Here we see a frank admission of the links between the pro-U.S. exile figures and Iraq, as well as an open admission of Bakhtiar's role in the July 1980 coup attempt and the concern of the authors of the report for outflanking Soviet agents—a major concern of U.S. imperialists.

The General Aryana referred to is a former chief of staff of the Iranian army, an ambitious officer seen as a threat, who was dismissed by the Shah prior to 1970, and was called by some the "Napoleon" of Iran. One contact in the Iranian left pointed out to me that the name of the group in Paris headed by Aryana has a double meaning. Azadegan means "freedom seeker" in Farsi, but the name is also associated with Princess Azadeh, a niece of the Shah. Azadeh's brother was killed on the street in Paris after the

Continued on page 20

Upside-Down

Continued from page 18

mal differences among comrades inside the Party came to be regarded as manifestations of the revisionist line or of the struggle between the two lines. This resulted in growing tension in inner-Party relations. Thus it became difficult for the Party to resist certain "Left" views put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong and others, and the development of these views led to the outbreak of the protracted "cultural revolution."

While overall the revisionists avoid upfront judgment on the polemics, here it is clear that they link the international struggle against Soviet revisionism directly with the Cultural Revolution, and furthermore negate both, ideologically and politically, although some may still hold anti-Soviet views because of bourgeois nationalist differences.

The revisionists can also be seen in this passage lamenting over the way Mao was able to exploit the contradictions existing within the revisionist camp, or "normal differences among comrades" as they called them. At the start of the Cultural Revolution, Mao made the analysis that the revisionist forces led by Liu, who wanted to take China down the Khrushchev road and right into the arms of the Soviet Union, constituted the main threat to the revolution. The danger posed by the Liu headquarters burst to the surface in 1959 with the attempt of Peng Dehuai to attack and overthrow Mao, blaming the economic difficulties created largely by the Soviet withdrawal of aid and natural disasters to the Great Leap Forward and Mao's policies. Peng even met secretly with Khrushchev to plot against Mao and threaten Soviet military intervention if Mao's policies were not reversed. There was another section within the revisionist camp who

more favored allying with the U.S. and the West, and therefore opposed Soviet domination, although they did not have much disagreement with the basic political line and opposed the Soviets only from a nationalist standpoint.

The genuine revolutionaries, led by Mao, were able to conditionally unite or neutralize the latter forces, whose eventual head was Zhou Enlai, to go along with the Cultural Revolution to a certain extent, thus aiming the main line of fire at the pro-Soviet Liu revisionists. As the above passage from the resolution indicates rather ruefully, the Soviet revisionists began to use various blatant means to pressure China into submission as the polemics heated up. This had the effect of rallying the masses against the Soviets and the Liu headquarters, and even pushed the pro-West bourgeois forces to take a stand against their fellow revisionists. Understandably, the revisionists do not want to focus in on this period and open old wounds.

Furthermore, Deng, who at present is pursuing a policy of capitulation to U.S. imperialism, does not want to highlight his role in the pro-Soviet Liu headquarters. It would be rather embarrassing for Deng, since it was he in person that came crawling on his hands and knees in 1979 to pledge his allegiance to U.S. imperialism. China's present alignment in the U.S. bloc is also one reason why the resolution emphasizes the role of Zhou, who has always been identified with pro-West tendencies, as opposed to Liu. The resolution at one point claims to uphold Mao's line on foreign policy, although this is shamelessly distorted into a narrow nationalist line:

"In his later years, he still remained alert to safeguarding the security of our country, stood up to the pressures of the social-imperialists, pursued a correct foreign policy, firmly supported

the just struggles of all peoples, outlined the correct strategy of the three worlds and advanced the important principle that China would never seek hegemony."

This "theory," proclaimed by Deng in his infamous 1974 U.N. speech, advocates capitulation to imperialism, and particularly to U.S. imperialism, in the name of combatting Soviet "hegemony." Mao did make some statements about "three worlds" to describe general groupings of countries. It was also the case that Mao saw the Soviet Union as the "most dangerous source of war"; this our Party disagrees with, as we do with Stalin and the Comintern's incorrect analysis that the fascist imperialist states in World War 2 were alone the "main enemy of the world's proletariat." But it was only after Mao's death that the "three worlds theory" was elevated to a strategic line for the "international struggle" in the name of uniting with all forces that can be united against the Soviets. The revisionists' use of the word "outlined" here hints at this. The revisionists are up to their old tricks again here, ascribing to Mao their own reactionary, narrow outlook and claiming this is the "correct" aspect of Mao.

But even today, there are objective factors and actual forces within China pushing for capitulation to the Soviets. Even while the revisionists openly kiss up to the U.S. masters, they are keeping the Soviet option open just in case. This is reflected in the resolution, which on the whole plays down attacks against the Soviets and doesn't mention the U.S. at all. If the Chinese revisionists ever do jump the fence, they will need to do some rewriting job on the resolution to repudiate the "correct" aspect of Mao's international line.

In their characteristically puffed-up manner, the revisionists wrap up the resolution by claiming their document

will play a "similar role" as the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party" that was adopted in 1945 by the Chinese Communist Party. The 1945 resolution upheld the correctness of Mao's line and Mao's central role in leading the Chinese revolution up to that point, in preparation for the final struggle and victory against the forces of reaction represented by the Chiang Kaishek forces and U.S. imperialism. The implication is disgustingly obvious—Deng wants to establish his undisputed leadership in the revisionist onslaught on the legacy of the Chinese revolution and in their "historic goal" of capitalist restoration. To bring up *this* historic analogy is the height of hypocrisy. After the entire resolution attacks Mao in every possible way, they still attempt to usurp and manipulate Mao's image.

With the resolution, the revisionists declare what they desperately hope to be a long and stable rule over the proletariat and the masses of people in China. They call for the people to submit to and sacrifice for their reactionary reign: "This revolution which has entered the period of peaceful development is more profound and arduous than any previous revolution and will not only take a very long historical period to accomplish but also demands the unswerving and disciplined hard work and heroic sacrifices of many generations." Just like the emperors of old China believed that the masses would unswervingly slave to preserve and enrich their rule for "many generations." In a fiery statement during her trial, Chiang Ching shattered such bloated and self-righteous swaggering: "The ability of the revisionists is like that of a mantis' arm, the ability to make world history belongs to the heroic masses of people." []

Coup Plot in Iran

Continued from page 19

insurrection. Now the sister works with a group ARI, whose initials in Farsi stand for Liberation Army of Iran; and Azadeh has also been associated with the Azadegan group. General Aryana, who retired to Paris well before the overthrow of the Shah, is perhaps considered by the U.S. imperialists to be good material, "clean" of involvement in the bloody massacres of the Shah's last months in power and himself a "victim" of the Shah. Aryana has kept a quiet, low profile and only last year made his first statement on events in Iran, taking a position which tended to favor the monarchy.

In assessing the chances of the young want-to-be-Shah Reza Pahlavi, the document is more up-beat and equally revealing: "Has gained popularity, largely because of the drop in Khomeini's popularity. The fact that he has disassociated himself from many of the corrupt former advisors and the influence of his mother, Empress Farah, has been important in shaping his rising influence. By maintaining a low profile it is possible that he will have a chance to return as a constitutional monarch. However, the monarchy is not in a position to work by itself to re-take the country, and relies on strengthening contacts with external military leaders. However, in this regard, Gen. Oveisi (seen as the possible mainstay of this effort) has been discounted, and the Shah and his advisors have been seeking closer ties with Gen. Aryana in Paris."

Yes, "re-taking the country" is the name of the game. Perhaps the young Shahlet could be a figurehead. But the real force must remain the "external military leaders." The significance of the external military leaders is, of course, their continuing ties and influence within the U.S.-trained and equipped regular Iranian armed forces which they once commanded, and which was never thoroughly disbanded by the bourgeois leadership of the Islamic Republic precisely for fear of the revolutionary masses. It is the pro-U.S. network within the officer corps which was the basis of last year's coup attempt, and which will be a key element of any future attempt. Indeed, a frequent theme in the current Iranian struggle has been the recurrent pledges of loyalty by the military to the Islamic Republic in the name of defeating the Iraqi invasion. Such a line is tailor made to a military coup "prompted by anarchy in the streets which threatens the national defense effort."

Again, in discussing the Shahlet, the document points to the centrality of General Aryana. A section on General Gholam Oveisi writes him off as having "lost initiative" by "his involvement with the former Iranian government" and "his cooperation with Iraq just before the invasion on Iran." But here again in regard to Oveisi, we find mention of another former chief of staff—General Jam. The document says that Jam, "now in London, was supporting Oveisi indirectly and Bakhtiar directly. He subsequently condemned all those figures who had worked with Iraq." It is important to note that many believe that without General Jam, former Armed Forces Commander, that Oveisi is nothing, and that Jam, like Aryana, was also out of Iran at the time of the overthrow of the Shah, having been exiled in Spain. Jam, who is now in London, was a classmate of the Shah at military academy in Iran; he then went to St. Cyr, the French equivalent of West Point and graduated from the Sorbonne with a doctorate of law.

Admiral Ahmad Madani who was closely associated with Bazargan, ran for president against Bani Sadr, and left Iran 10 months ago for Paris, is also described as pledging his loyalty to Aryana: "The document says of Madani: 'Operating now from West Germany. Recently sent a letter secretly to General Aryana saying that he would follow him in...'"

Media's Role

While the documents do not provide the identity of the "new president,"

and in fact the selection may still be being struggled out, the broadest preparations for his installation are certainly pointed to:

"We should immediately determine who in the new government will be press secretary to the new leadership and seek to involve him in the operation. Among other things he can help to identify and coordinate the efforts of clandestine press, radio and video activities within the country before the change takes place.

"In all locations we should identify immediately safe houses remote from the several operational headquarters in which to conduct communications activity and interviews.

"Until the operation is well underway there shall be no press conferences in the traditional sense, for security reasons, and in order to better control the outflow of information."

Also quite revealing, especially in light of the recent hypocritical moaning over the Western press being thrown out of Iran—again—is the list of media "to be approached and persuaded." Expecting the fullest cooperation from the bourgeois media, the list reads like a "Who's Who" of Western bloc journalism:

"Voice of America, *Washington Post* and *Star*, selected columnists and the wire services in Washington and New York. Also the television networks and the *Los Angeles Times*.

"Also the *Wall Street Journal* and McGraw-Hill and the managements of *Time*, *Newsweek* and *U.S. News*.

"In Europe our targets will be the BBC, *Daily Telegraph* and *Mail*. *The London Times*, *Sunday Times*, *The Economist* and the *Financial Times*.

"The *New York Times* is somewhat special in that in addition to its New York Management we should be contacting its Washington, London, Frankfurt and Paris offices (Flora Lewis)."

Here we should pause to point out that only a few weeks after this document went out of the covert "Washington center," a column by Flora Lewis appeared in the June 15 *New York Times* entitled "Iran's Glutinous Revolution." Echoing themes common to many bourgeois pundits, Lewis was, however, unusually candid about one revealing point: "Reports from Tehran and a document distributed by Iranian exiles in the United States show that the situation is worse than anarchy. It has developed a gory logic that can only bring mounting disaster" (my emphasis). "Iranian exiles," or the "Washington center"? What we can say for sure is that the "Washington center" is in definite contact with one prominent Iranian exile, Dr. Assad Homayoun of Bethesda, Maryland. Dr. Homayoun was formerly a Counselor for Political Affairs at the Shah's embassy in Washington. After the overthrow of the Shah, Homayoun attempted to demagogically take control of the embassy in the name of the new Islamic government but was quickly exposed and ousted. He now receives packets directly from "coup central" on Pennsylvania Avenue.

And further we find the following items: In the July 4 issue of the British magazine *The Economist*, they write, "Iran's army, despite all that has happened to it since the Shah departed two and a half years ago, is still probably the strongest alternative to mullahs' rule... Army rule might mean, but probably would not, bringing back a Shah (the late Shah's son is now self-proclaimed Shah) or creating a new one. The soldiers would be more likely to retain the republic, following the fairly familiar pattern of right-wing military authoritarianism. Which would be welcomed by the west... When, or even if, such a change will come about is guesswork. But the decapitation of the mullahs' party, by the murder of Ayatollah Beheshti, could turn out to have hurried along the collapse of Iran's Savanarolan experiment."

In a similar vein, Jack Anderson, syndicated columnist and government

leak point, writes on July 15, "Top level U.S. officials are wondering if the Iranian army isn't the last best hope of overthrowing Khomeini and setting up a stable, less anti-American government."

To what extent the Washington based operation is currently involved in the direction of news "analysis" of the events in Iran we cannot say for sure, but an analysis of the major columns for the last few months shows several recurring themes: there are frequent references to the impending death of Khomeini, the fight is on for control of Iran in the "post-Khomeini" period, the ouster of Bani Sadr and the repression of the left may herald a period of increasing acts of terrorism, and either the "Islamic hardliners" will succeed in producing a "stable" government or their rule will create the conditions for some unspecified basic change. Such an analysis is certainly compatible with preparing opinion for this desperate and dangerous coup option should the U.S. rulers feel compelled to resort to it.

The Budget

In outlining the media build-up the document goes on to target the major publications of France and West Germany such as *Le Monde* and *Der Spiegel*, and then describes the proposed budget, presumably for the press operation, which itself is testimony to the enormity of the project: "The cost is conservatively estimated at \$100,000 per month for the first three months, escalating to \$200,000 thereafter. A word of caution here. We should not under-finance the effort at the beginning. Therefore it is suggested that a fund of at least \$500,000 be established immediately to cover all contingencies during the first four weeks."

It must be emphasized again, however, that regardless of how large and well-developed the preparations for yet another coup attempt may be, they represent only one of several increasingly unpalatable options which are being

Fly Wars

Continued from page 3

use of food, food allied industry, and control of the food market which has made agriculture one of imperialism's most potent and vicious weapons. For example during the rule of the Allende Popular Unity government in Chile, the U.S. set an embargo on food aid, farm machinery and implements, refusing even past payments for these. Within hours after the coup overthrew the government, ships left New Orleans for Santiago, loaded with food. More broadly, the Food For Peace program has been used to bludgeon countries around the world ever since the late 1950s; for example during the Vietnam war a large portion of this "food for peace" was used to prop up the U.S. war effort in South Vietnam.

But the growth of U.S. agriculture, like all capitalistic expansion, has been accomplished through the use of blind, knee jerk methods. Pesticides are a case in point. Thirty-five years ago, when pesticides were introduced on a grand scale, it seemed to agri-business like the cheapest, easiest way to deal with the problem of pest damage and disease. Today, to back off from the use of pesticides would require unacceptable reworking of the whole agricultural system and undercut the critical position of U.S. agriculture.

Moreover, the very nature of chemical pesticides feeds this addiction. For example, the traditional method for dealing with pests is crop rotation; often a crop could be found which would be resistant to a particularly aggressive pest—this crop would be rotated into the infested area. But once a pesticide is used, it penetrates the soil, and very often causes damage to any new crop rotated into the field. The pesticide using farmer becomes locked into a pesticide cycle.

Flies and Anarchy

Perhaps the most absurd thing about all this is that it doesn't even work. In fact, the portion of the U.S. crop lost to insects has doubled since 1945 even

forced upon U.S. imperialism in what is for them an increasingly desperate situation. Driven by precisely the same needs for imperialist expansion as their rivals in the Soviet Union, the U.S. cannot and will not abandon its attempts to regain control of Iran—one way or another. This was made clear in the "Carter Doctrine" and remains true with the increasingly open jingoism of the Reagan administration. The very approach of world war with the rival Soviets drives them even more feverishly to feel out and explore any avenue to recover Iran's vast oil reserves and strategic location on the Persian Gulf. In this pursuit there is no crime which they are not prepared to commit, and the utter blattness with which documents from the covert program discuss the naked imposition of a "new government" upon the Iranian people is stark testimony itself to the desperation of a parasitic ruling class wracked with crisis.

Obviously, the parts of the program exposed in these documents are but a fragment of a far larger web of imperialist intrigue—an intrigue whose likelihood of implementation must be taken more seriously with every new revolutionary advance of the Iranian people. Yet while the seriousness of such coup preparations cannot be taken lightly, it is the imperialists who are in deep trouble and the conditions for revolutionary advances by the Iranian masses are very promising. The instability of the IRP regime the U.S. is now supporting may push the U.S. to choose such a "coup option," but the same combination of events may lead to a popular revolution. It is in the nature of reactionaries everywhere to "make trouble, fail, make trouble, fail, make trouble again until their doom..." Yet each new intrigue, each new outrage, spun from ever greater desperation and inter-imperialist rivalry to redivide the world, schools a million more in the nature of the imperialist system and the need to sweep it once and for all from the face of the earth. □

while the use of chemical pesticides has increased 10 times—in California to 250 million pounds a year. What has happened is that pesticides were "a cheap and easy" solution for a few years, but after awhile it became clear that the chemicals were killing more than the harmful insects; they were killing other insects as well. And many of those incidentally killed off were the natural predators of harmful, but isolated strains. More pesticides were then needed for these strains. The spider mite grew in this way from a minor problem to one now threatening world agriculture. There are now literally hundreds of pesticide-resistant strains of bugs and diseases.

In the neo-colonies of the imperialists, where there is far less capital technology, trained personnel and infrastructure to counter its effects, pesticide damage has been far worse—in Peru and northeastern Mexico, for example, pesticide side effects wiped out the cotton industry. But, the chiefs of U.S. agri-business object: No pesticides, no mass food production. As one agri-capitalist put it: "How can they object to malathion when people in the world are hungry." Coming from the same class which just this past year destroyed by order of law, millions of tons of California oranges, as part of their attempt to maintain relatively stable market conditions in the midst of the wild anarchy of capitalist production, the remarks of Mr. agri-business are truly sick.

The Medfly and the current infestation of these little beasts in California do pose a real problem for U.S. agriculture and the imperialists as a whole. Some scientists consider it the "most dangerous agricultural pest." Almost every fruit and vegetable grown in California is susceptible to the Medfly. It spreads very quickly, particularly in warm climates. In the summer, each female can lay up to 400 eggs and a new generation matures and reproduces in about 30 days. All this makes for a pest which has been capable of destroying the once huge Hawaii fruit export industry (except for pineapples and

Continued on page 21

Fly Wars

Continued from page 20

papayas), and has caused equally severe damage in southern Europe and elsewhere. If the Medfly spread to the fields of California this would cause serious problems for the bourgeoisie.

While the fruit and vegetable crops of California are not the mainstay of U.S. agriculture, either in terms of export or in terms of food production itself, such as grain products, the \$14 billion a year agricultural production of California is not only significant as the backbone of the economy of the state, but nationally as well. Taken in terms of value, California accounts for half the fruit and vegetable production of the country—five times greater than that of Florida, for example. Fruit and vegetable production is also an even more profitable aspect of agriculture than grain production.

California agriculture is not only significant in terms of production of fruits and vegetables itself, but a big loss in California agriculture would have wide-ranging impact on related industries such as farm equipment, fertilizers, marketing etc., which would have even more serious economic implications for the U.S. imperialists than the fruit and vegetable production itself. (In 1976 while agricultural output itself accounted for only 3% of the GNP, taken as a whole, agriculture-related industries accounted for 25% of the GNP.)

A Medfly infestation which could potentially damage 10% to 20% of the California crop would thus have big repercussions for the imperialists as a whole. Even beyond the crops immediately destroyed by the fly, the rest of the crops would be at least potentially infested, possibly carrying the eggs or developing larvae. The federal government already imposed a temporary quarantine on all California produce. And while at this point, this was just a maneuver to hurry the start of aerial spraying and was quickly rescinded, it would be necessary, for real, in the event of serious infestation. California now ships out the state 2/3 of the fruit and vegetables it produces, worth half a billion dollars a year, and the only way past a quarantine would be fumigation with pesticides strong enough and poisonous enough to penetrate through the skin and kill the eggs and worms inside. At this point, facilities do not even exist to do fumigation of this scale. But this prospect even if it was feasible certainly would not render the California produce desirable on the world market, and the loss of a significant percentage of the crop which would be inevitable if things got to this point would be disastrous for the industry, anyway. All this adds up to a tremendous necessity for the authorities to go to the aerial spray to prevent the spread of the Medfly—their own system has forced them to do it.

Last year, when the Medfly was first detected in the Bay Area, the big growers and most of the state and federal agricultural bureaucracy were set on aerial spraying right away. But they were forced to retreat in the face of public outrage. Their knee-jerk pesticide-itis—which might temporarily curb their problems with the Medfly—had become abhorant to large sections of the masses and was the subject of much exposure nationwide. Then began a bizarre series of events further graphically portraying the utter anarchy of capitalism. A \$22 million program was put in effect full of bureaucratic energy, government infighting, bad science and possibly sabotage.

First came a program stressing fruit stripping over a wide (700 sq. miles) area, in a converging "trap" pattern, and involving "bias-sample" detection—concentrated sampling of fruit in selected areas. However, the director of this program fell victim to political enemies, and the desire of certain powerful forces who obviously wanted to get on with a different approach. The first method was dropped part way through, and a second method set going, centering on the dissemination of millions of sterile fruit flies, and also in-

volving less systematic fruit stripping. Apparently it was hoped that the sterile fly method would be fast, easy and cheap, but according to one expert, the method was developed as a "mop up" and not as the main part of an eradication program. Anyway, for whatever reason, by spring of this year, Medfly larva were again discovered—this approach, too, had flopped.

By June, scandal was flowing like water. Governor Brown publicly charged that certain shipments of supposedly sterile flies from Peru were found to be fertile after 100,000 of them had been released (the charges were denied, but at least one pregnant Peruvian fly was found). Then the fired ex-director of the program, Terrance Anderson, called a news conference to announce the threat that he'd spill all the beans on the Medfly. By that time, the State's program was not only inept and anarchic, but was a total sham. The only question for the bourgeoisie was how to get over with aerial spraying.

A Fundamental Problem

In the midst of this madness, it is enlightening to look at how the problem of such pests was dealt with in China under the proletarian revolutionary leadership of Mao Tsetung. (Of course to get at the little flying and crawling pests the masses have to do away with the main pests—that is the imperialist class and their outmoded, decadent and destructive system. Nonetheless destructive insects do not disappear with the overthrow of imperialism and will continue to be a problem for the proletariat and masses of people for quite some time.) One of the very first mass campaigns when China was a revolutionary society was the attack on the "Four Pests"—four disease carrying insects, including the housefly. While the imperialists scoffed arrogantly at such a notion, within a few years the housefly was almost entirely eradicated in China.

The method used in this campaign were later summed up and developed further. In Shao-tung County in the Hunan Province, for example, a program was worked out which utilized great numbers of people in an effort at prevention by detection. Lectures, films and demonstrations gave hundreds of thousands of peasants the understanding of the two most dangerous pests in the province—wheat rust and the rice borer: detecting the signs of pathogenic changes in the crops, the life cycles of the pests, and so on. The detection campaign was then spearheaded by 10,000 youth, who patrolled the fields, scouting and taking samples. The incidence of these pests was reduced to 1%. Across China, this detection campaign was augmented by the 3 million "barefoot doctors", part of whose job was to survey for disease carrying insects and recommend measures to the localities.

In a crash campaign, much more complex and greater in scope than the Medfly wars, the killer liver and intestinal disease Schistosomiasis was brought under effective control in China, the only country in the world to do so. In studying the life cycle of the microscopic worm which causes the disease, it was found that they were transmitted by a water snail... a campaign to strike at the snails was launched. Mass education again preceded a mobilization of entire populations in each county, twice a year. In order to get at the snail, whole irrigation systems and aqueducts had to be drained; mass meetings were held to discuss ways to accomplish the draining without water logging large areas.

Certain aspects of these achievements of the masses under socialism have now been incorporated by the imperialists into an alternative to pesticide use, the system called Integrated Pest Management. (IPM). Mixed-cropping patterns, mulching, weed control, breeding new pest resistant strains combined with selective ground spraying and other weapons have been suggested. But IPM, under conditions of capitalism, can only be a pale and often empty imitation. The fact is, the fly wars, which ended in turning IPM into its exact opposite—into another way to bludgeon people into accepting aerial spraying—is a perfect example of how capitalism is incapable of a real solution

to the problem.

In socialist China, the war against the "Four Pests" was part of unleashing the masses to consciously master society and nature, but the key question was what line was in command and which class held power. The imperialists and their social structure, locked in the anarchy of capitalist principles, are fundamentally incapable of mobilizing the masses to fight in their own interests—if they did that, they would have to mobilize the masses to overthrow imperialism. What they have managed to do however, in attempting to deal with the tiny Medfly is to mobilize and awaken the masses to political life against them, including a section of the masses that has many illusions about the nature of the state, the government and the possibility of "meaningful reform" within the system.

Even beyond the spraying of malathion itself, the way that the ruling class had to bludgeon through its plan in the face of many who opposed it, shocked, angered and aroused many people. The target area for the spraying includes many cities whose main population is sections of the petty-bourgeoisie—lawyers, doctors, university professors, managers and executive in the electronics industry, etc. A significant section of professionals and intellectuals, concerned in general with problems of the environment and so on, were roused into protest and are learning much about the role and function of the state.

The principal role of the government was to jam through the spraying plan as quickly as possible, bringing to bear the entire state apparatus. State legislators in the California Senate voted 28 to 0 to "force" Governor Brown to order spraying, and the State Assembly, which was in recess, threatened to convene a special session just to do their bit to get the helicopters flying. The great toads of the State Judicial System quickly approved the spraying. One judge was seen on national T.V. attempting to cover his ass by allowing the spraying to proceed and then ordering a report in his court room on the effects of the spraying the morning after the first spray (as though the ill effects of the pesticide would be immediately visible the morning after); while other judges personally testified that they used malathion in their gardens. The State Supreme Court even issued a statement after 5 p.m. the day the spraying was to start and rumor has it that, in the heat of the moment, they even missed their afternoon cocktails.

The role of Governor Brown is a more interesting and sinister case. He has been widely hailed in the press as a leader of the opposition to the spraying. In reality, quite the opposite is the case. Up until the point when the federal government ordered a quarantine on all California produce, Brown held that it was up to the people to stop the spraying by making sacrifices, stripping their trees, and not smuggling fruit out of the quarantine area. When the federal quarantine came down, a clear signal that the ruling class had decided that it was time to start spraying (and never really intended to be a real quarantine). Brown immediately ordered spraying, and blamed it on Ronald Reagan and the failure of people to do their part. This was more than Brown's already famous fancy footwork—it was his attempt to win as many as possible to the necessity of spraying, and the impossibility of doing anything but going along with the program. Then of course the real mobilization began. The papers were full of national guardsmen picking fruit under pictures titled "Off to the front." The Medfly eradication was an "attack," "assault," "mobilization" and so on. The Red Cross Refugee Centers plastered all over the TV added to the air of emergency and all in all the media valiantly tried to create a picture of "Americans pulling together in time of war."

This war-like atmosphere also posed further difficulties for the authorities in implementing their plan. This was strikingly pointed out on the very eve of the aerial spraying when the Pentagon suddenly withdrew permission for the use of Moffett Naval Air Base as a staging area for the spray copters. Only a week before there had been a demonstration

at the gates of Moffett protesting the storage of nuclear weapons at the naval airbase. Perhaps the image of helicopters taking off from Moffett to spray the population of three counties with the "harmless" pesticide that is related to nerve gas posed ugly comparisons which the government sought to avoid.

Governor Brown who has now become the champion of speedy and efficient spraying has tried to blame the feds' denial of take off points for the helicopters for other difficulties they have encountered, such as the fact that their spraying equipment is breaking down, threatening to drag the whole situation out for quite some time. It was a rather amusing exposure of the Governor when he emerged from the Mountain View home where he spent the first night of spraying—to "share" in the experience—and remarked that he had never slept better and hadn't heard a thing. The spraying helicopters, as it turned out, had broken down before they had even reached the area where Brown spent the night.

Nonetheless, Brown continues undaunted to play his role of galvanizing the sentiments of those who regretfully submit to the vicissitudes of the system, making opportunistic remarks such as, "I predict out of the spraying this evening will start a coalition to control the poisons we're being fed..." This would be silly coming from the Governor if it wasn't for the fact that it is a calculated attempt to head off the already outraged and growing numbers of people in his social base who have begun to coalesce in opposition to the measures taken by the authorities in the Medfly wars thus far.

A measure, not only of the opposition to the spraying, but even more of the tear in the fabric of the system that the Medfly wars has engendered, was a comment by the mayor of Palo Alto that he had informed Governor Brown that "not since Vietnam" had any political issue aroused such widespread and intense interest. Nearly 800 people in Los Gatos, an influential suburb nestled in the foothills of the Santa Cruz Mountains, came to a town hall meeting to denounce the spraying. People who had come into political life in the '60s but who had since settled into professional careers and raising their families were out raising hell, along with some who have never taken political action against the government before.

At the rally in Palo Alto the day before the spraying began, one man spoke about how an insect was preying on people but "that insect is not the Medfly. That insect lives at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue." He was loudly cheered. Others made their point in a different way. Some unnamed Vietnam vets were taken quite seriously by State officials when they threatened to shoot down the spray copters. Quite a few of the system's "experts" and scientific investigators in different fields exposed the government's version of what was safe and possible and circulated these views widely in the press and other media. A professor of pharmacology at Stanford Medical School sent an affidavit to Brown and filed it in court, showing that even small concentrations of malathion can cause mutations in genes and that while decisive evidence was not yet in, he felt that what existed pointed to malathion causing cancer and possible birth defects as well. The night the spraying actually started, despite every effort by the government to intimidate and confuse people as to whether, when, and where the spraying was actually going to take place, nearly 200 people marched in the middle of the night around a major intersection at the boundary of the spraying area, looking to confront and stop the officials in charge of carrying out the spraying.

As the Medfly war continues to lurch along, the wonders of such an advanced imperialist society are being revealed and exposed in this minor crisis; and perhaps in this respect those who have been awakened to question the political system will credit the Medfly with having—at least for a time—played a progressive role in history. For if in the Santa Clara County morning the smell of malathion hangs in the air so does the question: "Who are the real pests that need to be eradicated?"

Imperialism and the Split in Socialism

Continued from page 13

to Sorge, dated September 21, 1872, Engels informs him that Hales kicked up a big row in the Federal Council of the International and secured a vote of censure on Marx for saying that "the English labour leaders had sold themselves". Marx wrote to Sorge on August 4, 1874: "As to the urban workers here [in England], it is a pity that the whole pack of leaders did not get into Parliament. This would be the surest way of getting rid of the whole lot." In a letter to Marx, dated August 11, 1881, Engels speaks about "those very worst English trade unions which allow themselves to be led by men sold to, or at least paid by, the bourgeoisie". In a letter to Kautsky, dated September 12, 1882, Engels wrote: "You ask me what the English workers think about colonial policy. Well, exactly the same as they think about politics in general. There is no workers' party here, there are only Conservatives and Liberal-Radicals, and the workers gaily share the feast of England's monopoly of the world market and the colonies."

On December 7, 1889, Engels wrote to Sorge: "The most repulsive thing here [in England] is the bourgeois 'respectability', which has grown deep into the bones of the workers.... Even Tom Mann, whom I regard as the best of the lot, is fond of mentioning that he will be lunching with the Lord Mayor. If one compares this with the French, one realises what a revolution is good for, after all." In a letter, dated April 19, 1890: "But *under* the surface the movement [of the working class in England] is going on, is embracing ever wider sections and mostly just among the hitherto stagnant *lowest* [Engels's italics] strata. The day is no longer far off when this mass *will* suddenly *find itself*, when it will dawn upon it that it itself is this colossal mass in motion." On March 4, 1891: "The failure of the collapsed Dockers' Union; the 'old' conservative trade unions, *rich* and therefore cowardly, remain lone on the field...." September 14, 1891: at the Newcastle Trade Union Congress the old unionists, opponents of the eight-hour day, were defeated "and the bourgeois papers recognise the defeat of the *bourgeois labour party*" (Engels's italics throughout)....

That these ideas, which were repeated by Engels over the course of decades, were also expressed by him publicly, in the press, is proved by his preface to the second edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, 1892. Here he speaks of an "aristocracy among the working class", of a "privileged minority of the workers", in contradistinction to the "great mass of working people". "A small, privileged, protected minority" of the working class alone was "permanently benefited" by the privileged position of England in 1848-68; whereas "the great bulk of them experienced at best but a temporary improvement".... "With the breakdown of that (England's industrial) monopoly, the English working class will lose that privileged position...." The members of the "new" unions, the unions of the unskilled workers, "had this immense advantage, that their minds were virgin soil, entirely free from the inherited 'respectable' bourgeois prejudices which hampered the brains of the better situated 'old unionists'".... "The so-called workers' representatives" in England are people "who are forgiven their being members of the working class because they themselves would like to drown their quality of being workers in the ocean of their liberalism"....

We have deliberately quoted the direct statements of Marx and Engels at rather great length in order that the reader may study them *as a whole*. And they should be studied, they are worth carefully pondering over. For they are the *pivot* of the tactics in the labour movement that are dictated by the objective conditions of the imperialist era.

Here, too, Kautsky has tried to "befog the issue" and substitute for Marxism sentimental conciliation with the opportunists. Arguing against the avowed and naïve social-imperialists (men like Lensch) who justify Germany's participation in the war as a means of destroying England's monopoly, Kautsky "corrects" this obvious falsehood by another equally obvious falsehood. Instead of a cynical falsehood he employs a suave falsehood! The industrial monopoly of England, he says, has long ago been broken, has long ago been destroyed, and there is nothing left to destroy.

Why is this argument false?

Because, firstly, it overlooks England's colonial monopoly. Yet Engels, as we have seen, pointed to this very clearly as early as 1882, thirty-four years ago! Although England's industrial monopoly may have been destroyed, her colonial monopoly not only remains, but has become extremely accentuated, for the whole world is already divided up! By means of this suave lie Kautsky smuggles in the bourgeois-pacifist and opportunist-philistine idea that "there is nothing to fight about". On the contrary, not only have the capitalists something to fight about now, but they *cannot help* fighting if they want to preserve capitalism, for without a forcible redivision of colonies the new imperialist countries cannot obtain the privileges enjoyed by the older (and weaker) imperialist powers.

Secondly, why does England's monopoly explain the (temporary) victory of opportunism in England? Because monopoly yields *superprofits*, i.e., a surplus of profits over and above the capitalist profits that are normal and customary all over the world. The capitalists *can* devote a part (and not a small one, at that!) of these superprofits to bribe

their own workers, to create something like an alliance (recall the celebrated "alliances" described by the Webbs of English trade unions and employers) between the workers of the given nation and their capitalists *against* the other countries. England's industrial monopoly was already destroyed by the end of the nineteenth century. That is beyond dispute. But *how* did this destruction take place? Did *all* monopoly disappear?

If that were so, Kautsky's "theory" of conciliation (with the opportunists) would to a certain extent be justified. But it is *not* so, and that is just the point. Imperialism is monopoly capitalism. Every cartel, trust, syndicate, every giant bank *is* a monopoly. Superprofits have not disappeared; they still remain. The exploitation of *all* other countries by one privileged, financially wealthy country remains and has become more intense. A handful of wealthy countries—there are only four of them, if we mean independent, really gigantic, "modern" wealth: England, France, the United States and Germany—have developed monopoly to vast proportions, they obtain *superprofits* running into hundreds, if not thousands, of millions, they "ride on the backs" of hundreds and hundreds of millions of people in other countries and fight among themselves for the division of the particularly rich, particularly fat and particularly easy spoils.

This, in fact, is the economic and political essence of imperialism, the profound contradictions of which Kautsky glosses over instead of exposing.

The bourgeoisie of an imperialist "Great" Power *can* economically bribe the upper strata of "its" workers by spending on this a hundred million or so francs a year, for its *superprofits* most likely amount to about a thousand million. And how this little sop is divided among the labour ministers, "labour representatives" (remember Engels's splendid analysis of the term), labour members of war industries committees, labour officials, workers belonging to the narrow craft unions, office employees, etc., etc., is a secondary question.

Between 1848 and 1868, and to a certain extent even later, only England enjoyed a monopoly: *that is why* opportunism could prevail there for decades. No other countries possessed either very rich colonies or an industrial monopoly.

The last third of the nineteenth century saw the transition to the new, imperialist era. Finance capital *not* of one, but of several, though very few, Great Powers enjoys a monopoly. (In Japan and Russia the monopoly of military power, vast territories, or special facilities for robbing minority nationalities, China, etc., partly supplements, partly takes the place of, the monopoly of modern, up-to-date finance capital.) This difference explains why England's monopoly position *could* remain *unchallenged* for decades. The monopoly of modern finance capital is being frantically challenged; the era of imperialist wars has begun. It was possible in those days to bribe and corrupt the working class of *one* country for decades. This is now improbable, if not impossible. But on the other hand, *every* imperialist "Great" Power can and does bribe *smaller* strata (than in England in 1848-68) of the "labour aristocracy". Formerly a "*bourgeois labour party*", to use Engels's remarkably profound expression, could arise only in one country, because it alone enjoyed a monopoly, but, on the other hand, it could exist for a long time. Now a "*bourgeois labour party*" is *inevitable* and typical in *all* imperialist countries; but in view of the desperate struggle they are waging for the division of spoils, it is improbable that such a party can prevail for long in a number of countries. For the trusts, the financial oligarchy, high prices, etc., while *enabling* the bribery of a handful in the top layers, are increasingly oppressing, crushing, ruining and torturing the *mass* of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat.

On the one hand, there is the tendency of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists to convert a handful of very rich and privileged nations into "eternal" parasites on the body of the rest of mankind, to "rest on the laurels" of the exploitation of Negroes, Indians, etc., keeping them in subjection with the aid of the excellent weapons of extermination provided by modern militarism. On the other hand, there is the tendency of the *masses* who are more oppressed than before and who bear the whole brunt of imperialist wars, to cast off this yoke and to overthrow the bourgeoisie. It is in the struggle between these two tendencies that the history of the labour movement will now inevitably develop. For the first tendency is not accidental; it is "substantiated" economically. In *all* countries the bourgeoisie has already begotten, fostered and secured for itself "bourgeois labour parties" of social-chauvinists. The difference between a definitely formed party, like Bissolati's in Italy, for example, which is fully social-imperialist, and, say, the semi-formed near-party of the Potresovs, Gvozdyovs, Bulkins, Chkheidzes, Skobelevs and Co., is an immaterial difference. The important thing is that, economically, the desertion of a stratum of the labour aristocracy to the bourgeoisie has matured and become an accomplished fact; and this economic fact, this shift in class relations, will find political form, in one shape or another, without any particular "difficulty".

On the economic basis referred to above, the political institutions of modern capitalism—press, parliament, associations, congresses, etc.—have created *political* privileges and sops for the respectful, meek, reformist and patriotic office employees and workers, corresponding to the economic privileges and sops. Lucrative and soft jobs in the government or on the war industries committees, in parliament and on diverse committees, on the editorial staffs of “respectable”, legally published newspapers or on the management councils of no less respectable and “bourgeois law-abiding” trade unions—this is the bait by which the imperialist bourgeoisie attracts and rewards the representatives and supporters of the “bourgeois labour parties”.

The mechanics of political democracy works in the same direction. Nothing in our times can be done without elections; nothing can be done without the masses. And in this era of printing and parliamentarism it is *impossible* to gain the following of the masses without a widely ramified, systematically managed, well-equipped system of flattery, lies, fraud, juggling with fashionable and popular catchwords, and promising all manner of reforms and blessings to the workers right and left—as long as they renounce the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. I would call this system Lloyd-Georgism, after the English Minister Lloyd George, one of the foremost and most dexterous representatives of this system in the classic land of the “bourgeois labour party”. A first-class bourgeois manipulator, an astute politician, a popular orator who will deliver any speeches you like, even r-r-revolutionary ones, to a labour audience, and a man who is capable of obtaining sizable sops for docile workers in the shape of social reforms (insurance, etc.), Lloyd George serves the bourgeoisie splendidly,* and serves it precisely among the workers, brings its influence *precisely* to the proletariat, to where the bourgeoisie needs it most and where it finds it most difficult to subject the masses morally.

And is there such a great difference between Lloyd George and the Scheidemanns, Legiens, Hendersons and Hyndmans, Plekhanovs, Renaudels and Co.? Of the latter, it may be objected, some will return to the revolutionary socialism of Marx. This is possible, but it is an insignificant difference in degree, if the question is regarded from its political, i.e., its mass aspect. Certain individuals among the present social-chauvinist leaders may return to the proletariat. But the social-chauvinist or (what is the same thing) opportunist *trend* can neither disappear nor “return” to the revolutionary proletariat. Wherever Marxism is popular among the workers, this political trend, this “bourgeois labour party”, will swear by the name of Marx. It cannot be prohibited from doing this, just as a trading firm cannot be prohibited from using any particular label, sign or advertisement. It has always been the case in history that after the death of revolutionary leaders who were popular among the oppressed classes, their enemies have attempted to appropriate their names so as to deceive the oppressed classes.

The fact is that “bourgeois labour parties”, as a political phenomenon, have already been formed in *all* the foremost capitalist countries, and that unless a determined and relentless struggle is waged all along the line against these parties—or groups, trends, etc., it is all the same—there can be no question of a struggle against imperialism, or of Marxism, or of a socialist labour movement. The Chkheidze faction, *Nashe Dyelo* and *Golos Truda* in Russia, and the O. C. supporters abroad are nothing but varieties of one *such* party. There is not the slightest reason for thinking that these parties will disappear *before* the social revolution. On the contrary, the nearer the revolution approaches, the more strongly it flares up and the more sudden and violent the transitions and leaps in its progress, the greater will

* I recently read an article in an English magazine by a Tory, a political opponent of Lloyd George, entitled “Lloyd George from the Standpoint of a Tory”. The war opened the eyes of this opponent and made him realise what an excellent servant of the bourgeoisie this Lloyd George is! The Tories have made peace with him!

be the part the struggle of the revolutionary mass stream against the opportunist petty-bourgeois stream will play in the labour movement. Kautskyism is not an independent trend, because it has no roots either in the masses or in the privileged stratum which has deserted to the bourgeoisie. But the danger of Kautskyism lies in the fact that, utilising the ideology of the past, it endeavours to reconcile the proletariat with the “bourgeois labour party”, to preserve the unity of the proletariat with that party and thereby enhance the latter’s prestige. The masses no longer follow the avowed social-chauvinists: Lloyd George has been hissed down at workers’ meetings in England; Hyndman has left the party; the Renaudels and Scheidemanns, the Potresovs and Gvozdyovs are protected by the police. The Kautskyites’ masked defence of the social-chauvinists is much more dangerous.

One of the most common sophistries of Kautskyism is its reference to the “masses”. We do not want, they say, to break away from the masses and mass organisations! But just think how Engels put the question. In the nineteenth century the “mass organisations” of the English trade unions were on the side of the bourgeois labour party. Marx and Engels did not reconcile themselves to it on this ground; they exposed it. They did not forget, firstly, that the trade union organisations directly embraced a *minority of the proletariat*. In England then, as in Germany now, not more than one-fifth of the proletariat was organised. No one can seriously think it possible to organise the majority of the proletariat under capitalism. Secondly—and this is the main point—it is not so much a question of the size of an organisation, as of the real, objective significance of its policy: does its policy represent the masses, does it serve them, i.e., does it aim at their liberation from capitalism, or does it represent the interests of the minority, the minority’s reconciliation with capitalism? The latter was true of England in the nineteenth century, and it is true of Germany, etc., now.

Engels draws a distinction between the “bourgeois labour party” of the *old* trade unions—the privileged minority—and the “*lowest* mass”, the real majority, and appeals to the latter, who are *not* infected by “bourgeois respectability”. This is the essence of Marxist tactics!

Neither we nor anyone else can calculate precisely what portion of the proletariat is following and will follow the social-chauvinists and opportunists. This will be revealed only by the struggle, it will be definitely decided only by the socialist revolution. But we know for certain that the “defenders of the fatherland” in the imperialist war represent only a minority. And it is therefore our duty, if we wish to remain socialists, to go down *lower* and *deeper*, to the real masses; this is the whole meaning and the whole purport of the struggle against opportunism. By exposing the fact that the opportunists and social-chauvinists are in reality betraying and selling the interests of the masses, that they are defending the temporary privileges of a minority of the workers, that they are the vehicles of bourgeois ideas and influences, that they are really allies and agents of the bourgeoisie, we teach the masses to appreciate their true political interests, to fight for socialism and for the revolution through all the long and painful vicissitudes of imperialist wars and imperialist armistices.

The only Marxist line in the world labour movement is to explain to the masses the inevitability and necessity of breaking with opportunism, to educate them for revolution by waging a relentless struggle against opportunism, to utilise the experiences of the war to expose, not conceal, the utter vileness of national-liberal labour politics.

In the next article, we shall try to sum up the principal features that distinguish this line from Kautskyism.

Written in October 1916
Published in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* No. 2,
December 1916
Signed: N. Lenin

Published according to
the *Sbornik* text

SUBPOENA

Continued from page 6

Following is the subpoena served on
Col. William Scott:

July 10, 1981

Col. William Scott:

SUBPOENA

The Mass, Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism summons you to appear before the Tribunal to receive the trial and verdict you justly deserved from the masses in Iran while serving in the interests of U.S. imperialism. This so-called “hostage stress” that you suffer from is only that of coming face to face with the revolutionary actions of millions who exposed

what even more foul deeds you and your masters were preparing inside the Embassy spy nest—it was here that the plans for the 1953 coup d’etat were carried out; it was here that the U.S. advisors instructed SAVAK, the Shah’s secret police, in the latest arts of torture and repression; and it was through the Embassy that the Shah received day to day guidance in brutally suppressing the revolutionary struggle, killing 60,000 people in the last 2 years of his reign alone. After the insurrection in February 1979, your role as military advisor/attache was to keep in contact with pro-U.S. forces within the Iranian military and to attempt to organize a military coup, as well as continue to supply U.S. made weapons to be used against the just struggles of the Kurds and other minority peoples in Iran. But, on that historic day, November 4, 1979, a day of tremendous inspiration to the proletariat and oppressed masses worldwide, these plans were temporarily stopped.

We challenge you to answer to the oppressed peoples throughout the world, to justify your heinous crimes, to defend your masters and all their foul deeds carried out in Embassies throughout the world. We have learned from the example of Iran, the examples of Chile, Vietnam and now El Salvador and Guatemala. The only “stress” that you and your class have been experiencing lately is that of a marked man who is standing before the firing squad of millions armed with the truth demanding that sentencing be rendered. We have not fallen for the ugly chauvinism and superpatriotism reflected in tactics such as yellow ribbon hostage hysteria and therefore, we challenge you to attend the Mass, Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal hearings scheduled for Chicago in mid-August to respond to this indictment. And as for any attempt to deny such activities, the truth will become even more exposed to all.

The Tribunal Subpoena Servers

CORRECTION

In the July 10 edition of the *RW* a line was inadvertently omitted in the article “Supreme Court Says: Prison is *Supposed* to be Hell” on page 17. In the third column it should read: “... at a rate of 280 per 100,000 population. Next come the Latinos, who are locked up at a rate of 190 per 100,000 population. Due to the racist nature...”

Also, at the end of the next paragraph, the figure for the number of Black prisoners in Texas should read 10,750, not 110,750.

**REVOLUTIONARY
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This is a call to all co-conspirators to raise thousands of dollars toward our main weapon against imperialism, the *Revolutionary Worker*, through a special 1-month fund drive. Many thousands of dollars from *RW* sales and regular contributions are spent each week to produce the *RW* and this will continue to expand and increase. In addition, funds are needed now beyond the regular sales of the paper, building off the tremendous advances in its distribution over the past two years, to finance operating expenses and further expand and strengthen the influence of the *RW*.

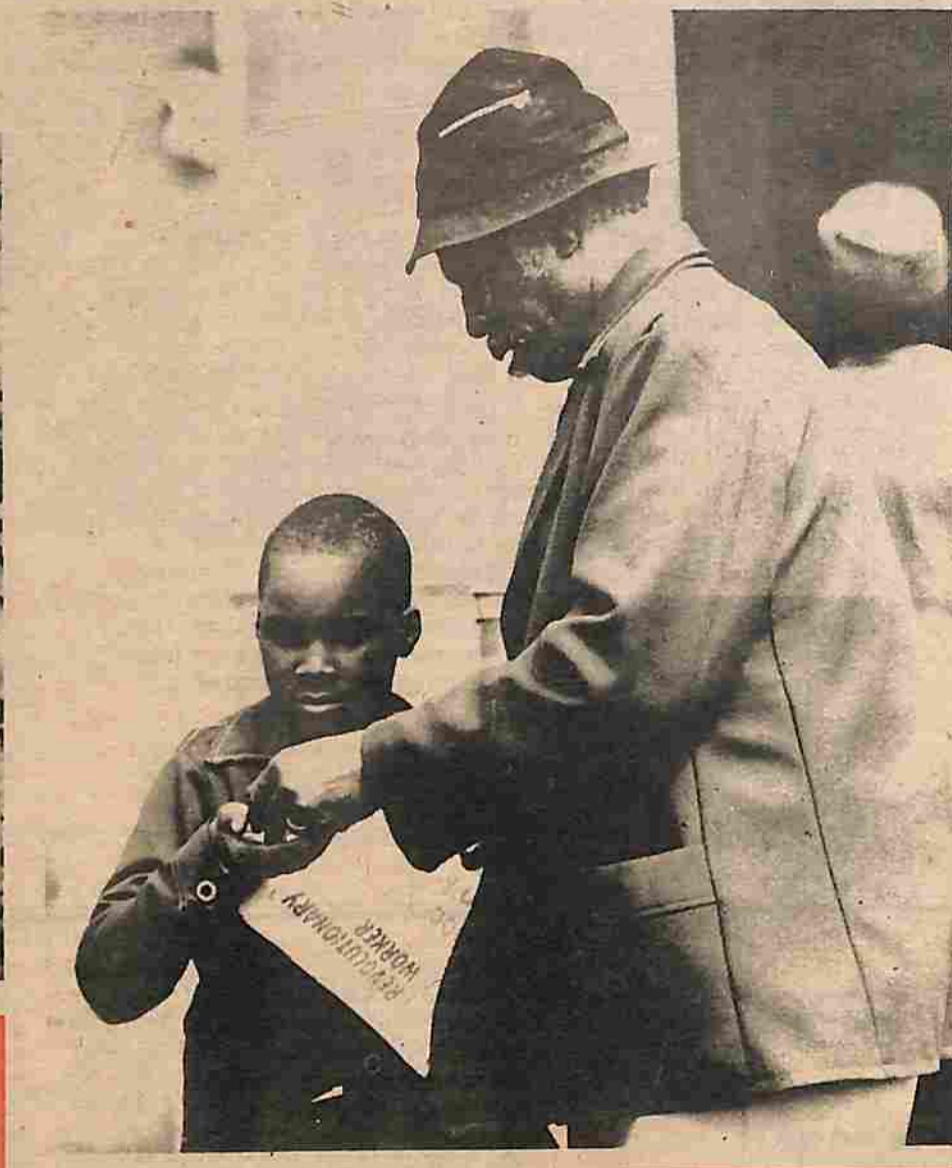
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