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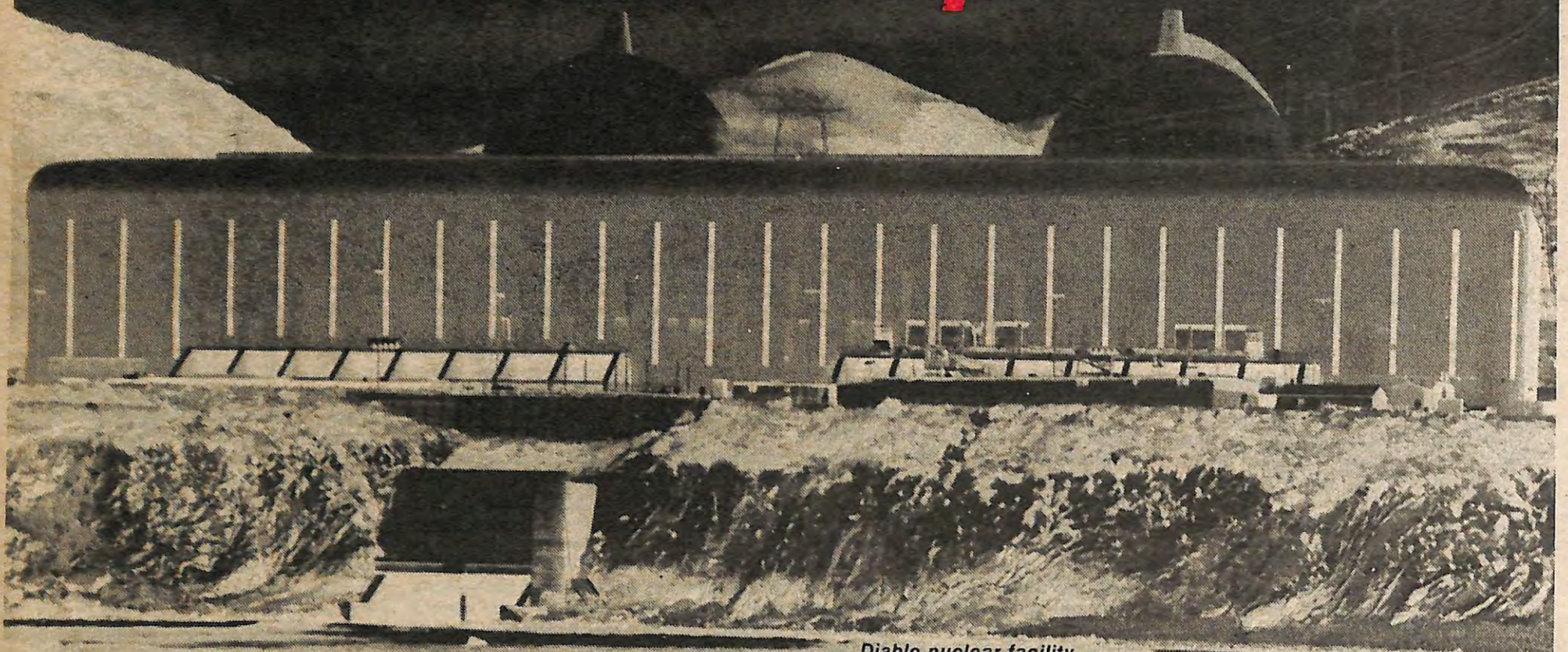
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Diablo Canyon Nuke

When the Foot's Put Down, What Will Rise Up?



Diablo nuclear facility.

On Wednesday, September 9, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission Appeals Board ruled that Diablo Canyon nuclear reactor in California was indeed secure. Anytime in the next ten days, a final decision will be made to start low-power operations in the reactor. Backed up by large-scale armed force and media-trumpeted threats, the authorities had made their move.

At the Diablo Blockade Office neither the announcement, nor its timing had come as a surprise. Not only

had press leaks been dripping for days, but the massive mobilization of police and military force had made it virtually impossible for the government to conceal its move. Activists received the word with a kind of eagerness—glad that the time to join the long-awaited battle had come. The call immediately went out from the Diablo Blockade Office for anti-nuke blockaders to go to the plant as quickly as possible. A decision would then be made exactly when to fully mount a land and sea blockade

aimed at halting the opening.

Reports came into the the Blockade Office from various national guardsmen that their units, which have been training for the blockade, have been ordered to report for duty. As of Wednesday, some guard units were in place with reports of 40 trucks practicing to haul demonstrators away. At least some California Highway Patrolmen were ordered to be ready for Diablo action by September 10th.

That this step towards operation of

this reactor built on an earthquake fault should be taken less than a week after a fairly major earthquake hit southern California (an earthquake which, if it had been concentrated in the fault running by the reactor, would have severely tested the rigged up "earthquake proofing" in the reactor) is quite symbolic of all the government's preparations for starting Diablo. For all the ferociousness of the bourgeois preparations for the blockade, their arrogant

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Revolutionary Prisoner Murdered at Walla Walla

"I don't care to die in here, but if dying for what is mine and all of humanity's by birth is my fate, it's all right with me because I will have died on my feet having never lived on my knees." Carl Harp from *Love and Rage, Entries in a Prison Diary*.

On the evening of Saturday, September 5, Carl Harp was murdered in his prison cell at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla. Carl, a revolutionary political activist, was both hated and feared by the prison administration, and their plots to kill him had already been widely exposed among the prisoners. His body was found hanging from a TV cable tied to a clothes hook with his wrists slashed. (According to one unconfirmed report received by the *RW*, Carl's throat and groin were slashed as well, and if this is true it is a strong indication that Carl was brutally tortured before his death.) Already this vicious slaying has produced widespread protests and outcries from a broad range of people outside the walls, as well as from prisoners themselves. The prison officials, the coroner, the Walla Walla police, and other state, local and federal officials have been flooded with calls demanding the murderers be arrested, and the press

has been forced to report the demands for an investigation. The outrage has even forced the coroner to announce that he may take the unprecedented move of holding an inquest.

The official version of Carl's death—a claim that he committed suicide—rests on a "suicide note" which the murderers say they found in his cell and which says, "I did myself so blame no one else for any reason at all." Compare that to an excerpt from a letter Carl wrote in May 1979: "To the death threat I reply: Come kill me scum for any day is a good day to die for the revolution! The enemy does me a sad yet great honor killing me. The repression only tells me I am doing right and it steels me to go on." Which one could possibly be the words of Carl, a staunch revolutionary-fighter who remained unbroken after years of harassment, intimidation and torture at the hands of prison officials? Besides, the "suicide note" itself was an obvious forgery, with some of the letters written in flowing handwriting when it is well known that Carl always printed. Further, this "suicide" story originally claimed that Carl's wrists were slashed by "unknown means," meaning the weapon

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The Battle Creek Assassination of Robert Guy

A pipe bomb thrown out of the darkness brutally ended the life of Robert Guy, a Black revolutionary, on August 31st in Battle Creek, Michigan. There is little doubt that this terrorist murder was carried out with the full knowledge, and quite likely the active participation of, the Battle Creek police and with the blessing of even higher authorities. Robert Guy was a member of the Republic of New Afrika, the Black United Front and president of the Battle Creek Coalition to End Police Brutality. For several years, he had helped lead struggles against Black people's oppression, particularly the increasing beatings and harassment carried out by the police. As Robert, along with his older brother Larry and other members of his family, increasingly gave expression to the anger and the growing resistance of Black people in Battle Creek, the Guys were singled out for special attacks.

The last couple of years have been a period of intensifying national oppression in Battle Creek, well known as a manufacturing center for the two largest cereal companies in the country—C.W. Post and Kellogg's. It also houses the U.S. Army's Defense Logistics Center. In June 1979, Robert, Larry, and their cousin Willie were stopped by police. Claiming Larry had a handgun, the police proceeded to beat him unconscious and then arrested him on a concealed weapons charge. Soon after that, one of the same police officers who had participated in that attack tailed Robert in a marked police car and pointed a loaded shotgun at him. At the end of July, two cops were caught in the act of placing a car filled with explosives outside Larry's house. Though they were forced to resign, no criminal charges were ever filed against them and one is now a cop in nearby Grand Rapids.

After protests against these and other similar outrages, city authorities and the local news media responded with a stream of ridicule against charges of what was routinely labeled as "alleged"

police brutality. In response to this, a number of Black people, including the Guys, who were determined not to be intimidated founded a Black newspaper, appropriately naming it the *Black Alleged News (BAN)*. *BAN* soon became a powerful voice in the Black community, exposing the attacks by the pigs, unveiling the close links (and, often, interchangeable membership) between the cops and the KKK, and lambasting various reformists who kow-towed to the authorities and advised people to stay calm. Most importantly, *BAN* began to link up the fight against police repression in Battle Creek with the struggle against national oppression, all of which is experiencing a resurgence across the U.S., reprinting articles on Klan activity and struggles like the Pontiac Brothers' case.

As stories of cops stopping Black youth, putting on Klan hoods, beating the youths, and then letting them go continued to surface, hundreds of Black people came out in early 1980 to denounce police brutality at a city council meeting. The police chief defended his boys' actions while a cereal company executive sat in the background blatantly giving him signals. A few concessions were made, such as giving a 30-day suspension to the cop who pointed the loaded shotgun at Robert Guy. A more serious effort at a white-wash was made by bringing in several state and federal officials to "investigate" the hundreds of incidents of police brutality that were detailed by Black people in Battle Creek. All this was channeled towards getting some of the local preachers and head of the local NAACP to sign an "8-point agreement" with the police, which was supposed to result in "better relations between the police and the Black community."

Some honest people thought that this would actually improve things, and even Robert Guy was invited to sign the agreement. However, the essence of this "better relations" scheme was quite vividly and publicly exposed for all to

see as Robert, while on his way to the ceremony to sign the agreement, was arrested for a "traffic violation" and brought to the meeting in handcuffs!

Then in August 1980, Larry Guy was convicted of the trumped-up concealed weapons charge by an all-white jury, and sent to Jackson State Prison. Less than a month later, the pig who had received a 30-day suspension for threatening Robert won his appeal and had it reduced to 5 days, winning back pay. Both of these events were occasions for the Coalition to End Police Brutality, the Black United Front, and the *BAN* to call demonstrations and agitate broadly among Blacks and other concerned people in Battle Creek.

Pursuing Larry Guy with a vengeance, in March of 1981 a hearing was held charging him under Michigan's "habitual criminal" law, which gives the state the opportunity to double a prisoner's sentence if he has three convictions. They dragged him out of his cell and into a courtroom just to tell him that his original 3-to-5-year sentence was now 6-to-10. At this hearing, 150 people, including many from all over the state of Michigan, came out to demonstrate in support of Larry. This despite the fact that an attempt to intimidate such protests in Battle Creek had been made 4 days before the hearing. In the middle of the night, a shotgun was fired through the window and a cross burned at the house where a Guy family member and another member of the Coalition live. (A witness said that at least one of the three men seen standing near the cross was wearing a police uniform.) More recently, Robert and the Black United Front had led a demonstration outside Jackson Prison, demanding an end to the lockdown of prisoners still in effect since the powerful rebellions that broke out there last May.

One would have to be quite foolish not to suspect that Robert Guy's murder was planned and executed by the same uniformed hitmen that had been threatening to do the job before.

The police have moved quickly to try to cover themselves, spreading through a willing news media the sick lie that "Guy may have been carrying a bomb that exploded prematurely" (*Detroit Free Press*). Two days after Robert was killed, police raided his parents' house and the house of the woman he was with at the time of the bombing claiming they were looking for "bomb parts" and threatening to charge everyone with conspiracy to make bombs. (This woman is an eyewitness to the murder, as Robert had just gotten out of her car and was walking towards a bar when the pipe bomb was thrown at him.) These raids were clearly meant as a warning to anyone else who dares speak out with the truth. Further proof of a murder plot came the day after the killing when a phone call was received by a well-known figure in the Black community which said "We got Robert—Khalid is next!" This was a threat on the life of Khalid Shavers, president of the Battle Creek Black United Front. As of this writing, the Black community in Battle Creek is on the alert, as the lives of any Black activists are in constant danger.

At Robert's funeral, on Friday, September 4th, it was clear, however that his murder had quite the opposite effect than the authorities intended. 300 people came and the spirit of resistance was characterized by messages that were read from Atlanta, Chicago, New York City and from inside Jackson prison. One man's eulogy to Robert movingly detailed the history of Black people's uprisings against oppression from the time of slavery to the present. As his casket was carried out of the church, draped in a red, black and green flag, hundreds lined the sidewalk in militant tribute to this determined fighter against oppression.

While the murderers of Robert Guy walk the streets with the arrogant swagger of the oppressor, it is certain that many more are taking up the challenge presented by his life and death.

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France/Mexico Joint Declaration

“Pink” Panther Hunts in El Salvador

The U.S.'s continued inability to stabilize Central America is leading to some fallout within its bloc, especially focused up over the present turmoil in El Salvador. On August 28, the governments of imperial France and neo-colonial Mexico issued a joint declaration recognizing the Salvadoran opposition coalition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and its guerrilla arm, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) as a “representative political force.”

Bemoaning the “potential threat to the stability and peace of the entire region,” the statement called for negotiations between the FDR/FMLN and the U.S.'s puppet junta. It also urged other countries (implicitly referring to others in the U.S.-led bloc) to join in bringing about a “global political solution” to the Salvadoran conflict, where there would be “a new internal order, the armed forces will be restructured and the necessary conditions will be created for respect for the popular will expressed through authentically free elections and other mechanisms proper to a democratic system.”

None of the leopards involved have changed their spots, of course. It is completely consistent for France to orchestrate the invasion of Gambia one week, overthrow the government of the Central African Republic the next, and then turn around and give official recognition to the guerrilla forces in El Salvador—completely consistent with French imperialist interests. What stands out in France's move around El Salvador is the complex interrelationship of two aspects of France's imperialist interest: first, the defeat of the Soviet bloc, which is the principal consideration for the French imperialists and what binds them to the U.S. bloc, and second, France's contention with the U.S. for what is, after all, the object of all this blocking in the first place—spheres of influence and markets for the profitable export of capital.

While the U.S. and its fascist junta have been bludgeoning the Salvadoran masses with napalm, helicopter gunships, death squads and peasant massacres—all under the direct supervision of far more than the officially acknowledged 56 U.S. “advisors,” they have also been attempting to carry out their own version of a “political solution.” This has taken the form of trying to split off the more pro-U.S. bourgeois forces such as FDR leader Guillermo Ungo from the pro-Soviet and pro-Cuban revisionist forces that exercise a considerable influence in the opposition coalition. Official negotiations with the FDR/FMLN—as presently constituted—have been ruled out by the U.S. because whatever deal arrived at from such negotiations could only give these pro-Soviet forces a significant foothold in the new government. Instead, the U.S. has lately been stumping for its own version of “free elections,” calling on Ungo and his ilk to quit the FDR and participate in this circus under the stage management of the junta. Thus far, Mr. Ungo and the other U.S.-leaning gentlemen in the FDR have refused—having considered the facts that the Salvadoran economy is in a shambles, that the junta has been unable to inflict any major defeats on the guerrillas and that the junta's level of popularity among the Salvadoran masses is on a par with such previous U.S. representatives as Somoza in Nicaragua and the Shah in Iran.

But these leading FDR forces are not the only ones considering such facts. Some of the U.S.'s most important allies have taken note of these developments and are seeing grave dangers in

them to the interests of the Western imperialist bloc vis-à-vis the Soviets. At the same time, they also see certain opportunities to improve their own position at the expense of the U.S. France, in particular, has expressed great interest in increasing its investments and influence in Central America, and new French President François Mitterand has stated that he would like to “define a third way” in Latin America between the hard-line U.S. generalissimos and the followers of Fidel Castro.

What is at stake here is more than French investment or future investment in El Salvador or elsewhere in Central America. Mitterand, that “socialist” who announced at the Ottawa Western imperialist summit conference in July that he and Reagan see eye to eye on the Soviets, is mounting a large-scale campaign for a “new relationship” between France and the third world. He is talking “partnership,” since as a “socialist” he is supposedly more sympathetic to the plight of the neo-colonial and dependent countries. This “partnership” is a flexible thing, though. In countries such as the former outright French colonies of West Africa and elsewhere in Africa, it is based on French troops and African troops on the French payroll. There, French military intervention serves

France best but also serves the U.S.-bloc division of labor in keeping control over these areas. In other areas, such as Latin America, where French military intervention is neither possible nor desirable, France counts more on its “neutral” and “democratic” image—such as it is—to do both what U.S. troops can't accomplish and what French imperialism needs. The advantage France has over the U.S. is that it's not the U.S.—in other words, that it's not the dominant imperialism in the U.S. bloc, that it's not exposed and under fire the way the U.S. is, and Mitterand is trying to wield this weapon to the fullest. After all, it's a trick learned from the U.S., who did the same to its ally Britain during and after the last war to redivide the world when the U.S. and Britain were united against the German-led bloc.

The bottom line for the French was recently summed up in an article in *Le Monde*, the leading French bourgeois newspaper: “Washington's long hold over Nicaragua produced a tragic traitor in Anastasio Somoza and a legenda-

ry hero in Cesar Sandino. Those upon whom have fallen the mantle of Sandino, who was no Marxist, are today firing the imaginations of Central American revolutionaries who are turning to Communist Cuba and the USSR for help.” What is being said here, so plainly that it really doesn't need to be spelled out, is that these “Central American revolutionaries” should turn to France for help. Such an approach is still within the bounds of France's position in the U.S.-led bloc, since it is an attempt to slam the door on the Soviets, but it also represents a challenge to U.S. hegemony in the area. Ironically, this is what gives the French efforts their particular power to fool some people who overestimate the amount of play in the U.S.-French contradictions because they underestimate how much all this is conditioned by the far more decisive contradiction between the whole U.S. bloc and the Soviet-led bloc, which both limits what the U.S. can tolerate in what it considers its “backyard” and the degree to which French imperialism

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Haig on El Salvador—
“We've witnessed the
guerrilla movement resort
to straight terrorism.”



U.S. Advisors in El Salvador.



Photo recently smuggled out of El Salvador—government troops and bodies of those they have murdered.

How Sadat Toadied Himself Into Trouble

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, in what is widely described as the strongest crackdown of his 11 years in power, last week jailed over 1500 selected persons, shut down at least six newspapers, banned or suppressed several political organizations, and announced plans for government supervision of some 40,000 mosques. The announced purpose of this wave of repression was the ending of the "sectarian violence" between Moslems and Coptic Christians in Egypt, but this was only the thinnest of pretexts, and most news accounts noted that large numbers of those arrested had little to do with religious activity.

The repression was the response of an exposed comprador, an open bootlicker of U.S. imperialism, fearful that his days as a useful lackey might be numbered. Ever since the Camp David accord, the agreement between Israel and Egypt worked out under the U.S. aegis three years ago, Sadat has more and more shamelessly exposed himself as a local errand-boy for the U.S. in the Mideast and has, moreover, staked his personal political career on his ability to get results by so doing. Inevitably, however, the only results he has been able to show have been the increased exploitation and oppression of the masses of people in Egypt by U.S. imperialism. And, as regards one of the most burning political questions on the minds of people in the Arab world—that of Israel and the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people—it was clear from the beginning and has become more and more blatant with every passing day that the Camp David agreement was a real betrayal of this struggle and a capitulation to U.S. imperialism and its local gunman, Israel.

Here Sadat has suffered open humiliation after humiliation. In recent months, for example, Sadat had hardly finished meeting with Begin, in another round of summitry along the road of the "peace process" to which Sadat proclaims his commitment, when Israel launched its strike against the Iraqi nuclear installation; on his trip here several weeks ago, Sadat's pleas for U.S. talks with the PLO, and for U.S. pressure on Israel in the matter of West Bank Palestinian "autonomy," were more or less openly rebuffed.

The U.S. has done its best to prop up Sadat. But imperialism worldwide is caught up in a crisis which it can neither control nor escape from, and this creates its own necessities. The Egyptian economy is in deep trouble, and the U.S. cannot bail it out. Politically Sadat needs concession from Israel, but the U.S. cannot afford to have such concessions given at the present time. To put it bluntly, the U.S. is unable to deliver the goods which this comprador needs to display as the reward for his bootlicking. Not only is the U.S. caught up in a deep imperialist crisis, but this crisis forces it toward war—a war for the redivision of the world with its chief imperialist rival, the Soviet Union; preparation for this war, in turn, shapes the U.S. relation with all the other countries of the world. In the Mideast, the U.S. has been pushing more and more for a strategic military alliance among U.S.-dominated states against the Soviet Union, and other concerns have had to be subordinated to this. Thus one of the "triumphs" of Sadat's Camp David diplomacy is supposed to be the return of the Sinai region, captured and occupied by Israel since 1967, to Egypt. But not only has Israel not yet completely left the area, the "return" has involved not so much turning it over to Egyptian control as giving it over for military use by the U.S.

The U.S. relation to Israel has increasingly turned on the same factors, and Begin's visit to the U.S., taking place as we go to press, is seeing the emergence of explicit strategic military

agreements, with provisions for the U.S. to store weapons and use base facilities in Israel.

As the total bankruptcy of Sadat's course of action has become more and more blatant, even his most direct social base has begun to turn against him. Egypt's comprador bourgeoisie has become very uneasy, caught between the growing anger of the masses of people and the inability of Sadat to get results even on comprador terms. There has been increasing restiveness in high Egyptian military and official circles. Last month a group of high-ranking officers addressed a petition to Sadat which reportedly pointed out the humiliation involved in Egypt's signing the agreement on the Sinai not long ago with Israel and the U.S. while Israel was bombing the Palestinians in Lebanon and which "respectfully" asked that he break off all dealing with Israel. There has been increased coordination and activity of various opposition groups and figures, as well as increased speculation among the international bourgeoisie that Sadat's days are numbered. In an article written before last week's repression, the magazine *8 Days*, after running down various opposition forces and figures, all but openly predicted a coup against Sadat. These groups range from the Socialist Labor Party, the chief parliamentary opposition party, which has recently withdrawn its qualified support for the Camp David Agree-

ment, to the "leftist" National Unionist Progressive Rally, which rejected Camp David from the beginning and has recently been calling for the formation of a broad opposition to take power from Sadat. This latter group, in addition, associates itself with Islam and often holds its political meetings in mosques. Both of these groups were targets of last week's crackdown, with many of their leaders arrested, their newspapers suppressed, and their headquarters closed down.

In a somewhat different category is another of Sadat's main targets: the Moslem Brotherhood. This was founded in Egypt in 1928, spreading to other Mideast Islamic countries in the 1930s, and espoused anti-imperialism and government in accordance with the ideas of the Koran. Although undergoing different permutations, it has continued to exist and has continued to be regarded as subversive by established regimes up to the present day. It received an impetus from the Iranian revolution, with which its ideas have obvious similarities. It had not only opposed Sadat, but was also apparently responsible for recent agitation against Coptic Christians in Egypt. The Coptic church has existed for centuries in Egypt in isolation from western Christianity, and although its political role is not clear, it does not seem to be simply a tool of western imperialism. In any case, however, these attacks on the

Copts gave Sadat a peg on which to hang his repression of opposition forces. At the same time, to cover his ass, he also arrested some Coptic leaders and attempted to depose the Coptic pope.

What is the U.S. role in all this? At a press conference Sadat, in response to a question along these lines, defensively replied that no one tells Egypt what to do. (He also described Egypt, in an ill-fated phrase left over from "the Shah's Iran", as an "island of stability in the Middle East.") Despite the obvious falsity of both these statements, it's probably true that the U.S. didn't order this crackdown. Sadat has plenty of internal motivation—he's fighting for his comprador life. As for the U.S. imperialists, they're no doubt nosing around the situation very vigorously, smelling out whether Sadat may not have outlived his usefulness to them and whether there might be a less exposed servant ready to take the job. On the other hand, the Soviet imperialists as well are sniffing around, and doubtlessly have lined up and are lining up their own comprador forces. So what with this and the possibility of a real movement of the masses being unleashed, the risks involved in Sadat's going down are quite high for the U.S., which will probably continue to back him heavily. □



SUMMING UP THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

by Bob Avakian

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

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

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George Jackson: 10 Years Since His Murder

No Patience For Rearguard "Leadership"

"We have been made the floor mat of the world, but the world has yet to see what can be done by men of our nature, by men who have walked the path of disparity, of repression, of abortion, and yet come out whole. There will be a special page in the book of life for the men who have crawled back from the grave. This page will tell of utter defeat, ruin, passivity, and subjection in one breath, and in the next, overwhelming victory and fulfillment."—George Jackson, *Soledad Brother*.

Last month, August 21, marked 10 years since the assassination of George Jackson. That he was shot in the head at close range as he lay wounded in the San Quentin prison yard is common knowledge. The deaths of several guards at the time is also well known, as is the state's failure to get a single conviction in either this case or the original "Soledad Brothers" charge that Jackson (along with Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette) was about to be tried for when he was killed.

But George Jackson's death and life should not be stamped with the phrase "another victim" and filed away with a sigh and a shake of the head. Nor should it be comfortably pigeonholed—as a number of books and articles published by the bourgeoisie and the Communist Party, USA try to—with a hypocritical tear for his death and an oh-so-sensible post-mortem that his "illusions" about violent revolution are really quite out of date and even very harmful.

George Jackson burned with revolutionary impatience. He struck out against the imperialist enemy and against those who defend this enemy, especially those who sought (and still seek) to bury revolutionary elements; those who seek not to spread but to smother revolutionary aspirations



August 7, 1970—Jonathan Jackson, George Jackson's 17-year-old brother, (on left), entered the Marin County Courthouse in San Rafael, California, freed and armed three San Quentin prisoners, James McClain, William Christmas and Ruchell Magee. Hostages were taken, including the judge, in an effort to win the release of the Soledad Brothers. Jackson, Christmas, McClain and the judge were killed and Ruchell Magee was wounded when San Quentin guards assaulted the rental van they were trying to escape in.

under the wet blanket of "wait until the majority is ready."

For many, the faded spray-paint saying "George Jackson Lives" still holds true. But true in what way? As a reminder of what might have been? Or as the voice of a social force that has yet to play its really historic role? It's more what he revealed about the future than the past that makes it important to still uphold and learn from George Jackson.

This article, then, is not a trip down Memory Lane, but a time to look again, 10 years later, at George Jackson's thinking and development in order to prepare to lead that which he lived and died for—the revolutionary overthrow of U.S. imperialism.

"These prisons have always borne a certain resemblance to Dachau and Buchenwald, places for the bad niggers, Mexicans and poor whites. But the last ten years have brought an increase in the percentage of Blacks for crimes that can clearly be traced to political-economic causes. There are still some Blacks here who consider themselves criminals—but not many. Believe me, my friend, with the time and incentive that these brothers have to read, study and think, you will find no class or category more aware, more embittered, desperate, or dedicated to the ultimate remedy—revolution... They live like there was no tomorrow. And for most of them there isn't..."

"Men who read Lenin, Fanon and Che don't riot, they 'mass,' they 'rage,' they dig graves."

"The Majority"

It is wrong to see Jackson narrowly, as just a spokesman for the prison movement. The "bad niggers, Mexicans and poor whites" he refers to are part of an entire section of the proletariat, many of whom are in and out of prisons, garment shops, foundries, grape fields and gas stations. More than a few have read "Lenin, Fanon, Che"—and/or Mao—and lean toward a revolutionary solution of this madness. Jackson articulated the experiences, passions, questions of especially the prison-bound section of these

people, but it is a view, a condition, that spreads well beyond those walls.

One critical question focuses on the conditions and mood in the more oppressed sections of the proletariat in retaliation to those of the more bourgeoisified sections. How is the contradiction resolved? By those who are more politically advanced waiting to undertake anything really revolutionary until the more politically backward are somehow moved to catch up? Jackson was both an advanced product and spokesman of his time, and while his view of the revolutionary process was naturally limited by the objective and subjective conditions which characterized the '60s (even the revolutionary sectors which fought revisionism), what Jackson has to say on this question is a sharp thrust against the mainstream smother:

"The argument that centers on the ideal that all workers must be politically educated before the revolution can support a violent thrust verges on the absurd," Jackson wrote in his second and last book, *Blood In My Eye*. "Today nearly 6-1/2 million of them can't find work. And those who are working seem to be convinced that foreign wars and armaments spending are more desirable than unemployment. Of course, they should be made conscious of their exploitation, and they must be moved to act in their behalf."

Later in the same work; "In fact, the working class of USA 1971 can be realistically divided into two mutually exclusive and conflicting sections, one right-oriented and conservative, the other left to neutral. One explanation for this phenomenon is the loss over the years (to fascist nationalistic propaganda and state-controlled unions) of a clear class-consciousness."

Blood In My Eye largely seems to be a polemic against the Communist Party, USA, both explicitly and in references to the "old vanguard," "the old left," etc. The CP had packed the Soledad Defense Committee (especially using Angela Davis in this) and had tried to run things in other ways as well. But Jackson is striking out at the CP's revisionism in general which sought to tailor activity to the lowest common

denominator, to bow before and unswervingly promote all manner of bourgeois/imperialist prejudices, and to rabidly oppose through demagogic oratory and backroom dirty tricks absolutely anything that raised the spectre and need for violent revolution.

Lenin, writing during World War I, had said that recognition of the split in the working class must be "the pivot of our tactics." He called on communists to dig down "lower and deeper" to the more oppressed sections of the proletariat. The point was to make conscious, unleash and lead the force that could perhaps take decisive action in the revolutionary situations then beginning to develop. Jackson perceived the important point, though his conclusions about strategy based on this differed from Lenin. In re-reading Jackson, in studying the ways in which he returns to this question again and again—what you hear is a voice from those "lower and deeper" masses that is well aware of the political contradictions within the proletariat and is searching for ways to make revolution anyway. "In the Black Colony and other depressed areas of the country," he wrote, "there will be less difficulty in organizing, mobilizing and altering the attitudes of the people toward their class enemies. However, in the areas of the class structure that can be said to be 'making it,' affecting attitudes toward a revolutionary change in the system of production and distribution will, of course, call for the destruction of their comfort, the 'manufacturing' of a 'condition' where they will be either neutral or complementary to the revolutionary effort." Naturally, Jackson, writing in a period when the mad workings of U.S. imperialism did not visit their full and certain future fury on the "home country," can hardly be faulted for not so clearly seeing that "the destruction of their comfort" will be the product of the very motion of the system itself, not basically the "manufactured" result of the sabotage of revolutionaries. (Of course, Jackson cannot be faulted at all for failing to worship the hollow and rotten "comfort" of this strata, which wreaks vengeance on the lives and souls



George Jackson

Continued on page 16

NO PEACE FOR SPRINGBOKS ANYWHERE

The tour of the Springboks rugby team from racist South Africa is continuing to stagger through New Zealand, battered by protests and demonstrations of unprecedented size and militancy. With the last match scheduled for September 12, the team is soon to leave the inhospitable political climate in New Zealand and fly to the U.S. for a three-game tour starting September 19 in Chicago, and going from there to Albany and Rochester, New York on the 22nd and 26th.

In this country of only 3 million people, more than 100,000 people have taken part in demonstrations over the past two months against the Springboks tour and South African apartheid. For many in New Zealand, this has been their first active political involvement, and there have been 1,200 arrests to date as demonstrators have come face to face with baton-wielding riot police, barbed wire, attack dogs and other elements of the bourgeoisie's state apparatus. All of this was much in evidence on August 15 in Christchurch, the site of the first match between the New Zealand national team and the Springboks. The Springboks first had to be sneaked into the city on a special flight, and because local hotel staff had refused to serve them, they had to be put up at the local Rugby Club. It required a mobilization of 2,000 police (nearly half the total New Zealand police force) to both guard the South African team and prevent a demonstration of more than 5,000 people from invading Lancaster Park. However, a group of about 60 protestors succeeded in breaking through police lines and barbed-wire barricades to occupy the pitch and delay the start of the game. Such was the importance attached by the government to continuing the tour that soldiers were kept in reserve inside the stadium and police were on hand with rifles, rubber bullets and teargas canisters.

The Springboks' next destination was the capital city of Wellington. On Saturday August 29th, anti-tour forces mounted their biggest operation to date as nearly 10,000 demonstrators took to the streets in 7 columns, which approached the stadium from different directions. While some groups blocked intersections in order to jam traffic, others attempted to break through police lines to reach the stadium. The riot police were issued orders to dispense with arrests and concentrate on beating and injuring protestors with their newly-issued long batons (the Monadnock PR-24, manufactured in the U.S.). The cops were especially vicious in attacking a group of 150 protestors, mainly Maori people, who had broken through and were trying to reach the grounds.

Support actions in Auckland and other cities kept the authorities off balance. A militant demonstration of 3-4,000 people converged on the Auckland Gateway Lodge, where the Springboks is scheduled to stay for their next matches. At the same time, 50 people stormed the Waiatarua TV transmission station near Auckland and barricaded themselves in the control room, cutting off video coverage of the rugby match to the Auckland area. While the commentary from the match in Wellington continued, hula dancing



Barbed wire laid out by Army engineers around Palmerstone North Showgrounds to try to keep demonstrators from breaking into the stadium.



Sat. Aug. 29th—cop is pulled to the ground by demonstrators near Athletic Park, Wellington.

and fire-eating from the Donnie and Marie Osmond show was, quite appropriately switched over from another channel.

Increasingly alarmed at the widespread and sustained character of the protests, the New Zealand ruling class has been using other methods to attack the anti-Springboks movement as well. At the end of August, the New Zealand Special Intelligence Service (equivalent to the FBI here in the U.S.) released a report claiming that "subversives" had "infiltrated" the movement, and that "urban Maori gangs" had appeared at the protests armed with "steel-capped boots and weighted rubber hoses." Prime Minister Muldoon hypocritically expressed his concern for "genuine idealistic protestors putting themselves in a position of danger," but this was widely dismissed as a crude attempt to divide the movement. From the bourgeois opposition, leaders of the Labour Party have continued to tell their members to "stay away from the demonstrations" and to "pray in church." But neither police intimidation, radical and race-baiting, nor reformist cold water have stopped people from continuing to turn out in great numbers to slam this racist tour and the

New Zealand government's vigorous protection of it.

In the U.S., the Reagan administration has already given the green light to the tour, issuing visas to the Springboks in July. And while a motley assortment of reactionaries are emerging from the sewers to support the tour, preparations to hit the Springboks when it comes to the U.S. are well under way. A broad coalition of more than 50 groups, SART (Stop Apartheid Rugby Tour), is calling for demonstrations on Saturday, September 12 in Chicago, Albany and Rochester, New York (where the match originally scheduled for New York City was moved). September 12 is also the 4th anniversary of the murder of Steve Biko, a leading spokesman for the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, murdered while he was being "detained" in a South African jail.

In Chicago, Michael Collins, the leader of the local Nazi chapter, has announced that he will provide 100 "stormtroopers", armed with "whatever is legal," to defend the Springboks team (9 of whom, incidentally, are policemen or soldiers in South Africa when they take off their rugby jerseys). And in the *Chicago Sun Times* recently, a reactionary tour supporter

was quoted as saying, "Rugby players are by nature a violent lot. Anyone who prevents the enjoyment of the game will not do so with impunity." All this reactionary bravado, however, cannot hide the reality of the situation. The organizers of the Chicago match are still not announcing where the game is to be played, and appear intent on trying to hold a secret match played to an "invitation (white) only" audience. In Albany, the mayor has allowed the Springboks to use a public stadium, citing "constitutional guarantees to espouse an unpopular cause."

For years, the western imperialists have attempted to use "sporting contests" with South Africa to try to apply a veneer of respectability to this murderous regime. The U.S. rulers attach even more importance to such contests today as they view this bastion of racism and fascism as the cornerstone of their war preparations and bloc-tightening in southern Africa. With a massive South African invasion of Angola still in progress, what evidence can there be of the importance of the Springboks tour to the U.S. imperialists, and it is quite fine that their plans are running into opposition worldwide.

Vietnam Vet Speaks Out at War Crimes Tribunal

The War Inside the Army in Vietnam

Following is testimony on resistance in the military given at the Chicago hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal Against U.S. Imperialism by a Vietnam vet who met Lt. Calley—infamous for his role in the My Lai massacre—when he was stationed in Hawaii.

After basic training I was sent to Hawaii to build up the 11th Infantry Brigade in August of 1966. I was assigned to B Company, Third Battalion, Infantry Brigade. While I was at Schofield Barracks I met Lt. Calley. He was in the company next to our company. He wasn't liked by many of the men in his company and in his platoon. I remember an incident where a sergeant transferred to my company from Lt. Calley's company because of Calley's racist outlook. He harassed this sergeant because he was a Black sergeant. He also complained that Calley was trying to gain respect from his platoon like Medina (Calley's commanding officer who was tried and found not guilty of the My Lai massacre—RW) had respect of the company and Calley was trying to gain the same respect that Medina had through reactionary actions and racist slurs against minority members of the platoon. While I was being shipped off to Vietnam, the Black sergeant was being court martialed for killing my first sergeant and wounding my company commander and my platoon leader for their racist harassment and a threatened court martial on dereliction of duty while training for Vietnam.

We had a guy in our unit in Hawaii that had told people that he was going to resist if we were given orders for Vietnam. When we were training with live ammunition he would bring a round of ammo back with him to the barracks and stash it. They started searching his locker when the CO found a list of all the officers on the bulletin board with an X next to their names and with a bullet taped over each name. When the guy refused to pack for Vietnam they handcuffed him and took him to the ship that we were boarding in Honolulu for Vietnam. On board the ship we were press-ganged into being security police and keeping people off the deck after dark because they were afraid that people would jump the ship in the Philippines. They had us watching each other so we wouldn't jump the ship in the Philippines.

When we got to Vietnam, we were traveling from Qui Nhon by convoy to Duc Tho where the 11th Brigade Americal Division firebase was at.

I've seen the poverty of Vietnam

which is unequal to anything that I have witnessed in the U.S. except on the Native American reservations in Kansas. The first night that I was in the 11th Brigade base camp, my company lost two killed in action by incoming mortar which had like a psychological effect on my part. I wasn't very cooperative about pulling AR guard duty and building an officer's bunker. I refused to build this officer's bunker because he was too lazy to build it himself. I was placed on an indefinite KP for refusing to build the bunker.

We were transferred to another LZ which was LZ Bronco and I was reassigned to the mess hall because my attitude hadn't changed from prior disobedience of orders, I guess. A lot of people in my unit were getting killed around that time because it was January 1968, at that time. People were getting ready for the Tet offensive. And they said that if I volunteered to go to the field they said I could get the CIB, the Combat Infantry Badge. I didn't volunteer but they sent me anyway. In February 1968, during the Tet offensive I was at LZ Liz which was the company headquarters at that time in Vietnam. I really was scared during the Tet offensive because I knew the Vietnamese were bringing a lot of hell on the American troops there, especially the U.S. Embassy in Saigon. Most people were fighting their ass off just trying to stay alive because we knew we were trespassing in Vietnam. We knew we weren't supposed to be there. We knew that the Vietnamese people were throwing a shocking blow to the U.S. Military aggression in Vietnam. I remember the body count of the suspected Viet Cong went up right after the Tet offensive. A lot more people were getting murdered by the U.S. forces over there.

I remember one time we were on patrol near Songmy village which had something to do with the whole My Lai massacre. I think My Lai was a hamlet in Songmy village. We were ordered through a mine field by an officer that was actually an artillery observer who replaced one of our officers who was in Long Binh having fun on R&R. And he ordered us through this mine field. So we were walking through this mine field and people were passing the word back; when they would see a mine they would pass the word back to the other person so that they wouldn't step on the mine. I witnessed this guy who was in front of the lieutenant didn't pass the word back. All his OCS and ROTC training didn't stop him (the lieutenant) from stepping on that mine. He was killed before the dust settled on his gold bars.

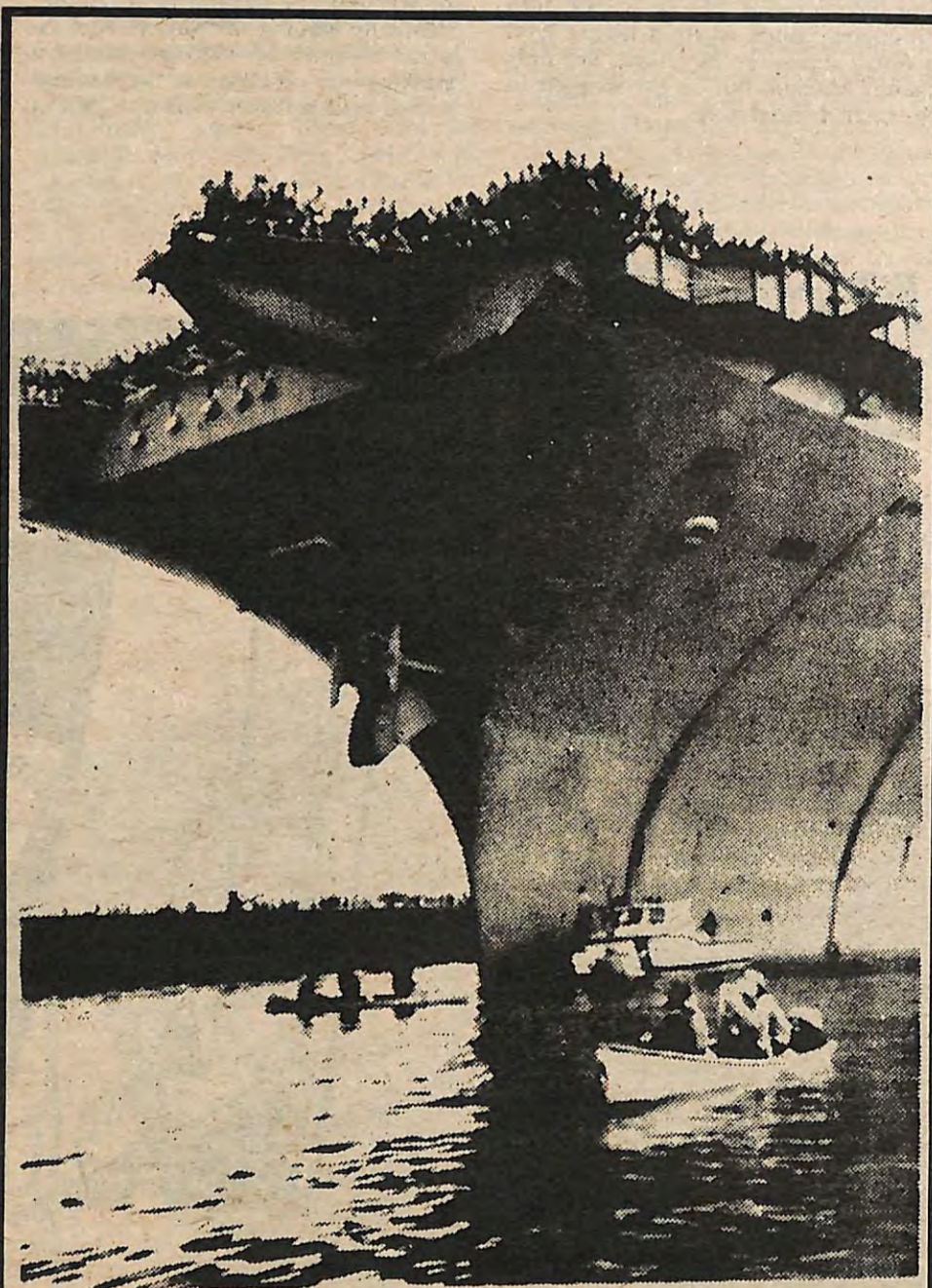
When I was on another operation I

witnessed a helicopter gunship attacking a village. I went into the village with the men on my patrol. I went into the hut in that village where most of the fire was directed from the helicopter gunship and I saw a baby. It was killed. The baby was laying on a hammock. His brains were all over the floor of the hut. That really brought home why the United States was in Vietnam. To me it was more clear the whole genocide and murder of U.S. Imperialism in Vietnam. It brought forward how clear it was that United States Imperialism in Vietnam was just a replacement of the French colonial rulers that were defeated by the Viet Minh under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh.

When I returned from the military to my home town I joined Vietnam Veterans Against the War. The vets chapter in that town was harassed by the police and agents and stuff like that. I remember one time when they were marching in a Memorial Day parade in that home town. They were told they couldn't carry the national logo of Viet-

nam Veterans Against the War while they were marching in the parade. They carried it anyway and they were all arrested for carrying the national logo of the organization in that parade. That wasn't the only harassment in the whole nation. It was going on all over the country, not just in that area.

The pigs had infiltrated VVAW in the past. I know of one incident when we were going to Washington D.C. for a national demonstration to throw Nixon out of the White House and to demand universal unconditional amnesty. They had a pig from that area who was spying on the veterans and checking them out, trying to find out what he could get to run back to the pig headquarters wherever he ran his information to. We know the pigs in this country and the U.S. military are going to be out trying to check out Vietnam Veterans Against the War when they get out in the streets and expose U.S. Imperialism and fight to expose U.S. and Soviet war moves. We know this. And we are ready to deal with it. □



The following report on civilian and military resistance to the Vietnam war was printed in a GI newspaper in late 1972. "The June 5th departure of the aircraft carrier AMERICA for Vietnam from Norfolk, Virginia, was blocked by a sea-going protest which turned into a battle between sailors and Coast Guardsmen who tried to break up the protest. Thirty-one people in a motley armada of thirteen kayaks and canoes surrounded the AMERICA at its berth. After most of the 'People's Navy' was swamped by Coast Guard cutters, several people, cheered on by the sailors on the AMERICA's bow, swam up and grabbed hold of the ship. When the Coast Guard pulled demonstrators from the water, sailors on the AMERICA pelted the cutters with eggs and garbage. The Coast Guard responded by turning a high pressure hose on the sailors massed on the bow. Inspired by the 'battle,' two sailors left the ship ten minutes before the gangplank was pulled up."

Above, sailors cheer the blockade.

The next hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism will be held in:

Atlanta, September 17, 18 and 19

and

New York City, October 23, 24 and 25

To participate in the tribunal or for more information contact the National Office of the Tribunal at:

War Crimes Tribunal
249 W. 18th St.
New York City, NY 10011

Telephone: 212-228-5231

U.S. Gov't Moves to Extradite Irish Political Prisoner

On August 13, inside a federal courtroom in New York City, U.S. Magistrate Naomi Buchwald ruled against the British government's claim that Desmond Mackin should be extradited back to Northern Ireland for "crimes" against the Crown. Dessie Mackin, who has been held in the Metropolitan Correctional Center since October 1980, is wanted by the British authorities on charges of shooting a Special Air Services (SAS) undercover operative and for being a member of the IRA, a proscribed (illegal) organization. Buchwald, citing Article V, Sections 1c(i) and 1c(ii) respectively, of the 1977 extradition treaty between Britain and the U.S. which state that no extradition proceedings can be carried out if the offense is one of a political nature, ruled that the clash between Mackin and the SAS "was a conflict over who was the legitimate governmental authority." On the surface the ruling confirmed what millions around the world have known for years: that the struggle raging in Northern Ireland is a struggle against British imperialism and not, as the British and U.S. imperialists have widely propagated, the activities of "common criminals." But while Judge Buchwald may have ruled in this fashion to unburden herself of a hot political potato, this ruling is in no way evidence of "justice in the courts" or any such bourgeois democratic fairy tales. In fact, the U.S. government is now maneuvering Mackin's case into the higher courts where a higher level political ruling can be issued, not only against Mackin, but on the struggle in Northern Ireland itself.

Mackin's case provides an abundance of exposure illustrating just who the real criminals stalking Northern Ireland are. The confrontation with the SAS took place on March 16, 1978, when Mackin and a friend were ambushed by a squad of 10 British soldiers led by an SAS undercover agent. Dessie ended up with three bullets in him, his friend with 8. Upon regaining consciousness, Mackin found that he was charged with attempting to murder the SAS man. Of course no weapon was produced (nor is one really necessary in the juryless Diplock courts of Northern Ireland). In fact, from the story that Mackin and his friend relate, the SAS agent most likely got shot by one of his own troopers! Soon after his arrest, Mackin was released on bail—an event unheard of in Northern Ireland. Quite clearly, the authorities were not done with Mackin and only wanted him back on the streets where they could finish the assassination attempt they had previously botched. And there is little doubt that Dessie Mackin, as a known leader of the movement in Northern Ireland, was a marked man by SAS counter-insurgency agents. In fact, not only did the British intelligence distribute copies of his picture to their personnel, but Mackin's photograph was taped on the rifle butts of British Army troopers in the Belfast area.

It was under increasing harassment and death threats that Mackin fled to the Republic of Ireland to the south, eventually making his way to the U.S. in the summer of 1980 as part of a speaking tour on behalf of the men and women held prisoner in British jails in

Northern Ireland. Mackin was arrested at a demonstration protesting a visit by Prince Philip in New York on October 10, 1980. As he was set to be deported back to the Republic as an "illegal entry," the Immigration officials (after getting the nod from higher ups) contacted the British government, and held Mackin an extra 48 hours—just long enough for the British government to file extradition proceedings! Unfortunately for the imperialists, their little plan for a quick and quiet delivery of Mackin was foiled by the upheaval shaking Northern Ireland and the resulting movement in support of the struggle there arising in the U.S. among people of Irish descent (who number about 30 million in the U.S.), as well as others who rallied to oppose British imperialism. Of course, they have not given up their attempts at extradition—they have only raised the stakes.

Even before the echoes of the judge's gavel had died away, the U.S. prosecutors themselves (relieving the British government of the trouble of filing an appeal), were racing headlong down the marble hallways to refile the extradition charges against Mackin! He is still being incarcerated without bail in the Metropolitan Correctional Center. He is allowed no visitors that do not qualify as "immediate family"—a stipulation that reduces his visitors' list to a blank sheet of paper, considering that his wife is still living in the Republic of Ireland. Dessie Mackin now awaits another trial, scheduled for sometime in October. Given the judicial machinations of the imperialists, its outcome appears predetermined.

In fact, throughout this most recent trial the U.S. prosecutors worked hard in laying the basis for Buchwald's decision to be overturned somewhere up the ladder. Their tack was to claim that this lower court could only rule on probable cause for going on with the extradition proceedings, but could not make a decision on the language of the treaty itself. No, they whined, only the executive branch, with intimate knowledge and familiarity with relations between the U.S. and foreign governments, could make judgements based on the ins-and-outs of the treaty. These maneuvers are patently obvious: have the U.S. government not only overturn Mackin's case, but by re-examining the "political offense exception" clause, make a broad political ruling on the nature of the struggle in Northern Ireland—one more precisely in line with the times for the U.S. and their bloc. Undoubtedly, the margin notes pertaining to this politically malleable section in the treaty will be colored by the "international terrorism" crayon so popular among the rulers these days. Indeed, the U.S. prosecutors brought a State Department expert on terrorism and terrorist groups to testify about the IRA, and he warned that a favorable ruling on behalf of Mackin would turn the U.S. into "a haven for terrorists." An interesting choice of words for the U.S. prosecutor, since it is well known that the U.S. is a haven and training grounds for the imperialists in conducting a reign of terror against the people of the world; and the incarceration of Dessie Mackin is yet another case in point.

High Scorers Beware!

"If there's a kid who can score 100,000 points on one of those games right off the start, isn't that the kind of young man who has the hand-eye coordination that could lead to a bright future as a gunner?"

That question, recently posed by Captain Steven Cox of the U.S. Army Training Support Center located at Fort Eustis, Virginia, has brought a new gleam to the eyes of military recruiters and visions of bodybags—oops, of overfulfilled quotas dancing through their dreams. Thanks to an on-site inspection of a video games arcade by General Donn A. Starry, the Commander of the U.S. Army's Training and Doctrine Command, recruitment sights have been leveled at these arcades. Unlike past efforts to lure the youth that populate these video games parlors into olive green and khaki, the Army is unleashing much more than their usual slick talking, uniformed recruiter. No, this has all the makings of a military campaign—Operation Video-fodder is probably what the body collectors are calling it privately.

It takes little imagination to picture assorted military adjutants, clipboards in hand, stalking the video parlors, feverishly taking down all the initials of the high scorers (noted, as they are, in the game's memory and displayed until someone tops the score). "Hey Charlie, lookie here. This JCM kid is in the top five on Armor Attack, Space Invaders and Bazooka. And, JCM is in the top three on Missile Command, Tail Gunner and GORE. We'd better sign this kid up."

But no doubt the recruiters' added selling point to video aces will be the fact that by joining up—especially in the tank corps—they will be leaving none of the thrill of the video arcades

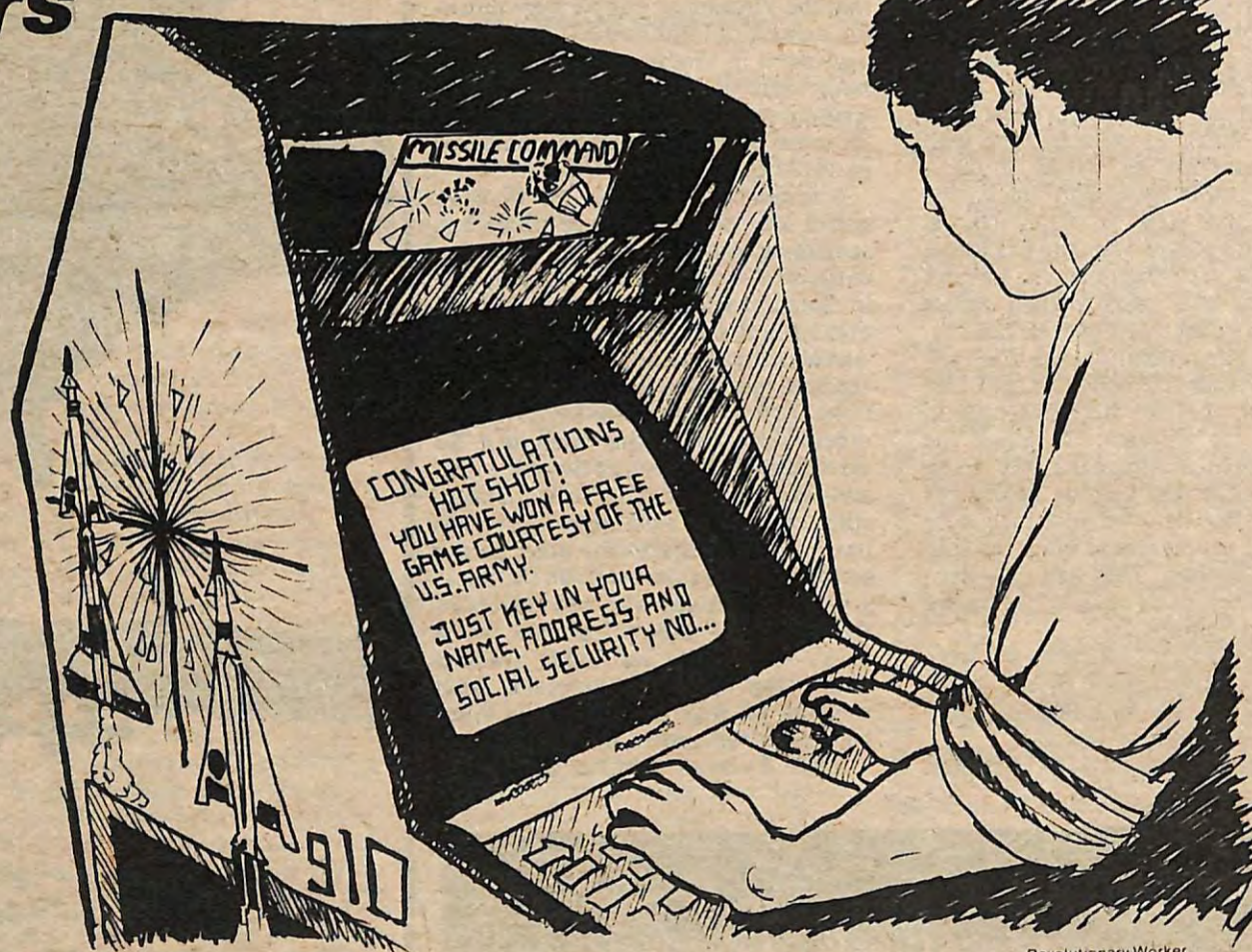
behind. Check it out. The U.S. Army has already signed a contract with the Atari Company, to revise its Battle Zone game so that the controls are exact plastic replicas of the actual controls tank jockeys will be using in combat. Battle Zone is the game where the player is the tank's gunner, peering through a range-finder onto a 3-dimensional landscape complete with tank traps and "enemy" tanks. You can tell when you're "hit" because the range-finder "shatters" into a half-dozen pieces as the action comes to a dead stop. An additional revision of the game being worked out with Atari pro-

vides for actual "enemy" vehicles.

"For example," explains Captain Cox, "on one screen we are going to have the T-62 tank, which is a Warsaw Pact tank. We will also have our own tanks on the screen. In the scoring system, if you destroy an enemy tank, you will get points; but if you start firing at a friendly tank or aircraft, you will lose points." And the U.S. Army doesn't like to "lose points."

At present, these video games are going to be placed in strategic areas on various bases, like in the day rooms and snack bars. Anywhere the GIs can practice on their free time. For, as Captain

Cox also explains, "the important thing is to keep the fun aspect in." It should be noted (for it may soon become a required training feature as well), that Atari also makes Missile Command, the game in which the players must learn to speedily and accurately lay down a surface-to-air missile barrage to knock out MIRVing warheads in an effort to defend 6 cities. And who knows, this game (or some more appropriate variant of it like First Strike) may be popping up in places like Strategic Air Command Headquarters in Omaha. □



Revolutionary Worker

In RW No. 115, we reprinted excerpts from the booklet "Sooner or Later" by the Communist Unity Organization and called upon our readers to respond to it. This call was made to encourage readers to correspond on the most decisive political questions of our time, in particular how to respond to a situation in which very real preparations are being made for a world war between rival blocs of imperialists led by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The cutting edge question is whether to take a position of revolutionary defeatism toward one's "own" imperialist rulers, or to adopt some form of alliance with one or another bloc as a "lesser evil" against a "main enemy." This question involves both analysis of the present world situation and of history, including the positive and negative experience of the international communist movement during this whole century. The following are letters in reply to our call. We welcome these contributions and also wish to point out that they certainly do not exhaust the subject and we encourage further correspondence of any sort.

I'd like to enter the debate on "the cutting edge question of whether to take a position of revolutionary defeatism toward one's 'own' imperialist ruling class or to adopt some form of alliance with one or another bloc as a 'lesser evil' against a 'main enemy'". The *Sooner or Later* booklet, judged by the excerpts printed, takes as its starting point the analysis that there's a "lesser" evil, U.S. imperialism, battling an aggressive and war-mongering "main enemy" of the world's peace, the Soviet Union. The replies already printed (*RW*, 8/21/81) go a long way toward exposing how, in fact, what's shaping up is an inter-imperialist war—both imperialist blocs are responsible and both are the just target of the masses' revolutionary struggle. The replies also point out how the *Sooner or Later* position is merely a not very slick excuse to capitulate to the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie.

A key question that still needs to be dealt with, however, is the *Sooner or Later* statement that "the prospects for the revolutionary movement in the U.S. would be better after a war if the Soviet Union loses." There are a few things wrong with this analysis. First, and extremely revealing of the political line of the Communist Unity Organization, is the naked national chauvinism of judging the tasks of revolutionaries in the U.S. by the effects on the "vital interests of the American masses" rather than by the (real and not narrow) interests of the world proletariat. This is absolutely fundamental and has been the subject of much struggle within the International Communist Movement, leading to advances in internationalism like those concentrated in the *New Programme and Constitution of the RCP*. Second, the CUO completely writes off the possibility of making revolution in the U.S. prior to the outbreak (even the conclusion?) of world war. This subject deserves a polemic in its own right, and perhaps it will be the subject of another letter. But the main thing I want to discuss is the fact that revolution (in the U.S. or in any imperialist country) would be more likely with *defeats*, not victories. This is the essence of Lenin's policy of revolutionary defeatism.

I think there's been some confusion in our own ranks about what exactly is meant by "welcoming" and "desiring" the defeats of "our" bourgeoisie and even "working for those defeats"—and related to that what Lenin meant when he said, "revolutionary action during the war is impossible unless 'one's own' government is threatened with defeat." ("Proposals Submitted by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Second Socialist Conference", Vol. 22, p. 177). It takes some study to get to the heart of the matter. The image that was conjured up for me by limiting my understanding to only a few "revolutionary" catch-phrases is of a junior league cheering section for U.S. imperialist setbacks, a cheering section breathlessly awaiting some development in the objective situation to spontaneously win the (hopelessly) patriotic masses to our banner; this perhaps in

"Sooner or Later" Debate

WAR, REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM

some combination with second string saboteurs stopping the flow of men and materials and thus "aiding" the defeat of "our own" bourgeoisie, which will, again spontaneously, wrench the masses away from patriotism and into revolutionary motion. This is a completely mistaken view of the crucial question of revolutionary defeatism, but it isn't simply an individual problem. It's intimately connected to the 40 years of revisionism we're struggling to break with. Burying Lenin's theories of imperialist war and revolutionary defeatism has been central to revisionism's ability to sow bourgeois-democratic illusions and line people up behind the national flag. An excerpt from the "For Decades to Come—On A World Scale" Central Committee report written by Chairman Bob Avakian, called "Outline of Views on the Historical Experience of the International Communist Movement and the Lessons for Today" and re-printed in the June, 1981 *Revolution* magazine, notes that it's at the point when the danger and opportunities for the revolutionary movement are developing, that the defensive tendency will depart "from Leninism, especially from the Leninist emphasis on historic conjuncture and from the whole thrust embodied in *What Is to Be Done?*" (This particular passage describes the "left" [economist] phase of the Comintern's line [1928-33] which was the precursor of the unfolding relationship between economism and capitulation during wartime.)

These errors are also very closely related to other remnants of revisionism with respect to our central task of Create Public Opinion, Seize Power, views that basically say that there's nothing revolutionary going on out in the world, and our job is to "make it happen" (or more likely, "wait for it to happen"); rather than recognizing the depths of the imperialist crisis, how it's throwing people into political motion and the dynamic role of man's conscious activity within that movement—and thus understanding our job in relation to striving to raise and unleash that conscious activism.

The pamphlet *Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement* is very helpful in cutting through this confusion. It says, "of decisive importance in the present situation, is the *exposure* of the moves of the imperialists toward world war. This is essential in laying the basis for the party itself to maintain, and for its struggle to win the masses to, a firm policy of revolutionary defeatism with regard to their 'own' bourgeoisie in such a war. The proletariat must be taught to welcome and *more than that to take advantage* of every difficulty and defeat experienced by the imperialist ruling class in such a war." (Paragraph 202, emphasis added) This pamphlet goes on to explain what this "taking advantage" consists in: "...concretely demonstrating to the proletariat and broad masses what the actual class interests are in such a war and ruthlessly exposing and combatting the calls to 'defend the fatherland', the hypocritical cries that 'the other side started it,' is the 'aggressor,' etc.... All this is essential in not only propagating but actually preparing for and working to realize the line of turning the imperialist war into a civil war." (203-204).

The way I read this is that revolutionary defeatism during imperialist war isn't our central task—that is, and

will remain, Create Public Opinion, Seize Power—and the main activity of communists prior to the seizure of power is agitation and propaganda to prepare for the armed insurrection. Nor is revolutionary defeatism our new overall strategy—that's the United Front and it's not going to change either. What does *develop* during imperialist war is the communist policy of revolutionary defeatism in which the *content* of the agitation and propaganda is sharply focused around the slogan "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war" which concentrates the line of revolutionary defeatism. I say "develops" because in a sense we're already carrying out the embryonic (under conditions that aren't full-scale inter-imperialist war) policy of revolutionary defeatism: we're doing the kind of agitation and propaganda that's preparing the masses to turn the imperialist war into a civil war. This is exactly what's being accomplished by the recent *RW* articles on Libya, exposing the "who fired the first shot" scam that the U.S. imperialists are trying to run. (This same work of creating public opinion is also preparing the masses to seize power prior to the outbreak of war. Such a revolutionary overthrow of imperialism in "large and/or strategic parts of the world" as the *New Programme* says could well prevent the outbreak of World War III.) In other words, the policy of revolutionary defeatism isn't some completely different and (mystically) new kind of work with which we're not familiar. I don't want to imply that there's no qualitative leap from our work in a pre-war situation to during the war itself. Lenin emphasized the enormous tasks confronting the parties of the 2nd International in rejecting the defense of the fatherland slogan: "realizing that *all propaganda, agitation, organization*, in short, the sum total of party activity must be radically changed, 'regenerated'... and adapted to the *supreme revolutionary tasks*." ("Principles Involved in the War Issue," Vol. 23, p. 152). Lenin was speaking to parties that had already degenerated. What we're doing today is exactly *preparing* to make that leap, and using the lessons of the International Communist Movement, positive and negative, to aid us. In this sense, we stand on Lenin's shoulders, and are that much ahead. Chairman Bob Avakian speaks very powerfully to the necessity of training *today* for the tasks of the future: "...the working class has to be trained *concretely* as well as theoretically in proletarian internationalism, and unless it is, it will never be able to act in a class conscious internationalist way when the decisive time comes—such as the actual outbreak of world war. It will never be able to play a class conscious role and most of all never be able to uphold a revolutionary defeatist stand and not only welcome the setbacks suffered by its own ruling class but actually work to take advantage of them to turn the imperialist war into a civil war to overthrow the imperialist system unless it is trained in a thousand concrete instances both before and during that war." (*Coming From Behind to Make Revolution*, p. 15)

When Lenin says that "revolutionary action during the war is impossible unless 'one's own' government is threatened with defeat," he means that the fully realized revolutionary situation won't happen without the threats (note that he says "threats" and not the necessity for the actual defeats themselves) of defeat—he's not saying

that communists shouldn't do the work that will lead to the proletariat being triumphant in that situation: in other words, don't just say there's nothing to do because the U.S. isn't (sufficiently) getting its ass kicked. Of course, the question of military defeats for the U.S. in the course of WW III is going to be in a far more intense context than in previous wars. Even if the U.S. is *winning* WW III (not at all a certainty in the upcoming conflict), the horrors and defeats suffered even in "victory" will be on a scale unseen in this country and perhaps in the world. This is the reason for Chairman Avakian's citing of the U.S. military commanders' worry that soldiers' morale will quickly evaporate "when they see that, win or lose, they have little chance of surviving." ("Crowns Will Roll," *RW* 115). Remember, Russia was on the "winning side" in WW I, yet that wasn't the key question in the developing mood of the masses. Under current conditions, we're also likely to face a war in which victories and defeats go back and forth and we're going to have to persevere in the face of very contradictory circumstances.

The military defeats, and threats of defeats, that "our own" bourgeoisie and its army suffers at the hands of its so-called enemies facilitates and is necessary for the conversion of the imperialist war into a civil war. The bourgeoisie is weakened militarily, which means that not only are its "enemies" in a better position to deal it some blows (we fervently work for the defeats of its imperialist enemies, and aid every manifestation of their defeats, too), but obviously more significantly the proletariat is in a better position to strike blows. The bourgeoisie is in much less of a position to suppress the masses. Military defeats are an important aspect of "being stretched to the limit", and the question of *not having* the troops to send in to quell a rebellion in, say, Detroit, is related to the U.S. suffering some defeats. (Also, we aren't merely interested in the defeats suffered by the U.S. so that we can make revolution, but the world revolution will be aided as each imperialist government is hammered at.) Military defeats also weaken the bourgeoisie politically. Lenin says that wars have the virtue in that they "ruthlessly reveal, unmask and destroy much that is corrupt, outworn and dead in human institutions." ("Collapse of the Second International") This is all the more so as the rulers scramble and squabble among themselves, attempting to shift the blame for defeats and losses and revealing to the masses much of what class interests are really at stake. Finally, military defeats raise feelings of hatred among the masses for "one's own" bourgeoisie, and they raise the possibility among the masses that things "don't have to be this way." Lenin speaks of how war, and defeats, affect the mood of the masses: "...and the question *now* is not whether to continue to live in tranquility and tolerable conditions, or plunge into some reckless adventure. On the contrary, the question is whether to continue to suffer hardship and be thrown into the holocaust to fight for *alien interests*, or to make great sacrifices for socialism, for the interests of nine-tenths of mankind." ("Principles Involved in the War Issue," Vol. 23, p. 157)

But military defeats by themselves are no guarantee of any revolutionary activity, much less a revolutionary

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The following is Part 2 of a series of articles analyzing U.S.-Soviet contention in the Horn of Africa and the anti-imperialist democratic movements which have developed in that region. Part 1 appeared in last week's RW.

In spite of 8 years of bloody, reactionary dictatorship, the character of the Dergue (the military junta ruling Ethiopia) and its leader Lt. Col. Mengistu remains for those who have not wiped the Soviet social-imperialist sleep from their eyes an "embarrassment." Nowhere in history has such a petty tyrant as Mengistu been so lavishly hailed as a world revolutionary leader in a propaganda campaign deriving solely from the need of the Soviet Union to cover up its own foul hand in its imperialist contention in the Horn of Africa. An "authentic revolutionary," proclaimed Fidel Castro, who awarded Mengistu Cuba's highest decoration, the Order of Playa Girón (Bay of Pigs). An honored guest at the 26th Congress of the Soviet party this spring. And "an outstanding revolutionary talent... socialist Ethiopia's brilliant leader and builder of its Marxist-Leninist vanguard party" according to James Jackson of the revisionist CPUSA. Quite an accomplishment for a U.S.-trained officer of Haile Selassie's army who didn't even learn himself that he was a "great Marxist-Leninist" until 1976! Not to mention the fact that the "Marxist-Leninist vanguard party" cited above does not exist, not even on paper.

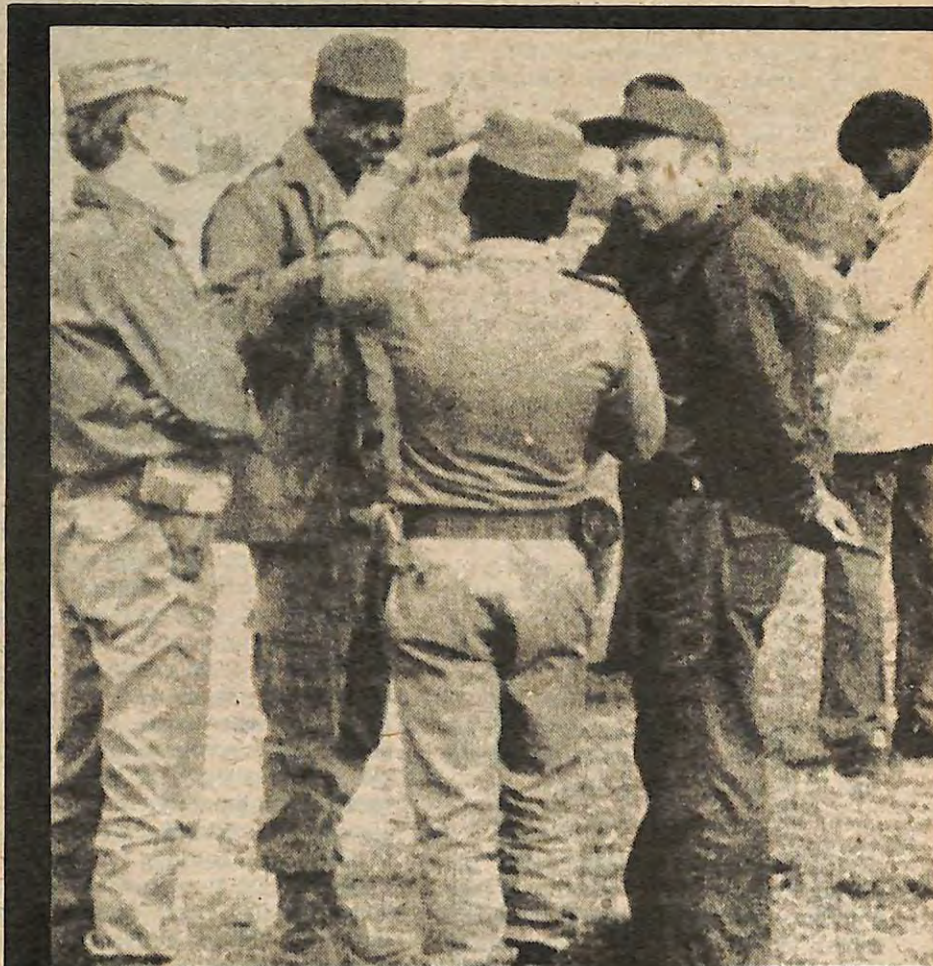
How then *did* the Dergue come to power, and what was the character of the revolutionary upsurge which brought down the dynasty of Haile Selassie?

In 1974 a wide spectrum of Ethiopian society rose in a mighty storm to sweep away national oppression and the feudal system that had oppressed the peasants of Ethiopia for generations. The fall of Haile Selassie I, King of Kings, Elect of God, and Conquering Lion of

the Tribe of Judah, was neither a sudden nor an unheralded event. In 1961 the people of Eritrea had launched their armed struggle to gain independence from their U.S.-engineered colonial annexation by Ethiopia and by 1973 had sent the Ethiopian army reeling. In 1964-65 a powerful revolt of the Oromo and Somali people in Bale Province led to protracted armed resistance that was contained but never completely snuffed out. Then in 1973 there occurred a massive famine in Tigray and Wollo in which over one million perished. Even the educated elite of Ethiopia were infuriated when the emperor not only failed completely to provide emergency assistance, but even tried to keep the existence of the famine a secret from the rest of the country and from international relief agencies. Only on the eve of his official removal and arrest did the Ethiopian people finally see film of the famine on national television—interspersed with film clips of the emperor feeding meat to his pet dogs from silver platters.

The mainstay of imperial rule was, of course, the army. Armed and trained by the United States, the imperial army had been the recipient of \$300 million in military assistance and over 300 U.S. military personnel were stationed in Ethiopia as a Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG). In addition, the U.S. operated a massive communications facility in Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, with 3,000 military and civilian employees, and the U.S. Navy used the port of Massawa. Israel was given the use of the offshore islands of Haleb and Fatima to refuel its Red Sea patrol boats, and in return trained special Ethiopian commando units at Decamare near Asmara.

Yet it was precisely the breakdown of this neo-colonial military establishment which brought down the Ethiopian dynasty. On January 12, 1974, a small garrison in a desert area in southern Ethiopia revolted, captured a Lt. Gene-



Russian and Cuban officers tour Eritrea with an Ethiopian officer.

ral and forced him to eat and drink the same foul food and water that were provided to the common soldier. Within a matter of weeks uprisings spread to a series of military bases throughout the country. The most significant was that conducted by the enlisted men and NCOs of the 2nd Division occupying Eritrea. Mistreated and demoralized by defeat in a reactionary war, they took over the city of Asmara and began broadcasting their demands over the radio station to the whole country.

Although these first mutinies were curtailed for the time being by pay raises and other concessions, the genie had been let out of the bottle. Within a few weeks the students at Haile Selassie University were on strike, the national teachers' organization went on strike, and the capital city was virtually shut down by taxi drivers striking against a 50% increase in gasoline prices. By the end of February, the Emperor, in an unprecedented sign of weakness, accepted the resignation of his Prime Minister of 16 years and promised a range of concessions, mostly constitutional revisions favoring the newly-developing bourgeoisie. Yet by March 7 the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions (CELU), which had been created and nurtured by the U.S. AFL-CIO as a model neo-colonial institution, was forced by rank-and-file demands to call a general strike. 100,000 Moslems marched through the capital demanding equality of religion. Rebellious air force personnel dropped leaflets from helicopters over the city, calling for reforms. The university students raised

the slogan "Land to the Tiller" and openly demanded a "people's government." The outpouring of resistance by the people was massive.

Birth of the Dergue

Scrambling to get back on top of the situation, the new Prime Minister formed a "coordinating committee" of reliable military officers which occupied the capital with troops and "balanced" the repression of strikes and demonstrations with the token arrests of a score of ministers from the previous cabinet. Elite airborne troops were sent to surround still rebellious military units.

It was at this point that the first Dergue (*Dergue* means "committee" in the Amharic language) was formed. Its origins remain wrapped in mystery and are certainly not discussed by the Mengistu regime today. In May, however, a new coordinating committee seems to have been put together by electing representatives from the various military and police units around the country. To ice out the first "coordinating committee," officers above the rank of major were excluded. Mengistu, who was then a captain, seems not to have been an original member, but Dergue membership was secret and the names of the original 120 or so members have never been published.

The initial program of the Dergue was to carry through a very limited national bourgeois revolution. Thus while a *de facto* truce went into effect in the Eritrean war and a festival of the oppressed began to break loose in the countryside with peasants killing landlords and seizing the land, the new Dergue proclaimed its "unswerving loyalty" to the emperor, and put forward as its principal slogan "*Ethiopia Tikdem*" (Ethiopia first). It was not until September that the Dergue dispensed with the formality of the old government, deposing the emperor and proclaiming themselves a Provisional Military Administrative Council to rule the country. Yet even at this point the Dergue still called on the emperor's son to return to Ethiopia and serve as constitutional monarch.

The Dergue now appointed Brigadier General Aman Michael Andom ("hero" of the 1964 border war with Somalia, which was Soviet-backed at that time) as chairman of the Dergue, with newly promoted Major Mengistu and Major Atnafu as vice-chairmen. This initiated a new phase which was to last until early 1977.

Two paths lay open before the incipient revolution. One path was that of new-democratic revolution, thoroughly uprooting feudal relations and driving out imperialism and its retainers, and thereby laying the basis for the transition to socialism. Such a revolutionary path would deal with Ethiopia's burn-

Eritrean woman fighter working in the weapons repair shop.



Captured by the EPLF, Ethiopian POWs are given a political education session.



Mengistu, Castro and the Soviet Imperialists:

A Nasty Love Affair in the Horn of Africa

ing national question by upholding the right of self-determination up to and including the right of secession, and it would unleash the initiative of the masses in seizing the land and suppressing the feudals, and bring forth their leadership in transforming all of society.

Just the opposite path was taken, however, as the new Dergue proclaimed its support of "national unity" and followed in the footsteps of the emperor Menelik on the national question. It declared spontaneous land seizures illegal until an official land reform program could be developed. It appealed to the U.S. for increased military aid to continue the war in Eritrea. And when the students and the labor federation called for a Provisional People's Government, the Dergue closed down the university and arrested the leaders of the CELU.

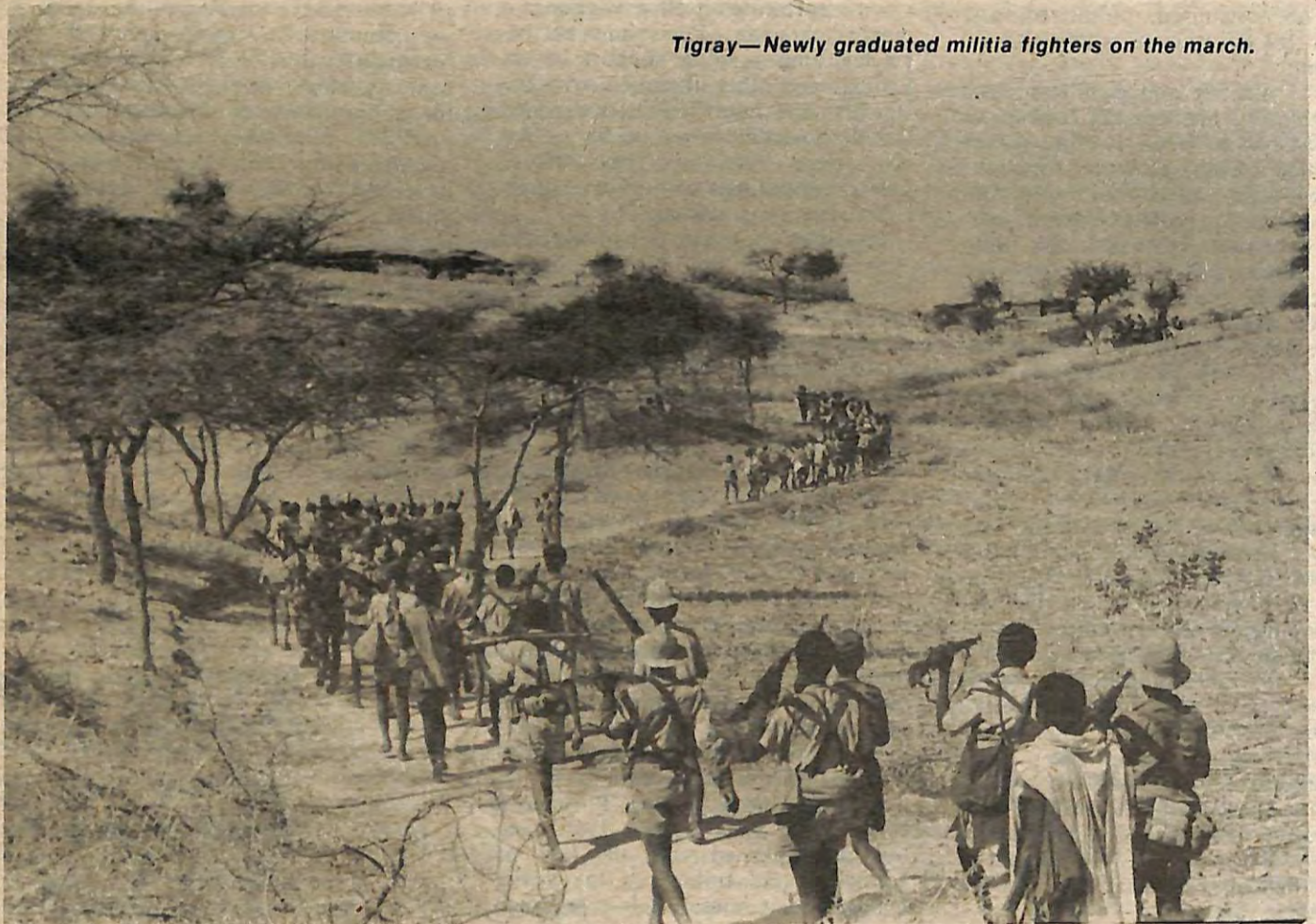
The next two years were characterized by increasingly violent repression of all civilian opposition coupled with increasingly demagogic programs by the Dergue designed to transfer all sectors of the economy to state-capitalist ownership—all in the name of socialism. And through it all, Mengistu, now a Lieutenant Colonel, shot his way to the top of the Dergue in one bloody purge after another—literally reducing its membership from around 120 to less than 40!

It is not necessary here to follow every twist and turn of this process, nor is it possible here to evaluate each of the various political forces outside the Dergue who played various roles of collaboration or opposition. Yet two aspects of Dergue policy do merit attention and aptly illustrate its character: its policy toward Eritrea, and its land reform program.

One of the first acts of the Dergue was to order 5,000 more troops to Eritrea. When General Aman, the Dergue chairman, tried to resign in protest, he was shot and killed. During this period, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) had advanced all the way to the outskirts of Asmara. The Dergue responded by sending jet fighters to bomb villages held by the EPLF. Then issuing its public position, the Dergue offered only regional autonomy and referred to the EPLF in its documents as "bandits." At the same time, with the help of Israeli advisors, the Dergue was creating the new elite unit called the "Flame Brigade," and in the best tradition of demagogic parody, it proposed to wage "people's war" by assembling a vast peasant militia which was to march on Eritrea and overwhelm the "bandits." The great "peasant march" never made it to Eritrea, however, being routed by guerrillas in Tigray.

As for land reform, perhaps the most

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Tigray—Newly graduated militia fighters on the march.



TPLF production unit.

A Nasty Love Affair

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consistent demand of the masses in the 1974-75 upsurge was "land to the tiller." The overthrow of the Emperor had unleashed a wave of peasant land seizures, especially in Oromia in southern Ethiopia where the peasants had no land rights and worked mostly as tenants for absentee Amhara landlords. Along with landlords, local officials, police and all other Amharas were frequently driven out by the aroused Oromo peasantry.

Hard-pressed by the action of the masses, in March of 1975 the military junta found a way to keep control of land tenure and at the same time get to the "left" of their political opposition. In a sweeping decree, the Dergue declared all rural land to be nationalized, abolished tenant farming, outlawed the hiring of farm labor, and declared that peasant associations should be created to administer the assigning of plots to be worked. At the same time the few capitalist plantations were declared to be "state farms." While the whole scheme sounded like the Dergue was leading a revolution in the countryside, the reality of the situation was summed up by one candid official of the Ministry of Land Reform who said that "the government refused to let land reform follow its own logic because, if the peasants are organized, politicized, and armed, the government becomes afraid of them."

In the end, the only significant land redistribution that actually took place was in Oromia, where it could not be prevented and where it served for a time to create a popular base of support for the Dergue. In the feudal north, peasants were simply assigned their traditional small plots and exempted from payments in grain to the feudal lords who had fled. At the same time, landless peasants were kicked off the land and forced into refugee camps.

The ending of feudal expropriation of the agricultural surplus, however, created a pressing new problem for the Dergue as grain disappeared from the market and the cities faced a severe food shortage. It was the peasant associations, in actuality large administrative units having thousands of "members" and controlled by the Dergue, that became the new instruments for expropriating the surplus, demagogically citing starvation in other sections of the country and the need to feed the troops fighting the Somalis and "Arab invaders" (i.e., the Eritreans). The peasant associations also became the mechanism for conscripting the militia. Each association was required to produce so many bodies, not unlike the manner in which the feudal lords had raised troops from their vassals.

The entry of the Soviet Union in 1977 and the consequent intensification of the fighting only exacerbated the exploitation of the peasantry, all accompanied by a shrill campaign denouncing the existence of kulaks (rich peasants) and black-marketéers. Once again every last drop of grain was to be wrung from the peasants to meet the needs of imperialism, only now the Dergue produced a "socialist" justification. A recent Dergue "theoretical journal" proclaimed that the law governing Ethiopia's economy is the "Law of Primary Socialist Accumulation." "The necessary accumulation," writes the Dergue, "should be drawn from the agricultural sector," plagiarizing the ancient Trotskyist nostrum of milking the peasants to build "socialism."

Even more disgusting is the operation of the "state farms" which even the Dergue admits are used as a place to confine lumpen proletarians, political dissidents and the unemployed. The most infamous of these is the Humera State Farm on the Sudanese border. Prisoners who have escaped across the border to refugee camps have told harrowing accounts of being offered a job, then packed 65 to a truck with no personal belongings and transported under armed guards, stopping only at military camps where the women were raped. At the farm they worked all day in 100-degree temperatures, harvesting sesame for export, and were paid only

food and "housing"—24 people to a hut. Soldiers patrol the perimeter of the state farm, and on numerous occasions those who protested were shot.

Enter Social-Imperialism

Already by the end of 1976 the prospects for the Dergue remaining in power looked very bleak. All of the oppressed nationalities were in armed revolt, with the EPLF again knocking at the gates of Asmara. The Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) was also occupying the Ogaden. A major section of the Amhara heartland was in the hands of a reactionary army of deposed feudalists who were being armed through Sudan. And in the capital, the Dergue was increasingly politically isolated as the various organizations of the petty bourgeoisie and the trade unions demanded an end to military rule and a national democratic revolution leading to socialism—a program which even the Dergue was now forced to falsely echo.

Without massive outside support, the Dergue could not have survived. It was at this point that the "natural ally of oppressed and colonized peoples" made its move. It is sometimes assumed by honest critics of Soviet policy that the Soviets simply took the opportunity of seizing a U.S. client state when the situation presented itself, even though it meant embracing a fascist junta and betraying long-standing support of the Eritrean and other liberation struggles. But here it is important to understand that the Soviet move was neither sudden nor a mere "seizing of opportunity," but an integral part of the Soviet imperialist strategy in Africa.

Following the overthrow of working-class rule in the Soviet Union, Soviet policy in Africa has been consistently geared toward the two most strategic areas in terms of global imperialist contention: southern Africa and the Horn. As mentioned in Part I of this series, a quiet Soviet aid program to Haile Selassie began in 1959. So assiduously did the Soviet imperialists woo the King of Kings, that Haile Selassie was cordially received and honored on four state visits to the Soviet Union in 1959, 1967, 1970 and 1973.

Although Ethiopia with its 27 million people (the third largest country in Africa) was clearly the prize, the Soviets found their first success in neighboring Somalia. After Somalia became independent in 1960, it received the largest influx of Soviet arms to black Africa prior to 1977, far more than the liberation movements fighting Portuguese colonialism. Siad Barre's 1969 coup was accomplished with the help of young officers trained in the Soviet Union, and it immediately proclaimed its devotion to "scientific socialism." The Soviets were granted the right to build a naval base at Berbera.

At the same time they were courting Haile Selassie, the Soviets also applied a full-court press to Ethiopia, arming various insurgent movements and trying to worm their way into the liberation forces. WSLF guerrillas in Ogaden were armed by the Soviets and trained by the Soviets, Cubans, Iraqis and North Koreans. Similarly Eritrean fighters were trained in Cuba, and the Eritrean struggle was hailed by the Cubans as being in the vanguard of the worldwide anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist struggle. The government of neighboring Sudan was also leaning toward the Soviet camp until a Soviet-supported coup attempt in 1970.

While a traditional revisionist communist party never existed in Ethiopia, the program of the Dergue by 1976 had become almost indistinguishable from the program of such parties in other countries. Such parties seek to seize power, often in alliance with some sectors of the traditional ruling class, reorganize the previous system into state capitalism with themselves in the driver's seat, uphold Soviet state-capitalist institutions as the model of "true socialism," and bring their countries into the orbit of the Soviet bloc—using Soviet military and economic aid to temporarily "deliver the goods" to a section of the masses. Given this funda-

mental unity between the program of the Dergue and the classical revisionist parties, it is scarcely surprising at all that the Soviet Union could now embrace the military junta and declare its leading gangster a great "Marxist-Leninist."

Lamely trying to explain how a military junta could lead a genuine revolution, Raúl Valdés Vivó of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee wrote in his *Ethiopia's Revolution*: "It had to be the army or no one. If not, Ethiopia would have become a society without any social order at all."

The exact details of the Soviet Union's relationship to Mengistu's climb to absolute power are shrouded in secrecy, but it now appears that in late 1976 Mengistu began secret negotiations with the Soviets. In December an agreement was reached whereby the Soviets were to become Ethiopia's main supplier of weapons and to support Mengistu's grab of total power. In return Mengistu would expel every vestige of U.S. presence from Ethiopia, allying Ethiopia solidly with the Soviet bloc, and prosecute to conclusion the war in Eritrea, since Ethiopia without the Red Sea ports of Eritrea could scarcely accomplish the Soviet purpose in the Horn.

While other members of the Dergue wavered at this point, offering public appeals to revolutionary opposition groups to unite with the government, Mengistu moved with decided purposefulness. On the morning of February 3, 1977, he called a meeting of the standing committee of the Dergue. While Mengistu stepped from the room on some pretext, Mengistu's security forces opened fire on the other Dergue members. When the hour-long shoot-out ended, eight top Dergue members, including the chairman, the secretary-general, and three major committee chairmen, lay dead. The other surviving vice-chairman besides Mengistu, who was out of the city at the moment, was arrested and shot later in the year for "anti-socialist attitudes." Within 24 hours Mengistu had received a personal message of congratulations from Fidel Castro and had met with the Soviet ambassador in Addis Ababa. Mengistu's metamorphosis into a "great Marxist-Leninist" was now complete.

At the beginning of March the first shipment of Soviet tanks arrived—the first of what would eventually become

\$2 billion worth of Soviet weaponry thrown into Ethiopia. In April Mengistu ordered the expulsion of the U.S. MAAG and the closure of all U.S. military installations in Ethiopia and Eritrea. On May 3 Mengistu departed for a state visit to the Soviet Union.

The assumption of full power by Mengistu was now accompanied by the most frightful period of Ethiopia's modern history—the "red terror" which lasted from mid-December 1977 to February 1978. Many of Mengistu's leftist opponents, particularly in Addis Ababa, now fell into despair and resorted to a campaign of assassination of Dergue officials. In retaliation Mengistu armed the Dergue-created neighborhood committees and declared open season on the opposition. House-to-house searches were conducted, and everyone denounced for any reason was dragged into the street and shot. The victims, mostly students, numbered 10,000 (according to Amnesty International), and bodies were either left lying in the street or taken to morgues where the families were charged outrageous fines to recover them.

Fidel Castro & the Somalia Switcheroo

While all this provided no problem for the Soviets, they were vexed by the problem of reconciling with Somalia, whose aspirations to recover the "lost territories" in the Ogaden had been nurtured by the Soviets for years to the tune of \$1 billion in military hardware. Once again, the loyal servant Fidel Castro ("the great leader of the non-aligned nations") was pressed into service. In March of 1977 Castro personally convened a secret meeting in Aden of Mengistu, Siad Barre of Somalia, and the head of the Soviet client state of South Yemen, and proposed a federation of Ethiopia, Somalia and South Yemen. Siad Barre, committed to the restoration of "greater Somalia," didn't buy it.

Taking advantage of the near collapse of the Dergue, the WSLF stepped up its offensive, cutting the Djibouti-Addis Ababa rail lines, and in July of 1977 regular Somali army units who had been trained and equipped by Cuba, East Germany and the Soviet Union, entered the Ogaden to finish off Ethiopian resistance. Only now reports began to reach them of the arrival of

Continued on page 13

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BEAT BACK THE DOGMATO-REVISIONIST ATTACK
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 Comments on Enver Hoxha's
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Minor Alterations in Distribution Relations

3:26 p.m. on September 10th, New York City's 34th Street Macy's Department store was doing a brisk business with its post-Labor Day clearance sale. But business picked up even more dramatically at 3:27, when an explosion at Con Edison's 14th Street power substation triggered a power failure that plunged large sections of Manhattan—including Macy's—into darkness.

At the cosmetics counter, a Macy's employee reported, you could hardly see anything, but he could hear the unmistakable rustle and clatter of cosmetics being shovelled off the counters and stuffed into handbags. The scene was similar in other departments; many counters were surrounded and denuded by bargain-hunting New Yorkers while Macy's hard-pressed security personnel tried unsuccessfully for several hours to affect an evacuation of the building. Both distraught Macy's officials and dissatisfied customers described the scene inside as one of "chaos."

In the first hours of the blackout, which paralysed the financial district in lower Manhattan, knocked out subway

service, and left many people trapped in elevators, city officials feared that the blackout might spread to the whole city and lead to a repetition of the widespread expropriation of the 1967 Blackout, which the bourgeoisie portrayed as "savage looting" by "animals," meaning the millions of Black, Hispanic, and other minorities crowded into the city's vast slum and ghetto districts. Immediately it was announced that the city's special "crime emergency task force" had been called into action, threatening special anti-looting patrols and warning that "they won't get away with it this time!" As it turned out, the power blackout remained confined to lower Manhattan and power was finally restored by 10 p.m. Wednesday night. The expected wave of "lawlessness" was confined to such narrow targets of opportunity as the cosmetics counter at Macy's—where the solidly middle class housewives, who comprise the bulk of the weekday shopping crowd, apparently outdid themselves upholding the old cliché about New Yorkers: "They know how to cope in a crisis." □

A Nasty Love Affair

Continued from page 12

thousands of Cuban troops in Ethiopia, and in December they were shocked to discover that the former chief of the 4,000 Soviet advisors in Somalia had been recalled to Moscow—only to be re-posted to Addis Ababa, carrying complete knowledge of the Somali military apparatus. In January of 1978 the Soviet-led assault with 18,000 Cuban troops was launched. The Somalis were wiped out as giant Soviet helicopters airlifted tanks behind their positions while waves of Ethiopian peasant militia were thrown at their front to use up the Somalis' ammunition.

Following the defeat of the Somalis, the Soviet-Cuban war machine next turned its attention to Eritrea. For years Fidel Castro, in an attempt to build a militant and internationalist image in the service of his Soviet masters, had hailed the Eritrean struggle and trained Eritrean fighters. In a return gesture, the EPLF even renamed the Ala Hills in Eritrea the Sierra Maestra in honor of the Cuban revolution. The Eritrean struggle was in fact a part of an historic cleavage in the Middle East with the Palestinians, the Eritreans, and the Arab masses in general against the cabal of Israel, the U.S., Haile Selassie and the Shah. Now the Cubans, demonstrating once more that Cuban "internationalism" is nothing more than a slippery face for Soviet imperialist interests, turned viciously on the Eritrean struggle, denouncing it as counter-revolutionary and a tool of Arab reaction. In April 1978 Mengistu made a triumphal state visit to Cuba.

Forced to make a strategic retreat, the EPLF had to abandon many towns that had been liberated for years. It was only in the historic battle of Nacfa in December 1979 that the Soviet-Cuban Afrika Korps was given the crushing defeat at the hands of the masses that it so richly deserved.

U.S. Imperialist Strategy

U.S. imperialism, of course, did not lie idle while all this was taking place. Badly wounded by its stunning defeat in Vietnam, there were both political and

military limits on the ability of U.S. imperialism to respond militarily in Ethiopia. Still, imperialist contention raged fiercely in the area with U.S. hegemony being restored in Egypt, Sudan and Somalia. More importantly, U.S. strategy in Ethiopia was and remains based on the assessment that Mengistu, or some other officer (quicker on the trigger), might just as easily slip back into the U.S. camp with the proper inducement. Siad Barre was to learn this the hard way when he kicked out his Soviet advisors and threw himself on the tender mercies of the U.S. imperialists. Barre was convinced that the U.S. would never allow a Soviet-Cuban military victory against him. Yet when the Soviet-Cuban offensive struck, the U.S. pointedly and publicly abstained from military assistance to Barre, channeling what little aid was sent through West Germany, Italy and China. For the U.S. imperialists, like their Soviet rivals, Ethiopia—not Somalia—is the real prize. Carter even sent an assistant National Security Advisor to Addis Ababa to work out the details of the Somali demise—the Somalis would withdraw entirely from Ethiopia in return for Soviet assurances that the Ethiopians would stop at the Somali border.

Perhaps the most disgusting aspect of the continuing U.S. policy of seeking to woo the Dergue away from the Soviet camp is its policy toward the more than 6 million refugees who have been created by the inter-imperialist struggle in the Horn. For example, when Catholic Relief Services (one of the largest "private" relief agencies in the world, actually funded almost exclusively by the U.S. Agency for International Development) established its refugee program in Sudan, its field workers were ordered to deny aid to Eritrean refugees because it was "State Department policy." For the U.S. imperialists, like their Soviet rivals, the Eritrean people are completely disposable. Similarly, all economic aid from the U.S. (which is still continuing) and its European allies sent to Ethiopia is distributed only in those areas controlled by the Dergue as

part of a continuing program to starve out the genuine revolutionary forces in the liberated areas.

Within the last two years, the Dergue has once again reorganized itself as the Committee for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COP-WE). This reshuffling of the Ethiopian leadership was described by *The Economist* under the headline "Out With Marxists and Oromos." While the Dergue originally had a popular reputation (promoted by the Dergue itself) as a body dominated by Oromos, and thus a force against national oppression in Ethiopia, the Dergue today demonstrates admirably the line of Amhara supremacy among these sons of Menelik. As of July 1979, 15 out of 16 members of the Standing Committee and 9 of the remaining 11 members of the Central Committee are Amharas. Also 31 out of 37 ministers and permanent secretaries as well as 13 out of 14 regional administrators and all 14 of their deputies are Amharas.

Thus in the end, the "Ethiopian revolution" has changed nothing but imperialist masters. Despite fantastic

claims to the contrary, any marginal benefits to one section of the peasantry have been more than offset by the overall decline in production, the intensification of exploitation and national oppression, and the creation of the largest single concentration of refugees in the world. Far from attaining national independence, the stranglehold of imperialism upon Ethiopia has been tightened.

Recently, an academic writing on the problem of economic development in Ethiopia remarked: "It is interesting to note that although the donors (of foreign aid) have changed, the sectors invested in have not." Precisely. But more significant, and in fact the crux of the matter, is that contending imperialist blocs have never seen Ethiopia as a choice area for capitalist investment but rather have fought relentlessly over it for its strategic location on the approaches to the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf.

Part III will deal with the revolutionary movements advancing today in the liberated areas of Ethiopia and Eritrea.

**TO THE
MARXIST-LENINISTS,
THE WORKERS,
AND THE OPPRESSED
OF ALL COUNTRIES**

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Sooner or Later

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situation, developing spontaneously. We have only to recall Germany in the last throes of WW II to realize that defeats can also lead to demoralization, frantic patriotic activity, feelings of pacifism, etc., if there is no class conscious leadership. Lenin ties the necessity for military defeats to the subjective class conscious aspect:

"The conversion of the imperialist war into a civil war cannot be 'made', any more than a revolution can be 'made.' It develops out of a number of diverse phenomena, aspects, features, characteristics and consequences of the imperialist war. That development is impossible without a series of military reverses and defeats of governments that receive blows from their own oppressed classes." ("The Defeat of One's Own Government in the Imperialist War," Vol. 21, p. 278)

The form that these blows against the government by the oppressed classes takes is not, as Lenin says, "blowing up bridges", organizing unsuccessful strikes in the war industries, and in general helping the government defeat the revolutionaries." (Ibid., p. 275). No, these blows are struck by the class conscious forces recognizing the "very obvious fact of the inseparable link between revolutionary agitation against the government and helping bring about its defeat." (Ibid., p. 277, emphasis added). The communist policy of revolutionary defeatism is mainly a question of greatly expanding the exposure of this decadent system and the possibilities for carrying out the historic mission of the proletariat. This exposure will be carried out in a thousand ways, but what I want to emphasize is that it's not only based on the defeats "our" bourgeoisie suffers, it contributes to those defeats, to the disintegration of U.S. imperialism. The masses, as they become more and more conscious of the fact that this particular war (along with wars in general) is the "continuation of politics by other, violent, means" will be considerably less enthusiastic to shed their blood for their masters and will instead take up the call for revolution. The bottom line for revolutionary defeatism is succinctly summed up by Lenin in these few sentences:

"A revolution in wartime means civil war; the conversion of a war between governments into a civil war is, on the one hand, facilitated by military reverses ('defeats') of governments; on the other hand, one cannot actually strive for such a conversion without thereby facilitating defeat.

"The reason the chauvinists... repudiate the defeat slogan is that this slogan alone implies a consistent call for revolutionary action against one's own government in wartime. Without such action, millions of ultra-revolutionary phrases such as war against 'the war and the conditions, etc.' are not worth a brass farthing. (Ibid., p. 276)

Very briefly I'd like to outline some of the main areas of exposure that would constitute the Party's work in turning the imperialist war into a civil war:

1) The key exposure, from every possible angle, is that World War III will be an imperialist war for plunder on both sides, and most certainly not a question of "communism vs. freedom," or "who fired the first shot" or any other such imperialist bullshit. Obviously, much of our work is already in this direction and it must and will escalate. Chairman Avakian emphasized this in an article in the *RW* of 2/8/80:

"Points like that cannot be stated too many times. If we had a box in the *RW* every week that said 'Remember' and rammed this point home again and again, I wouldn't consider it to be overdone: war is an outgrowth of imperialist politics and economics. Obviously it would be a little ineffectual after a while and a little bit mechanical, but every week from a different angle we should always get to the same basic point."

Exposures that today are "classics" were written in their own time as power-

ful weapons in turning the masses' hatred against their "own" bourgeoisie. *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* was "written with an eye to the tsarist censorship" exactly because Lenin and the Tsar both knew that a soldier influenced by *Imperialism* was not willing cannonfodder for the imperialists.

2) Every example of proletarian internationalism (resolutions, demonstrations, aid, fraternization, etc.) by soldiers and masses among the allies—but especially among the "enemy"—must be popularized broadly to give the masses the understanding that we are, in fact, part of an international class with one historic mission, and the confidence that there is an active movement building for such a future. Again, such exposures are not only born amidst the defeats suffered by the bourgeoisies and their armies, they in turn accelerate those defeats and strengthen the proletariat. A crucial aspect of building proletarian internationalism is exposing the relation between imperialism and the anti-imperialist democratic revolutions in dependent countries which are a tremendous force for the worldwide proletarian socialist revolution today and will be even more so as the crisis deepens and in time of war. As the *New Programme* says:

"Especially in an imperialist country such as the U.S. it is extremely important to recognize that imperialism has produced a major division in the world between a handful of advanced capitalist countries and a greater number of oppressed nations comprising a large part of the world's territory and population, which are parasitically pillaged by the imperialists and maintained in an enforced state of subordination and dependence. The end result of this is the development of an immense force against imperialism and for the international proletarian revolution." (pp. 22-23)

3) Fraternization between "enemies", especially, must be popularized, as Lenin emphasizes not as the future itself or the way to end the war (as the pacifists would have it), but as the path to the future which runs against the bourgeois governments and wrecks the discipline imposed by them: "...fraternization is the revolutionary initiative of the masses, it is the awakening of the conscience, the mind, the courage of the oppressed classes; in other words, it is a rung in the ladder leading up to the socialist proletarian revolution... But it is not enough. The soldiers must now pass to a form of fraternization in which a clear political programme is discussed. We are not anarchists. We do not think that the war can be ended by a simple 'refusal'... We are for the war being ended, as it will be, by a revolution in a number of countries." ("The Significance of Fraternization," Vol. 24, pp. 318-319).

4) Every example of bourgeois corruption, incompetence, profiteering, decadence, etc. must be exposed to rouse the hatred of the masses against their "own" bourgeoisie and reveal the real class interests involved.

5) Full support, again mainly through exposure, must be given to all rebellions of the oppressed nationalities against their oppression. Especially in imperialist countries like the U.S., rebellions of the oppressed nationalities will be one of the most potent factors for revolution. Particular attention must be given to the international significance of such actions which will: a) expose the oppressive nature of this system that we're supposed to defend; b) weaken the bourgeois hold on the oppressed nationalities in the army and thus seriously undermine it; and c) reach the oppressed throughout the world, and inspire them to struggle. One only need think of the international ramifications of the Miami Rebellion, the effects it had (and still has) on Black GI's, and remember the powerful demonstration of solidarity in Tehran (and the effects that had in Iran and again back here) to get an inkling of what power a revolutionary defeatist line has, taken exactly among the sector of the masses where it can sink the deepest roots.

6) There must be ruthless polemics against all attempts of opportunists of every stripe to attempt to conciliate

with and support imperialism in the name of socialism. Nothing can do us more harm than to budge one iota from our revolutionary defeatist position even in the face of the sharpest attacks. Stalin's comments, though one-sided, paint a graphic picture of what's at stake:

"The agitation against the war that we conducted among the workers and soldiers at the beginning of 1917, under Kerensky, undoubtedly resulted in a tactical setback, for the masses dragged our speakers off the platforms, beat them up, and sometimes tore them limb from limb; instead of the masses being drawn into the Party, they drew away from it. But in spite of the tactical setback, this agitation brought nearer a big strategic success, for the masses soon realized that we were right in agitating against the war, and later this hastened and facilitated their going over to the side of the Party." ("The Political Strategy and Tactics of the Russian Communists," Vol. 5, p. 66)

I feel like I've just scratched the surface on a few questions and not even addressed others but I'd like to close with this: Lenin's policy of revolutionary defeatism was absolutely key in making revolution in Russia in 1917, during World War I. The policy of revolutionary defeatism will be even more important in making revolution in the imperialist countries in World War III. Since 1917 the contradictions of capitalism have intensified through several spirals. An example of this is that today there are more and more proletarians at one pole relative to fewer imperialists at the other pole. The world is more integrated into a single process through worldwide imperialist socialization. This objective development highlights the increasingly dynamic role that the subjective forces can play in accelerating the pace of revolution when armed with a correct line. Revolutionary defeatism, the battering of all remnants of patriotism and bourgeois-democratic illusions, will decide the question of revolution in the imperialist countries, and the ability of a section of the proletariat in a particular country to influence events worldwide is tremendous.

MBS

One has to agree with the general summation of the *Revolutionary Worker* when it identified the position of "Sooner or Later" as counter-revolutionary. When reading the article, the first thing that struck the reader was how utterly ridiculous this argument appeared to be, but this is a position that is being put out all around us by basically pretty honest people. When out talking to the people, day to day, the question about what will the people in this country do if it comes down to World War Three with the Soviet Union people have, from all ranks, summed this up with, "Well, we had better line up with the U.S. I mean like it has got to be worse in Russia than it is here..." And why is this? What is it about the way people are looking at the world that they are coming up with this conclusion?

Firstly, this has been the position of the U.S. bourgeoisie for quite some time and they have been able to carry out a pretty effective propaganda campaign against their imperialist rivals, the Soviet Union. Secondly, this position can be analyzed in terms of the contradictions that exist and how must the masses face these contradictions and reconcile them in their own interests. The position taken in "Sooner or Later" has been strongly influenced by both bourgeois propaganda and the authors' inability to identify the main contradiction that faces the working masses.

In "Sooner or Later", the authors argue that the main contradiction that is faced by the world today is the aggression of the Soviet Union, and they see this as a threat to world peace. They cite Soviet expansionism in Western Europe and in other areas of the world to illustrate their point. Russia is getting stronger. In juxtaposition, the United States is faltering and they paint a picture of a weakened U.S. imperialism and its decline since its emergence as the Top Dog of world imperialism after the

end of World War II. To elucidate their position, they cite the U.S.'s "loss" of China, the Korean War and the Cuban Revolution as examples of the crumbly nature of U.S. imperialism. In addition to this, they also hold out the loss of Iran and Nicaragua as evidence of the weakening of world imperialism. However, rather than look at this weakening of the bulwark of world imperialism with glee, they shudder at the prospect of world domination by the Soviet Union. Rather than smash the system which drives humanity to the depths of destruction, we are called upon to unite with our oppressors for the sake of postponing the inevitable calamity of nuclear holocaust because we, masses of people, are unable to rise up and fight our oppression. We are only capable to fight for our masters, to once again be used as pawns in a game which we will never win. Their position is against revolution. It is against the masses of people all over the world. This is the position of the imperialist government of the United States and just in case you don't get the full meaning of their prospects for our future, they leave little to the imagination.

They see for us the possibility of linking up with the other third world countries with the third world offering political leadership and the U.S. supplying the bombs as we continue to prepare for the inevitable showdown between the two superpowers with the masses facing the Soviet Union, saying, "If there is a war, YOU won't win." Not exactly an inspiring call to action. And what exactly is the purpose of this article and how can this sort of thinking hurt us in the future?

Already we have seen what is the end product of this sort of analysis, that is, lining up with our own bourgeoisie during a time of crises. But we are told this is the right thing to do, that times have changed since Lenin's discussion on revolutionary defeatism, and so have other things. It is time to reevaluate some of the "traditional" positions that have been broadly held by progressive movements. As a matter of speaking, "It is imperative that progressive thought reverse itself on questions like the 'progressive' nature of the Soviet Union today, that serious reconsideration be given to the defense budget, NATO, draft registration, civil defense and other issues, that the New International Economic Order be promoted." In other words, communists and sympathizers should line up behind the platform of the Republican Party.

These analytical mistakes are rooted in the misconception that fascism is the principal enemy of the people of the world and the masses are incapable of making revolution for their own benefit. It is on this premise that they conclude the revolutionary movement should again deviate itself in service of the U.S. imperialists. And it is in this vein that they use their counter-revolutionary ideology to distort the truth of Marxism-Leninism, but simultaneously use its name to serve our oppressors. How disgusting!!!

Now they have linked the revolutionary movement with their united front against fascism, as the "lesser" of two evils, U.S. imperialism, supplies the third world nations with arms to confront their Soviet rivals. And those of us who line up with the international communist movement are called to join the American army, staff its imperialist factories and, heavens yes, pray for peace. But let's not forget those bomb shelters this time for "this is an elementary vital interest of the American People." All of this and more if you join the camp of reaction and counter-revolution.

The tactical implications of this is that once again the revolutionary working class will be dragged down the road of imperialist capitulation in exchange for the so-called democratic rights of the bourgeoisie and continued maintenance of the status quo. And after the imperialists have nuked the world, then what? Well, we can be satisfied knowing that we exposed the Soviets for being fake communists and then we can continue our ideological debates within the safe confines of our American-made bomb shelters. Just a little more crust from the American Pie.

A Supporter of the *Revolutionary Worker* in San Diego, California

Correspondence

Spies in School

To the *Revolutionary Worker*.
Dear People,

I just got my weekly copy of your very fine newspaper and feel compelled to "correspond" with you after many months.

For many years I was employed by the board of higher education of one of our larger cities. I heard and read many things in these years that initially shocked and dismayed me. Later I came to realize that this was the way that things were. Now, of course, I read the *Revolutionary Worker*, and though it is not the only radical or revolutionary newspaper I have read, it is the only one which has enabled me to finally understand *why* things are the way they are. In fact, this older woman may actually become a revolutionary one day!

The reason I am writing is that I was not only angered by the murder of Prof. Chen in Taiwan, but some of the background material in the article rang a bell with me. It reminded me of a report put out by the Rand Corporation, a government "think tank", in 1971.

In your article you quoted a very hypocritical congressman as saying:

"The infiltration of American universities by informants who, directly or indirectly, report to the Taiwan government on the actions of the Taiwanese faculty and students in this country runs counter to the traditions if not the laws of this country."

Well! This is a lie! You were right when you said that the activities of *American* intelligence agents in the U.S. as well as the world over fully correspond to the "traditions and laws of this country." I have spoken with students from Mexico, South Korea and Iran (and other countries) and they have told me stories of what *American* intelligence agents (and their trainees native to these countries) have done on the college (and high school!) campuses. Maybe some of them will write and tell you first hand about it. I am going to tell you what an *American* government "think tank" wrote in December, 1971 in a report entitled "Special Purpose Public Police" prepared for the Justice Department of the United States by James Kakalik and Sorrel Wildhorn. I xeroxed parts of this report because I was not only shocked but felt the people should see this (obviously it was not written for them). This is solely about the U.S.

"The Gelber study found that 55% of

the private colleges and 76% of the public colleges use undercover agents. The most frequent sources of undercover agents are the off-campus police agencies who provide agents for 35% of the private colleges and 50% of public colleges. Members of the campus security staff act as undercover agents at 18% of private and 28% of public colleges. Students are used almost as frequently to inform on their fellow students.

"Intelligence sources are primarily outside police agencies. 84% of all schools surveyed used outside police agencies as an intelligence source, but 66% and 54% of all schools also indicated that intelligence was provided by informants and by other schools respectively."

This is from pages 44 and 45 of the report. I hope your readers can benefit from this information. I am glad that I copied it. One should never think that the *American* government and system act any differently in other countries than it does right here.

I'm with you,
"Radical Grandmother"

P.S. Let's stop the railroad of Bob Avakian!

Lost and Found

RW:

On August 29 a propagandist lost a box containing literature in a large city in California—apparently to a thief who grabbed the box and then dumped it a short time later. The box contained forty-five Programmes, copies of Bob Avakian's May 1st speech, Red Books, copies of *Revolution* and the "Joint Communique", and more. It was a serious loss.

That afternoon a high school student brought the box into the local library. He had found it at a bus stop. He didn't know who it belonged to, but he thought it was valuable and wanted to donate it to the library. The librarian looked at the material and said she thought she could find a use for it.

Indeed she could. That night when the library closed she loaded the box into her car and turned it over to a friend of hers who is a co-conspirator. He gave it to someone else, and the propagandist who had lost it was located.

The day after he had lost it, the propagandist was re-armed with his precious literature—and everyone was armed with a better understanding of how broad and deep this conspiracy is becoming.

A Co-conspirator

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No Patience

Continued from page 5

of even many of those who live it.) The point is that Jackson was grappling with the relationship between the advanced elements among the proletariat and the broader forces. He was trying to solve a problem which confronted the revolutionary movement then and still does today.

Later he explained that if the advice of those like the CP is taken, "We'll be asked to be 'patient' for another 100 to 150 years! We'll get stuck with long theoretical explanations on consciousness of objective conditions..."

And he quotes his younger brother, Jonathan, who had died a year earlier in a daring courthouse raid in Marin County designed to free the Soledad Brothers: "Long-range political ploys alone are not practical for us. To me, the concept seems to assume that some day in the distant future, we'll produce a 700-pound flea to fight the Paper Tiger. That's not too likely to happen. While we await the precise moment when all of capitalism's victims will indignantly rise to destroy the system, we are being devoured in family lots at the whim of this thing... the picture of the U.S. as a Paper Tiger is quite accurate, but there is a great deal of work to be done on its destruction, and I'm of the opinion that if there is a big job of growing to do, the sooner begun the sooner done."

Well, what about these views? Are they fully correct? No, but to leave it at that misses the point. They represent various directions sought by the masses who really can't wait another day, and who must be armed with the line that can temper their hatred with revolutionary science and more fully guide their activity to really making proletarian revolution.

Must the advanced section—what Jackson was roughly referring to by: "the Black Colony and other depressed areas of the country"—"wait" for the grand universal awakening promised by the revisionists (and mocked by Jonathan Jackson)—an awakening necessarily so broad, the revisionists assure us that they'll really very likely be no need for violence, and certainly not for armed insurrection and revolutionary civil war? Or shouldn't the revisionists and others, past and present, who want to pin the label of "victim" or "purveyor" of illusions on George Jackson really pin it on themselves? (The CP, by the way, broke land-speed records in their rush to denounce Jonathan Jackson and one of their lawyers referred to him on national TV as "that insane boy.")

It is *not* the case that the revolutionary section of the proletariat must first win over the majority before launching an insurrection, or coming to the support of an uprising. On the contrary, to do so could easily guarantee defeat. Most likely the revolutionary section of the proletariat will at some point have to commence insurrection as a minority and try through determined action and flexible tactics and stages of struggle, to win a majority over to at least friendly neutrality.

And this is related more generally to the entire revolutionary process. It is invariably true that the advanced, more revolutionary-minded sections of the masses take action before the "mainstream" is fully ready for it. This sort of rebellion is always new and unexpected, it teems with contradictions and steams ahead without pausing for the lagging sensibilities of the majority to catch up. In the face of these sorts of eruptions, revisionists will invoke the spectre of the mainstream to squelch or smother the advanced minority—take for example Lenin's struggle with the prestigious Plekhanov who, after the defeat of the Moscow Insurrection of 1905, piously intoned that the workers "should not have taken to arms." Lenin, on the contrary, unswervingly upheld the initiative of several thousand workers as tremendously significant and tried to learn from it, the better to lead future, more powerful insurrectionary attempts.

To call on the rebellious masses who are taking serious political initiative to

hold up and wait is just a way to douse that initiative in cold water, or at least seriously dilute it. The task for genuine revolutionaries is to find the ways to give that rebellion more concentrated and class-conscious expression, spread to other sections of the masses and build off its ability to shock and jolt elements of the mainstream awake.

As for Jackson, he mainly seemed to see it as a matter of getting the movement generally—and really overwhelmingly, the Black masses—to *start* the revolution and not to go down in a blaze of glory but to spread it to other sections of the people.

"The principal reservoir of revolutionary potential in Amerika lies in wait inside the Black Colony. Its sheer numerical strength, its desperate historical relation to the violence of the productive system, and the fact of its present status in the creation of wealth force the Black stratum at the base of the whole class structure into the forefront of any revolutionary scheme. 30% of all industrial workers are Black. Close to 40% of all industrial support roles are filled by Blacks..."

"The Black Colony can and will influence the fate of things to come in the USA. The impact of Black revolutionary rage actually could carry at least the opening stages of a socialist revolution under certain circumstances—not discounting some of the complexities created by the specter of racism."

The '60s and the '80s

Yes, it's true that the view that America was "just a shot away" from a revolutionary situation in the late 1960s proved untrue. But one can't miss what was profound and meaningful about the period.

The 1980 Central Committee Report of the RCP points out that "At the height of the struggle in that decade, the ruling class was on the defensive politically. The division of opinion on the cardinal questions of the day was not at all favorable to them—even including the working class. Now look at the possibilities ahead. What if the alignment and situation were to start off similar to the '60s alignment', with the critical addition of a section of the proletariat in the fray from the beginning... Why wouldn't that be a favorable situation from which to begin an attempt for the seizure of power? A situation with all the ferment among all the classes of the '60s with a minority section of the workers in at the beginning, and playing a role in 'swinging in' a wider section of the workers further down the line—precisely those who today find their situation tolerable, not fine."

And there is a most realistic foundation for dreams like that. "The material basis for this situation is great," the Report continues. "It was only because of the relatively greater reserves of U.S. imperialism at the time that it was mainly able to placate the workers during the Vietnam War, and that it was able to extract itself from that war before something worse happened, including internationally... Looking ahead, the U.S. imperialists, as the head of an imperialist bloc in a world war, will have it 'all on the line' and will not have such a graceful flexibility. The more one breaks with economism and sees revolution in this revolutionary light, the more possibilities open up, the better the situation looks."

While the exact role in the scenario assigned by Jackson to the rebellions of the oppressed nationalities may or may not be proved true by the events, certainly it is distinctly possible that the revolution could be triggered by powerful rebellions centered among the oppressed nationalities, even the commencement of large-scale military struggle between two sections of the people, which the class-conscious proletariat will have to try to march to the head of, combat the efforts of the bourgeoisie to brand it as "race war," and transform into a proletarian insurrection and a nationwide attempt to seize political power.

Jackson's sarcastic remarks cited earlier about the CP's use of the phrase "objective conditions" makes you burn at the revisionists and at what Lenin called their "degradation of the most revolutionary doctrine in the world." But at the same time it brings home the

decisive importance of a party with a revolutionary and Marxist grasp of the objective conditions in unleashing this section of the masses (as, in fact, at other points Jackson himself acidly emphasizes—e.g., "They think they don't need ideology, strategy or tactics. They think being a warrior is quite enough. And yet, without discipline or direction, they'll end up washing cars, or unclaimed bodies in the city-state's morgue.").

At the time Jackson was writing, the movement was just beginning to forge the theoretical equipment necessary to even undertake the sort of analysis of the objective conditions that is called for to be able to rise to the challenges of making revolution. In the US, the understanding of the full depth of revisionist influence, was still some years away (though, it had begun, thanks notably to Mao Tsetung and the Cultural Revolution). And these intertwined struggles are still going on, still being deepened today. The questions that Jackson grappled with are still questions, and the section of the people he gave voice to does not find life any better today, or the situation somehow less urgent: that should fill us with energy and desire to find the ways to more fully spread the understanding and answers that have been fought for and achieved as broadly and deeply as possible, especially in this social base.

That involves struggle, and much work to do, including theoretically to advance toward the future. We have already briefly spoken to some of the problems with Jackson's essentially "urban guerrilla warfare" thinking. But far and away the main problems, then and now, are those of revisionism and economism. The *New Programme* of the RCP, USA characterizes this revisionist strategy. "It's basic starting point is getting into the struggles of the people, particularly around their daily needs. The Party then relates to these struggles principally by giving tactical and organizational leadership, and thereby seeks to gain influence and leadership among the people... (This) is invariably a recipe for adapting communist work down to the present level of mass struggle and consciousness, and for ultimately capitulating to the bourgeoisie, especially in the form of promoting the national interests instead of the revolutionary interests of the international proletariat in time of war." (p. 41) While George Jackson's thrust was against this, it is still the case that urban-guerrilla-type strategies do not fully break with it. While Jackson was by no means the worst on these questions, many theorists of *foco-ism* evolve strategies with the twin pillars of the heroic actions of a few and reformist activities based precisely on the "daily needs" of the people.

In order to bring forward the conscious activity and political struggle of the masses and to decisively break with revisionism, it is necessary to center revolutionary activity now on organizing comprehensive revolutionary agitation and propaganda to prepare the broad masses—and the vanguard party itself—for revolution. For this reason, in preparation for the future armed insurrection, the RCP makes its main weapon now its newspaper.

The remarks of Jackson cited here contain problems. But it seems much

more important today to grasp the strength and insight in what he put forward and the really revolutionary roots of it, to understand that the section of the proletariat for whom he speaks is the social base today for a revolutionary line, and to see the contradictions that have to be dug into and given direction to.

In that light, one striking and very important aspect of George Jackson is how from the earliest letters his sights ranged not only far beyond his 8 x 10 cell, but way past the U.S. itself.

As far back as 1965 he wrote to his father that "the U.S. power elite; the 7% who own and run this country and influence the policies of the rest of the European world, want to attack and destroy China in the next four or five years. China has become too strong and it is influencing the rest of the Afro-Asian world too heavily with anti-Western philosophy (self-determination and economic independence)... Do you add well? Can you see what may be in the making? They cannot attack China unless the Blacks here in the U.S. support their war effort. What if some Black voice denounced the war? Many Blacks would go for this. What would happen if large numbers of Blacks refused to fight or make weapons, or even, say, attempted to subvert the U.S. war effort?"

And later, in 1970, he wrote that "We must establish a true internationalism with other anti-colonial peoples. Then we will be on the road of the true revolutionary. Only then can we expect to be able to seize the power that is rightfully ours, the power to control the circumstances of our day-to-day lives."

And Jackson, in fact, analyzed the capitulation to national chauvinism by the CPUSA in World War 2 as a decisive turning point in helping the consolidation of the hegemony of national chauvinism in the U.S. working class.

"In the U.S., World War 2 was the principal cause of the total breakdown of the working-class movement and its revolutionary consciousness, which had been built up by the crisis years of the '30s and all that went before them... The old vanguard parties copped out and supported a nation-state ruling-class war which wasted the blood and energy of their proletariats. At the time, resistance to the war would have seemed simple common sense. If Stalin gave the order to support the U.S. war effort, he was a fool. In any case the old vanguard's support should have been for the people's struggles inside the U.S."

The point could be made that Jackson's international views are rooted mainly in the revolutionary nationalism of an oppressed people. But this again only emphasizes trouble with a capital "T" ahead for the U.S. ruling class as they prepare for World War 3. It will not be communists alone who will treat the war as a tremendous opportunity to step up their struggle against the stretched-thin bourgeoisie. And beyond this, of course, this stand shows the great potential for a thoroughly internationalist line to take hold broadly among these oppressed sections of the people, particularly the proletariat. There will be unity and

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Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

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

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Marines Target Navajos For Dubious Honors

Not since Buffalo Bill Cody's "Wild West Show," has the U.S. ruling class taken to parading some Native Americans around for such demeaning—and downright reactionary—purposes as was recently unveiled. Back when Cody's despicable side-show was making the rounds the idea was to rub the faces of the Indians in the dirt, utilizing circus-like dramatizations depicting how the big, bad white man conquered the "dirty, savage red man." Today, particularly in the face of increasing resistance among Native Americans against the U.S. government, these contemporary attempts have taken the form of trying to portray Native Americans as "loyal," and oh, so "patriotic."

On August 28, the U.S. Marine Corps brass, accompanied by Navajo Tribal Council Chairman, Peter MacDonald, christened the "Marine Corps All-Navajo Platoon"—comprised of 43 Navajos who had just completed boot camp. The platoon is the first of its kind since World War 2 (when Navajo

Indians were used as "code-talkers," their language becoming an unbreakable military code), and its formation is a clear portent of what the U.S. imperialists are preparing for up ahead. And even more particularly, it is quite significant that the rulers have targetted the Navajo (Dine') people for these star-spangled honors. For over the past year, the fierce resistance of the Navajos around the Four Corners area (where the borders of New Mexico, Arizona, Utah and Colorado meet in the southwestern U.S.), and centered around Big Mountain, have given the imperialists fits and provided a new page in the struggle of Native Americans. Peter MacDonald, appropriately, has played a treacherous role in this struggle, "joining" only when necessary to derail it and wrap it in the American flag.

The "All-Navajo Platoon" is nothing else than a desperate attempt to present the Navajo people with a few fools to act as unformed Judas goats—in the hopes that a patriotic

frenzy will grip the people and they will march off their lands, march right into uniform themselves, and march off to the slaughter under the imperialists' flag. Indeed, in an article that appeared last June when the platoon was first being pulled together, MacDonald called on "loyal" Navajos who want to "defend not only the nation-at-large, but the foundations of the Navajo way," to enlist. But even the drooling, gurgling sounds that accompany such grovelling by MacDonald, et al., cannot cover the truth that it has only been through uncompromising struggle and warfare against "the nation-at-large" (U.S. imperialism), that the "Navajo way" has not been genocided out of existence! From the days Kit Carson laid waste to vast acres of peach orchards, turning the land into arid desert and left the U.S.'s pox-blanket calling card, right up to today on Big Mountain, there has not been one single moment in the history of U.S. dealings with the Navajo (and all other Native Americans) that has not reeked of lies, cultural suppres-

sion, extermination and murder.

In fact, MacDonald and his friends from the Marine Corps found this out as their sales pitch constantly ran smack into this truth. After scouring the Navajo reservation for 6 months and logging over 100,000 miles, they could only muster 63 recruits for this All-Navajo Platoon. And of these, about 30% split before basic training was over. Indeed, in the enforced conditions of poverty and unemployment on the reservation, there was clearly something stomach-turning about putting on the uniform of the imperialists' armed forces in order to be held on a leash and pointed to: "See, even the Navajo, who we've tried to wipe out, is going to fight for us. If they can be patriotic Americans, everyone can." All we can say, bourgeoisie, is, when you do start parading your 43-member Marine Corps All-Navajo Platoon around, please make your first stop Big Mountain. □

El Salvador

Continued from page 3
can oppose the U.S.

With Mexico, the case is different and much more a matter of sheer deception. The Mexican comprador bourgeoisie is entirely dependent on U.S. domination for its own rule. While the U.S. undoubtedly doesn't like to see its puppets dance with other partners, the U.S. is no less worried than the Mexican ruling class about the effect of anti-U.S. revolution in Central America on "the stability and peace" of Mexico.

Public criticism of U.S. actions in other Latin American countries (other than Mexico, that is) has long been standard operating procedure for the Mexican government, and the U.S. has been more than willing to accept this, given the widespread hatred of U.S. imperialism among the Mexican masses. Maintaining an "anti-Yanqui" image is critical for the government's efforts to prevent the revolutionary turmoil that flares up throughout Latin America from sparking upheavals in Mexico itself. But this latest action is not merely propaganda. Mexico has been feverishly working to bring about some type of "compromise" in El Salvador, especially as the U.S. efforts there have had a noticeable lack of success. In fact, there has been some speculation in the U.S. press that Mexico wanted to officially recognize the FDR as a "belligerent" and possibly even withdraw its official recognition of the junta, but was forced to tone down the eventual declaration by France. For the U.S. ruling class the internal situation in Mexico is only one worry among many; but for the Mexican ruling class it is definitely the main one.

Further illustrating the complexity of the world situation is that the French-Mexican joint declaration has been widely praised by every pro-Soviet revisionist in Latin America. It fits right in with the kind of "compromise" the Soviets are trying to force on the U.S. in El Salvador and the rest of Central America (see *RW* No. 118, p. 5). Furthermore, a key aspect of this attempted "compromise" is the opportunity for continued Soviet maneuvering within Western Europe as it steps up its efforts to drive a wedge between social-democratic forces and the U.S., a crucial part of its own preparations for world war.

In sorting out this rich interplay of contradictions the role of French author Regis Debray is particularly symbolic. In the mid-1960s, Debray was fa-

mous as one of the main proponents of the theory of "foquismo" originated by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, a theory which sought to substitute the actions of a guerrilla "foco" (focal point) for the conscious, armed warfare of the masses. Today Debray is an advisor in the Mitterand government with special responsibility for Latin America. Who better than Debray could persuade or advise in persuading guerrilla leaders that France and French imperialism's methods are their surest route to power? After all, it worked for Debray, didn't it? Of course from all indications it is Debray who has caved in to French imperialism and not the other way around, since now he is an avowed social-democrat, as disdainful as ever of the masses' ability to liberate themselves through their own efforts although advocating slightly different methods now. But certain reactionary U.S. commentators, while not exactly calling Debray a Soviet "mole," are still very uncomfortable about what

they see as a certain convergence of interests between French imperialism and pro-Soviet forces at least on this matter.

This gave a special edge to the U.S. counter-attack, with Alexander Haig calling a press conference to once again denounce the "terrorism" of the Salvadoran guerrillas, and announce that Cuban "advisers" are present in El Salvador—both subjects on which the U.S. is indeed expert. Equally laughable for its blatant hypocrisy was a joint counter-statement signed by 12 U.S. Latin American neo-colonies, accusing France and Mexico of "interfering in the internal affairs" of El Salvador.

Certain forces in the U.S. ruling class, however, believe that the pink panther can accomplish for the U.S. what the American eagle hasn't been able to. The *New York Times*, recognizing that the U.S. has been militarily "deadlocked" in El Salvador and holding out hopes for the previously mentioned "political solution," declared, "If France and Mexico are

willing to assume the risks of promoting a political settlement, why not let them try?" The "risks" are that if this scheme doesn't work France may end up discredited and if it does, why, for the U.S. it's just another means to the same end and France may end up discredited anyway. Letting France "assume the risks" in this way is certainly the U.S. imperialists' idea of giving France tit for tat in the contention between them.

The disagreements and divergent interests within the U.S.-led bloc around El Salvador—arising from a situation which is itself contradictory—illustrate how the increasingly desperate imperialist rivalry leading towards inter-imperialist world war is also creating increasingly favorable conditions for revolution. It also poses new perils—new rocks—for those who aren't very clear on the nature of imperialism, or worse—to run aground on. □

Contains the text of "Iran It's Not Our Embassy," previously published as a separate pamphlet.

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

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

BOB AVAKIAN SPEAKS

ON THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS' RAILROAD AND THE HISTORIC BATTLES AHEAD

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What Will Rise Up?

Continued from page 1

ranting about "leaving nothing to chance" and "bringing the anti-nuke movement into line," they are entering very dangerous waters here, and in fact, for all their military mobilization, politically the situation is already popping out of hand, and shows very promising signs of getting much more so. They are compelled to enter dangerous waters by the intensification of world events, and their necessity to wage world war. Their drive to open Diablo has to be seen in the same light, as part of the same political attacks on the masses as their announcement of their plans to assemble the neutron bomb, or their blunt declaration that nuclear weapons are stored in Japan—and carries with it the potential for some of the same explosive political shocks.

It is exactly the profound and accelerating changes in the international situation that have led to the striking contrast between Diablo Canyon in 1981, and Diablo Canyon in the late 1970s. The constriction of the ruling class's ability to maneuver and make concessions to the masses of people, especially around questions like this, is shown by the shifting stand of California Governor Jerry Brown, who spoke to an anti-Diablo rally of 40,000 people in 1979, and who in 1980 campaigned for President as an anti-nuclear candidate. It was Brown who first threw around the figure of 10,000 police and national guard to enforce the "peace" at the beginning and who announced officially that only legal "opposition" to Diablo Canyon would be tolerated. Even the tactical maneuvering around the bourgeoisie's preparations is shocking and stimulating broad sections of the people into political life around this battle—the government is preparing to blockade public highways to try to keep the blockaders from ever coming near the reactor property, and as part of their efforts to do this, they have sent letters to members of a tennis club in the vicinity of the reactor saying that they may not be able to get to the courts.

While not at the same level as the announcement about the neutron bomb, part of the U.S. offensive to jam nukes down the throat of the world's people, and the opposition to it, is now concen-

trated at Diablo. The bourgeoisie here is clearly throwing down the gauntlet to the anti-nuclear movement, and beyond that to the politically-awakened people. The recent earthquake is just icing on the cake in that regard. A reactor on an earthquake fault? "We think it's just dandy" says everyone from the sheriff of San Luis Obispo County to the federal government. "Just the kind of thing we're looking to jam down your throat—and great preparations for our next trick."

But through their arrogance, they do recognize something of the hornet's nest they're stirring up very broadly in society, and they are trying to prepare for it. Part of this can be seen in the way they've dealt in the press with the question of the widely known non-violence tactics of the anti-nuclear movement. As the *Wall Street Journal* put it, echoing a line running through much of the press, "But Sheriff George Whiting of San Luis Obispo County says he doesn't believe organizers will be able to control the 5,000 to 10,000 anticipated demonstrators. 'There are people out there who dance to a different drummer,' Sheriff Whiting says. 'I expect violence.'" This is clearly an attempt to split apart the very broad and diverse class forces that are coming into motion around the blockade. It's also a blatant attempt to justify in advance indiscriminate attacks on all blockaders.

There are several reasons why all this is coming to a head over Diablo canyon, and why the opening of the plant has become such a political dividing line. The fact that Pacific Gas & Electric (PG&E) has sunk \$2 billion in investment capital into the plant, and has not yet got a penny in return, has had PG&E's board of directors grinding their teeth for years, and it is obviously a consideration, though far from the main one at this time. The role nuclear power plants are being relied on to play in helping to relieve the U.S. and even more its whole war bloc of dependence on Mideast oil is also part of the question. As Carter put it, the "thin line of oil tankers" running from the Middle East to the U.S. bloc is a real jugular vein of the empire, and one that is enormously exposed and vulnerable in war time. But more to the heart of it are the links between nuclear reactors and nuclear weapons, and what this has given rise to among the masses, particularly in the last year or so.

The connection between nuclear reactors and nuclear weapons has existed from the very beginning. After World War 2, the U.S. government funded the

extremely expensive development of reactor technology, both because it was a good cover for the development of weapons, and also because the development and refinement of nuclear technology for reactors was part of the necessary technological foundation for not just nuclear bombs, but also things like nuclear-powered submarines and aircraft carriers. Because of this, which has been exposed by the anti-nuclear movement, and even more because of the rapid intensification of the preparations for nuclear war, the anti-nuke movement has more and more taken an anti-nuclear weapons, anti-nuclear war character and, increasingly among certain sections at least, a consciously internationalist character. For a number of months, *It's About Times*, the newspaper of the Abalone Alliance, the organization that is organizing the Diablo blockade, had a debate in its letters column over what to do after Diablo Canyon, and almost all the letters pointed to nuclear weapons as the main target. The August issue of *It's About Times* came out with a big centerfold section called "The Ground Zero Gazette, frontline reports from the war on war", which debated various viewpoints on how to take this on.

What is most significant about the articles in the "Ground Zero Gazette" lies in the fact that, starting from the perspective of the anti-nuclear movement, the questions now being debated in these circles have much to do with the most decisive questions now facing the world revolutionary movement. Specifically, these articles take up such questions as can the movement against nuclear weapons advance without being based on an analysis of the social causes of war? without openly breaking with

nationalism and patriotism and arguments of "legitimate national security"? There is open debate over economism, the "lowest common denominator" approach and "respectability." This debate within the Abalone Alliance is just part of what is going on among the masses much more broadly around these questions, driven and stimulated by world events.

In the battle over Diablo, the imperialists are taking on head on one of the broadest and most active fronts of opposition to war; opening this plant is yet another signal of their intent to get the show on the road for war. They have chosen in this case to send out a message loud and clear that this is the way this system works and they are not about to alter it.

Fine. This is an ultimatum they have delivered before, here and internationally. When they did so in the 1960s in this country, the results shook the empire. As they have done so internationally, their "islands of stability" have shaken all the more. Already many involved in this movement are comparing the level of things in this country to the level of the struggle internationally and searching for ways to catch up.

At this point, Diablo Canyon might better be called Fort Diablo. But the precarious position of the imperialists around this is not something that they can solve with any arsenal. What is being shown to be ultimately at stake here is far more than whether or not the bourgeoisie has the temporary ability to open a nuke, but fundamentally the question of the political power of the imperialists in society as a whole. Go ahead, bourgeoisie, put your foot down—and see what rises underneath it!

No Patience

Continued from page 16

struggle all along the way with nationalist forces, but to carry through a united front under proletarian leadership requires the deepening and broadening of a scientific, internationalist outlook today. Especially in an increasingly complex world situation, with a world war being prepared which would involve massive destruction on U.S. soil as well as other countries, such an outlook is increasingly urgent and necessary. "Simple common sense" won't be enough for a vanguard. Ironically, it was precisely nationalism which led Stalin to depart in this period from Marxism-Leninism and advocate a worldwide united front against the fascist powers; to thoroughly criticize this line requires the starting point of the interests of the whole international proletariat.

But George Jackson, with an understanding marked by the influence of the times, broke a lot of ground in this direction. "The liberalist slogan 'You can't get ahead of the people,' is meaningless," wrote Jackson. "From what other position can one lead? From the rear? Rearguard leadership?! A typical Yankee innovation... In all the successful class struggles and colonial wars of liberation, the vanguard elements did get ahead and pulled." Such an outlook can be learned from by all revolutionaries and poses challenges to the Party: to meet the advanced ideological, political and organizational

demands of a crucial section of the masses. It is a call to adhere to Lenin's line of going down "lower and deeper" to the proletariat and to dig at the roots of revisionism in an all-around way.

Should a revolutionary situation develop in the decade ahead—and the possibility is not a remote one—undoubtedly it will be marked by different armies in the field (not only a proletarian army under the red flag but also armies of the oppressed nationalities under a revolutionary nationalist program and flag) and by the insurrectionary attempts of what will at first be only a minority of the working class. Within that, how decisively the Party's line and organization has taken root and flowered in its main potential social base—the real proletariat—may well be decisive for victory. "Dangerous illusions," they said. But dangerous to whom? With the future rushing closer every day, the words that a then-unknown prisoner wrote home in 1966 seem ever more prophetic:

"You know the world. The depressed peoples of the world are very shortly going to grow tired of being wooed and lulled into passivity and quiet endurance by chromium and neon lights. The soft music from the many well-placed public-address loudspeakers and car radios will no longer serve as balm to the thwarted hopes, defeated aims, and brutal suppression of needed change. They'll come out of their coma with a blood lust and justified indignation for social injustice that will sweep the asphalt right from under the empire builders. This is the only reason I hang on. I want to be in the vanguard."

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Revolutionary Prisoner

Continued from page 1

used to cut him was removed from his cell before the guard officially "discovered" Carl's body at 6:35 p.m. Now, long after Carl's body was "discovered," the Walla Walla police are claiming, with no explanation, that they have found two razor blades which are supposedly what was used to cut Carl's wrists. The guards are certainly in an excellent position to have "found" these razor blades, since at the time Carl Harp was murdered, the prison was on lock-up making it all but certain that either they or someone with their blatant connivance did the deed.

Everyone who had recent contact with Carl, his wife, fellow prisoners, numerous friends who corresponded with him, prison staff members, even the prison officials themselves, report that Carl was in good spirits and not at all depressed or suicidal. In fact, Carl was vigorously pursuing the political and legal battles before his death, exposing the prison administration's attempts to have him killed and appealing the original frameups on murder and other charges which sent him to prison. All of this indicates that the attempt to disguise his murder is not only incredibly shoddy, but that it is *intended* to be seen through exactly so the threat would be clear to any who dared to dream the same dreams that Carl dedicated his life to.

Nonetheless, the formalities of an "investigation," aimed at putting the official stamp of approval on this murder, are already well under way. On the very night of the murder the FBI came officially into the act. These are the same people who "investigated" the beating and anal baton rape of Carl Harp by Walla Walla guards in 1979. The conclusion, of course, was that no "civil rights" had been violated. The Walla Walla Coroner and the prosecutor both announced that there was no reason to suspect that Carl's death was anything but a suicide two days after the murder. The coroner added that the "final tests" would, conveniently, not be ready for two weeks when they hope, vainly, that the outrage over this murder will have died down.

Before his murder, Carl had already uncovered a series of plots by prison authorities to kill him. Since Carl returned to Walla Walla some three months ago the prison administration had spread a series of rumors among the prisoners, lies that Carl had large debts to the other prisoners and so forth, in the hope of inciting or recruiting other prisoners to kill him. Other prisoners reported that two guards were offering dope and favors to prisoners in return for taking Carl's life. Even a sympathetic guard told Carl of this plot on his life. These attempts were turned back by Carl who widely exposed all this as the work of the prison administration. Days before his murder Carl had given a letter to another prisoner for publication in a prison newsletter which exposed how and why the authorities were trying to have him killed. Similar letters were sent to supporters on the outside. The prison officials—who clearly had already decided to kill Carl and were only looking for the means to do it—apparently concluded that they would have to act before the situation got any more out of their control.

The selective murder of prisoners who are looked to for leadership by their fellow prisoners appears to have become a key tactic in the current plans of the Walla Walla prison administration. Four days before Carl's murder a plan to have a Black prison leader killed was barely thwarted. A contract to murder this prisoner was put out by the racist Aryan Brotherhood organization in the prison. On Tuesday a fight was started in the prison cafeteria where some Aryan Brotherhood members hold jobs. This fight was intended to serve as a diversion to the murder; during this fight on three separate occasions white prisoners went up to a friend of the prisoner they intended to kill, each one demanding to know

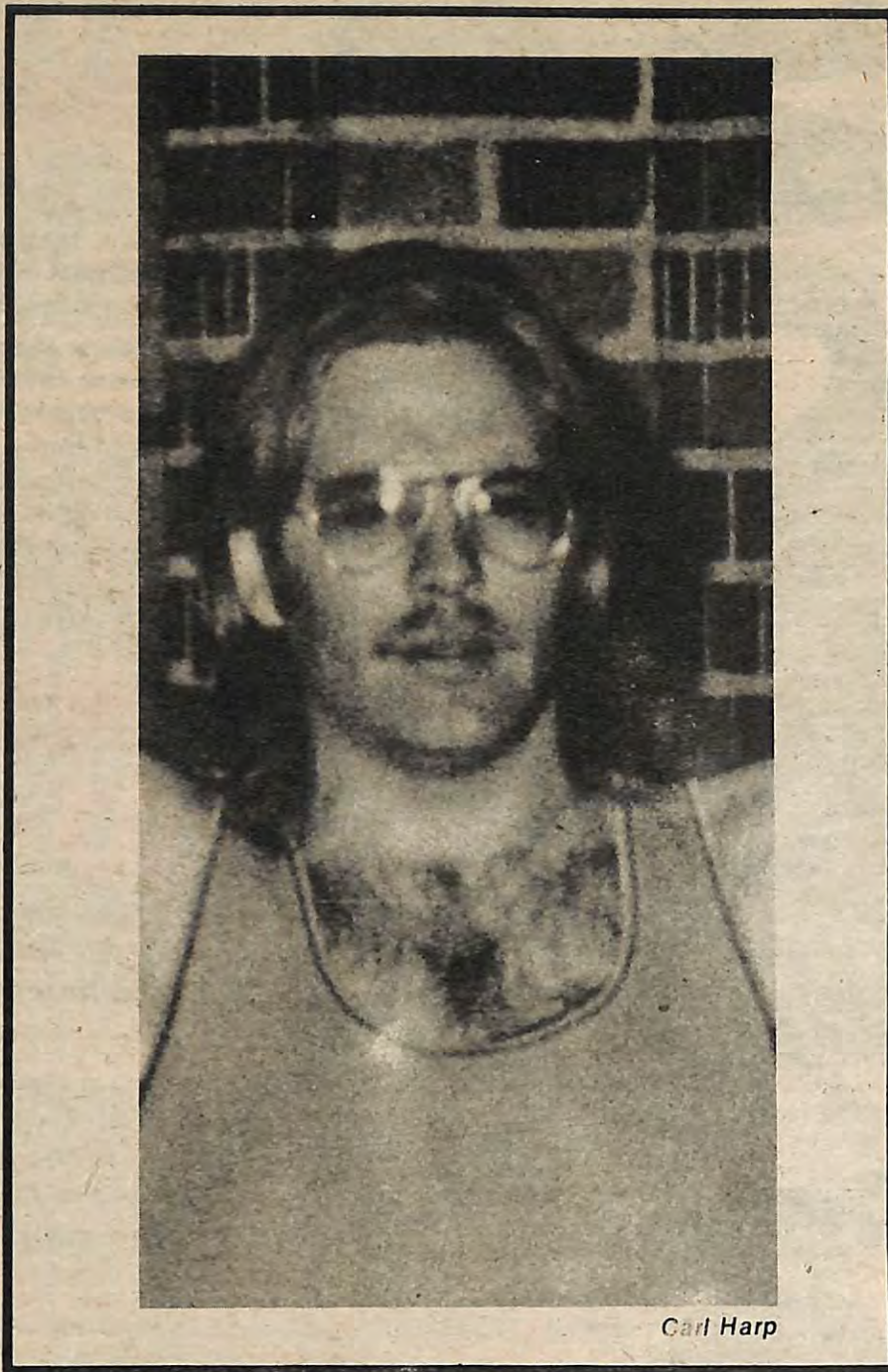
where this prisoner was. The Black prisoner who was the intended victim, however, had gotten wind of this plot and stayed in his cell instead of going to dinner that night. The active participation of the prison authorities in all this is shown by the fact that two key members of the Aryan Brotherhood were transferred to Walla Walla from Arizona prisons under an arrangement personally worked out by Walla Walla Associate Superintendent Larry Kincheloe. Further, the *RW* received a report that three white prisoners who played a key role in the fight on Tuesday had been transferred to Walla Walla from the State Reformatory in Monroe on the previous Friday and were immediately sent into the general prison population.

Walla Walla History

The machinations of the Walla Walla prison administration are a vivid illustration of the desperate situation in which they are caught. The ruling class as a whole faces the compelling necessity to strengthen its whole repressive apparatus, of which prisons are a cornerstone, in the face of the greater upheaval and ever more blatant preparations for war which will mark the coming months and years. This is all the more imperative at Walla Walla where the prison administration finds itself facing a prison population where revolutionary sentiments are widespread and revolutionary literature widely in demand and seriously studied by a large section of prisoners, where the atmosphere remains charged with polarization and the threat of new outbreaks of rebellion constantly looming. Moreover all this has had dramatic repercussions outside the prison walls, fueling outrage at the savage attacks on the prisoners and leading to even more widespread exposure of the state. Walla Walla gained a national reputation both for rebellion and for conscious revolutionary fighters. It is in this context that the desperate murder of Carl Harp must be seen.

But the depraved minds which planned this murder cannot possibly comprehend what motivated Carl to remain defiant despite their repeated efforts to break him, nor can they understand what his example represents to tens of thousands who are thirsting for revolutionary change. In murdering Carl Harp they have picked up yet another rock that will land on their feet. When Carl arrived in Walla Walla in 1973, the prison was a hotbed of revolutionary activism. The impact of the upsurge of the '60s was still strongly felt inside the prison, and many prisoners of all nationalities were actively taking up revolutionary ideas and theory. For Carl, who came from a poor, white working-class family, who had been in prison before, who was a Vietnam veteran and had traveled around the world—including direct experience with the revolutionary movement in Guatemala—Walla Walla became a kind of catalyst. As Carl himself described it later, "I don't exactly know what happened but something snapped in me, and in 1974 I publicly declared myself a political prisoner. Since that declaration made in anger, I have through constant and often intense struggle with the forces of evil evolved into a revolutionary anarchist hated and feared by the state of Washington." In testimony submitted in support of Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France (see *RW* No. 107), Carl described his own political activity while in prison and the persecution he faced as a result: "I was a prisoner in the Washington State Penitentiary and am now confined in the California State Prison at San Quentin. I'm in segregation here illegally and against my will solely for my political beliefs (anarchist) and for my legal and political work in prison for Human Rights and Justice in prison and the world. I am the founder of the Anarchist Black Dragon Collective, co-founder of the Creative Writers' Workshop and Men Against Sexism, all in the Washington State Penitentiary, and all smashed as organizations by the State for being political in the revolutionary sense and otherwise...."

On May 9, 1979, Carl and two fellow prisoners seized the Counseling and Parole building in the Walla Walla prison compound which, as Carl later put it,



Carl Harp

"exposed to the world the gross inhumanity and injustice in the penitentiary." Hundreds of prisoners gathered in the prison yard that night to demonstrate their support and, despite the use of clubs and tear gas and the marshaling of off-duty prison guards, a special prison SWAT team from the State Correction Center and Washington State Patrol, the authorities were unable to disperse the prisoners until the following morning. Later, when the prosecutor and prison officials tried to intimidate Carl into pleading guilty to charges stemming from the building seizure, Carl steadfastly refused. The prosecutor, fearing the exposure of a public trial, was forced to drop all the charges against him.

On July 8, 1979, a gang of thugs euphemistically named the Prison "Tactical Squad" stormed into the segregation unit and systematically tortured Carl and other prisoners. Guards went into the prisoners' cells, handcuffed them to the bars, beat and jabbed them with clubs, punched and kicked them, pulled their hair, sprayed them with mace at point-blank range. In Carl's case the guards forced a riot club into his rectum, producing internal injuries which required a week's hospitalization and continued medical treatment for weeks after that. Following the beatings Carl was transferred to the segregation unit at San Quentin and held there for 2 years (except for two brief trips to Washington for legal hearings). It is quite probable that officials returned him to Walla Walla only because they intended to have him murdered. In any case the attempts to have him killed began almost as soon as he arrived.

But what shines through all of this is Carl's indomitable fighting spirit and the broadness of his revolutionary vision. His stand inspired many others and a number of his poems and letters have been published in various magazines and newsletters, while a book by him, *Love and Rage, Entries in a Prison Diary*, was published earlier this year. Carl never hesitated to raise his voice in support of all who faced repression at the hands of the state and all who are rising up against oppression. Carl's revolutionary optimism was expressed well in a letter he wrote to the *Revolutionary Worker* after May 1st, 1980. "I was surprised by the workers' willing-

ness internationally to confront the police physically in order to stay on the streets May Day, and this willingness was a message to the ruling class that their days are numbered. . . . I personally started up discussions about May Day on May Day to see if prisoners understood why workers were in the streets worldwide. They knew and supported the workers of the world which many prisoners are themselves. Everyone noticed May Day 1980 was more militant than any May Day to our knowledge, and that in nearly every country in the world at least some workers were in the streets. All this signs of Revolution/Change. . . ." In 1979 the *RW* was able to contact Carl by phone when he was briefly returned to Walla Walla and get a statement from him in support of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. And after once again being held in a boxcar cell in the Walla Walla Segregation Unit, Carl said, "They've got all this beautiful logic of why you should be in jail. Fuck it man. I've filed petitions, letters and protests. . . all it's doing is jumping off a St. Louis bridge. . . I've had first-hand experience doing everything in protests in all the bourgeois forms. I got sores all over my body inside and outside. Now it's war. WAR. All the negotiations have ended. Either clean up your act or get down. I'm behind anybody for getting down." And: "I tell them that I should be scared shitless—you know I am—but the only thing I can do is grin. 'Cause for some reason I never felt more alive in my life. A few moments of struggle is worth a lifetime of being a slave. That's where I'm at. To prefer to be a slave rather than die for your freedom—you're not a man, you're not a woman—you're a slave. It's not worth it. . . . The only way to change things is to get up and change it."

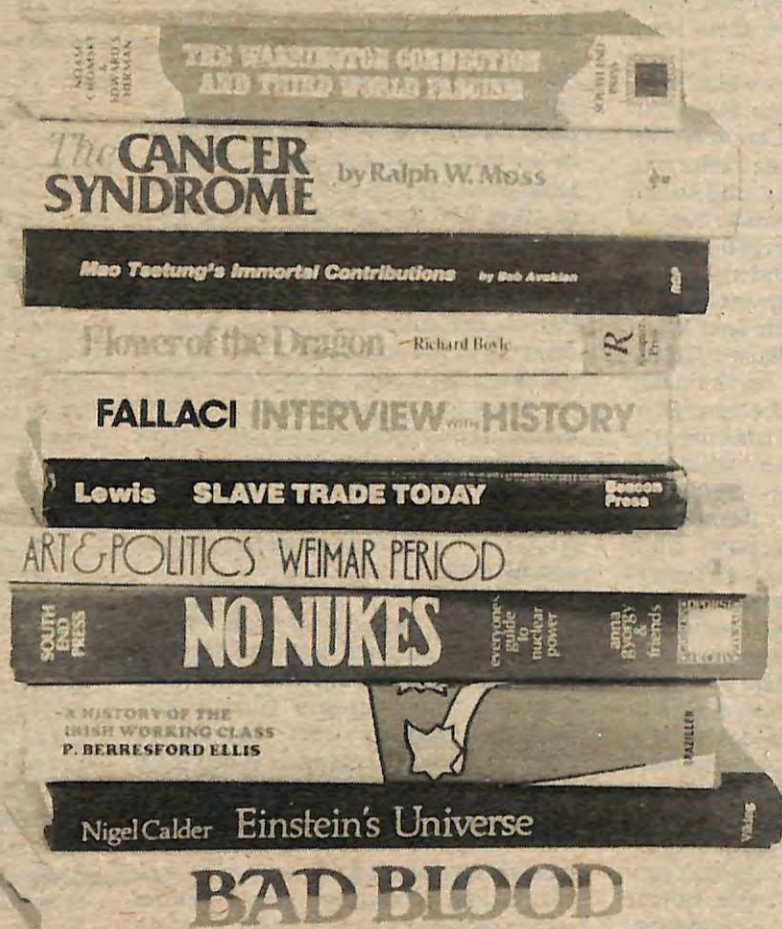
This is the spirit the authorities sought so desperately to kill with the murder of Carl Harp, this spirit which poses such a threat to the bourgeoisie and their rule as they plunge deeper into upheaval and crisis, this spirit which the diseased minds of the rulers of this country cannot begin to comprehend and which like the Phoenix springs ever anew from the flames of resistance and the ashes of the old and dying order. □

REVOLUTION BOOKS

The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earthshaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles. . . . —Mao Tsetung, 1962

Now more than ever, Mao's words ring true. Almost daily, the international economic crisis sharpens, while the imperialists' preparations and moves toward World War 3 accelerate, and upheaval and rebellion are already shaking many corners of the world. This complex swirl of events raises many vital questions demanding solution—about society, the world, the future, history, philosophy, science and the arts. Revolution Books carries a broad selection of progressive and revolutionary literature that addresses all these questions. Now more than ever, "we must be prepared to engage in great struggles." Stop by to shop, study, debate. . .

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"The military junta model has been found to be a good one, and the U.S. has helped it flourish and spread. Torture, death squads and freedom of investment are related parts of the approved model. . . It turns out that if we cut through the propaganda barrage, Washington has become the torture and political murder capital of the world. . ."

The Political Economy of Human Rights
Noam Chomsky & Edward Herman

"The Tuskegee Study (1932-1972) had nothing to do with treatment. . . It was a nontherapeutic experiment, aimed at compiling data on the effects of the spontaneous evolution of syphilis on black males. . . the men did not understand (and were not told) what the experiment was about or the dangers to which it exposed them. . ."

Bad Blood, James H. Jones

"It's impossible for a chicken to produce a duck egg. . . A chicken just doesn't have it within its system to produce a duck egg. . . It is impossible for this system, this economic system, this political system. . . to produce freedom right now for the black man in this country. And if ever a chicken did produce a duck egg, I'm quite sure you would say it was certainly a revolutionary chicken. . ."

Malcolm X Speaks

"Do not be intimidated by famous people and scholars. We must be courageous in thinking, speaking, and doing. The initiative and creativity of the laboring people have always been abundant. In the past, they were held in restraint. . . Our method is to lift the lid, break down superstition, and let the initiative and creativity of the laboring people explode. . ."

Miscellany of Mao Tsetung Thought

"Truly, then, this book does not claim to be anything but what it is. . . a direct testimony by fourteen political figures of contemporary history. . . I did not go to these fourteen people with the detachment of the anatomist or the imperturbable reporter. I went with a thousand feelings of rage, a thousand questions that before assailing them were assailing me. . ."

Interview with History, Oriana Fallaci

"The elimination of these cancer-causing substances might, at first sight, appear a simple and rational way to reduce the incidence of cancer. It may be rational but it is certainly not simple. . . It should hardly shock anyone that industry will use a wide variety of tactics to protect its investments. What is more surprising is the degree to which leaders of the cancer field have also helped to obscure the need for prevention. . ."

The Cancer Syndrome, Ralph Moss

"What people mean. . . when they say that it will never work, is they can't turn on a machine called 'revolution' and have it working perfectly for them. Yes, it is true, that will never work. . . we have to struggle with them and lead them to grasp that they have to emancipate themselves, under the Party's leadership, that they have to struggle, they have to play a role, ultimately a decisive role, in making—and continuing to make—revolution. . ."

Coming From Behind to Make Revolution, Bob Avakian

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