



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

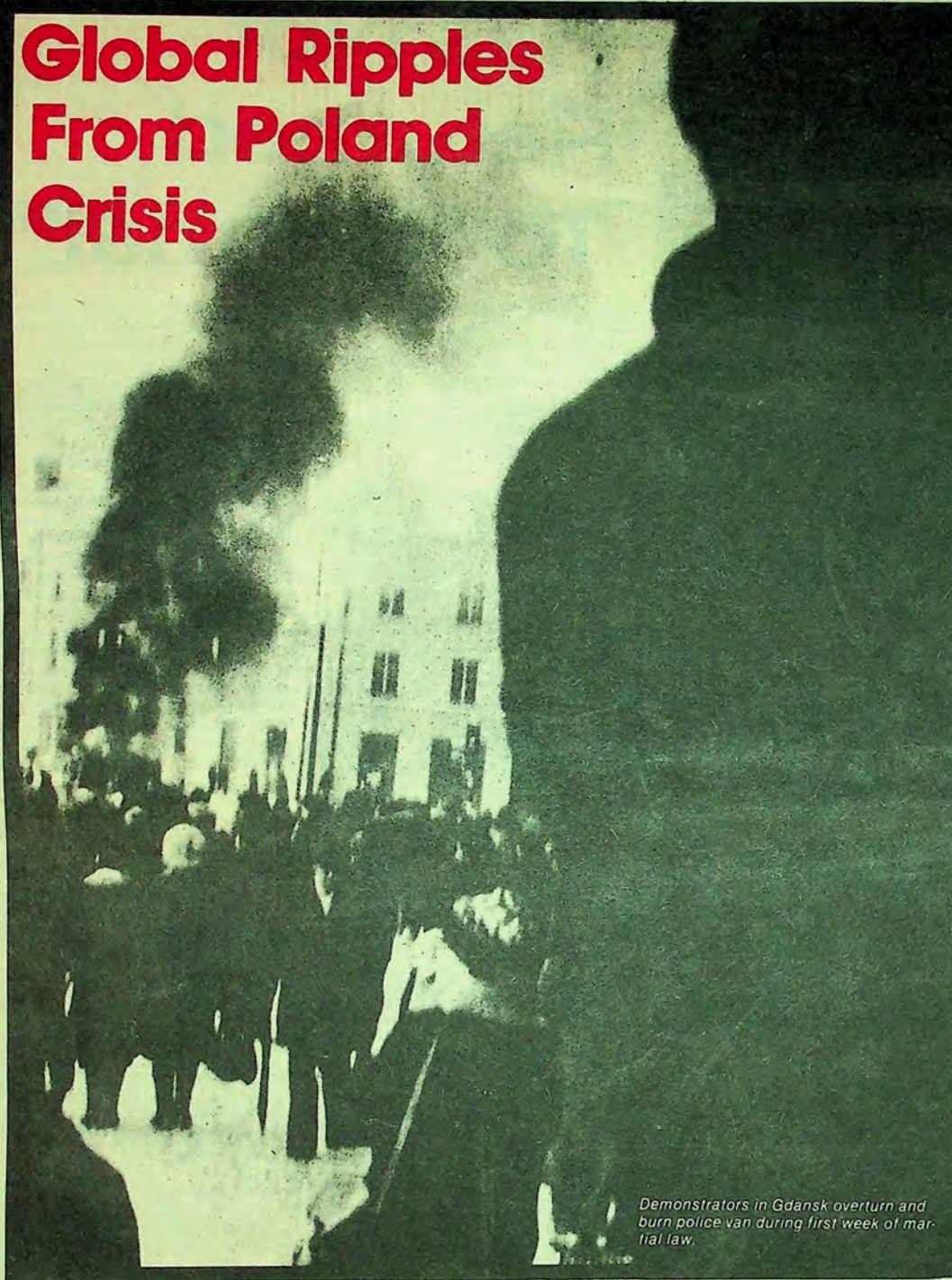
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Global Ripples From Poland Crisis



Demonstrators in Gdansk overturn and burn police van during first week of martial law.

The repressive net of Poland's revisionist rulers has continued to sweep the country. Major pockets of resistance have been suppressed; trials of unknown numbers of detainees were being held in a reported 50 internment camps, with sentences of seven years in prison being meted out. And although the reports were something less than ecstatic, Polish radio announced that the first work day of the new year "passed calmly and without disturbance." But if anything was apparent from the week's developments concerning Poland, it was the fundamental impossibility of a future of peace and calm in Poland or anywhere else. Events surrounding Poland in fact show the profound disturbances and increasing disorder unfolding in the international imperialist arena.

The Soviet news agency TASS, rehashing Polish Press Agency reports, crowed about how martial law "is gradually creating the conditions and prerequisites for overcoming the crisis more effectively, for eliminating anarchy and putting an end to illegal actions," and prattled on about the firm unity of the "socialist community." Despite these imperialist pipe dreams, martial law and revisionist rule in general is, on the contrary, providing the conditions for "anarchy" and "illegal actions" the likes of which Jaruzelski and company have never seen. It is still the case that while the government bragged of lifting some of the martial law regulations in ten outlying provinces, they were unable to lift them in any major center of resistance. The struggle over the last few weeks is an ominous sign of the future, even if they have temporarily gained the upper hand.

And beyond this, the "socialist community" is far from firmly united, as evidenced by the very contradictions within Poland's state apparatus. Rumors, while unconfirmed though certainly believable, abounded of soldiers having to be disciplined and, in at least one case, being executed for refusing to carry out orders. It was even reported that Jaruzelski himself threatened to resign or even commit suicide if party "hardliners" insisted on destroying Solidarity completely—an indication of the bind Poland's rulers are finding themselves in and differences over how to proceed at this point. There were also indications of defections from the party itself as well as confirmation of at least 90 top provincial and city officials being purged for being "unable to cope" with the requirements of martial law. This was on top of the previously announced roundup of hundreds of officials associated with the former Gierek government.

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Government Stokes Up Attacks on Bob Avakian, Mao Defendants

A serious new offensive has been launched by the ruling class in their attempt to railroad Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. On December 28, the prosecution filed a motion demanding that all of the defendants, including Bob Avakian, be ordered to personally appear in court at the next status hearing in the case, now scheduled for January 20. While the government cites a number of flimsy procedural reasons for making this demand, in actual fact this latest move is a flagrant "upping of the ante" in the case — an intensification of the attack on Bob Avakian in order to attempt to change the terms on which the battle is being fought out today.

The bottom line of this motion is an

open threat against all defendants "who choose not to appear themselves," in other words, against Bob Avakian, who has been forced into political exile in France. In plain wording, anyone who fails to appear in court when ordered to do so will face further legal action — ranging from the issuing of a bench warrant to the addition of yet another charge to the multiple felony count indictment, that of violating the Bail Reform Act, an offense which could add

an additional five years to the approximately 180 years already facing the defendants.

The government's new motion can only be described as one of the most overtly political documents they have filed in the case to date. The legal hollowness of the document only underlines the point. The motion cites the fact that none of the defendants have appeared in court since 1979; of course it doesn't mention at all the fact that the

indictment against the defendants had been dismissed for most of the time that they're talking about. At the same time, some of these reasons are quite revealing as to who this attack is focused on. Referring to the "need" to clarify which attorneys are representing which defendants, the prosecution just happens to zero in on Bob Avakian and the fact that he was originally representing himself but is now being represented by another

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More Thoughts on Party Building
Can You Do Away With Leadership?

By Bob Avakian See page 3

Krome Rebellion Update

Miami Has Not Returned To "Normal"



Scenes from Dec. 27, as angry demonstrators march on the Krome Detention Center.



"It's a good experience. It's not the first, and won't be the last. It's wonderful that the bourgeois papers are now saying that the peaceful, silent Haitians are no longer so. . . People at the demonstration stopped all cars on Krome Avenue (leading up to the detention center—RW) telling drivers they couldn't go by because this was Freedom Boulevard. . . The Haitian people know that you must fight against oppressive forces. If you are oppressed and if you pray or ask the oppressor for help you are in trouble."

These words of a revolutionary Haitian refugee from Miami capture some of

the strength and pride among Haitians that has burst forth as a result of the December 27th breakout of up to 150 Haitian refugees from the Krome Ave. Detention Center.

The actions December 27th had been preceded by a week of turmoil in Miami's Little Haiti. On December 23, hundreds of Haitians had seized 54th Street demanding the release of all the prisoners at Krome. The police came, but only dared watch. When the demonstration ended, these cops barricaded the entire street to try to prevent another takeover the next night. Of course on that night, the hunger

strike at Krome was announced, and the battle flared into open combat three days later at the detention center.

Miami has not returned "to normal" yet. Each new step the officials have taken has been met with resistance. A vicious media campaign of red-baiting and outright physical threats has been launched but it has not gone unopposed by any means. For example, when a DJ on WMBM, a Black station, spewed out a tirade against the Haitians, he was besieged by calls from listeners denouncing him. Debate raged on the air for hours, and letters have been pouring into local

editorial rooms.

A few days after the hunger strike was ended at Krome, several dozen Haitians being held in the Leesburg City Jail in Central Florida (transferred there after the last breakout) announced they were beginning their own hunger strike demanding to be sent back to Krome so that they can rejoin the struggle there.

The U.S. government has shifted into high gear in the face of these developments, with various mouthpieces flapping fast and furious. The U.S. Justice Department's Director of Community Relations, Gilbert Pompa, was quickly flown to Miami to investigate "ways to ease tensions created by the Haitian situation." While making the rounds of meetings with both Haitian and local Black "leaders", Pompa spoke of the government's fears of the "high degree of concern within the Black community regarding the whole issue of detention."

At the same time Associate Attorney General Rudolph Giuliani, also in Miami, warned that no demonstration or hunger strike would bring about any change in policy. Speaking directly to all the shaky local officials he bragged, "If we continue in our resolve to enforce the law, this problem is going to calm itself down and we can restore control of our borders."

Other efforts were made to cool things out as well. Flying in on the heels of Pompa and Giuliani was Jesse Jackson who came to do his bit. Jackson led a prayer vigil inside the Krome cafeteria ironically pleading with the Haitians, "Don't let this jail break your spirit"—when it has been exactly the spirit of rebellion that has been doing the breaking of late. Jackson also thanked the head of the Krome prison, INS man Cecilio Ruiz "for being so humane and sensitive."

Clearly, the bourgeoisie has been stunned by the rebellion and events surrounding it. News of the inspiring events in Miami continue to spread even in Haiti itself as support for the struggle of Haitians grows. The RW will cover further developments in Miami as they unfold. □

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CAN YOU DO AWAY WITH LEADERSHIP?

MORE THOUGHTS ON PARTY BUILDING

by Bob Avakian

Recently, Bob Avakian responded to a number of questions from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle throughout the decades of the '60s, '70s and into the '80s. The answers elaborate on a number of questions raised in the talk, "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will," just published as a special issue of Revolution magazine. These answers (edited from a tape) are being published in serial form in the RW. The first part ran last week.

As I said, I have agonized over the question that the party *can* in fact get turned into its opposite and can become the leading force in restoring capitalism and imposing dictatorship over the masses and transforming the proletarian state into a bourgeois state, a bourgeois dictatorship. And you could just take the attitude, okay let's not have a vanguard then, that way at least we won't demoralize the masses by having another revolutionary party turn into something bad—which is a cop-out ultimately if you want to get right down to it. I've come to understand this point much more deeply. This also connects to a question on bourgeois democracy which was provoked in my mind when I saw "Fort Apache, the Bronx." (See RW 117): the proletariat—and even more than just the proletariat, but the future communist society when there isn't even a proletariat any more—has to evolve and develop something higher than a "perfection" of bourgeois democracy. That was one of the main points I was trying to bring out in that piece; the point of communism politically is not that we will clear away all the class obstacles and then we can have *pure* democracy—because there is no such thing.

Participatory Democracy

Remember when back in the '60s, there used to be

"participatory democracy"? A lot of times people took up this idea out of the best intentions; and then there were those who took advantage of it, the Tom Hayden types and so on (we remember him back then too). They would take advantage of it in a very callous and cynical way, for manipulation; they would promote participatory democracy out in public and at the public meetings, and before and after they'd have the clique meetings and decide everything and then let the masses play little games like they were deciding things. And that's just the point.

Now there was an SDS meeting I remember one time in Berkeley that I didn't go to but it was described to me. Even if you allow for a certain amount of exaggeration, I know from my own experience in things that the kernel of this is undoubtedly true. There was an SDS meeting called (given what I'm going to describe next, how somebody even managed to call the meeting is quite an accomplishment and a little bit miraculous); but the meeting somehow got called, people showed up and it was participatory democracy. This was the theme and the method of the time. So they had a problem, they wanted to start the meeting but they didn't know how to start it so somebody got up and suggested that they start the meeting and somebody else said, "Well, it's not for you to say we should start the meeting. People should decide whether they want to start the meeting or not." So then somebody else got up and suggested that they sing songs and see if they could get in the mood to get the meeting going. And somebody said, "Well, we have to first see if everybody *wants* to sing songs and we have to have a vote on that." But then how did they know that *that* was the question they should debate, whether they should sing songs or do something else: "Where do you get the right to say we should discuss the question of

singing songs or not, rather than some other thing maybe people want to do?"

So finally they managed to get beyond that because life does assert itself and either they were going to go on like this forever and not have a meeting or they were going to have to make a few decisions despite themselves and despite their even good intentions to try to do everything in a d-e-m-o-c-r-a-t-i-c way. But then they couldn't decide what songs to sing and they got into the same debate over that: "Who are you to say we should sing this song and not that song and we have to have discussion about that first." "Well, let's see if we can elect a temporary..." I don't think they wanted to call it a "chairman of the meeting" but somebody like some "secretary of the meeting" or something, because again there's reality and life asserted itself. But it went on like this.

Now all that's humorous on the one hand, but it shows that there is this dialectic between democracy and centralism and you really can't have democracy if there's no centralism, that is if there is no vanguard leadership. How exactly that's going to work itself out in classless society, communism, I don't know, but even then there will have to be some form of centralism, some people who have the responsibility. Even if this responsibility is able to change then, and not be permanent in a certain sense the way it is now with the party, still you're not going to be able to get away from that contradiction. You can't. Life doesn't allow you to discuss everything all at once and endlessly, or else life will come to a standstill and you might even revert back to feudalism or something. Literally, I suppose that's impossible at the stage of communism; ideologically people wouldn't do that; there'd be a basis not to do it, materially and

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Revolution
Special Issue, Number 30

CONQUER THE WORLD?

The
International
Proletariat
Must and Will

by Bob Avakian

A Special Issue of

Revolution Magazine

This special issue of Revolution contains the full text of a talk given recently by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Three short excerpts from it were published in the Revolutionary Worker newspaper.

Its sections are:

- Further historical perspectives on the first advances in seizing and exercising power—proletarian dictatorship—and embarking on the socialist road;
- More on the proletarian revolution as a world process;
- Leninism as the bridge;
- Some summation of the Marxist-Leninist movement arising in the 1960's and the subjective factor in light of the present and developing situation and the conjuncture shaping up;
- Some questions related to the line and work of our Party and our special internationalist responsibilities.

"In an overall sense, and to close with this, while we have to do everything possible toward revolution in the U.S., it's not just that that we have to do. And it's not just that our greatest contribution to the world struggle is to make revolution in the U.S. Even that's too narrow, though in a more limited sense there's truth to it. We have to look at it even more broadly. In fact, even seeking to make revolution in the U.S. even that has to be done as part of the overall goal and with the overall goal in mind, of doing everything possible to contribute to and advance the whole struggle worldwide toward communism and in particular to make the greatest leaps toward that in the conjuncture shaping up."

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El Salvador Tour Trial Opens Gov't Attempts Kidnap of Salvadoran Revolutionaries

The trial of Manuel Campos and Carol Tsuji on "felony transport of illegal aliens" charges opened Jan. 4 in Tulsa, Oklahoma. The two face possible five-year sentences if convicted. As we go to press, the defense is in the midst of calling witnesses in this case stemming from the Oct. 12 arrest of members of the Salvadoran revolutionaries' national speaking tour. Beginning immediately on Monday, and continuing throughout the week, the government has made several desperate and disgusting attempts to hot-wire their railroad, including a flagrant plot to kidnap the Salvadoran brothers! All these attempts have been part of the government's broadscale assault on revolutionary immigrants and all those associating with them, and directly on the RCP and the class-conscious proletariat. While the *RW* will carry further news and analysis of the trial and its outcome, some of the highlights up to press time follow.

On January 4 before the trial proceedings even began, the government plot to kidnap the Salvadorans was put into motion. The two Salvadorans were originally subpoenaed by the prosecution in the felony case, with the government's wild hope being that they would verify the government's concocted tales and testify that when arrested in Miami, Oklahoma they were on their way to Chicago to find work, and were not embarking on the national speaking tour. Thus the government hoped to "prove" that

this case was a "typical criminal transport" matter. However, as events developed, much to the dismay of the government, it became clear that their threats and intimidation of the Salvadorans were useless: When the Salvadorans testified at the pre-trial hearing in December, they had blown big holes in the government's story, and thus the government knew that these two brothers would play a key role in the defense's case if they were to testify again. In fact, without this testimony, the government felt, they would be better able to get away with their fairy tales as described by two U.S. Border Patrol agents. The Salvadorans' testimony had become a serious liability for the government, so the government hatched a plot to prevent this from taking place.

Because of the deportation charges still hanging over the Salvadorans, as well as the open threats of further charges being filed against them from the judge and U.S. Attorney, the possibility of the Salvadoran brothers invoking the 5th Amendment if called to testify in the "transport" trial arose. Supposedly to deal with this possibility, and because invoking the 5th would legally allow the Salvadorans the right to an attorney in doing this, presiding Judge Thomas Brett on Monday before the "transport" trial began took up the question of who would represent the Salvadorans in the event they invoked the 5th. Here enters a motley cast of characters to implement

the government's plot. Instead of allowing the Salvadorans the counsel of their choice, the ever-resourceful Judge Brett approved an attorney suggested by none other than Assistant U.S. Attorney Ben Baker himself. Over objections, the Salvadorans were told to go out and meet with this court-appointed attorney right away in a separate room.

Once alone with the Salvadorans, this lawyer proceeded to spin the web of the government's kidnap conspiracy and, we might add, blatant government tampering with witnesses. The lawyer, one Ray Wilburn, told the Salvadorans they should look out for themselves, because the two people facing felony charges and their lawyers couldn't care less about them. Revealing the very political nature of this whole case and the desperation of the government, he said they should get out of the "bad situation" they were in as quickly as possible, get away from revolution and change their lives, because the government had these two "in their sights." Interesting that such livid and extremely political threats to stay away from revolutionaries should be leveled in what the government contends is a "routine transport case." And if this isn't flagrant tampering with a witness, then tell us what is. But there was more to come.

Mr. Wilburn not only diagnosed the "problem" but had just the "remedy." He said the Salvadorans should sign "voluntary departure" forms (which

the Border Patrol already tried and failed to get them to sign upon their arrest last October), and presto, the U.S. government could take them both across the border to Mexico *immediately* — all expenses paid — and their "problems" would be left behind. Clearly this attorney was acting on very high authority to try to pull something like this, speaking on behalf of the U.S. government itself.

One of the Salvadorans told Wilburn: We have a case and we're going to fight it. The lawyer said that if they were concerned about the revolution and the people in El Salvador, that now, in the middle of the trial, was not the time to raise it, and specifically that they should not go around talking about revolution and El Salvador during the trial. God forbid! The attorney then made one last-ditch effort for the government. He walked out of the room where they were meeting, trying to put his arm around one of the Salvadorans, maintaining his chatter all the while, and headed straight for the elevators, hoping the Salvadorans wouldn't notice he was trying to actually right then and there kidnap them out of the court building! They refused to follow. Even as Wilburn invoked the final holy wrath of U.S. imperialism and its government in this blatant political intimidation aimed at getting the Salvadorans to stay away from the RCP and revolutionary forces and struggles generally, the government's fantasy faded away.

That this Ray Wilburn wasn't acting alone in making his "offers" is obvious. As further proof of the overall U.S. government orchestration of the kidnap attempt, however, the judge himself poked his snout into the room while they were still meeting and asked, How are things coming along with these boys?

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Scene from a U.S. hit squad training camp



U.S.: "Our Hit Teams Are Fine"

Counterinsurgency Groups for Central America Train in Miami

"Since 1978, Cuba, with the support of the Soviet Union, has embarked on a systematic campaign of increasing interference against its neighbors. It no longer makes any pretense of respecting the sovereignty of other countries. Instead Havana calls the leaders of violent opposition groups together, forges unity pacts among them, trains their men, provides their arms and sends them back to mount a violent challenge to legitimate governments. Terror for the innocent has been the result . . .

"... the principle of non-intervention is being violated as arms, ammunition and other military supplies flow from Nicaragua to the Salvadoran insurgents."

—U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig, speaking to the Organization of American States, December 4.

"We will not countenance subversion being imported into Central America."
—Edwin Meese III, Counselor to President Reagan, at a November 30 press conference

These two recent quotes from U.S. officials lambasting "interference in the internal affairs" of countries in Central America are but a sampling from the mountain of U.S. denunciations of both real and fabricated actions of its Soviet counterparts and others who challenge

it around the world. Everyone is familiar with the pious warnings from U.S. officials about Soviet "intervention" in Poland and Libyan "international terrorism" and supposed "hit squads," etc., etc. And certainly *RW* readers are well aware that when it comes to "interference in the internal affairs of other countries" and "violations of the sovereignty" of other countries, the U.S. imperialists know what they are talking about. They are world-renowned authorities on this subject and have an unprecedented amount of practical experience in such matters. There is no need here to list current and past examples of U.S. invasions, CIA coups and so forth, as it would take reams of paper to do so. But when they come out and openly admit or rather brag about their coup plotting and counterinsurgency efforts even as they are filling the airwaves and printed pages with all this hypocritical and cynical piety, it is well worth taking note of. We refer the reader to a couple of choice articles in the December 23 and 24 *New York Times* about a training camp in Miami for Nicaraguan and Cuban counterrevolutionaries. While this camp has been widely known about for quite some time, the government has claimed to have no knowledge of it or any others. Now given the fact that the U.S. is facing increasing necessity to both threaten

and prepare to use more of its military muscle in Central America, they are changing their tune. The Dec. 23 *Times* article titled "Latin Exiles Focus on Nicaragua As They Train Urgently in Florida" describes the purpose and activities of this camp as follows:

"In a camp near the Florida Everglades, the military training of exiles to infiltrate and overthrow the Government of Nicaragua has taken on a special urgency.

"This year . . . 800 exiles have been trained in the 78-acre camp west of Miami and . . . at least 100 Nicaraguans have been infiltrated across their country's borders to take up arms against their Government . . .

"When asked whether the Nicaraguans were planning an invasion of their country, Colonel Arguello answered, 'Invasion is a word we don't use . . . We want to initiate and insure a process.' . . .

"In the future, he said, the group hoped to use Nicaragua as a base for an attack against the government of Cuba and to assist in a military coup to overthrow the successors of Gen. Omar Torrijos, the late Panamanian leader . . .

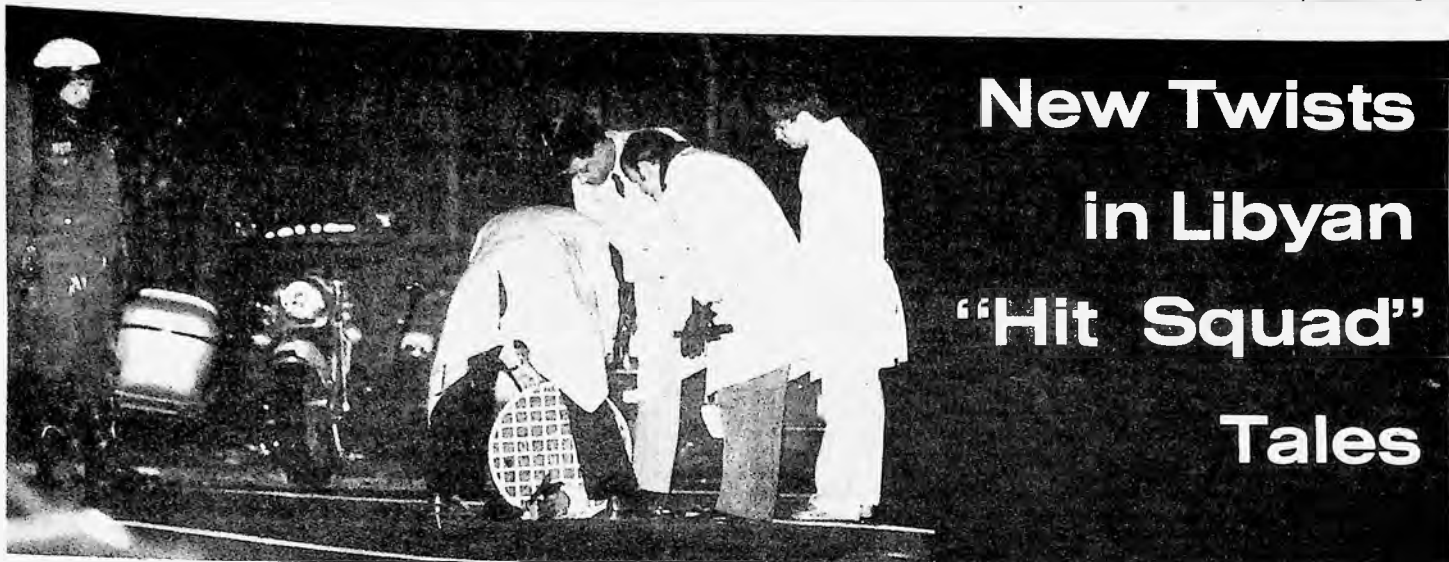
"The training course . . . provides instruction in parachute jumping, urban warfare, guerrilla warfare, day and night navigation and training for frog-

men . . . the students are those who will serve as officers when they reach Nicaragua. The weapons being used were AR-15's, the civilian version of the military M-16 rifle, and Ruger Mini-14's, carbines that use M-16 cartridges.

"The instructors include former United States Army Rangers and Vietnam veterans."

Now, now, what have we here if it isn't a for-real, American-equipped, trained and financed "hit squad," if you will, which quite openly is preparing to foment coups and "initiate and insure" other such "processes" in Central America. One would think that revelations such as this would be kept quiet. After all, it is a bit of an embarrassment to have some of these dirty dealings come out right at a time when they have launched such a massive propaganda offensive decrying "international terrorism," but apparently they have the utmost faith in the ability of millions of loyal Americans to think what they are told to think and parrot what they are told to parrot without question. They must have the most arrogant confidence that there are more than enough patriotic fools and unquestioning bootlickers around who have no problem at all swallowing and blindly regurgitating outraged diatribes against those who would

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New Twists in Libyan "Hit Squad" Tales

Looking for "Libyan terrorists"—federal agents check out Reagan's surroundings during stepped up security measures.

If ever one desired a stark example of the thick shield of lies surrounding U.S. imperialist foreign policy, or of the government's bottomless faith in Menckens's Maxim, "Nobody ever went broke underestimating the intelligence of the American people," then the recent tale of the "Libyan terrorist hit squads" surely must have filled the bill.

Only a month ago, the U.S. media was flooded with white-hot hyped-up coverage of the manhunt for teams of "Libyan assassins" who were out to get Ronald Reagan and "other high administration officials." Reagan's personal security was tripled, then quintupled; snipers perched on the roof of the White House. Decoy presidential limousines screeched around corners through the streets of Washington, D.C. Secret Service details were assigned to Secretary of State Haig, Secretary of Defense Weinberger and other "possible terror targets." The CIA had received "hard information from several sources," administration spokesmen declared, that one or perhaps two Libyan hit squads were in the United States; one informant, a Libyan defector, "had actually seen Qaddafi give the orders." Sketches of four "key suspects" were circulated to the press and to the border patrols. President Reagan himself, at a press conference, responded to Qaddafi's ridicule of the "hit squad" story with a blustering "We've got the evidence — and he knows it!" As the propaganda campaign spiraled to its crescendo, Reagan signed an executive order for the evacuation of all American citizens from Libya — an order widely seen as paving the way for some further kind of direct or indirect U.S. imperialist action

against Libya.

And now, all of a sudden, it is difficult to find anything at all in the papers about the "Libyan hit squads." Administration officials are refusing to talk about it anymore. FBI Director William Webster, appearing on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley," actually said that "There was never a shred of evidence" that any "Libyan hit teams" had entered the U.S. The *Washington Post* has published speculation that the hit squad story may have been disinformation marketed to U.S. intelligence agencies in order to "embarrass the administration." The *Post* has also quoted "one high administration official who asked that he not be identified" as admitting that the story was basically concocted out of thin air by "people at the White House." On January 6, the CBS News ran a feature which treated the "hit squad" story with skepticism — as opposed to their wild-eyed and foaming promotion of it when it was "hot news" — and delicately raised the possibility that "President Reagan may have misspoken" in his own statements about the "terror plot."

The hit squad story had broken suddenly in the press, and soon reached preposterous levels of hysteria. Certainly even those who usually believe what they are told to believe by their rulers began to have doubts. But it seems certain that the administration was up to more than conducting an experiment in mass gullibility and more than merely testing the waters for some indefinite future action against Libya. For some time, the U.S. has been engaged in an anti-Qaddafi propaganda campaign, and has made no secret of its interest in

playing a role in Qaddafi's overthrow. The evacuation order seemed to indicate that a definite plan along these lines was afoot. But so far, the other shoe has not yet been dropped. It is quite possible that the rapid worsening of the Poland crisis and surrounding events forced the postponement of any contemplated immediate anti-Libya operation.

There is quite a bit of reason to believe that as it unraveled the "Libyan hit squad story," so flimsily fabricated, began to be seen as an international embarrassment by the U.S. ruling class. When Colonel Qaddafi made his retort to the charges "... You Americans are a silly people afraid of Carlos, afraid of Col. Qaddafi, afraid of Libya. You are a superpower: why are you afraid? America must get rid of this administration and get another president to win respect for America," titters of amusement could be heard around the world, and especially in Europe, where the "hit squad" story was treated in the bourgeois press mostly as a farce. And more than a few within the U.S. bourgeoisie began to feel that the specter of U.S. leaders scrambling to dodge "Libyan assassins" tended to build up Qaddafi rather than isolate him, and that the inherent unbelievability of the stories, which could not stand any close scrutiny, could actually backfire on the U.S. Thus it has become necessary to at least "suspend" the hit squad story. Suddenly items have begun to appear in the press like one in the *Washington Post* a couple of weeks back reporting that "new intelligence had been received" indicating that the "hit squads had suspended their activity." Funny how these supposed "hit teams" turn themselves

on and off according to the particular needs of U.S. foreign policy.

However, the Libyan terror squads may, of course, be reactivated at any moment — whenever their creators on the banks of the Potomac give the order. And meanwhile, even while the volume on the hit squad story has been reduced from a screech to a whisper and various reports that the whole thing was a lie from the beginning are floated out, mileage is still being squeezed out of it here and there in the organs of mass opinion. *Time* magazine recently reported that one suspected member of the "hit squads" had been identified as a possible participant in the assassination attempt on Pope John Paul II. In order to support this revelation, *Time* published a picture purporting to show the suspect running in St. Peter's Square. The photo was impressive, since it was not some vague artist's sketch like those previously circulated of "Libyan assassins," nor was it grainy and blurred, but on the contrary was a vivid, clearly-focused full-color close-up. Seemingly a conclusive and damning identification — except, the professional skeptics and "apologists for international terrorism" will predictably quibble, the photo shows only the man's back. And ABC's nighttime news ran a special extended show on Thursday, Jan. 7 offering supposedly damning proof that the Soviets were behind the Pope assassination attempt and that a member of the "Libyan hit squads" participated in it. Who knows what further tales are yet to be spun about the activities of these Libyan "terror squads" should the U.S. somehow feel that it would suit their purposes to do so. □

Joint Communiqué of 13 Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations.

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

Joint Communiqué of
Ceylon Communist Party
Groupe Marxist-Léniniste du Sénégal
Grupo para la Defensa del Marxismo-Leninismo
Grøpe for de Marxist-Leninist (Denmark)
Mao Tse-tung Kredsen (Denmark)
Marxist-Leninist Collective (Britain)
New Zealand Red Flag Group
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Global Ripples From Poland Crisis



Tear gas is fired at Gdansk crowd during street battles on Dec. 16

Continued from page 1

This tumultuous internal situation is a reflection of an increasingly unstable situation in the imperialist world as a whole with Poland serving as a springboard for the tactics of both superpowers in attempts to harden their own international imperialist alignments and pry away at that of their rivals in preparation for war. Polish President Jablonski's remarks were actually quite to the point for both sides as he spoke of the necessity to deal with "those who jeopardized our alliances and indirectly the international correlation of forces which insures peace on our continent under conditions of growing anarchy."

One indication of such "growing anarchy" in the Soviet bloc were reports of other mini-clampdowns like the arrest by the East German government of a number of people said to be "Solidarity sympathizers"—but a small hint of the wider implications of the problems throughout the Soviet network, though most of this is hidden from public view.

At the same time, even with the crack-down in Poland, contradictions remain and will sharpen between the Polish and Soviet revisionists. So while the Polish government continued to insist that

"there can be no return to the evils and distortions that existed before August 1980," the Soviets put it this way: "there can be no return to the situation that existed prior to December 13, 1981."

For the U.S. bloc, dilemmas were manifest in the continuing anguish over whether West Europe would get behind American sanctions and in the ensuing scramble for a compelling show of allied unity as against the Soviets' attempts to utilize "the wavering in the West," described by one columnist among the many stricken with alarm, as "very bad news." Indeed, the best that the foreign ministers from ten Western allies could come up with at the EEC meeting in Brussels was that they "disapproved" of the situation in Poland (the word "disapprove" having been watered down from "condemn"), that they had "taken note" of the sanctions imposed by the U.S., and that they would "undertake in this context close and positive consultations with the United States Government and with the governments of other western states in order to define what decisions will best serve their common objectives..." etc. Japan also issued similar non-committal and vague state-

ments.

The focus of U.S. efforts however was the attempt to lean on West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt during his visit to Washington and solicit his cooperation in portraying that "all's well with the alliance." Things got off to a bad start as Schmidt, in an interview granted while vacationing in Florida, coolly reiterated that West Germany would not join U.S. sanctions. He remarked that "there might have been fewer demonstrations (against the U.S. missile deployment) if some loose talk had not come out of the U.S., telling the Europeans that we are not living in the post war period but in a pre war period." After it was agreed in advance that differences would be played down for the press, when Schmidt emerged from his meeting with Reagan he managed to utter a few assurances that they were in agree-

ment on deploring repression in Poland, on the fact that "Soviet pressure" was involved, etc., etc. However, more than a compromise by Schmidt was involved here, as the U.S. tipped its hat to some of his criticisms with Haig assuring that from now on "communication in general at high levels" with West Germany would be maintained in times of crisis.

The Soviets wasted no time in prying away at Schmidt's position and exploiting real fears among the rulers of Europe that real damage could be done to the delicate economic relations between Western Europe and the Soviet bloc. Moreover, the Soviets continued to play on the particular national imperialist strategies in Western Europe for avoiding the worst of World War 3.

While loudly accusing Reagan and Schmidt of "trying to dictate to the Polish leadership" and exerting "crude and open interference in Polish affairs," at the same time the Soviets observed in approving honey-laden tones that Schmidt "kept his own opinion, believing that 'sanctions' are not the means which can be used for effective influence on the USSR."

A little leaning was in order too with a few calculated remarks from TASS like: "In Western Europe they understand only too well that cooperation with the Soviet Union serves the vital interests of their countries." While the U.S. summed up Schmidt's visit for public consumption with headlines like SCHMIDT SUPPORTS REAGAN ON POLAND, the reality of this "consensus" was put in its proper perspective a day later as Haig announced that the U.S. was dropping its plans to press the NATO allies for a program of sanctions, saying a "strong verbal condemnation" would be satisfactory in light of "domestic problems for several allies, particularly West Germany, in view of its commitment to large scale projects with the Soviet Union," (for example, the planned Soviet/West Europe gas pipeline) which the U.S. has already made clear it is not thrilled with.

Clearly, the road to war is not smooth for these imperialists, and the blocs are being forged in the course of significant jolts like that seen today in Poland. It shows that as the imperialists fight things out, within their own blocs but principally *between* the blocs, imperialism on a world scale is not entering the coming period from a position of strength, but from a very basic and fundamental weakness. □

Reader exposes:

U.S. Strongarms Med Students Into War Effort

Dear RW,

A note on Reagan's war preparations...

I know a medical student at the University of South Alabama. For the past fifteen years or so, a large fraction of medical students in the U.S. have had their expenses paid through school by the Federal government through the National Health Corps Scholarship Program (I think that was the name). A student would promise to practice in an underserved area — rural or small town — for three or four years after he/she completed residency. In return, the government would pay all expenses for the four years of medical school. This program was eliminated this year as part of Reagan's budget cuts in "unnecessary social services".

At the same time, the military has had a similar program. A medical student under the military option will agree to spend four years as a doctor in one of the military branches. In return, the Army, Navy, or Marines, or AF agree to pay all expenses through medical school, plus a \$600 a month stipend, plus a salary of \$50,000 a year while the doctor is in the service (considerably more than a young doctor could expect to make just out of med school in civilian life). What makes this even more attractive is that you can do your four year tour of duty either be-

fore residency or after. When you realize that an average resident makes only \$15 or \$16,000 a year, you can see how good this looks.

The problem is that before now the military could find very few medical students who would take the bait and join the volunteer army. Last year's first year class in the Medical School at South Alabama had only three people sign up for the military program. This year, after the elimination of the National Health Corps Scholarships, almost a quarter of the freshman class has signed on with the army program, and several more are on the waiting list.

The implications of this are obvious. Despite all the talk about "cutting the fat" and "balancing the budget", the elimination of the NHCS Program was designed to force doctors into the military by eliminating one of the civilian alternatives. The prospect of a continuing and severe shortage of doctors in the U.S. armed forces looms as a serious problem against the backdrop of imperialist preparations for WW 3. In the face of millions of potential casualties, you need to have thousands of doctors ready to patch up the temporary survivors and send them back into the fray.

yours,
a reader

IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM

"I trust that this pamphlet will help the reader to understand the fundamental economic question, viz., the question of the economic essence of imperialism, for unless this is studied, it will be impossible to understand

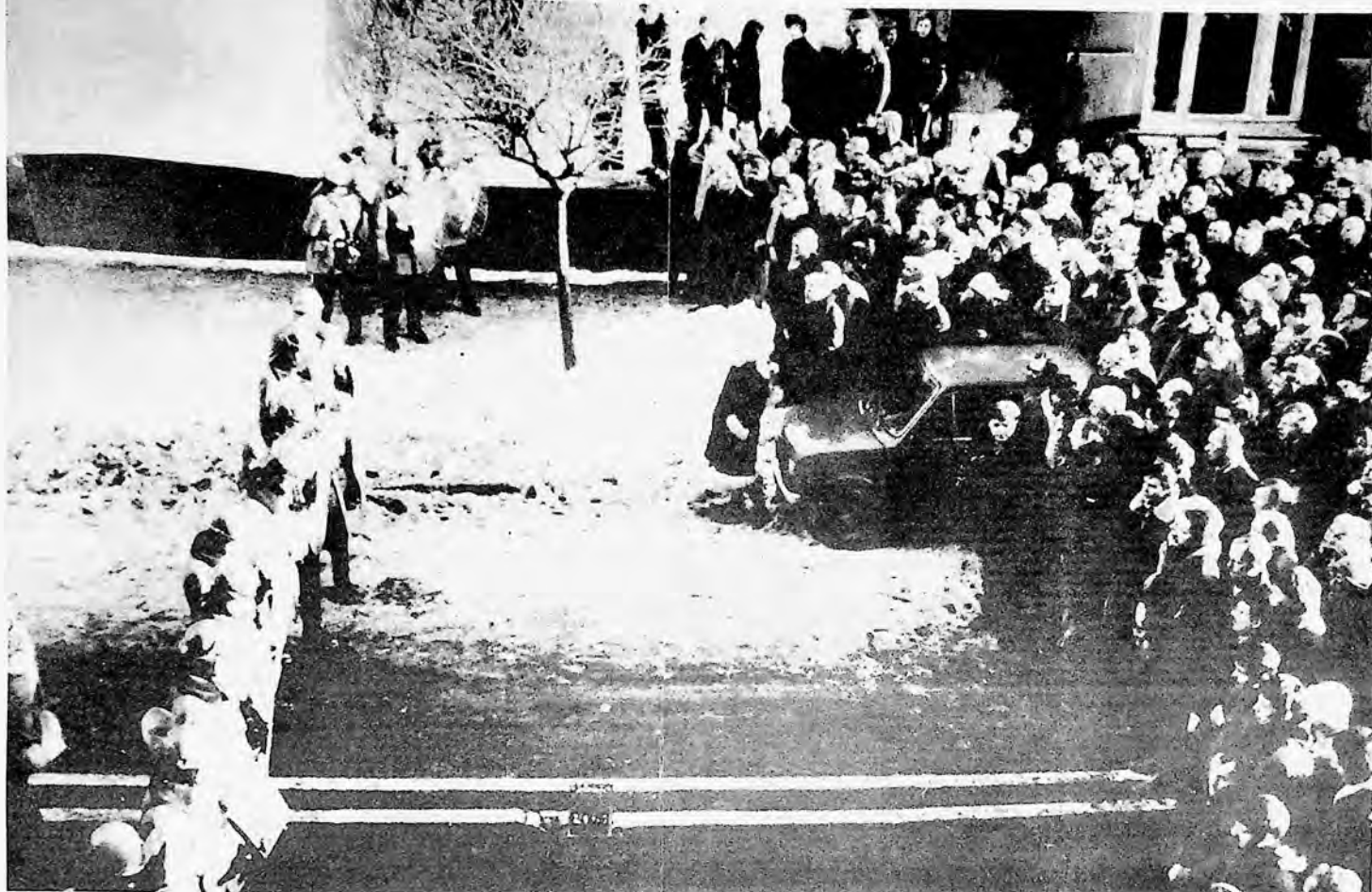
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Demonstrators in Warsaw advance on the militia.

LEARNING FROM THE CLAMPDOWN

The first of two articles.

In the pre-dawn hours of December 13 the clampdown struck in Poland. It began with the roundup of thousands of Solidarity leaders, intellectuals, artists, journalists and other influential people who had supported Solidarity in the last 16 months. At 6:30 a.m. a "state of war," martial law, was announced by army man and head of government Jaruzelski. The masses of Polish people awoke to find their telephones cut off and when they turned on the radio or television they discovered that a new military council was governing and dozens of restrictions had been declared, including the death penalty for resistance to the government. As the day wore on between hourly announcements of new restrictions the only sound emanating from the airwaves was military music. On the streets of Warsaw tanks and armored personnel carriers drove down the streets in convoys and soldiers were stationed at all key intersections.

Among the restrictions were the following: Solidarity activity is banned as is any strike or any other form of resistance to the regime; everyone over the age of 16 is subject to immediate military service and/or the "obligation of personal contributions consisting in the unpaid carrying out at any time of various kinds of ad hoc work for a period of up to 7 days"; the dissemination of all kinds of publications and information by any means is banned, as is the public display of works of art without permission; everyone over the age of 13 must carry an identity card; curfew is instituted throughout the country; no gas to be sold except to the government; all ham radio licenses are revoked and amateur radio equipment to be turned in to the state; all guns to be turned into the state; all mimeograph equipment is to be turned in and nothing can be printed on any press without government permission; all meetings or gatherings are banned; no one can change their residence for more than 48 hours and then only with permission (later changed to no one can change residence at all and all travel banned); all mail is subject to censorship, all packages must be approved before being wrapped for mailing. Penalties for violating any of the above

and numerous other restrictions range from monetary fines to death.

Is this a massive and all-encompassing clampdown demonstrating the omnipotence of the state and its overwhelming ability to crush the masses whenever it chooses? Or is it the calculated actions of a ruling class with a more specific target and very particular political aims? What are the contradictions the Polish revisionist bourgeoisie is exploiting; what are the actual objectives they are hoping to accomplish through martial law; what are their weaknesses in doing this and how can the proletariat advance through this situation? These are some of the questions that class-conscious proletarians need to analyze in order to gain as much knowledge as possible out of the Polish experience to use for further advances not only in Poland but in their struggle against imperialism generally, especially in the advanced capitalist countries.

We need to reveal the enemy's purpose and weaknesses so that the class-conscious proletarians can make preparations for all conditions of the class struggle, not only or mainly to preserve the advanced forces but to counterattack and seize on all the possibilities that present themselves at such times of weakness of the bourgeois enemy, including the possibility of the seizure of power by the proletariat.

The political aim of martial law in Poland was to attempt to prevent a major assault on their power by overwhelming the masses through surprise and a show of sheer force, preventing the leadership from being able to function at all through the roundup and paralyzing the resistance from functioning through communications and travel bans. They aimed not so much at stopping everyone and every act of resistance but at cutting off the critical political and military functions of the advanced section to physically and politically discourage them from acting. As was said in previous *RW* articles, the stakes here objectively are state power—who is to run society—and this martial law was aimed at the ruling regime seizing the initiative and establishing their firm grip over the masses. They certainly showed their muscle, but not from a position of strength.

What are some of the features of this crackdown and what are the specific political objectives they are aimed at accomplishing? Some of these are: the element of surprise and the speed in which the measures were instituted; the shutdown of communication except to the official military committee forces; the sweeping nature of the restrictions, encompassing almost every sphere of society and every individual in it; the arrest of Solidarity leaders and other influential people; and making it a "Polish clampdown" instead of a "Soviet clampdown."

Element of Surprise

The element of surprise as a tactic is certainly not new, nor peculiar to Poland. It is a tactic based on the ability to catch the enemy off guard and that it is necessary to do so in order to overpower it. The surprise is not that there's a "war" going on but in the choice of advantageous time and place setting for attack. In Poland, it was no secret that the crisis was intensifying, that the discontent and struggle of the masses was broadening and deepening. Nor was it a secret that the government was making preparations, including military ones, to stop the further development of the opposition. Solidarity leaders, the night of the arrests, made calls for actions in case they were arrested and were reported to be making broader preparations for various forms of resistance, but as to the exact time and method of attack the government had the advantage and hoped to strike before Solidarity had an effective resistance in place, and more to the point before Solidarity launched a major offensive against them.

The preparations made by the government in this case were far more thorough and broad than anticipated by Solidarity and this caught them off guard and unprepared. Neither Solidarity nor the masses were politically prepared for such an attack. The scope of the police dragnet was very broad, capturing a substantial majority of top leaders and other influential supporters asleep in their beds or in the hotels where they were staying in the early morning hours of Dec. 13. Just as surprising was the declaration of martial law which greeted

the masses as they awoke. The regime had struck on Sunday morning when the workers would be in their homes not in the factories which they had pledged to seize if such emergency measures were declared. This was aimed at making it much more difficult to carry out the particular plans of resistance (mainly strikes) which Solidarity had already developed.

The fact that such an attack is presented to the masses as a *fait accompli* itself is a part of the public opinion they are attempting to create for the current state of affairs. Presenting to people, "this is the new law, and all good citizens will abide by the law," coupled with armed force is aimed at getting backward and vacillating sections of the masses to accept the situation because "that's the way it is." The hope is that, in turn, such broad sentiment will discourage the more advanced—and it will if the advanced section is thinking statically and only in terms of "the majority" and forms such as strikes.

The element of surprise itself cannot change the balance of forces but through seizing and holding the initiative, it aims to paralyze, contain and weaken the enemy in the short run so that a weaker force can overwhelm and suppress the greater one. It shows the degree that the government of Poland was losing its grip politically on the masses, that the ruling powers resorted to a tactic most often used by a weaker force against a stronger one. Declaring martial law in a surprise attack is not the act of a ruling class that is confident of maintaining power.

Focus on Leadership

Another feature of the Polish clampdown was the arrest of the Solidarity leadership and most other influential people who had supported Solidarity since its formation. There was no pretense that they had actually committed a crime. It said as part of the martial law that anyone who the government deemed *might* defy the martial law or encourage anyone else to do so would be detained. This was absolutely essential for the government to do in order to gain the initiative not only in this attack but in the country in general. "Cut off the head" of the opponent either literally or

Continued on page 16

At the New York hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal Against U.S. Imperialism, a number of scientists testified or submitted written testimony, making significant exposure of U.S. imperialism. The following testimony was given in New York by Richard Lewontin, Professor of Biology at Harvard University, and in the coming weeks the RW will publish further testimony from a number of scientists.

My name is Richard Lewontin. I am a Professor of Biology at Harvard University and I would like to talk about the way in which scientists are co-opted into helping war machines and policies of governments, even when they have no desire to actively pursue those policies. In particular, I want to talk about one institution in the United States, the National Academy of Sciences.

At its 1971 annual meeting in Washington, I resigned from the National Academy of Sciences, to which I had been elected 3 years before. The precipitating issue was the Academy's secret war research. But the contradictions involved in membership in such an organization run much deeper and transcend any particular immediate political situation. In many ways, the National Academy of Sciences embodies the chief dislocation of scientific and professional life. An analysis of the Academy is an analysis, in miniature, of the social relations manifest in the scientific community at large, in its relation to the government.

Very soon after I was elected to the Academy, I began to see the way in which the Academy attempted to interpose itself between the individual views of its members and the State. The first thing I received from the Academy was a statement from the then president, Frederick Seitz, telling me how disastrous it would be if I and others were to permit personal views to impede the Academy's response to responsible government officers when they turned to the Academy for help. He wrote that he hoped "we will never again subordinate our historic obligation of national service to the advocacy of private views." Obviously, I was disturbed by this notion that we serve some sort of totalitarian state and could not express our private views when we disagreed with the state.

In my naiveté, I had the impression, when I accepted membership in the Academy, that I was not "historically obliged" to provide whatever services requested by portions of the government who came seeking advice. I had assumed the Academy would feel free to refuse to give such advice if its members felt the officers of government would, in their opinion, misuse that advice. I did not realize how naive I was in that expectation.

During the next 2 years, I attempted, by various petition campaigns and motions introduced into the meetings of the Academy, to get the Academy to condemn the war in Vietnam and to stop supporting that war by doing a variety of secret war research. More or less typical of the response of the Academy was a letter to members in 1970 from the new president of the Academy, Dr. Philip Handler, in which he asked members to stop circulating anti-war petitions because in his view, that would "politicize" the Academy. He failed to notice that in the same letter to members, there was a paragraph saying, "The National Academy of Sciences, by terms of its charter and by its past practice, has been available to give scientific advice on many questions. From the beginning, some of these questions have arisen from military needs." Thus the president of the Academy announced, perfectly clearly, that the Academy was in many respects, a simple agent of the government. We were asked, for example, to develop better helicopter gunships that would do that. In fact, the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council acts as a scientific arm of the military on requests. Even the most politically naive and simple-minded members of the Academy could understand the logic that branded the Academy as a highly-political institution. Obviously, what the officers of the Academy meant by "politicizing" was taking any political stand against the policy of the government. Anything done at the behest of the government was simply technical advice.

Scientists Testify at War Crimes Tribunal

Deadly Seduction in the Inner-Sanctum: The National Academy of Sciences

Finally, I could struggle no more with the Academy and I handed in my resignation in 1971. I told the officers at the Academy what I protested against was that the prestige of members was used to promote work that the membership was not allowed to know about. While this was in the interest of the federal government and of the small group of National Academy of Sciences and National Research Council functionaries, who have a personal interest in playing an important role in government, it's an insupportable moral burden for a member of the Academy. Surely, it is a first rule of life that those who are responsible must be allowed to know what it is they are responsible for. And the gravity of the research performed, insofar as it affects the life and death of thousands and millions of people, many of whom are the unwilling victims of American national self-interest, simply makes the moral problem a whole lot more severe.

To understand how the Academy operates and how it succeeds in co-opting scientists into government service, partly unknowingly, you really must look back at the history of the Academy. It was founded by Abraham Lincoln to advise the federal government, on the request of any agency, on scientific and technical issues. For the press and the Congress and other segments of the non-professional public, the element of unbiased scientific advisors to the government receives almost exclusive play by the public relations organs of the National Assembly. Indeed, from its functional description, one would get the impression that the Academy is simply a government agency like the National Bureau of Standards or the Presidential Scientific Advisory Committee, maybe a branch of the Office of Science and Technology. But there is a crucial difference. The Academy is not a government bureaucracy of hired state functionaries. It is an Academy, that is, it's a club whose membership is restricted to those elected by the club itself. Moreover, it is a very exclusive club—on a per capita basis, the most exclusive scientific club in the world. It has about 150 members from a scientific population of 300,000. It is this exclusive and elitist aspect which is the face shown to the scientific community. Membership in the Academy is held out as the prestige goal to be aspired to by every scientist. Nor is prestige the only reward; for with such eminence comes salary increases, unlimited professional mobility, entrepreneurial rewards and great political power in academic and professional life. Thus it is a powerful tool in professionalization and its members serve as models to be emulated. Thus the Academy serves a double function related to its dual character as an institution. By emphasizing prestige and exclusivity to the scientific community,

it's a professionalizing instrument. At the same time, it's a mechanism for co-opting the profession into government service by linking the prestige of membership with the claimed responsibility to respond to government initiatives on scientific and technical questions.

During World War I, it became obvious the membership of the Academy was incapable of bearing the load of responsibility to the huge amount and variety of scientific and technical advice needed by the government in the 20th century. First of all, the Academy was too small and its members busy with their other professional affairs, and second, many of its members were already too old to do active scientific work. Several alternatives were possible. Membership could have been drastically enlarged and packed with younger, more active people, or a separate government agency like the NIH could have been created with a full-time bureaucratized staff. But either of these would have destroyed the central synthesis of independent prestige and unquestioning service to the State. Instead, Woodrow Wilson, on the advice of the Academy, set up the National Research Council, a body of full-time functionaries and part-time expert advisors and committee members, drawn from academic and industrial ranks, but all serving under the direct responsibility of the National Academy of Sciences. The National Research Council is referred to in all documents as the "operating arm" of the Academy and in fact the two are usually linked as in the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council. This device explicitly completes the union of prestige and practice, for no member of the Academy need himself or herself actually engage in government business. It was explained to me in a letter from the president of the Academy, Philip Handler, that the National Research Council "... simply uses the prestige of the Academy to recruit members of its committees and working groups."

How does this system actually operate? First, the membership of the Academy at large does little else but elect new members and write obituaries of dead ones. Second, there is an inner Academy, consisting of the officers; members of the council and some of their friends, who carry on the real business. Partly from the structure of the by-laws and partly from the lassitude of the membership at large, the council and officers are a self-perpetuating group of younger, more aggressive and politically active members. Of 16 members in the council in 1971, when I was still in the Academy, 12 were administrators of one kind or another, ranging from vice-presidents of AT&T and IBM to several academic department chairmen and institute directors. This in-

ner Academy usually handles dissidence by squashing, if they can, or co-opting, if they have to. The council can also interfere in the election of Academy members by inserting several nominees of their own in the last stages of the election. This enables them to reward faithful servants of the Academy or the profession or the State, or to punish dissidents and not let them get into the Academy, as they did when an ecologist was denied membership because his public statements on air pollution ran counter to the president of the Academy's own line.

There are interesting lines of relationship between the inner Academy and the other academic and national political scenes. A previous president of the Academy, Detlev Bronk, stepped down to become the first president of Rockefeller University. He was the chairman of the search committee that found himself. The next president of the Academy, Frederick Seitz, was chairman of the search committee that found him. At the time I resigned, the president of the Academy, Philip Handler, was the head of the National Science Board that ran the National Science Foundation and was the other leading candidate for the presidency of Rockefeller University. The then vice-president, George Kistiakowsky, was chairman of the Presidential Scientific Advisory Committee under Eisenhower, and together with a council member, Paul Doty, was a member of the self-appointed Cambridge Disarmament Group, that had an inside track to the White House since Doty was a buddy of Henry Kissinger.

The inner Academy sometimes takes on the role of enforcer of territorial rights, when it looks as if poaching is going on. When I arrived at the Academy's marbled palace in 1969, I found Handler and a number of my professional acquaintances climbing into a long black limousine. This was the inner Academy, as it turned out, on their way to the White House to castigate Nixon for his interference in the appointment of Franklin Long as director of the National Science Foundation, because Long had opposed the anti-ballistic missile system. It was not that the Academy also opposed the ABM necessarily, but that they were angry that their symbolic right to name the head of the National Science Foundation had been trod upon by Nixon. These symbolic rights are extremely important rewards for them in return for their service to the State.

It is through its overseeing of the National Research Council that the inner Academy does its most direct service posed by a government agency, including military ones, provided that the Research Council thinks it has the competence. The questions of the use to which this

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Black Reporter Arrested, Shot by Philly Pigs

The events surrounding an alleged shootout between a Philadelphia cop and two Black men on the morning of December 9 continue to remain a tangle of attempted cover-up, contradictory stories and outright lies from the mouths of the pigs. What is clear, though, is that Mumia Abu-Jamal, an award-winning radio journalist, is recovering from a bullet wound in the chest and is charged with the murder of cop Daniel Faulkner. He is presently being held without bail. Mumia's brother, William Cook, is charged with aggravated and simple assault and resisting arrest. Originally he was held for ransom on \$150,000 bail. This was later reduced to \$10,000 and he was released when it was met.

Mumia is well known to Philly police and particularly its political police squad. During his high school days he was a spokesperson for the Black Panther Party and was suspended from school for distributing their literature. He later went to work at the Temple University radio station, WRTI. He also worked for two years for station WUHY, the local public radio station, where he covered, among other things, the trial of the MOVE organization. Readers will recall that MOVE members were recently sentenced to 30-100 years after being framed for the murder of a cop after 500 pigs attacked their house in 1978. It was common knowledge that the cop was gunned down in a crossfire by his own flat-snouted colleagues. During the trial Mumia began wearing his hair styled in dreadlocks (as MOVE members do) and was immediately called on the carpet at WUHY and grilled about his "objectivity" as a reporter. He was forced to leave the station in

March of this year. Most recently Mumia had been working as a free-lance journalist for WDAS, a Philly affiliate of the National Black Network, and was also contributing occasional articles to the *Philadelphia Tribune*, the most widely read Black newspaper in the city.

That Mumia Abu-Jamal's being charged with murder has everything to do with his political stands and activities is further demonstrated by the numerous and contradictory lies that the police have funneled through the bourgeois media "explaining" exactly what went down that morning. Cop Daniel Faulkner pulled over William Cook's Volkswagen. That, so far, is the only undisputed fact in the whole case. The stories from the police changed like traffic lights in the preceding days. First, the story went, Faulkner was shot in the face by the driver as he approached the car. In this version Mumia was picked up as a witness but later identified by other witnesses as the one who shot Faulkner. The big hole in this one was that Mumia wound up in critical condition with a bullet in the chest. The next story ran something like this: Mumia, seeing his brother being stopped by a cop who was beating him, pulled a gun and ran towards the scene firing away. A bullet struck Faulkner in the back, but as he was going down he returned fire, wounding Mumia. Mumia, critically wounded, then walked over to the now prone Faulkner and fired another shot into his face. When back-up units arrived they reported that Mumia was sitting on the curb with his gun nearby. Interestingly, ballistic tests on Mumia's gun and the bullet that killed Faulkner have proved inconclusive. Now it seems that Philly police higher-ups have retracted

all their previous statements about the incident pending an "official investigation" — or, in other words, until they get their shit together. It should also be pointed out that there have been no results released on the bullet that was removed from Mumia's chest — a fact that lends much weight to one witness's story (that failed to make it in any of the bourgeois papers) that Mumia was just fine when he was arrested at the scene and must have been shot while in custody. It is little wonder that Mumia refused to undergo surgery for a period of time, obviously fearing that the pigs would finish their so-far-unsuccessful assassination attempt.

Of course, the "official" media in Philly and elsewhere didn't limit itself to running the Police Department's tapes in their newspapers and on the airwaves. Failing in listing Mumia in their obituary column they turned full phalanx upon his career as a journalist in an unbridled attempt to discredit him and to issue a warning to others like him who take progressive and revolutionary stands. In particular, this took the form of attacking him for not being an "objective" reporter (read: a good little boy who toed their line and spouted it unquestioningly). Nick Peters, the news director at WUHY and Mumia's boss, was quoted as saying, "He (Mumia) had difficulty with the line between reportage and advocacy. It became very clear that he would be more comfortable being an advocate" (in other words, fired from his job). After all, there is only room at places like WUHY for those who advocate what the bourgeoisie wants them to advocate and report what they want them to report. Another columnist remarked that when she first saw Mumia

in the City Hall press room, she couldn't believe that he was a reporter. After all, he was wearing dreadlocks and distributing the MOVE newspaper *First Day* to other reporters covering the trial. She ended her column gloating that Mumia would never work there again. The press even dragged out his old high school principal to recall how Black Panther Mumia had gotten himself suspended. It became immediately apparent that this multipronged attack was not an isolated incident nor simply the work of a few deranged pigs. They were out to nail Mumia because of his revolutionary stands and his broad political influence through the media. And this whole case is right in line with the imperialists' overall offensive on revolutionary Black nationalists that has intensified with the recent Grand Jury hearings in New York.

Response to this blatant and obviously planned attack was swift. The very same night of the shooting, as word spread that Mumia was being held without bail and charged with murdering a pig, over 300 people gathered to form a defense committee. Widespread outrage brought together members of the Association of Black Journalists (of which Mumia is the outgoing president), students from Temple University's Pan-African Department, a number of revolutionary nationalists and other activists in the community. As we go to press, Mumia remains in serious condition, refusing to undergo certain aspects of the hospital treatment. The *RW* will continue reporting on events as they develop. □

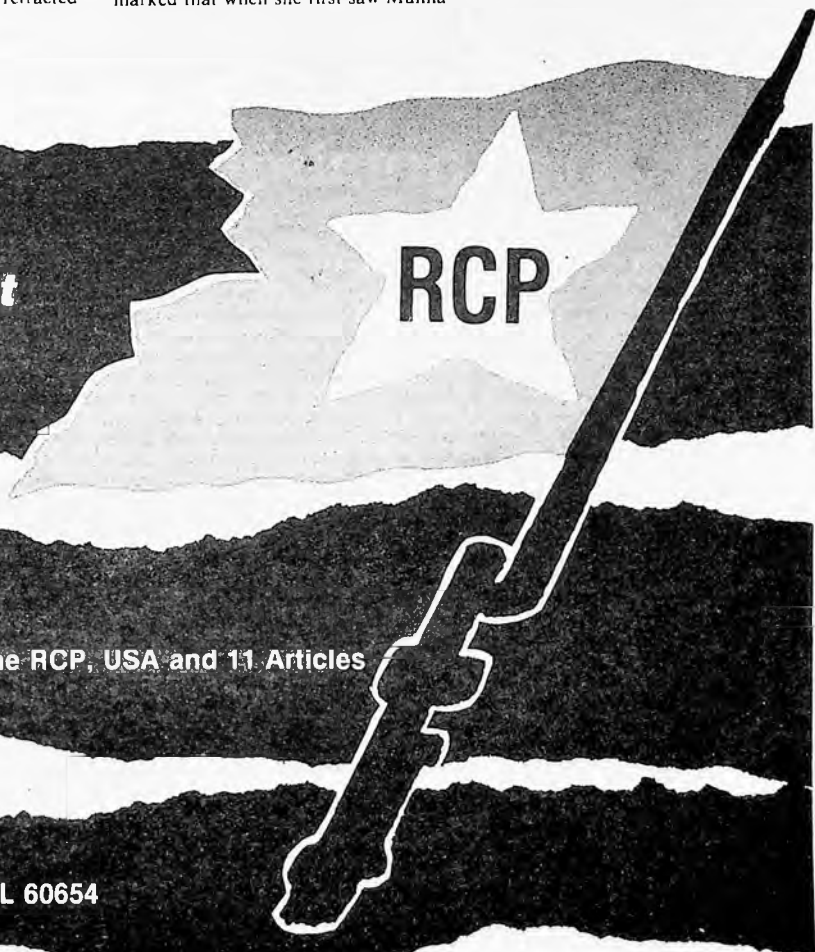
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Lessons of the Moscow Uprising

V.I. Lenin

The events in Poland pose questions on many fronts. The following essay by Lenin speaks on one of them. Lenin wrote this in 1906, after the defeat of the Moscow uprising of December 1905, but still in the midst of the 1905 Revolution. This revolution served, as Lenin later put it, as a "dress rehearsal" for the revolution of 1917. Here he speaks to the lessons—and shortcomings—in the work of the vanguard party in leading the armed uprising of Moscow.



Painting depicts the barricades in Moscow during the 1905 Revolution, heroically erected and defended by revolutionary workers of the Krasnaya Presnya district in December, which came to be known as the December uprising.

The publication of the book *Moscow in December 1905* (Moscow, 1906) could not have been more timely. It is an urgent task of the workers' party to assimilate the lessons of the December uprising. Unfortunately, this book is like a barrel of honey spoilt by a spoonful of tar: most interesting material — despite its incompleteness — and incredibly slovenly, incredibly trite conclusions. We shall deal with these conclusions on another occasion; at present we shall turn our attention to the burning political question of the day, to the lessons of the Moscow uprising.

The principal forms of the December movement in Moscow were the peaceful strike and demonstrations, and these were the only forms of struggle in which the vast majority of the workers took an active part. Yet, the December action in Moscow vividly demonstrated that the general strike, as an independent and predominant form of struggle, is out of date, that the movement is breaking out of these narrow bounds with elemental and irresistible force and giving rise to the highest form of struggle — an uprising.

In calling the strike, all the revolutionary parties, all the Moscow unions recognised and even intuitively felt that it must inevitably grow into an uprising. On December 6 the Soviet of Workers' Deputies resolved to "strive to transform the strike into an armed uprising". As a matter of fact, however, none of the organisations were prepared for this. Even the Joint Council of Volunteer Fighting Squads spoke (on December 9!) of an uprising as of something remote, and it is quite evident that it had no hand in or control of the street fighting that took place.

The organisations failed to keep pace with the growth and range of the movement.

The strike was growing into an uprising, primarily as a result of the pressure of the objective conditions created after October. A general strike could no longer take the government unawares: it had already organised the forces of counter-revolution, and they were ready for military action. The whole course of the Russian revolution after October, and the sequence of events in Moscow in the December days, strikingly confirmed one of Marx's profound propositions: revolution progresses by giving rise to a strong and united counter-revolution, i.e., it compels the enemy to resort to more and more extreme measures of defence and in this way devises ever more powerful means of attack.

December 7 and 8: a peaceful strike, peaceful mass demonstrations. Evening of the 8th: the siege of the Aquarium.³ The morning of the 9th: the crowd in Strastnaya Square is attacked by the dragoons. Evening: the Fiedler building⁴ is raided. Temper rises. The unorganised street crowds, quite spontaneously and hesitatingly, set up the first barricades.

The 10th: artillery fire is opened on the barricades and the crowds in the streets. Barricades are set up more deliberately, and no longer in isolated cases, but on a really mass scale. The whole population is in the streets; all the main centres of the city are covered by a net-

work of barricades. For several days the volunteer fighting units wage a stubborn guerrilla battle against the troops, which exhausts the troops and compels Dubasov⁵ to beg for reinforcements. Only on December 15 did the superiority of the government forces become complete, and on December 17 the Semyonovsky Regiment crushed Presnya District, the last stronghold of the uprising.

From a strike and demonstrations to isolated barricades. From isolated barricades to the mass erection of barricades and street fighting against the troops. Over the heads of the organisations, the mass proletarian struggle developed from a strike to an uprising. This is the greatest historic gain the Russian revolution achieved in December 1905; and like all preceding gains it was purchased at the price of enormous sacrifices. The movement was raised from a general political strike to a higher stage. It compelled the reaction to go to the limit in its resistance, and so brought vastly nearer the moment when the revolution will also go to the limit in applying the means of attack. The reaction cannot go further than the shelling of barricades, buildings and crowds. But the revolution can go very much further than the Moscow volunteer fighting units, it can go very, very much further in breadth and depth. And the revolution has advanced far since December. The base of the revolutionary crisis has become immeasurably broader — the blade must now be sharpened to a keener edge.

The proletariat sensed sooner than its leaders the change in the objective conditions of the struggle and the need for a transition from the strike to an uprising. As is always the case, practice marched ahead of theory. A peaceful strike and

demonstrations immediately ceased to satisfy the workers; they asked: What is to be done next? And they demanded more resolute action. The instructions to set up barricades reached the districts exceedingly late, when barricades were already being erected in the centre of the city. The workers set to work in large numbers, but even this did not satisfy them; they wanted to know: what is to be done next? — they demanded active measures. In December, we, the leaders of the Social-Democratic proletariat, were like a commander-in-chief who has deployed his troops in such an absurd way that most of them took no active part in the battle. The masses of the workers demanded, but failed to receive, instructions for resolute mass action.

Thus, nothing could be more shortsighted than Plekhanov's⁶ view, seized upon by all the opportunists, that the strike was untimely and should not have been started, and that "they should not have taken to arms". On the contrary, we should have taken to arms more resolutely, energetically and aggressively; we should have explained to the masses that it was impossible to confine things to a peaceful strike and that a fearless and relentless armed fight was necessary. And now we must at last openly and publicly admit that political strikes are inadequate; we must carry on the widest agitation among the masses in favour of an armed uprising and make no attempt to obscure this question by talk about "preliminary stages", or to befog it in any way. We would be deceiving both ourselves and the people if we concealed from the masses the necessity of a desperate, bloody war of extermination, as the immediate task of the coming revolutionary action.

Such is the first lesson of the December events. Another lesson concerns the character of the uprising, the methods by which it is conducted, and the conditions which lead to the troops coming over to the side of the people. An extremely biased view on this latter point prevails in the Right wing of our Party. It is alleged that there is no possibility of fighting modern troops; the troops must become revolutionary. Of course, unless the revolution assumes a mass character and affects the troops, there can be no question of serious struggle. That we must work among the troops goes without saying. But we must not imagine that they will come over to our side at one stroke, as a result of persuasion or their own convictions. The Moscow uprising clearly demonstrated how stereotyped and lifeless this view is. As a matter of fact, the wavering of the troops, which is inevitable in every truly popular movement, leads to a real fight for the troops whenever the revolutionary struggle becomes acute. The Moscow uprising was precisely an example of the desperate, frantic struggle for the troops that takes place between the reaction and the revolution. Dubasov himself declared that of the fifteen thousand men of the Moscow garrison, only five thousand were reliable. The government restrained the waverers by the most diverse and desperate measures: they appealed to them, flattered them, bribed them, presented them with watches, money, etc.; they doped them with vodka, they lied to them, threatened them, confined them to barracks and disarmed them, and those who were suspected of being least reliable were removed by treachery and violence. And we must have the courage to confess, openly and unreservedly, that in this respect we lagged behind the government. We failed

to utilise the forces at our disposal for such an active, bold, resourceful and aggressive fight for the wavering troops as that which the government waged and won. We have carried on work in the army and we will redouble our efforts in the future ideologically to "win over" the troops. But we shall prove to be miserable pedants if we forget that at a time of uprising there must also be a physical struggle for the troops.

In the December days, the Moscow proletariat taught us magnificent lessons in ideologically "winning over" the troops, as, for example, on December 8 in Strastnaya Square, when the crowd surrounded the Cossacks, mingled and fraternised with them, and persuaded them to turn back. Or on December 10, in Presnya District, when two working girls, carrying a red flag in a crowd of 10,000 people, rushed out to meet the Cossacks crying: "Kill us! We will not surrender the flag alive!" And the Cossacks were disconcerted and galloped away, amidst the shouts from the crowd: "Hurrah for the Cossacks!" These examples of courage and heroism should be impressed forever on the mind of the proletariat.

But here are examples of how we lagged behind Dubasov. On December 9, soldiers were marching down Bolshaya Serpukhovskaya Street singing the *Marseillaise*, on their way to join the insurgents. The workers' sent delegates to meet them. Malakhov⁷ himself galloped at breakneck speed towards them. The workers were too late, Malakhov reached them first. He delivered a passionate speech, caused the soldiers to waver, surrounded them with dragoons, marched them off to barracks and locked them in. Malakhov reached the soldiers in time and we did not, although within two days 150,000 people had

risen at our call, and these could and should have organised the patrolling of the streets. Malakhov surrounded the soldiers with dragoons, whereas we failed to surround the Malakhovs with bomb-throwers. We could and should have done this; and long ago the Social-Democratic press (the old *Iskra*⁸) pointed out that ruthless extermination of civil and military chiefs was our duty during an uprising. What took place in Bolshaya Serpukhovskaya Street was apparently repeated in its main features in front of the Nesvizhskiy Barracks and the Kruititskiye Barracks, and also when the workers attempted to "withdraw" the Ekaterinoslav Regiment, and when delegates were sent to the sappers in Alexandrov, and when the Rostov artillery on its way to Moscow was turned back, and when the sappers were disarmed in Kolonna, and so on. During the uprising we proved unequal to our task in the fight for the wavering troops.

The December events confirmed another of Marx's profound propositions, namely, that insurrection is an art and that the principal rule of this art is the waging of a desperately bold and irrevocably determined offensive. We have not sufficiently assimilated this truth. We ourselves have not sufficiently learned, nor have we taught the masses, this art; this rule to attack at all costs. We must make up for this omission with all our energy. It is not enough to take sides on the question of political slogans; it is also necessary to take sides on the question of an armed uprising. Those who are opposed to it, those who

do not prepare for it, must be ruthlessly dismissed from the ranks of the supporters of the revolution, sent packing to its enemies, to the traitors or cowards; for the day is approaching when the force of events and the conditions of the struggle will compel us to distinguish between enemies and friends according to this principle. It is not passivity that we should preach, not mere "waiting" until the troops "come over". No! We must proclaim from the housetops the need for a bold offensive and armed attack, the necessity at such times of exterminating the persons in command of the enemy, and of a most energetic fight for the wavering troops.

The third great lesson taught by Moscow concerns the tactics and organisation of the forces for an uprising. Military tactics depend on the level of military technique. This plain truth Engels demonstrated and brought home to all Marxists. Military technique today is not what it was in the middle of the nineteenth century. It would be folly to contend against artillery in crowds and defend barricades with revolvers. Kautsky⁹ was right when he wrote that it is high time now, after Moscow, to review Engels' conclusions, and that Moscow had

Continued on page 12

1. See article "Hands Off!" in V.I. Lenin's *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, p. 189.

2. This was an organization formed in October 1905 to coordinate struggle against the "Black Hundreds" reactionary gangs.

3. Soldiers and police surrounded the "Aquarium" garden where a large meeting was taking place. Many participants were beaten or arrested.

4. While a meeting was being held at the Fiedler school building on December 9, 1905, it was surrounded by troops. Those inside refused to surrender and the troops opened fire with artillery and machine guns, killing or wounding 30 persons.

5. F.V. Dubasov was the Governor-General of Moscow in 1905-6, and directed the fight against the December 1905 uprising in Moscow.

6. G.V. Plekhanov founded the first Russian Marxist group, the Emancipation of Labor group, but did not develop in accordance with the needs of revolutionary politics and became a representative of the sort of opportunism illustrated here.

7. N.N. Malakhov was Commander in Chief of the Moscow Military Area.

8. *Iskra* (The Spark) had been founded by Lenin in 1900. After the split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in 1903, the newspaper came under the control of the Mensheviks and became known as the "new" *Iskra* in contrast to the "old" *Iskra* under Lenin.

9. Karl Kautsky was the major theoretician of the Second International. By 1914 he had clearly become a renegade and opposed the strategy of revolutionary defeatism in the face of inter-imperialist war. In 1906 he was still of some value to the international proletariat.

2 Years for Spray Painting!

Two years in the Texas State Penitentiary at Huntsville. The crime? Spray-painting. Spray-painting the slogan, "Red, White and Blue, We Spit On You/Raise the Red Flag, May Day," on the marble facade of the giant Exxon Building in Houston. The whole case—from the bogus arrest, through the trial and up to the sentencing—fairly dripped with venom as the rulers lashed out, attempting a blatantly political jailing of an activist and RCP supporter arrested on May Day '81 in Houston. Their case, as raggedy as it was overtly political, ran something like this: That's an RCP May Day slogan on our building and we're gonna bust someone around the RCP.

Of course the whole deal had to be made to appear all nice and legal-like, you know, with witnesses and a few flimsy, legal trappings. After all, as we have heard day-in and day-out with the proper tone of sanctimonious shock, people are being jailed in Poland for writing Solidarity slogans on the walls! It's great that we live in a country where at least you get a formal trial. The state called exactly two witnesses to help them prop up an already perforated case. One was the manager of the Exxon Building who testified that the cleaning bill was \$549.23. (Any damages over \$200 automatically puts the crime in the felony category.) With the charge "felonious criminal mischief" in place their "eyewitness" was all that was required.

The prosecution produced a supposed witness to the "crime"—who was obviously coached by the local political police. He testified that he was driving his cab past the Exxon Building on the night of April 28 at around 2 a.m. and

saw a woman (the defendant) spray-painting a slogan on the building. Supposedly, the woman saw Bob drive up in his cab, watched him for a minute and then proceeded to finish spray-painting. Then, Bob says, she asked him for a ride but he refused. "I saw what was up there, it sunk in and I really didn't like it," he told the court. According to Bob she placed the spray-paint can on the sidewalk next to the building and that's when he tried his citizen's arrest. Then, a security guard driving by saw Bob Price go after this woman and thought it was a robbery or rape in progress and jumped from his car and ran to intervene. While they scuffled a team of Houston arson investigators (acting on an anonymous tip they explained later) arrived just as some Exxon security guards were coming to investigate the noise outside. The arson boys drew their guns and took out after the guards, breaking through the plate glass doors in their zeal. The security guards hid in the building and called the cops. Soon there were over a dozen pigs of various persuasions on the spot, but the woman who had allegedly done the spray-painting was gone.

The next day, April 29, Morris Quasp was assigned to the spray-painting case. Quasp is a cop on the notorious Criminal Investigation Division, more popularly known as Houston's Red Squad. His first task on the case was to talk to Bob Price. This talk amounted to a session of rather poor coaching by Quasp as to who Price should identify from the 120 or so photos taken from the files of Houston's political police. As Quasp was to testify, after being brought to the stand by the defense in an effort to thoroughly expose the open political prosecution going on here: "I had first seen this woman (the defendant) in 1977 and on numerous occasions following that." In other words, the choice about just who connected to the RCP was going to be the defendant in

this case had already been made. In fact, the photos Quasp used as visual aids for Price contained both Iranian students wearing masks and a number of individuals identified with "RCP" next to their pictures. Featured prominently in the selection were a number of pictures of the defendant. Significantly, the defendant was arrested 3 days after the alleged spray-painting, on *May First*, near a high school that had been the scene of May Day arrests earlier in the day. Of course the minor discrepancy between Price's description given to police the night of the incident at the Exxon Building and the defendant (they were nowhere similar) was completely ignored, as per the prosecution's script.

Other pieces of information that didn't match the state's railroad attempts also went by the boards during the trial. The spray-paint can, a seemingly noteworthy piece of evidence, was never produced. And the guard who stopped to aid a woman being attacked by Bob Price turned up fired from his job and nowhere to be found. Undoubtedly his story about that night would've differed a bit from the one that Quasp and Price teamed up on. And the fact that the defendant was home with her two children asleep that night also didn't matter. Such minor details were not very important to the authorities since they were staging a political trial here and the existence of the slogan and the files of the political police were considered quite sufficient evidence for a conviction. They were out to nail the RCP, its supporters and May Day; they were counting on the good citizens on the jury to understand that this was what the trial was all about and to swallow every star-spangled fabrication that was spewed out by the frenzied bourgeoisie. After all, as the D.A. fumed, making clear just what the actual terms of this case was: "This is not a case of school boys painting 'Class of '81... I'm offended. This slogan about spitting on the red, white and blue insults our country, our flag!'"

The whole trial, as brief as it was, became an orgy of reaction. When the defendant was cross-examined by the prosecution the first question she was asked was: "Have you worn any pins

(political buttons—*RW*) to court lately? Chiang Ching? Isn't she one of the Gang of Four, some communist in China?" The line of attack by the state was that crude: this woman's a communist, she's in our files, so she must be guilty of this terrible crime. Then, picking up on the sneering racist attitude of one of Houston's swineest who was being quizzed by the defense lawyer, who is Black, the judge, the D.A. and the bailiff began mocking the lawyer. A number of loyal citizens on the jury snickered.

When the guilty verdict came down and the sentence was read, Morris Quasp led six of his boys from CID from the courtroom singing a rendition of "She's a Jailbird, She's a Jailbird." Quasp even spent the next day making his presence felt at the restaurant where the defendant, out on appeal bond, works, in an attempt to remind both her and the people from the restaurant who came to testify as character witnesses that he and his leash-holders in the ruling class were still on the case.

The case is currently under appeal. A number of lawyers and other progressive people, enraged at this rabid political persecution, are already making plans to continue to expose what went down as part of preparing for the next round in this case. Solidarity statements have also come in in response to the verdict and the sentencing. One, from the Maximum Security wing of the State Prison at Huntsville, reveals not only the outrage of many at this blatant political attack but also that people are drawing the appropriate lessons from it as the battle continues. It reads:

"You were found guilty and sentenced to prison for expressing your views and beliefs. It is hard to believe that you were tried and convicted for such a minor crime and dealt such a heavy penalty when the charge itself did not constitute a prison sentence. However, you and I know that it was not the crime that led to your conviction, but rather your political views are what really got you persecuted and put in chains. They claimed you defaced a building with anti-establishment slogans, but if the slogans had been 'pro' instead of 'anti', you wouldn't have been arrested and dragged into court like you were, you would have gotten a medal for being patriotic. In this case it is the group that owns and controls such companies as Exxon who are the real criminals." □

Lessons of the Moscow Uprising

Continued from page 11

inaugurated "new barricade tactics".¹⁰ These tactics are the tactics of guerrilla warfare. The organization required for such tactics is that of mobile and exceedingly small units, units of ten, three or even two persons. We often meet Social-Democrats now who scoff whenever units of five or three are mentioned. But scoffing is only a cheap way of ignoring the new questions of tactics and organization raised by street fighting under the conditions imposed by modern military technique. Study carefully the story of the Moscow uprising, gentlemen, and you will understand what connection exists between "units of five" and the question of "new barricade tactics".

Moscow advanced these tactics, but failed to develop them far enough, to apply them to any considerable extent, to a really mass extent. There were too few volunteer fighting squads, the slogan of bold attack was not issued to the masses of the workers and they did not apply it; the guerrilla detachments were too uniform in character, their arms and methods were inadequate, their ability to lead the crowd was almost undeveloped. We must make up for all this and we shall do so by learning from the experience of Moscow, by spreading this experience among the

masses and by stimulating their creative efforts to develop it still further. And the guerrilla warfare and mass terror that have been taking place throughout Russia practically without a break since December, will undoubtedly help the masses to learn the correct tactics of an uprising. Social-Democracy must recognize this mass terror and incorporate it into its tactics, organizing and controlling it of course, subordinating it to the interests and conditions of the working-class movement and the general revolutionary struggle, while eliminating and ruthlessly lopping off the "hooligan" perversion of this guerrilla warfare which was so splendidly and ruthlessly dealt with by our Moscow comrades during the uprising and by the Letts during the days of the famous Lettish republics.¹¹

There have been new advances in military technique in the very recent period. The Japanese War¹² produced the hand

11. In December 1905 various Lettish towns were seized by armed detachments of insurgent workers and peasants. Guerrilla war against the tsarist troops began. In January, 1906 the uprising in Latvia was suppressed by punitive expeditions under tsarist generals.
12. An inter-imperialist war between Russia and Japan which lasted from February, 1904 through August, 1905. Japan's victory in this war was one major factor in the development of a revolutionary situation in Russia which burst forth in the 1905 revolution.

grenade. The small-arms factories have placed automatic rifles on the market. Both these weapons are already being successfully used in the Russian revolution, but to a degree that is far from adequate. We can and must take advantage of improvements in technique, teach the workers' detachments to make bombs in large quantities, help them and our fighting squads to obtain supplies of explosives, fuses and automatic rifles. If the mass of the workers takes part in uprisings in the towns, if mass attacks are launched on the enemy, if a determined and skilful fight is waged for the troops, who after the Duma, after Sveaborg and Kronstadt¹³ are wavering more than ever — and if we ensure participation of the rural areas in the general struggle — victory will be ours in the next all-Russian armed uprising.

Let us, then, develop our work more extensively and set our tasks more boldly, while mastering the lessons of the great days of the Russian revolution. The basis of our work is a correct estimate of class interests and of the requirements of the nation's development at the present juncture. We are rallying, and shall continue to rally, an increasing section of the proletariat, the peasantry and the army under the slogan of overthrowing the tsarist regime and convening a constituent assembly by a revolu-

tionary government. As hitherto, the basis and chief content of our work is to develop the political understanding of the masses. But let us not forget that, in addition to this general, constant and fundamental task, times like the present in Russia impose other, particular and special tasks. Let us not become pedants and philistines, let us not evade these special tasks of the moment, these special tasks of the given forms of struggle, by meaningless references to our permanent duties, which remain unchanged at all times and in all circumstances.

Let us remember that a great mass struggle is approaching. It will be an armed uprising. It must, as far as possible, be simultaneous. The masses must know that they are entering upon an armed, bloody and desperate struggle. Contempt for death must become widespread among them and will ensure victory. The onslaught on the enemy must be pressed with the greatest vigour; attack, not defence, must be the slogan of the masses; the ruthless extermination of the enemy will be their task; the organization of the struggle will become mobile and flexible; the wavering elements among the troops will be drawn into active participation. And in this momentous struggle, the party of the class-conscious proletariat must discharge its duty to the full. □

10. Lenin deals with this in more detail in "The Russian Revolution and the Tasks of the Proletariat", *CW* Vol. 10, p. 141.

13. Two revolutionary uprisings of soldiers and sailors in mid-1906, both of which were put down by the tsarist government.

Peltier Relentlessly Hounded

On January 12, Leonard Peltier will be in a Federal Court in Los Angeles as the government appeals an earlier court decision overturning Peltier's conviction for his 1979 escape from Lompoc Federal Prison in 1979. Many American Indian Movement activists and others from around the country will also converge in Los Angeles to build support for Peltier and further bring into view longstanding U.S. government plans to "neutralize" him, which, beyond attempting to keep him in jail the rest of his life on framed-up charges, include attempts to outright murder him. Part of this exposure has begun with the publicizing by Peltier's supporters of some of the new evidence uncovered in over 12,000 pages of FBI documents detailing many aspects of the COINTELPRO-style attack on AIM and Peltier. The documents, in part obtained through the Freedom of Information Act, relate directly to Peltier's original frame-up.

These documents show that after the deaths of two FBI agents during a fire-fight with Native Americans in 1975 — the FBI, Federal Marshalls, SWAT teams and BIA goons had organized an assault on a spiritual encampment on the Pine Ridge Reservation in which an Indian, Joe Stuntz, was also killed — the FBI began a nationwide campaign to portray Peltier and AIM as "terrorist" and, among other things, called for compiling extensive reports on all Native Americans who had military training in the U.S. Armed Services.

Beyond this the documents provide a glimpse of how the government fabricated all the evidence it used to convict Peltier for the death of the two agents. One such piece of evidence was a shell casing found at the scene of the shoot-out which government experts testified was fired from an AR15 rifle they associated with Peltier. The FBI expert testified at Peltier's trial that he was not able to do the normal test of comparing markings made by the firing pin of the rifle and the casing found at the scene with the markings made on the casing of a bullet fired by the expert himself from the same rifle because a firing pin had been damaged. So the expert used the less conclusive test of comparing markings made by the rifle's extractor. From this he concluded the AR15 they associated with Peltier was used in the killing of the agents. The new documents, however, reveal that in fact the firing pin test was successfully conducted and that it proved that the casing found at the scene could not have been fired from the rifle they said was Peltier's. None of this had been revealed to the defense because it would have destroyed probably the most important piece of evidence the

government used against Peltier.

The documents show the government manufacturing of evidence, the coercing of witnesses to testify against Peltier, the suppressing of evidence that could prove Peltier's innocence, and on and on. When the first coroner's report on the FBI agents didn't match the FBI's story of how the shooting went down, the FBI simply found a more suitable coroner — L.A.'s Thomas Noguchi — who did a second report more in line with the FBI's story and significantly contradicting the first report which was suppressed. The defense has learned of this only now, years after the trial, in which Peltier was sentenced to two consecutive life terms.

So the government's own documents expose the original frame-up of Peltier, and now prosecutors will try to have his escape conviction reinstated. The facts surrounding this case are well known. With Peltier behind bars on the murder convictions, a murder plot against him was hatched. Another prisoner, Standing Deer (Robert Wilson), was coerced into setting up Peltier for an assassination attempt. Instead, Standing Deer told Peltier of the plot and kept him informed of its progress. As Peltier learned that the murder was about to be attempted, he escaped from the prison at Lompoc with the aid of two other inmates. One of them, Dallas Thundershield, was shot in the back by authorities after he gave himself up. Bobby Gene Garcia, who was tried and convicted with Peltier for the escape, was himself murdered by the authorities in the federal prison at Terre Haute in December of 1980. A third person tried (and not convicted) for the escape, Roque Dueñas, recently turned up dead under very suspicious circumstances clearly implicating the authorities in the state of Washington.

In January 1980 Peltier's attorneys argued in a federal Appeals Court that his conviction (in July 1979) for escape should be overturned because Peltier was not allowed to present any evidence of the government's murder plot against him (fear of death is supposed to be a legal defense for an escape charge). The judge would not allow Standing Deer — who obviously had intimate knowledge of the plot — to testify about it. Every time the question of the government murder plot came up, the judge ruled it out of order. Peltier was convicted.

But while the escape conviction was overturned, this was done without challenging these blatant procedures and in a way laid the basis for yet another turnaround. A reversal of the reversal could well be in the works, since the upcoming hearing was ordered by the very same court which overturned the conviction

in the first place. The purpose of the January 12 hearing is to gather more information for this "reconsideration." And in the event that the reversal of the conviction is left standing, prosecutors have declared they will seek a new trial

on the escape charges.

Leonard Peltier remains an inspiring and defiant leader of the Native American struggle. The relentless hounding of this brother has at every turn only served to expose the rulers' hand even more. □

TEL SALVADOR!

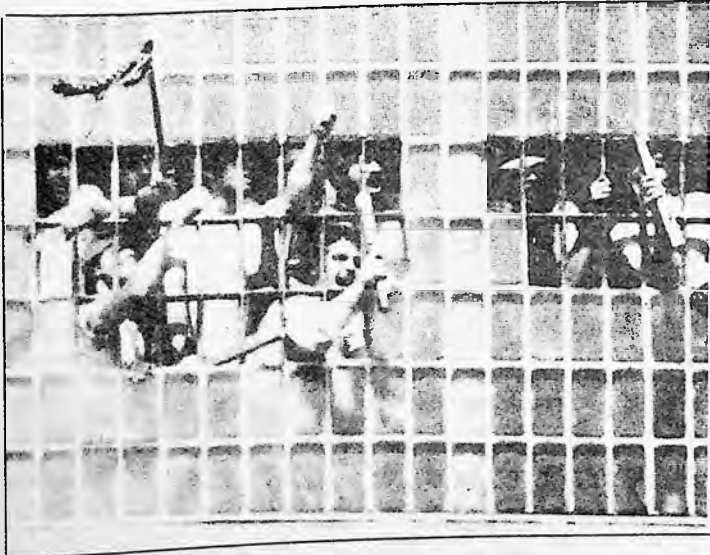
National Speaking Tour

THE PEOPLE
What are the tasks confronting the masses of El Salvador in their struggle for liberation?

IMPERIALISM
What is the U.S. doing there and why? The Soviets (and the Cubans)?

WAR AND REVOLUTION
How does all this relate to what's shaping up worldwide?

Tour will be in Texas during the week of Jan. 11. Nationally sponsored by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade. For more information write RCYB, Box A3836, Chicago, Illinois 60690



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

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

Sciences

Continued from page 9

knowledge is to be put or the policies of the government requesting the information, are considered to be irrelevant. Thus, the activities of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council are the classic examples of the artificial separation of technology from politics. That is the unshakable principle of academic science. However, the falseness of this doctrine is nowhere more obvious than in the activities of the Academy and the Research Council. The Research Council has among its standing committees, for example, one on undersea warfare and one on mine warfare. If the latter were asked for a feasibility study of mining Haiphong Harbor—for all I know or can know, it did such a study for the Vietnam War—it would have carried out such a study up to its limit of competence. But of course, mining Haiphong Harbor is not a political question since both Democratic and Republican administrations have made war on Indo-China.

In the social sciences, the same sort of thing went on. The Division of Behavioral Sciences of the National Research Council produced a report on the relationship between the Department of Defense and the social science communi-

ty. A good deal of that report was devoted to how the social science community can be organized better to serve the Department of Defense.

The range of services offered by the National Research Council to the government obviously implies that some work will be classified, maybe warkmaking reports, but it also may have to do with proprietary rights of private corporations. The consequence is that most members of the Academy are barred by law or by administrative processes from knowing what the various working groups of the National Research Council actually do. In many cases, even the title of the research is classified. At one meeting of the Academy, I was treated to the reading by Dr. Kistiakowsky of specially sanitized titles of projects like "The Summer Study On Aircraft Communications". Since the membership at large cannot know what's going on, who does? The council? There is no requirement for security clearance in election to the council. And some members are not likely to be cleared. One, for example, fought with the Republican forces in Spain. The president and vice-president of the Academy? Well, neither of those positions requires clearance but, incidentally, both incumbents when I was there were cleared to the highest levels since both were members of the Presidential Scientific Advisory Committee.

Obviously, the Academy cannot carry on its business unless some informal arrangements guarantee that the top of the inner Academy are of unquestioned and unquestionable patriotism and loyalty. As for the membership at large whatever their own politics, at the very least they must be willing to put their scientific prestige at the unquestioned disposal of the patriotic few at the top.

The particular issue of secret research is so deeply embedded in the nature of the National Academy that its resolution would require resolution of the fundamental contradiction implicit in such organizations. The coupling of the highest prestige with unquestioned service to the State is a scheme of legitimization of State service on the one hand, and on the other, a mechanism of co-opting into the established system, a professional group which because of its own elitist and intellectually rebellious tendencies contains some germs of dissidence and obstructionism. But for the Academy to refuse classified war work would destroy its legitimization scheme and alienate the government. It would affirm the political content of technological and scientific research because it would raise criteria other than scientific competence for the acceptability of research. More deeply, it could confirm that people will refuse to assent blindly to acts of which they have no

knowledge or over which they have no power.

On this last issue, there can be no compromise on either side. It really is an issue that is beyond reform. It is an issue around which a social revolution must be fought. Chemical and biological warfare, so-called conventional warfare, atomic warfare, all the means of destroying peoples' lives and their welfare, at this stage of history, depend on sophisticated scientific work. Scientists should realize that the State has organized a whole variety of seductive devices to get people into such technical work or at least to put their prestige behind it even when they are not doing it. In the United States, the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council is one of the chief instrumentalities of that seduction. It speaks with a tremendous voice of authority because it supposedly represents the most prestigious and accomplished of our scientists. To my opinion, scientists who continue to associate themselves with such an instrument, despite their knowledge of its activities, are as guilty as those who actually do the research and will eventually be called to account. An important step in struggling against imperial war making is to deny legitimacy to the institutions that support it. I can think of very few cases where it is clearer, that if you are not part of the solution, you are part of the problem. □

Kidnap

Continued from page 4

Are you coming to some kind of agreement? Are the Salvadorans going to talk to Ben Baker? Now, how could the judge have had any idea what they were discussing? ... Strange and sordid goings-on indeed, especially for such a "routine criminal case." To our knowledge the government doesn't usually resort to involved and elaborate methods like this in such routine matters. After all, kidnapping and witness tampering accompanied by open political threats is some pretty nasty business and as far as we know highly illegal even under their own laws.

After refusing the "offer," the Salvadorans returned the following day to testify, showing precisely why the government was trying so hard to get rid of them. They tore through numerous government fabrications regarding the case. They explained how the defendants had encouraged them to apply for political asylum, and that Carol Tsuji had gone with them to sign the necessary papers before they left for the speaking tour. They also went into some detail about the history of U.S. imperialism in El Salvador. Basically, these bothers —

who know the ruthless nature of this system so well, and who have taken the bold and significant step of going on the national speaking tour to begin with — told the U.S. government to shove it.

At the trial also, several witnesses are scheduled to testify for the defense, including Carol Tsuji, a Salvadoran immigrant who's spent time in the Miami, Oklahoma jail, an immigration attorney from Houston, and others. Particularly significant testimony has already been given by the Chairman of the Philosophy Dept. at Central State University in Ohio, who flew in specially to speak. The professor described the content of the El Salvador program at Central State in late October, how valuable he felt it had been to hear about the situation and struggle in El Salvador from people from that country, and described the interest in the tour at the school. He said that the substance of the speakers' views at the Central State program was that there had been political regimes in El Salvador for a long time that were not in the interests of the people there, and that the Salvadorans had told how neither the involvement of the U.S. nor of the Soviets was in the interests of the people. He also said that he first found out about the tour in September, thus putting the lie to the government's alle-

gation made at various times that the tour was a fabrication of the defendants after they were arrested. He said that four university departments had sponsored the tour, the university had granted the speakers an honorarium after the tour had been carefully investigated by them, and that 200 students had attended the program for three hours.

Suffering from what appeared to be a nagging case of political paranoia, Ben Baker fired off his first question in cross examination: "Are you a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade?"! (The RCYB is the national sponsor of the speaking tour.) Baker was obviously trying to paint a picture of some kind of communist conspiracy in the courtroom, with the broader implication that the RCYB and the RCP must be behind it. Apparently in his rage Mr. Baker completely overlooked the fact that it would be quite difficult for a professor to be a member of the RCYB since it is a communist organization for youth! The professor answered, "No," and went on to further talk about the importance of the tour and describe the content of the program at Central State, all of it damaging to the government's case on a number of counts.

Support around the country has stepped up in the past week as the battle has

come to a head. What's happened in Tulsa is indicative, as nuns, lawyers, law students, Black revolutionary nationalists, and youth have attended the trial, and people have even arrived in court with food they decided to bring because they were worried the defendants and lawyers might not have time to eat.

From these few examples it can be seen that the very fabric of the government's case and indeed the essential nature of their system of bourgeois dictatorship has been starkly revealed in many ways: through the government's own frantic maneuvers, as well as through the words and actions of the defendants, the Salvadorans, and the wide number of people who have come forward to defend them. The trial is expected to conclude on Friday, Jan. 8, and thus a verdict from the all-white jury in Tulsa is expected shortly. Particularly crucial now in carrying forward defense efforts is financial support. Contributions should be sent to: Salvadoran Tour Legal Defense, c/o RCYB, P.O. Box A3836, Chicago, IL 60690.

Also, the Salvadoran revolutionaries' speaking tour will be in Texas next week, before continuing to the West Coast and Hawaii. For more information on this, write RCYB, P.O. Box A3836, Chicago, IL 60690. □

U.S. Hit Teams

Continued from page 4

"mount violent challenges to legitimate governments in other countries" and "terrorize the innocent" one day, and the next day champion the efforts of the U.S. to overtly and covertly perpetrate counterrevolutionary violence around the world. To the worshippers at the altar of U.S. imperialism all this presents no contradiction — no reason to question their faith — for they have got religion and understand certain divine truths, namely, that anything that serves to strengthen and maintain the U.S. empire is good and anything which challenges it is bad.

Any religion has its formalities and rituals and this is true in the church of the red, white and blue as well. It is necessary for the priests to wave their hands around and chant a few things in order to sanctify their acts on behalf of the almighty, and so it is with the various officials in the U.S. hierarchy. In order to consecrate these counter-insurgency training programs and to allay the doubts and fears of the followers and others, they must be given the stamp of legality. The *Times* takes great pains to assure everyone that while there are certain legal problems involved here, both regarding U.S. law and certain international agreements, they are easily overcome. U.S. laws on the subject are, of course, vague enough or obscure enough to be easily gotten around. Ap-

parently there is some ancient Neutrality Act of 1794 which "forbids a military attack or a conspiracy to attack a nation with which the United States is not at war," but the reader is assured that this is both open to interpretation as well as being historically irrelevant anyway — and it certainly hasn't stopped the government in the past. In its December 24 article the *Times* says:

"Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy gave a narrow reading of the Neutrality Act, saying there had been no violation when Cuban exiles had gone from the United States to training camps in Central America before starting their invasion (the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba — *RW*) with American assistance.

"Mr. Kennedy also asserted that the neutrality laws 'were not designed for the kind of situation which exists in the world today'..."

Indeed, such laws, written well before the advent of U.S. imperialism, were not designed for nor do they have much use for the U.S. as imperialist superpower, and besides, according to Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas O. Enders, "As long as they (the camp trainees) don't hurt anybody and as long as they don't invade in a specific way," then they are not breaking the law. He continues, "If you attack a country, or assist in an attack on a country, or conspire to do this, all these things are ille-

gal." However, it is not illegal to have military exercises, guys running around the fields with guns, or to say, "Uncle Sam, we're ready when you're ready — wink, wink — and here we go."

So any students of U.S. government legal mumbo-jumbo can now rest assured that while there may be some debate on various fine points of the law, these U.S. hit men can go on training and winking and even carry out their appointed missions with the full and very legal blessings of their sponsors, and anyway guys, who really gives a damn about these formal niceties. As far as any international agreements, there are some UN resolutions and so on about plotting coups and stuff, but the U.S., as well as every other imperialist power, has to answer to a higher authority — their own necessities to plunder the world. After all the U.S. is even legally responsible to its own Organization of American States to take "all the measures that they may consider effective, under their own laws, to prevent and punish acts of terrorism." Those who are training in Miami are preparing precisely to "punish acts of terrorism" in Central America (that is, those which present a challenge to U.S. domination in the region), which is not only legal but right in line with the sacred mission of the empire.

We must thank the *New York Times* for its excellent lesson in the essence of bourgeois laws and most especially for letting a small bit of U.S. covert military operations come to light, though this is

but the barest tip of the iceberg of what is really going on. It was also reported recently that the Joint Chiefs of Staff have prepared "contingency plans" for U.S. military actions in Central America, a topic usually discussed only in the privacy of the halls of government. In addition, the authorities announced that the Pentagon will train 1,000 Salvadoran soldiers, most likely at the counter-insurgency school at Fort Bragg, N.C., and 500 Salvadoran officers at Fort Benning, Georgia, or the U.S. base in Panama. Clearly while there's a lot of winking going on around all this, the main point is that they're getting ready to go. And this is precisely why these moves are being brought out into the open. Support must be lined up for imperialist military actions in Central America and around the world. All the mock horror about "international terrorism" and those who "intervene in the internal affairs of other countries" is simply to serve as a cynical justification for the bloody crimes of the U.S., both planned and already committed. The Soviets have their version of the same game. And both the faithful and broader sections of the people as well must be lined up behind these efforts by means including the most preposterous forms of superpower doublethink and newspeak. □

Government Stokes Up Attack on Bob Avakian, Mao Defendants

Continued from page 1

attorney. Of course, according to the motion "this is just one example of the attorney changes which should be clarified."

Throughout the case, the ruling class has attempted to maintain the charade that Bob Avakian is not the focus of their attack, that he is just another defendant facing "purely criminal charges." But all of this is blown away in this new document in which the central thrust is quite openly an attack on Bob Avakian. More than anything else, what this motion reveals is just how much the ruling class wants to nail him, and that, despite the continual denials, he is objectively at the center of their attack.

The motion zeroes in right at the start by citing the January 1979 remarks of the D.C. Superior Court judge who set Bob Avakian's bail at \$10,000, much higher than the bail set for the other defendants. According to the prosecution's motion, on January 31, 1979, Judge Timothy Murphy stated "that leaders like Avakian have a way of turning up in places like Algeria while their followers return to court. Although Mr. Avakian does not seem to have gone to Algeria, Judge Murphy was not far wrong." The government then goes on to make a feeble attempt to reduce the issue of Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France to a supposedly simple "criminal" matter by stating that "Avakian went to France in March 1981, to seek political refugee status because he feared being prosecuted in this case." In order to back up this assertion, the prosecution attempts to cite a sentence from Chairman Avakian's statement on why he is demanding political refugee status. They edit the sentence, of course, to leave out a direct reference to numerous murders, attacks and threats by the government against many revolutionaries, the RCP and himself. Still, in citing what they do, the government ends up demolishing their own assertion and in fact succeeds in sharply highlighting exactly why this demand was both necessary and correct.

Even the lopped-off sentence cited by the prosecution reads as follows: "... if I were to remain in the U.S., and unless I renounced my most deeply-held principles, and abandoned the cause of proletarian revolution and proletarian internationalism — which I refuse to do — I would continue to be the target of mounting attacks, through the 'legal machinery' and otherwise, by the ruling class and its armed enforcers and agents, and I would be forced to devote my efforts more and more, during such a decisive period, merely to trying to stay free of their clutches and dodge their assassination attempts."

In listing the supposed "purpose" of this demand for a personal appearance by the defendants, the prosecution launches into wide-ranging harassment. This harassment ranges from threatening to "review" the defendants' financial eligibility for subsidized legal representation to openly threatening to "set stringent conditions" for the defendants' release on bail. While this amounts to nothing short of outright harassment, once again in attempting to justify this harassment the government actually provides a revealing glimpse as to what lies behind it.

Referring to the supposed "need" to review the financial status of the defendants, the motion states, "The Revolutionary Communist Party has been seeking contributions at rallies and through their publications to pay for the legal work in this case. The Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants brags of having raised tens of thousands

of dollars." As a footnote to this statement, the government has attached a coupon from the brochure put out by the Committee which calls for political and financial support in battling the attempts of the government to railroad the defendants behind closed doors. Quite obviously, the government is attempting to "punish" the defendants for daring to expose the political nature of the railroad and broadly building support, of all kinds, for the battle to defeat it.

Spying on Top of Spying

In order to bolster their sham argument, the government points to the fact that one of the defendants "visited offices at Antioch Law School soliciting contributions for the defense." This is quite interesting on two counts. First of all, it further reveals that it is the mounting political support in opposition to this attack broadly throughout society that the ruling class is so worried about, and not some supposed change in the defendants' financial status. Secondly, it is very interesting that although the government claims that their decade-long political campaign of surveillance and harassment of Bob Avakian and the RCP has no relevance to the case, they certainly seem to be keeping very close tabs on the political activities of the defendants.

Technically the prosecution could have raised this demand for a personal appearance by the defendants at any time since August of 1981, the period when the indictment against the defendants was officially reinstated. So why did they wait until now, five months later, to do it? In addition, over the last five months both of the judges who have presided over hearings in the case have stated in court that the waivers signed by the defendants in 1979 concerning their appearance in court during these early non-evidentiary hearings were still valid. And more, both of these judges also stated in court that they were aware of Bob Avakian's presence in France and they openly acknowledged that this was not in violation of anything. Throughout all of this the prosecution sat there mute, not saying a word in protest. Now suddenly the government has raised these very same points as major hurdles that have to be dealt with in the case.

So, what's changed? While this is undoubtedly tied up with broader questions in society and the increasing necessity of the ruling class to nail Bob Avakian, it is also no coincidence that this attack is following hot on the heels of the offensive being waged by the defendants around the issue of disclosure of the government's electronic surveillance against Bob Avakian, the other defendants, the RCP and anyone else connected with the case. In large part, it's directly tied into how the battle has developed around the case, the fact that the defendants have hammered way at the government's refusal to disclose its electronic surveillance and have been on the offensive around broadly exposing the political nature of the railroad.

During the last status hearing on December 18, although the government continued to try to maneuver and wheedle its way out of disclosing the records of their electronic surveillance (and said outright they would not disclose some of it on grounds of "foreign counter-intelligence"), still, they were forced to set a date on which they would give a supposedly "complete response" to the court order compelling such disclosure. And the issue of electronic surveillance, the documentation of a decade-long

attempt by the government to disrupt and destroy the RCP, was thrust forward as a "threshold issue" in the case. (See RW No. 136)

When the content of this latest attack is taken together with what happened in the December 18 hearing, including the open threats by the judge to "order Bob Avakian to appear at every hearing," what lies behind their intensified attack becomes quite clear. What it amounts to is that the ruling class has mounted a coordinated counter-offensive aimed at changing the terms of the battle — an attempt to take the heat off themselves by removing the increasing focus on and exposure of the political core of their supposedly "criminal" railroad. Ironically, however, in the course of attempting to do this they have been forced to launch one of the most overtly political attacks in the case.

The prosecution has demanded that the defendants be ordered to appear in court on Jan. 20. This move is being challenged by the defendants and exposed as the flagrant attack it is. However, the judge could issue such an

order at any time. Originally the Jan. 20 hearing was scheduled to be a major hearing focusing on the issue of electronic surveillance and other major issues in the case. Now, with the government's so-called "complete response" on the surveillance issue scheduled for only five days before this hearing and the obviously questionable nature of what that response will be, together with the attempt to order the defendants to appear, this hearing is being turned into yet another farce and an open avenue for the ruling class to continue maneuvering and further attack Bob Avakian and the other defendants.

Should the judge order the defendants to appear, the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants has issued a call for supporters to come down to the courthouse and the courtroom on the 20th and focus the eyes of many thousands throughout the country on what is going on inside — insuring that the ruling class will pay a very costly political price for launching this latest attack. □



Protest Rejection of Evidence for Bob Avakian's Refugee Status Appeal!

The French appeals commission overseeing Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status refused to accept the first batch of testimonials on political repression in the U.S. unless they were all translated into French. This is a clear attempt to prevent these and the many more testimonials from the masses from being submitted at all. It is also a blatant attack on all immigrants seeking refugee status in France.

We call again on people to send telegrams in protest:

**Stop Harassment of Bob Avakian
Stop Blocking Demand for Refugee Status.
Accept All Testimonials in Language of Origin.**

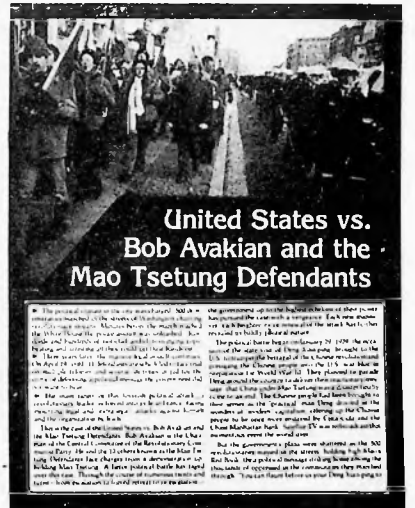
These telegrams should be sent to the appeals commission for refugee status in France:
Commission de Recours de Refugies
99 Rue de la Verrerie
Paris, 4, France.

A copy should also be sent to the Embassy of France in the U.S., 2129 Wyoming Ave., Washington, D.C. or to the French Consulate nearest your city.

Another copy should be sent directly to the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants—either one of the local committees or to the National Office at 1801 Columbia Road N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. □

United States vs. Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants

This brochure from the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants gives a sweeping view of the history and development and the broad political significance of one of the key political trials of the '80s. An important weapon in the battle to defeat the railroad!



Order copies in bulk from:
Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants
1801 Columbia Road N.W.,
Room 104
Washington, D.C. 20009
(202) 328-0441

Suggested contribution:
\$2.00 per 100

LEARNING FROM THE CLAMPDOWN

Continued from page 7

in effect is key to disabling the body, if only temporarily. They could not hope to stop all resistance, strikes etc. But to disable Solidarity's ability to mount a major assault on the powers-that-be they had to "neutralize" the leaders and other people who would be able to lead the masses in such a concerted rebellion.

The authorities had a necessity to derail and decapitate Solidarity. The fact that the decapitation was not literal is an indication that their tactics flowed from careful political consideration and not mainly what it was possible to do militarily. No doubt taking into account the mood of the masses in Poland and internationally as well as the considerations of what the rival imperialists would gain if Solidarity leaders were executed, detention was the only viable choice from the point of view of the Polish leaders and the Soviet imperialists.

As crucial as the roundup of the leaders was, the planners of this crackdown have shown through their practice they assessed that this would not be enough to suppress the struggle of the masses, and it is quite likely that such a move could lead to open rebellion. To prevent such repercussions which would further weaken the bourgeoisie and could actually speed up the demise of the current regime, they imposed massive restrictions on the entire country. It is hard to think of more ways they could have restricted the masses without totally shutting down the country. As it was they came close to it.

No doubt the U.S. imperialists are examining in detail the "creativity" of the Polish and Soviet rulers in carrying out this attack, not just so they can "expose" how "undemocratic" the Soviet bloc is, but so they can learn how to do such things better themselves. Their think tanks are probably already whirring. A certain amount of admiration was detectable in some of their reports on the sweeping nature of the communications ban. "This is the first time in any country that all communications inside or out of

the country have been sealed off."

Communications

The most sweeping constraint was the communications stranglehold. No communications were allowed inside Poland or in and out of the borders. Telephones and telex were cut off completely except for government use. TV and radio broadcasts were all made by official military announcers (many were the old announcers in new military uniforms) and the only other programming consisted of military music (certainly this was planned as "mood music" to set a certain tone and create an aura of total militarism). All amateur communications equipment and broadcasting were banned. All mail was open to censorship.

No gas was to be sold and no one was to travel to any other city without permission and then only for 48 hours. Rarely was permission given, and a few days later all inter-city travel was banned. Very few people were allowed to cross Poland's borders going out. And at first no foreign news was allowed to be broadcast, later changed to only censored news (but one newsman complained it didn't really matter anyway because they had no way to travel to where things were hot).

Into the third week of martial law things are still so shaky that no private telephone service is allowed. More than anything this points to the widespread nature of the discontent and struggle in Poland and the fact that the government was on the defensive politically. If it was really only a tiny minority of troublemakers and outside agitators as the government claims, and they were all effectively detained, then what need is there for total communications shutdown? Why were whole staffs of TV and radio stations fired? And why can no one have phone service or travel?

Despite all their efforts to sever communications, they could not suppress news from traveling, nor statements by Solidarity from broadly reaching the masses. Long lines at stores

and church services have more than one function. Leaflets copied by hand or individually on typewriters were distributed, despite efforts by authorities to eliminate all "printing" devices. News and political discussion were transmitted to and from those in detention centers and prisons through semi-legal prisoners aid organizations.

Besides aiming to cut off the opposition's ability to communicate internally or to the masses, the other aspect of the total governmental control of communications enabled them to only release information that was favorable to their position. Very quickly after martial law was declared they began to spread rumors that Walesa was negotiating. Whether true or not (and it seems likely that at the time at least they were not), the stories were a clear attempt to immobilize and demoralize or pacify the masses.

At the same time the government reported few acts of resistance by the masses and when they were reported they had always been "broken up" by the military. When word of large-scale resistance could no longer be suppressed, such news was released only selectively and with "assurances" that the great majority of people were happy with martial law and these outbreaks were the work of coercion and terrorism by outside agitators. There was widespread disbelief by the masses in any of the official news, murder tolls and promises for continued reform. The regime most likely realized that most of the masses would be skeptical at best but since this was the *only* news they probably figured people would have to listen to it and if they lied enough at least some of it might stick.

Again, this was aimed especially at influencing the backward masses (and, mixed with armed force), at getting the intermediate to "go along" hoping that the force of this public opinion would deter the advanced forces still at large and considering actions.

Militarization

Other regulations put in force to immediately derail the struggle were the militarization of major factories and trouble spots, the clearing of the universities, and the outlawing of meetings of any kind, printed materials of any kind (except government), use of mimeograph

machines, possession of firearms and other similar regulations. These were aimed at hampering Solidarity and other organizations' ability to actually organize and wage struggle.

Other measures were aimed at the population at large such as "all persons over the age of 13 are required to carry I.D.", everyone over the age of 16 must report for work, etc. There is no way that every person's every move can be monitored and the forces in power are well aware of that. But they aim a number of restrictions at bringing the whole population into more intense direct contact with the forces of enforcement by virtue of the masses' need to carry on day to day activity. While they do not have the resources to check out every single person's I.D., for example, the fact that everyone is subject to this checking and to military checkpoints erected at major bus and pedestrian intersections will tend to bring the "troublemakers" into contact with the military who can immediately detain or arrest them. This especially simplifies and increases their ability to go after "target populations" such as youth, workers going to certain plants or from certain neighborhoods, etc. This they also hope will have a deterrent effect on the rest of the population.

Another form of direct repression is the so-called "legal prosecution". A number of people have already been convicted of organizing other workers to strike and resist. This, too, is to serve more as a deterrent and a way to get the leaders than it is an attempt to imprison every striker or protester. The "death penalty" has already been executed on the spot in the case of at least eight workers who were murdered by the army while on strike and numerous others have been injured by water cannons and truncheons and hauled off to prison.

Sugar Coating

The overwhelming character of the imposition of martial law is sheer armed repression, and the threat of it. But it is a mistake to think that this ever functions totally alone. There is another tactic that the Polish bourgeoisie is pulling out of the bag of well-worn imperialist weapons—that is the method of lies, and sugar-coated promises, hoping that they

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Storming the Winter Palace Nov. 7, 1917.



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LEARNING

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still have some ideological reserves among the broad masses and trying to exploit the weaknesses of the opposition on this front. As Lenin said, the oppressor needs the "hangman and the priest" and it is none other than Jaruzelski himself who has dressed himself up as both. He has taken on the mantle of the stern father who beats his "naughty" children and locks them in a closet to keep them from disobeying but still proclaims, "this shows how much I love you," "this hurts me more than it hurts you" and "this is for your own good, I'm saving you from a worse fate, I could turn you over to your grandfather, he'll kill you." With this demented logic he hopes to win over, or more likely to confuse some of the population while aiming to promote an atmosphere of intimidation.

All the while he is keeping up the pious accusations against Solidarity, blaming the economic crisis and even the deaths of the striking miners on the union because they refused to cooperate with martial law. A truly amazing example of both the desperation of the Polish bourgeoisie and its assessment of the ignorance of the masses is the solemn declaration by a so-called "communist" government council that "Lech Walesa has violated the ten commandments whose moral injunctions have stood for thousands of years." (!!) (They didn't say which ones he broke but they referred to his trying to "fool the government" and "bargain in bad faith"—perhaps these are the 9-1/4 and 9-1/2 commandments written by God only in Polish and found on the mountain by "Moses" Jaruzelski.)

Along with every chain of tradition, they have taken up the banner of "the family" to try and use it to beat down the struggle. Official Polish news broadcasts said, "the family" atmosphere, which is so characteristic of Silesia, is being clouded by the tragedy of the miners at the Piast colliery" (who were at that point one of the biggest centers of resistance). And "Dramatic telephone conversations between mothers, sisters, and wives and the miners detained underground are still going on. Contacts are being made more difficult because the organizers of the protest are still trying to misinform and intimidate those being kept below."

They have also made some effort to throw in some paltry bribes by flooding some shops with goods ordinarily not available, promising that changes would be continued once "peace and order" are established.

But the biggest threat/bribe is Jaruzelski's barely veiled message: if you don't submit to me you'll have to face *them*, the Soviet Union. Following martial law the general made a speech declaring that in some cases there is not a choice between good and evil only between worse and lesser evil. He has posed the contradiction in terms of interests of the Polish nation, which can only mean the Polish bourgeoisie, and is covering up the class interests involved here, which today are those of imperialism, especially Soviet imperialism; the Polish bourgeoisie on the one side, and the proletariat and other oppressed masses on the other. In these terms he raises the spectre of "fratricide", implying he's Polish and the ruling class is Polish and so for the Polish masses to overthrow them would be the killing of brothers. No classes here! We're all just brothers! he cries as workers are gunned down by their military "brothers." The clampdown was sold as necessary not only for "internal peace," but also "peace in Europe"—implying that if they defied the regime the Polish workers would "cause" World War 3.

The staging of a "Polish clampdown" rather than a "Soviet clampdown" was politically necessary for the Soviet Union and its bloc not only because of the situation created inside Poland but taking into account the international ramifications of each tactic. The declaration of martial law in Poland and roundup of Solidarity does not do great public relations work for the Soviet bloc, but it is a lesser evil in this light than a Soviet invasion which would carry a heavy political price, exposing even more glaringly the real imperialist nature of this self-named "ally of the oppressed", particularly in Europe

where they are trying to sell themselves as the "real peacemaker" in opposition to the U.S. It was a calculated risk to make this an "internal Polish matter," based on a primarily political and secondarily military assessment.

The Heart of State Power—the Gun

Part of this assessment was an evaluation of the reliability of the Polish armed forces, which are objectively the core of state power. Throughout the period of liberalization and the rise of Solidarity, the Polish rulers continued to build on their armed might in all its facets and prepare them to defend the rule of the bourgeoisie internally as well as build up their capability to wage world war as the second largest military power in the Warsaw Pact. These forces include the police, special internal security forces, the secret police (equivalent to the FBI), various special SWAT-type special forces in the military, as well as the regular army itself.

They worked to build up the internal security forces and to make the most reliable troops actually reliable. These are professional law enforcement officials and military men, many of which are trained in the Soviet Union's higher training institutes, they are not workers and peasants in uniform. These were consciously used for the great majority of actual attacks on the workers and youth and the murders, while the regular troops were used to cordon off areas, check I.D.s, patrol streets, divert traffic and other duties that did not mainly call for actual mass confrontation where the reliability of the basic troops would be tested.

Despite "liberalization" and "renewal," there is no way the Polish leaders could or did dispense with the political police and special internal security forces. In fact they had a need to place much heavier reliance on the most important pillar of the state—the forces of repression—especially on strengthening special forces. So, there are some of the important features of the clampdown itself, the political objectives of the Soviet and Polish bourgeoisies, and the tactics they applied, sort of the skeletal anatomy of Polish martial law circa 1981-2.

Revolutionary Preparation and Seizing the Time

However, this is only one side of the picture, in which struggle between classes is the overall key feature. The clampdown itself was the act of the bourgeoisie going on the offensive, but this has to be seen in the context of their position of being overall on the defensive for at least the last year and a half with the masses on the offensive. This was an attempt to seize back the initiative and try to secure their rule against the growing discontent of the Polish people. But all that lies within a larger context, that of the acceleration toward the world conjuncture in which Poland plays a strategic role for the Soviet bloc. The crackdown did prevent a major assault by Solidarity and did give the government the initiative. But as it could not do away with the underlying crisis which has given rise to the political awakening and turmoil, this is anything but a stable situation, the bourgeoisie has beefed up and hung onto the main pillars of its power—the repressive forces of the state—but in doing so has further exposed the nature of the state and those holding state power.

For the international proletariat, key to advancing in such a situation, rife with dangers and opportunities, is the existence of a class-conscious section of the proletariat which is politically and organizationally preparing itself and the masses through the leadership of a vanguard party to seize power. Organizational preparations flow from political line. Understanding the necessity of the imperialists and their blocs reveals the necessity for preparing to wage the struggle under all conditions, legal, semi-legal and totally clandestine. A correct analysis of the actual development of the struggle, in the case of Poland, is crucial not only or mainly in enabling the advanced to minimize the effects of such sweeps, escape the net and maintain organizational cohesiveness, but much more importantly to take the *offensive* in a situation which is actually very tenuous for the bourgeoisie.

In the crucial hours and days of the round-up and imposition of martial law,

it is key to ruthlessly expose the actual contradictions at work both in agitation and propaganda and also through bold, offensive actions, puncturing the aura of omnipotence which the state seeks to establish in suppressing the masses. To "wait for orders" or "wait til we can establish communication" or worst of all "wait for the majority of people to act" is following the game plan of what the authorities need and hope for.

Falling into passive defense and "cover up" spells defeat for the movement. "Preserve oneself and destroy the enemy," Mao said, and it certainly applies to situations like Poland. And "destroy the enemy" is principal over "preserve oneself"; even the latter is precisely for the purpose of "destroying the enemy." Preparations are necessary not because they eliminate all losses, but to be better able to go on the offensive.

In answer to those who point to crises such as these as evidence of the overwhelming strength of the bourgeoisie and use this as an excuse for their own inactivity, Lenin pointed out (in "The Collapse of the Second International") that it was not true that "never is a government so strong... as at the outbreak of war" (or, it could be said, in any time of serious crisis). Instead, as Lenin pointed out, never but at such times are the authorities in such need of unity in their own ranks (hence measures like martial law, which unstably and temporarily seek to patch up the cracks) and never are they in such need of the peaceful submission of the oppressed classes. From this profound observation, class-conscious proletarians should take a cue. Such conditions as martial law throw up new obstacles, but they also throw up dramatic new opportunities like the question of state power and armed uprising.

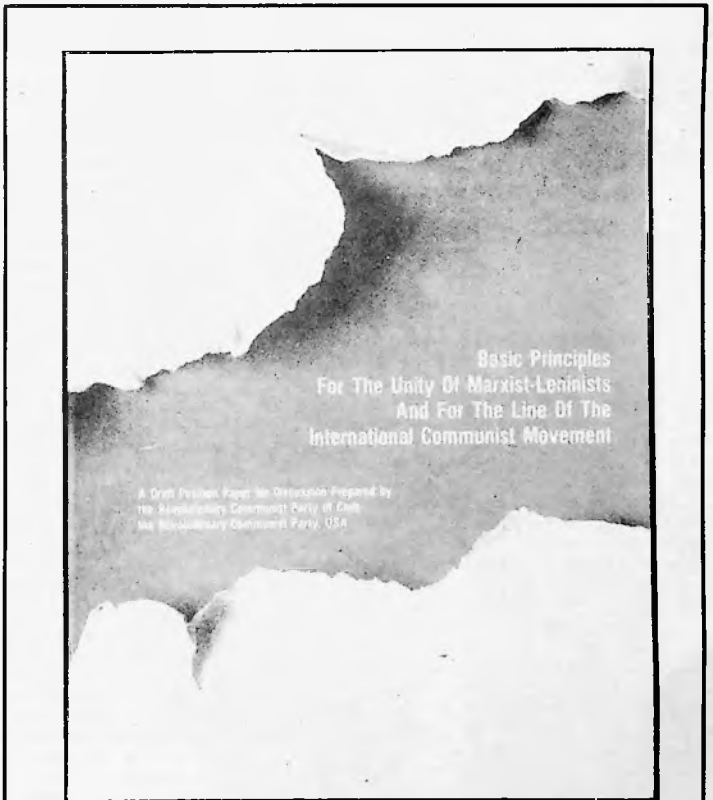
And, of course, this will not happen evenly. Here, again, comes the importance of the course taken by the advanced. It is precisely this which the actions of the Polish authorities are aimed at. Perhaps, despite their phony veneer of "Leninism," they did after all learn a thing or two from Lenin—Lenin knew and valued the role of the advanced (and

here he was especially talking about the role of a revolutionary vanguard party, something sorely lacking today in Poland): "...a firm party line, its unyielding resolve, is also a mood creating factor, particularly at the sharpest revolutionary moments." ("Letter to Comrades," 1917).

The Polish authorities have sought to assault the advanced, cripple and disorient them, and smother them under the vacillating or passive mood they have set out to at least temporarily create among the intermediate. It is precisely this that the bold and decisive actions of the advanced can puncture, and, in battle with the bourgeoisie, at times like this they can be decisive in shifting the mood of these middle forces. This underlines the importance of taking the offensive as soon as possible, and if the opportunity opens up, initiating the armed struggle for power itself. No one can guarantee success before such a fight begins, but it can be guaranteed that it will never succeed if the advanced section does not initiate it.

Lenin said in summing up the Moscow Uprising of the 1905 Revolution: "The movement was raised from a general political strike to a higher stage. It compelled the reaction to go to the limit in its resistance, and so brought vastly nearer the moment when the revolution will also go to the limit in applying the means of attacks. The reaction cannot go further than the shelling of barricades, buildings and crowds. But the revolution can go very much further in breadth and depth."

The situation in Poland strikingly reveals the need for a vanguard party of the proletariat to lead the all-around preparation for seizure of power. Without the all-around preparation of the party and class-conscious workers these rapidly arising opportunities can be turned into constitutional crises or not carried forward to their maximum potential. In another article we will go into this question of all-around preparation in relation to the situation in Poland and a number of pressing questions raised by it. □



A draft document from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA for discussion in the international communist movement and within their respective Parties. The document was submitted to the autumn 1980 international conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, which held that, "on the whole, the text is a positive contribution toward the elaboration of a correct general line for the international communist movement. With this perspective, the text should be circulated and discussed not only in the ranks of those organizations who have signed this communique, but throughout the ranks of the international communist movement."

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CAN YOU DO AWAY WITH LEADERSHIP?

Continued from page 3
ideologically. But if you did actually just stand around and discuss forever then the Tom Haydens and so on would come in and maybe even get so far as restoring capitalism, or maybe socialism or something.

Leaving that aside, the point is that you've got to have some kind of leadership; there's got to be some sort of direction to things; people have to take responsibility for giving some direction and leadership. With all the problems involved in a party, the real contradictions between the party and the masses, those real problems and those real dangers stem from something more fundamental, from the division of labor and from the contradictions that generally characterize class society. And if you just want to turn your back on or walk away from those contradictions, the only thing you'll be doing is guaranteeing that the masses' role in things will be suppressed, that they will in fact be led around by the nose, they will in fact be taken advantage of by demagogues. That's the only thing you can guarantee if you refuse to have and build and strengthen the role of the vanguard.

The irony for all those people who recognize this problem but who recoil from it is that it's *only* with the role of a real vanguard party, a real revolutionary party based on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, it's *only* with that vanguard that there's the possibility of the masses playing a conscious role in changing things and eventually overcoming that contradiction between the party and the masses. That's the contradictory nature of it; the greater the role of the vanguard, not in the sense that the more it has its hands organizationally on everything, but the greater its role is ideologically and politically, the greater the chances for the masses to actually take these things consciously in hand and transform the world in such a way as to eventually even eliminate the need for the vanguard when all over the world the basis for classes is eliminated. But that does *not* guarantee that the party won't go bad, that the party won't turn into a bunch of demagogues or its leadership won't become a new core of a bourgeoisie; there's no guarantee against that because you are dealing with real contradictions and they can get resolved one way or the other and they depend, as we've learned more deeply, more than on what's just happening in just one country at one time. But still it's *only* with that vanguard and precisely to the degree that its role politically and ideologically is strengthened—it's in relation to that, not contrary to that, that the conscious role of the masses is developed.

Earlier I referred to authors like Djilas and so on (see last week—*RW*) who are revisionists and pro-Western imperialist apologists, hyenas, but there are other people with much better motivation, with no desire to promote and serve imperialism, but still out of an incomplete or incorrect understanding, they end up falling into the same position. For them this is an error, while for the others it's a conscious and pro-imperialist policy. So I think that's a point that really has to be put before people and they have to grapple with.

Anarchists

All the anarchists and so on who want to abolish vanguards... I remember Chang Chun-chiao in a speech on the Tien Anmen Square incident in China that was reprinted in *And Mao Makes Five*, made the point that the anarchists don't really want to abolish leadership by a small group; what they want to do is abolish your clique and establish their own clique. Now that was referring to people who were more *consciously* promoting anarchism in order precisely to install bourgeois dictatorship, which was the situation then in China. But there are also people who spontaneously tend in that direction and they *do* unconsciously, in those cases, promote the same thing, contribute to the same result because as much as the anarchists may wish it they cannot eliminate this contradiction. Society can't be run like those participatory democracy SDS meetings; even SDS couldn't be run like that.

You're dealing with much more profound contradictions, and you're dealing with, you know, with a much larger process than simply one meeting or even one society and so the choice is not leadership or no leadership, it's one kind of leadership or another: precisely a bourgeois leadership or a proletarian leadership. And I don't mean just what label it wears because we've learned that's not the question either, we've learned that a lot more deeply. But precisely the question is what's the *content* of leadership, in other words, as Mao very importantly pointed out, what's the ideological and political line, which Mao pointed out is decisive. Of course, as Mao also said, sometimes even though your line is correct you can lose in the short run, which is a point that we had to bring out in opposition to our own Mensheviks around summing up the events in China.* Saying that ideological and political line is decisive does not mean that if you have a correct line you'll go straight ahead and win in a straight line because motion only proceeds through twists and turns and in a spiral development. But still, it's precisely the content of the leadership, the character of the leadership in that sense which determines whether or not there is a real revolution with the conscious role of the masses being developed, unleashed and increased or whether that's suppressed. It's *only* with that kind of a vanguard that's

even possible; it's not with anarchism.

Even in a more limited sphere as we pointed out in the article on the Spanish Civil War,** the anarchist line was a line for defeat; it was ultimately a reformist line; and in its content, if not always in its intention, it was a capitulationist line. There was a very sharp example of the actual contradictions you're dealing with; there was an army in the field against you that was centralized and while you didn't want to have centralism on the same bourgeois basis that they did, you had to have centralism on a proletarian basis if you were going to defeat them.

Even when you get to communism you're not going to be able to have anarchism. I don't believe that communism will be the same thing. In a shorthand way Lenin said our difference with the anarchists is that they want to abolish the state right now and we know that we can only do it later. Well that was correct in one aspect, but it was kind of a shorthand way to explain a difference. And as we've learned more, and also going into this question more deeply, we have even a more basic difference with the anarchists. We *never* are going to be for the anarchist line. Not that we want order and "everything-in-its-place" or anything like that. We want upheaval and disorder in that sense.

But what I mean by we're never going to be anarchists, is that really what the anarchists are at bottom is bourgeois democrats. They think that if you can just remove all obstacles and let democracy flourish in its pure form—that sort of gets down to the town hall concept—then everything will be all right; and they think that anything that goes against that is bound to become corrupted and destroyed anyway so what's the point, what's the use—which is also the line of the so-called "Marxists," that is, social-democratic, Tito-ite, bourgeois-democratic pro-Western imperialists. Those people's line is, "Okay, maybe you can say to us that our line is, 'Wait, wait, wait,' but the Leninist line is worse." Their view is that the Leninist line of "trying to accelerate revolution by having a vanguard" and "*introducing*," as they put it (there's the heart of their idealism), "*you're introducing* a difference between the vanguard and the masses," rather than this difference arises out of the division of labor and the contradictions that characterize society in this epoch. And their bottom line is that by that "willful introduction," as they see it because they're idealist, "you are going to produce something, which is going to end up even *worse*, i.e., look at the Soviet Union today, even worse than imperialism." That's where it links up with the social-chauvinist pro-Western imperialist line: "so therefore you're worse than we are." "Yeah, okay you can say we're just trying to go along with the flow, but by trying to divert the flow of things, you're only going to lead to worse disasters." You can see how in some ways their pro-Western imperialist line is in unity with these anarchists who say that anything that goes toward centralism in the name of advancing the revolution is only going to make things worse anyway.

But the simple fact is that because of the material conditions, because of the actual contradictions underlying things not only today but even under communism, it will never be possible to have "pure democracy." In "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest" there's a good relevant point, although it's from sort of an individualist, not a communist, point of view. This is the movie based on the book by Ken Kesey, whose weaknesses came out sharply in his other book *Sometimes A Great Notion*. In the movie there is a scene where McMurphy (Jack Nicholson) wants to watch the World Series and Nurse Ratchet doesn't want to. And she is a perfect bourgeois democrat in this context. Being sure of the situation she says, "Well, let's have a vote." So they have a vote and McMurphy wins the vote among the people that are there but then Nurse Ratchet insists on having all these other people vote who are just literal zombies. So McMurphy gets up and says, "*What*, you're gonna have *these* people, these clowns vote? They don't even know what the hell we're talking about!"

A Philosophical Question

There is a good critique of bourgeois and pure democracy; just allowing people to vote, or frankly even if they did know what you're talking about on one level, just allowing them to have their say is no guarantee that the interests of the broadest masses are going to be realized. There's no guarantee of that just by people having a "right to speak" because life's not that simple, and not only is it not that simple, there's a philosophical question involved. Is there or is there not objective truth? Not that all of it can be known at a given time but is there or is there not objective truth? Are there or are there not things that lie in the direction of progress, advancing society, developing things? The philosophical underpinning of bourgeois democracy is agnosticism and eclecticism, "There's no truth anyway, so the important thing is that the majority of people have their will."

But the problem is that there is truth. That is, even truth as understood correctly as a contradictory phenomenon, a thing advancing through motion and development, or through contradiction. Precisely because there is objective truth, and it also moves in that dialectical way as a result of the dialectical motion of matter, then truth will assert itself anyway. The masses can all have their say and decide something that is not in line with the development of things and then their in-

terests won't be served—especially if you're looking broadly at the interests of mankind as a whole.

One of the things people used to say around the Vietnam war was, "This is an unconstitutional war and was not declared by Congress." Well, who gives a fuck? I wouldn't have liked it any better if it was declared by Congress. This is not necessarily to condemn those people, or at least not all of them, who fell into saying things like that. But it wouldn't really do even to say "This was never submitted to a vote of the American people; we didn't want this war." Well, there's something there you can agitate around but you can't carry that very far because even if they'd had a plebiscite and all the American people, or the majority, had voted to have the Vietnam war, that wouldn't make it correct. It wouldn't make it in the interests of the majority of the people of the world, the interests of mankind, in line with progress, revolution and advance.

Having been inculcated and trained demagogically in the false concept of democracy, it may be tempting to think that you're being very radical if the most you can put forward is that we should remove all the fetters and have pure democracy. But pure democracy doesn't guarantee that truth (not in the absolute metaphysical sense but truth in a dialectical and materialist sense) will be grasped and acted upon and that progress and advance and development of things will be pushed forward. That's what's wrong with the anarchist line and that kind of approach will be wrong even under communism.

Like I pointed out in that little excerpt on bourgeois democracy that was reprinted (in *RW* No. 117), there is a definite revolutionary reason that we're for having people thrashing things out. We're preparing the basis now to have even people who oppose us and have even opposition lines printed now in our newspaper (not without leadership, not anarchistically, but to not raise people in a hothouse). For example around the "Sooner or Later" debate or the one around the Party Programme or "100 Flowers" we're laying the basis for doing that in the future and doing it by thrashing it out *now*. The importance of doing it right now is precisely that things do develop through contradiction but it's essential that people thrash these things out and that they know the opposing lines as well as the party line at a given time for two reasons: for one thing somebody who opposes it may actually point out things wrong with it and they may have a more correct understanding of a part of something, even if at the same time their overall line is incorrect and the party's is correct; it's even possible that the reverse may be true at a given moment, they may have more of the truth and the party's line may be off at that given time, but even if that's not true they contribute something. Second of all, even if they're completely wrong, it's important for people to recognize and battle out these things and get a much deeper sense of what's right and what's wrong through that kind of struggle. But *that's* why we're for it because people should come to a much more profound grasp of objective truth in its motion and development and not just have things fed to them.

But none of that will *ever* eliminate the need for centralism. And you know that that's the case. All of us who've been through these attempts at participatory democracy with the best of intentions on the part of the majority (if not the Tom Haydens) know it very well and fairly deeply. At least we have the basis to know it deeply, in our experience of *trying* that kind of thing. Even if we removed the bourgeoisie, imperialism and class society from the scene, it still wouldn't work. You still can't do things without any centralism, without the dialectical relationship between centralism and democracy, that is between the people taking up questions and grappling with them but having some leadership. If people don't take responsibility for preparing agendas (in the broadest sense) that is, for helping to decide which are the essential questions to take up now, how are you going to sort all that out? Are you going to call everybody together and do like that famous SDS meeting? Are you going to spend two hours debating whether or not you should debate what should be on the agenda? As you see, that's like endless quacksand.

So these are some points, I think, that need to be stressed, and this does link up with why we say to people, "Look, if this party is going to continue on the revolutionary way, that depends on the development of things in the whole world on the one hand, but on the other hand, we have a role in influencing that. It's not like we're passive observers of what's happening in the world." We're conscious forces within that and there is a responsibility on people who are advanced enough where they want revolution, where they see the need for revolution and also see the dangers and the problems that arise because the party can go bad and the revolution can get corrupted and turned around from within.

Those people have to make the next leap, they've got to cross over that river, they've got to make that leap to coming *into* the party and fighting it out in that context, because otherwise, indirectly and unintentionally, they're contributing to the possibility of the wrong line winning out. Precisely the people who see that that's a question, and a vital question, need to make the leap—not without taking up in an all-around way the questions of revolution, the line of the party, and so on but it's precisely the leap they need to make. That's just *one* reason they need to make it, but even that is a reason

*Referring to the split in the RCP, USA over the coup in China after Mao's death.

***Revolution*, No. 49, June 1981.

why they need to make that leap.

"Maoists"

Q: You've been stressing that coming to the fore now in the international communist movement is the fact that there is no Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought without Leninism. You've talked specifically about the "Marxists"—that is, social-democratic, social-chauvinist, pro-Western imperialist attackers of Lenin. What about the other side of that, the so-called "Maoists" against Leninism?

BA: Well, there's the question of so-called (again this is so-called) Maoists—so-called Marxists, so-called Leninists, so-called Maoists. For example, there are people—so-called conscious people—who pervert the lessons in the advances achieved through the Cultural Revolution. Basically they end up back in unity with the so-called Marxists on a number of points, on bourgeois democracy in particular, and also on nationalism (and especially in its expression, when it's in an imperialist country, of social-chauvinism).

These are people who try to be Maoist by negating Leninism—rather than seeing Mao Tsetung Thought as a development in crucial areas of Marxism-Leninism—a leap in that sense, but not a negation of Leninism. And Mao, I pointed this out in that talk ("Conquer the World? . . ."), was very clear about the need for a Leninist party; one of the main objectives of the Cultural Revolution was precisely to reconstitute the party on an even higher level through the whole process of the upheaval and the advances made in the Cultural Revolution as a whole.

Necessity, Freedom and the Party

Strengthening the party in this way was precisely one of Mao's main objectives in the Cultural Revolution, and never did he have in mind the idea of abolishing the party. That's the point he made when he said, "We have to have a party" in discussing the shortcomings of the Paris Commune in light of the experience at the time of the Cultural Revolution. He's very clear that you have to have a party, you have to have a vanguard and he's not just saying it in a negative sense "you have to have it." Mao is very clear on the dialectical relationship between necessity and freedom. It's a necessity to have a party, which includes the necessity of contradiction and struggle to maintain it as a *revolutionary* party, as the experience of China very sharply demonstrated. But the necessary role of the vanguard, where a correct line is able to be won and maintained in command through struggle, does open the door to more freedom, more freedom for the masses in the broadest sense, and that is in the sense of the worldwide advance toward communism. We can even say that applies internationally, too, the need for a vanguard leadership. But just talking in terms of a party, or parties in different countries, there's a need for the vanguard there as well.

Somehow the idea gets promoted that the experience of the Cultural Revolution makes the Leninist line on the party, the Leninist party, somehow *dépassé*, no longer valid or surpassed by further experience. This is ridiculous and also reactionary and the people who promote this think they're being very profound but they're really only bringing in through the back door the same old bourgeois democracy and social-democracy that we've been talking about before which is more openly promoted by these so-called Marxists we've talked about.

These "Maoists" who are anti-Leninist say, "We will have a party based on the experience of the Cultural Revolution," but really what they're talking about is a party based on their own perversion of what the experience of the Cultural Revolution is. They are one-sidedly viewing only one aspect of the Cultural Revolution and turning it into its opposite in the way they're treating it. That is, they are taking the upsurge of the masses and the fact that the old party apparatus had become an obstacle to the revolution because it had come into the hands of a deeply entrenched bourgeois leadership and was under the command of their bourgeois line. It had become a counter-revolutionary instrument and the Cultural Revolution had as one of its main objectives to reverse that situation and not just simply restore the party to its vanguard role but, through the spiral-like motion, to strengthen its vanguard role, to strengthen it as a revolutionary instrument of the proletariat. But, these people take only the one aspect of the situation, that is the mass upsurge including its opposition to the party bureaucracy, and they treat that one-sidedly and freeze it. Then they think that they've come up with some brilliant new invention which is a social-democratic notion of a party or a non-party (or at least a non-Leninist party) in opposition to the Leninist line which Mao was consistently fighting for, and at the same time actually advancing.

Mao was actually advancing the understanding of the role of the party in relation to the masses, particularly when the party is in power; the party itself has to be revolutionized in those situations and even more than before. Although that's constantly a task, it's an even more important question when the party's in power. And beyond that, because you know that's not the whole of it, what Mao also grasped was that precisely in order to do that, the party had to be thrown up for grabs in a certain sense. The party itself develops in a spiral-like motion as part of the overall spiral-like motion of the revolution and of events in the world in the process of the development of the world from the bourgeois epoch toward the communist epoch. As part of that

whole spiral motion, the party itself develops in a spiral-like way and at certain points it comes to crucial junctures or conjunctures where the question of what the nature of the party will be becomes a concentrated expression of which direction society will take and of the general overall struggle in society and even in the world, between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution.

So that was Mao's development. And it did involve an aspect of going against the "Leninist norms" as they are presented, in rigid, metaphysical, dogmatic and ultimately revisionist (that's why we say, dogmatorevisionist) form by the Hoxha-ites and people who want to uphold even some significant errors of Stalin, including the so-called monolithic party, in a metaphysical sense. Hoxha's dogmatorevisionist line holds that the party always is correct, that the party is sort of like the leader in a bourgeois sense, that the party imparts the correct line to the masses in a bourgeois metaphysical sense; but what these so-called Maoists promote in opposition to this is not real Maoism but the opposite pole of the same stupidity, social-democracy and bourgeois democracy.

Often they have the same sort of notions of participatory democracy and so on, "We'll just say to the workers and to the masses 'come on in, join with us and make this party our own'"—as if that's not a question of *line*, and as if you can do away with the question of leadership even within the party itself, let alone the contradiction more broadly between leadership and led as it expresses itself between the party on the one hand and the broader masses on the other. Of course, that always means, whether people intend it or not, as I was drawing out earlier, that there will be demagogery, manipulation of the masses on a much more developed scale because in fact you cannot do away with the need for leadership.

The Only Real Choice

The only way you have a chance for correct leadership is to grasp the contradictions that make leadership necessary and to handle that contradiction correctly through struggle. If you deny the need for vanguard leadership and for leadership even within the party, then you are guaranteeing that bourgeois methods of leadership and bourgeois forms of leadership will prevail. That is the only real choice—proletarian leadership and methods of leadership vs. bourgeois—not leadership vs. no leadership, not "vanguard vs. no vanguard." The question is not whether there will be a separation of a kind, even while there is interpenetration, between the vanguard and the masses. That will exist, and will take one form or another. Of course you could say it won't be

between the vanguard and the masses because if you have the bourgeois form it won't really be a vanguard. But it will be, in that case, a clique; it will be a clique separated from the masses, but dominating over them in that situation. But exactly this will be the end result, too, with the line of denying or trying to pretend that you can somehow will away the contradiction at this stage between the leadership and led and that you can ignore or will away the underlying contradictions that give rise to that contradiction between leadership and led.

Really what it comes down to is taking certain aspects of the form of the Cultural Revolution—particularly mass democracy—and turning them against the content. Mao himself pointed out in "On The Correct Handling Of Contradictions Among The People" that some people think democracy is an end, but really it's only a means to an end. He was saying it has a class character and in particular, as it was developed more fully in the Cultural Revolution a decade later, mass democracy had the purpose of waging the class struggle against the bourgeoisie and transforming the thinking of the people, advancing their consciousness as well as the forms of organization in society and among the masses that enable them to play a fuller and more conscious role in ruling and transforming society. That was the point of the mass democracy. But to make it an end in itself makes it a little game, makes it a luxury, and turns it against the class struggle—of the proletariat that is.

Frankly, this objectively has the character of demagogery and at least on the part of some people it is conscious demagogery because always these types who promote this, at some point or another themselves come up against the fact that there's a contradiction there. Then they either change their thinking about it or else they become much more cynical and consciously manipulative because they know damn well that they've got their own ideas and that they want those ideas to prevail. But if they continue saying to people, "Come on in and do whatever you want and let's have mass democracy," well, then they become consciously demagogic and manipulative. They themselves more and more consciously put into practice the things they claim to be opposing, all the things they claim to be the evils of, and inherent within, the Leninist understanding and Leninist character of a party. Of course, this is no more Maoism than the other tendency is Marxism; I put it in quotes or say so-called because it's an attempt to cut off an aspect of the development of the science of revolution, of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and use it against the thrust of it. □

Continued next week.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Burning Questions
of Our Movement

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

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

Quotes from "What Is To Be Done?"
by V.I. Lenin

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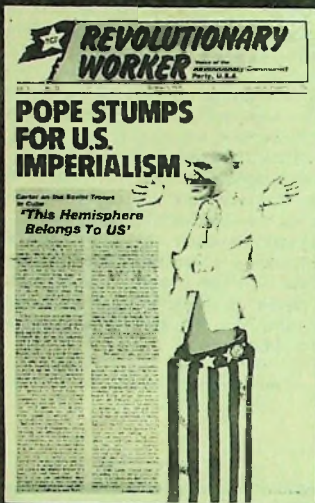


Lenin in Red Square

Even a quick glance at the front page of the *Revolutionary Worker* for the last few months (Crisis in Poland; neutron bomb go-ahead; U.S. attack on Libya; rebellion rocks England...) underscores the urgency of the *RW* getting consistently into more hands every week. And its theoretical articles and in-depth analysis of various trends play an important role in the advance of the revolutionary communist movement here and even in other countries. The RCP is launching a central subscription drive to the *RW* as part of continuing to spread and strengthen the influence of the *RW* among the many varied forces who are being drawn into political life throughout the country and to enable thousands who are only able to buy an issue periodically to receive the *RW* every week, hot on the heels of the events of the day—a necessity with the accelerated pace of world events.

There are many areas of the country—major urban centers, university towns, reservations, more isolated cities, etc., where there are forces for revolution but that do not now have regular access to the *RW*. All of these areas and forces will be affected by (and in turn can help affect) the developing historic conjuncture, including a revolutionary situation possibly unfolding in this country. The question remains, under which banner will sections of the masses be mobilized and in whose interest will they fight? The *RW* has played and must continue to play a crucial role in making the proletarian internationalist trend a powerful force throughout society. The penetrating analysis and exposure in the pages of the *RW* is vital, as Lenin said, in creating the ability in the proletariat, "to find practical solutions for great tasks in the great days in which twenty years are embodied."

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