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FBI Raids, Round-up, Killing

The Political Aims of the Political Police

In the past week we have witnessed a classic operation by the political police as the number of people arrested in connection with the events in Nyack, New York October 20 rose to nine and one Black brother lay murdered by the police. We have witnessed the bourgeois state in action—its vulnerability and its preparations, and its ability, having state power, to spew out instant confusion, misinformation and reaction. They have filled the newspapers with pictures of sobbing widows and solemn parades as

the *New York Times* piously wailed over their departed pigs in blue as, "working men, white, black, parents, ordinary people," and bemoaned the disruption of quiet suburban towns where "the terrors of urban guerrilla movements and incidents like radical bombings are as alien as foreign wars."

While attempting to issue denials as flimsy as the Puffs they use to blow their noses, the authorities have boasted about the beating and torture of captured prisoners.

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33 Bodies on Florida Beach: A Glimpse of U.S. Hell in Haiti

The two cops dragged the lifeless black body through the sand by the ankles. Overhead, the blades of a U.S. Coast Guard helicopter thup-thup-thumped as it hovered sentry-like above the grisly scene unfolding below. Other Coast Guard vessels and local police launches bobbed in the glistening, sunny waters of the Atlantic. Further up the beach police and agents from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) scoured the area for any survivors. The waves had already erased the trail left in the sand where the body had been dragged—a trail that ended where 32 other bodies lay. Nineteen men and 14 women—two of them in advanced stages of pregnancy—lay upon the white sands of Hillsboro Beach, Florida. All of them were Haitians fleeing the dictatorial regime of Baby Doc

Duvalier, and all of them drowned less than a mile from shore when their 30-foot boat allegedly capsized. Some 34 others succeeded in making it ashore and were immediately "rescued" by Immigration authorities and packed off to the Krome detention center in Miami, there to be processed for deportation back to Haiti where jail, torture and possibly death await them at the hands of the U.S.-backed regime.

There is no way of knowing just how many others have tried to make it from Haiti to the U.S., only to die on the way from exposure, shipwreck, or intentional scuttling by those whose job it is to keep Haitian refugees out of the U.S.

Add these untold deaths at sea to the hundreds of thousands of Haitians murdered directly by U.S. Marines who occupied Haiti from 1915-1936, or those murdered indirectly by the U.S.-backed regime, and a picture of the meaning of U.S. imperialism's rule comes suddenly into focus. In fact, the only reason that this recent episode in U.S.-Haiti relations came to light and wound up on numerous front pages of newspapers across the country, is that black bodies had washed up on the lily-

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Translator Out of Jail Salvadoran Revolutionaries' Tour Hits Midwest

On Monday, October 26, the last member of the Salvadoran revolutionaries' speaking tour (all four of whose participants had been arrested Oct. 12 in northeastern Oklahoma) was finally released. Following two weeks of harassment, including threats of deportation and death, the Chilean-born translator was freed upon posting of \$7500 bail. Meanwhile, the two Salvadorans made their first speaking appearance in St. Louis, and then delayed their schedule in anticipation of the translator's release (requiring certain changes in the schedule printed in last week's *RW*—call local areas for exact details). Now they are setting off for engagements in Michigan and Ohio, and from there will carry on the two-month-long nationwide tour in the face of the persistent government efforts to stop it with jail and deportation.

That the government intends to put every possible obstacle in the path of this tour, despite the outpouring of telegrams and calls of protest, was borne out by the conditions placed on the release of the translator and tour facilitator. On Monday, a federal district judge denied an appeal of these conditions and reaffirmed the requirement that the tour schedule would have to be officially documented in advance with the court. The judge will then "approve" travel for the translator according to this schedule.

The initial stop of the tour, at Washington University in St. Louis, gave a taste of the kind of activity the government is so intent on squelching. The discussion, centering on El Salvador, ranged over a wide sweep of questions, reflecting, as one of the Salvadoran revolutionaries noted, the fact that the struggle there is bound up with the whole international situation, worldwide revolutionary possibilities and particularly with the U.S. and Soviet blocs' moves towards world war. The Salvadorans spoke to the history of U.S. imperialism in El Salvador and some of the lessons of the struggle that had been waged against it. They analyzed the Democratic Revolutionary Front's (FDR) strategy and capitulationism, including what is behind its present calls for "negotiated settlement." Questions were raised about the

relative influence of the U.S. and Soviets in Central America, about the relation of armed struggle to Marxist-Leninist political work, whether the Nicaraguan revolution had been co-opted by the Soviets, and many others.

The hand of the authorities was never too far from the scene. A revolutionary organizer was suspended at the high school in St. Louis where over 600 students had signed petitions demanding the tour members be allowed to speak at a school-wide assembly. The principal suddenly "lost" the papers for the assembly, and the School Board ruled that anyone caught on campus organizing for the cause of the Salvadoran revolutionaries' tour would be immediately arrested.

But what continually came surging up through the government's heavy-handed repression was the force that was inspired by the Salvadorans' profoundly internationalist action in undertaking such a tour and in continuing it under such difficult conditions. And it is certainly true that the more firmly the internationalist stand and analysis of the tour was grasped, the broader was the range of people who could be united with to take up and defend the tour. Nowhere has this happened without sharp struggle, however.

Much of the controversy focused around the tour has centered on the role and class nature of the Soviet Union and the line of its revisionist pointmen around the world, including in El Salvador. On one campus where the tour has fanned the debate that was already raging about this among various foreign student groups, a dozen copies of *Basic Principles*, the joint draft proposal of the RCP, USA and the RCP of Chile for the international communist movement, were sold to members of these groups, and the document is becoming a centerpiece of much of this struggle.

At this point there has been a broad response to the government's attacks on the tour, ranging from immigrant workers and revolutionary activists to actors, from officers in the National Council of Churches to members of various El Salvador support groups, where, because of the long-standing influence of revisionism, the tour has been particularly controversial. This

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broad support reflects not only the extreme isolation of the imperialists and widespread opposition to what they are up to in El Salvador, but also the genuine desire of many, many people to get down over the cardinal issues of world affairs which the El Salvador tour raises. What is required at this point is to transform this very broad support to defend the tour into support for the tour itself, to realize the tremendous potential that has been glimpsed to make it a powerful force for creating revolutionary internationalist public opinion. Much of this is already developing—but far more is possible.

The government would, of course, "not exactly be bent out of shape" by seeing all this prevented, as the U.S. Attorney in charge of the legal case put it. The enormity of the bond placed on the Salvadorans (a total of \$37,000), the conditions of bail placed on the translator and facilitator, the death threats against the translator, all underscore

the government's intentions regarding this tour. They have already scheduled the next round in the courts, with the felony indictments against the translator and facilitator (for "transporting illegal aliens") going to the grand jury on Nov. 3. The trial date for the Salvadorans on the federal charge of illegally entering the country is at this point scheduled for Nov. 12 in Miami, Oklahoma. Requests for a change of venue to Tulsa and for a continuance of the trial, so that it does not break up the tour, have been filed. Demands to drop all the charges and to keep the bourgeoisie's hands off this tour and its members should be directed to Ben Baker, U.S. Attorney, 333 4th St., Tulsa, OK. Money needed to fight the political/legal attack on the tour, or to meet the expenses of the tour itself, should be clearly marked and sent to: RCYB, PO Box A3836, Chicago, IL 60690. □

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Approval of AWACS a Foregone Conclusion

SURPRISE!

U.S. Exports Arms

Last week's Senate endorsement of the Reagan administration proposal to "sell" five Airborne Warning And Control Systems (AWACS) craft to Saudi Arabia, while it was described in the press as an "upset victory for Reagan" and a "startling turnaround", was really nothing of the kind. The AWACS deal, from both a political and a military standpoint, was an imperative of U.S. imperialist foreign policy in the Persian Gulf. Given this, the real question was not so much whether the deal would be consummated, but how to reconcile certain objective "conflicts of interest" that it posed.

Domestic political maneuvers and tactical considerations of various kinds did combine over the last few months to produce what superficially appeared a "storm of congressional opposition" to the sale. Some of the narrow political interest group squabbling that is one feature of bourgeois democracy dominated the public show for a while. Earlier last month, the House of Representatives voted by a wide margin to approve a resolution opposing this sale, and as recently as a week before the Senate vote, a majority of Senators were on record as "opposing" the deal. But the last 48 hours before the Senate vote, several key senators switched their votes, including some who had formerly posed as strong opponents. Even if the Senate had voted to block the sale, however, the Reagan administration was prepared to utilize loopholes in the Arms Export Control Act of 1977 to finalize the sale by Executive Order.

The AWACS has for some time been supported by a consensus within U.S. imperialist policy-making circles. It was a pet project of the Carter administration, which moved 4 AWACS into Saudi airspace after the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war (where they have remained to this day). The proposal was taken over as an important feature of the

Reagan administration's efforts to form a cohesive military and political bloc of Middle East regimes under U.S. imperialist leadership—the so-called "anti-Soviet strategic consensus."

From a military standpoint, AWACS enhance far more than the "ability of Saudi Arabia to defend itself against attack." Their main function is to serve as an airborne military headquarters exercising command and control over and coordinating the activities of ground, sea and air forces.

From a political standpoint, the AWACS provided direct and high-profile manifestation of U.S. "commitment", "resolve", "will"—the list of euphemisms could go on—to "defend its vital interests." These imperialist "interests," in the Gulf and throughout the Middle East, are of course far-flung. Specifically, however, the sale of AWACS is intended to signal a bottom-line U.S. commitment to the security of the Saudi regime against either an "external or an internal threat." President Reagan, in a September press conference, made this commitment explicit, and it was widely billed in the media as an "extension of the Carter Doctrine."

Opponents of the sale in the Congress and elsewhere raised the issue of the doubtful stability of the Saudi monarchy as a key argument against selling "America's most advanced and secret military technology" to a government that might soon "go the way of the Shah." But from the standpoint of U.S. imperialist strategy, such arguments have one fatal flaw: under no circumstances can the U.S. stand by and watch Saudi Arabia go the way of Iran. If this were to happen, losing some AWACS would not be the uppermost concern for the U.S., to put it mildly.

Political concerns relating to the Saudis' survivability actually explain why the Reagan administration has been so insistent that the U.S. formally

"sell" the planes to the Saudis, rejecting various proposals to "loan" or "lease" the craft. Saudi Arabia is at pains to project to the Arab world an image of relative "independence" from the U.S., and it was important to them to be able to say that they bought the planes for their own use, rather than that they were opening up their country as a base area for U.S. military operations. The Reagan administration seems not only to have merely acceded to the Saudi wishes, but to have encouraged and agreed with its logic, perhaps with one eye on the consequences of political isolation in the Arab world suffered by the Sadat regime in Egypt.

It should be noted that Saudi Arabia will only "own" the planes pro-forma. According to details of the formal agreement between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia released by President Reagan on the eve of the Senate's vote, Saudi Arabia has no right to withhold any data collected by AWACS from the U.S., no right to forward any such data to a third nation without U.S. consent, etc. It is projected in the agreement that "it will be 1990 at the earliest before the 8 Saudi crews needed to operate all five AWACS aircraft will be trained."

The biggest factor in the seeming "groundswell" of domestic opposition to the sale, of course, was Israel's complaint that AWACS in Saudi hands might "jeopardize Israeli security." Anything touching the so-called "security of Israel" has long been a sacred cow in U.S. bourgeois politics. Obviously, U.S. imperialism has no intention of weakening Israel, which is a critical instrument for projecting U.S. power through brute force in the region, and figures as the leading component of the whole strategic consensus. Indeed, as several post-mortem analyses of last week's Senate vote stressed, the strengthening of the U.S. military presence in the Middle East "can only strengthen Israeli

security"—given that whatever chances Israel might have for surviving the next decade are totally dependent on military victory for the U.S.-led bloc in the coming war.

There has been a lot of bickering between the U.S. and Israel in recent times, and this will doubtless continue. Israel continued to express vocal opposition to the deal right up to the bitter end; when the results of the Senate vote were announced, Prime Minister Begin made a great show of calling his cabinet in "emergency session," as if there were really some grave new threat to discuss. But it is evident what Israel has been up to: making the loudest and most heart-rending noises of anguish about the AWACS deal, they hope to gain as much as possible in "consolation prizes" of a military and political nature from the U.S. And the U.S. is more than willing to oblige. "I remain fully committed," states President Reagan in his letter to the Senate, "to protecting Israel's security and to preserving Israel's ability to defend against any combination of potentially hostile forces in the region. We will continue to make available to Israel the military equipment it requires to defend its land and people, with no consideration to the presence of AWACS in Saudi Arabia. We have also embarked on a program of closer security cooperation with Israel."

The "battle of AWACS" had a heavy element of orchestration so that "everybody could come out on top." Those politicians who wished to parade as undying supporters of whatever Israel thinks best were allowed to do so. Others "withheld their support" for the administration until the last minute, when they reluctantly concluded that the lofty national interests and the importance of "supporting the President" took priority over their deep reverence for the views of Prime Minister Begin.

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Bob Avakian at the Wall of the Communards, Paris.

Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will.

For the past three weeks, we have run short excerpts from a recent major talk by Bob Avakian in which he explores both historical perspectives on the experience of the world proletarian revolution and also the approaching conjuncture and the tasks it poses. The complete text of this important document is now in the final stages of preparation for publishing as a special issue of **Revolution** magazine.

Costs of production of this issue of **Revolution** will be \$5000 total for English and Spanish editions. Special donations may now be given to assist us in seizing the opportunity very soon to have this important theoretical work printed and distributed in the U.S. and internationally. Watch the **RW** for the publication date.

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U.S. Cracks Whip Over NATO Allies

A recent statement by Ronald Reagan has touched off a storm of controversy among the U.S.' European allies and within various ruling-class corners in the U.S. Speaking before some newspaper editors, Reagan was asked about the possibility of a "limited nuclear exchange" between the U.S. and the Soviet Union—that is, whether it would be possible to confine nukes to the battlefields of Europe, leaving Main Street America relatively unscathed. Reagan's response has been characterized as an "off-the-cuff" remark, but in reality, it was a conscious message to the West European imperialists: "...I could see where you could have the exchange of tactical weapons against troops in the field without it bringing either one of the major powers to pushing the button." The future visions painted by this chief spokesman of U.S. imperialism immediately led to outraged expressions of *future shock* from various spokesmen of the Western bloc powers. Many of the major newspapers throughout Western Europe were ablaze with angry editorial commentary about the U.S.' willingness to nuke *their* turfs while protecting its own; a leader of the British Labour Party blasted U.S. and Soviet talk of limited nuclear war, saying, "They mean limited to us." Sentiments such as these were echoed around the European continent, with a number of politicians taking the opportunity to register "support" for unilateral disarmament, "opposition" to the proposed 1983 deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles, and support for the rapidly growing anti-war movement in Europe. The *London Daily Telegraph* put it more subtly: "Mr. Reagan has a nasty

knack of putting his finger on the uglier side of truth and standing back in feigned surprise while we squirm in anguish at what he is telling us."

Such squirming was hardly lessened by the related developments surrounding the demotion of Major General Robert Schweitzer from his post as military advisor to the National Security Council and his transfer back to the Pentagon. Schweitzer had just given a speech to his "army buddies" in which he said that the Soviets had achieved strategic superiority over the U.S., were "on the move," "going to strike"—and that all this proved that there was an inescapable "drift toward war." Not much different from previous statements by some Reagan advisors. But in light of the situation in Western Europe, Schweitzer's speech gave Reagan and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger the opportunity to publicly and vociferously agree with the general's analysis (Soviet threat) while they

"disagreed" with his conclusion ("drift toward war"). They corrected the general's overzealous language, emphasizing that all the U.S. escalations—including the neutron bomb, MX missile and most especially, the attempt to deploy Pershing and Cruise nuclear missiles in Western Europe by 1983—were taking place, in the words of Ronald Reagan, "so there won't be a drift toward war." Right, all this talk about *confining* the nuclear battleground to Europe is really just part of U.S. concern for *preventing* "a drift toward war." Certainly, these terminology changes fooled no one and weren't intended to.

Despite the *New York Times'* effort to portray all this simply as the "Reagan War Over Words," there is a real struggle going on here and it has given rise to some hot words and worried looks from within the U.S. bourgeoisie itself. The problem, for the U.S. rulers, is that Western Europe is awash in a sea

of contradictions boiling up with each new step toward war. It's not that the U.S.' imperialist allies don't recognize the principal facts of the matter. Overwhelmingly, they realize that their own imperialist interests can only be served at this time by taking on the Soviet imperialists, and that the U.S. is the only one militarily capable of leading the Western bloc in going head-to-head with the Soviets for a more favorable redivision of the world. The most recent evidence of this is the vote by NATO's military commanders to mount a "public relations campaign" in Europe destined to sell the Pershing and Cruise missile deployment to a growing number of doubters among their various social bases. But this unity is wracked by disagreements over the terms of the showdown. In particular, all the imperialists are seriously concerned with minimizing the vast potential damage to their own rule when the firing starts, while maximizing their potential gains. This concern is causing divisions over missile deployment, the importance of "disarmament" talks with the Soviets, and a raft of other particular war moves. All of this comes together in what is described by the U.S. (and other Western European imperialists who more closely adhere to the U.S. position) as a "neutralist" or even "unilateralist" trend among sections of the various ruling classes and the political parties that represent them.

On the other hand, and very significantly, there are the masses of Western Europe who are more and more challenging the imperialists' scenario for world war, with the added impetus



West German "neutralism" as expressed on recent covers of Germany's two most popular weekly magazines.

that in addition to the West German and American armies, there are also stationed in West Germany troops from England, Belgium, Canada, Holland and France. And further, they square off directly against Soviet, East German and Czech troops, often separated even today by only a few miles.

In addition, within the broader anti-war sentiment there are more advanced forces, both veterans of the '60s and those who have come into motion against nukes or in the squatters' movement, etc., who have a deeper understanding of and hatred for the imperialist system. With each turn of the wheel of war preparations and heightening of tensions, further opposition mounts. This has had the U.S. ruling class and its junior partners biting their nails for months for this movement is a tremendous threat to them all.

But as we shall see, there is more than one reason to be opposed to the Pershing and Cruise missiles, and for that matter, it is possible to call a "peace rally" in order to prepare for war. This, in fact, is exactly what the organizers of the Bonn demonstration had in mind. Their ranks included G. Eppler, a leading politician (who at one time was in Schmidt's cabinet), and others of a similar stature. People like Eppler (and his mentor, Willy Brandt, SPD chairman and former chancellor who did not officially endorse the rally, but refused to condemn it as well) represent both a different view by a minority of the West German bourgeoisie on the question of the missiles, and in an overall sense, the "other" side in the bourgeoisie's dual tactics in preparing for war.

The U.S. wants the Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe in order to be able to hit missile silos in the Soviet Union. Because they are based in Europe they will be more accurate and faster to the target (6 to 10 minutes for the Pershing, leaving little time for a

W. German Leaders' "Neutralist" War-Mongering

A huge demonstration against the NATO plan to deploy nuclear armed Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Europe was held in Bonn, West Germany on October 10th. It further revealed both the growing opposition to the imperialists' war preparations, and the increasingly complex situation for both the ruling classes of the various countries concerned, and for those striving to uphold the international proletariat's interests.

The demonstration itself, drawing between 250,000 and 300,000 people, was originally called by two church-related organizations and was endorsed by 802 other groups, ranging from 50 SPD (the ruling Social Democratic Party) members to the pro-Moscow revisionist DKP (German Communist Party). The intentions of those in political and organizational control of the demonstration aside for the moment—it was clearly the masses' sentiment of op-

position to heightening imperialist contention and preparations for war which brought them to Bonn.

This was the largest demonstration in West Germany since World War 2, and once again highlighted the difficulties faced here by the bourgeoisie in rallying the masses for war. The U.S. stands today as widely exposed as an aggressive and predatory power. This is due to the fact that as top dog imperialist since World War 2, it has been the target of numerous national liberation struggles around the world. In particular, the devastating loss it suffered in Vietnam and the widespread opposition to the U.S. imperialist war there has left a

lasting impression on the consciousness of millions. This has been further reinforced by the cowboy bluster and saberrattling emanating from the Reagan administration as the U.S. bourgeoisie desperately tries to whip up war fever on the home front. The prospect of war does not play well here in West Germany. You cannot convince any sizeable section of the masses that war would be "good for the economy." There is no illusion here—as opposed to, perhaps, in the United States—that massive destruction could somehow be avoided. Such an illusion would be hard to sustain given the destruction caused by the last imperialist war and the fact



Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and friends go for a joyride in a Swedish motorized anti-tank weapon—a not too subtle message of U.S. intentions for Europe.

flects the sentiments of vastly larger segments of the population of Western Europe, but it has been rapidly growing with each new escalation toward world war. All of which portends real problems for all the imperialists—and they know it. As for the “neutralists” among the bourgeoisies, they are trying to do two things with respect to this mass movement. They are scrambling to try to get to the head of it all and keep it within acceptable bounds, and turn it to their own ends, whipping up national chauvinism under the banner of “peace.” “Defend the fatherland” is lurking behind their calls to “keep nuclear weapons out of _____ (fill in the blank with your favorite imperialist country). An important part of the West European rulers’ attempts to capitalize on this growing anti-war sentiment is to use it as a pressure tactic against the U.S. They very much want more favorable terms for their participation in the global showdown, and this requires struggling for concessions from the superpower headman they are necessarily aligned with. In particular, there is a growing effort to try and direct the fighting elsewhere, to try to stay out of the bloodfest as much as possible in order to be in the best position to benefit from the spoils of the war. The U.S. successfully used this tactic during World War 2, but the situation facing Western Europe today is far less favorable for these powers. Nevertheless, they just bend every effort on this front. (See accompanying article below.) In other words, there is nothing neutral about this trend at all, but it is giving the U.S. great cause for worry. Increasingly, the deepening contradictions within the U.S. bloc are being played out under the neutralist banner, and the stakes are very high, having everything to do not only with the alignment of forces going into a war but also what happens during and after it.

European ruling classes, and maneuvering especially among the more “neutralist” sections of them—like the Social Democrats—and trying to increase their influence over the masses, paying special attention to the very social bases that their rival rulers’ have relied on in the past. The Soviets certainly didn’t miss the opportunities that the Reagan whip-cracking provided. In a statement clearly meant for West European ears, the official Soviet news agency Tass said, “By his statements on the possibility of waging a limited nuclear war in Europe without it spreading to the territory of the United States, President Reagan actually admitted what Washington’s West European allies have been suspecting all along. The matter is that the United States would like Western Europe to face all the risks of a thermal nuclear catastrophe while the United States keeps away from it.” Then, to prove how much in unity with the mass movement they were, they held a demonstration in East Germany at the same time that the major cities of Western Europe were filled with marchers; not surprisingly, the Pershings and Cruises—and most definitely not Soviet SS-20 missiles—were targeted. Considering all the benevolent Soviet imperial concern here, one might get the impression that this “thermonuclear catastrophe” would be the result of U.S. nukes firing at each other, instead of the actual two-way explosions currently in preparation.

As a further move to take advantage of the U.S.’ problems in Western Europe, Soviet President Brezhnev himself took the mike. He called on the U.S. to join with the Soviets in an agreement to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons anywhere—cleverly saying, “. . . if there is no first nuclear strike, then, consequently, there will be no second or third nuclear strike. Thereby all talk about the possibility or impossibility of victory in nuclear wars as such will be removed from the agenda of the day.”

This or other hypothetical “disarmament agreements” between the imperialists would hardly stop either side from using everything they’ve got when their very survival as international

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Obviously the Soviet Union is doing its damndest to make use of these contradictions to screw up its rival bloc’s ability to prepare for and wage war. This involves both trying to widen the wedge, based on competing imperialist interests, between the U.S. and West

from the fact that they are living at ground zero, and they know it. Massive demonstrations and even rebellions against war moves have been occurring with greater frequency and numbers throughout the continent of late. About a half million people demonstrated

against nuclear war and the proposed U.S. missile deployment in London, Paris, Brussels, and Rome last weekend—only two weeks after 250,000 marched in a similar demonstration in Bonn, West Germany.

This mass outpouring not only re-

“launch-on-warning” response by the Soviets) compared to U.S. based ICBM’s. This gives the U.S. bloc added striking power to launch a pre-emptive first strike against Soviet land-based strategic missiles. Plus there is the added bonus of being able to put them in Europe, and thus the Russian warheads that will be inevitably targeted against them will be aimed there and not at the U.S.

At the same time, this very fact, that these new missiles do indeed make West Germany a bigger target for Soviet warheads, has a section of the bourgeoisie here in opposition to them, and accounts for the following words concerning the anti-war movement from *New York Times* correspondent John Vinocur in a recent article: “No longer the murmurs of trendy Protestant clergymen and young people with long hair, it is now a deeper current in West Germany with important support in the media.” By media, he also means ruling class, which further accounts for the whole series of articles in leading publications criticizing the missile deployment—the most recent of which was the October 3 issue of *Stern* (the largest circulation weekly in West Germany), which features a full-color picture of a mushroom cloud on the cover with the headline, “Armaments Madness.” This article documents the fact that NATO (including France) has both more troops and more nuclear weapons than the Warsaw Pact. The overall point here is that their opposition stems from their view of how best to pursue their interests as West German imperialists, which means, while firmly in the U.S. bloc in preparing for war, they want these preparations to be on the most favorable terms for their own national interests.

Thus, for these sections of the bourgeoisie, a mass movement against war preparations, while overall a big problem, can serve some important pur-



NATO soldiers, from several countries, march in Oct. 10th Bonn demonstration.

poses, particularly if it can be kept within certain bounds—in this case, limited to opposition to the deployment of the new NATO missiles only. That is why these forces called the demonstration and worked overtime to keep it within peaceful legal and politically narrow limits. In line with their strategy to control as much as possible opposition to war preparations, they did all they could to promote a political line not only limited to opposition to the missiles, but on a chauvinist basis as well.

This is where their actions served a broader purpose for the bourgeoisie as a whole, one of trying to rope back in as much as possible of the growing movement against war preparations, and set

it up to fall into line when things jump off. Here is where the nationalism they are promoting would really pay dividends, and where their apparent opposition to war reveals itself as what it actually is—back-door preparations for war.

To try to carry this off, they did all they could to portray the decision to deploy the new missiles as one forced upon the West European governments by the U.S. in an effort to create a situation where limited nuclear war could be contained in the European theater. While part of this is definitely true, there are some important distortions or rather lies. Here we quote from the post-demonstration issue of *The Economist* (Oct. 17-23, p. 15):

“These missiles were originally proposed—by Europeans—for exactly the opposite reason. Without them, the danger is that the Russians might be able to overwhelm the NATO army in Central Europe at both the non-nuclear and battlefield nuclear levels; the war for Europe could be lost before America nerved itself to press the intercontinental button. NATO’s planned new missiles in Europe would change that in two ways. Unlike the battlefield ones, they can reach into Russia itself (thus giving the Russians an extra reason for caution). They would also involve the United States at once, because the Russians have long said that any American missile landing on Soviet territory—no matter where from—will be counted as coming from America. That means a Russian counter-strike at America.”

There you have it in all its glory—the imperialist version of misery loves company. Obviously, many among the West European bourgeoisies want the missiles both to counter Soviet SS-20’s and strengthen the overall strategic position of the Western war bloc, and to help insure that the U.S. will be unable to maneuver around and avoid being hit in a nuclear exchange. That section of the bourgeoisie in opposition to stationing the new missiles in Western Europe obviously feels that the U.S. couldn’t avoid a nuclear attack anyway, so why make itself a bigger target for nothing.

This difference of opinion notwithstanding, the organizers of the demonstration went all-out to turn the rally into an orgy of “leftist nationalism.” Eppler, the featured speaker, had the following gem: “The peace movement shows that the old nations of Europe are more than just chess figures on the board of the superpowers, both superpowers. . . . The Europeanization of Europe is not only

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Greensboro Report Attacks RCP

Southern Studies' Study in Subterfuge

Early last month, a new report entitled *The Third of November* appeared. Printed as a special edition of *Southern Exposure* magazine by the Durham, North Carolina-based Institute for Southern Studies (ISS), the report is the result of a six-month "investigation" into the November 3, 1979 Greensboro massacre (in which 5 Communist Workers Party members were murdered) and the subsequent trial and acquittal of six Klansmen and Nazis. This report has received major media attention, with reviews in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and the Greensboro papers, as well as in the movement press such as *The Guardian*. In its newspaper *Workers Viewpoint*, the Communist Workers Party (CWP) applauds the publication of the reports and supports the report's conclusions. In some cities, the report sold out almost as soon as it reached the stores. It is being read and circulated in many different political circles as if it is the definitive statement on these events, and it has gotten a special boost from Georgia Senator Julian Bond who announced the report's release at a press conference in Washington, D.C. on October 2.

This report, coming a full two years after the massacre, contains a rather thorough documentation of many—though not all, and not even the most significant—of the events surrounding the Greensboro murders. But possibly surprising to anyone who has read the above mentioned press accounts of the report but not the report itself—it also contains a vicious attack on the Revolutionary Communist Party, based on slander, distortions, innuendo, lies; in other words, on bullshit.

Frankly, we're not sure where this thing is coming from. Future events may well make this more apparent than it is right now. In any case, it is obviously aimed at a social base rightly and righteously outraged at the murders, subsequent trial and acquittal of the murderers, and every other putrid occurrence that is associated with Greensboro since that day on November 3. It is just as obviously intended as an attempt to isolate the RCP from these forces, not to mention setting the Party up for further attack.

The basic thesis of *The Third of November* is that the killings involved complicity of Klan/Nazis and some local police (the real role of the feds in the murders is intentionally obscured), and that since "RCP-inspired anti-communist sentiment seethed in Greensboro" (pg. 26), an atmosphere had been created by the Party which resulted in the murders of the CWP members.

According to Liz Wheaton (the main author of the report), for this report ISS relied almost solely on an interview with Ed Dawson and on the Greensboro news media. (Our source for this is an interview we conducted with Wheaton.) Ed Dawson, it will be remembered, is the admitted police-FBI informant/KKK leader who played a central role in the events of November 3. ISS draws from this interview (reprinted at the end of the report) for much of its "exposure," and in the process accepts as truth most of what Dawson has to say. The report puts it: "After four hours of interviewing Dawson, and after reading several interviews he had given in the mid-1970s, we concluded that there is a method to his con: he tells a lot more truth than anyone would expect." Uh huh. Dawson deals with the RCP early in the interview. He introduces the whole idea that there was confusion between the CWP and the

RCP on the part of the authorities, and presumably on the part of the Klan/Nazis. (This, of course, is a lie, but a necessary one for the ISS. Outside a few poorly informed local kluckers and a few lowly pigs, it's absurd to think that the political police were confused over the difference.) But it remains for the ISS to pick up this ball and run with it. The result—concentrated in the section *Background*, the first part of the report—is a fantastic chronology which sets up the RCP as the real instigators of the murders. Here we must note that nobody from the ISS bothered to contact the RCP before printing up this story and distributing thousands of copies. Why not? The author told us: "We just didn't have time to talk to everybody."

The picture painted in *Background* portrays the CWP (then called Workers Viewpoint Organization—WVO) as an essentially well meaning, if secondarily misdirected, bunch of radicals, who "got cocky" in confronting the Klan in North Carolina, failed to "research their adversaries adequately," were "exceedingly naive, some would say stupid..." etc., but generally did pretty good work, especially in the textile mills in the area where they became local union officials of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers (ACTWU) and where "WVO activists provided important services that the impotent union had left unattended..."

But, alas, "the Revolutionary Communist Party had also become active in the mills. RCP's strategy was to lay low while WVO rekindled interest in the union. Then, when the difficult initial organizing was accomplished, the RCP would try to take control, often resorting to violence to show its greater strength." The national union took over the locals at one point. "The RCP's violent activities in the mills and on the streets may have been the impetus for ACTWU's takeover; while effective radical leadership of the locals might have been tolerated, vandals and hoodlums—as the RCP showed themselves to be—could not."

But things can get confusing: "The WVO's desire to outdo the RCP may have further blinded the WVO to the danger of its 'Death to the Klan' challenge (a reference to WVO's call for November 3—RW). The rivalry between the two communist groups was bitter, but its subtleties and very existence escaped most outsiders." The "confusion" between the RCP and CWP was consciously promoted during these times nationally, with newspapers constantly referring to the RCP as the CWP, and the CWP doing a little distorted mimicry of some RCP slogans and activity. But whatever the point of all that may have been, the point in this report is not "conscious confusion," but conscious separation of the groups for the purpose of developing the lies.

What follows is a chronology excerpted from the report:

"October 10: Several RCP members were arrested for trespassing when they disrupted classes at the University of North Carolina branch in Greensboro. They said they wanted 'to further educate them [the students] by telling them what's really going on in the outside world' and to recruit them for a rally featuring RCP presidential candidate Bob Avakian. As an indication of Greensboro officialdom's growing disgust with agitation by the RCP and WVO, District Attorney Michael Schlosser (who later prosecuted the November killers) personally visited the Greensboro campus to solicit witnesses for his prosecution of the RCP dis-

rupters.

"October 10: On the same day as the RCP arrests, the Greensboro police discussed the proposed WVO march at a staff meeting..."

"October 11: RCP members were arrested for 'inciting a riot' at Hampton Homes, a predominantly black housing project, where they were recruiting residents for their rally."

To digress for a moment, we must point out the infuriating fact that almost all of the movement, notably the *Guardian*, which now hails the appearance of this report—and refuses to even mention any reference to the RCP in it—blasted the CWP after the massacre for "ultra-left tactics," for creating a tense atmosphere through its adventurism, etc., etc., in Greensboro and essentially blamed the CWP instead of the bourgeoisie for the murders. This is true of many people associated with ISS as well. By contrast, we'll quote a press release issued around that time:

"The Revolutionary Communist Party once again firmly condemns these brazen, brutal murders by the Klan and Nazis, and the obvious role of the police and their bosses. The RCP, as has been stated before, has serious, deep disagreements with the Communist Workers Party, who called the demonstration, over many major political questions. These differences have been and will continue to be made clear in our Party's press, the *Revolutionary Worker*. But in the face of this vicious attack, the question of right and wrong is clear and our contempt is reserved for the Klan and the highest authorities behind them. The RCP calls on people of all nationalities to take the political offensive against this vicious attack." We'll stand with this, *Guardian*, ISS, et al. What—or who—are you standing with?

Returning to the report, we come upon the next date in ISS's amazing timetable:

"October 16: Several CWP members passing out literature near Cone Mills' White Oak plant entrance were attacked by RCP members with clubs. The police describe the fight in their administrative report, but do not identify the assailants as members of the RCP. Several pieces of evidence indicate law enforcement agencies at the time routinely assumed the WVO was an offshoot or affiliate of the RCP. The police confusion over, or refusal to distinguish between, the two groups is important because if they thought that the CWP was responsible for the incidents at the university, Hampton Homes and White Oak, that misinformation could have provided justification in the minds of certain officers to hold back and let the Klan/Nazis beat up the communists on November 3."

This is the bottom line, and it couldn't be any clearer: "certain officers" held back from restraining the Klan/Nazis because maybe they thought that the demonstrators on November 3 were those same people—the "vandals and hoodlums"—behind the trespassing, the disruptions, the violence, the riots at places like the University of North Carolina, Hampton Homes and White Oak. In other words: "RCP-inspired anti-communist sentiment seethed in Greensboro..." The implication here, though it is not directly stated, is that it would have been fine if the RCP had been the target of Klan/Nazi bullets on November 3.

All this is objectively in line with a rising chorus of attacks on the Party from other quarters. It is therefore necessary to bring a few true facts to light, facts drawn from reality and not

from interviews with FBI informants, bourgeois press clippings, and god knows what else.

It is true that Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP, was to appear in Greensboro on October 14. This was part of his nationwide speaking tour which spanned the summer and fall of 1979, and was prior to the scheduled November 19 preliminary hearing in the trial of the Mao Tsetung Defendants. Thousands had already come to hear his speeches around the country, and in North Carolina the planned speech was drawing considerable attention, as was a major political rally set for November 18 in Washington, D.C. around the Mao Defendants. There was a lot of activity around these events—rallies, leaflets, posters. (At best, this business of "RCP presidential candidate" is lunacy. Where did Liz Wheaton get it? "...really, most of this is from reading press accounts of that time." Although, to our knowledge, this is one lie the bourgeois press never printed.)

October 10: Several Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade members and supporters went to the University of North Carolina—Greensboro campus, to leaflet. A spokesman entered one classroom (the class had not started—the professor was still upstairs in his office) to make an announcement about the speech, while others circulated among the students. Suddenly the professor and campus security guards rushed in and threatened to arrest the youth if they did not leave. The RCYBers began to leave, but in a minute they were arrested anyway, and charged with "trespass and disrupting a public school." Three of these youth were later convicted and sentenced to one year hard time for these charges, a fourth got 6 months on the "trespass" charge. The appeals case hung over the defendants' heads for over one year, until the charges were dropped—significantly after the Klan/Nazi verdict, "not guilty" which, due to widespread outrage, limited their freedom.

As for the ISS report's charge that the RCYBers were accused of "throwing red paint" in classrooms, this is a lie, and until the ISS report, only the CWP and Ed Dawson had even "accused" the RCP of these charges.

October 11: A group of RCP supporters organized a rally at Hampton Homes project (attended by 100 residents) to build for the Chairman's speech. The authorities were already worried about the influence of the RCP at Hampton Homes, and on September 13th, had arrested, tried and sentenced two *Revolutionary Worker* sellers to 29 days each on a charge of selling the paper without a permit in the project, before the judge was forced to admit they had no such law and dropped the charges. The previous summer had been filled with struggle against police harassment there, in which the RCP had been involved. The afternoon of October 11th, the police began massing near the rally site and made their move against the RCP spokesman. He was bodily dragged to a standing cop car and thrown on the hood. The crowd began chanting and booing the cops, who again freaked out and began chasing and arresting people. In December, ten revolutionaries were sentenced to from two to three years on various charges including "inciting to riot" for this police attack. The February 1980 appeals trial ended with a hung jury, but again, significantly, the state did not drop these charges until after the verdict in the Klan/Nazi trial.

The ISS report fails to mention any of the trials or sentences of these defen-

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Lu Hsun: Writing For the Revolution

The following article is mainly drawn from two articles originally printed in Chinese Literature magazine, "Landmarks in the Life of a Great Writer" (CL No. 5, 1973) and "Writing for the Revolution" (CL No. 9, 1972).

A great age gave birth to a great writer! Mao Tsetung analysed and evaluated Lu Hsun's relationship with the revolutionary cultural movement of the Chinese proletariat and his great historical role in this way: "But since the May 4th Movement things have been different. A brand-new cultural force came into being in China, that is, the communist culture and ideology guided by the Chinese Communists, or the communist world outlook and theory of social revolution. . . . For the last twenty years, wherever this new cultural force has directed its attack, a great revolution has taken place both in ideological content and in form (for example, in the written language). Its influence has been so great and its impact so powerful that it is invincible wherever it goes. The numbers it has rallied behind it have no parallel in Chinese history. Lu Hsun was the greatest and the most courageous standard-bearer of this new cultural force."¹

Lu Hsun was born in a family of officials and intellectuals which was already in decline, in Shaohsing, Chekiang Province in 1881, forty years after the Opium War of 1840 and thirty years after the Revolt of the Taipings in 1851. Under the corrupt rule of the Ching dynasty, China, once a great empire, had become a semi-colonial country fettered by unequal treaties imposed upon her by the imperialist powers and faced with the imminent danger of partition by foreign powers. The feudal rulers' policy of yielding to the demands of the aggressors while suppressing the Chinese people aroused general indignation and revolt, causing splits within the ranks of the ruling class itself.

During Lu Hsun's childhood there was an attempt headed by Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao to bring about reform. Lu Hsun himself, owing to changes in his family status and his father's long illness, began to realize what it was like to be poor. He often went with his mother for long visits in the country and came in touch with children of labouring people. This enabled him to see a life different from his own, made him detest his own class and sympathize with those peasant children who were so simple and honest. As we read in his "Preface to *Call to Arms*,"² in his youth he dreamed of promoting reform, went to study in the Naval Academy, then in the College of Railway and Mining, accepted Darwin's ideas of evolution, then went to study in Japan.

1. See "On New Democracy" by Mao Tsetung.

2. See *Selected Stories of Lu Hsun*. Foreign Languages Press, Peking

By then he was already an ardent nationalist, a young patriot opposed to Manchu domination and foreign imperialist aggression.

In 1903, he wrote a short poem on a photo which he gave to a friend:
The sacred tower, beset by gods' arrows, lies helpless;
Crushed under a millstone my old country dark in the storm.
I appeal to the cold stars which disregard me;
I shall give my life-blood to Hsuan-yuan.³

Lu Hsun made this vow while studying in Japan; it expressed his determination to dedicate himself to saving the Chinese nation. At first he studied medicine, as a way, he felt, to build his countrymen's faith in reform. Later, while watching some slides showing a Chinese being beheaded while others stood by watching the spectacle, he gave up this study and decided to promote a literary movement to change the spirit of the people.

Of course, this reliance only on the strength of a few to arouse the spirit of revolt through literature was bound to fail under those historical conditions. In that uncongenial atmosphere his attempt to start the literary magazine *Vita Nova* was abortive.

Though the Revolution of 1911 succeeded in overthrowing the feudal monarchy, it did not bring the new life which Lu Hsun as a revolutionary democrat had hoped for. As Mao pointed out, the Chinese national bourgeoisie

3. Legendary ancestral spirit of the Chinese people.



Lu Hsun, May Day in Shanghai, 1933.

"lacks the courage to oppose imperialism and feudalism thoroughly because it is economically and politically flabby and still has economic ties with imperialism and feudalism".

This weakness and tendency to compromise was very soon revealed after the 1911 Revolution. Although in theory Lu Hsun did not realize that this reflected the inherent weakness of the Chinese bourgeoisie, in practice he could already see that the revolution had brought about no real change. It appeared revolutionary, but the old social order remained. Lu Hsun's immortal work "The True Story of Ah Q" which was included in his first collection of short stories is a powerful criticism of the 1911 Revolution for its lack of thoroughness. In this story, we see how the local magistrate retained his former post, the successful provincial candidate became the assistant civil administrator, the head of the military was still the same old captain, and even the successful county candidate in the Chao family and the Imitation Foreign Devil joined in "to work for reforms". Not only would these characters not allow Ah Q to join the revolution, they even had him executed. Thus after the revolution, the Chinese peasantry was still being hoodwinked and oppressed.

The failure of the 1911 Revolution disillusioned Lu Hsun, but from it he drew lessons which deepened his understanding of Chinese society. He sharpened his weapons to combat feudalism and imperialism.

"The salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism." (Mao Tsetung) So the May 4th Movement of 1919 marked the end of

China's bourgeois revolution and opened a new chapter in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal bourgeois democratic revolution in China. The proletariat mounted the stage and became the natural leader of the bourgeois democratic revolution. Also in the sphere of culture, Marxist ideology had arrived, "full of youth and vitality, sweeping the world with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt". (Mao Tsetung)

Lu Hsun courageously raised his voice in a "call to arms". Though he modestly said, "Perhaps because I have not forgotten the grief of my past loneliness, I sometimes call out to encourage those fighters who are galloping on in loneliness, so that they do not lose heart," actually his collection of short stories *Call to Arms* was the first spring thunderbolt in revolutionary Chinese literature. These fourteen short stories were imbued with deep feeling for the Chinese labouring masses. They were a powerful attack on the feudal system and its "man-eating" culture.

Call to Arms shows a strong and clear line against feudalism. So from the very beginning, Lu Hsun was uncompromising in his fight, and laid the first cornerstone for the Chinese revolutionary literary movement.

Although Lu Hsun was not yet a Marxist at this time, he drew great inspiration from the victory of the October Revolution of the Russian proletariat. He praised these men of the October Revolution as "men with ideals". "In other countries, as we can see, those who resist this are the men with ideals. For their cherished ideals they

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CIA-Concocted Tales of Terrorism Training

From over the tops of podiums across the length and breadth of Washington, D.C., at the White House, the Pentagon and the State Department, we have been blasted by unrelenting belchings of four ominous words: "Soviet-inspired international terrorism." For every rock the U.S. imperialists' ship of state has rammed into in the waters of foreign policy, and for every manifestation of opposition to their policies, here and around the globe, these four words have become synonymous with the U.S. rulers' attempts to smear, slander and beat down whatever gets in their way. It has become a chosen trademark of the Reagan administration. Immediately upon becoming the resident-in-chief of the Oval Office throne room, Reagan issued the overall decree that his administration would give "high priority to combatting international terrorism." And, even before the streets of the capital were fully cleansed of the coronation confetti, Secretary of State General Alexander M. Haig ranted in late January: "The Soviets have a conscious policy of training, funding and equipping international terrorists."

This was but the opening on a "new thrust" of American foreign policy. And, it was only two short months later, on March 31, that Haig addressed the imperialist policy development club—the gang at the Trilateral Commission. It was to this oh-so-distinguished

group that the ludicrous and blatantly transparent demarcation between "totalitarian regimes" (pro-Soviet dictatorships and puppet governments), and "authoritarian regimes" (pro-U.S. dictatorships and puppet governments), was first put forward as some sort of justification for U.S. support of regimes like the one they are propping up in El Salvador—and elsewhere. And, to the question of whether the Reagan administration was "abandoning" so-called "human rights," Haig quipped: "The most fundamental human right (is) freedom from terrorism."

The more the U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador became exposed in the eyes of the world, the louder the howls about "international terrorism" came from these hyenas in Washington, D.C. "Soviet-inspired international terrorism"; "Soviet-inspired, Cuban-trained international terrorism"; "Soviet-inspired, Cuban-trained, Libyan-armed international terrorism" ... on and on it went *ad nauseam*. And now, after being nearly drowned under these torrents from the U.S. rulers, we find an article in the October 18 edition of the *New York Times* with the rather small headline—"Soviet-Terror Ties Called Outdated"—tucked away on page 9, serving as mere border copy for a 5-column ad for Lord & Taylor fashions!

Lo and behold, it now appears (according to this *New York Times* article) that all the "detailed links" and "impeccable evidence" of "Soviet-inspired international terrorism" came from one Czechoslovakian defector, Major General Jan Sejna—and in 1968 yet! According to the *Times*, Sejna's so-called information has been knocking around U.S. and European intelligence networks and somehow found its way into the U.S.' "active" Soviet file. Sejna undoubtedly told some stories back in 1968 that he felt sure would buy him a real nice house and perpetual CIA protection. These tales collected lots of dust for more than decade, and now, somehow, magically, they have leapt to the level of top news stories and top-level government policy. Not that the Soviets—imperialists just like the U.S.—are incapable of gangster activities; but *this* story clearly comes right from the bowels of U.S.A.-brand imperialism. The *New York Times* seems to have dragged this up in a bit of intra-ruling class dispute over how best to fool the people into supporting U.S. imperialism.

But frankly, "outdated," as the *Times* puts it, is hardly the question. No, the U.S. imperialists' cries about "international terrorism" were *out-matched* by the realities that they were trying to mask. Indeed, helicopter gunships, death squads and National Guard troops trained, funded and equipped by the U.S. Defense Department, the "Death to the Tiller" land reform (pacification) program with over 20,000 Salvadorans murdered (even U.S. missionaries raped and murdered) by the U.S.' "authoritarian" junta, imbued international terror with a thoroughly *American* odor.

Of course this little fact hardly deterred the ruling class' campaign. We were treated to a well-oiled, State Department-fed, chorus on "international terrorism" from that well-known bastion of objectivity and unbiased truth, the American free press. The *New York Times* dished out its share of articles, including such gems as "in-depth" articles by "former skeptics" who were now convinced by European police authorities of the "very real dangers

presented by international terrorism." And, using the easy-to-follow instructions contained in the rantings about "international terrorism," a spate of books were cranked off the presses and cranked into bestseller slots—*The Terror Network* and *Spike*, to name but two. Much of this barrage in the press and on the airways also coincided (surprise!) with the opening sessions of the Senate Sub-Committee on Security and Terrorism, headed up by none other than Alabama Senator Jeremiah "the Vietnamese couldn't break me" Denton. It was also under this smokescreen of "international terrorism" that moves were begun to take the CIA, FBI, etc., etc., more fully out of the closet within which they were carrying on their dirty tricks. As far as the ruling class is concerned, no effort is too great nor too costly to wipe out the "terrorist menace."

And of course, *what* "international terrorist" scenario would be complete without the Middle East as its backdrop? Indeed, just this past June, Under Secretary of State Richard Kennedy gave a major policy speech directing new security measures be taken in U.S. embassies around the world against "terrorism." Their most recent blood-curdling experience he cited was the "terrorist" takeover (spurred by some 35 million politically aroused Iranians) of the U.S. embassy in Tehran. And, as if to top it all off, this past July *Newsweek* magazine blasted out a cover featuring Libya's Colonel Qaddafi, framed with the sinister question: "The Most Dangerous Man In The World?" Yes indeed, we have been drenched with the "Soviet-inspired international terrorism" swill until it reaches right up to the gills, in the hopes that we will both fall into believing that somehow U.S. crimes are "less" terroristic and in turn rally behind the imperialists' war plans under the "eliminate terrorism" banner.

Well, imperialist gentlemen, that's quite a bit of mileage out of the tales of one old Czech defector. The only "highly reliable" part of this terrorism story is that it was manufactured in the not-too-clever brain trusts of U.S. imperialism. □



Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions

by Bob Avakian

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Eugene, Oregon—On Friday, October 16, two members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade were found guilty of first degree arson—a felony charge carrying a possible sentence of a \$2500 fine and 20 years in jail. Sentencing has not yet been set and an appeal is planned. The charge stemmed from an incident on February 9 in the ballroom of the University of Oregon in Eugene as ex-hostage Victor Tomseth—former chief political officer of the U.S. embassy in Tehran and high-level CIA operative—took the U.S. rulers' yellow ribbon roadshow before a large crowd of students, hoping to defend his activities in the notorious U.S. spy den where he helped plan, coordinate and supervise the butchery of thousands of Iranian people by the U.S.'s puppet dictator Shah and his SAVAK torturers. As Tomseth stepped to the podium, the two Brigaders—John Kaiser and Nancy Whitley—stood up and burned one of these sacred yellow ribbons, declaring "We spit on you, your red, white and blue, your whole stinking system. We stand with the Iranian people!" in a sharp internationalist statement that went straight up against the barrage of chauvinistic swill emanating from the U.S. rulers.

From the start of this trial, the prosecution pathetically tried to portray the ribbon-burning as a "criminal offense." The judge denied all pre-trial defense motions for dismissal of charges and the DA cynically attempted to "prove" that the defendants' actions had presented "a substantial risk of harm" to those in the ballroom, "a possibility of panic," etc., etc. This despite incident police reports that stated there was never any fire hazard to the building and the fact that the defense presented a wide array of testimony detailing how in the past fire marshalls allowed literally thousands of instances of the presence of open flames in the ballroom and even publicly instructed smokers to throw lit cigarettes on the wooden floor to put them out.

All this debate over "fire safety" was, of course, quite beside the point as the blatant political nature of this railroad was revealed time and again by the prosecution's maneuvers in the courtroom. At first the state demanded

that only about one minute of a videotape of the entire incident be shown in court—i.e., "the act of arson itself." For one thing, they did not want the jury to see film of the righteous applause for this action nor of protestors inside and outside the ballroom chanting, "CIA, CIA!", footage which would lend little credence to their claim that this was a "criminal" not a political case. But the main reason for attempting to quash this footage was that it also contained Tomseth's ashen-faced statement in reaction to the ribbon-burning. To wit: "This exercise of the right of free speech and assembly serves to remind

members in which Kaiser was beaten by undercover police. In fact, after the state tried to assert that the defendants' actions had caused people to panic and run out of the ballroom, a number of people who took the stand spoke to the fact that the only "rush out the doors" was by some students coming to the defense of Brigaders as they were dragged out by police as well as others who were trying to find out what the hell was going on outside. The bulk of the prosecution's case, however, was mainly devoted to conjuring up grandiose descriptions of the "possible dangers" presented by the ribbon-burning, nonsense about the ribbon being

there was one point of procedure which seemed to leave the honorable judge stymied. Since, for obvious reasons, he had ruled against a defense subpoena issued for Victor Tomseth to testify at the trial, the judge was quite taken aback to see "Tomseth" himself strolling into the courtroom with a sign hanging from a yellow ribbon around his neck which read, "Convicted spy: Victor Tomseth." At the sight of the stuffed dummy, a strange hush fell over the courtroom as the jury was hustled out and the confused judge warned that "This man can be of no help in this case." "Victor's" companions, however, insisted that he had been duly subpoenaed, but was unfortunately unable to read the sign outside prohibiting witnesses from entering the courtroom unless called. "All the witnesses have been excluded so he'll have to go outside," replied the shaken judge. "Victor" spent the rest of the day hanging from a coat-rack in the lobby until declared a fire hazard and ejected by none other than the same fire marshal who was a prosecution witness against the Brigaders, citing as a reason the dummy's highly "flammable" nature (seriously!). Local TV recorded "Victor's" subsequent appearances dangling from the flagpole in front of the courthouse and hanging by the neck from a yellow ribbon "tied around an old oak tree."

Meanwhile the authorities had been working feverishly *outside* the courtroom to manufacture public opinion against the defendants and play on the "arson" and "terrorism" theme. Stories in local newspapers about the trial (the conclusion of which just happened to coincide with "Fire Prevention Week") were run directly beside a disproportionate number of arson stories and reports on local fires—for example, after the verdict, the *Oregonian* ran the headline, "Communists Guilty of Arson" beside one reading, "Trailer Fire Kills Man." Along with this, it was no accident that the most sensational murder trial in Oregon history opened on the same day, same floor and at the same time as the ribbon-burning trial or that they were generally covered back to back in the press. When a press conference called by the RCYB after the verdicts was boycotted by the media and people went to one news station to find out why, an executive replied, "See you at the hanging." However, a number of honest news reporters were angry about the coverage of the trial, many commenting that obviously it had nothing to do with arson.

Joining in with the attacks were also a bunch of local opportunists who formed something called "The Ad Hoc Committee to Expose the RCYB" and seized the opportunity to aid the authorities by printing up a leaflet titled, "Tie A Yellow Ribbon 'Round the RCYB'" in which they ran the prosecution's b.s. about how the ribbon-burning had "endangered innocent lives" and put forward the slogan "Down With the RCYB and U.S. Imperialism." Letters from the group attacking the RCYB as "an isolated sect" were run side by side with similar correspondence from their kissing cousins, the Young Americans for Freedom, in the University of Oregon student newspaper, *The Emerald*—which unfortunately allowed its pages to be used to mouth reactionary garbage. Need any more be said about who these "revolutionaries" consider to be the "enemy" and precisely where they are coming from?

Just how isolated the defendants actually were in torching that despicable yellow symbol of U.S. imperialism was evident at a rally sponsored by the RCYB and held outside the court building to put U.S. imperialism on trial. As a *Message of Solidarity From Supporters of the Union of Iranian Communists* put it: "Revolution is spreading all over the world by the oppressed people in Iran, El Salvador, Nicaragua... Our duty is to uphold these struggles and stand with the freedom loving masses. We Iranian people condemn the U.S. and their Agents' involvements to oppress the people, and uphold the struggle of the Internationalist forces, one of which was the yellow ribbon burning in Eugene... They have charged the two revolutionaries who burned the ribbon, we charge *them* for killing people all over the world..." □

Arson Conviction in Yellow Ribbon Trial

Revolutionaries Face 20 Years

me that I am in the United States of America!" Obviously it would be embarrassing, to say the least, to convict the defendants for a "criminal" act their very own hostage-hitman had immediately pronounced in public to be "freedom of speech." Eventually the videotape was shown in court, but with Tomseth's statement omitted since the judge ruled that it was "hearsay"—a ruling which, indeed, no one would quarrel with!

Another prosecution maneuver was the dropping of a charge of "assaulting a police officer" against Nancy Whitley to avoid having to deal with testimony about (and pictures of) a police attack right after the incident on RCYB

"valuable property that was destroyed" (thus, proving "arson"), and professions of deep concern for the risks taken by a first-class Eagle Scout who "courageously" threw his coat upon the smoldering ribbon.

In a revealing move later in the trial, after the jury had been sent home for the day and the press had left, the prosecution provided a glimpse of the high level coordination behind this case (federal agents hovered constantly about the trial) and what they are trying to accomplish. After asking Kaiser whether he advocated the violent overthrow of the government, the DA suddenly demanded to know if he was "stockpiling arms." On cue an all too familiar FBI agent suddenly produced photos of Kaiser's apartment taken days before in a "legal" police search of the premises, conducted without the defendant's knowledge and supposedly to investigate an alleged spray-painting incident for which no one has ever been charged. The photos showed a .22 hunting gun and a shotgun which the cops had dragged from the closet and carefully displayed criss-crossed across a copy of the *RW* with the headline "Rebelling on the Front Lines." After the DA ranted and raved about guns, terrorism, for a few minutes the judge then ruled the photos out of order stating for the record that "The Party is not on trial here, at least not today." Oh really?

The DA didn't even try to say that the guns were illegally possessed. The point of this little theatrical episode was right in line with the point of the whole trial. It was made abundantly clear that the government is willing to go to considerable lengths to get certain specific kinds of "criminal" convictions against members and supporters of the RCP—convictions which can and will be (and have been) associated with "terrorism." While the portrayal of the Party as "terrorist" is a well worn method, the broad implications of all this are clear enough and the outrageous conviction in Eugene should be seen in light of attacks on the RCP nationally, in particular the pending trial of Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants.

The break-in in Eugene was only the latest of political police activity which, among other things, has included heavy surveillance of Brigade members and at least one of the defense lawyers, "strange" power failures in people's homes, openly planting marijuana in one Brigade member's car, and, all signs indicate a "mysterious" rape attempt against defendant Nancy Whitley at her home. Defense attempts to subpoena the cops' bulging surveillance files were ruled "irrelevant" by the judge.

In the midst of the trial, however,

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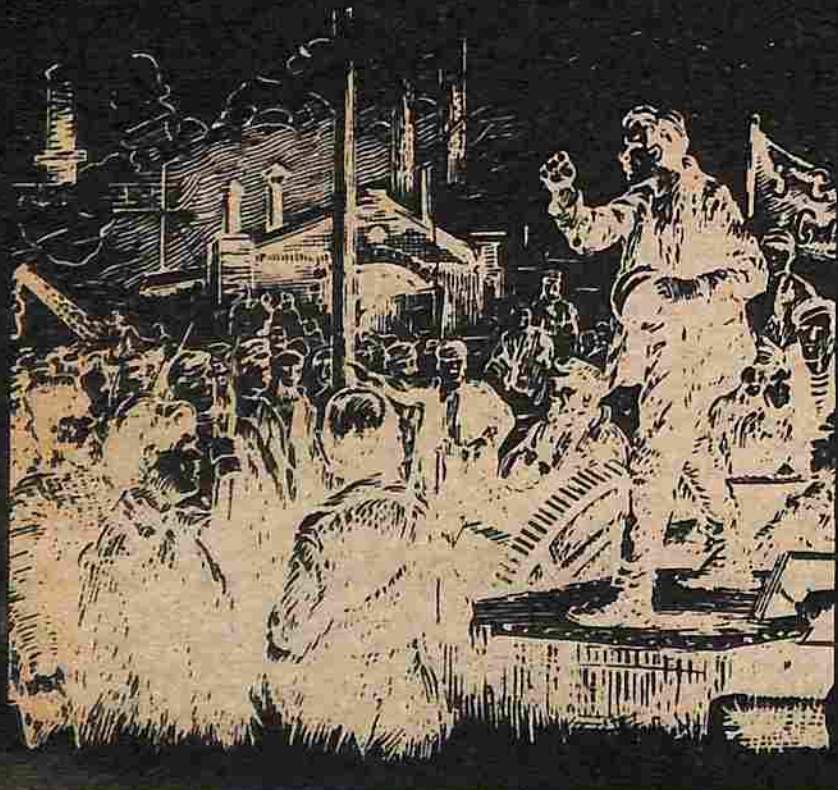
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Very Little Bite Behind Anti-NATO Barking



Andreas Papandreou.

In Greece's national elections held on October 18, Andreas Papandreou and his Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) soundly defeated the New Democracy Party led by incumbent Prime Minister George Rallis. A PASOK victory was thought to be highly likely, but its margin of victory—48% to 36% in the popular vote and 174 to 113 seats in the parliament—was much larger than expected. These results produced a certain amount of yelping in the Western press about Greece's "first socialist government" and Papandreou's "anti-American" and "anti-NATO" views. However, a closer look at the situation reveals two things: first, there will be no fundamental changes in Greece as a result of the Papandreou election, including in Greece's international alliances. But secondly, due to the stormy political climate in the whole of Europe and the eastern Mediterranean today, Papandreou's election is not only a product of these gathering storms, but far from calming them, points to the potential for new cracks to open up in the Western alliance in this area of the world.

Papandreou mounted a campaign aimed at presenting PASOK as the party of "social change" and "national pride." Tapping popular discontent with the deteriorating economic situation in Greece (25% inflation and unemployment in double figures), PASOK promised more extensive social services, wage/price indexing, elimination of corruption, the nationalization of some banks and industries, and increased military spending. What this amounts to is a typically European social-democratic program of streamlining and attempting to strengthen—but certainly in no way challenging—capitalism.

The U.S. imperialists see nothing wrong, and many advantages (as has been seen in their view of the Mitterrand victory in France) with talk of "social change" and a program of reforms leading to "socialism" somewhere off in the distant future, if this can successfully keep the masses within the mainstream of bourgeois politics and out of the hands of the pro-Soviet revisionist parties. The Western press has approvingly noted that Papandreou's positions have served to undercut any major swing to the pro-Moscow Communist Party of Greece (Exterior)—which re-

ceived nearly 11% of the popular vote in the election—and that his comfortable majority in the parliament means that he will not need their support to govern. An added source of "comfort for Greece's friends in the West," as the London *Economist* put it, is that the arch-conservative President, Constantine Karamanlis, whose term runs until 1985, has the ability to delay or even basically veto legislation.

The other major thrust of PASOK's campaign was its opposition to the present terms of Greece's membership in NATO and the European Economic Community, as well as Greece's hosting of more than a dozen U.S. military bases. These include important facilities on the island of Crete for the U.S. Sixth Fleet and a number of bases having tactical nuclear weapons in northern Greece, close to the border with Warsaw Pact member Bulgaria. From the massive "peace marathons" of the mid-1960s in Greece, to the militant march of 15,000 people in late 1980 on the U.S. embassy in Athens hitting Greece's return to the NATO military command structure, opposition to Greek membership in NATO and to the American bases has long been an important feature of the Greek political scene. All political forces in Greece have had to deal with these widespread sentiments, especially "socialists" like Papandreou—and all the more so when their purpose in doing so is to keep these anti-imperialist sentiments within safe boundaries of protest. In addition, important sections of the Greek bourgeoisie have their own reasons for being unhappy with Greece's present relationship to the Western imperialist alliance.

While all this has resulted in a "tough" public posture by Papandreou around Greek membership in NATO and the U.S. bases, there is plenty of evidence that Papandreou's aims go no further than obtaining better terms squarely within the Western bloc. During the election campaign, it was widely noted that Papandreou had substantially watered down his party's positions on these questions, particularly in comparison to PASOK's original program in 1974 which called for immediate Greek withdrawal from NATO and the dismantling of the U.S. bases. Since his election, Papandreou's statements have been quite conciliatory, and getting more so all the time. In an ABC News "Issues and Answers" program taped in Athens shortly after his election, Papandreou backpeddled even further, emphasizing that "we have no desire to take our country on any adventure" and promising that his government would not "move unilaterally" on NATO and the bases, but was instead

"Socialist" Takes Over in Greece

preparing to negotiate on them starting early in 1982.

Thus, Papandreou and PASOK are playing a role characteristic of the main social-democratic parties in Western Europe today—leading the considerable section of the masses who generally identify with the "left" down a false path of achieving "socialism" through elections and piecemeal reforms, and utilizing their anti-U.S. and nationalistic sentiments to promote the illusion of struggling for "independence" from the U.S.-led war bloc while actually using them to advance the Greek bourgeoisie's interests within the bloc.

Potential Problems

Nevertheless, Papandreou's stand on NATO and the U.S. bases has the potential of bringing up some very real problems for the U.S. imperialists. It comes at an inopportune time for them, to say the least, when their all-out drive to prepare for war with their Soviet rivals is facing mounting opposition throughout Western Europe, including within the social-democratic parties of West Germany, Britain and elsewhere. In fact, as the Greek elections were being held, U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger was on an 11-day jaunt in Europe warning of "the dangers of neutralism" and "unilateral disarmament." In this situation, even PASOK's watered-down positions on NATO, the EEC and the U.S. bases in Greece do not serve present U.S. efforts to tighten up its bloc in Europe; U.S. diplomats are already saying that Papandreou is going to be "a more difficult partner."

But more than Papandreou's victory itself, what is worrying the U.S. is the many interlocking contradictions at work in Greece and the surrounding area that have made the Western imperialist alliance especially fragile there. The countries of southern Europe are in general poorer and less developed economically than the rest of Western Europe, and also have relatively strong revisionist Communist Parties on their political scenes. In some cases these parties, or the Soviets themselves, have considerable clout within these capitalist economies. Powerful mass movements and the recourse to military rule in the not-too-distant past in a number of these countries (in Spain, Portugal and the U.S.-backed "colonels' regime" in Greece from 1967 to 1974) is an indication of the relative instability of bourgeois rule in this area. And of particular importance today, Greece is caught up in a web of contradictions with its neighbor and NATO "ally" Turkey that continue to flare up and destabilize NATO's southern flank.

It has long been a major aim of U.S. imperialist diplomacy to heal up the long-standing disputes between the Turkish and Greek rulers. These nearly reached the point of open warfare during the struggle for control over the Mediterranean island of Cyprus in 1974. This was an outbreak of serious fighting between the Greek-speaking majority and the Turkish-speaking mi-

nority on Cyprus that was fueled by the expansionist aims of the ruling classes in both Greece and Turkey, and by the attempts of the U.S. and USSR to improve their strategic position in the Mediterranean at the expense of the other (both superpowers had their eyes on Cyprus as a site for military bases). This fighting also went a long way in destroying whatever unity had existed among the oppressed masses on Cyprus. The thoroughly chauvinist demand for incorporating Cyprus into "Greater Greece" (no better than Turkish chauvinism) continues to be a major force in Greek politics, including among the socialist and communist "left." In fact, the only reason that Papandreou is not a member of the social-democratic Second International is because of the presence of their equally chauvinist Turkish opposite numbers; Papandreou has still not forgiven Turkey's former "socialist" Prime Minister Ecevit for commanding the Turkish invasion and occupation of northern Cyprus in 1974.

It was only after the U.S.-backed military coup in Turkey in September 1980—a move aimed in part at bringing a badly factionalized Turkish ruling class into line with U.S. strategic objectives in the region—that the U.S. was able to bring Greece back into the NATO military command structure that it had left in 1974. (It should be noted, however, that Greece's withdrawal from NATO's military wing did less damage than it might seem, since the U.S. bases in Greece remained in full operation during these years.) In spite of U.S. efforts to patch things up, there are still conflicting claims between Greece and Turkey over air and sea rights in the Aegean Sea, a tense situation in a partitioned Cyprus, and powerful sections of the bourgeoisie in both countries who routinely espouse blatant chauvinist positions that do not serve overall U.S. strategic interests (even though the U.S. has at times made use of them). Thus, Papandreou and PASOK have been able to capitalize on the broad sentiments among the Greek masses, fueled by sections of the bourgeoisie itself, that "Greece's national interests," especially in relation to Turkey, have not been adequately protected by its links to the U.S. and to the NATO alliance.

Greece and the EEC

In addition, there are important sections of the Greek bourgeoisie who are having second thoughts about Greece's membership in the EEC, which it joined as a full member in January of this year. Many of them believe that the economic effects of EEC membership, as it presently stands, will mainly hurt their interests. All tariffs on Greek exports to the EEC have already been abolished, but the next step is the removal of Greece's own tariffs and other import barriers, which will open the Greek market to many highly competitive products from Western Europe that may send a number of previously protected Greek industries to the wall. Greek industry has historically been weak and heavily penetrated with foreign capital. In its campaign, PASOK promised to call for a referendum on whether Greece should continue its membership in the Common Market. Whether this actually takes place or

Continued on page 14

Carl Harp Memorial Held in Seattle

On the afternoon of Saturday, October 24, hundreds of people in this country and around the world commemorated the life and death of Carl Harp, the revolutionary activist murdered at the Washington State Penitentiary on September 5. By murdering Carl, the authorities intended to make an example of him—an example of those who refuse to bow in submission to their dictatorship. And Carl had, indeed, become an example with far-reaching impact; not the example the rulers intended, not an example encouraging capitulation and surrender, but one triggering widespread outrage and renewed determination.

On October 24, inside the very walls of the Walla Walla Prison itself, prisoners honored Carl's memory. While we have not yet received complete reports of the actions prisoners took, some 50 prisoners in one wing of the prison alone refused both lunch and dinner in a fast that went from noon to 6:00 in the evening.

In Seattle, over 60 people, representatives of the broad range of people affected by Carl's life and example, some traveling from as far away as New Orleans and Canada to attend, gathered for a memorial meeting imbued with the revolutionary determination and optimism characteristic of Carl. Hal Sherlock, who hosts a weekly program on prisons for a local non-profit radio station, served as the master of ceremonies, and began the memorial by playing a tape of Carl reading some of his writings to a meeting of the Creative Writers Workshop in Walla Walla, Carl's own incisive words setting the tone for the memorial.

The program reflected the wide range of letters and poems from prisoners at Walla Walla which Carl's widow and prisoner support groups have received. The chairperson of United Families and Friends of Prisoners read excerpts from letters they had received after Carl's death. A poem written on behalf of the organization of Black prisoners at Walla Walla, and which captured some of the anger and revolutionary determination felt by prisoners of all nationalities in the wake of Carl's murder,

read in part:

"He was a fighter
Revolutionary devout
Anarchist and
He held his love
And rage about
Him as a cloak
Or wave a
Streaming banner
Of struggle refusal
To bend the knee
Bureaucratic tyranny
And he died as he
Lived alone and
Struggling
Done in by ignorant
Men
Minions of that same
Tyranny...

Yet Carl Harp
Lives
In the memories
Of those who loved
Him
Those who knew
His love
The wife he left behind
He loved so tenderly
His comrades
His friends
The ones he fought
For and even those
He fought...

History I give you
Carl Harp

A poem to Carl from Shane Green, who along with Carl seized a prison building in May of 1979 and who after Carl's murder has been thrown into the prison segregation unit, was also read. The widespread impact that Carl had and the deep respect so many prisoners had for him was captured in a statement

of a friend of Carl's who had since been released from prison. "It's better to die on your feet than to live on your knees." I think that's what Carl stood for his whole life."

But the influence of Carl Harp, who had one book published and another soon to be published, and his writings and artwork published in numerous publications, went far beyond the prison walls. One supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party who spoke at the memorial captured the feelings of many there when she said, "I never met Carl Harp, but I knew him well. And I knew him as a revolutionary, a revolutionary who stood with the people of the world, who was defiant." One of the speakers was a man who began corresponding with Carl after he heard of the seizure of the building at Walla Walla. For two years he and Carl exchanged letters, and he spoke of Carl's energy in the face of the relentless attempts of the authorities to beat him down, how Carl never abandoned or betrayed his revolutionary principles. Messages were read from an activist in the Prisoners' Rights Group in Vancouver, British Columbia, and another from a member of the Solidarity Committee in Montreal.

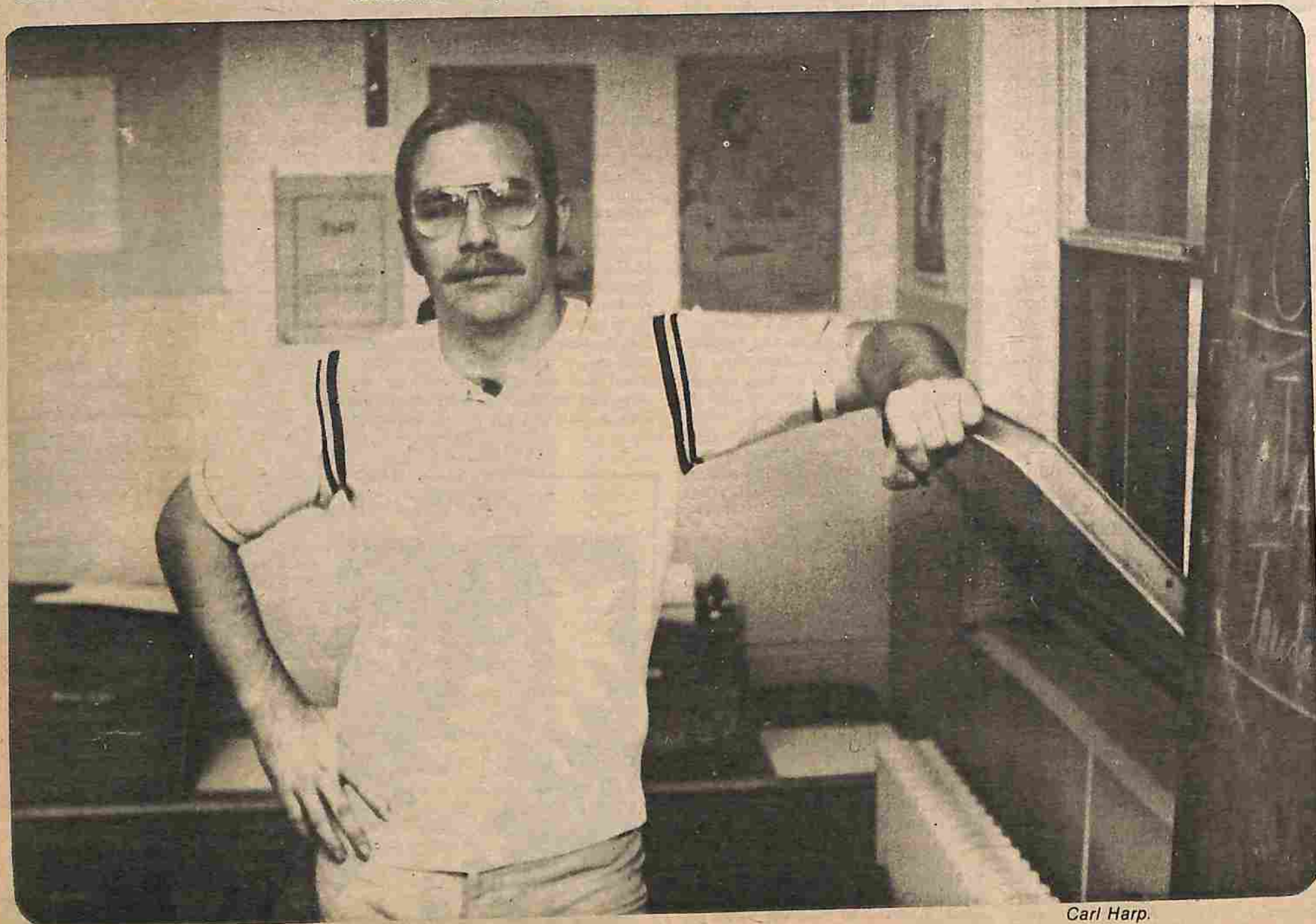
"Thousands and thousands here and in countries around the world drew inspiration and further strength to carry forward the revolutionary struggle from the spirit of Carl Harp," a representative from the Revolutionary Communist Party told the memorial meeting, putting Carl's murder in the context of the intensifying world situation. "Lenin, the leader of the Russian revolution, said, 'Crisis crushes and breaks some, but steels and tempers

many others.' And Carl stood among those that were steeled and tempered, tempered into a revolutionary and internationalist fighter..." The Party representative pointed out that Carl was murdered not only as he was struggling, but at a time of growing international struggle, "at a time when their system is approaching its weakest point... a time of great dangers but also great opportunities for the people of the world."

The final speaker was Sue Harp, Carl's widow, who read a selection of poems she and Carl had worked on together. The final poem was one Carl had written in anticipation of the possibility that he might be murdered in prison, and which he requested be read at his memorial. It is called "To the State of Washington."

"You may bury me here
But when that time comes you will
know that you have buried a man
I will bow down to no one, least of all
you...
The more you grind me into dust, the
more the truth will weigh upon your
brain that I was and am
And you are but pathetic passing
things."

With these words, Carl wrote not his own obituary, but an epitaph for the system that so feared his revolutionary spirit that it had to plot his murder. Carl's memorial, like the many previous events which have marked the two months since Carl's murder, furnished irrevocable proof that the spirit of Carl Harp has not been and cannot be silenced, but towers over the "pathetic passing things" and will help them pass on out. □



Carl Harp.

Haiti

Continued from page 1

white, condo-developed shores of Hillsboro Beach. While some among the residents expressed shock and sympathy for the plight of the Haitians (one woman remarked that "conditions in their country must be really terrible for them to risk their lives"), the events on Hillsboro Beach provided the occasion for a number of despicable attacks from the ranks of the ruling class. The *New York Times*, for example, in their October 28 edition and under the editorial heading "Bodies on the Beach," used the opportunity to call for rapid mass deportations. "As more and more boat people are shipped back to Haiti, they will transmit a new signal: *Even if you survive the perilous trip, unless you can make a strong case for asylum, they'll send you right back.*" (emphasis in original)

Associated Press photos of the body-strewn beach filled in between the lines of the above mentioned editorial. The photos, circulated nationally, were nothing more than a calculated attempt to deliver an unmistakable message to any and all Haitians who would consider making the trek to the U.S.—"This could be you. Stay put in Haiti!" In fact, an all-out campaign has been unleashed by the U.S. government in an effort to "convince" Haitians that coming to the U.S. is a very bad move. Most recently, the U.S. International Communications Agency (ICA, formerly the U.S. Information Agency) has taken to producing tape recordings of Haitians in the U.S. These tapes stress the "legal problems and assorted hardships" that await Haitian refugees in the U.S. and they are played on radio stations across Haiti. It is quite a revealing switch for the ICA, which oversees the Voice of America program, to suddenly be warning people *not* to come to the U.S. because they'll face hassles from the law and all manner of other problems. Whatever happened to all that good ol' freedom and democracy that was here for the wallowing? An

ICA spokesman, Joseph O'Connell, explained that the tapes are done in Creole and are taken from Haitians in the Miami area who tell of the lack of jobs and the "rough time" they are having. According to O'Connell, the tapes do not mention the Krome Avenue detention center at all—"They weren't meant to be a scare thing," he added quickly. Sure.

Within 24 hours of the bodies of the 33 Haitians washing onto the Florida shore, another theme in the story was pulled from the authorities' hat in an effort to stave off and away from themselves the horror and outrage that this has given rise to. According to Dr. Ronald Wright, the Broward County medical examiner who performed autopsies on those that had drowned, "their bodies amount to good, hard evidence" that they had to have been dropped off from a smugglers' freighter. The "hard evidence"? The doctor says he found that they had all eaten a freshly cooked meal of chicken, rice, pork, celery, and potatoes before they drowned. And, declared the good doctor, since such a fine meal couldn't have been prepared on the small 30-foot craft they were in, these refugees had to have come from a larger "mother ship." Sloughing off all the statements by the survivors to the contrary—that there was no other ship and that their last meals consisted of plain beans—the doctor and the authorities delivered up another blame it on the greedy smugglers story.

All this does indeed provide "hard evidence." Hard evidence of the subjugation of Haiti by U.S. imperialism that has driven tens of thousands of Haitian refugees across the sea at the risk of their lives—and hard evidence of the grotesque lengths the U.S. will go to to hide and protect it. It is a well known fact, and was reiterated by sources in the Miami Haitian community, that the majority of refugees make the trek to the U.S. on their own—in groups without availing themselves of the "services" of the smugglers. And frankly, who are these parasitical smugglers of refugees anyway except products of the particular twisted development of Haiti imposed by U.S. imperialism's domination, and more, the products of the

U.S.' present immigration policy towards Haitians!

The U.S. has from the beginning followed a policy of classifying all Haitian refugees as "economic refugees." This is distinguished from those refugees fleeing their homelands to get out from under political repression and persecution. Indeed, "economic refugees" are considered to be gate crashers, elbowing others out of the way by not waiting their turn in the official immigration channels. The very idea that the lovely isle of Haiti would give rise to a stream of refugees fleeing for political reasons is supposed to be something inconceivable. Indeed, why would anyone in their right minds want to flee the loving embrace of the successive pro-U.S. regimes of Papa Doc and Baby Doc Duvalier, or run from the expert caresses of the CIA-trained and equipped Haitian secret police, the Ton Ton Macoutes?! The vicious Duvalier dictatorship is legendary in its infamy to all but the blind and the stone-reactionary. The very influx of wave upon wave of Haitian refugees is by itself testament to the truth that Haiti is far from Shangri-la. It is little wonder that for embarrassment's sake alone the U.S. would do everything it could to keep Haitians from making it into the U.S. And, more important than political embarrassment is the fact that Haitian immigrants, who have experienced first-hand the lash of U.S. imperialism in their homeland, pose a very real threat to the U.S. as potential forces for revolution and in exposing the real hideous face of U.S. imperialism to millions inside the U.S.

It is these serious considerations that have led the government to adopt the policy of "interdiction at sea" with regards to fleeing Haitian refugees. What this amounts to is that U.S. Coast Guard vessels may stop any ship flying a Haitian or U.S. flag that it deems "suspicious." To this end and as of October 8 of this year, a Coast Guard cutter is stationed around-the-clock in the waters between Haiti and Cuba, the cutter Chase just relieving the cutter Hamilton. Interestingly enough, the U.S. Coast Guard now has jurisdiction in international waters. Any Haitians found on board the ships stopped by the Coast Guard are interrogated briefly by agents of the INS. Deftly avoiding any mention of political asylum, these agents' principal job is to speed through the official formalities and round up the Haitians for shipment back to Haiti, often scuttling the crafts they find the refugees in in the process. All very nice and neat. And what happens when the refugees are taken back and reported to Haitian authorities? According to testimony given to the House Immigration Sub-committee by U.S. Coast Guard Chief of Operations, Rear Admiral D.C. Thompson, we can rest assured that no harm comes to them. Thompson testified this past week that 56 Haitians that were picked up by the Coast Guard were "returned to Port-Au-Prince, and very courteously received on return." And, just to make sure that the Haitian secret police leave these political refugees alone, the International Red Cross and U.S. Embassy personnel in Haiti have promised to keep a watchful eye on the returned

refugees. Of course, they failed to mention that most likely what they'll be watching out for is that they don't try to leave Haiti again. And frankly, what Haitian refugee would feel safe being monitored by operatives from the U.S. Embassy in Haiti!

A rather vivid illustration of how the U.S. ruling class considers the lives of Haitians (or any other peoples they oppress around the world) just so much dirt beneath their manicured fingernails was provided by the remarks of U.S. Attorney General William French Smith on William Buckley's "Firing Line" t.v. program that aired right after the news of the 33 drowned Haitians broke. Responding to an obviously lobbed question as to whether or not it's crueler to turn people back when it's on the high seas, Smith quipped that the U.S. sends people back across deserts, don't they. And, as their laughter over this subsided, Buckley opened up another racist and chauvinist avenue of discussion, stating simply: "Why doesn't the U.S. just pass a law requiring that everyone who doesn't speak English must show proof of citizenship."

But clearly, the laughter from the ranks of the ruling class is nervous laughter at best. This was amply demonstrated by the issuance of an order by the U.S. government that all the bodies of the 33 drowned Haitians had to be sent back to Haiti, ostensibly out of concern for returning the bodies to the next of kin. It is highly unlikely that none of the dead Haitians had relatives in the U.S., but clearly the authorities are making no attempt to find them. Their only concern is to get them out of the country as quickly and as quietly as possible. Indeed, under conditions differing from those at Hillsboro Beach, these 33 bodies would be just so much garbage washed ashore by the tide to be left to rot at the water's edge. While the U.S. rulers may be worried that turning over the bodies to relatives in the Miami area might result in their autopsy findings being assailed through independent investigations, the image that grips them with mortal terror is the image of a mass funeral for the dead Haitian refugees being held in the Miami Haitian community.

In fact, as the first news of what had happened began to circulate in the area the entire community snapped taut with feelings of grief, frustration and outrage over Monday's events. And, when word of the U.S. government's order that the bodies be sent back to Haiti got out, several hundred people gathered immediately at the Haitian refugee center for a mass meeting. There the sentiments were unmistakable—the U.S. must back-off this cynical and calculated maneuver of returning the bodies and allow the people to be buried here. As we go to press, it is unclear what the outcome on the issue will be. But one thing is certain. The 33 Haitian refugees that were drowned and were washed ashore concentrate the daily existence faced by Haitians under the lash of imperialism, both in Haiti and in this so-called "land of the free." □

Subterfuge

Continued from page 6

dants. Of course, this would hardly fit into the fantasy. And it would certainly be out of the question for ISS—with its curious fascination for the CWP—to reveal the fact that during the whole period, the RCP was coming under increasing attack by others than the Greensboro Police Dept.

October 16: ISS's report on the "incident at White Oak" is completely upside down. In fact, four RCP supporters were handing out a leaflet summing up the speech by Bob Avakian, and were attacked by 12 CWP members with clubs. While it is true that the "police describe the fight" in their report, what the ISS author knew about and omitted from her report is that the Greensboro police report included a leaflet that WVO-CWP wrote about this White Oak incident which ended with the following paragraph:

"The RCP is scum elements just like the Klan and need to be driven physically from the ranks of the workers. The workers need to get on with the business of driving RCP from our midst..."

From this piece of CWP self-exposure it is not that difficult to discern just who was bent on attacking who. In fact, the same week, CWP members attacked two *Revolutionary Worker* sellers at the Greensboro A&T University homecoming parade, slashing one with a razor knife and spraying the other in the eyes with mace. Similar attacks were a pattern nationally at that time.

So much for the chronology, and ISS's version of it. But it's not as if this report—in addition to the lies—contains no exposure of sorts. It couldn't get over if it didn't. But it reduces the killings to a local issue and basically limits the question to complicity in the murders between local police (and other officials) and the Klan/Nazis, with perhaps the aid of individual agents of

the federal government. And this is understandable, since the report calls for various federal investigations and prosecutions to commence. Here, they get into trouble concerning the role of Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) agent Bernard Butkovich who, as is well known, hung around the Nazis, sold them guns, attended—even according to ISS—"at least one planning meeting for the caravan", and left the state after the shooting. Butkovich was probably the most direct link between the feds and the murders. Or, at least, one would seem inclined to probe into this line of investigation if one were writing a 32 page exposure of Greensboro. But how does ISS treat this? "His role in the event has never been revealed. Because of our limited resources and primary focus on actors in Greensboro, we could not pursue an investigation of Butkovich or other suspected federal agents active during the period." At the same time there is much praise heaped on other, less tarnished, federal officers and agencies. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is singled out: "There was one public agency that tried to conduct an impartial investigation into the impact of the murders and the adequacy of the city's response." So is former U.S. Attorney H.M. Michaux who recommended "'strong decisive' action from the Justice Department." Recently Michaux along with Liz Wheaton and others, appeared at a meeting held in Greensboro which upheld the ISS report and called for a federal investigation along the lines the report lays out. Ironically, the meeting was held in the Guilford County Courthouse, where the Klan/Nazis were acquitted. The CWP itself is also demanding a federal investigation/prosecution along the lines indicated in the report.

So, really, ISS has produced a report which defends the system and attacks the revolutionary communists. And we ask again: Where—and with who—does the ISS stand? □

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SEATTLE

REVOLUTION BOOKS EVICTED

On Monday, October 26, the King County Superior Court in Seattle put its legal stamp of approval on the eviction of Revolution Books from its four-year location at 1828 Broadway in Seattle, Washington. Acting very much in the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole, the bookstore's landlord won his eviction case in the courts—in the face of widespread outrage on the part of hundreds mobilized against this attack. The lease was up on October 15 and he wanted these revolutionaries out! Not only that, he filed suit for thousands of dollars in "damages" supposedly suffered because they weren't out by the 15th. AND he submitted a so-called "working thesis" to the court proposing that if the store was given a two-month extension to vacate, as they'd requested, that they stipulate "that they will discontinue their signature campaign; that they will discontinue posting the area surrounding the store; and will not initiate any action to obtain publicity..."! Please go quietly!

But a staff representative stated in court that no matter what, "you will still receive those statements of outrage, still receive pages of signed petitions, and Broadway would still be covered with posters about this eviction battle... There are hundreds and hundreds of people, who are demanding that Revolution Books not be evicted." And this is exactly the situation the landlord wanted to avoid. The eviction, after all, was designed to hamper the work of Revolution Books, not to publicize it!

The two-month extension (until Dec. 15th) was "granted" by the judge, the "working thesis" was thrown out of court, and the "damages suit"—a blatant attempt to financially cripple Revolution Books—was defeated. But the eviction was approved.

Revolution Books in Seattle thus becomes the fourth Revolution Books, in the short space of one year, to be forced to relocate by landlords exercising their bourgeois-legal-private-property right for the purpose of hounding and attempting to prevent the operation of these bookstores.

● December 4, 1980: Berkeley Revolution Books was evicted by city cops, accompanied by police helicopters hovering overhead; it then took a five month battle to reopen at a new location as local landlords were either intimidated into or eagerly joined a reactionary boycott of the store.

● May 11, 1981: In Boston a court-hired moving van showed up to carry out a court-ordered eviction of Revolution Books. They were instructed by the staff to "evict" the only remaining contents, a large red flag, to Central Square in Cambridge. The Boston store is only just this month reopening at a new location.

● New York City Revolution Books, having turned around a two-week eviction last December, met renewed eviction attempts this July with the decision to gather support to move to a better location in November—raising \$1,000 in one week from their customers to help with moving expenses.

In all of these cases, the individual landlords relentlessly pursued their aim of closing down Revolution Books, all in the face of widespread support mobilized around the bookstores.

The situation in Seattle merits looking into, as it serves as a good example of both the concerted efforts nationally to crush the active distribution of progressive and revolutionary literature, and of the political price the bourgeoisie is being forced to pay in the course of these eviction battles, as thousands have been drawn into political activity against these evictions.

This was the second attempt to evict the bookstore in Seattle—last year's attack went down to resounding defeat as the landlord was pressured into

renegotiating a lease by hundreds of customers and supporters sending in letters of protest, petitions, financial contributions, etc. But since that time, the landlord's determination to shut down the bookstore was apparently greatly deepened—no doubt with some encouragement. In fact, during this eviction campaign staff members learned that during the store's ten years of operation, at least two previous landlords had been approached by the FBI concerning the bookstore. Both had told the FBI to get lost. There is every reason to suspect that a visit to the current landlord met with more satisfactory results.

About two months prior to the lease expiration date of October 15, the staff and neighbors of the store noticed an influx of undercover and not-so-undercover agents in the area. One of these pigs made himself very clear: "I'm helping to make sure you're out for sure this time," he sneered at a staff person (this happened before word of the lease expiration had been publicized). Another such provocateur who showed up in the store was shown the door, none too politely, by two irate customers.

For weeks, the landlord refused to negotiate, and when finally forced to meet with the staff, continued to refuse to bargain. "We don't want you here." It was that simple. The only complaint he had was the political nature of the store. "You might get firebombed!" he exclaimed. Such a neat trick! The reactionary physical attacks that have come down on Revolution Books over the past several years, instigated by the bourgeoisie, are then used by the bourgeoisie, or their latest conduit, in threats to evict the store!

He then proceeded to file eviction papers, the outrageous suit for "damages" and his proposed "stipulation" that the store concede defeat QUIETLY—after all, the clear and primary purpose of this whole offensive is to SILENCE Revolution Books. Instead just the opposite was happening! "... Those books in Revolution Books are my weapons to wield to crush this system, to build a new socialist society where people do not have to worry about landlords like you... One thing these books have taught me, one thing I will never forget, is never to cower down on my knees because some slavemaster says so." So wrote one youthful supporter. "Your bookstore stands bravely, but it does not stand alone. It conduces to free thought and an important human need called liberation." From a local writer's letter of support.

Hundreds of such letters began pouring in as the campaign to protest the eviction went into high gear. Customers stepped forward to circulate petitions, to donate time and supplies for a poster to go up all over the city, and to help in the store and in taking booktables of revolutionary literature out to local campuses, neighborhoods, and political events.

Among those participating in the campaign were booksellers, librarians, educators, artists, workers, youth, a Jesuit Volunteer for Social Concerns, the executive director of the local ACLU chapter, lawyers, and students (from this country as well as from around the world). One bookstore owner called up many of his customers to tell them about the eviction battle and enlist their support. An artist wrote a song entitled "Knowledge" to play for a cable TV show done on the subject of the eviction and also on the whole question of the increasing censorship of books. The steering committee of a local organization of political artists sent a statement of outrage to the landlord. One long-time customer of the store took the petition out to the

University District and downtown, as well as to many progressive bookstores in the city, gathering dozens of signatures. The community college campus, less than a block from Revolution Books, proved to be a rich source of support, as students circulated petitions, manned booktables, and took up the day-to-day work of the bookstore. Foreign students joined the battle, one Iranian participating in the cable TV show's panel discussion. Eritrean students have offered the staff three films on the revolutionary struggle in Eritrea to show for a fund-raising event.

Support was even mobilized from throughout the seven Northwestern states, as the staff of Revolution Books spread the word about the eviction while on a wholesaling trip for Liberation Distributors (selling to other commercial bookstores in the area in conjunction with the efforts of Liberation Distributors nationally to wholesale revolutionary books to hundreds of bookstores throughout the country). Orders from bookstores around the Northwest began coming into the Seattle store, along with requests for more Liberation Distributors catalogs to be shared with progressive customers, professors and students. And one letter was sent from the staff and friends of a bookstore in Montana which read in part, "We feel the books you offer will prove important educational tools for our community... it's difficult to find political resource materials anywhere in town. The major distributors from which we order offer few books on alternative or radical politics. We recognize the importance of exploring

all paths of action in the struggle for survival and change... We'd like to express our support of your continued operation. We are impressed by your commitment and dedication to making your books available to all of us at reasonable prices and with great honesty. Please use this letter and signatures to help prevent eviction."

Amongst supporters, the battle around the eviction has given rise to broad discussion about the larger questions surrounding this attack and why the ruling class is so intent on suppressing revolutionary ideas and activities. It has clarified for many people the increasing importance of expanding the distribution of the wide variety of revolutionary and progressive books and periodicals from around the world that Revolution Books carries, in particular the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend represented by the literature of the Revolutionary Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist publications.

It is a definite setback that Revolution Books, Seattle will be forced to move from its present location. But the bourgeoisie is finding there, as it has in every city where they've launched attacks on Revolution Books, that they have generated ever wider interest in the literature they seek to suppress. The Seattle store will fly the red flag at a new location as have the Berkeley, Boston and New York stores, and the battle will intensify to create public opinion and prepare minds for revolution through Revolution Books. □

Revolution Magazine

Propaganda Organ of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA.

Contents: June 1981

• **Outline of Views on the Historical Experience of the International Communist Movement and the Lessons for Today.**

"In sum: the second world war, from beginning to end, was the second world inter-imperialist war—this was its principal aspect and overall character...."

- **Some Notes on the Military and Diplomatic History of WW2**
- **On the Question of So-Called "National Nihilism": You Can't Beat the Enemy While Raising His Flag**
- **"You Can't Beat the Enemy While Raising His Flag" —MLPUSA Tries It**
- **Joint Communiqué of 13 Marxist-Leninist Parties & Organizations—"To the Marxist-Leninists, The Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries"**
- **The Line of the Comintern on The Civil War in Spain**

"In Spain, to be blunt, the possibilities for big revolutionary advances in that country and worldwide were sacrificed...."



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Greece

Continued from page 9

not, Pasok is expected to drive a harder bargain, one more favorable to some of these more vulnerable sections of the Greek bourgeoisie, with the EEC.

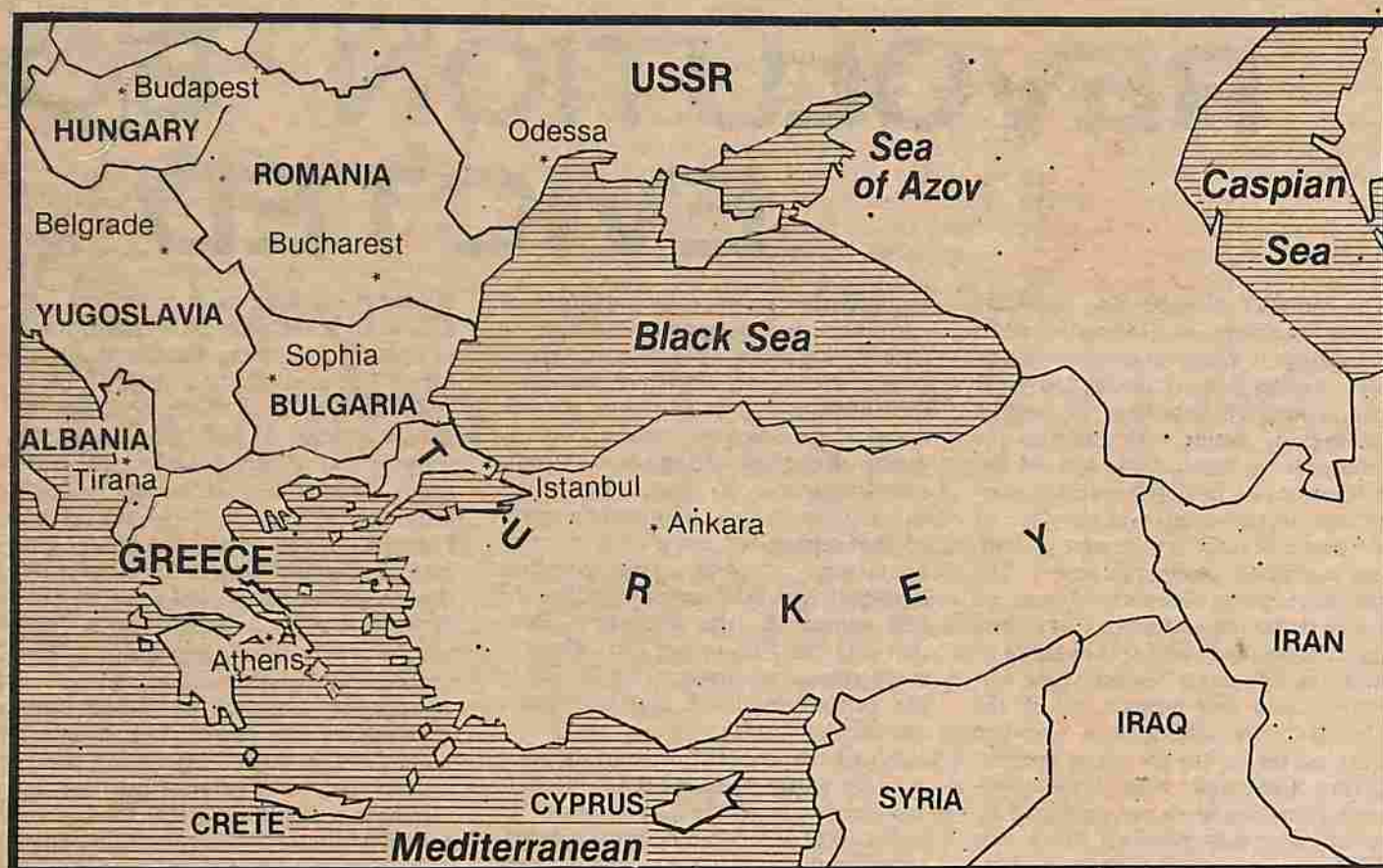
Another interesting example of what Pasok's economic plans are about and how they mesh with its so-called "non-aligned" foreign policy is its promises to develop closer ties to the "Third World" and the Arab countries. In fact, this is something that the "rightist" New Democratic Party has pursued since it came to power in 1974, and is broadly supported by the EEC countries, who view Greece as an important bridge for developing stronger economic and political influence in the Middle East.

NATO and U.S. Bases in Greece

The most important and potentially explosive differences between Pasok and the U.S. lie around the question of Greece's military alliances. There are two interrelated questions here. The first is the growing uneasiness that significant sections of the Greek bourgeoisie are feeling—like others in the Western bloc who have U.S. and NATO bases on their territory—about the prospect of becoming a nuclear battlefield in a general imperialist war between the U.S. and Soviet-led blocs. While these European imperialists certainly share the U.S.'s interests in defeating the Soviets, they also want to minimize the amount of fighting and destruction that take place on their territory so as to emerge in a stronger position afterwards. Thus, there is some sentiment among the Greek bourgeoisie to restrict the uses to which the U.S. can put its bases (beyond their NATO commitments) and to remove the nuclear weapons the U.S. has stationed in Greece. In a transparent attempt to exploit this situation, the Soviets—in typical imperialist gangster-like fashion—have recently renewed an offer (of the sort you "can't refuse") to "never attack Greece" if it dismantles the U.S. bases. Quite an addition to the "peace offensive" the Soviets are waging in Europe!

Secondly, the Greek bourgeoisie has sharp contradictions with Turkey. This has been a continuing source of instability for the U.S. in the eastern Mediterranean, which is viewed as a critical area for keeping the Soviet warm-water fleet bottled up in the Black Sea, for keeping a tight grip on the Middle East, and for being able to drive militarily into the southern flank of the Warsaw Pact alliance. While large numbers of Greeks are opposed to membership in NATO and to the presence of the U.S. bases because of their imperialist nature, the Greek bourgeoisie's unhappiness with the NATO alliance has been largely because it has guaranteed that Turkey—with its larger population and army, and its more strategic position in relation to the USSR and the Middle East—receives the lion's share of U.S. military assistance. During his campaign and after his election, Papandreu has repeatedly stated that he considers Turkey, not the Soviet bloc, Greece's main adversary.

Thus, around renegotiating the status of the U.S. bases, which was suspended this summer in order to await the outcome of the elections, Papandreu is likely to push for explicit U.S. guarantees to Greece against an attack by Turkey, and to supply the Greek military with \$7 in hardware for every \$10 sent to Turkey. Pasok also plans to use the threat of pulling out of NATO's command structure—though not out of NATO itself—as a lever in these upcoming negotiations. But up to now, the U.S. has outright refused to maintain this 7:10 military ratio between Greece and Turkey, since it has big plans for using Turkey as a base for waging war against the Soviets. Moreover, the U.S. is worried that making too many concessions to the Greek chauvinists could unhinge the far-from-stable situation among the Turkish chauvinists, and among other things could give the Soviets renewed openings for meddling there. All this points to the major headaches lying ahead for the U.S. in trying



to keep its military alliances in this area intact.

Still, it must be kept in mind that the Greece-Turkey contradiction itself takes place within the context of the much more powerful contradiction between the U.S. and the USSR, which is overall cutting down how far the new Pasok government will be able to maneuver in an "independent" direction. It is this rapid approach of war between the two rival imperialist blocs which makes the situation so much different today from when Pasok was formed in 1974. A brief comparison of Pasok's original programme in 1974 and its 1981 election manifesto gives an idea of how far Pasok has come in "moderating" its policies.

On NATO:

1974—Certainly Greece must leave both the military and the political wing of NATO.

1981—Historical conditions may be such as to compel our country to make a defensive alliance with others... (but) Pasok will bring the Rogers agreement (by which Greece rejoined the military structure of NATO last year) to parliament to have it annulled.

Or on the subject of the U.S. military bases:

1974—All bilateral agreements that have allowed the Pentagon to convert Greece into a springboard for its expansionist policy must be abolished.

1981—Pasok recognizes that there will most probably be, within the procedure for the removal of the bases, a transitional period... In none of its steps will Pasok permit the downgrading of the country's preparedness for defense against an external threat.

As this makes clear, Papandreu has no intention of cutting Greece's military ties to the U.S. and NATO, who are its main suppliers of military equipment and "protectors" against the Warsaw Pact. Furthermore, any downgrading or removal of the American bases in Greece would only lead the U.S. imperialists to place all that much more importance on their ties with Turkey. Such considerations will undoubtedly loom large when the "tough negotiations" Papandreu has promised around NATO and the bases begin next year.

Where Papandreu Comes From

Who is Andreas Papandreu and what is his political background? According to a recent thumbnail sketch in the *New York Times*, Papandreu "is not regarded as a hardened Marxist, as his enemies portray him, but more as a politician in the style of Eugene McCarthy." This is a fairly apt comparison, for like "Clean Gene"—who served as a Trojan Horse for the bourgeoisie within the anti-war movement in the late 1960s—Papandreu has basically represented a loyal bourgeois opposition to the overtly pro-U.S. regimes that have ruled Greece in recent years.

The Papandreu political tradition in Greece of service to imperialism actually goes back quite far. His father, George Papandreu, was head of the British-supported exile government in Egypt during World War 2 and was installed by them as Greece's first post-war Prime Minister. After the defeat of the German forces in Greece in 1944, which was almost entirely the work of the EAM (the National Liberation Movement which was led by the Communist Party of Greece), the British imperialists were faced with the potentially very difficult task of reasserting their control over Greece, nearly all of which was already in the hands of the EAM. But due to the capitulationist line of the CP leadership—which was carrying out the incorrect line of "united front against fascism" that was dominant in the international communist movement at the time, and was slavishly following the advice of the Soviet Union, which did not want to see a revolutionary confrontation with the British in an area they had already agreed would be in the British post-war sphere of influence—this great opportunity was converted into a thorough defeat for the Greek revolution. In a series of agreements with George Papandreu and the British in 1944 and 1945, the CP surrendered politically and then basically disarmed itself militarily as well.

During the 1946-49 civil war that followed, which ended in a crushing defeat for the CP-led forces, the U.S. poured over \$400 million in military equipment into Greece and basically took on the job of training and directing the Greek Army. The Greek Intelligence Service (KYP) was set up in 1950 under direct CIA tutelage. During the rightist governments that followed in the '50s, in which the current Greek President, Constantine Karamanlis, played a prominent role, the senior Papandreu stayed out of the limelight. However, in the early '60s, when the popular movement began to rebound, he was tapped by the U.S. imperialists (who by now had fully replaced the British as the dominant great power in Greece). In 1961, a new party headed by George Papandreu, the Center Union, was formed on the direct initiative of the American ambassador to Greece in order to serve as a potentially more stable pro-imperialist government than the main rightist parties which were becoming increasingly unpopular, and to head off the resurgence of the revisionist CP. With this strategy George Papandreu emerged from the 1963 and '64 elections as a "centrist" prime minister, and brought his son Andreas into his administration as an economics minister and then as head of intelligence.

Though Andreas was known to be more left-leaning in posture than his father even back in the mid-1960s, he has never publicly criticized his father's openly faithful service first to British

and then American imperialism. This is an indication that their political views differ mainly because they were molded by different political periods—George during the anti-communist civil war period, and Andreas during U.S.-backed military rule from 1967 to 1974. Despite these years in which Andreas (like many other bourgeois politicians) was forced to oppose U.S. policies in Greece, his whole political training and upbringing has been closely linked to "liberal" ruling-class circles in the U.S. It is not without reason that the *New York Times* titled its biographical sketch of Papandreu "60s Radical Now of Age."

After Andreas was imprisoned as a student under the Metaxas dictatorship that ruled Greece in the 1930s, he moved to the U.S., where he lived for 20 years. He received his economics training at Harvard, served for two years in the U.S. Navy, and became an active supporter of Senator Hubert Humphrey and Adlai Stevenson. He actually ran Stevenson's 1952 presidential campaign in Minnesota! (This helps explain what Papandreu was getting at in a speech in 1972 in which he attacked the "U.S. connections" of a certain Tom Pappas who was a big supporter of the Greek junta and a prominent figure in the Eisenhower and Nixon presidential campaigns. What Papandreu was really saying here is that Pappas represented Greek-American links that were no good, while his were much better.)

Papandreu returned to Greece in the early 1960s to join his father's government (at which time he gave up his American citizenship). The 1960s were years of growing popular turmoil in Greece as the lid which the U.S. imperialists and their closest allies in the Greek bourgeoisie had placed on political life began to come off. Massive peace marches were staged in numerous cities directed at Greece's membership in NATO and its subordination to the dictates of U.S. imperialism. While he was on such a march in 1963, left-wing MP George Lambrakis was assassinated by the U.S.-backed colonels, working through loyal fascist thugs, which formed the material for the famous movie "Z." Andreas Papandreu's political views developed hand-in-hand with the rising mass sentiment against the conservative pro-U.S. bourgeois and royalist forces who were planning to unleash a military coup in order to keep the mass movement from developing any further, which loomed as a distinct possibility because of a prolonged breakdown of the parliamentary system between 1965 and '67. Papandreu was himself in touch with a network of "leftist" military officers, an offense for which he was jailed for eight months after the April 1967 military coup.

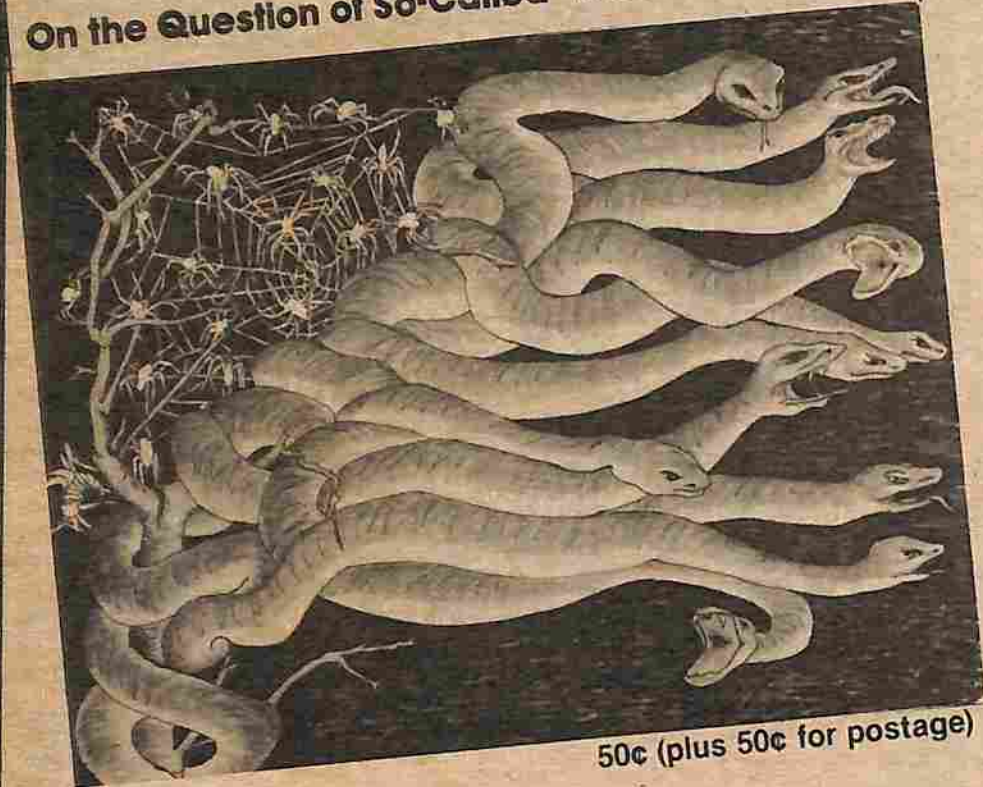
At a time when thousands of revolutionaries were being tortured and executed in the junta's prisons, Papandreu

Continued

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SURPRISE!

Continued from page 3

Some vulgar political deals were made—how shocking! In the end, President Reagan won credit for another "stunning victory for his personal charisma and leadership." The Saudis got their bogus "title" to the planes. Israel was allowed to demonstrate the "impressive clout" of its U.S. political lobby. Israel will get its "compensation payments."

There is plenty of reason to believe, in fact, that there was a large measure of "role-playing" in the "Israel lobby's" last-ditch stand against the sale. President Reagan, among a

number of other political figures and editorialists, had already dropped dark hints about Israel's "unacceptable interference" in U.S. imperialism's sovereign right to conduct its own foreign policy. Had the Senate actually voted to block the sale, as we have already pointed out, the Reagan administration was ready to find other ways of skinning the cat. But a Senate defeat would surely have made things much more difficult, and probably would have led to a new and more serious round of attacks on the Israel lobby, and other political reprisal actions. The necessity for any campaign of this kind has now been avoided, and it is certain that Israel was made well aware of the administration's desire to avoid any such unpleasantness.

The AWACS debate has also served

as a platform for sections of imperialist opinion that have objected to the deal, not so much in its own right, but for what they fear it might imply: an "excessive" and misguided reliance on Saudi Arabia in U.S. strategic calculations. The issues these forces have addressed go beyond the pros and cons of the sale itself to deeper—and real—contradictions facing U.S. imperialism in the Middle East. The *New York Times* has repeatedly editorialized on AWACS in this fashion, most recently on the day before the Senate vote was taken: "What argues powerfully against the deal is that it nurtures a fantasy—Saudi Arabia as a pillar of American strength. If that were so, the AWACS would not be such a frantic test of good will... The Saudis are a commercial asset, not a strategic partner. They will

not replace Iran in war games or Egypt in peace talks. Their useful opportunism should never be confused with alliance."

But the Reagan administration, in pushing the AWACS deal, is not laboring under the illusion that Saudi Arabia is some invincible bulwark. As a matter of fact, the depth of the crisis facing the U.S. is laughably indicated by the examples the editors of the *Times* advance as far more solid and reliable: Iran and Egypt. With choices such as U.S. imperialism's strategists are forced to make it is no surprise that the AWACS debate has been such a protracted and messy affair. But they are, precisely, forced to move; and to make the kinds of moves they are preparing, one needs, among other things, airborne command posts flying in the Middle East skies. □

Greece

Continued from page 14

dreou was released by the junta at the end of 1967. Papandreou's influential friends in the U.S. and elsewhere undoubtedly had a hand in this, as there was already some thinking in U.S. ruling circles that the colonels were not the "final solution" and that other political options had to be prepared for the restoration of bourgeois democracy in Greece at some point ahead. While he was in exile, Papandreou started building up the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement, which took on increasingly radical, anti-imperialist positions during these years of struggle against the military regime of Colonel Papadopoulos. At times, Papandreou even called for armed struggle against the dictatorship. In spite of some pro forma criticism of the junta's "undemocratic" features, the U.S. provided solid backing to the colonels; a U.S. two-star general called it "the best damn government since Pericles."

The U.S. was particularly anxious to use Greece as a forward military base for its increasing involvement in the

Middle East (the first Arab-Israeli war had been fought in 1967, and Soviet influence was on the increase in Egypt and other Arab countries). At this time, Piraeus, the port of Athens, became the U.S. Sixth Fleet's home port, bringing ashore another 10,000 U.S. servicemen and their dependents, and a host of other U.S. installations were opened up, including nuclear missile bases on Crete. Col. Papadopoulos himself was the former contact between the CIA and the Greek KYP, and one of the main links between the Greek junta and the Nixon administration was Tom Pappas, who held the Esso franchise for Greece (gas tanks throughout the country had "Esso-Pappas" written on them). The movement that developed during the colonels' rule not only targeted well-known U.S. flunkies such as Pappas with slogans such as "Exo-Pappas!" ("Pappas Out," which became especially popular when Esso changed its name to Exxon), sections of it began to take an explicitly anti-imperialist and revolutionary direction.

This popular opposition in the early 1970s was growing at a rapid pace, and sharp contradictions were also developing within the Greek bourgeoisie, especially around the Cyprus crisis in 1974. Under U.S. and European pressure, the military junta stepped down at

this point and handed over power to the newly formed New Democratic Party led by Karamanlis, who was just as closely tied to the U.S. but could now take the credit for having "restored democracy" in Greece.

It was in such a suffocating U.S. embrace of Greece that Andreas Papandreou built up the Pasok as a left-leaning social-democratic movement while he was in exile. In the years since 1974, however, the positions of Papandreou and Pasok have moved steadily to the right. Pasok has consciously set out to garner the political support of the "center" in Greece with its program of reforming capitalism, while attempting to deny the pro-Moscow CP Exterior as much of the "left" as possible. In recent years Papandreou brought into Pasok many of the leading figures in the centrist parties that folded after the 1977 elections, including George Mavros, a rich shipowner who is now being talked about as a possible foreign minister or negotiator with the U.S. over the bases issue in the incoming Pasok government. There are many in Greece today who believe that Papandreou is a man for the times—in Greece, that is.

But what may be good for the short-run stability of bourgeois rule in Greece (and therefore tolerable for the U.S. imperialists) is not necessarily all that

favorable for them. U.S. imperialism's interests require urgently mustering its allies into a cohesive bloc for war with the Soviets. While the U.S. will try to use Papandreou to "ease" this over on the Greek masses, still, his plans to drive a harder bargain on Greece's military alliances with the U.S. and NATO could throw a new wrench into the U.S.' plans to "stitch up" its historically unstable southern flank in Europe. And the U.S. and Western European imperialists are well aware that there are continued rumblings among the Greek masses, many of whom may well return to the streets against a Pasok government as its promises to bring "socialism" to Greece are exposed and seen through more broadly. All this closely interlocks with the troubled situation in Europe as a whole. This is what prompted the *New York Times* in an editorial last week to warn that the situation in Greece, while not "lost," to be sure, requires that there be a "sharper articulation of American objectives." However, no amount of fine-tuning of U.S. policy in Greece and the eastern Mediterranean is going to be able to do anything basic about the fragile nature of the Western war alliance in this region and eliminate the sea of explosive contradictions on which it is floating. □

Lu Hsun:

Continued from page 7

sacrifice all beside, splintering the enemy's weapons with their bones and extinguishing flames with their blood. When the gleam of the sword and the glow of the fire die away, they see the first glimmer of dawn, the dawn of a new era."

Mao has pointed out, "The May 4th Movement came into being at the call of the world revolution, of the Russian Revolution and of Lenin. It was part of the world proletarian revolution of the time."

Lu Hsun started his writing in obedience to this demand of history. He proudly declared that his works were "written to order". "But the orders I carried out were those issued by the revolutionary vanguard of that time, which I was glad to obey, not orders sent down by an emperor, or dictated by gold dollars or at the point of the sword." He never disguised his goal of serving the needs of the revolutionary struggle.

The theory of evolution, which is that men must survive, sustain themselves and develop, had long been Lu Hsun's faith. However, in practice his ideas had already gone beyond the theory of evolution and natural selection. He did not believe that human society could naturally evolve and develop, but that progress had to be achieved through hard struggle. "What is a road? It appears through trampling in a place where there was no road, where only brambles grew. Roads have been made before, and there will always be new roads."

Towards the end of the May 4th Movement period, the united front in Chinese cultural circles began to crack up. The Right-wingers among the bourgeois intellectuals represented by Hu Shih viciously attacked Marxism. The erstwhile progressive magazine *New Youth* changed its character and the group disbanded.

This split caused Lu Hsun great mental anguish.

One-sided belief in evolution no longer suited the demand of the age and Lu Hsun felt it in sharp contradiction with his revolutionary practice. Confronted with the split in the literary ranks, he still had a fervent desire to change society but could find neither the comrades nor the social forces with which to link himself in order to devote his strength to the revolution. Since he could not find the answer to his questions, he was in anguish and mental conflict for a while. This is amply shown in his collection of prose poems *Wild Grass*.⁴

The brutal slaughter of students by the northern warlord government of Tuan Chi-jui on March 16, 1926 stirred Lu Hsun to action. "Those who drag on an ignoble existence will catch a vague glimpse of hope amid pale bloodstains, while true fighters advance with greater resolution." With fierce anger in his heart Lu Hsun left Peking, a bastion of reaction, and went south to Amoy. When the storm of revolution broke in the south (the northern expedition of the National Revolutionary Army started in July 1926), Lu Hsun saw hope and went to Kwangchow, then the centre of revolutionary forces, to do something useful for the people.

However, before long Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution with his coup d'etat of April 12, 1927, slaughtering Communists and the revolutionary masses on a huge scale. In Kwangtung Lu Hsun saw "young people divided into two great camps" and "often those who slaughtered the young people were young people too, and they showed no regard for the life and youth of others which once destroyed could not revive again." He said, "I believed in evolution, was sure that the future would be better than the past and the young better than the old." But now facts "exploded" his "old way of thinking". The fearless sacrifice of the Communists made him see hope for the nation and the revolution.

Thus, after long searching and struggle, Lu Hsun finally found the revolutionary truth of Marxism-Leninism. He went to Shanghai in 1927, and in the first few years there read all the books he could find on Marxism. "I was reading practically all the time." He also made many translations. Arming himself with Marxism, he analysed his own thinking thoroughly, and compared the myth of Prometheus stealing fire for humanity with his translations of Marxist theoretical works. "I am stealing fire from another country in order to cook my own flesh. If this makes it taste better, those eating it will benefit, and my body will not have been wasted."

As Lu Hsun said in his "Preface to *Three Leisures*", during this period he was attacked by all sorts of writers and the struggle was sharp and complex, yet he never gave up his study, never wavered in his search for truth in Marxism. On the contrary, this pressure from outside made him advance even more boldly. Thus he said frankly, "One acknowledgement I must make to the Creation Society—they 'forced' me to read some scientific literary criticism, which cleared up many questions which had remained unsolved in spite of all written by earlier literary critics. Thanks to this, too, I translated Plekhanov's *The Theory of Art* to correct the one-sided belief in evolution which I, and others because of me, had held."

"A revolutionary is not afraid of criticizing himself; since he knows himself very well, he dares to speak out openly." Lu Hsun's greatness can be seen in that he never tried to cover up his own ideological conflicts. He made high demands on himself and always criticized himself pitilessly, revealing his whole thought to his readers. "Preface to *Three Leisures*" shows his clear attitude. In the "Preface to *Two Hearts*" he made a sincere analysis of himself and openly declared that he was for the liberation of the proletariat. "And my incessant harping on myself, of the way I keep 'knocking my head against a wall' and of my snail-like conduct, as if all the miseries of the world were embodied in me, a scapegoat for mankind, is a bad failing of middle-class intellectuals. It is true, though, that while I started by simply hating my own class which I knew so well, and felt no regret over its destruction, later on the facts taught me that the future belongs solely to the rising proletariat."

"Constantly thinking of China, of the future, willing to do my bit for others" had been Lu Hsun's motto. Though his name made his enemies quake with fear, he never became conceited or stopped making progress. Never satisfied with himself, he always studied hard to remould himself. "It is true that I often analyse other people, but I analyse myself even more often and more ruthlessly."

Going through the 1911 Revolution, the May 4th Movement and the Revolution of 1927, Lu Hsun advanced to the cultural front of the proletariat with his anti-feudal and anti-imperialist stand. Decades of fierce and complicated struggle sharpened his powers of observation and made him put emphasis on practice in revolution. Thus, as soon as he grasped Marxism as an ideological weapon, he was able to use it effectively in his fight against the various enemies and remained steadfast on the stand of the proletariat.

The collection of essays called *Two Hearts* is an important landmark showing how he had become a Marxist. He said clearly, "Of my writings, perhaps those in *Two Hearts* are the sharpest."

Several important works of his expounding the Marxist standpoint on literature—such as "*Hard Translation*" and the "*Class Character of Literature*", *Thoughts on the League of Left-Wing Writers*, *The Revolutionary Literature of the Chinese Proletariat* and *The Blood of the Pioneers*—were in this collection.

In his *On New Democracy* Mao Tse-tung evaluated the last ten years of Lu Hsun's life when he became a Marxist as follows: "The most amazing thing of all was that the Kuomintang's cultural 'encirclement and suppression' cam-

paign failed completely in the Kuomintang areas as well, although the Communist Party was in an utterly defenceless position in all the cultural and educational institutions there. Why did this happen? Does it not give food for prolonged and deep thought? It was in the very midst of such campaigns of 'encirclement and suppression' that Lu Hsun, who believed in communism, became the giant of China's cultural revolution."

It was during this period that Lu Hsun, who had begun his revolutionary literary career with his short stories, took up the short essay form as his main weapon. The vicious suppression of progressive and revolutionary culture waged by the Kuomintang and the intense struggle within the cultural field itself led Lu Hsun to write hundreds of essays, creating a body of work which provided rich sustenance for a host of new fighters on the cultural front. These essays embody rich experience of class struggle and the struggle between two lines in literature, as well as profound knowledge of men and society.

In these essays, Lu Hsun used mordant humor and burning satire to scourge all manner of typical characters thrown up by imperialism and feudalism; like a skilled portrait painter, Lu Hsun has given us a whole rogues' gallery. He presents reactionary warlords of the May Fourth period who made a cult of Confucius and were terrified of the "Reds"; the despot Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang reactionaries who bloodily suppressed the Chinese people but bowed before the Japanese imperialists; stooges of the foreign imperialists who preened themselves on being an intellectual elite; die-hards who clung to ancient feudal relics; fine gentlemen of the Modern Critic group

who held forth on "justice" but attempted to use lies written in ink to disguise facts written in blood; hired hacks of the Kuomintang reactionaries who advocated "nationalist" literature while actually peddling fascism; Professor Lin Yu-tang who preached a comprador philosophy; Chou Yang who posed as a Marxist but was (and is) in fact a political swindler, and so forth.

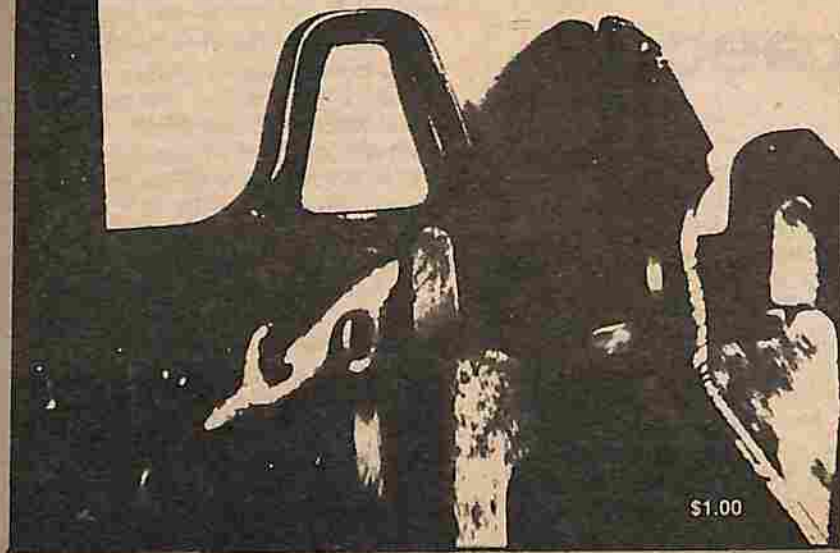
These essays not only voice deep hatred and anger against the enemy, they also embody fervent hopes, encouragement of the people and joys at the victory of the revolution. Some of his short literary works express his feelings, others contain theoretical arguments; some are written in the form of a diary, others as correspondence with friends, as sketches or even as fables. Lu Hsun did not restrict himself to existing literary genres but chose forms according to the requirements of his content.

As Lu Hsun remarked to young writers, "If there is no change and we ourselves swim with the tide, it means making no contribution and giving no help to the age." "We may be unable to express the most far-reaching changes, but this need not discourage us. Even if we cannot show the whole of these changes, we can at least show one aspect. The most monumental buildings are constructed of planks of wood and bricks. Why should we not be a plank of wood or a brick?"

In fact, the life and work of Lu Hsun comprise a mighty edifice and rich source of incisively summed up experience in the struggle between the two lines in literature and art. The new ground Lu Hsun helped lead in forging in the cultural revolution that was such a volatile and important component of China's revolution remains fresh and vital today. □

Bob Avakian Replies to a Letter from:

"Black Nationalist with Communistic Inclinations"



A Black worker from California wrote a while back to Bob Avakian. In the letter he made some sharp statements about the RCP's line, particularly on the national question, armed struggle, and what revolutionaries should be doing now to move forward towards revolution.

Comrade Avakian's response addresses the important points raised in this letter—questions which are on the minds of thousands of revolutionary-minded people in this country.

—Originally published in the *Revolutionary Worker*.
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⁴ See *Wild Grass*, by Lu Hsun, Foreign Languages Press, Peking

⁵ Progressive petty-bourgeois literary organization, initiated in 1921, banned by Kuomintang in 1929. Some of its members attacked Lu Hsun.

Political Police

Continued from page 1

They have carried out a great show of military force, 150 heavily armed police, 4 air force SWAT teams and tanks, to arrest one woman in a Mississippi farmhouse, where among other things they found literature which they called "violent revolutionary material." They have published *totally* contradictory accounts, within six inches of each other on the same pages in the *NY Times*, of the killing of Samuel Smith in Queens, New York on Friday; defense lawyers now charge he was murdered after he had surrendered to police. And as though to brag about it, the police claim to have found a bullet fired from a police gun in Nyack three days before in the murdered man's pocket.

In one incident, supposedly on the basis of an anonymous phone call saying that Assata Shakur, a leader of the Black Liberation Army (BLA), had been seen, 30 pigs with shotguns and rifles carried out an assault on a cleaning crew in a Long Island home, dragging off 4 Black people in handcuffs. A Black woman who protested and her father were held on \$100 bail. The charges against her were "obstructing governmental administration and resisting arrest." Her father was charged with gambling on the basis of a slip of paper supposedly found in his car. One man said, "They told our boss later that if we had not gone along peacefully, they would have shot to kill."

It is clear that the political police will continue to cast their nets (and their bullets) in this political roundup which they are launching in the guise of a "racketeering investigation." But one has only to stroll up Wall St. to find the most arrogant practitioners of legal and illegal robbery in the history of humanity and glance at those who hold state power to find the current holders of the world's record for murder. At every new turn, they create an instant smoke-screen but those who want to see reality and change it don't have to go around with soot in their eyes. With a massive media at their command, the authorities have the power to lie on a vast scale and to fog up particular facts; these are nonetheless the *political* police in operation and it is within the power of class-conscious people to discern the well established pattern and method to their murdering madness.

In the week following the arrest of Kathy Boudin, Judith Clark, and David Gilbert of the Weather Underground, together with Samuel Brown, who have been held without bail on robbery charges in the holdup of a Brinks truck in Nyack, the FBI and police widened their arrests and manhunts to include members of the Republic of New Afrika, the Black Liberation Army, former Black Panthers and others whom the authorities claim to be fugitives on a variety of charges. The police and the press have not attempted to cover up the fact that some people are being held on charges unrelated to the robbery or that others are being held or sought on the flimsiest circumstantial evidence for conspiracy to commit robbery. But beneath the smokescreen of "criminal conspiracy" charges, the authorities have run out the charge of political terrorism.

On Saturday, October 24, assistant director of the FBI and director of the Joint Terrorist Task Force announced "that the investigation of the robbery had grown into a major inquiry of radical groups." In fact, what is developing here is a major government assault on important sections of revolutionary nationalists in this country. This assault has been a two pronged affair, as various imperialist mouthpieces, wearing different uniforms, wielding microphones, typewriters, and badges, have debated whether the events in Nyack represent a "last gasp" or a "fresh convulsion" of political activity from this trend.

The argument that the recent events represent the harbinger of a new wave of political terrorism and a new alignment of forces has been advanced to

pave the way for a broader political attack, including beefing up the FBI and CIA, but more, to exercise the political authority of the state in an all-around way and to stir the juices of the imperialists' most reliable social base and get a few, at least, acting like junior G-men. They even premiered the new "Today's FBI" series on TV that week for such types to idolize and mimic.

A key figure in this line of attack has been former high-ranking FBI official, Edward S. Miller, one of the Felt-Miller duo convicted of authorizing illegal searches of political activists in the '70s and given a Presidential pardon in a much publicized trial last spring. Miller, who has become a kind of symbol for those sections of the political police who took a fall in the post-Watergate fall-out, appeared on ABC Nightline and made the following comment, "We ought to take a good hard look, pursue the matter as far as we can, determine exactly what these people were trying to expropriate over a million dollars for. I've been asked about that and I've said I'm sure that they weren't interested in buying yachts—they're not that type of people..." (The imperialists are quick to talk about expropriation when they are being expropriated.)

Miller, who has been doing quite a bit of speaking lately, is also a prime choice in another respect since the case made in his defense was that he was conducting a foreign counterintelligence operation during the FBI's illegal raids. The bourgeoisie has consciously advanced the foreign conspiracy connection in a televised press conference held by one of their FBI spokesmen, a real Mr. Mafioso type, complete with white silk tie and pinkie ring, but have not pursued this further, as yet.

"The foreign connection." The supposed bane of all "good American leftists." According to this view, it's terrible to be an internationalist but it's fine and noble to stand for *Americanism*; why, you can even be a respected American leftist so long as you pledge allegiance to the red, white and blue—presently the most hated symbol of oppression in the whole world. We, however, believe that the slogan "Workers and Oppressed of the World United" is quite fine and timely—and infinitely preferable to blood oaths to imperialism. Of course, the fact that to some of those targeted (notably the Weather Underground), internationalism refers to support for the equally imperialist Soviet Union complicates the picture a bit. But, of course, support for the aims of Soviet revisionism within the U.S. movement does not really mean adventurism, but far more reformism, social-pacifism, economism and every form of crawling after unity with and capitulation to bourgeois forces. This is not internationalism, but chasing again after the American rag.

Premature Death Forecasts

While the government has been stomping about and crying about the dangers of a resurgence of political terrorism, they have, at the same time, been consciously promoting the view that the events of last week represent a "last gasp" of a dying revolutionary trend. This last gasp rhetoric is clearly intended for the consumption of the oppressed as well as those people in the middle strata who have sided with and supported revolutionaries, and the message the imperialists wish to convey is two-fold. They have tried to paint a picture that a trend they broadly label as "terrorist" is the revolutionary trend, and that it is the dying embers of a decade of struggle which is past. A typical analysis in the *Times* asks: "Why has it all happened now?... Indeed, there continues to be, as there was years ago, resentment in many quarters that the radicals' violence had besmirched civil rights, anti-war and other legitimate causes and organizations from which they had sprung. The national climate for radical political activity seems hostile. With the nation at peace and no major civil-

rights battles being waged, the election of Ronald Reagan and a general conservative drift in the country have left most Americans seemingly more concerned with economic matters than politico-ethical conundrums. It is thus not clear why radical groups would now seek to forge new alliances..." The *Times et al* doth protest too much! Here their vulnerability clearly shows through. They are galled by the plain fact that all their repressive apparatus has failed to extinguish the fires of revolutionary nationalism. Miami cut them to the quick. And the prison escape of Assata Shakur and the fact that she has eluded them has testified to the resilience of the trend they now seek to paint as a last gasp. While they prattle on about "the country at peace," they know only too well they are preparing for global war and that in the upheavals to come they may well have god on their side, but the oppressed people are quite another story. Thus their message is clearly intended for people who see this trend as a kind of voice and something which elicits their support and revolutionary sentiments if not calling forth their active participation.

Another aspect of this line of attack has been the charge that such revolutionaries are outside the pale of the "legitimate left." They have paraded former members of the Weather Underground such as Jane Alpert (whose recent book is a nauseating study of a self-centered petty bourgeois turncoat and an outright attack on the Attica rebellion and the '60s in general) on national television. The *Times* has become an instant authority on the legitimate left and bourgeois intellectual yapping dogs of various stripes have been unleashed. One such denunciation in the *Village Voice* which proclaimed that "menshevism and non-violence turn out not to be in the dust bin of history after all," attacked the "violent revolutionaries" for bringing repression down on the "legitimate left," which they characterize as social-democrats and the anti-uke movement. Such denunciations can be translated as follows, "If only the revolutionaries would be nice, then the bourgeois state would be nice." To issue such a statement in general is to attempt to fool and disarm the masses; to issue it under a situation of open political assault amounts to criminal collaboration with imperialists.

Other liberals act as though revolutionaries invented the FBI. They point to statements such as the following made in the *Times* article mentioned above: "While no evidence has been put forward for some of the purported connections, the Federal officials say the groups share common purposes, including what one called 'the creation of a socialist state' and 'an end to the United States Government as we know it.'" This "common purpose" as grounds for political conspiracy could well be used to describe the broadest spectrum of the "left" and a number of common liberals in the bargain. And while such statements have been made, overall the bourgeoisie has stressed the distinction between the "revolutionaries" and the leftist "legimates." The insistence in some quarters that because revolutionaries have been attacked, liberals and social-democrats must now run under the bed to hide from a "witch hunt," has only served to sharpen the difference for the op-

pressed who understand that imperialism will not be overthrown by bedposts.

As we go to press we have seen little commentary on these events by the "legitimate left," revisionists, socialists or otherwise, but one can fully expect such denunciations to be forthcoming as well as further attempts to smother and discourage those who long for revolution.

A Side-Blow At Middle Forces

While the revolutionary minded among the oppressed are the main target for all this talk about how anything really revolutionary is dying, disruptive and generally "outside the pale," such talk is also secondarily aimed at discouraging principled people in the middle strata from supporting revolutionaries. One has only to look into the COINTELPRO record of blistering attacks carried out against Jean Seberg and Leonard Bernstein, among others, to get the message: "Not only will it be hot for you if you support these people, but, tut, tut, you are endangering the legitimate left."

Though the overall assault of the government has broadened to and now focuses on a significant section of revolutionary nationalists, as we have pointed out, the Weather Underground continues to be most widely assailed in the press. Here it should be pointed out that what characterizes the political line of the Weather Underground in particular is not that they are Ultra revolutionaries, but rather that they concentrate a tendency within this trend to narrow the scope of political work to support for national liberation struggles—at this time mainly taking the form of military tactics. We say *narrow* because the struggle against national oppression and the liberation of the oppressed nations from imperialism is part of the struggle for proletarian revolution worldwide, and in this country part of the *all-around* preparation for a mass armed assault to seize state power. As Lenin powerfully expressed it: "There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own* country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, and *only this*, line, in *every* country without exception." ("The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution")

Revolutionary nationalism, which now seems to be becoming the main focus of this attack, is a powerful ally of the revolutionary communist trend. The current government assault and attempt to isolate revolutionaries and enshrine the so-called legitimate left must be called out for what it is. While economism and terrorism share similar political features, we would hasten to point out to all the economists and revisionists who are busily pointing their fingers and currently applying their heads to the underside of their mattresses, that it is not the terrorists, and most certainly not revolutionary nationalism, but your own political trend which is currently infesting the left in this country and worldwide with the stench of social chauvinist "legitimacy"—a stench that any genuine revolutionary would gladly allow you to keep. □

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

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

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

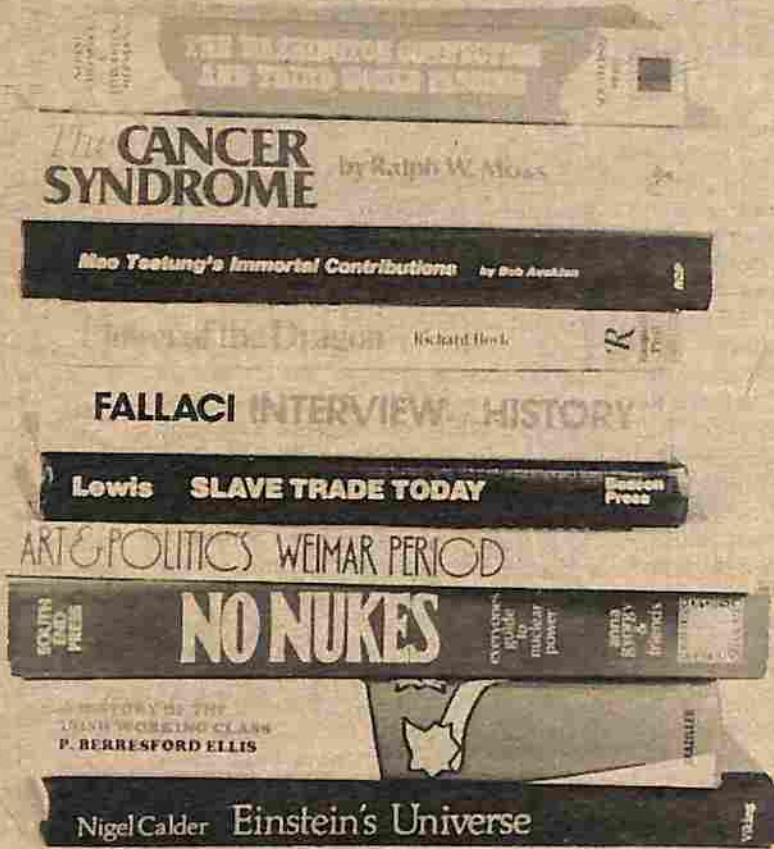
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BAD BLOOD

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

The Political Economy of Human Rights
Noam Chomsky & Edward Herman

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

Bad Blood, James H. Jones

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

Malcolm X Speaks

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

Miscellany of Mao Tsetung Thought

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

Interview with History, Oriana Fallaci

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

The Cancer Syndrome, Ralph Moss

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

Coming From Behind to Make Revolution, Bob Avakian

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W. German Leaders

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going on at Weichsel (a river in Poland—RW) but also at the Rhine... We are not scared to say that as far as the nuclear threat is concerned, the Germans in both states have a common interest... We're not scared of the label anti-Americanism. What kind of slave language is it that makes the frowning of a foreign government our political guidelines." And if you didn't get the point that you were supposed to identify with your own bourgeoisie, Pastor Heinrich Albertz, former SPD mayor of West Berlin known for his opposition to the Vietnam War, put it out there in crystal clear fashion: "Is it right, if push comes to shove, that no German is going to decide whether and when and what type of nuclear weapons are going to be used?... What kind of security do the superpowers offer West and East Germany? Yes, I'm also talking about the other side. Because in no other country of the world does war mean that one part of the people to which we all belong would have to kill the other as the first victim... I am asking all of this as a German, and if you want to put it that way, as a German patriot. Why should we always leave the national interests to the right?"

All this was designed to bury as deeply as possible the crucial point that West Germany is an imperialist power, ready, willing, able, and presently preparing to redivide the world for its benefit, and whipping up national chauvinism to do so. This patriotic poison was followed with a heavy dose of praise for bourgeois democracy, to let you know that indeed, this is the Free West. Eppler had the following to say on this point: "Schmidt complains about our criticism, but this is the way democracy works. A democratic mandate—and this government has one—is not a blank check." And he was followed by Albertz, whose praise for bourgeois democracy went like this: "We have a parliament that was elected democratically and a government from this parliament."

Yes we have a democratic country where the people run things and the

government represents the rule of the people—so if we are attacked by a foreign country, we certainly will have something to protect and defend—as Albertz said, "all that we have built up since World War 2." After all, it's bad enough being, as he put it, "occupied" by the U.S., but the Russians—that's too much! We would have no choice but to fight for the self-determination of Greater Germany. Presto, right back in the loving arms of imperialism complete with calls to arms for reuniting Germany and rabid chauvinism that no right-wing politician could get away with at such a rally; but in the cause of peace—well, that's something else. It should also be noted that such calls for a reunified Germany might fit in well with efforts on behalf of the U.S. to shift the focus of things toward the East—that is the Soviet bloc.

To this day, despite years of effort by the East German ruling class, West Germany does not recognize East Germany as a separate country and will not give its ambassador diplomatic status. The West German constitution even makes a point of this stand in writing.

No doubt there was more than a little imperialist foresight in this formulation. While for the most part following World War 2 it served more an ideological role, it could, as things intensify, take on a very definite programmatic character. More than a few hints in this direction were dropped at the demonstration.

But two can play this game. The DKP, the German Communist Party, which is the pro-Moscow revisionist party here, was right out there with the rest of them cheering for the nation and calling on the masses to stop being slavish pawns of U.S. imperialism and start fighting for Germany's national interests (by Germany, we of course are not referring only to the "Western zone"). While not as big or with as large a mass base as, say its Italian and French brothers, the pro-Moscow party here doesn't do too bad for itself. (Estimated membership is around 10,000.) And after all, those socialist tanks are hardly a stone's throw away.

For their part the DKP saw an excellent opportunity to merge national and Soviet-bloc interests through this demonstration. That is to say they did everything possible to limit its political scope to just the new NATO missiles, although if necessary they are willing to put this in the framework of being the first step to reducing nuclear weapons in the East and West. It is clearly part of the Soviet strategy to create as much difficulty as possible for the Western imperialists to carry through on their plans to station the new missiles in Europe (and more broadly to exacerbate whatever intra-bloc contradictions there are in the West). And of course, they are using the pro-Moscow revisionist parties to influence public opinion along these lines as much as possible. This could be seen not only in the demonstration in Bonn, but in the more recent ones in the other European capitals as well.

The Western bourgeoisies are not, however, taking all this lying down. Hardly a day goes by without some denunciation of the Soviet Union's "disinformation" campaign against the missiles. In West Germany about a month before the demonstration, they aired a program on national TV in which a former leading member of the DKP identified with pictures and background dossiers 15 to 20 leading figures in various peace, anti-missile and ecology groups as being DKP undercover operatives.

The bourgeois press, both American and West German, has been speculating on the fact that the peace movement has been weakening the Schmidt government, and that if the SPD at its spring convention votes to go against the new missiles (something which is still unsure), Schmidt, as he has declared, would resign. The *New York Times* said that if this were to happen, "An unstable political situation could develop in West Germany by the end of the year." Further, in the wake of the massive demonstrations over the past weekend, bourgeois commentators are saying that the mounting pressure on European governments could cause them to reverse their decision on the missiles which, according to Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Laurence Eagleburger, would result in "substantial and lasting damage" to

the NATO alliance.

The fears expressed about growing political instability in West Germany (and Europe as a whole) are real, although not for the reasons given. In West Germany, fully three-fourths of the members of parliament are committed to the missiles. This reflects the fact that the majority of the West German bourgeoisie and the ruling classes of the other major European countries are in favor of the missiles. No matter what the public opposition, they are determined to go ahead with deploying them. It is in this fact that the danger of political instability lies. As that day draws closer (and as other preparations for war are made), further opposition is bound to develop, and the real nature of the imperialist system and the bourgeois dictatorship that runs it will be more starkly revealed. The sections of the bourgeoisie in West Germany who are attempting to utilize the sentiments of the masses against the missiles are indeed playing with fire—even if they attempt to do it on a nationalist basis—because the most fundamental national interest of the imperialists is to launch war for the redivision of the world. The fundamental interest of the proletariat and the great majority of the masses—and in fact their greater motivation in coming out in the street—is opposition to such a war.

Though organizers at the Bonn demonstration were very skillful at using the more backward forces to isolate the advanced, revolutionary groups were there actively exposing and targeting the West German bourgeoisie and the chauvinism spewing from the stage.

Fundamentally, this mass anti-war sentiment is a serious problem for the imperialists with potential for greater dangers for them than perhaps they even dream. And it presents great challenges and opportunities to advance the revolutionary struggle to eliminate the cause of all this madness in the first place, imperialism of all stripes. Even in attempting to rally people around their own pole, and scrambling to put themselves at the head of the anti-war movement, the West German bourgeoisie is helping to draw into motion and political life the forces of their doom. □

U.S. Cracks Whip

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thieves is at stake. But it is an example of the kind of jockeying for the label of "defender"—as against the other side's "aggression"—that accompanies each step towards war by both sides. As the acting Dutch Defense Minister said, "We see ourselves as suppliers of security, but we often forget that we are supposed to respond to the wishes of the people. It's important that the Europeans see that we are striving for that goal. Then if that goal is not reached, it won't be because we didn't try." Brezhnev's offer was designed to put the U.S. on the defensive in this area of battle.

In light of the sharpening situation in Europe, all the waves in the wake of Reagan's and Weinberger's remarks sparked a furor in the U.S. as well, reflecting the difficult contradictions they are faced with in all of this. Of course, such turmoil does not involve any questioning of the goal of a victorious redivision of the world, nor any doubts about U.S. determination, as much as possible, to keep the fight on the turf of others; after all, the U.S. bourgeoisie has their own turf and empire to worry about—and there is a great deal of such worrying going on. Nevertheless, tactical disagreements over the best way to pull it all together have been surfacing, and Reagan's comments added fuel to the fire. The *L.A. Times* called for Reagan "to avoid the pitfalls of language that, while perhaps reasonable and understandable to an American audience, can get him into deep trouble abroad—with unfortunate results for all." Other major newspapers called for the use of more tact in U.S. diplomacy with Europe. The *New York Times* said, "What Europe's politicians are now hard put to explain is how European interests depend on the division of the Continent into Soviet

and American spheres of influence, and therefore on military balance and therefore on nuclear weapons. Policy would follow if these ideas can prevail against current emotion... (the Europeans) need to be shown again that the benefits of detente derive from independence, which in turn depends on the military standoff." And former Vice President Walter Mondale offered his criticism of the Reagan administration's policy toward West Europe, saying that all the "strident rhetoric" and failure to take their concerns more into account in various diplomatic maneuvers was leading the U.S. to "surrender the high ground of moral leadership to the Soviet Union, a position they richly do not deserve."

These disagreements are real and they reflect the bind that the U.S. is faced with. They are differences over how the U.S. should deal with the anti-war movement among the masses in Europe and the kind of pressure that should be brought to bear on the "neutralist" forces among the Western European bourgeoisies. There are those like the *New York Times* who feel that the U.S. should more encourage the efforts of certain forces in Europe such as the social-democrats to get to the head of the peace movements in order to turn them to the advantage of the West and keep them within limits. They reason that whatever they do, this trend will continue, and they have more to lose if the U.S. is seen as taking too much of a "hard line." They feel that the Soviets will only gain if the U.S. is seen as too intransigent. The other side of the argument agrees that such maneuverings as those of the social-democrats are necessary given the situation, but is more fearful of all this getting out of hand and giving their allies too much leverage. Thus the stern warnings to the neu-

tralists to watch their step and stay in line, remembering that the U.S. is the boss of the bloc.

What stands out in this argument is that both sides of it are right and both sides are wrong. The U.S. finds itself in a damned-if-they-do, damned-if-they-don't situation no matter which direction they lean. This is not to say that they are completely without maneuvering room around this question, but rather that their freedom to actually affect the development of the contradictions in Europe short of all the more rapidly getting down to the real deal is diminishing as world events spin more

and more out of their control. In many ways Reagan's latest statements are an indication that the U.S. realizes this and senses that this is no time to fool around as the consequences could be very dangerous. Certainly, all forms of intense maneuverings on all sides around the situation in Europe are destined for the period ahead, but the important point is that the current flap over the Commander-in-Chief's remarks indicates the depths of contradictions the U.S. now faces in regard to Europe—contradictions that no words or "war of words" can erase. □

War Crimes Tribunal in New York

December 4, 5, 6 in New York City
Washington Irving High School
40 Irving Place (near 18th St.), Manhattan

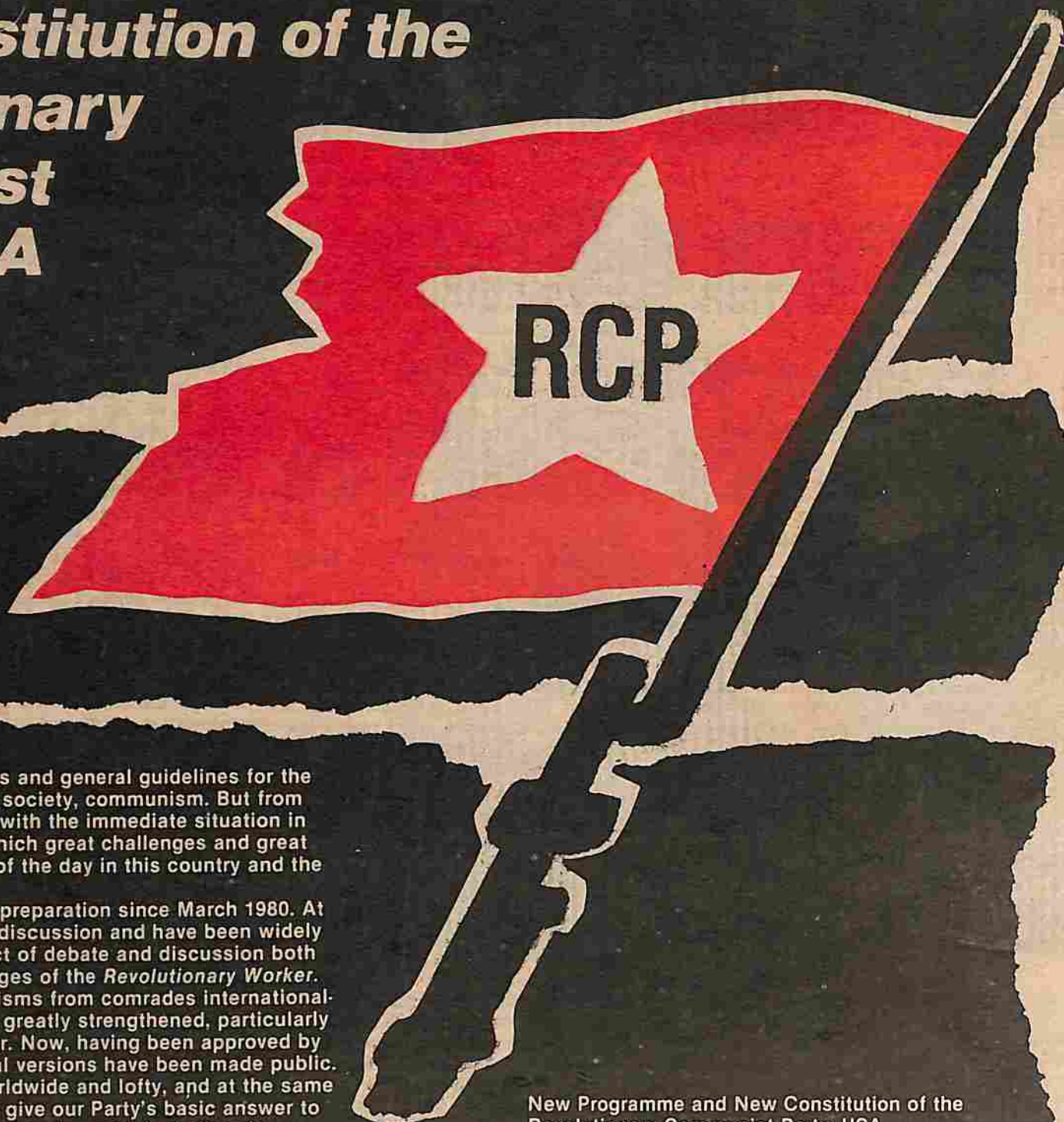
If you participated in the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal in another city as it crossed the country—or if you wish you had after it left—you can help build its culminating sessions in New York City. Youth from a number of places around the country are arriving to help contribute to the atmosphere in which U.S. imperialism will suffer. Whether or not you can come, call or write your friends and political contacts there and make sure they don't miss it, and miss the chance to help build it.

Work is needed in the following areas:

Testimony—soliciting and collecting testimony;
Publicity—press and speaking engagements;
Money, and
Volunteers—in New York or to come to New York to: poster, leaflet, type and transcribe testimony.

Contact the national office at: 339 Lafayette St., New York, New York.
Telephone—212-674-7820.

New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA



These documents contain basic principles and general guidelines for the struggle all the way to worldwide classless society, communism. But from this perspective they are written especially with the immediate situation in mind. This is a battle plan for a period in which great challenges and great revolutionary possibilities are on the order of the day in this country and the whole world.

These documents have been weapons in preparation since March 1980. At that time they were published as drafts for discussion and have been widely circulated. They have since been the subject of debate and discussion both within the Party and more broadly in the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker*. This process included comments and criticisms from comrades internationally as well. In this way, the drafts have been greatly strengthened, particularly in their proletarian internationalist character. Now, having been approved by the Central Committee of the Party, the final versions have been made public.

These are documents whose vision is worldwide and lofty, and at the same time which pose immediate challenges and give our Party's basic answer to the urgent situation facing the people of the whole world, including the masses of this country. Not only are the problems addressed, but so too are the basic solutions offered by the road of proletarian revolution.

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Article 1

Any proletarian or any other person involved in the revolutionary struggle who accepts the Constitution of the Party, is committed to working actively in a Party organization, to carrying out the Party's decisions and to observing Party discipline and paying Party membership dues, may become a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

Those who join the Party should be fearless in the face of the enemy and dedicated in the cause of the proletariat. They should expect and be prepared for persecution, imprisonment and murder at the hands of the enemy; and not a soft job, a comfortable position and a career. But beyond that, they must be guided by the largeness of mind characteristic of the proletariat, study energetically and actively apply the science of Marxism-Leninism and be prepared to go against any tide that is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, be vanguard fighters among the masses and be ready to take up any post, fulfill any task that serves the revolution, not only in the particular country but internationally. The Party must be made up of people whose lives are devoted to the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat and the achievement of its historic mission: worldwide communism.

from the New Constitution