



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 89 (Vol. 2, No. 37)

Published weekly

January 23, 1981

Editions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French

ISSN 0193-3485 50¢

U.S. IMPERIALISTS CLAIM THEIR HOSTAGES

MASTERS OF TORTURE HOWL "CRUELTY"

The 52 American hostages were finally locked up inside the U.S. Military Hospital at Wiesbaden, West Germany and were now "free" to savor their first taste of "liberation." Viewing the scene from the New York CBS studios, newsman Dan Rather, who throughout the evening's coverage of the hostage transfer had performed every hysterical propaganda stunt short of breaking out into a chorus of "God Bless America," turned to Richard Queen, a former hostage who was released by the Iranians last year due to a medical condition and who was in the studio to provide "color commentary" and identify his pals as they got off the plane. Rather, his voice choking with carefully rehearsed rage, asked Queen if he didn't yearn for revenge against Iran—some act of punitive retaliation in repayment for their "horrible ordeal." On top of Dan's torture stories, lifted straight from the movie *The Deerhunter*, it was a calculated call to a rabid patriotic frenzy.

The ball was in Queen's court; all America (or at least CBS's rating slice) waited for Queen's angry plea for

retribution. But no; instead Queen, in a quiet tone, explained that to take such action at this time would only be regarded worldwide as "a cheap shot." He went on to point to the broader, strategic interests of the U.S. imperialists in the area—the "oil straights" of Hormuz, the unity of Iran, insuring that the Soviets couldn't get their claws into her. So here it was—a call to "enlightened imperialist rabidity." Whip it up, but remember, the main enemy of U.S. imperialism today is not Iran, but the Soviets. Hitting Iran is "a cheap shot"; get ready for the big shot—world war with the Soviets.

The two-edged theme of this well-worked out Rather/Queen duet was echoed in the press in the days that have followed—calls to strike back, coupled with calls to "channel" this whipped up rage into the overall strategic interests of U.S. imperialism. Every story they leak, every editorial they write serves an overall purpose—the purpose of U.S. imperialist domination, not only in Iran, but worldwide. The civilized pose of the "restrained victim" (it's irrele-

vant, of course, that the U.S. was responsible for tens of thousands of deaths and decades of oppression in Iran) is just as much a part of U.S. war preparations as is the blood-lust cries of "to arms." After all, you can't just say "go out and fight and die and kill for U.S. imperialism"—you have to give them some "just and civilized" reason to do so. All this doesn't mean the U.S. has abandoned plans to crush and "civilize" Iran for imperialism. Quite

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Salvadoran Guerrillas Step Up Offensive, Hold Territory

After a 48-hour lull, the fighting against the U.S. puppet junta in El Salvador exploded once again on Wednesday, January 21, when opposition forces launched an attack on government troops in the area of San Vicente Volcano, about 25 miles east of the capital city of San Salvador. This area was the scene of a highly publicized search and destroy mission, combined with a massive aerial bombardment, by forces of the Salvadoran junta just two weeks earlier—afterwards the U.S. puppet government loudly proclaimed that it had completely wiped out the guerrillas in the area. As we go to press, no new claims about this area have been forthcoming from the bloodsoaked rulers of El Salvador, but it is known that phone communications have been severed between San Salvador and 35 other towns

throughout the country, and that 20,000 striking teachers have refused to go back to work despite alternating threats and pleas from the junta.

The new round of fighting makes clear that the offensive of the Farabundo Martí Liberation Front (FMLN)—the unified command of four Salvadoran guerrilla groups plus the pro-Soviet revisionist Salvadoran "Communist" Party (PCS)—that began on January 10 is far from over, despite the ear-wearying obligatory boasts of "total victory" from José Napoleón Duarte, the junta's president. In fact, earlier in the week, the FMLN had announced that it controlled virtually all of the countryside in the northern and eastern parts of the country, as well as eight towns in Cabañas province, four in Chalatenango, and two in La Paz,

and the provincial capitals of Chalatenango, San Miguel, San Vicente, and Santa Ana. Forces were withdrawn from some of the cities and towns after the junta began a massive aerial bombardment of the civilian populations, undoubtedly using "non-lethal" U.S. military aid to carry it out, especially concentrating their fire on the rebellious peasants of Zacatecoluca, La Paz, San Esteban, and San Vicente. But government troops have been unable to regain control or even travel in much of the countryside, and all the highways connecting Chalatenango province with Usulután and San Vicente are controlled by the guerrillas. And seven towns within the province of San Salvador itself, surrounding the capital, were controlled for two days before the FMLN forces pulled back temporarily.

During the past week, the State Dept. announced that it was rushing another \$5 million in military aid to the Salvadoran junta, the second such announcement in a five-day time span. This time,

they didn't even bother with any bogus blusterings about the "peaceful" intent of their weaponry. The U.S. aid included M-16 rifles and ammunition, grenade launchers and four more Huey Bell helicopter gunships, like the ones they used in Vietnam.

The media dutifully cooperated in the cynical step-up of U.S. claims that "foreign involvement in El Salvador" (sic—*RW*) has necessitated their escalations, with headlines in the *New York Times* like "Flow of Arms to Rebels Given as Reason for Aid." What these claims of foreign involvement amount to are charges of a "Nicaraguan invasion" of El Salvador and an "influx of Soviet and Cuban military aid." While there undoubtedly have been some Soviet and Cuban arms going into the country, this hasn't amounted to all that much and isn't a new development. In fact, most of the weapons being used by the guerrillas are of U.S. origin. The Soviet Union has been relying mainly on the

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REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTER—RW SELLER SHOT IN NEWARK

On the afternoon of Wednesday, January 21st, Beatrice Dong, a long-standing revolutionary activist and a full-time distributor of the *Revolutionary Worker* was shot and seriously wounded. This sordid crime was perpetrated in Newark Penn Station shortly after Bea had concluded an afternoon of successful agitation and sales of the *RW* on the streets of Newark only a few blocks away. Sales were brisk with hundreds of papers going out one at a time and in bundles and a number of new co-conspirators were signed up. Inside the train station, a shot from a .38 caliber pistol fired at close range struck this revolutionary fighter, penetrating her throat and neck. A 16-year-old boy who passed by was also hit, suffering a superficial graze wound, apparently from a ricochet.

Newark police arrested and charged Wyaneta Cockrell, a 21-year-old woman, with two counts of "aggravated assault and battery." Shortly afterwards police claimed that they found a .38 caliber revolver with 2 shots expended in Cockrell's possession.

The police, the District Attorney, and the courts have from the beginning glibly dismissed this attack as "obviously" a random act by a deranged person. Certainly, only a sick and deranged person would be capable of an act such as this, but the exact form and the extent of the madness behind this shooting is not at all clear at this time. There are a number of very suspicious circumstances around this shooting. An active and highly visible fighter in the campaign to build the influence of the

Revolutionary Worker among the masses of the proletariat and oppressed as a key part of the revolutionary struggle has been shot down, literally minutes after conducting open agitation with the *RW*. The Newark police say that the attack was "apparently unprovoked," and have done their level best to paint this as the actions of one wild lunatic. "There was no argument, no words, she apparently just started shooting," stated a Newark police detective, Armando Fontura. But the facts of this case do not fit the description of a wild and aimless shooting spree. No more than two shots were fired. The shooting was at close range and very selective. The shots were fired at such close range that Bea had powder burns on her neck. And while the woman arrested has apparently had a history of mental illness and was just recently released from a mental institution in Louisville, Ky; historically such people have been used by the bourgeoisie to carry out their counterrevolutionary behests.

According to police reports, Cockrell said that she was from Jackson, Indiana, but that a check showed there was no such place. Press accounts in the *Newark Star Ledger* state that a bus ticket from Louisville, Kentucky to Newark was found in Cockrell's pocketbook, in addition to "a notice from a Job Corps center in Guthrie, Oklahoma."

In response to a question from the judge, "What were you doing in Newark," Cockrell, who gave the appearance of being somewhat disoriented, but otherwise in control, replied, "I was there to see a friend... He didn't

make it on time."

Though still paralyzed with serious injuries, a condition which doctors say may be temporary or permanent, Beatrice Dong's revolutionary fighting spirit has continued to burn strongly. She is conscious and actively helping in the investigation to determine exactly what went down in this shooting. Unable to speak, she is signalling her answers to all questions. As far as is possible to reconstruct events at this point, she was shot from behind, in the neck, seconds after leaving the restroom at Penn Station. There was no argument or any commotion that she was aware of prior to being struck down.

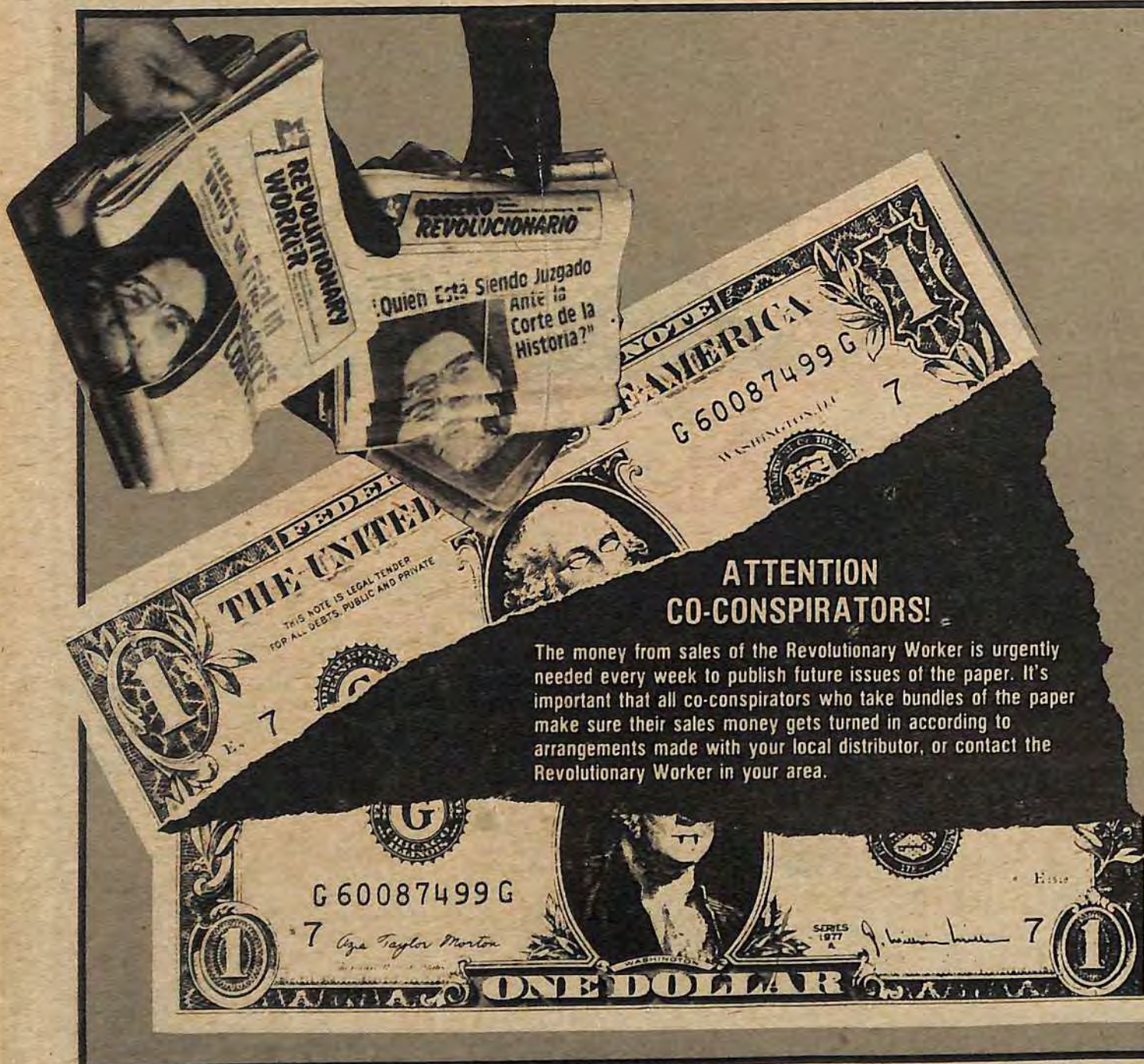
The police, the DA and the courts claim that this attack was "obviously an act of random madness." This is far from obvious! For example, how do we interpret what happened the very next day following the shooting: teams of *RW* sellers converged again onto the corner of Broad and Market in downtown Newark, where Bea had stood the previous day. Squad cars pulled up, police piled out, and ordered the sellers to "get out." When the sellers refused, more police cars were called and threatened immediate arrest. What was this—a "random" act?

It is not necessary here to review the escalating violent attacks by the ruling class on the revolutionary movement in this country, from the Greensboro massacre to the murder of Damian Garcia, who was stabbed to death while selling the *Revolutionary Worker* at a housing project in Los Angeles. Beatrice Dong is one of thousands across the coun-

try who have been working intensely to make the *Revolutionary Worker* a still more powerful material force, to put this weapon into the hands of hundreds of thousands of co-conspirators, to make ever more real and terrifying the threat which this revolutionary movement poses to the ruling class. She has dedicated her life to the revolutionary struggle to overthrow this truly mad system. Both she and her husband went to the Newark, New Jersey area expressly to carry on the 100,000 campaign. With three young children, she has been tireless in carrying out the political struggle to win victory in the campaign and to consolidate and advance further. And she continues to demonstrate this staunch revolutionary spirit—an inspiring example to all those who yearn to do away with the imperialist system we live under.

In the face of this attack, the Party is determined to take the offensive in conducting an intense, broad and thorough investigation to determine the actual facts of this case, and in what form the imperialist system lies behind it.

The hatred and fear that exists in the ruling class for the growing conspiracy around the *Revolutionary Worker* is clear. In the face of any and all actions aimed at halting it, the efforts of all revolutionaries to spread it further and deeper will intensify. The proletarian revolutionary example Beatrice Dong continues to provide must itself spread and be transformed into a material force, accelerating the work around the *Revolutionary Worker*, implementing the Party's central task, "create public opinion, seize power."



ATTENTION CO-CONSPIRATORS!

The money from sales of the *Revolutionary Worker* is urgently needed every week to publish future issues of the paper. It's important that all co-conspirators who take bundles of the paper make sure their sales money gets turned in according to arrangements made with your local distributor, or contact the *Revolutionary Worker* in your area.

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The Making of an "Imperial"-ist Presidency

WAR CROWN CHANGES HEADS

The baton has passed to Ronald Reagan, after a 3 day inaugural orgy in which the imperialists went all out to convince themselves and especially the masses of people that a washed out, decrepit actor ascending to the presidency of a decrepit imperialist system was an "Imperial" President, full of "Sun-Belt" optimism ascending to the throne of an imperial empire which could face its adversaries with great confidence that a "divine plan" was guiding the U.S. in its "rendevous" with destiny, as Reagan put it when he left his multi-million dollar estate in California for the palace in Washington, D.C.

In fact, the *New York Times* magazine section on Sunday, featured a front page with Reagan, framed by the flag, and the following: "MEMO TO THE PRESIDENT. What this country wants and needs is not a board chairman or a passive President, but a strong one, even—yes, even—something approaching the old and besmirched Imperial Presidency."

It was as promised a gross spectacle, combining the flaunting of wealth, patriotism and reaction, in an attempt to capture the theme of Reagan's inaugural address, "an era of national renewal." Everything had to be "new." "For the first time," cooed James Reston of the *New York Times*, "a new President looked down from the West Wing of the Capitol toward the sunset, where he could see memorials to Presidents Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln and beyond the Potomac to the grave of John Kennedy and General Lee." What is new about a field cluttered with dead Presidents? But Reagan looked even further beyond the monuments to imperialism past, to "... the sloping hills of Arlington National Cemetery with its row upon row of simple white markers bearing crosses or Stars of David. They add up to only a tiny fraction of the price that has been paid for our freedom. . . . Their lives ended in places called Belleau Wood, the Argonne, Omaha Beach, Salerno and halfway around the world on Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Pork Chop Hill, the Chosin Reservoir, and in a hundred

rice paddies and jungles of a place called Vietnam." Here was something "new"—a departure from the last several years of political rhetoric—no fear of bringing up the bloody imperialist "glories" of Vietnam. No, it's Reagan's job to get us used to this and more. And in recalling the legacy of U.S. imperialist wars of aggression, against the struggle of the people of the world, and imperialist world wars, Reagan spoke of a soldier who was buried in Arlington Cemetery, who had joined the U.S. imperialist army in 1917 and was killed on the Western Front. "We are told," Reagan continued, "that on his body was found a diary. On the flyleaf under the heading, 'My Pledge,' he had written these words: 'America must win this war. Therefore I will work, I will save, I will sacrifice, I will endure, I will fight cheerfully and do my utmost, as if the issue of the whole struggle depended on me alone.'"

Of course he was quick to add, that such sacrifices are not required "today," but it was not meant to console anyone, rather it was to underscore the point that tomorrow it will be, that world war is on the horizon, and to create public opinion, to prepare millions to follow the example of Martin Treptow, and die like sheep to keep

U.S. imperialism no. 1. Nothing new here—imperialism has long pulled the wool of national chauvinism over the eyes of sheep.

In fact all of the "imperial" events which the ruling class, their press, their fashion designers, and their "talents" raved about as the opening of a new era, and a new look and so on, were nothing more than a concentrated expression of a dying class, a reactionary, moribund imperialism and everything it has to offer. The "All-Star Inauguration Gala" was a good case in point. Frank Sinatra (who recently applied to the Nevada State Gaming Commission for a casino license and gave "Ronald Reagan" as a reference—what would the moral majority say about that?) hosted the event, escorting the Reagans to their thrones on stage to watch the performance. As the *New York Times* put it, "the performers often resembled court jesters capering for a king and queen."

Millions of people watched their T.V. in utter disbelief, outraged, as Ben Vereen, the actor who played Chicken George in "Roots" performed a tribute to Burt Williams, an early Black entertainer who appeared in Minstrel black face in vaudeville shows. With his lips outlined in white paint and large white

gloves serving as hands, Vereen stepped to the song, "Here Comes Robert E. Lee," eventually ending up on his knees before the Reagans. This humiliating plantation mentality was only matched by the war mongering of Donny and Marie Osmond who sang, "In 1944, when the troops went off to war/That's what the boogie-woogie was for"; and Bob Hope who by way of analogy offered his service to entertain the troops in the next military adventure of the U.S., saying, "I have to be careful what I say out here tonight. I once joked about LBJ and I got sent to Vietnam. And I hear that El Salvador is getting really hot." This "unprecedented" event, which ended with General Omar Bradley saluting the Reagans from his wheelchair, was bought and paid for by the combined efforts of Merrill Lynch, Prudential Insurance, American Express, Eastern Airlines and the Atlantic Richfield Oil Company.

Indeed, the imperialists really pulled together for this coronation. Glowing editorials from both the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* (who had endorsed Carter for reelection) reflected that the imperialists had their man. And once again, Reagan raised a familiar theme in recent weeks, commenting in his inaugural address on Carter's cooperation in the so-called "Transfer of power." "The orderly transfer of authority as called for in the Constitution routinely takes place as it has for almost two centuries and few of us stop to think how unique we really are."

"In the eyes of many in the world, this every-four-year ceremony we accept as normal is nothing less than a miracle. . . . By your gracious cooperation in the transition process you have shown a watching world that we are a united people pledged to maintain a political system which guarantees individual liberty to a greater degree than any other. And I thank you and your people for all the help in maintaining the continuity which is the bulwark of our republic."

Nothing less than a miracle! Here the

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News item: A Chicago reader heard a radio newscaster end his report on local presidential inauguration activities with the following: "So tonight, people will be dancing among the dinosaurs at the old museum." Need we add, an appropriate place for this event?

Day No. 3

The meticulous planning by the U.S. for isolating the hostages for up to a week in a military hostel in West Germany—under cover of pious protestations of “concern for their health and emotional well-being”—exposes the huge propaganda stake which the ruling class holds, their necessity for the hostages to present a united front, a uniform image of symbols of loyal, unthinking Americans, ready to die unquestioningly for their country and bravely facing all sorts of “barbaric” treatment with no thought other than doing honor to their flag. There is particular concern around this point, because while most of the hostages were indeed fully conscious, died-in-the-wool agents of imperialist reaction, some low-level embassy personnel—and some members of their families—have been “guilty” of violations of the U.S. “prisoner of war code” already.

Marine Staff Sergeant Joseph Subic, 23, appeared in 1979 in an Iranian film, which the American networks refused to broadcast, condemning the U.S. role in Iran. The suppression of Subic’s interview followed the airing on NBC News of an interview with Marine Sergeant William Gallegos, during the fifth week of the embassy takeover. When Gallegos said that he wasn’t sure he wanted to die for the Shah of Iran, because “In some way, I don’t see this as a good cause,” NBC News anchorman John Chancellor turned the interview into a vicious interrogation. His voice dripping with sarcasm, Chancellor demanded to know, “Why were you the one singled out to do this interview . . . Do you know that there’s a well known psychological observation that a hostage very often assumes the political feelings and is very often sympathetic towards his captors? . . .” Gallegos, in a confused response, replied that he “just wanted President Carter to know that we’re all right, you know. I want him to know that

nothing’s happening to us.” But this was just what Chancellor—and President Carter—least wanted to hear. Chancellor shot back, “Would you accept his (Carter’s) decision no matter what? Do you say he’s your Commander in Chief, Corporal? . . . I mean if he says, well, I’m just sorry, we’re never going to give the Shah back; we don’t care what happens to those 50 hostages. Would you accept that decision?” Gallegos, in reply, mumbled the obvious: “Yes, sir. I’ll have to, sir.”

Gallegos’ statements were, in fact, quite natural for a lowly Sgt. in his position and were seemingly innocuous. All he expressed was that he, “in some way,” wasn’t ready to throw his life down the toilet rather than see the Shah returned to Iran to face the Iranian people. But even these mild words—and the honest admission that he had not been tortured or “brainwashed”—meant that the ruling class summed up the interview as a “disaster,” and this led to the complete black-out on Joseph Subic’s interview several months later.

Aside from Subic and Gallegos, Jerry Plotkin, who the U.S. is now charging was making a dope deal with a Korean in the embassy at the time of its capture, issued a number of appeals in the early stages of the hostage seizure to the U.S. to “return the Shah and free the hostages.” Barbara Timm, the mother of Sergeant Kevin Jay Hermening, visited Hermening and talked with Iranian officials in April, in violation of Carter’s ban on travel to Iran, and made a number of statements criticizing

the Shah and the U.S. role in Iran, and apologized to Iran for the “hostage rescue mission.”

Behind the barbed wire, in a military hospital in West Germany, these little “misunderstandings” are being “cleared up” with these and any other hostages who still labor under the illusion that they have the right to voice any independent views or even render honest factual accounts of what transpired during their detention. While interrogating the hostages at Wiesbaden and carefully instructing them in what to say, what not to say, and how to behave following their release, both they and the American public are being told that any deviation from the official U.S. line, including even a refusal to lie about the conditions of their detention or to shut up about any private views they may hold, should be interpreted as a symptom of psychological degradation, the so-called “Stockholm syndrome” in which captives supposedly develop a sense of “gratitude and love” for their captors, and become susceptible to brainwash.

It is in order to complete this thorough process of coordinating stories, and making explicitly clear to all the hostages what is expected of them, that the hostages are being kept from the press and even their own relatives, who are being urged to “stay away from the hostel.” This is true with the exception, of course, of the top embassy officials and other long-tested and veteran agents of U.S. imperialism, who can be thoroughly relied upon to

play their assigned roles to the hilt. For example, Allyssa Keough, daughter of hostage William Keough, Jr., traveled to see her father in Wiesbaden but was not allowed to see him. The *New York Times* described her as “something of a rebel among the hostage families because she developed an affection for Iranians.” On the way to Wiesbaden, she made statements such as, “I like Iran” and “I love Iranians” and said that she was disturbed by the “prejudice” she has seen develop against Iran during the hostage crisis. Apparently, this is extremely dangerous sentiment and every precaution had to be taken to avoid contaminating any of the hostages with it.

Just to make sure that there are no slip-ups, various pressures and threats are being brought to bear on those hostages that the government feels are most unreliable. For example, an article in the *Chicago Sun-Times* on the trial of Private 1st Class Steven Garwood, a Marine charged with collaborating with the Vietnamese during the Vietnam war, recently “dropped the other shoe” on Gallegos: “The outcome of Garwood’s collaboration court-martial could have a lasting effect upon the military’s strict code of conduct for prisoners of war and their captors, including the hostages in Iran. The Marines are known to be particularly concerned by remarks made in a television interview in December 1979 by Marine Guard Corporal Billy Gallegos, 21, from Pueblo Colorado . . .

“Officers have told me with passion they will look closely at the conduct of the captured Marine guards in Tehran to see if they violated military law,” said defense chief counsel John Loew . . .” This is nothing short of a direct threat to Gallegos, run out openly in the U.S. press. We wonder what’s going on behind the walls at Wiesbaden; we wonder how Gallegos is enjoying his “first taste of freedom” in 14 months. □

MASTERS OF TORTURE HOWL “CRUELTY”

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the contrary. It just means they wish to do so as part of the bigger picture of world domination against their Soviet rivals.

The tactics of the U.S. in attempting to hone “public opinion” to a sharp edge of chauvinist frenzy have been purposeful and deliberate. Immediately before and the day following the release of the hostages the main tone set by the media was the saccharin theme of “the joy of a nation” at the blessed fact that the hostages were “free at last.” Television and the press sought to pretend, for a day, that the entire country was a Norman Rockwell *Saturday Evening Post* cover sprung to life—moral citizens in pictures of small towns dancing in the streets, ringing church bells, gathering in knots to sing “God Bless America” out of sheer joy that “their ordeal—and our own—is finally at an end.” Well-scrubbed, cherubic servicemen at Wiesbaden beamed into cameras through the frosty cold, continuing

their “vigil of joy” and informing all America that “We’re so proud—so proud to be Americans—and we all stand together—united as we have never been before.”

It didn’t take long for the directors of the script to cry “Cut!” It quickly grew obvious that among broad sections of people, the sickly sweet diet was too much to digest—if only because it was so blatantly and obviously propaganda designed to capitalize on the hostage issue to shove patriotism down people’s throats.

Of course they were careful to sum this up “correctly” for the public: “The joy contagiously swept the nation . . .” wrote the *New York Times* glowingly on January 21.

Torture Stories

That very day came a new tactic designed to silence the cynics: TORTURE! To ensure that the hostages are well-prepared to corroborate every lurid fantasy about their captivity, they have been whisked behind the cloistered wall of the military hospital for days of debriefing, “psychological testing” and interrogation. It is obvious that they are being primed (or pressured in some cases) to manufacture tales of “trauma and torture,” to at least embellish, if not outright invent, stories of their “deprivation.”

On January 21st, the *New York Post* ran a screamer headline of a story quoting Elizabeth Montague, a secretary who was released in the second week of the takeover, as saying that she was forced to submit to “Russian Roulette” while bound and gagged. When she heard the story on the news, she called the press through a spokesman to insist that such reports were “sheer fabrication.” Her denial was buried in paragraph 24 of a *New York Times* article, headlined “Hostages Describe Beatings In Solitary Confinement.”

Although it is well-known, and was freely admitted by the media, that the hostages continually received mail and packages from home—and have been

regularly allowed to write, and in many cases call their relatives during their detention, it is now being alleged that the captors “played cruel games” with the mail, at one point “burning a stack of Christmas presents” destined for the hostages. The well-publicized Christmas films of hostages opening their presents have been forgotten.

In one particularly ridiculous effort,

former hostage John McKeel, a Marine Sgt. is quoted as claiming that “three Iranians told me that my mother was dead,” and that he could come home for the funeral if he told them “what they wanted to know.” He is quoted as saying that “only upon his release” did he learn that his mother was still alive. And yet, every hostage without excep-

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One example of the “thief cries ‘stop thief’” tactics of U.S. imperialism by using “torture” question was the story of the last day in Iran. After the agreement was signed and announced, it was up in the air again for a day. Afterwards, a U.S. official claimed that this was another typical Iranian psychological torture tactic—one last chance to torment the hostages and “all Americans.” How quick they re-write history! This was less than two days after the Iranian negotiator made the real reason for the delay clear—and he was never disputed in his facts. After the deal was signed, the U.S. presented a surprise 11 page “appendix.” Completely against the agreement this appendix by U.S. banks meant to make it binding on Iran to drop any further claims for their money in U.S. banks. The agreement said these claims were to be arbitrated. So there it is—another “Iranian torture tactic”—an 11 page U.S. bank “addendum.” □



These footprints left in blood lead from one of the U.S.-trained SAVAK’s numerous torture chambers.

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH, NOV. 18, 1979

BOB AVAKIAN: "TRAN, IT'S NOT OUR EMBASSY"

The following excerpts on the deluge of anti-Iranian hysteria emanating from the U.S. imperialists in the wake of the seizure of the U.S. hostages in Tehran are taken from a speech delivered by Bob Avakian on November 18, 1979. The entire speech has been reprinted in a new pamphlet titled "Bob Avakian Speaks on the Mao Tsetung Defendants Railroad and the Historic Battles Ahead." In addition portions of the speech were reprinted in the pamphlet "IRAN: It's Not OUR Embassy!"



They've got these reactionary jackals out here. They've got cavemen and all the rest of them, plastic Barbie and Ken dolls coming out here spewing forth all this reactionary troglodytic caveman racism and national chauvinism. As we said in our newspaper, when people around the world see these kinds of people out here and believe that they are representative of the masses of people in this country—which they are not—many people in the world do believe that Americans have smaller brains than anybody else. But the fact is that they do *not* represent the sentiments, and more than that, the real interests of the great majority of people in this society, the working class and the oppressed people and the broad ranks of the people in this society.

Here they have the *nerve* to come out and talk about, "We've been pushed around too long. We're not going to stand for this any longer—the Americans have just been pushed around too long. No, no we are not imperialists. We are not imperialists and we will not be pushed around."

This is nothing but straight up gangster logic, that's *all* it is. It says the

imperialists, the exploiters and the oppressors have the right to do anything they want to do, so long as they can do it to their victims all over the world. But it says that the oppressed people, the people they have been victimizing for lifetimes and decades and centuries, those people have no right to rise up and fight back against it. And as for the question of whether they've been pushed around too long: They haven't been pushed nearly enough and they haven't seen anything compared to what we and the people all over the world are going to do to them.

Imagine that. Imagine the most monstrous criminals in the history of the whole world talking about the fact that they have been pushed around too long, that they've got to draw the line somewhere. But they have a purpose in all this. They have a reason for all this. They're not just lashing out blindly. They're not just striking back in rage. They have a very clear political, ideological purpose in all this. They are preparing the masses of people in this country, by whipping up the reactionary sentiments and the reactionary movements among the social base of people that they can whip up behind this bloody red, white and blue, to try to create public

opinion and to create the kind of reactionary frenzy among sections of the American people that in the short run will support them, if they feel that they have to, in going in and attempting to pull off a reactionary invasion or reactionary coup in Iran. In the short run that's precisely what they are trying to prepare and soften people up for and brainwash people into supporting.

And you see some of this right around here. They've got all these marine bases here. And they put the officers and some of the rest all over the news. They're building up all these "typical American citizens," marine sergeants and drill instructors wearing these t-shirts with a machine gun pointed at the head of an Iranian and talking about, "How much did you say the oil costs now?" But they've got a problem here. They've brainwashed and drugged these people that they trained to be their military forces. They've shown them so many John Wayne movies, trying to bury and forget what happened to them in Vietnam. These people they've trained are swollen and arrogant enough to believe that they can just go over there to Iran, parachute some elite division or land the marines and all the Iranian people

will say, "We're sorry, please forgive," and they will fall down on their knees and beg for mercy. I got news for you. It's never going to happen!

In fact we were talking half-jokingly, that maybe we would call a press conference and make an announcement to all these frustrated would-be John Waynes, inside and outside the military. We would announce that if they were so bad, if they were so determined to go over there and do something with the Iranian people, that we would arrange for transportation for them to go over there—because they would learn something very profound. Reality would be brought home to them real quick. All the John Wayne movies would go out of focus right away because they would find that imperialism, and especially the imperialist rulers of this country, can no longer bully their way around the world. They still have *some* room to do it, but especially in the face of a politically aware and aroused people, as the Iranian people are increasingly becoming, they can't bully their way around. . . .

But they're not just trying to whip up a reactionary hysteria, racist and chauvinist frenzy for the immediate purpose of preparing the conditions to reinstitute the fascist dictatorship with or without the Shah in Iran, to pull a coup in Iran or even outright military intervention. More than that they are right now utilizing the situation in Iran, what they've whipped up and the calculated moves they've made, *knowing* that the Iranian people would fight back against the outrage of bringing the Shah here, they are right now trying to whip up this hysteria and frenzy in preparation for marching the people in this country off for the next bloodthirsty imperialist war, World War 3.

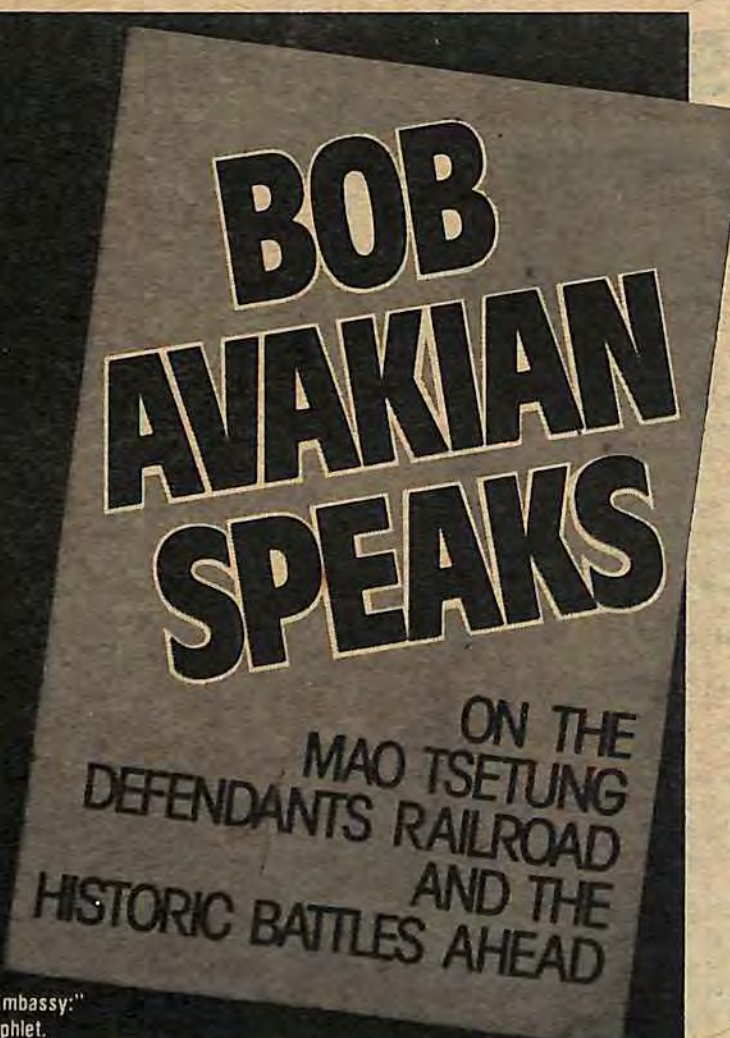
Now I saw some of those reactionary clowns out there, and I remember one woman in particular. You know, the Pat Nixon model—face frozen in a pitiful, forlorn, zombie-like look. She had the nerve to hold up a sign that said, "Iranians go home to the Middle Ages where you belong." And I feel quite confident in saying that this woman, or at least people like her, only about a month ago was down on her knees slobbering at the feet of the major monument to the Middle Ages and the Dark Ages in the whole world—the Pope. She's got the *nerve* to talk about how the Iranian people should go back to the Middle Ages where they belong when she was undoubtedly, and others like her for sure, were out slobbering and kissing the ring—if not other things—of this major and leading

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

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

Order from RCP Publications
P.O. Box 3486
Chicago, Illinois 60654

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



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"CRUELTY"

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tion was visited on several occasions in person by ministers and other emissaries from the United States, one of whose main purposes was to bring messages from families.

In the January 22 *New York Times*, an issue loaded with generalizations and claims about "Russian roulette" and "facing firing squads", when they got to specifics there was a noticeable lacking. The *only* concrete story was one told by a hostage claiming that in the middle of one night a squad of armed men had come into the hostages' rooms, "pushed and shoved them," lined them up and "pushed us against the wall, kicking our feet apart." The hostage said, he *thought* he heard "metallic clicking." The hostages were stripped and their room searched.

What stands out about this "horrible" story, even if true, is that this *and far worse* happens *daily* to hundreds and thousands of people in this country at the hands of the armed enforcers of "the law"—and especially randomly within the ghettos and barrios of every major city.

It is obvious that of all the torture tales the bulk of them are sheer fabrication, while the rest, after sensationalist, sado-masochistic headlines, boil down basically to bitches and gripes about "bad food," "uncomfortable" beds, "it was too cold in there," etc.

They Wrote the Book on Torture

They've got a lot of nerve. Who was it—and here we speak, not only of the U.S. government in general, but of some of the very people (or their close friends) who were being held prisoners by the Iranian people—who literally "wrote the book" on torture? Even if every fantastic tale told so far were true, their captors wouldn't have even gotten through page 1 of the SAVAK volumes of techniques. SAVAK, the Shah's secret police, were openly trained, equipped and supervised by the U.S. CIA. The SAVAK had a different idea of torture than serving "too much lamb and rice"—the complaint of one hostage. Mutilation, castration, blinding, puncturing ear drums, etc.—these and numerous other tortures, both crude and sophisticated, were carried out routinely against tens of thousands of fighters against the Shah's regime and U.S. imperialism, which was robbing and oppressing the country. And, to be clear, this was not some "human rights violation" which the Carter ad-

ministration "regretted" but was conducted under the very supervisory noses—indeed with the assistance and advice of—the CIA, a number of whose operatives were captured with the seizure of the U.S. embassy. It was such a complete U.S. front job, that SAVAK higher-ups bragged when "their boys" invented an occasional torture device, instead of having to import all the designs from the U.S. All this is well documented internationally, and well forgotten by poor, victimized U.S. imperialism—forgotten, that is, until they get a chance to use it again on the Iranian people if they have their way.

From everything that can be gleaned from the hostages' so-called ordeal—it sounds as if every one of them would be in for an unpleasant shock if they ended up in a typical American maximum security prison. "Strip cells," "sensory deprivation units," "the hole," all of it is respectable "science" of penology. Then add in the "unofficial" policies of guards shitting in the food of "rebels," beatings, "suicide" hangings, etc. Yes, hostages, as one news commentator put it, you have indeed gone from an "Iranian nightmare to the American dream."

And if someone's sensibilities are offended by comparing "America's foreign representatives" with common prisoners, then perhaps it should be conceded they have a point. Even the most accomplished mass murderer in America's prisons never held a candle to the CIA. The Shah's troops, in one example, shot down 10,000 unarmed demonstrators in Tehran in a single day, Sept. 8, 1978—with the full support (and weaponry) of the U.S. imperialists and the Carter administration in particular. This was merely "putting down the barbarians."

The mother of John McKeel (the one who is "supposed to be dead") told CBS radio "That the Iranians say they are a religious people who worship god. But they're really just savages and fanatics. They say they worship god, but it's not the same god I worship." An important "divine truth" for the imperialists: God isn't on their side, god is on *our* side.

Reagan/Carter

The trigger for the deluge of torture horror stories that has hit the U.S. media was Reagan's "personal emissary" and former President Carter's remarks in Wiesbaden where he said that the hostages had been subjected to "acts of barbarism that can never be condoned." This is an interesting and not coincidental choice of words. It was none other than Ronald Reagan who called the Iranian people "barbarians" a few weeks earlier as part of a well-

planned and carefully scripted move to threaten the Iranian government with taunts of "you better cinch the deal now before the big bad Ronnie gets in office." Clearly Reagan's remarks at that time were approved by the Carter administration and seen as yet another twist in a long line of "carrot and stick" tactics, including economic strangulation and the Iran/Iraq war designed to bring pressure to bear on the bourgeois forces in Iran to capitulate.

The events surrounding the departure of the hostages from Tehran show that this tactic has been somewhat effective with the Iranian rulers. As the hostages boarded the buses to make the trip to Tehran Airport, they were escorted through crowds yelling, "Death to America! God is Great!" This was supposed to give the Iranian people the impression that "nothing had changed" from the first days of the hostage seizure. But at Tehran Airport, there was an "inexplicable" delay of some six hours before the plane took off; some ten minutes before Jimmy Carter's term as president was to expire the jet engines began to run, and the jet didn't move until some 25 minutes after Carter's term had expired. Why this apparently intentional delay? In part, of course, it was probably a last slap at Carter, who had, according to the press, a strong wish to "free the hostages" during his term of office. But in waiting till Reagan was officially sworn in the government was also coyly implying that "they were prepared to deal" with him. Objectively, this had the effect of bolstering the imperialists' hype about Reagan as a "hardliner" who is a "man to be feared" by those who would dare challenge American imperial might.

Ronnie's imperialist posturing was also a move to broadcast its "get tough" message to the world and fan chauvinist hysteria in this country.

It was carrot and stick tactics. Carter, far from being a "softie" probably sent Reagan his lines and the professional actor did his part. Reagan's "barbarians" statement was heralded from all quarters of the bourgeoisie including approving com-

ments from Richard Nixon, among others, who quite unabashedly ran out and gave his full support to U.S. gangsterism in Iran. Like many other imperialist spokesmen and mouthpieces these days, Nixon hailed not only Reagan's well-timed mouth-foaming, but the direct U.S. leaning on Iran in all its forms of economic, political and military blackmail. Nixon made only

the flimsiest attempts to cover up the U.S. role in fomenting Iraq to attack Iran.

The Agreement

The Reagan administration is being urged by the *Wall Street Journal* and various other bourgeois quarters to "renounce the deal," which is now being attacked as "paying ransom to the barbarians." All of this is clearly designed to prepare public opinion for the possibility of new moves against Iran in the near future. But at the same time, for example, the *Wall Street Journal* admits that the arguments that "...such a move would cut the ground out from under those Iranian leaders who favored the deal and faced up to the wild man who would have held the hostages forever" is a "persuasive" one, to be balanced against the case for "swift retaliation." The *New York Times* draws out the dilemma for the U.S. even more explicitly:

"...The blood will boil as the returned hostages tell of beatings, robbery, isolation and other barbarities. Their tales will reinforce an obvious yearning for revenge. Let there be rage and revulsion in these first hours of release... But when the time comes for action, let it be from cold calculation. No retribution, however satisfying emotionally, should subvert the broader American aims in Iran and the Middle East. Blood renunciation of the deal, or new punishments might well injure American interests more than Iran's. It is not respect for Iran but a maddening need for it that kept us from bombing Tehran flat."

Significantly, a leading Iranian banker in the United States, who served as an advisor to the Iranian government during the hostage release negotiations, was interviewed in New York the day following the hostage release. Cyrus Hashemi told television reporters that U.S. renunciation of the deal or other retaliation against Iran "would be highly regrettable." He stated that he, and many officials in Tehran, had never condoned the seizure of the hostages, and specifically referred to the existence of "strong, organized leftist factions in Iran" as a danger to be guarded against. His obvious message was that the U.S. should act to strengthen the pro-Western forces within Iran, and that "unstatesmanlike actions" by the Reagan administration would gravely weaken them.

But exactly due to the desperate necessity facing the U.S., which is pulling out all stops in its "race against time" to shore up its strategic position in the Gulf in preparation for world war

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U.S. Embassy Hostages—Further Revelations on:

A Rogue's Gallery of Imperialist Spies and Agents

Over the last two weeks (RW No. 87 and 88) we ran a two-part series titled, "A Rogue's Gallery of Imperialist Spies and Agents" exposing the spying and counter-revolutionary political work engaged in by the 60+ members of the U.S. embassy staff in Tehran before they were captured in November 1979. This week new information was released on the "previous experience" of some of the higher-ranking hostages. While their whereabouts during their "tours of duty" throughout the U.S. worldwide empire from 1975-79 continues to be classified by the State Department and is only being released in dribs and drabs, even this helps fill out a picture of the global machinations of U.S. imperialism and its operatives in the Foreign Service. In addition, it is only with the release of the hostages that the U.S. government and its ever-obedient media have finally released some biographical information on the ranking military officers at the embassy, including the fact that all of these officers had faithfully served in Vietnam as bomber pilots, battalion commanders and so forth. We encourage our readers to update the "rogue's gallery" that we ran over the last two weeks with the following information:

(Number in parentheses refers to picture in previous RW)

Moorhead Kennedy (2)—Number 2 diplomat. His main overseas assignment before Iran was his post as a commercial consul in Chile from 1975-78. This was not long after the U.S.-engineered coup that overthrew the Allende government and installed a pro-U.S. military dictatorship that murdered more than 30,000 Chileans in the following years of fascist terror.

Thomas Ahern (8)—the supposed "narcotics control coordinator" at the embassy. According to the U.S. press, Ahern was "accused by the students at the embassy of being a CIA agent" because they found a forged Belgian passport for him and instructions detailing the cover he was to use inside the embassy.

To dispel any further doubts about his real occupation, Ahern served in the Army Counter-Intelligence Corps from 1954-60, and was a "security officer" at the U.S. embassy in Laos in the 1960s, at a time when the U.S. was intervening militarily in Laos as well as in neighboring Vietnam and Cambodia.

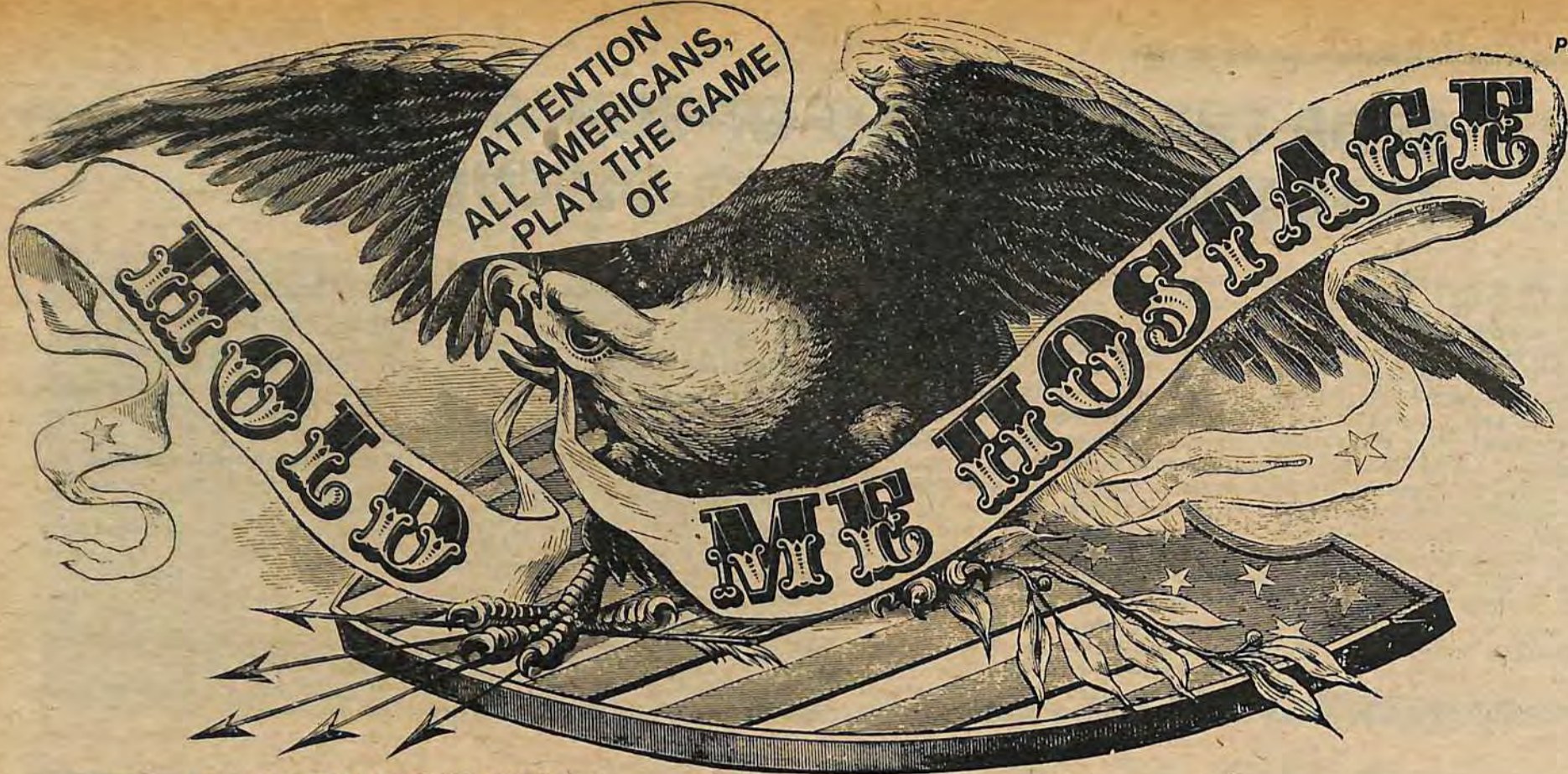
Charles Jones (15)—the only Black among the remaining hostages. After years in the Philippines and Africa as a CIA communications officer, Jones served in Israel before being detailed to Tehran.

Col. Thomas Schaefer (18)—ranking officer in the embassy's Defense Attaché Office. Spent 30 years in the Air Force. Bomber pilot in Vietnam; wing commander in Strategic Air Command; assigned to Iran in 1978 for three-year tour; appointed head of ROTC program at University of Washington while he was hostage.

Lt. Col. Charles Scott (19)—was Army attaché to Iran from 1965-66; commander of an infantry battalion in Vietnam; attached to Defense Intelligence Agency (CIA's counterpart in the military); readiness coordinator for the Army Reserve in 1977.

Col. Leland Holland (20)—chief of embassy security. Did two tours of duty in Vietnam; sent to Iran in June 1978 for three-year tour.

Lt. Col. David Roeder (not pictured in the RW)—attaché with 19 years in Air Force. While in Vietnam, Roeder flew more than 100 "combat missions"—a euphemism for the murderous bombing raids conducted against the Vietnamese people from U.S. aircraft carriers and B-52 bases. Because of his demonstrated history of loyal service to U.S. imperialism during the Vietnam War, the students at the embassy labeled Roeder a "war criminal."



NATIONAL SWEEPSTAKES AND JUBILEE*

4 GRAND PRIZES

GRAND PRIZE NO. 1
One year stay in a U.S. embassy—country to be announced



GRAND PRIZE NO. 2
An all-expense paid trip to Washington, D.C. where you will accompany both President Reagan and former President Carter to the graves of the 8 red-blooded American boys of the "Charlie's Angels" unit who were killed trying to free our hostages from the fanatical Iranian hordes (wreaths & flags included)



GRAND PRIZE NO. 3
1 week living with and listening to the Mormon Tabernacle Choir**



GRAND PRIZE NO. 4
A free trip to the Jackass Flats, Nevada, to witness up close and personal, the testing of our latest nuclear device. (for your own personal safety you must bring your own pair of sunglasses for this prize.)

1ST ANNUAL HOSTAGE-A-BILIA CONVENTION

all hostage related artifacts

- SWAP
- BUY
- SELL
- DISPLAY

EXHIBITS FOR SALE WILL INCLUDE

- recordings of Ted Koppel announcing "Day 1" through "Day 444" (a 2 record set—Day 1 to 222 and 223 to 444.)
- Autographed pictures of Kate Smith
- actual pine needles from the National Tree of Hope (get this one quick—supply limited)
- Christmas Eve recording of Hostage Katherine Koob singing *Away in a Manger* for national news (guaranteed to bring a lump to your throat) and much, much more




Yes, they're coming home. As one pert little gal reporter put it, "From an Iranian nightmare to an American Dream." And who among us cannot be deeply touched by the spontaneous outpouring of patriotism and national unity that is flowing throughout this blessed land. Church bells pealing and yellow ribbons fluttering, harmonizing with the purple mountain's majesties and our beloved fruited plains. What else can capture this spirit but the **HOLD ME HOSTAGE NATIONAL SWEEPSTAKES AND JUBILEE***. IF you think that America is No. 1 and must stay No. 1... if you're tired of every two-bit country pushing us around... if you're tired of liberation movements and revolutions battering us around, weakening our ability to govern... if you realize the importance of national unity to stem this tide, recognize the strategic importance of the Persian Gulf and preparing for the inevitable world war with the Russians... and if you sometimes say to yourself and your friends, "What the hell... what are bombs for if not to drop on some inferior foreigners," the **HOLD ME HOSTAGE GAME** is for you.

JUST IMAGINE YOU as Grand Prize Winner will be flown to a far off, exotic country. You will be given a phony identity and passport. You will be supplied with the latest in "diplomatic covers". We will supply you with "contacts" from among the upper classes and military. Just think, Mr./Mrs./Miss Grand Prize winner—You making your way down the streets in your embassy staff car... thousands of heads will turn and stare when you go by... crowds will gather around you, greeting you in their quaint native tongue and with their strange customs. As Grand Prize winner you will organize reactionary movements, propping up friendly dictators and thwarting our Russian rivals. Yours if you win—but you must qualify for the drawing.

TO QUALIFY just fill out the easy loyalty quiz attached and send it in along with signed affidavits from two neighbors attesting to moral character and that you raised old glory every day since at least day 100.

QUALIFYING EASY LOYALTY QUIZ—Circle correct answer

- A U.S. embassy is:
 - where passports are stamped and tourists are helped
 - built with Gothic Style architecture
 - where spies and other U.S. personnel are trained and equipped to overthrow "unfriendly" governments and infiltrate and destroy revolutionary movements.
- A hostage violates the accepted conduct for Americans when:
 - he sympathizes with his captors.
 - there is a family history of mental illness.
 - When hostage Staff Sgt. Joseph Subic, in a video-taped film revealed hidden computers underneath the embassy and explained they were for CIA use in monitoring wave lengths of Iranian radio broadcasts and computer traffic, and when he reported the embassy's Col. Schaefer was setting up a spy ring. When ex-hostage Lillian Johnson admitted that the embassy was printing large quantities of forged money to disrupt, paralyze the Iranian economy and monetary system, and when hostage guard William Gallegos stated that not only was he being treated fine, but that he doubted that he was willing to die for the Shah.
- You knew that the "crisis" was over and they were returning to the American Way of Life when:
 - The plane arched its tail, tilted its wings toward the sun and left oppressive Iranian air space.
 - in-flight movies were shown on the plane.
 - When the hostages marched out of their plane in order of rank and when CIA honcho Bruce Laingen didn't even have to go to the military "hospital" but walked away with the man from the U.S. State Department in Algeria.
- The hostages were:
 - innocent GI's, diplomats and clerical workers who were the victim of a kidnapping perpetrated by savage and crazed foreigners.
 - all over 18 years old
 - Former boy scouts and girl scouts who went on to do "hush-hush" work for their country around the world.
- You knew that our U.S. newsmen were getting desperate when:
 - they were surrounded by fanatical mobs of Iranians burning American flags and screaming "Death to the Shah—Death to Carter"
 - they were getting close to their deadline
 - when one reporter, interviewing hostage grandmother Kupke, who baked dozens of boxes of cookies for her hostage-grandson, called her "one of the most remarkable women" he ever met.
- The hostages have to be "decompressed" in a military "hospital" in Germany for 5 days to:
 - To check out their health and thwart any Iranian plans to send hostage-like clones into our country to infiltrate it.
 - Because they don't know who's playing in the Super Bowl.
 - To separate the wheat from the chaff, finger any hostage who has said or might say the wrong things, and to coach those who need it in what to say to the press.
- 3000 miles is:
 - The length of the land put down by god between two great oceans, made for a special breed of people who yearn for freedom and yearn to make others "free" as well.
 - a long trip in anybody's book
 - the amount of yellow ribbon that the imperialists and their reactionary mouthpieces are trying to get people to believe are being displayed by neanderthals and assorted flag-wavers
- International Law:
 - was broken when our hostages were illegally seized
 - is complex and sometimes difficult to ascertain
 - is both dictated by and broken by the U.S. on a daily basis. For the U.S., international law "allows" the subjugation of Puerto Rico, and other colonies and neo-colonies, the invasion of the various countries from time to time, the use of germ warfare when seen fit, and any number of the endless "legalities" involved in competing for world hegemony.

Scoring: Count up the numbers of A's, B's and C's that were circled.
 5 or more A's—You are willing hostage and mouthpiece for imperialism. Congratulations. You qualify for a grand prize.
 5 or more B's—You are completely out of it. Where have you been?
 5 or more C's—You do not qualify for any prize. You are at least a ne'er-do-well and sound like a subversive to us. You must be a reader of the Revolutionary Worker newspaper. If not you ought to be.

(psst... just "launch" this nuke by drawing flames under it and get a free yellow ribbon and life-sized Wayne Newton pin-up. Don't worry, these are in unlimited supply.

* Contest void in Miami, and other areas that have been the scene of similar disloyalty.
 ** Due to Mormon "custom" and sacred religious beliefs, if you are Black an alternate prize of equal distinction will be awarded.



STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN! FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS

As we go to press the deadline of March 10th has been set for the D.C. Court of Appeals decision reinstating the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants to be appealed to the Supreme Court. By the beginning of March a petition for a Writ of Certiorari, which means a petition demanding that the Supreme Court agree to review the Appeals Court reversal of the lower court's dismissal of the charges, will be filed. The Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants is calling for thousands of people from all walks of life to sign a statement of outrage which is now being prepared to be published in the *Washington Post* around the same time as the petition is filed to expose to thousands more the facts of the political railroad of Bob

Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

As part of unleashing broad sentiment against this railroad plans are already underway for several organizations to file Amicus Briefs in support of the defense petition for a Writ of Certiorari. Lawyers, law students and others who would like to assist in working on these briefs are encouraged to contact the Committee.

Money is urgently needed to step up resistance to this political railroad. The ad in the *Washington Post* alone will cost thousands of dollars and the brief for the Supreme Court will also cost a large sum of money. In addition to ongoing legal and Committee expenses, people are urged to send donations to the Committee:

Funds are urgently needed for legal expenses and for the work of publicity around the case of Bob Avakian and the other Mao Tsetung Defendants

**Make checks and money orders payable to:
Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants
Box 6422 "T" Station
Washington, D.C. 20009**

Tax deductible contributions may be made payable to:

Capp Street Foundation
506 15th St., Suite 700
Oakland, CA 94612

Earmark the check "for Mao Tsetung Defendants' case."

Major Events in the Mao Tsetung Defendants Case

In October, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals reversed a lower court ruling and reinstated a 25 felony count indictment against Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. This latest move is a serious escalation in the government's attempt to cripple the RCP. From its beginning, the case has represented a sharp political attack:

- * The charges stem from a police assault on a January 1979 demonstration protesting the U.S. visit of Chinese revisionist leader, Deng Xiaoping. Initiated by the RCP, the demonstration upheld the revolutionary banner of Mao Tsetung, denounced the revisionist coup d'etat which had taken place after Mao's death, and protested the

enlistment of China into the U.S. war bloc.

- * Originally, 78 people were arrested. Six months later, 17 were indicted, then shortly after, reindicted, the charges mushrooming to 25 felonies and possible jail time of 241 years. The government tried to hide the political nature of its attack behind blatantly fabricated criminal charges.
- * On November 14, 1979, the charges were dropped before the case had gone to trial. "Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian—Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants" had become a battle cry in the months prior. The political support of thousands and thousands of people had been mobilized, and in the face of this, the bourgeoisie was forced to tempor-

arily retreat. But events that followed showed that the enemy was also maneuvering.

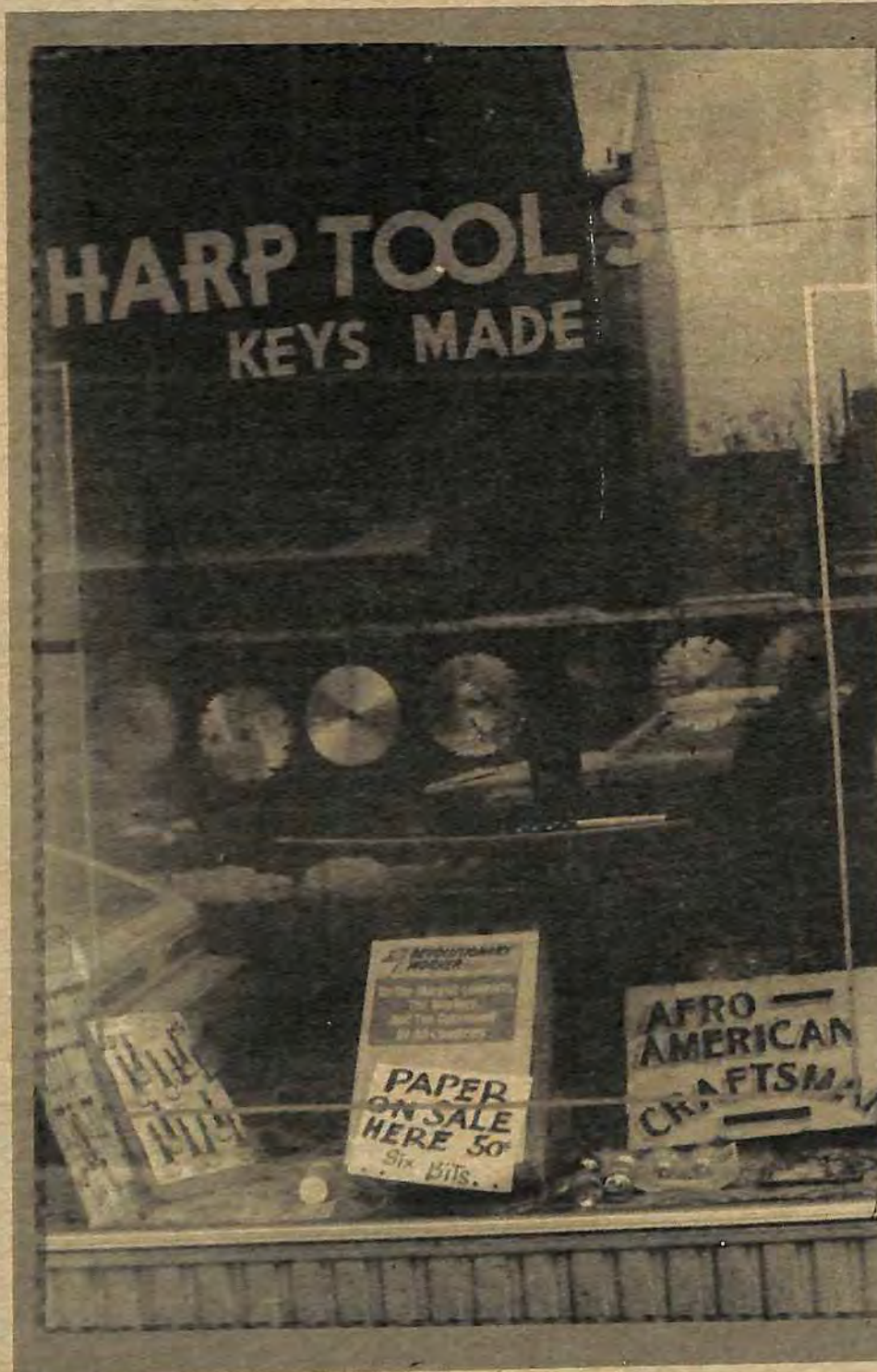
- * Immediately following the dismissal, government prosecutors filed an appeal. This appeal was actually an escalation of the political attack. It admitted what they had been denying all along, that they were prosecuting the case on the basis of political conspiracy.
- * Throughout the year that the case hung in the appeals court, the bourgeoisie stepped up attacks on the RCP on other fronts. The Secret Service was unleashed on Bob Avakian, over 800 RCP members and supporters were arrested, especially in connection with Revolutionary May Day, 1980, and RCP member Damian Garcia was

murdered by police agents.

- * On October 21, 1980, the charges were reinstated.
- * January 2. Full D.C. Court of Appeals upholds October reinstatement of charges. Defendants plan appeal to Supreme Court.

With the reinstatement of the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, the stakes have again been raised. A major counter-offensive is being mounted, and even broader forces must be mobilized in the battle. Join the struggle to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants! Contact the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants or the RCP in your area.

Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants
Box 6422 "T" Station
Washington, D.C. 20009



"Create Public Opinion... Seize Power," the central task of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is no literary task. Bob Avakian, the Chairman of our Party's Central Committee, recently pointed out:

“To underscore the significance of this advance in our understanding of central task—and of the newspaper as our main weapon, in its various aspects—it can be truly said that it is only with these advances that we have really arrived at and begun to develop an actual plan for how to make revolution, for how to make all our work concretely build toward the goal of an eventual armed uprising and civil war. This is not to say that previously we did not carry out revolutionary work (with whatever weaknesses and errors there may have been in our line and actions), nor that we did not have a basic strategy—the united front—for revolution (for the necessary approach to the question of the alignment of class forces). But it is to say that it is only with the forging of the line on central task, as represented by ‘create public opinion... seize power,’ and the wielding of the newspaper as the main weapon, that we could really begin to forge the links between our work in this period and the actual mass armed struggle for power in the future...

... Not only does the objective situation and its developments hold greatly heightened possibilities, and not only have we made real leaps in our analysis of this, but with the forging of our central task and the central role of the newspaper we have actually laid the foundation for concretely building for the revolutionary prospects ahead, for actually being able to seize upon and direct toward the revolutionary aim the many diverse strands or streams in which the class struggle breaks out—the many different ways that ‘communism springs from every pore’ of society—and it is up to us to strain to make further leaps to carry this forward and finally carry it through...”

Sentencing Delayed in Trial of Revolutionaries

China: Contradictions Bubbling in Revisionist Stew

As we go to press the word "very imminent" is being used by several different reports to describe the expected announcement of the sentence on Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. But even the revisionist rulers are desperately trying to figure out how best to deal with the revolutionaries. A January 19th UPI report cited diplomatic sources as saying that a new round of trials of hundreds of others who "committed crimes during the Cultural Revolution," including Mao's nephew Mao Yuanxin (Mao Yuan-hsin), is now under preparation. Mao Yuanxin, one of the closest allies of the Gang of Four, was the vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Committee in Northeast Liaoning Province and deputy political commissar of the regional army before he was arrested along with the Four in 1976. Undoubtedly many of these hundreds being tried will follow Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao's revolutionary example, thus multiplying many times over the problems that the revisionists faced during the current trial.

The revisionists had hoped to deal a decisive blow against the Four and Mao's line. This in turn would create a basis and momentum to deal with other revolutionaries, such as Mao Yuanxin. By now it is clear to all, including to the U.S. imperialists who have been watching the whole thing closely and with apprehension, that the revisionists have failed miserably politically in their courtroom battle with the revolutionaries. Instead, recent newspaper articles in Shanghai and Liaoning attacking "counter-revolutionary" disruptions by those "inciting and agitating" and "using the methods of the Cultural Revolution" indicate that there is an upswing of revolutionary activity.

The trial has put into sharp focus the revisionist rulers' inability to deal with Mao's legacy, both because of those like Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao and many others who still uphold his line, and because of contradictions within their own ranks. This is why the revisionists will probably not be able to execute the two right now (although this cannot be ruled out just yet) and instead opt for sentencing her to death and then delaying the execution for a certain amount of time. Both they and their U.S. imperialist "advisers" are too worried about making Chiang Ching a martyr and about "unity and stability." One indication that this is what may happen is a January 20th Xinhua News Agency article written by Liu Fuzhi, the deputy director of the parliamentary commission on legislative affairs. Liu wrote that several of the accused will be sentenced to death

but cautioned that "Article 43 states that the death penalty may be suspended for two years during which time the prisoner will be helped to reform through labor."

Of course such a "compromise" will not really solve anything at all for the revisionist clique. The backward forces in society who have been clamouring for Chiang Ching's execution to fully release their reactionary initiative will be left up in the air. The revolutionary elements will correctly see this as another sign of the weak and precarious position that the ruling class is in. Another problem faced by the revisionists, if indeed they plan to come out with such a "compromise," is how to word it. During the past couple of years, there have been routine and well-publicized executions of common murderers, rapists and so forth, as the revisionists tried to point the spearhead away from their own biggest crime of exploiting and oppressing the masses of people. They now have to come up with acrobatic twists of legal logic while preserving what they can of their mask of bourgeois legality in order to justify not executing Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, who are being accused of "persecuting" thousands of people.

Capitalist Economic Troubles

Bubbling beneath these contradictions in the political sphere are the underlying contradictions in the economy. With the coming to power of the new bourgeoisie and their undermining of the rational, socialist development of the economy, the anarchistic and destructive forces of capitalism have been unleashed. The budget report read at the First National People's Congress last September revealed a 1979 budget deficit of \$11 billion, the first ever since the People's Republic was founded in 1949. The hopeful predictions at that time were that the deficit would be reduced to \$5.2 billion in 1980, \$3.52 billion in 1981 and then would presumably disappear. But according to the January 5th *Asian Wall Street Journal*, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang admitted in a confidential report now being circulated among top officials that China faces big budget deficits for years unless there are "fundamental changes" and warned of a "potential crisis." The January 19th *Business Week* reports that estimates for the 1980 deficit go up to \$12 billion. Meanwhile heavy industry is stagnating and foreign exchange reserves are being eaten away by the rising burden of China's foreign debt. Profits from oil, with which the revisionists had expected to pay for advanced technology, have vanished in

French Feminists Demonstrate in Support of Chiang Ching

A demonstration in support of Chiang Ching, organized by the Women's Liberation Movement took place in Paris, Jan. 17.

About 150 people took part, including some Marxist-Leninist forces as well as many feminists. The action demanded that Chiang Ching not be sentenced to death, and also that China's current rulers publish the statements she has made during the trial, statements which expose the political and class nature of this trial and which Deng & Co. have tried to keep bottled up. "It's right to rebel," the marchers chanted. On the same day, a full page ad in support of Chiang Ching was published in the French daily *Le Monde*, with thousands of signatures, among them some very prominent names in cultural and academic circles.

Revolutionaries in Britain Meet, Plan Action Around China Trials

An early January meeting was held here in Britain to support Mao's comrades on trial in China and Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants facing trial in the U.S. People from a number of different groups attended, including from Turkey and Iran, British Marxist-Leninists and others. The purpose of this meeting was to make preliminary plans for a public mass meeting in London to denounce the expected verdicts in China.

thin air. Oil production has been steady at 2.1 million barrels a day for 3 years, and in fact will drop by 100,000 barrels a day this year and 200,000 the next.

Perhaps most visible of the economic problems facing the revisionists is inflation, unknown in the People's Republic until the restoration of capitalism. The inflation rate is estimated at 7%, and runs as high as 10-12% in the cities. As the *Asian Wall Street Journal* put it, "The government is extremely sensitive about this issue, because rampant inflation in the 1940s preceded the downfall of the Chinese nationalist government." There is also rising unemployment, again unheard of in revolutionary China. Just two weeks ago, on January 11th, there was a demonstration in Shanghai by youths demanding jobs. The next day, a notice was put on the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee Building, prohibiting "participating in rallies and making public speeches" and "slandering cadres."

The blame for all this has to be put somewhere, and the revisionist rulers

are certainly not going to point to their own capitalist system. According to the *People's Daily* 1981 New Year's Day editorial, "In the first two years after the fall of the Gang of Four, we underestimated the serious consequences of the damage done during the preceding decade and failed to repudiate the 'left' mistakes in the guidelines of economic work... The repetition of all mistakes in the new historical conditions aggravated the imbalances in the national economy and increased financial and economic difficulties." The revisionists have found the fall guy in Party Chairman Hua Guofeng, who has not been seen in public since last November and may even be under house arrest. But in reality, the policies now associated with Hua of importing whole factories later found unfit for use in China, raising unrealistic targets and chasing after huge foreign loans were not the policies of any one revisionist but of the revisionist clique as a whole, including Deng.

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An Anarchist Speaks Out on the Trial of Chiang Ching and the Cultural Revolution

There is a bottom line at which all revolutionaries, if they are revolutionaries, regardless of ideological or sectarian differences, must take a firm stand and speak out on public issues. Often such issues revolve around courtroom battles. Historically we recall the trial of the Haymarket Defendants in the 1880s, the Sacco & Vanzetti affair in the 1920s, and the trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. More recently, many of us can personally remember the infamous Chicago 7 trial, and the current plight of the Mao Tsetung Defendants in this country falls into the same category. These so-called "legal" proceedings have been rightly perceived by broad sections of progressive-minded people as more than attacks on individuals, but rather as attacks on radicals and on radicalism itself.

Such attacks are not confined to this country, as events currently unfolding in China amply demonstrate. One need

not be a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, nor for that matter a Maoist, to see that the trial of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao represents an effort on the part of the current clique ruling China to bury once and for all the revolutionary heritage of that nation, so that they can get on without further delay with their slide back toward capitalist modes of organization. We have seen this in other countries, a phenomenon which calls for greatest study and reflection by all revolutionaries. What we have rarely seen, however, are the statements comparable to the heroic courtroom stand of Chiang Ching. "It's right to rebel! Revolution is no crime!", she said in court, flying in the face of her would-be executioners. I find myself both very moved and inspired by such statements made literally in the jaws of death, not only because of revolutionary beliefs, but also because of the sheer personal

heroism of it. Would that we all could have such courage in such circumstances.

All true revolutionaries know that the struggle for human liberty does not end on the day of the revolution, but rather only begins on that day. Logic dictates, and history has shown us, that opportunistic bureaucrats, capitalists masquerading as communists and those who are simply corrupt will seek position under the new social system and will seek to subvert the purposes of the revolution, both from within and without. If the revolution is not to be lost, its defenders must be prepared to vigorously oppose these sinister forces, even, if necessary, through armed struggle. These attempts to destroy the revolution will occur again and again, and must be opposed repeatedly. The Cultural Revolution was such a struggle in China. Much analysis is still due as to why the Cultural Revolution ultimately

failed, and why China, the world's most populous country, has taken the course it has. But whatever such analysis reveals, we should keep in mind the historical context that the Cultural Revolution was such an attempt to maintain the integrity of the revolution in the face of those who would subvert it.

The courtroom stand of Chiang Ching should make clear to us that, in spite of the revolutionary loss in China and setbacks elsewhere, revolutionaries around the world will continue to struggle, and with renewed vigor, for the liberation of the entire human race. It is indeed "right to rebel" and as long as tyranny exists, REBEL WE SHALL!

A.G.

1971 Talks on the Lin Biao Affair

In the conclusion to his book Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions, Bob Avakian made the point that "The ceaseless emergence and resolution of contradictions as against all notions of absoluteness and stagnation—this Mao grasped as the driving force in the development of all things, in nature, society and thought, and this understanding runs like a crimson path through Mao's writing and actions." This above all stands out in the sweeping and militant talks Mao gave while on a tour of China in 1971.

He spoke to leading Party members in the provinces in the months of August and September. Lin Biao (Lin Piao) had suffered a political defeat at a Central Committee meeting a year earlier, when he launched a surprise attack on Mao's revolutionary line. This counter-revolutionary (whose cohorts were recently put on trial by the current pack of revisionists along with the Gang of Four in order to generate confusion)

did not give up plotting. The purpose of these talks by Mao was to alert people around the country to the struggle and the political lines involved. According to the present revisionists' indictment of Lin Biao's generals (which may well be factual on this point) Lin Biao heard of these talks through one of his men. When he did he desperately resorted to carrying out an attempt to assassinate Mao. When this was discovered and failed, Lin Biao fled and died when his plane crashed in Mongolia.

While Mao's forces lost the next trial of strength with revisionist forces a few years later, Mao's historical sweep and optimism, his understanding of contradictions, of dialectics, still guide the revolutionaries like Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao in China today and is a guiding light for the worldwide struggle.

(This text is available in a number of sources, including Chairman Mao Talks to the People, edited by Stuart Schram.)

Mao Tsetung Ten Big Struggles in the Party

Summary of Chairman Mao's Talks with Responsible Comrades at Various Places during his Provincial Tour From the middle of August to 12 September 1971

Chairman Mao said: I hope that you will practise Marxism and not revisionism; that you will unite and not split; that you will be sincere and open and not resort to plotting and conspiracy.

The correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything. When the Party's line is correct, then everything will come its way. If it has no followers, then it can have followers; if it has no guns, then it can have guns; if it has no political power, then it can have political power. If its line is not correct, even what it has it may lose. The line is a net rope. When it is pulled, the whole net opens out.

This Party of ours already has fifty years' history, during which time we have had ten big struggles on the question of our line. During these ten struggles there were people who wanted to split our Party, but none of them were able to do so. This is a question worth studying: such a big country; such a large population, yet no split. We can only say that this means that the Party wants what the people want, and the Party members do not want a split. In

view of its past history, the future of the Party is full of hope.

First came Chen Tu-hsiu, who went in for right opportunism. After the 'August 7th' Conference of 1927 he organized the 'Leninist left-opposition faction' together with Liu Jen-ching, Peng Shu-chih and others, and eighty-one of them issued a statement. They aimed to split our Party but they did not succeed. They then fled to the Trotskyites.

Next Chu Chiu-pai committed mistakes of line. His people came across a pamphlet of mine in Hunan which contained my remark, 'Political power comes from the barrel of a gun.' This infuriated them. How could political power possibly come from the barrel of a gun? So they stripped me of my position as alternate member of the Politburo. Later Chu Chiu-pai was captured by the Kuomintang, wrote his 'Superfluous Words', betrayed us, and went over to the other side.

After the Sixth Congress of the Party in 1928 Li Li-san started to put on airs. From June to September 1930 he followed his Li-san Line for over three months. He advocated attacks on big cities, and first winning victory in one or several provinces. I did not agree with all this. At the Third Plenum of the Sixth Central Committee Li Li-san fell.

From 1930 to 1931 Lo Chang-lung's rightist faction set up a separate Central Committee and engaged in splitting activity. But they did not succeed either.

The Wang Ming line had the longest life-span. He had formed a faction in Moscow, and organized the '28 1/2 Bolsheviks'. Relying on the might of the Third International they seized power in the Party and held it for a full four years. Wang Ming called the Fourth Plenum of the Sixth Central Committee in Shanghai, and published his pamphlet, 'Fight for the Greater Bolshevization of the Chinese Communist Party', in which he criticized Li Li-san for not being 'left' enough. He was not satisfied until he had made a clean sweep of the bases, as in the end he practically did. During the four years from 1931 to 1934 I had no voice at all at the Centre. The Tsunyi Conference of January 1935 corrected mistakes of Wang Ming's line and he fell.

During the Long March, after the meeting of the First and Fourth Front Armies, Chang Kuo-tao carried out a split and set up a separate Centre, but he did not succeed. Before the Long March the Red Army had 300,000 men. On its arrival in North Shensi only 25,000 remained. In the Central Soviet Area there had been 80,000. Of these only 8,000 arrived in North Shensi.

Chang Kuo-tao did not want to go to North Shensi and carried out a split. But what way out was there at that time, other than to go to North Shensi? This was a question of political line. Our political line at that time was correct. If we had not gone to North Shensi, how could we have later gone to the North China Region, the East China Region, and the Central China Region, the North-East Region? How could we have built so many bases in the Anti-Japanese War? When we arrived in North Shensi, Chang Kuo-tao fled.

After nationwide victory Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih created an anti-party alliance, with the intention of seizing power, but they did not succeed either.

At the 1959 Lushan Conference Peng Te-huai colluded with a foreign country to seize power. Huang Ke-cheng, Chang Wen-tien, Chou Hsiao-chou popped up and opposed the Party. They formed a military club, though they did not discuss military affairs, but said such things as: 'The people's communes were set up too soon,' 'Our gains do not compensate for our losses,' etc. Peng Te-huai also wrote a letter which was an open declaration of war. His intention was to seize power, but he did not succeed.

Liu Shao-chi and his lot also wanted to split the Party, but they did not achieve their ambitions either.



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were not even up to Peng Te-huai's level. This only shows how low their style of work was.

In my view, behind their surprise attack and their underground activity lay purpose, organization and a programme. Their programme was to appoint a state chairman, and to extol 'genius': in other words, to oppose the line of the Ninth Congress and to defeat the three-point agenda of the Second Plenum of the Ninth Central Committee. A certain person was anxious to become state chairman, to split the Party and to seize power. The question of genius is a theoretical question. Their theory was idealist apriorism. Someone has said that to oppose genius is to oppose me. But I am no genius. I read Confucian books for six years and capitalist books for seven. I did not read Marxist-Leninist books until 1918, so how can I be a genius? Didn't I put circles round those adverbs several times over? The Party Constitution was settled at the Ninth Congress. Why not take a look at it? I wrote 'Some Opinions' which specially criticizes the genius theory, only after looking up some people to talk with them, and after some investigations and research. It is not that I do not want to talk about genius. To be a genius is to be a bit more intelligent. But genius does not depend on one person or a few people. It depends on a party, the party which is the vanguard of the proletariat. Genius is dependent on the mass line, on collective wisdom.

Comrade Lin Piao did not discuss that speech of his with me, nor did he show it to me. When they had something to say they did not disclose it in advance. Probably this is because they thought they had a grip on things and were likely to succeed. But as soon as they were told that their ideas were not acceptable, they became jittery. At first they were as bold as brass, giving the impression they could raze Lushan to the ground or stop the earth revolving. But after a few days they hurriedly withdrew the draft. If it was right, why withdraw it? This shows that they were devoid of ideas and in a panic.

The struggle with Peng Te-huai at the 1959 Lushan Conference was a struggle between two headquarters. The struggle with Liu Shao-chi was also a struggle between two headquarters. The struggle at this Lushan Conference is yet another struggle between two headquarters.

The struggle at Lushan this time was different from the nine previous struggles. On the previous nine occasions we

drew some conclusions, while this time we have shielded Vice-Chairman Lin and have not drawn conclusions concerning an individual. He must, of course, assume some responsibility. What are we to do about these people? We should still operate a policy of educating them, that is, 'learning from past mistakes to prevent future ones and curing the disease to save the patient'. We still want to protect Lin. No matter who it is who has made mistakes, it is not a good thing to forget unity and the line. After I return to Peking I must seek them out again to have a talk. If they do not come to see me I will go to see them. Some of them may be saved, others it may not be possible to save. This depends on their actions. They have two possible futures; they may reform or they may not. It is difficult for someone who has taken the lead in committing major errors of principle, errors of line or direction, to reform. Looking back, did Chen Tu-hsiu reform? Did Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san, Lo Chang-lung, Wang Ming, Chang Kuo-tao, Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, Peng Te-huai or Liu Shao-chi reform? They did not reform.

I spoke to Comrade Lin Piao and some of the things he said were not very accurate. For example he said that a genius only appears in the world once in a few centuries and in China once in a few millennia. This just doesn't fit the facts. Marx and Engels were contemporaries, and not one century had elapsed before we had Lenin and Stalin, so how could you say that a genius only appears once in a few centuries? In China there were Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang, Hung Hsiu-chuan and Sun Yat-sen, so how could you say that a genius only appears once in a few millennia? And then there is all this business about pinnacles and 'one sentence being worth ten thousand'. Don't you think this is going too far? One sentence is, after all, just one sentence, how can it be worth ten thousand sentences? We should not appoint a state chairman, I don't want to be state chairman. I have said this six times already. If each time I said it I used one sentence, that is now

the equivalent of sixty thousand sentences. But they never listen, so each of my sentences is not even worth half a sentence. In fact its value is nil. It's only Chen Po-ta's sentences that are worth ten thousand apiece to them. He talked about 'establishing in a big way', by which he gave the appearance of meaning to establish my prestige. But when you get to the bottom of it, he really meant himself. They also said that the People's Liberation Army was built and led by me, and commanded personally by Lin. It seems that the person who founded it cannot command it! And I did not built it all by myself either.

When it comes to questions of line, questions of principle, I take a firm hold and do not relax my grip. On major questions of principle I do not make concessions. After the Lushan Conference I employed three methods: the first was throwing stones, the second was mixing sand into soil and the third was undermining the wall. I criticized the material produced by Chen Po-ta which fooled a great many people. I approved the report of the Thirty-eighth Army and the report of the Tsinan Military Region which opposed arrogance and complacency. Then there was the Military Affairs Committee which held such a long discussion meeting without a word of criticism of Chen. I inserted a few critical notes about that in a certain document. My method was to pick up these stones, write a few remarks on them, and let everyone discuss them. This is what I call throwing stones. When soil is too compressed it cannot breathe. If you mix in a little sand, then it can breathe. The staff of the Military Affairs Committee was too uniform in its composition, and needed to have some new names added. This is mixing sand in the soil. The reorganization of the Peking Military Region was undermining the wall.

What is your opinion of the Lushan Conference? For instance, is the Sixth Brief Report of the North China Group really revolutionary, semi-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary? I myself re-

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Then came the struggle at the 1970 Lushan Conference.

At the 1970 Lushan Conference they made a surprise attack and carried out underground activity. Why did they not dare to act openly? Clearly they had something to hide. So they first dissembled and then made a surprise attack. They concealed things from three of the five members of the Standing Committee of the Politburo. They also concealed things from the great majority of comrades on the Politburo apart from their own few big generals. These big generals included Huang Yung-sheng, Wu Fa-hsien, Yeh Chun, Li Tso-peng, and Chiu Hui-tso, as well as Li Hsueh-feng and Cheng Wei-shan. Before they launched their surprise attack they did not let out a whisper. They caused trouble not merely for a day and a half, but from 23 August right through the 24th and up to midday on the 25th—altogether two days and a half. This kind of behaviour shows that they had some aim in mind! Peng Te-huai formed a military club and issued a declaration of war. They

1. These generals (including Yeh Chun, Lin Piao's wife) were part of Lin Piao's clique. They are now either dead, or indicted along with the revolutionaries in the courtroom of another pack of revisionist leaders.

2. Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang were contemporaries who jointly led an insurrection against the Chin Dynasty in the third century B.C. Hung Hsiu-chuan (1814-1864), the leader of the Taiping rebels in China, was born only half a century before Sun Yat-sen, who was the early leader of the attempted bourgeois revolution in China against imperialism and feudalism. Mao at-

tributes genius to these men because they were all, in some sense, revolutionary precursors, who therefore drew on the wisdom of the masses.

3. "One sentence being worth ten thousand" and "pinnacles" refers to hypocritical statements by Lin Piao about the "genius" of Mao.

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Throughout the Cultural Revolution millions of Chinese people were drawn into massive political struggle and debate. Here a giant wall poster denouncing Lin Biao and Confucius is studied by members of a People's Liberation Army unit (left).

SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS

Continued from page 1

growing influence of the PCS among the opposition forces to do its work for it, rather than direct military aid. Reports of a "Nicaraguan invasion" have already been demonstrated to be a complete hoax. Adding to this, we find a statement from a "Salvadoran cabinet minister, who asked not to be named," who is quoted in the same *New York Times* article mentioned above as saying that the Nicaraguan government was no longer allowing arms to be transported through its territory to the FMLN as the U.S. has recently claimed.

This cheap and very shabby "foreign involvement" ploy, meant solely as a means of drumming up some desperately needed support for U.S. efforts to save its battered regime in El Salvador, quite conveniently fails to mention the real extent of growing U.S. military involvement in El Salvador and Central America as a whole, which has been a fact of life for the peoples of this area for many decades.

A little about some recent U.S. military moves in this area has slipped into the Latin American press, though. According to the Mexico City daily, *Excelsior*, "Sources in the Honduran military" have revealed that Honduras has become the new "policeman for U.S. interests" in Central America—replacing the deposed and subsequently deceased Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza—and is getting its baptism of fire, so to speak, in the current Salvadoran situation. Their source is quoted as saying that the U.S. and Honduras signed a secret pact last year, negotiated by Pentagon specialist on Latin American affairs General Robert Schweitzer (who is also a State Dept. emissary and a member of the National Security Council), to strengthen the Honduran military for just such a role. Their source added, "When the U.S. cannot send troops, somebody must do it. Therefore, they are supplying Honduras the necessary equipment." The first part of the secret pact was to resolve a longstanding border dispute between El Salvador and Honduras; this was immediately followed by joint military operations on the Salvadoran border involving troops of Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador, called Operation Steel Pincers. Last month, they held a similar maneuver called Operation Sandwich, and on January 15, Operation Sweep was put into effect. However, their sources said that the operations have thus far been somewhat less than successful, and it appeared that rising "internal pressures" in Guatemala and the severe battering being given El Salvador's troops are leaving Honduras as the main U.S. hope in the region at the present time. Thus the U.S. has sent their puppet generalissimo, Policarpo Paz Garcia, more than 20 Huey Bell helicopter gunships since the beginning of 1980, as well as other highly technical counter-insurgency equipment, and is considering implanting electronic sensors which detect body heat on the Honduran-Salvadoran border. There are also 45 U.S. military advisers in Honduras, the last 15 of them having been sent since the start of the opposition offensive in El Salvador. And last week, the loyal lackeys in the Honduran National Congress passed a series of "constitutional amendments" that allow for Salvadoran troops to come onto Honduran soil, and most importantly, Honduran troops to be sent onto Salvadoran soil—all nice and legal. Not surprisingly, none of this "foreign involvement" in the Salvadoran situation has surfaced in the U.S. press.

Meanwhile, despite the continued victories of the opposition offensive, and the obvious fact that the masses of Salvadorans are sensing a long awaited opportunity to kick out the U.S. once and for all, and are eager to get on with it, there are more offers from the leadership of the opposition forces in El Salvador to "dialog" with the U.S. On January 14, spokesmen for the FMLN rushed to Honduras to meet with the U.S. ambassador, Jack Binns, "to

Letter on New Spanish Edition Beyond the Horizons of the Crocodiles

Comrades,

It is with profound joy that I have read the new and complete edition in Spanish of the *Revolutionary Worker*. I don't feel this pride because I'm Latin or because it is in Spanish; on the contrary, I feel proud because it is a declaration that here in America the proletariat is firmly standing on its own two feet and raising its head and looking beyond the horizons imposed by the decrepit imperialist crocodiles. I know I'm not the only one that feels this way, we are many and not only Latins but of all nationalities. In this country I have worked, I have studied and I've been exploited (YES EXPLOITED!), along with Iranians, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Argentinians, Koreans and each one of us in a different form with different feeling and a different level of understanding hate this oppression, the oppression that imperialism imposes here and around the world. This is why it's time that this takes on a class expression—and what better way than in the pages of our newspaper?

Before meeting up with revolutionaries in this country I felt like an orphan, without a family, without a home and no direction, as if I were alone locked up in a crazy house. But as I said previously, there are a lot of others like myself, and now it's time for us to meet one another because we have a little job to carry out which is nothing less than to forge the future.

Forward with the conspiracy of the *REVOLUTIONARY WORKER!*
Death to the decrepit imperialist crocodile!

demonstrate our willingness to initiate the dialog on the condition that the U.S. cut all military aid to the genocidal junta and promise not to militarily invade our country, either with their own forces or other outside forces." They got the U.S. answer later that afternoon, when the State Dept. announced that the first \$5.5 million in military aid was being sent to El Salvador. The following week, after the additional \$5 million package was announced, Guillermo Ungo, the president of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR—the coalition of very broad class forces opposed to the junta, including many former pro-U.S. forces) and a former member of the junta, traveled from Mexico to Ecuador. While trying to drum up support from another U.S. neocolony, he publicly stated that an important objective of the FDR was "to make the U.S. see that in reality we are a democratic alternative which can coexist with the interests of the U.S. government and the world."

Considering the fact that the U.S. had just sent over \$10 million in armaments to the Salvadoran junta, and is making no bones as to its intentions, one might get the impression that Mr. Ungo is just plain stupid. However, this begging for the opportunity to capitulate to the U.S. has nothing to do with his I.Q. Rather, it is a particularly sharp reflection of the natural tendencies of the section of the extremely weak and flabby Salvadoran bourgeoisie which he represents to cave in to the pressure of the imperialists. Actually, Ungo is a particularly lackey-ish representative of

that class, having had longstanding and intimate ties with Western imperialists as the No. 1 social democrat in El Salvador, as well as having been the junta's chief negotiator for the first shipment of military aid from the U.S., before the rising struggle of the masses and the intensified clampdown of the U.S. forced him from office a year ago. While not all of the bourgeois elements who are now in the FDR are as closely intertwined with U.S. imperialist interests as Ungo and the forces he represents, they all are desperately searching for some way to attain power without arousing and mobilizing the masses. This is something their class position prevents them from doing since their goal is to be able to exploit those same masses. Thus, they keep offering "guarantees" to the U.S., trying to strike deals even while the U.S. steps up its attempts to crush the struggle in El Salvador. This is not to say that many bourgeois forces in a country like El Salvador cannot be allies of the working class and the masses of people in an anti-imperialist struggle, but they are a vacillating force at best.

At the present time, the Soviet imperialists are encouraging these efforts to make a deal with the U.S., through the considerable influence their PCS front men wield in both the FMLN and FDR. This is not because they have any desire (or intention) of capitulating to the U.S.; in fact, the Soviet approach here is dictated by their accelerating worldwide contention with the U.S., and is a critical part of their own preparations for war to determine which superpower

can exploit and oppress the world's people, including those of Central America. But it is just such global considerations that have led them to continue to try (as they did in Chile, for example) to carry out the "historic compromise" strategy in an area where the U.S. has traditionally been the clear-cut master. Thus, their PCS lackeys are directed to try and share power with pro-U.S. elements for a time, and strengthen their ties with more or less pro-U.S. bourgeois elements—as well as their political influence among the masses of people, until the Soviets feel that they are in a position to replace U.S. neo-colonial domination with their own brand of neo-colonial domination and hold power. Cuba and Vietnam are just two of the countries that have already succumbed to the Soviets, as the masses have seen the gains made in their struggle against U.S. imperialism reversed and are once again slaves to an imperialist master. Whether the PCS continues the current attempts at "historic compromise" in El Salvador or tries to pull off some other counter-revolutionary Soviet policy, it is crystal clear that they are intent on sacrificing the masses of Salvadorans to the Soviet goal of imperialist world domination.

However, the U.S. actions in El Salvador are also based on its own global considerations. While there is still some debate within the U.S. bourgeoisie over the best means of dealing with their increasingly shaky situation here so that it best serves the overall U.S. goals, none of the "debaters" is advocating abandoning the Salvadoran oligarchy or its fascist junta for an FDR-led government. The consequences of this are too costly for them. The fall of their junta, even to other bourgeois forces, carries with it many risks of "destabilizing" things and weakening their hold over the masses of people in El Salvador, and very importantly, leaving a big opening for the Soviets to strengthen their hand significantly. This is all the more a real possibility with the growing strength and influence of the PCS among the opposition forces. Thus, the U.S. is making an increasingly hard-line commitment to the junta, and carrying out military escalation to protect its position, despite twists and turns, is sure to continue.

At the same time that he tried to offer the U.S. "guarantees," Guillermo Ungo made an appeal to "the sectors of the U.S. government which understand the dangers of... internationalizing the conflict..." to cut off support to the junta. But the situation in El Salvador, like everywhere else in the world today, is already "internationalized," and it is exactly this fact that is forcing the U.S. bourgeoisie as a whole to support its junta to the hilt. Since they and their most isolated lackeys are the only ones to do so, it is a sure bet that things are going to get a lot hotter in El Salvador.



"No Intervention in El Salvador" demonstration in Berkeley, California, January 17th. Over 5,000 people representing a wide variety of views, participated in the march.

Black Youth Face Triple Murder Frame-up

Miami Rebellion on Trial

Four Black youths will go on trial this week in Miami, each charged with three counts of first degree murder. Leonard and Lawrence Capers, 21 and 24, Patrick Moore and Samuel Lightsey, both 16, all face a possible three life terms in jail—a minimum of 75 years—for the murder of three whites who were killed as they drove through Liberty City on the night of May 17, the first night of the Miami rebellion.

Only hours before the incident these four youth are charged with, five Miami cops were fully acquitted by a jury in Tampa for gleefully and viciously beating to death Black businessman Arthur McDuffie. The response of Blacks in Miami is well known, as for days thousands poured into the streets of Liberty City, occupying the "Justice Department," and targeting the police and the system they enforce.

After the rebellion, nine Blacks were arrested and charged with murdering four whites during the rebellion. The general media flap nationwide—indeed, worldwide—which portrayed the rebellion as a "race riot" was thus enhanced. Four were charged with killing one white man, while five were charged in the case currently being tried. (The fifth has evidently turned state's witness.) The arrests were completely arbitrary and at random, the incidents in question having occurred at the height of the rebellion, amidst a crowd of thousands. The youth slated for trial were rounded up over a week after the rebellion, taken from their homes in the middle of the night for "questioning" by the police, uninformed that they were under arrest, and illegally detained. In a different case, one Black youth, also randomly arrested last May, has already been convicted for murder and sentenced to 15 years. And with the forthcoming trial—the major trial coming off the Miami rebellion—the authorities hope to drive home the basic message of all their legal maneuverings, especially since the rebellion, and attempt to beat back into submission those who shook Miami last year and anyone else who might have similar ideas.

Of course, it would be foolish to imagine that all this had anything to do with "bringing murderers to justice." Everybody knows what kind of "justice" the very word *Miami* has come to represent. In fact (and not surprisingly), as a continuation of the acquittal (and approval) of all the police who came to trial for the murder of Arthur

McDuffie, *no one* has been charged with the murders of 15 Blacks to date. This includes at least four gunned down in front of witnesses by Miami pigs, and four more by a group of whites roaming the area in a pick-up truck. During and since the rebellion, there have been repeated instances of roving whites and Cubans shooting into the community.

Jury selection for the coming trial has taken a month and has been a clear indication of what this trial is all about. Early in the jury selection process, judge Mario T. Goderich prevented defense attorneys from asking prospective jurors what they thought of the words "cracker" and "nigger." The judge snapped, "You're going to far," and

halted this line of questioning. The questions were vehemently objected to by the prosecution and some racist jurors as well. The point was to strap the defense and allow jurors sympathetic to the authorities to be seated.

Of course, the judge's decision to prevent lawyers from grilling jurors along these lines was reversed for the prosecution. Clearly, any potential Black juror had to be "exposed" as being "prejudiced" in the case even if they were only mildly angered by the McDuffie verdict or any other manifestation of national oppression. One Black woman, whose son is in prison, said she would be sympathetic to the defendants because she knew her son had been framed. The

judge directly dismissed her, saving the prosecution from wasting one of its challenges. At the same time, the judge did not dismiss an employee of the FBI. Every one of the 12 prospective Black jurors who made it past the judge so far has been dismissed by the prosecution. And for whites, even the recognition of the *existence* of national oppression is "prejudicial."

The Black youth on trial are being set upon, not for anything they did in particular, and certainly not for the deaths of the whites. It is the Miami rebellion itself that the authorities seek to denounce with this trial. □

KKK Gets Time Off for "Good Behavior" in Chattanooga

After serving only 3-1/2 months in jail, a member of the KKK convicted last July in Chattanooga for an armed attack against Black people was recently released from jail for "good behavior." This Klukker and two others had been arrested (one whole carload "got away") for shooting four elderly Black women with birdshot and spraying another with glass from a shattered car window. The KKK'ers had driven down a crowded street in an all-Black area one Saturday night in April, firing shotguns out their car windows. Two were acquitted of all charges at the trial, no doubt an award for their own "good behavior." Only the third was convicted—he had openly admitted to firing one of the guns.

The clerk of the court announced the decision to release the Klukker as follows: "It's just another way of making it easy on them. The victim's always the one that's got to suffer." Thus ended the "suffering" of an animal who wounded five Black women and was originally charged with four counts of felonious assault with intent to commit first-degree murder. These charges had

been reduced by the all-white jury to simple assault and battery; for which this "victim" was given only a nine-month sentence in the county workhouse.

The recent outrage was compounded by another. After the Klukker was released from jail, the District Attorney who "prosecuted" the Klan stated that he had withheld certain evidence in the July trial. It seems that introduction of this evidence would have been "unethical." The D.A. secretly hid a letter addressed to Bill Wilkinson (a national Klan spokesman) that was written and signed by one of the Klukkers on trial. The letter had been found in the car the night of the arrest. It read in part: "Until the war starts or the Klan has violence or starts on its move, I started my own move against the damn niggers." The jury had acquitted two Klan members and lowered the charges on the third on the basis that the state had failed to prove "intent" to commit murder—and now the state is openly boasting that this was exactly the case!

It's only been six months since hundreds of people poured into the streets

protesting the July verdict. A rebellion, mainly of youth, had spread through several Black neighborhoods. In one evening alone, eight cops caught a share of birdshot, a police helicopter was shot down from the sky, and a barrage of firebombs, bricks and bottles showered some of the area's big factories (like Chattanooga Glass, which is rumored to employ a nest of Klansmen).

As reported in the *RW* at the time, Jesse Jackson and his social base of Black ministers and others played a big part in diffusing this anger. Some of these ministers have again displayed their complete subservience to the authorities. Recently, they turned a Black youth in to the police. This youth had been "trusted" to them as a "ward." He was arrested at the airport on the afternoon Jesse flew into town—a "suspect" in the sniper attack against the eight cops who were hit the night before. As the large crowd at the airport got angry and began protesting this arrest, the cops backed down and let the preachers take the youth—all this before the cops even got his name. But faithful servants that they are, when beckoned by the police, the preachers brought the youth to jail. They, of course, knew his name and how to find him. It is unclear as of now exactly what the youth has been charged with, but all indications are that he will stand trial for shooting the cops. No doubt, the DA will use any and all "evidence" in his "ethical" prosecution of this youth.

Another trial is to begin soon in Chattanooga. Early in February, there will be a trial of three different Klan members arrested in an incident during the July rebellion. After a Klan rally in nearby Alabama, these three had driven through a Black section of Chattanooga, throwing dynamite and blasting caps out of their car window. Found in their possession was a battery, a clock, a hunting box and assorted weapons and ammunition. They were arrested for illegally transporting and possessing explosives and bomb components. They had obviously been antagonizing an already hot situation. With the authorities in the middle of rallying Jesse's forces to help calm things down, bomb-throwing Klukkers hardly aided these efforts. The Klansmen were surprised at the arrest. The leader even stated to the police at the time: "We were going to take care of the niggers for you... We're on your side." Of course, this was not news to the authorities, as they have demonstrated with the recent release of the Klukker and will undoubtedly demonstrate again when these three come to trial. □



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Doctors Urge Breast Removal—To Prevent Cancer!

Another Capitalist "Cure" For Women

A woman's breast is "a pre-malignant organ in a high number of women," says plastic surgeon Robert Singer. In light of this, Singer recommends the very latest in advanced capitalist surgical technique to many of his women patients. It's called the "prophylactic mastectomy." The radical mastectomy (removal of the entire breast, muscles, and armpit lymph glands) has long been the "favored" "treatment" for breast cancer by the surgical establishment. But this is something new: these "prophylactic" mastectomies are done on women who do not have cancer—in fact, it is done on women who have absolutely nothing wrong with their breasts.

Fellow plastic surgeon Carson Lewis, who has performed the operation once a week for some time now, explains, "Unless we do something to prevent it, one out of 13 or 14 women will get breast cancer. And from the surgical point of view, the most simplistic approach is to remove the source before cancer develops—the offending organ." Since "doing something to prevent it" is really out of the question, why not opt for a "simplistic approach"? Especially one that proves so profitable.

This operation (which another doctor

claims "a lot of surgeons around the country are doing at the drop of a hat") is being recommended to women who are supposedly "high cancer risks," for example, women with fibrocystic disease—lumps in their breasts. There is absolutely nothing cancerous about this disease, but those who have it may have a higher probability of getting cancer later, so surgery is recommended as a preventative measure! Even worse, these women can still get breast cancer since 10 to 15% of the breast is not removed, so it can be surgically "reconstructed" with plastic and silicone. (Many of the "physicians" pushing these operations are plastic surgeons.) Also, this operation (including the "reconstruction") has a high rate of complications developing, including skin breakdown and infection.

But that's only a small part of the story. Breast cancer is detected in some 100,000 women in the U.S. every year, and 34,000 die from the disease every year. Yet with all the millions of dollars spent on cancer research, there has been no significant improvement in treating breast cancer in the last three decades (the same is true of most other cancers, as well). The medical establishment, especially when it comes to women, is

geared to the knife. (See the review of "The Cancer Syndrome" by Ralph Moss in *RW* No. 78.)

The likes of Lewis and Singer (and their "prophylactic mastectomy") are really only following in the footsteps of the pioneer of cancer surgery, J. Sims. According to Ralph Moss, Sims, after cursory medical training in the U.S. South, began to develop surgical technique: "To do so, he gathered a group of slave women, upon whom he performed experimental operations in a kind of makeshift hospital behind his house... some of these slave women received as many as 30 operations in a 4-year period. This was before the era of ether or antiseptics."

Sims, gaining a reputation as a "woman doctor," turned his attention to cancer surgery. Ultimately, Sims was commissioned by the wealthy Astor family to initiate what later became the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center.

From 1900 on, surgery really began to catch on. And as Moss points out,

"This was particularly so in the treatment of women. In the 19th century, for example, hysterectomy (removal of the uterus, ovaries and fallopian tubes) was even employed to treat women's 'emotional problems,' on the theory that the seat of a woman's emotions was her womb." Once the hysterectomy was perfected, it was quite logical (no doubt the "most simplistic approach") to employ the knife on tumors. (That approach hasn't changed a bit; today women who resist these "advanced surgical techniques" are often told they must have "emotional problems.")

Aside from the 40% failure rate among breast cancer patients today (and "success" means one lives 5 years after treatment), surgery has other severe drawbacks. In particular, as one leading cancer specialist, George Crile, points out, mastectomy "seems to have been designed to inflict the maximal possible deformity, disfiguration and disability." Research has shown that radical mastectomy is not a significantly more successful treatment than less mutilating operations. Yet, following in the grand capitalist tradition of the medical treatment of women, the radical mastectomy is still the most common procedure. And now, another weapon has been added to the medical arsenal—the removing of a woman's perfectly healthy breasts.

MEXICO: 10,000 ARMED PEASANTS BLOCKADE OILFIELDS

Remember the famous "Mexican oil spill" of 1979, when some U.S.-made oil-drilling rigs burst open in the Gulf of Mexico? Remember the chorus of chauvinistic outrage which spewed forth in the pages of the press at the time, blasting the "Mexican polluters" for "poisoning our precious beaches"? Well, there is another Mexican oil spill continuing at this minute, but this one isn't getting much play in the U.S. press, save for a few statements by Mexican government officials complaining about the loss in production. Typical. But there's another twist to this particular "environmental accident." The loss of production isn't due to the fact that they have to stop and clean up all the mess they've made; it's due to the fact that they refuse to clean it up. More to the point, 10,000 armed peasants won't let them produce another drop until they do clean it up. No wonder the U.S. has been keeping this one quiet.

But things certainly aren't quiet these days in the states of Chiapas and Tabasco, near the Guatemalan border, the site of a main production area for the growing Mexican oil industry. This is the location of the Reforma and Cactus oil fields and the Cactus Petrochemical Refinery, which taken together provide the state-owned Petroleos Mexicanos (PEMEX) with a million barrels of crude oil and unknown quantity of natural gas every day—with 80% of each ending up in the United States. This is also the location of contaminated lakes, rivers, estuaries and land. It is an area that has seen a decrease of more than 50% in the agricultural and cattle production of the thousands of peasants who were barely eking out a subsistence before the pollution from the oil fields and the gaseous acids from the refinery began wreaking havoc with this fragile economy, to say nothing of the peasants' health. More than a year ago, officials agreed to pay indemnities to the peasants and to clean up the pollution in the area. Since that time, more than half the residents in the area have been forced to abandon their now worthless land and leave. The continuing poison has destroyed newly planted fields, eaten away barbed wire fences and rusted away the galvanized zinc roofs. New construction has torn down those fences that remained and new roads have been bulldozed through the small land holdings of the peasants. No one has seen a penny of the compensation they were promised for this destruction.

Last Sunday, peasants decided to take matters into their own hands. They gathered together—10,000 of them from 23 small towns in the area—and marched on the fields and the refinery,

guns in hand. They blocked the two access roads leading to Reforma and Cactus, and the oil-drilling equipment supply center at Estación Juárez. Leaders of the government-run national confederation of campesinos quickly made it clear that they had nothing to do with this action—as if anyone had any doubts. They blamed it on "outside elements who want to disturb our peace." The government called out troops of the 31st military zone. PEMEX officials are extremely alarmed, openly worrying that the peasants might decide to take over the production centers. So far, the peasants have nearly shut down all production with the blockade. They have refused to back down despite intimidation and trickery, including a much vaunted "agreement" by the government to process their complaints through the proper legal channels.

This struggle has the officials of both the mother country and the neo-colony plenty worried. While oil production has been promoted by both the imperialists and the comprador bourgeoisie as the solution to Mexico's "underdevelopment and poverty," it has actually only exacerbated the already deteriorated conditions for the masses and has further warped the economy that was already nearly completely dependent on imperialism. In 1979, Mexico's foreign debt was \$29 billion and going up at the rate of \$3 billion a year—about 80% of it owed to the U.S. Much of this debt has come from the rapidly accelerated development of the oil industry as Mexico's capitalist class thought it had latched onto a foolproof get-rich-quick scheme. But of every dollar borrowed, 81¢ goes just to service the massive foreign debt. That this figure is increasing reveals a sharp contradiction for both the U.S. imperialists and their Mexican lackeys. Among other things, the massive debt has required that more and more land be turned over to the growth of cash crops for export or to new oil fields, both of which are supposed to help Mexico pay off its loans. However, the destruction of subsistence agriculture has meant that Mexico's food imports are going sky high—7 million tons of corn, wheat and beans were imported in 1980, mainly from the U.S. And the new oil fields only require more loans, also mainly from the U.S. The upshot of all this is that Mexico is caught in a vicious cycle of debt and more debt—and any interruption of oil production severely antagonizes things. For its part, the U.S. is certainly aware of the internal political problems in Mexico which this indebtedness has produced and is paying great attention to the actions of several thousand armed Mexican peasants. They don't know where something like this might lead. □



On June 27, 1980, an Italian DC-9 jetliner with 81 people on board crashed mysteriously off the coast of Italy as it winged its way from Bologna to Palermo. The plane had been cruising without trouble at an altitude of 25,000 feet and only 3 minutes before the crash the pilot had radioed in that "everything was normal." All the passengers and crew aboard were killed. At first the airlines blamed "mysterious causes" for the crash—a terrorist bomb; a collision with a UFO; and finally, that the plane was knocked from the sky by a hurtling meteorite!

But in the past few weeks new light has been shed on the real causes for the crash. In an article appearing in the West German weekly "establishment" magazine, *Der Spiegel*, conclusive evidence is presented that the plane did not fall from the sky due to some "close encounters," but was instead shot down by an air-to-air missile—most probably fired from a U.S. fighter.

The article in *Der Spiegel* reveals the following points from an investigative study commissioned by the Italian government: 1) a review of radar tapes shows a second object flying parallel to the DC-9 just minutes before the crash; 2) just before an explosion tore the plane apart an object was seen on the radar intersecting the path of the DC-9 from the west—the plane exploded in an easterly direction, perpendicular to its flight path; 3) further evidence revealed by an autopsy of one of the passengers shows metal splinters from the plane's fuselage were in the victim's legs—since any explosion originating from on board would've blown the plane's structure outwards, only an explosion or impact from outside the

plane could've caused these results; and 4) in addition these metal splinters had traces of phosphorous, a substance not found in airplanes but contained in missiles.

What happened is fairly clear. The object flying parallel to the DC-9 was probably a remotely-piloted target plane. *Der Spiegel* presumes that a fighter pilot, out for some target practice, fired a heat-seeking missile. And the missile's sensors locked onto the jet's engines and homed in. Fighter planes do have radar and the pilot should have seen a hulking DC-9 jetliner on his screen along with his target craft. But regardless of what this sky jockey was thinking when he pushed the FIRE! button, or whether there was a technical malfunction, the evidence is ironclad that the blood of these 81 people is squarely on the hands of the imperialists and their war machine.

Spokesmen for the Italian air force and for NATO were quick to deny that there was any target practice going on in the area that day, or even that there was a single plane in the sky. But it is on record that both the French aircraft carrier *Clemenceaux* and the U.S. carrier *Saratoga* were in the Mediterranean at this time. That the military hastily denied any responsibility for the murder of 81 people is not surprising at all. In fact, when the *RW* recently queried Defense Department personnel from the Office of Air Force Civil Affairs, all we got was an unyielding and monotone referral back to their original statement made in June. Obviously, the Pentagon and the ruling class of the U.S. had simply washed their hands of the whole bloody deed. □

Masters of Torture Howl "Cruelty"

Continued from page 6

with the Soviet Union, there is not, "all the time in the world," to pursue a carefully nuanced, gradual policy designed to ease Iran toward the Western bloc degree by degree. There is powerful sentiment within the ruling class that the gangster tactics of economic strangulation, the Iraqi military aggression, should be continued, and that the deal should be renounced in order to underline to the Iranian government that "Mr. Big"

means business and is playing for keeps.

The Reagan administration has already ordered that the U.S.-Iranian agreements not be published in the federal register, a move which prevents their being "officially" recognized as law. Carter, in his remarks in Wiesbaden, pointed out that "less than \$3 billion of the \$12 billion in frozen Iranian assets had thus far been returned to Iran: his clear point was that they may never see the rest.

In fact, the actual terms of the agreement releasing the hostages—terms that ex-President Carter has been crowing about recently—point to the kind of extortion demands the U.S. imperialists were attempting to impose on the Iranian bourgeoisie all along. That these terms were agreed to is testimony to the weak and flabby nature of the bourgeois class in Iran and its increasing moves towards the Western imperialist powers, not to the strength of the U.S. imperialists—who were backed

down time and again when confronted by the surging movement of the Iranian masses.

First, the agreement commits the U.S. not to intervene "politically or militarily in the internal affairs of Iran." This is an empty pledge that every imperialist "great power" in history has never stopped making to the countries it controls, is planning to subjugate, or—in the case of Iran—to re-subjugate. Second empty promise: the U.S. will also freeze all property of the ex-Shah and his close relatives in the U.S. and "assist" the Iranian government in gaining control of it in the courts. Good luck, President Bani-Sadr, Ayatollah Beheshti and Co., for every single newscaster in the U.S. is gloating over the fact that most of the Shah's stolen billions have already been moved out of the country, and whatever is left has been carefully hidden under false names and dummy corporations.

Even more important and revealing of what the Iranian bourgeoisie has been forced to swallow is the agreement that was reached on the \$11-12 billion in Iran's assets frozen in the U.S. and European banks. Simply put, the Iranian government got taken to the cleaners, and it is *they* who have paid ransom to U.S. finance capitalists. Of this money, they received only \$2.9 billion in cash when the hostages were released. \$5.1 billion is being paid out to U.S. and European banks who extended large loans to Iran *under the Shah*, in large part for his weaponry. With the Iranian government now paying U.S. banking interests for the Shah's bloody repression, just who is "paying ransom" to whom?

The remaining \$3-4 billion of Iran's frozen assets is still in the U.S. and will be tied up in international courts of arbitration to settle the claims of U.S. corporations such as GM, Westinghouse and so on who lost their holdings after the revolution. The agreement to pay off these international parasites who bled Iran dry for decades helps clear the way for renewed Western trade and investment in Iran. However, such trade and "aid"—including the shipment of military supplies to Iran—will be handled very *politically* by the U.S. ruling class in the months to come. There will be a carrot and stick routine to force further acts of capitulation to the imperialist West by the Iranian bourgeoisie.

Meanwhile, within all these criminal calculations, the looming presence of the Soviet Union weighs heavily. The January 22 *New York Times* editorial cited earlier, "From Rage to Reason On Iran" recapitulates the imperialist reasoning which is popping up everywhere: "...any crippling assault on Iran, would at this point, jeopardize its survival as a nation. Its large Arab, Kurdish, and Baluchi populations have been itching to break away; Moscow encourages them... For the west, there is one thing worse than hostile anarchy in Iran: an Iran dismembered—with the Russians moving into Azerbaijan, communists bearing Soviet aid in Tehran and the Baluchis creating a Soviet satellite astride the oil lanes of the Persian Gulf."

This is the bottom line of the U.S. imperialists' reasoning that they are pursuing in their increasing rabidity and desperation in defending and expanding their empire. They have been stung badly by the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people and find themselves increasingly battered throughout the world as they and their Soviet rivals continue to bump into each other at an increasing rate. It has taken them over 14 months to secure the release of their 52 operatives in Iran and they have certainly not heard the last from the revolutionary people of Iran or the rest of the world either. The very frenzy with which they are lashing out betrays not only their rabid reactionary nature, but their very real weakness and the great opportunities that lie ahead for the people of the world, including right here in the U.S., to strike them down for good.

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Bernadette Devlin Shot, Tension Builds in N. Ireland

On Friday, January 16, three gunmen broke down the door to the house of Bernadette (Devlin) McAliskey and shot her 7 times. Her husband Michael was also shot. Both are now recovering in a military hospital outside of Belfast, northern Ireland. It was also reported that a British Army patrol "just happened" to be on the scene in time to arrest the three reactionary hit-men and whisk them away to custody—and safety.

In the aftermath of the recent hunger strike at the Long Kesh prison, in which a deal was struck in order to get the hunger strikers to stop their protest for political prisoner status, the real intent of the British has since come to light. All the British promises were designed to turn down the heat by making sure that none of the strikers died. But as far as actually meeting any of the demands,

it was a calculated con job. Bernadette McAliskey, a long time political activist in northern Ireland, had raised her own doubts about the settlement soon afterwards at a press conference denouncing the bogus settlement. She, and others, had voiced the prospect of re-initiating the struggle against the prison outrages of British imperialism. No doubt the attempt on her life was meant to get rid of the leadership of the "Smash H-Block Committee" and tell the masses of Irish people, "stay down." But what the imperialists will surely discover is that both their deceitful tactics around the hunger strike and this cold-blooded attempted assassination will only amount to throwing gasoline on the flames of the people's resistance in northern Ireland.

Report from Menard Prison

January 14, 1981
Time: 8:25 p.m.

I'm writing from Menard Prison in Menard, Illinois; an hour ago a goon squad of 40 correctional officers came into the segregation unit and beat the hell out of 8 brothers with clubs and their boots, and teargassed the whole unit. Six brothers with asthma fell out in their cells on the floors, and at this time, an hour after the incident, they're being carried from their cells unconscious; I'm writing this letter with tears coming from my eyes and it's half from the teargas and half for my fellow brothers whose badly beaten bodies were carried out or dragged. I've been receiving your paper (R.C.P.) for almost a year; I want you to do your

best to publish this incident; there are 14 brothers in the hospital and a hundred and fifty of us in our cells to verify this matter. I received your paper yesterday (No. 86 Vol 2, No. 34, January 2 edition) and read the stories on my fellow inmates in Walla Walla and Shelton Prison. I really hadn't witnessed anything like these beatings until an hour ago; until yesterday I thought this was a fairly decent prison; it's inhumane how something like this can happen. The reason this happened is from constant harassment from these KKK guards; I can't write too much longer; I don't even know if you'll get this letter... Many other brothers are filling out lawsuits. I'm writing you!

A revolutionary prisoner

War Crown Changes Heads

Continued from page 3

Imperial President once again invokes the divine right of kings to make their state power sacred, eternal, and invincible. What god fearing soul would tamper with a miracle! Unfortunately for the U.S. imperialists, the class conscious international proletariat doesn't believe in god and doesn't believe in miracles; there is nothing miraculous about the bourgeoisie changing one warmongering mouthpiece for another. They've got state power—what's so miraculous about that! They've just got themselves a "new" mouth.

A Mouth

In fact, they are quite openly bragging about what a good mouthpiece he is, as Mr. Reston from the *New York Times* pointed out, what is "agreed upon on all sides, is that Reagan has some personal qualities that may be very important and maybe in the end decisive... he has the gift of speech." *Newsweek* also echoed this sentiment, in an article which discussed the problems faced by the U.S. rulers that they hadn't been able to keep a leader in office for more than one term and that in effect pointed out that what the President really does is "command a matchless opportunity for persuasion" on behalf of the ruling classes.

Hamilton Jordan, who apparently does not share quite the optimism of his cohorts, let a little slip out when he said that "America may have invented the disposable President, to be crumpled and discarded like Kleenex every four years." (This, the ruling class does not

consider a miracle, but a problem.) And it was precisely this sort of pessimism about the ability of the imperialists to produce a leading figure who could serve them well in the coming period, when they will need more than ever to rally the masses to their banner of national unity and win their passive submission in the face of war. It was to this end that they promoted Ronald Reagan, puffed up his reactionary social base, unleashing such patriots as the KKK and so on. And it was to this end that they went to such lengths at the inauguration to convince people that there was not only a new day dawning, but indeed a whole "new era," in which U.S. imperialism will come out on top.

"The only thing that was missing was a sudden shaft of sunlight," gushed the *Washington Post*. "But for all its larger than life qualities it was incontrovertibly real. When Mr. Reagan arrived at the Capitol, America was still being 'held hostage'—a sense of Iran's unspeakable deceitfulness and the U.S.'s painfully cloying vulnerability suffused the air. Virtually as Mr. Reagan took his oath, however, the final knots binding the hostages were coming untied and, by the time he left the Capitol, America seemed a different place. It seemed, uncannily, precisely the place Mr. Reagan has been saying it is through 16 years of public life, and again in his inaugural address."

How they longed to put the horrible embarrassment of being unable to move their spy nest from its perch in Iran behind them. And to have it work out

The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung

by Bob Avakian

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

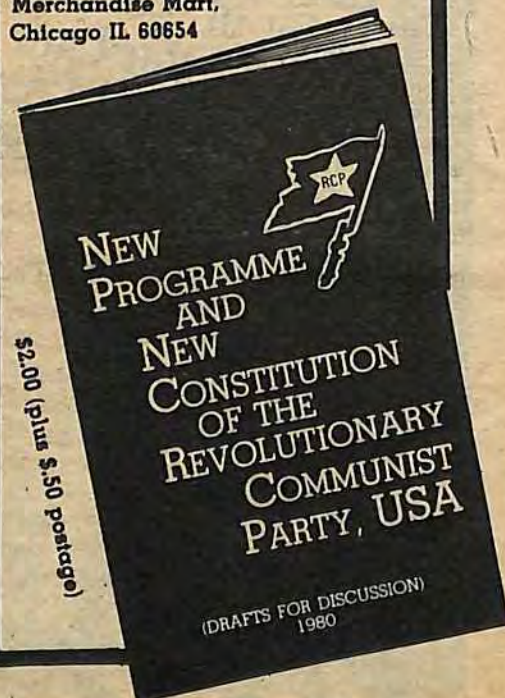


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so that the timing of the hostage release also reinforced the notion that the spectre of "tough guy" Ronald Reagan had spurred the Iranians to send back the hostages was no blessing in disguise but a calculated move on the part of the imperialists, (but this is not the place to go into all that—see article page 1).

How they longed to give a sagging imperialism a facelift, "We're not, as some would have us believe, doomed to an inevitable decline. I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do," said Reagan in his imperialist address and then he chose a strange example. "To paraphrase Winston Churchill, I did not take the oath I've just taken with the intention of presiding over the dissolution of the world's strongest economy." A bizarre choice of quotes, this quote from Churchill after World War 2, unless the Imperial President is simply unaware of the horribly decadent state of British imperialism these days. In any case, Reagan's intentions may be made in heaven, but he is presiding over an imperialism in decline. It will, of course, be left to others to complete the job. □

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Peltier Appeal Opens International Support Builds

On January 9, the U.S. government once again brought its plotting against Native American freedom fighter Leonard Peltier into the open, as defense attorneys argued for overturning Peltier's conviction for a 1979 prison escape before the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. Peltier's co-defendant in that case and this appeal had been Bobby Garcia. He was not present at the hearing. The government executed him in his cell (officially termed "suicide") at a federal prison in Terre Haute, Indiana, last December 13.

In 1978, a federal prisoner named Standing Deer (also known as Robert Wilson) was coerced by government agents into aiding their plot to assassinate Peltier. Peltier, having long been targeted by the FBI's COINTEL-PRO-type operations against American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders, was serving a two-lifetime sentence after a framed-up conviction in the death of two FBI agents who were part of an armed assault against the Native American spiritual camp on the Pine Ridge Reservation at Wounded Knee, South Dakota in 1975. But instead of going along with the feds, Standing Deer told Peltier about the plot. The two became friends, with Standing Deer keeping Peltier informed of the government's plans. In January of 1979, Standing Deer told Peltier that the government's plot was nearing its culmination,

and that another Native American, who had become close to Peltier at the prison in Lompoc, had been a member of a violent anti-AIM goon squad outside of prison and was the likely assassin. Peltier immediately escaped with the help of Dallas Thunder Shield (who was shot in the back attempting to surrender) and Bobby Garcia—now also murdered.

Evidence of this plot was widely exposed among the masses of people, but none of it, including important testimony from Standing Deer, was allowed into Peltier's trial for escape. In fact, Peltier was allowed to present no defense at all. The government naturally reasoned that a plot to kill Peltier was no excuse for an escape attempt. Besides, the trial prosecutor said, Peltier couldn't really have thought there was a plot because "he did not report it to anyone in the bureau of prisons." Oh, they were part of the plot? Well, "He did not go to any higher authority... he's familiar with the courts, he's familiar with the legal system!" Time and again it's been that familiarity that comes from being a political prisoner, which has shown the courts up to be an important part of the plotting against Peltier. The current Appeals Court is no exception.

The court has yet to make a decision on the appeal, but clearly the government has no intention to let up its at-

tacks as new facts surrounding the murder of Bobby Garcia and new attacks on Standing Deer illustrate. The government had Bobby Garcia's body embalmed immediately after the autopsy, making a second independent autopsy planned by his family much less reliable. Standing Deer, meanwhile, is being refused treatment for a deteriorating back condition (no doubt retaliation for his resistance to a threatened lobotomy) and is reportedly now confined to a wheelchair. He has gone from 230 pounds down to 150, and in addition to all this is now under extreme security; he is surrounded by four guards at all times outside his cell. Attorneys are also investigating another suspicious "suicide" at the federal prison in Terre Haute, in the "isolation" unit where Bobby Garcia had been held up to a week before he was killed. This "suicide", too, was done by the same method as Garcia's so-called self-induced hanging.

Leonard Peltier has apparently been returned to the general population at the federal prison in Marion, Illinois, as the work stoppage there is reported to have apparently ended. The prison authorities continue attacks on prisoners! The prisoners' demands for religious freedom, better conditions at the prison, etc., are being ignored, and attorneys from the Marion Prisoners' Rights Project are still barred from the

prison. Lawyers for the prisoners have notified the warden that this latest move is a provocation and the situation inside the prison remains tense.

Recently, in a move that provided vivid exposure as well as a sharp embarrassment to the government, members of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee went right into the U.S.'s NATO allies' backyards, collecting over 13,000 signatures opposing the attacks on Peltier. The speaking tour through Europe packed auditoriums, and resulted in the establishment of over 20 support groups throughout the continent. It all culminated in the IV Bertrand Russell Tribunal, an international conference of scholars, Nobel Prize winners, etc., that holds hearings on different issues each year. (In 1967, for example, the Tribunal exposed U.S. war crimes in Vietnam.) The Tribunal condemned the U.S., and other countries under its domination in Central and South America, for the oppression and genocide against various Indian tribes and nations, and strongly stood opposed to the attacks on Peltier in particular. Try as the bourgeoisie might to silently off Leonard Peltier, tens of thousands of eyes around the world are now focusing in on the federal prison at Marion—eyes that angrily demand: Hands Off/Free Peltier! □

Architect's "Proposal" on

Vietnam War Monument Competition

Hold on to your hearts and your wallets! Bob Hope is raising money for a Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C. Vietnam Veterans have organized their foundation. Congress has unanimously dedicated two acres near the Lincoln Memorial. Patriotic Americans are donating two-and-a-half million dollars to inscribe the names of the 57,661 Americans killed in Vietnam and to erect a sculpture symbolizing the experience of Americans who served in Vietnam.

Architects and artists are invited to enter a national design competition for the new memorial. However most of the architects I work with oppose a monument which would endorse the war which we opposed. We are not surprised that Bob Hope is sending fund raising letters to our fathers. Hope always spent more effort selling the war back home than he ever did telling jokes to soldiers. He used his Christmas trips to Vietnam to encourage American support for the troops and for the fighting.

In his fund raising letter, Hope declares that "the memorial will make no political statement about the Vietnam war." However the letter also states that:

"the rancor and bitterness that the war caused created an atmosphere that in many cases denied the returning veterans the hero's welcome they so rightly deserved. . . I can't think of a better way (than the memorial) to express to these young men and women how much we all ap-

preciate the sacrifice they made for our country."

The words are conciliatory but the message is clear. Mr. Hope is asking us to grieve over the dead men and women or with their heart-broken families. He is asking us to justify their sacrifice.

The U.S. imperialist attempt to prevent national self-determination, the ruthless destruction of Vietnam, the millions of Vietnamese dead are all to be forgotten. The governmental secrecy, the suppression of dissent and the broken promises of the peace treaty are all to be forgotten. Americans are only to remember that their government required the services of these soldiers and that we have failed to celebrate their service. We are called on to memorialize the men but the

monument will proclaim that a united America honors its warriors and their war.

Dollars are being raised for a glorious monument and a glorious new war machine. Once we celebrate the veteran's sacrifice we will be asked to celebrate the nation's right to sacrifice them. This adds to the escalating efforts to prepare the United States for new military adventures. Defense budgets are being increased; draft registration has begun; and politicians are declaring our vital overseas interests. New activism is required to prevent this madness.

Several designs for the Vietnam Veterans memorial have been proposed by my coworkers which would minimize the glories of war. One solution would store all

57,661 names in a microfilm machine surrounded by two acres of rice paddies. Another would use the contributions to finance daily napalm strikes against the proposed site. It is unlikely that the judges of the national design competition now being sponsored will find these suggestions compatible with the ideology of the sponsors. However, it is our challenge to prevent the ideology of the sponsors from becoming the ideology of America.

An architect friend from LA

Editor's Note: This friend's letter got us to thinking that there must be many among our readers who would be up for similarly suggesting themes for the monument design. Drop us a note, drawing, etc.



SEND US A FRIEND

Dear Mr. Hope:
Please send information on the Vietnam Veterans Memorial to the following people. I believe they will be interested in helping.

Mao Tsetung on Ten Big Struggles in the Party

Continued from page 11

gard it as a counter-revolutionary report. You were all present at the meeting of the ninety-nine, when the Premier made the summing-up speech and the self-examinations of the five big generals were issued, as well as those of big generals Li Hsueh-feng and Cheng Weishan, so that everyone thought that the problem had been solved. But in fact the Lushan affair had not been finished, the problem had not been solved. They wanted to suppress it. They did not even let cadres of the rank of head of the General Command and the General Staff departments know about it. This would not do!

What I have been saying are my own personal opinions, which I am giving you informally. I shall not draw formal conclusions now, this must be done by the Central Committee.

Revisionist Stew

Continued from page 9

The revisionists now hail the Third Plenary of the Eleventh Central Committee in 1978, where the Deng forces formally established organizational control, as the turning point. Their economic policies since then have been labeled "readjustment" (a lowering of expectations from "modernization by the year 2000"). Prices were freed on many products and individual agricultural units and industrial enterprises, with profit in command, were given more leeway in decisions on production, investment, the work force and providing bonuses. What this meant was that the inequalities that exist among the people, which were restricted under socialist China, were not only allowed but encouraged to grow. According to *Peking Review* (No. 3, 1981), the slogan in rural economy since the Third Plenary has been "Let some localities and peasants prosper first." The *Peking Review* commentator criticizes "people who consider it a 'bourgeois slogan' because, they say, it departs from the socialist ideal of common prosperity and will lead to a polarization where the poor will become poorer and the rich increasingly richer, and eventually to capitalism."

But even the revisionists themselves had to admit that the letting loose of market forces created chaos, as many individual enterprises artificially raised prices and resorted to underhanded methods in order to get the most profits. After unleashing these blind forces of capitalism, the revisionists (who are fundamentally *state* capitalists) have had to reel things back in, reimposing price controls on virtually all manufactured goods in farm produce a few weeks ago. Wages will also be frozen this year. Deng, who set the goal of reaching the per capita GNP of \$1,000 by the year 2000 recently admitted to Japanese visitors that this would not be achieved. And the whole "readjustment" program, originally planned to be completed by this year, has now been set back indefinitely. This, the revisionists explained feebly, is "taking a step back in order to make further leaps." Actually it looks more like they are taking another backwards step in the swamp.

Political Conflicts

These economic difficulties that the revisionists are mired in have much to do with the political difficulties they are facing. The revisionists themselves recognized this, as shown by the January 17th article in *People's Daily* titled "Political Stability Is A Guarantee For Economic Adjustments." Obviously, one great danger to the "political stability" of their rule are genuine revolutionaries that still uphold Mao's line. The *People's Daily* article asks, "How can we allow these extremely small 'rebel' elements that still uphold Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, as well as these extremely small newly-born bad elements that carry on their legacy, to engage in the four greats

You should be prudent. First of all the army must be prudent and secondly the regions must be prudent. You must not be arrogant, if you are arrogant you will commit errors. The army must be unified; it must be rectified. I just don't believe that our army could rebel. I just don't believe that you, Huang Yungsheng, could order the Liberation Army to rebel! Under [each] army are divisions and regiments and the judicial, political and support units. If you try to mobilize the army to do bad things, do you think they will obey you?

You should pay attention to military affairs. You should not only be civil officials but also military officials. Grasping army work means studying the line and rectifying incorrect styles of work.

(great contending, blooming, big character posters and debate—forms of mass proletarian democracy developed in the Cultural Revolution—*RW*) permit violence, and destroy the situation of stability and unity which is prized by the people throughout the country of all nationalities and which is so hard to come by?" Their insistence that Lin Biao-Gang of Four (the revisionists throw in the counter-revolutionary Lin Biao, as they did in the trial, to muddle the issue when referring to those who follow Mao's line) elements are very small only exposes paranoid fear that revolutionaries are in fact widespread throughout society.

A further threat to the "political stability" of the revisionist's rule is the resistance they face from the party and government bureaucracy. Party General Secretary, Hu Yaobang said in a recent speech that the economic program had been undercut by "feigned compliance" with policies. A part of this resistance comes from those who, like Hua, rose up during the Cultural Revolution by opportunistic maneuverings. They fear that they will become the target of the Deng forces in their drive to clean out remnants of the Cultural Revolution, even those basically in the revisionist camp like Hua. The demise of Hua was a not-too-subtle warning to these forces to shape up or ship out.

The revisionists also face resistance from the massive weight of the capitalist bureaucracy itself. Even in socialist China bureaucracy posed a problem, but this was combatted by constantly exposing cadres to mass criticism and requiring them to do manual labor. Now there is nothing restraining conflicts between different sections of the government, different regions, etc. and many cadres merely go through the motions, "feigning compliance" with the policies handed down from the center.

Failing in warnings or "ideological education," the revisionists have one ace in their pocket—a two-year purge of all levels of the party scheduled to start sometime in the near future. In what might be a prelude to this, the *Peking Daily* in a January 15th editorial, declared that Communist Party members must always follow decisions of the party, and "if any party member wishes not to act in this way, they can freely resign from the party."

If, taking the revisionists' own words, political stability is "a guarantee for economic readjustment," then the present instability of their regime, heightened to a new level by the present trial, means their whole system is in very bad shape. Of course, no bourgeois power, no matter how rotten or weak, will fall by itself. But Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao have shown that there is a firm basis for the further development of the conscious-revolutionary vanguard need to push it.

You should not go in for mountain-topism or sectarianism, but pay attention to unity. I approve of the army's traditional style of quick and decisive action. But this style cannot be applied to questions of ideology, for which it is necessary to make the facts known and reason with people.

I added my approval to the document of the Canton Military Region on the "three supports and two militaries". In order to get people to give it their attention I appended the words, 'To be studied seriously', to the Central Committee's endorsement. Now that the regional Party Committees have been established, they should exercise unified leadership. It would be putting the cart before the horse if the matters already decided by regional Party committees were later turned over to the army Party committees for discussion.

In the past the military training given to our armed forces included unit-by-unit coaching. From individual coaching to battalion coaching took five to six months. Now that they only go in for civil and not military matters, our army has become a cultural army.

When 'one good' leads 'three goods' perhaps that 'one good' of yours will lead correctly and perhaps it will lead incorrectly. And then there are the congresses of representatives of activists. It is worth studying what their actual effect is. Some are successful, but many are not. This is primarily a question of line. If the line is mistaken then the activists' congress cannot be successful.

'In industry learn from Taching, in agriculture learn from Tachai; let the people of the whole country learn from the PLA.' This is incomplete. We should add, 'Let the PLA learn from the people of the whole country.'

You should study the article written by Lenin on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Eugene Pottier. Learn to sing 'The Internationale' and 'The Three Great Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention'. Let them not only be sung but also explained and acted upon. 'The Internationale' and Lenin's article express throughout a Marxist standpoint and outlook. What they say is that slaves should arise and struggle for truth. There never has been any supreme saviour, nor can we rely on gods or emperors. We rely entirely on ourselves for our salvation. Who has created the world of men? We the labouring masses. During the Lushan Conference I wrote a 700-word article which raised the question of who created history, the heroes or the slaves. 'The Internationale' says we must unite until the day comes when Communism will certainly be realized. If you study Marxism you will see that it teaches unity and not splitting. We have been singing 'The Internationale' for fifty years but people have tried to split our Party ten times. I think it possible that they will do it another ten times, or twenty times or thirty times. You don't believe it? Maybe you don't but I do. When we reach Communism will there be no struggles? I don't believe that either. When we reach Communism there will still be struggles, but they will be between the new and the old, the correct and the incorrect, that is all. After tens of millennia have passed by, the incorrect will still be no good and will fail.

The Three Great Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention must be 'remembered clearly, each and every one' and 'the people of the whole country welcome and support them'. Yet there are a few of the rules and points for attention which are not clearly

remembered, especially the first of the Three Rules and the first and fifth of the Eight Points. These are not remembered clearly. How fine it would be if they could all be clearly remembered and put into effect. The first of the Three Rules is that in all actions orders must be obeyed, for only if we march in step can we win victory. If we are not in step we cannot win victory. Then there are the first and fifth of the Eight points which say that towards the people, and towards fellow soldiers and subordinates; we should always be polite. We must not put on airs; warlord ways must be rooted out. These are the points of emphasis. If there were no points of emphasis there would be no policy. I hope that we will use the Three Great Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention to educate the army, educate the cadres, educate the masses, educate the Party members and the people.

The Lushan Conference called for the study of books by Marx and Lenin. I hope you will read more books from now on. It just won't do if high-ranking cadres don't even know what is materialism and what is idealism. What do we do if we find the books of Marx and Lenin difficult? We can ask a teacher to help us. You are all secretaries, but you ought to be students too. I myself become a student every day, I read two volumes of *Reference Material* daily, and that's why I know a little about international affairs.

I never approved of one's wife becoming the office manager in one's own work unit. Over at Lin Piao's, it is Yeh Chun who manages his office. When the four of them want to ask Lin Piao about anything they have to go through her. In doing any work one should do it oneself and read and endorse papers oneself. One should not rely on one's secretary. One shouldn't let one's secretary wield so much power. My secretary is only responsible for receiving and dispatching papers. I select the documents myself, read them myself, and when something has to be done I do my own writing so that no mistakes are made.

The Cultural Revolution dragged out Liu Shao-chi, Peng, Lo, Lu, and Yang. This was a big achievement. There were also some losses. Some good cadres have still not been able to re-emerge. The great majority of our cadres are good. The bad ones are a very small minority. Those who have been cleared out only comprise one per cent, while those who have been suspended are less than three per cent. The bad ones must be given appropriate criticism. The good ones must be praised, though not to the skies. It does a person under thirty no good at all if you call him a 'super-genius'. At the recent Lushan Conference some comrades were deceived and hoodwinked. The problem does not lie in you but in Peking. It does not matter if you have made mistakes. Our Party has a rule that those who made mistakes should first make a self-examination, and then they should be permitted to correct their mistakes.

We must take care to educate people in our ideological and political line. Our principle must still be 'learning from past mistakes to avoid future mistakes,' and 'curing the disease to save the patient'. Unite to win still greater victories.

4. The "three supports": support the broad masses of the left, support industry and agriculture. The "two militaries": military control and military training. As a temporary measure during a phase of the Cultural Revolution, Mao called for the active intervention of the Peoples Liberation Army as a political force to support the revolutionary masses. Lin Piao took full advantage of this, with ulterior motives, and exaggerated this. The Canton document presumably advocated a more correct version of this than Lin's.

5. The revisionists Mao singles out here are: Liu Shao-chi (Liu Shaoqi); Peng Chen (Peng Zhen), the Mayor of Peking; Lo Jui-ching, a big general; Lu Ting-yi (Lu Dingyi), head of Propaganda and Culture; Yang refers to either Yang Hang-sheng, who was a bigshot in the national Literary and Arts Association, or Yang Shang-kun, an alternate secretary of the Central Committee accused of bugging Mao's residence. All these figures have been restored to revisionist honor now in China, and the Gang of Four are charged with "persecuting" them.

THIS IS ONLY A TEST

We ran across the following item in the January 12 edition of *Army Times*, which bills itself as an "independent newspaper" serving GIs in the U.S. and overseas. So much for all the government clammering of last summer that reinstatement of draft registration has nothing to do with reinstatement of the draft. Of course, if confronted with the facts revealed here, the government would undoubtedly respond: "Remember, this is only a test..."

Washington. While no one was looking the Selective Service held a lottery in November, selected 35,000 young men and sent out more than 700 draft notices.

It was all a test of course, part of the

Defense Department's "Proud Spirit" mobilization exercise. The lottery was a mock operation and the draft list was never used, Director of Selective Service Bernard Rostker told *Army Times*. The System did send out 715 mailgrams containing induction notices to test the system. They went to military reservists who are part of the Selective Service System.

It was a huge success Rostker said. Selective Service reviewed its computer list of registrants, held the lottery, compiled a list of 35,000 mock draftees and sent the mailgrams all within 24 hours, Rostker said. He said the exercise proved that "we could hold an induction within the three days our plans called

for."

Draftees normally would report to their local armed forces entrance and examination station for physical examinations. If they were physically qualified they would be inducted into the armed forces unless they appealed claiming an exemption or deferment.

Selective Service is not yet ready for appeals the spokesman said. The local draft board which would hear appeals

has not yet been set up. Selective Service expected to take applications for draft board members this year she said.

Selective Service had its reservists carry out a mock activation of Selective Service state headquarters and area offices, Rostker told Senator Sam Nunn in a status report on registration. The reservists used their annual two-week active duty training period to set up the offices. []

BOB AVAKIAN: "TRAN, IT'S NOT OUR EMBASSY"

Continued from page 5

representative of superstition and ignorance in the entire world.

You know, we don't agree with Khomeini. We don't agree with his attempts to fasten chains of medieval degradation on not only the women but the masses of Iranian people. We understand that he cannot lead the revolution forward but can only lead it backward, that he cannot lead a thorough-going struggle against imperialism and break its hold on Iran. And more than that he can't advance the struggle to the stage of socialism and moving on to completely eliminate any basis for exploitation. And of course we don't agree with Khomeini that America in the abstract is the "devil." We don't believe in no devil in the first place. And we don't believe that Khomeini is the representative and spokesman of god and that's why the Iranian people's cause is righteous.

But I'll tell you something that really gets me that gives me a kick. I know that the reason these neanderthal, backward people out here have the nerve to talk about how other people ought to go back to the Middle Ages, the reason they're so furious at Khomeini talking about how they're the devil, they're satan, and how god is on the side of the Iranian people is that they believe that god can only be on the side of American imperialism! And how dare anybody else say that god's on their side! God belongs to them. Nobody else can have god.

I don't believe, and our Party doesn't believe, in god and the devil in the first place. But this is the lie they've been running out for war after war now. We went and interviewed some chaplain in the air force and he said we should nuke the Russians and get into World War 3 because it would be carrying out god's will. They'll use any thing to try to deceive and fool people.



SUMMING UP THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

by Bob Avakian

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

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

44 pages, combined English/Spanish edition
\$.60

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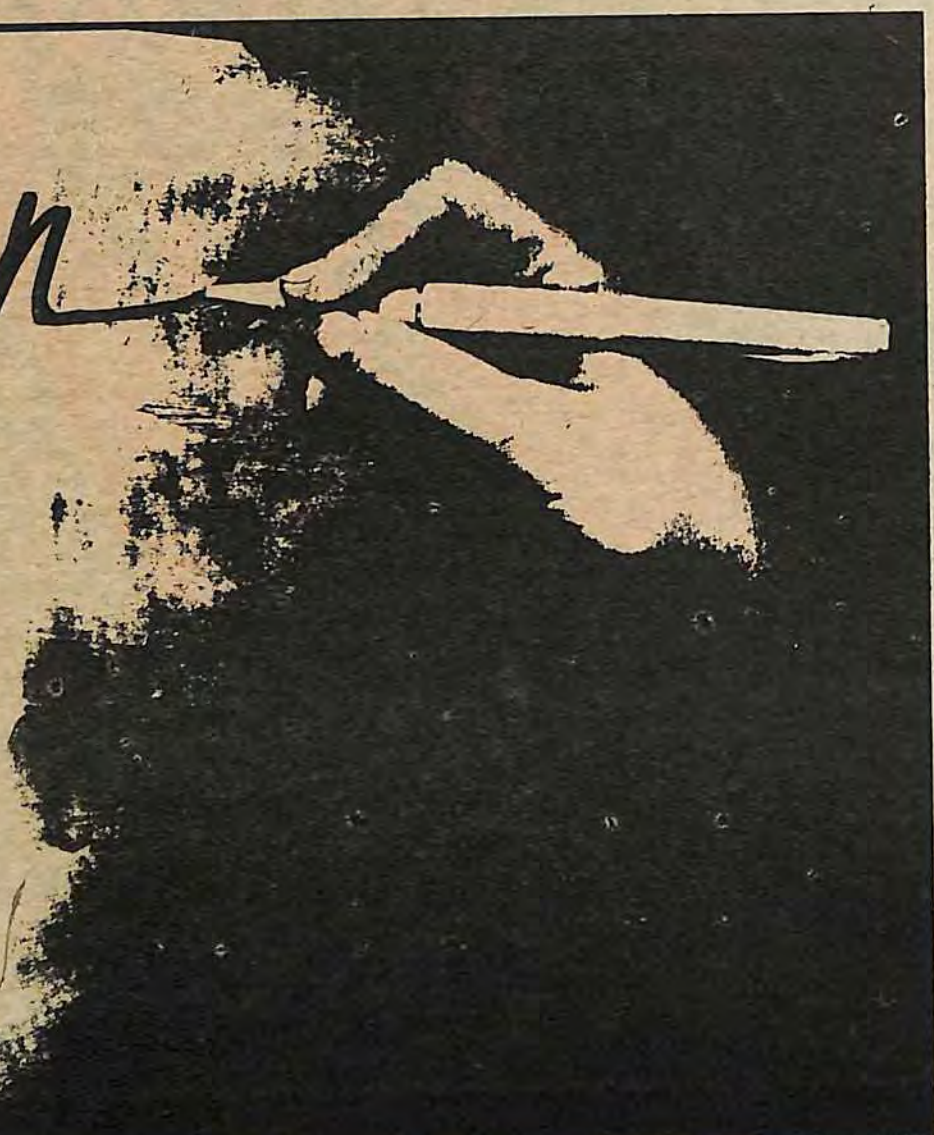
Pick up the pen

Correspondence from readers is literally crucial for the *Revolutionary Worker*; it's key in building the newspaper as the lifeblood of the revolutionary movement. The newspaper needs active, all-round political contributions from Party members, revolutionary-minded workers and all others who support the cause. All such people should correspond with the *RW* and work to develop this paper, the Party's voice, as their own revolutionary voice.

We need to hear from you. Reader correspondence is absolutely indispensable for the *RW*. The importance of such correspondence to the revolutionary press was spoken to by Lenin in 1899. In the midst of the struggle to create a nationwide newspaper, Lenin wrote:

"... Let us take one of the conditions for the success of this plan—that the newspaper be assured a regular supply of correspondence and other material from everywhere. Has not history shown that at all times when there has been a resurgence of our revolutionary movement such a purpose has proved possible of achievement even in respect of papers published abroad? If Social-Democrats (communists—*RW*) working in various localities come to regard the Party newspaper as *their own* and consider the maintenance of regular contact with it, the discussion of their problems and the reflection of the whole movement in it to be their main task, it will be quite possible to ensure the supply to the paper of full information about the movement...."

Only through active correspondence can we forge a truly powerful, truly conscious revolutionary Party with its finger on the pulse of the objective situation in its development. There is a burning need for information on the pulse of the movement. Pick up the pen!



DEMONSTRATE Mon. Jan. 26

**LONG LIVE CHIANG CHING AND
CHANG CHUN-CHIAO!**

**LONG LIVE THE GREAT
PROLETARIAN CULTURAL
REVOLUTION!**

**MAO TSETUNG DID NOT FAIL,
REVOLUTION WILL PREVAIL
ALL OVER THE WORLD!**

Washington, D.C.—Embassy of the
Peoples Republic of China (P.R.C.)
New York—U.N. Mission of the P.R.C.
San Francisco—Consulate of the P.R.C.
Houston—Consulate of the P.R.C.

For more information about these
demonstrations contact the RCP in your
area (See page 2 for addresses and phone
numbers).

**Wear this Armband
When the
Revisionists
Sentence
Mao's
Revolutionary
Comrades
and at the
Demonstrations**

**Long Live
the
Revolution
Worldwide**



**Long Live
Mao Tsetung's
Revolutionary
Comrades**

*Cut out armband and paste onto
cloth or heavy paper strip.*

*The following is a partial list of
endorsers of the January 26
demonstrations in solidarity with
Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao,
Mao's revolutionary comrades, to be
held in San Francisco, New York,
Houston and Washington, D.C.*

Oakland Feminist Women's Health
Center
The Feminist Women's Health Center
in Los Angeles
Florynce Kennedy, attorney, delegate
First World Feminist Conference in
Copenhagen, * July 1980
The 11th Hour Battalion
Black Women's Revolutionary Council
Chico Feminist Women's Health
Center
Lisa Harkavy, feminist activist
Pat McGuinness, abortion rights
activist
Max Beagerie, ex-activist, U.S.-China
Peoples Friendship Association*
Claudia Beagerie, ex-activist, USCPFA*
Iranian Student Association,
University of California Berkeley
Committee to Support the Continuing
Iranian Revolution
VVAW (A.I.)
RCYB
RCP, USA
John Hurst, professor of education,
UC Berkeley*

Robert Trapp, Black poet
Larry Schwartz, professor at San Diego
City College*
Prentice Beadrick, editor *Nommo*,
Black student paper at University of
California Los Angeles*
Arvii, Asst. editor of *Nommo**
Lamuel Bradley, Black Student Union
at Los Angeles City College*
Cliff Roquemore
Craig Frey, Diablo Canyon Task Force*
Shirley Lee, member of Peace &
Freedom Party*
Paul Kangas, member of Peace &
Freedom Party*
Dick Clark, anti-nuke activist
Bruce Fireman, acting assistant
professor of sociology, University
of California Berkeley*
Bob Mertz, Vietnam veteran
Everybody's Bookstore, San Francisco
Revolution Books, Berkeley
Lawrence LeJohn III, Asst. editor of
Black World, California State
University Northridge*
Karen Ryer, attorney
Aaron Kaye
Wanda Coleman, poet
Arnold Townsend, former director,
WAPAC*
Charles Schwartz, professor of physics,
UC Berkeley*
Alan Miller, lecturer, Conservation of
Natural Resources, UC Berkeley
Reverend Will L. Herzfeld, pastor,
Bethlehem Lutheran Church,
Oakland*
Ashkenaz Music & Dance Cafe,
Berkeley
Red Flag Theatre
INCITE!
The Robert Stoddard Band
The Undertakers
The Penguins
The Fire
The Appliances
Hector Penalosa, bassist, the
Wolverines
The Geeks
Arsenal
Two members of the Church Police
L.M. Syquia
No Alternative
Peter, from Alienation

* For identification purposes only.





**Long Live
Chiang Ching
and Chang
Chun-Chiao!**

**Long Live the
Great Proletarian
Cultural
Revolution!**



Revolutionary Worker

**Mao Tsetung Did Not Fail, Revolution Will Prevail
All Over the World!**