



BOB AVAKIAN SPEAKS

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

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INTRODUCTION

On November 19, 1979, Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA delivered a very important speech in Washington, D.C.

The occasion for this presentation was a rally of 800 people which took place at a key juncture in the battle to free Comrade Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants. These members and supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party are facing federal felony charges totaling 24 years each stemming from the historic January 29, 1979 demonstration in Washington, D.C. against revisionist traitor Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping) when he came to the U.S. to officially mark China's capitulation to U.S. imperialism and its enlistment in the U.S. war bloc. They were among 78 people who were arrested when police viciously attacked this demonstration. Seventeen, including Bob Avakian, were later charged with multiple felonies.

Only a few days before Comrade Avakian gave this speech, the government had been forced to temporarily dismiss all the charges in the Mao Defendants case on the grounds of "prosecutorial vindictiveness," marking a significant, if only partial, victory in this battle. The government was forced to retreat and maneuver in the face of broad and growing support from a wide range of forces in society. Support from the people of the D.C. area had also been built built by 200 volunteers who had come from all over the country. As is pointed out in the speech, this partial victory made the ruling class even more desperate. Since that time the Secret Service has launched an "investigation" of Comrade Avakian, hounding him all over the country, and a higher federal court has over-ruled the earlier dismissal of the case, thus putting this inquisition-style railroad back on track.

In addition to going deeply into summing up the lessons of the Mao Tsetung Defendants battle up to that point and what was in store for the future, Comrade Avakian addresses the ruling class's rabid anti-Iranian hysteria campaign that had reached a high point at that time, shortly after the Embassy seizure. This portion of the speech has been printed in a pamphlet titled Iran: It's Not Our Embassy, with 20,000 copies already distributed. The entire text is included here. Also included in this pamphlet is an interview with Bob Avakian by a reporter from the Washington Post given in October 1979.

Chicago,
January 1981

doesn't do what has to be done. I'm not saying that we shouldn't be able to defend ourselves. And if people want to mess with our Party—with the collective strength of our Party, the ruling class has already found out and got a taste of what it means to mess with our Party, and more than that, to mess with the working class and the masses of people that we represent. But the point is, no, I can't whip Superman and neither can anybody because there ain't no Superman. There ain't none of these superheroes out here. Nobody's going to come down from Krypton or Massachusetts or anywhere else and give us our salvation. The real strength that we have—the strength that's been shown in actuality, and much more than that, the potential strength that they can recognize, that struck fear in them, that they had to back up from and try to tactically maneuver—was the strength of the masses of people becoming aroused and conscious and guided and struggling behind a correct political and ideological line and understanding. That's what they're afraid of. And they've got goddamn good reason to be afraid of it because that's the one thing that will be invincible and guarantee our victory—the masses of people becoming politically aroused.

You've heard many different messages here today at this rally, I particularly want to refer right now to the messages that came from among our own class of people—the messages that came from the people who are enslaved, the exploited, the oppressed, the degraded people under this system. What was the most important point, what was the essence of those messages, what were they really getting at? What were they really talking about? That's right, they were talking about freedom. But why did they step forward in this particular battle? What was it they recognized in our Party and in this battle that brought them forward? Because they see in this battle, they see in this Party, and they see in the revolutionary message that it has uncompromisingly carried forward, their own future. You see this is why people have opened their doors, this is why people who have no coats for their kids in winter have come forward and donated their lives and donated their resources and donated their energies to take up this battle. They recognize that what we're talking about here, is not simply or even mainly the question of one individual or even simply the Party in and of and by itself. Because there'd be no reason for people to make sacrifices, there'd be no reason for people to struggle—to rise in defense of myself and of our Party, if in fact in turn our Party didn't represent and didn't concentrate the highest hopes and aspirations, and more than that, the strivings and strugglings of people to be free of all this madness, and represent the goal of helping move ourselves and people all over the world beyond this mad-dog condition.

If our Party didn't represent that; if this line of the Party wasn't the line that enabled us to correctly analyze the world, and on that basis develop the policies and the program and the strategies and the tactics to change the world for the first time fully in accordance with our own interests and with our interests of emancipating the oppressed people all over the world and advancing mankind to a whole new stage of history; if

that isn't what we represented and concentrated in our Party and in the line it takes out to the masses of people, then our Party wouldn't be worth people sacrificing for. My leadership and the leadership of the Party wouldn't be worth a damn and it wouldn't be worth people struggling. It wouldn't be worth people coming forward putting their lives on the line, or opening their doors and welcoming these fighters who've come forward and volunteered to come here to D.C.—joining with thousands all over the country who've stepped forward in this battle. But that is precisely what our Party *does* represent. And that is exactly why people have stepped forward. And that's the very thing that the ruling class could never believe would happen and the very thing that, yes indeed, literally makes them tremble and back up in fear and scratch their heads, and more than that, moan and weep trying to figure out how to deal with it. The very thing that they never counted on.

They didn't count on it in Iran, they didn't count on it in Nicaragua, and they don't count on it here—and that is the masses of people that they hold in the most miserable conditions of slavery and treat literally like so many animals to be worked to death and then be cast aside and be sent off to the glue factory to have their last bit of wealth pulled out of even their deaths. Those masses of people who they count as unthinking beasts, count on being unable to think and rise anywhere above the animal level that they are continually forcing us down into in this dog-eat-dog society. They never can calculate and they never can understand, though they fear it through their own blind desperation, *how it is* that the masses of people—the working class and other oppressed people of society—can raise their heads up and look to the farthest horizons, look to the vision of the future, and more than that, can actually take up and wield as a mighty weapon this revolutionary line, this revolutionary science that we have learned from Marx and Lenin and Mao Tsetung.

Condescending Oppressors

See, I went around and I had the distinct displeasure—and I have to say overwhelmingly, with a few exceptions—the distinct displeasure of having to be interviewed by and talked to by hundreds and hundreds of these media people in the last couple of months. Although some of them are honest, are trying to understand the world, and some of them are even taking a positive or progressive stand or at least have some sense of integrity, overwhelmingly at this point most of them have to be characterized as paid prostitutes and cheap prize-fighters for this reactionary system. And the one thing that they uniformly told me—in one way or another all of them tried to drive home to me from Hawaii to Boston to Los Angeles to Atlanta and everywhere in between—was, "Listen, what makes you think that the working class and the people you say are the oppressed people in this society are interested in all this politics and more than that all this philosophy—all this revolutionary science? *What makes you think they give a damn about Marx and Lenin and Mao Tsetung?*"

One reactionary idiot in Hawaii, one of these megaphones, one of these

bullhorns for the ruling class, a mid-morning talk show host, got up and said it the way they *always* talk about it—he just put it straight out there. Speaking about our meeting we were having there on the speaking tour he said, “Listen, the biggest mistake that the Revolutionary Communist Party is making is charging people some money to come down and hear this man speak.” “*I know my audience*,” he said like the typical condescending oppressor. “*I know all those poor people out there*, I understand them and if there’s *one thing* they want, if there’s *one thing* they’ll go for it’s a freebie! Give them something free and you can get them to do any goddamn thing.” You see this is the way they look at us. This is the way they look at the working class. This is the way they look at the oppressed people in this society and throughout the world: “They don’t give a damn! They don’t know about and they don’t want to know about what’s going on in this society and around the world. They don’t care about taking history into their hands, they are incapable of and unconcerned with getting a scientific view of nature, of society and of people’s thinking and how these things move and develop and change! They are in no way capable of and don’t give a damn about grasping revolutionary theory and revolutionary politics and rising up to change the world! It’s a hopeless dream you have.”

Some of them say, “It may be nice. It may be idealistic. You’re very visionary. You have a few good ideas. It’s nice to have a vision, but it’s completely unrealistic because you’ve got to understand the masses of people are a bunch of selfish, ignorant, foolish slobs and that’s all they ever want to be and that’s all they’re ever going to be!” One after another in one way or another all of them came forward to put out this message.

I told one of these interviewers about when we were in a housing project in Atlanta—I told him: “Listen, I don’t believe what you say because I went out in Atlanta into a housing project, among the people you say are the most ignorant, the most incapable of grasping or even caring about these things, and I sold our paper, the *Revolutionary Worker*. And the main thing that I talked to people about in that whole paper, out of all the articles we had in there, was this article we had explaining the theories of Einstein.” And all of them laughed mockingly, one after another, when I told them this. And they’d say, “You mean to tell me that not only yourself but members of your Party and people in a housing project actually care about and can understand Einstein’s theory?”

Now you understand the way the bourgeoisie puts it out. They try to wrap everything in mystery to make it appear that nobody but a handful of geniuses can possibly understand the world and therefore can possibly be entrusted to rule in society and to change the world in one direction or another. Only a handful of “geniuses” (like the people whose flunkies they are) can possibly understand the world and change it consciously. The bourgeoisie has a saying about Einstein’s theory. They say that only 13 people in the whole world have ever understood him—and Einstein isn’t even one of them. And that’s just a way of trying to take something that is a scientific principle, something which as far as Einstein’s theories

are concerned are partially true and in fact advanced mankind’s knowledge, but run up against their limitations, run up against the reactionary and backward, limited philosophies of the ruling classes in the world which turn things upside down, which try to say that things are always the same and may be changed in a minor degree—things may change in quantity, bigger or smaller—but they never fundamentally change from one thing into another from a lower to a higher level. This upside down and reactionary view of theirs even infected Einstein and made him incapable of carrying through on some of the revolutionary scientific discoveries and theories that were being made at that time and which he, in a certain sense, pioneered in making. But that’s not something that can’t be understood. Once we get hold of this scientific understanding and this liberating science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, once we get a hold of this scientific method, we can analyze, we can investigate, we can understand and we can change, on that basis, every aspect of nature, society and even the people’s thinking.

And what we pointed out going into this housing project was, “Look, we’re talking about rising up and taking the whole world into our hands. We’re talking about overthrowing the reactionary bastions that are keeping the people in these miserable degrading conditions in the midst of all this wealth and all the means to produce vast wealth and distribute it among the people. We’re talking about rising up and overthrowing that, and more than that, continuing revolution to bury it once and for all.” We’re talking about doing that. And *we are going to understand*, we are going to *struggle* to understand, because it *is* a struggle. We are going to *grasp* the theory of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. We don’t give a damn if the bourgeoisie told us we never can do it. In fact, we’ve learned, living the lives of slaves in this society, that as soon as that man ruling over you tells you this is something that you shouldn’t have nothing to do with, that’s the first goddamn thing you should go and check out!

In fact, the more they tell us to stay away from revolutionary theory, the more they mock and say, “Oh, Marx and Lenin and Mao Tsetung, what’s that got to do with American people with their color TV”—the more they run all that old reactionary, tired, replay bullshit, the more we’re going to go *deeper* into Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and the more we’re going to take it out to the masses of people. We’re going to arm them with it so they can step forward consciously and do what has to be and needs to be and will be done, which is to rise up consciously, millions strong and join the whole international working class and oppressed people throughout the world, rise up to make revolution, take this whole world into our own hands and transform it in the interests of the great majority and ultimately all of humanity.

Understand and Change the World

So we’re going to understand Einstein. We’re going to study Einstein. We’re not going to let the bourgeoisie have a monopoly on this un-

derstanding. We're not going to let them twist and pervert even scientific discoveries and knowledge to use them as weapons to keep the people ignorant, backward, divided and oppressed and exploited for yet another generation, yet another century, yet hundreds of more years. No! I agree wholeheartedly with the sentiment that was expressed earlier today in the message from brother Carl Harp [a prisoner from Walla Walla—ed.]. I agree fully and completely with what he meant and the sentiments he expressed, and the way he interpreted Marx when he said the point of all this is to *change* the world. And we have to get down a little deeper on that because Marx certainly did not deny the importance of understanding the world. What Marx did, what Marxism does, and what Mao Tsetung further developed it to do and to enable us to take up and do is to understand the world as it actually is and as it's actually changing and on *that* basis to act in accordance with and change and accelerate the process of history in order to make revolution.

So we have to analyze the world, we have to understand the world and we have to change the world. We have to do in fact what Marx did, what Lenin did, what Mao Tsetung did, and what our Party stands on. That is, constantly drawing the links between understanding the world and changing the world. We've got to study the world, we've got to understand everything about nature, we've got to understand everything about society and the way it's divided into classes, and how those classes struggle. We've got to understand how people's thinking is a reflection of the society they live in and of the nature they're interacting with and, on *that* basis and together with that, we have to constantly struggle and bring masses of people forward to consciously and ever more in a conscious way rise up and conquer every sphere. We're not going to leave a single sphere. We're not going to leave a single area. We're not going to leave a single field of investigation, whether it's philosophy, science, culture, politics, economics, social relations or personal relations, or anything else—we're not going to leave it to the bourgeoisie to have domination there. We're going to challenge them in every sphere as part of building the struggle towards the time when we can rise up and overthrow them. And once we've overthrown them we're going to take hold of the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought even more. And I'll never tire, and our Party will never tire, of talking about this. But more than that, in unity with what brother Carl Harp said, we'll never tire of applying this to actually change the world and to lead masses of people to rise up and grab hold of every sphere, of every branch of knowledge, and use it as a tremendous material force with millions of people grasping and taking up, debating and struggling over the way forward, and then uniting on the way forward to consciously advance the cause of revolution and the cause of emancipating the people all over the world.

Can We Rise Above the Muck?

What went on in this battle that we've been waging now for almost a year, what was concentrated in this battle, what came down between the

two opposing sides in this battle, was a very important question which has been spoken to before and which I've just been speaking to. And that's the question of who, in fact, has the real power to take hold of and reshape society, and *can* the masses of people consciously grasp and on that basis fight for their own real interests? *Can* they unite in their higher interests? *Can* they rise above the muck and the filth and the mire? *Can* they see beyond the petty divisions, the crumbs and concessions they throw out, now to one group and now to another, the ways in which they divide and conquer and rule over us, the obstacles they place in our way, the way in which they send their agents out into our ranks to constantly detour us from the forward path? *Can* they in fact advance through all the twists and turns, even the setbacks and reversals, not just here but internationally? *Can* they rise above all that, unite in their higher interests, and move forward to change the whole world? And as I've said, the ruling class has a very clear answer on this. It actually believes it. They actually see the world in this upside down way and they are determined that the masses of people will be indoctrinated with and will go along with this very idea. And it stems from the nature of their society, how it is divided into classes and how a handful under their system does monopolize and does use for its own private interests, for its own private gains, and its own private capital, the various spheres of knowledge. The masses of people are shut out from and sheltered away from being able to grasp and struggle over the road forward in all these various spheres of society. They are told that they're only good to be workhorses, to be animals used up, to be a piece of machinery until its too old and thrown on the scrap heap or sent off to war when the inevitable workings of this system plunge it into crisis and the rulers have to mobilize the people to go out and fight and die to preserve this system and breathe a few last dying gasps into its rotting corpse.

That's the answer of the bourgeoisie, that the masses of people are incapable of grasping these things. And that's what they acted upon. I think we have to sum up the course of this Mao Tsetung Defendants battle so far and what were the lessons of this battle that we've been waging. We have to sum up the lessons of the victory we won and of the fight that lies ahead, not only around this particular battle, but in a much more important sense and a broader way, the overall struggles that build toward revolution in this country.

The Mao Defendants Battle

When we had this demonstration on January 29th, 1979, the ruling class of this country thought when they came down and attacked that demonstration, when they brutalized us, maced us, beat us again in the jail, then started upping the charges and escalating them from a misdemeanor to a felony to 12, 15 and then 25 felony counts—they thought they were going to have a cheap and easy victory. They thought they were going to be able to wipe out, or to shatter and cripple, the Revolutionary Communist Party, the leadership of the revolutionary movement in this country,

the vanguard of the working class and the masses of people in this country. They thought they were going to be able to do that, in a quick and easy way, in isolation, in the darkness, the way thieves like them always like to operate. They thought they could quickly grease up this legal railroad and run it through before anybody ever noticed. And what were they counting on? What in fact were they basing these calculations on!? Fundamentally on their upside down, twisted, inside-out, perverted belief that the masses of people in this country—that the people in D.C. and the people in the factories, the people in the mills, the people in the shipyards, the people in the housing projects, the people in the ghettos, the slums and the barrios of this country could *never be concerned* about the questions that were being raised in that demonstration that night of January 29th when we went up in the face of this reactionary dog and boot-licking traitor Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping), who came here to set the world's record for belly-crawling before the ruling class of this country.

They were convinced that what they had not only on their hands but in their hands was simply and only a handful of fanatics, an isolated sect of maniacs and terrorists—people who didn't even know how to talk to the masses of people, people who had already written off the masses of people, who had adopted the very ideology that the ruling class based itself on, and promoted, inculcated and indoctrinated into the masses of people. They thought that we were going to follow their very ideology. They thought that we were going to agree with them, that the masses of people were too stupid to care about, too selfish to be concerned about, and totally incapable of grasping the issues that were represented and concentrated in that revolutionary stand of that demonstration on January 29th, 1979, and the whole overall revolutionary stand and work of our Party. They thought we were going to fight them with their very ideology. They thought that we were going to be convinced or that we were already convinced that we were badder motherfuckers than Superman. They thought that we were convinced that we could go up in their face all by ourselves, not concerned about, not going out and not standing on the strength of the conscious action and struggle of the masses of people. They thought we would attempt to go straight up against them in a wild, maniacal, fanatical and isolated way, that we would try to deal with them all by ourselves.

They thought that they would rip off a hunk of the RCP—looking to the future, looking to what they have in store, the misery and oppression that they're going to bring down even more on the masses of people in this country and what they are going to unleash throughout the whole world. They thought that they were going to sit down in preparation for that, in preparation for devouring the masses of people in this country and around the world like a piece of meat. They thought that they were going to sit down and have themselves a nice appetizer before the main course. They thought that they'd bite off a little piece of the Revolutionary Communist Party, they would chew it up finely and with nice etiquette and manners, through their nice legal system they would chew it up, swallow it down

and devour it, and that would be that. But what did they find out? The more they chewed, the more they gagged and right now they had to throw it back up! Because they couldn't deal with our Party that way. And the reason that they couldn't deal with our Party that way, is because we weren't what they thought we were. We weren't a handful of fanatics, an isolated sect of maniacs or terrorists who didn't give a damn about, who didn't stand with, who didn't go out to and rely on and mobilize the masses of people. We were just the opposite.

Yeah, they thought that they were going to sit down and chew up the RCP and swallow it down, and then proceed to devour the masses of people like a piece of meat and chew them to bits in the next period ahead. They know very heavy things are on the horizon. They know it, as much as they try to lie about it. At the same time they have to let some of it out in order to try to whip up a social base of support for them. Even while they're preparing financially, even while they're preparing militarily, they have to try to whip up and prepare the people and public opinion. They have to prepare people's thinking and regiment people for the very things they have in store. It means *not only* bringing the ax down across the people's necks even more viciously. It means *not only* bringing the whip across the people's backs even more desperately. It means *war* in order to try to save themselves and come out on top once again and reorganize as much of the world as they can under their control in order to prolong their dog-eat-dog, deathbound system.

They thought and they know. They *thought* they could devour the RCP, but they *know* they have to chew up the masses of people in the period ahead. And what they put us through—what they put the masses of people through in this country, living in this hell-hole day in and day out, is nothing compared to what they in fact do have in store for us and for people all throughout the world in the next period ahead. In this past period they have been able, for a time, owing to their position coming out of World War 2, to stride across large parts of the world under their domination, unchallenged and unrivaled by anyone among their fellow imperialist gangsters. While they suffered some major defeats at the hands of the people internationally, still, though battered by the struggle inside and outside the country, they have in the main been able to hold it back and hold it off. They were even able to engineer coups in various countries to disrupt revolutionary movements, to induce revolutionary leaders to give up the revolutionary cause here and even in other parts of the world. They work hand in hand with and give their backing to reactionaries even in the face of tremendous storms of revolutionary uprising in various parts of the world and, especially in the 1960s, right in this country.

But this isn't their position any longer and they know it very well. You see, when they're talking to themselves and when they're talking to those people they think are safe, they let a lot of the *real* deal, a lot of the *real* shit they got in mind and that they're cooking up come out. If you read their newspapers and their magazines, like the *Wall Street Journal* and

Fortune magazine and the rest, where they talk among themselves, they let a lot of the real truth come out. That's where they talk about the facts—that they know there's deep crisis on the horizon and they've got no solution to it other than to go to war. And the key thing even in their economic policies is to manipulate and to maneuver and to tighten up their bloc in preparation for World War 3. Among themselves and among their allies in Europe, Japan and other parts of the world—that's where they talk about the fact that even in *this* country, *not only* in other parts of the world, they are more and more worried about the fact that there may be even greater revolutionary struggle in the decade ahead. The *Wall Street Journal* had an article not too long ago where all these various businessmen stood around and speculated and moaned that there very likely might be an attempt at revolution in this country in the next five or six years. See, that's the way they talk among themselves.

The Hope of a Way Out

Of course, they don't want you to know that. They don't want the masses of people out here to know that—the people who are suffering under the misery of this system every day, who have suffered a whole lifetime and who have a deep hatred for this, but don't yet see that there's a possibility for revolution and there is a leadership to guide people in revolution. They don't want to awaken those people to that reality, because right outside this building and all up and down the streets of the ghettos of D.C. and throughout the country, right today, there are not just hundreds, there are not just thousands, there are millions of people who, if and when they see the chance to come forward and join in a revolutionary upsurge, and particularly one they see has a chance of going all the way to victory, will jump at the chance right now. But these same people are out here today, drinking wine, shooting dope, sitting in front of the television with a glazed look across their face, trying to survive for the next day—getting ready to go to work if they can get a goddamn job. And many of them, when they're approached at first about the question of revolution, have buried the hope of ever seeing a way out of all this so deep—it's so painful to raise up that hope only to see it dashed once again—that many people don't even want to hear about it, don't even want to talk about it the first or the second or even the third time you go out and talk to them.

I remember something that George Jackson wrote about his father shortly before he (George) was killed. He sat down and had a serious talk with his father, for the first time in his life, about where he was coming from and why he was totally dedicated to revolution—why that was the only way forward. He went through the history of the suffering, not only of their own family but the history of Black people and other oppressed people here and around the world. And he said the thing that came across him—the thing that he recognized when talking to his father was that this was a serious challenge for his father to actually recognize the truth and the reality of what George Jackson was saying. Because his father

couldn't deny the reality of it. He couldn't deny the righteousness of it. He just said, "Yeah, but what can you do, they're too powerful." What George Jackson commented, I think, is something we can learn from—he said (to paraphrase): "It struck me, right in the gut. Right then I realized that for my father to not only say in the abstract that it was righteous and that I was correct and that it would be a good idea, but to actually awaken to the necessity to become part of working and struggling to bring this about—for him to do that—would pose a serious challenge to his whole life." It would cause him either, once he recognized the need for revolution and the possibility of revolution, to have to become committed to it and put himself all the way into the struggle for it, or else to have to cover it up and rationalize everything that his whole life and all the misery he had gone through had ever been about. And that's what millions of people out here are still doing right now. People who, just like the rest of us, have absolutely nothing, no stake under this system, nothing to preserve or protect by fighting for these motherfuckers or going along with their system and all the misery they put us through every day. People who have absolutely nothing to gain from holding on to any part of this system, and, as Marx did say, and is true in some ways even more so now than it was then, "nothing to lose but their chains."

But people who don't yet understand, don't yet see, don't have a scientific view, haven't yet grasped the revolutionary line that we're talking about, therefore can only look at the temporary—the temporary remaining reserves, maneuvering room and strength of the enemy. They can only conclude that the enemy is too powerful, that nothing can be done, that you can't go up against them and defeat them, that even if you beat them back here they'll come back with twice as much force and crush you the next day. And this is the rationalization that millions of people still have—millions of people who still have a thirst that has not yet been quenched, to rise up and move beyond all this. For millions of such people, every day the ruling class is pumping their heads full of the lies and propaganda that tear people's dreams apart—the lies and propaganda that are the most vicious and cruel blow of all. On top of all the oppression, on top of all the misery that they grind people through everyday, they put out vicious lies that when all is said and done *it's your own goddamn fault*, or it's your father's fault, or it's your mother's fault, because they didn't do what they were supposed to have done to give you a better kind of life. Or you didn't do what a man is supposed to do or what a mother is supposed to do to provide for your kids and your family and make a better life. Through all the lying propaganda from the media to the church to the schools and everything else, people are still believing that, when all is said and done, the cause and the reason for all the misery that they've gone through is their own selves and their own failures, their own inability to be somebody.

And all the lying pimps from Jesse Jackson down to all the rest try to cover up the reality of this system. They try to give people a little consolation for all the misery they have to go through and they get out and lead

people in these chants that don't do a damn thing but get people even more miserable. They tell people, "You may be poor, you may be Black, you may be miserable, you may be on welfare, but you are *somebody*." This is a goddamn lie and more than that it's vicious poison. Yeah, you're somebody, and let's face exactly what we are under this system—the somebodies we are—millions and millions of *slaves*. And if we're going to change reality we have to recognize and we have to analyze it ruthlessly and cold-heartedly. Now sometimes people say, "That's what I don't like about you communists—you're cold-blooded, you're cold-hearted. You don't care about the misery and suffering of the masses of people. You don't want to see them have any kind of consolation for the pain and agony they have to go through every day. You're not concerned about easing the pain, you're just cold, calculating, cold-blooded and cold-hearted." That's a GODDAMN LIE! Nobody understands better than the enslaved class in this country and the enslaved class throughout the world, and its vanguard leadership, Nobody has a deeper hatred, and a more conscious understanding and a more burning desire to rid the masses of people here and throughout the whole world of the agony, the pain and the misery and the degradation and humiliation that hundreds of millions of people still are forced to endure at the hands of these bloodsucking beasts who call themselves lords and statesmen and ministers and propaganda heads and all the rest of it.

No Consolation

But you see, the thing that distinguishes us from the social workers, the thing that distinguishes us from the bleeding-heart liberals and the missionaries, the kindly condescending saviors, and most of all from the leering, lying, hypocritical enforcers of this system and their political representatives, is that we're conscious of the fact that we don't have to go on living any longer in this misery and this pain and this agony. That it's time and long since time that we can rise up together with our brothers and sisters, oppressed and working-class people all over the world, and move society and move the whole world beyond this. And more than that, because we understand that, we're not *interested* and we're not going to promote among the people any *notion* of consolation! We're not dope peddlers! We're not pimps and hustlers trying to give the people some ease for their pain only to have it come back twice as bad tomorrow, or lying to them about some easy cut-rate way to get out from underneath all this, or saying that if they just repeat to themselves often enough, no matter what hell they're put through, no matter how they're degraded and oppressed, exploited and humiliated—if they just keep repeating over and over again—I am *somebody*, that somehow this is going to make it all better!

You see, the fundamental thing that distinguishes a class-conscious worker, a class-conscious member of the enslaved class in this society, from the rest of the people in that class, is not that they're brighter, not that they're heavier, not that they're deeper, not that they're supermen

while the others are regular men or women. That distinction is not a distinction that we want to maintain, it's a distinction that we want to break down and overcome by consciously arming the masses of people with the understanding that we have, with the understanding that we have been able to gain, when we take up and wield and study and apply this weapon, this scientific weapon of Marxism. The understanding is that we're on the threshold of history. The whole struggle of mankind, going back thousands and millions of years through various and successive stages of society, has brought us to the threshold where the suffering, degradation, misery, hunger, cold, and the pain of the masses of people no longer have any justification and no longer need go on once we've risen up and removed, through the revolutionary overthrow, the last remaining obstacles of the capitalist system and its enforcers and its dictatorship over the people. No! We don't want any consolation! The class-conscious slave does not want consolation for his or her enslaved condition! The class-conscious slave and the stand of our Party and of communists throughout the world, of vanguard parties in every part of this globe—the *class-conscious slave does not want consolation for his or her enslavement. The class-conscious slave wants to unite with the masses of slaves and rise up and bury slavery once and for all so we don't need any goddamn consolation!* We're not interested in consolation for our misery—we're only concerned with, and determined to bring about, the end of our misery by ending the system which alone is responsible for and enforces and maintains it!

And sometimes people say, "Damn, you guys talk about crisis. You talk about all these heavy things coming up in the decade ahead. You talk about what people can be put through, and you almost sound *happy*. Don't you care about the fact that people are going to suffer more? Again, you're cold-hearted and cold-blooded. When you're talking about economic crisis you're talking about people being thrown out of work. You're talking about people's hunger increasing. You're talking about people on the verge of starvation, they're being shoved literally into starvation conditions. When you're talking about war you're talking about tremendous destruction and massive suffering for people not just here but throughout the whole world. And yet somehow you almost look forward to this with anticipation. You almost seem glad when you talk about this." And let's understand this, you see what distinguishes us—and it is not something we want to keep as a distinction, it's something we want to break down and overcome—is that we understand that because of the very workings of this system and as long as we live under it, there is going to be crisis and war, perhaps temporary recovery, a few crumbs, and then worse crisis and more devastating and destructive war, until we finally rise up, break through this, overthrow it and bury it once and for all. We understand that this system holds and can hold *nothing*, nothing at all over any period of time, but ever greater misery and oppression, devastation and destruction for not just people here but people throughout the world!

And yeah, I'll put it this way—and most of you all can judge from your

own experience. I'm sure all of you—when you've got a really bad stomach ache, when you're sick to your stomach, when you're so nauseated you can't stand up and you're dizzy, when all this is churning inside your stomach and when the nausea is dragging you down—*goddamn right, you're waiting for the time when you can throw up! And we're living under this system that makes us sick to our stomach. We're sick and tired of living in it and we're waiting for the time when we can throw it all up! We want to throw it all up once and for all!*

And when you're sick to your stomach, you know when the time comes, you can recognize (there are certain laws to this thing) that you ain't going to get no better till you throw up! I don't care what you do—Pepto Bismol, all the rest of it ain't going to do a thing! You're just going to have to go and throw it up, even though it's violent, even though you retch, even though it's painful. You're going to feel better when you've done all that retching and violence and got done what needs to be done! Some of these people say, "Oh, you talk so *nasty*. How can people like *that* run a country?" Well, I'm going to tell you, we just talk like all the rest of the masses of people talk and the time's going to come when all these nasty-talking people out there are going to run the whole goddamn world! And we're not going to talk nice and polite the way you tell us to talk. We're going to talk the way it actually is and the way we feel about it. But it's going to be *scientific* and that's what's going to *really* drive you crazy. But just to get right down on the ground with it, just to carry this out a little further—the role of our Party is precisely to stick the finger down the throat so that we can throw up all the sooner and get done what has to be done!

You see, if there wasn't something fundamentally wrong, if the whole thing wasn't fundamentally sick, if it wasn't incurable except to get rid of it and throw it all up, masses of people wouldn't unite with us. They would say, "*Motherfucker, get your finger out of my throat!*" But when people begin to understand that this sickness ain't going to go away, it's not going to get cured, except we've got to rise up and do what has to be done, then they begin to understand that anybody that helps accelerate it, that's who you've got to look to for your leadership—people that can explain it to you. Not because they're geniuses, not because they're supermen or superwomen, but because they have grasped and have an understanding of where the world is going anyway and can enable you to come forward and consciously struggle to accelerate that process and hasten the time when we can bury this system and all the suffering it brings to the people.

Nobody has to tell us, nobody has to tell the enslaved class and the oppressed people and most of all the vanguard, the class-conscious section of that enslaved class, nobody has to tell us about the suffering this system brings down on the masses of people. And we're *tired*, we're sick and tired, and sick and tired of being sick and tired, hearing all these goddamn woeful moaning people out here talking about how *miserable* we are. We know that! Doesn't anybody have to tell us that!

Unity and Struggle

Of course, we know some people are well intentioned, we know some people come from a genuine concern to alleviate the suffering of the masses of people and to help people improve their conditions. And we'll unite with people who take a genuine stand and we have united in this particular battle. We'll continue to unite more and more broadly with all different forces in society who take a genuine stand in struggling against the oppressor of people and joining with them to fight back against their oppressors. But at the same time, one thing I'm going to say, and the stand of our Party is clear on this. I'm going to just give a warning to all these liberals, all these other people who agree with us up to a point and don't agree with us all the way. I'm going to give you a friendly warning, we're going to unite with you and we're going to seek a broader and broader basis to unite, but we're also going to struggle with you. We're not going to leave it at that, we're going to struggle with you. We're going to argue. We're going to debate, we're going to bring the questions out into the light of day. We're going to struggle, argue and debate about what is the only way to solve all this.

Because what unites us and what enables us to unite broadly is that we share a common desire to see the world rid of all this madness, to see the world rid of the suffering of the great majority of people, to see humanity be able to rise above and advance to far higher things than this. And we can unite on that. And we can unite in particular battles when we fight towards that aim, but at the same time we can never stop struggling about what is the final answer to this. What do we have to build our struggle to? What is the only solution to all this? And it's very healthy, it's very positive that we not only unite, but at the same time and in order to develop and broaden and deepen that unity that we also continuously struggle and argue and debate about what context this unity is taking place in, what is the larger picture of the struggle, and what is the ultimate solution to the very outrages that we seek to eliminate and that we're uniting to fight back against.

And that's been the very process that's gone on in this battle we've waged around Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants and Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian. It's been a question of unity and struggle, it's been a question of breaking through a lot of barriers that our enemy and his agents within our ranks, within our movement, have tried to erect to keep us from being able to unite broadly and at the same time to maintain a clear and uncompromising revolutionary stand.

The Demonstration Against Deng Xiaoping

You see, I want to return to what I touched on earlier. I want to go into it a little bit more. The ruling class in this country couldn't believe that people could be concerned about something, as they say, so remote as China, and all the lessons and all the questions that were raised about what had happened in China and the necessity to take a stand around that.

Again, I went out and talked to these media people—I think we should use them for negative example because that's what most of them are good for. Go out and talk to these media people and they say, "Listen, *what do you care* about China for, why are you so concerned and worked up about China—why don't you worry about the U.S.?" And then they get on down and try to make it even more narrow than that: "Why don't you worry about the State you live in, the area you live in, the town you live in, the block you live on, and maybe the snow in front of your sidewalk?" This is the outlook of our enemy again—that you should only be concerned in the narrowest possible way with your own immediate, selfish and self-centered interests. What could the people who lined the streets of Washington, D.C. that night, January 29, 1979—the people who live under the hellish conditions of this system—what could they care about Deng Xiaoping, about Mao Tsetung? What do they care about the demonstration out there of 500 disciplined, militant revolutionaries going right up in the face of all that?

Well you see, the ruling class never thought to ask them because it doesn't care and it doesn't even figure that into its calculations. But we were out among them both selling our paper, talking to them, discussing with them what the demonstration was about, and also listening to them as they brought forward and deepened our understanding of the conditions right here in Washington, D.C. and the suffering of the people right here in this country and how they saw—yes, how *they* saw—the connection between that and what had gone on in China, what Mao Tsetung represented, and what the miserable sniveling dog Deng Xiaoping stood for. Much as the ruling class fears it for sure, much as they may want to deny it, as much as they despise it—and whether they want to believe it or not, hundreds and hundreds of people lined the streets. Hundreds of the people they say are too dumb, ignorant, foolish and unconcerned to know anything about it, were talking to us and voicing their opinions about what had happened in China and what the importance was for us here and for people around the world.

And I'm going to tell you right now, hundreds and hundreds of people knew what Deng Xiaoping represented. In a basic way they knew that a revolutionary beacon was being snuffed out, if only temporarily, in China. They knew that the great advance of the Chinese people and the inspiration they and people all over the world had drawn from that, and from the leadership of Mao Tsetung, was being reversed and trampled into the dust by the likes of Deng Xiaoping. And beyond them, thousands of people—almost everyone out in the streets that day—knew who Mao Tsetung was, and what he stood for. And there was basically a third group of people among them. Those who hadn't followed China. Maybe they had heard of Mao. Certainly, they had not heard of Deng Xiaoping. But there's one thing they did know, one thing they responded to, and one thing we the oppressed and working class always respond to. They saw a disciplined, militant, powerful march of 500 people going down the street in unison chanting and delivering a clear political message, and they saw twice that

number of pigs surrounding the march. And all of them to a man and woman said, "Goddamn, something motherfucking heavy must be going on here. I'd better check it out!"

People in D.C. have seen demonstrations come and go. They see them all the time, and many times they sympathize, support, and sometimes unite with these various demonstrations. But they also knew that what was going on that day was different. Something stood out about this particular demonstration. It had a clear political direction and purpose and it was talking about the one thing that the ruling class of this country can never allow to be talked about and never can allow to be spread among the broadest masses of the people, and that's revolution. They heard those chants just as the ruling class did, "Mao Tsetung Did Not Fail—Revolution Will Prevail!" They read in the leaflets and in the newspaper our analysis of what happened in China and what its importance was for the working class and oppressed people all throughout the world, including in this country.

Our Enemy Knew What Mao Tsetung Represented

You see, the ruling class itself—again dimly, in its own twisted and perverted upside down, inside out way—understood the importance of what Mao Tsetung represented to the people in this country and around the world. They understood it—if not scientifically, they had a very clear sense of it. They knew that Mao Tsetung was an implacable, unbending, uncompromising enemy of everything they stand for. And they knew that the masses of oppressed people, millions and millions and millions all throughout the world, recognized him and looked to him. At least they have to calculate on their adding machines and compute with their computers and they knew the fact, however much it may outrage them, that the Little Red Book of Mao Tsetung's quotations was being more widely read in the late 1960s than their old Christian bible.

They knew what Mao Tsetung represented. In fact if you watched David Frost interviewing Henry Kissinger, it's very clear that especially the most politically aware, the most politically calculating representatives of the ruling class, knew very well who Mao Tsetung was, what he represented to people all over the world, and what the different forces in the Chinese Communist Party leadership stood for, and how they were opposed to each other. Kissinger was very interesting. We can learn something from our enemy and we always should. If we're going to defeat them, we're going to have to learn from them too in order to be able to fight them more effectively. Kissinger got on TV and David Frost was asking him to comment on different people in the world. He got around to Brezhnev and I don't remember exactly what he said, but it was clear that he regarded him basically the same as Rockefeller. And Frost asked him about Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) in China, who as we know was an arch-enemy of Mao Tsetung, especially in the decisive battles toward the end of Mao's life; and Kissinger knew it too. "Zhou Enlai," Frost said, "what did you think about him—what was your impression of him?" Kissinger said, "The most

intelligent man that I've ever met." But he didn't say a goddamn thing about him being a revolutionary. Then he said, "Mao Tsetung—what did you think about him?" Kissinger said, "The most visionary man that I ever met and thoroughly intoxicated with revolution!"

See, they knew very well what Mao Tsetung represented, and they knew that people all over this country during the 1960s did too. I remember speaking at a Black Panther rally to free Huey Newton when he deserved to be freed back in the 1960s. I remember in front of the Federal Building a rally of 10,000 people, half Black and the rest of them white, Puerto Rican, Latin American, Chicano, Native American and Asian—all different races and nationalities, men and women out in front of the Federal Building with the FBI offices right across the Plaza. And one of the Panther members got up and held up the Red Book of Mao Tsetung's quotations in front of the crowd and said, "Is this the answer? Is this the guide that we need to lead us to our liberation? Everybody that thinks so raise up your Red Book." And at least 5,000 Red Books went up in the air.

They know very goddamn well what Mao Tsetung means to the masses of people around the world. Oppressors must have a sense of this, especially when they've reached the very verge and very threshold of their extinction, and are fighting desperately to prevent that. They have to and do have the basic understanding, not a scientific understanding, but a dim but still fundamental understanding of who their basic enemies are and who they have to move against and who they have to try to divide from the masses of people to prevent the masses of people from rallying behind their banner. And the masses of people in the streets of Washington, D.C., the overwhelming majority of them, knew what Mao Tsetung represented, and that is exactly why some of them joined the march. Others, in fact the majority of them, raised clenched fists and many of them joined in the chants of that march, because they understood that what was being done that day was in their interest, and that they had a vital stake in what was happening in China as well as what was happening right around the corner at the White House.

Why They Brought Deng Xiaoping Here

Let's step back a second and look at this and sum it up. What did the ruling class in this country have in mind when they brought Deng Xiaoping over here? Now I've said this at several speeches on this tour. They probably had a fair amount of curiosity. If they had time to waste—which they don't because they are running scared—they probably would have liked to have done an inquiry, maybe a questionnaire or survey with Deng Xiaoping along these lines: "Listen, we've always been curious, we've always wanted to know, how have you managed to develop this art of bootlicking to such a fine touch? What kind of boot polish do you prefer the most? Do you like that black stuff or do you like that brown polish or some of that stuff you put on suede? And did you wear belly pads when you came crawling over here? How did you manage to keep yourself from being all scuffed up when you got over here?"

They might have liked to indulge themselves in all that kind of idle

chatter, but they had more serious purposes. One thing that they had clearly in mind to do, one thing they were determined to do, and one of their main purposes in bringing Deng Xiaoping over here was to hold him up and not only wave him in the face of the masses of people here and around the world, but *smack* us in the face with him and all that he represents—the reversal and betrayal of the greatest revolutionary advance that history has yet seen, in China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung. They held him up and slapped us in the face with this Deng Xiaoping. They said, "Listen, and listen good, all of you who are under our boot, over whom we crack our whip every day, and on whose neck we bring down our ax. All of you who have ever hoped, dreamed, thought, aspired or had a vision of a brighter future of rising up and doing away with all this, give it up! Forget about it! It's hopeless! It's useless, you'll only be crushed and defeated in the end anyway. Here is your revolutionary China! Here is the beacon and inspiration which you looked to and drew lessons from for decades under the leadership of Mao Tsetung. Look where it is now and give up! People like us and our flunkys, we're too powerful, we've got too much going for us, you can never win out! In the end even if you advance for a while even to great heights from your point of view, sooner or later and not too much later we'll bring you crashing down, and bring puppets like this and exploiters like this in the place of revolutionaries to once more cast you into the hell and suffering of this system."

This is a very clear message that they wanted to deliver and were determined to deliver. And would our Party have any right to call itself a revolutionary organization, let alone the vanguard party of the working class, the enslaved class and the oppressed people in this society? Would we in any way be fulfilling our duty as revolutionaries, not just to our class and the oppressed people in this country but to our whole international proletariat and the oppressed people throughout the world? Would we have any right to say that we uphold the banner of revolution and we are carrying forward the standard of our class together with our class and oppressed people throughout the world? Would we have any basis for calling ourselves revolutionaries, if we didn't go right up in the face of that and say: "You may *think* that you have buried revolution once and for all. You may think that the revolution is over and done with, but the message being delivered here today is that not only around the world, not only in the outlying regions where you attempt to carry out and maintain your plunder, but right here within the heartland of your own empire, right here where your very exploitation is grounded and has its home base, right here within the belly of your beastlike system, the masses of people and conscious revolutionaries are rising up to say that you will *never* bury revolution. Revolution is alive right here in the streets of Washington, D.C. and will, in the future, be a growing, developing, ever more powerful force to spread among the masses of people in this country in unity with people all over the world, and revolution will rise up and bury you before long."

Boom! Up Came Iran

We're going to come back to that a little bit more because if we're going to get into this deeply, we've got to understand all these things. But I want to say something about this goddamn bullshit they're raising up around Iran—about all these reactionary jackals they've got 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.

One thing that we can never forget is that at the very same time the rulers of this country were attempting to tell people here and all over the world, that revolution was dead and buried because of what happened in China—boom, up came Iran. At that very time, all of Iran was seething in a revolutionary upsurge of 30 and 35 million people, striking a tremendous blow against these bloodsuckers and all their lying propaganda, and *we will never forget that!* The masses of people, the revolutionaries, the working class and the oppressed people in this society owe a great debt and a great thanks to the Iranian people which we will repay, I am sure, in a way that they want us to. That means by joining with them to make revolution here and support it all over the world.

Now in connection with our effort to beat back the current attack on our Party, some people out of good intentions, as well as some out of bad, have raised, "Well, this Iran thing is kind of hot, you know. There may be some people who support you but if you raise this Iran thing there's a lot of controversy, a lot of people don't understand it, a lot of people are being dragged along with a lot of this backward bullshit and maybe it would be better if you kind of cooled out your stand on Iran right now. Maybe it would be better if you didn't bring this up and stand firmly with the Iranian people now." There's some people, from a well-intentioned position, who are falling into the pragmatic error of looking narrowly, looking only in the most narrow and separate ways at different struggles of people, not seeing the common thread that runs through them and not seeing the common enemy we have to go up against. They're falling into the trap of the enemy's thinking and not understanding that the masses of people in this country can be won over to the correct understanding of the heroic role of the Iranian people's struggle and can be won to stand firmly in unity with them.

I'm going to say one thing to the ruling class of this country and to anyone who, out of bad intentions and in order to serve them, is trying to tell our Party, through intimidation or any other method, that we should

not stand with the masses of Iranian people. I'm going to say one thing to anyone like that, trying to tell me that in response to the need to carry forward this battle to stop this railroad and to beat back these attacks on our Party, trying to tell me or trying to tell us that we should not stand shoulder to shoulder with the Iranian people in this country as well as in Iran: If anybody thinks that, they can *kiss my ass*.

I'm going to tell you something. If our Party didn't take the stand that it took in complete solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people; if we became narrow and selfishly concerned only about our own Party and the immediate battles we're involved in or narrowly concerned with the situation of the people in this country; if we began to view the struggle we're involved in narrowly only from the standpoint of the immediate effect of things on the people in this country; if we didn't raise up the banner of our class, the international working class' stand on its whole world view of proletarian internationalism, of standing with and supporting, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the working class and oppressed people in every part of the world, especially, most especially where they rise up and deliver powerful blows against the very enemies that are crushing and degrading us here as well as people all around the world; if our Party took that kind of stand and if we did not stand completely and wholeheartedly with the people of the whole world and if we did not go out and struggle and bring forward the masses of people to take that stand, our Party wouldn't be worth a damn and I wouldn't be worth defending.

Going Against the Tide

I want to tell you something else. I remember 15 years ago when people, including myself, were beginning to become aware of what was really going on in Vietnam. We were going out to start trying to struggle with people and educate them about what was really going on in Vietnam. And, by the way, those who were involved remember or should remember and those of you who are new should know that it wasn't all the way it was in 1969 and 1970 when you had marches of a couple of million people against the Vietnam war. Back in 1963, '64 and '65 when 5 or 10 or 20,000 people went out to march and demonstrate against the war in Vietnam, people came out there and raised a lot of the same reactionary racist chauvinist horseshit that's being raised right now. They'd say "God damn traitors." They'd take the American flag and wave it in your face and say, "Kiss this." And you had to tell them what they could kiss in return.

They'd call you traitor, they'd throw oranges at you, garbage at you. They'd spit at you—every other thing that is going on right now. And we saw that we were able to win millions because it did correspond to the actual fundamental interests of the masses of people in this country. And if we didn't win them, on one level or another, we influenced the great majority of people to have a better understanding of the Vietnam war. And on that basis many stood clearly in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle. And the same thing is going to happen around Iran and every

other place where the vicious imperialists attempt to carry out their oppression and exploitation.

I remember in those days, 15 years ago, when we were first taking up the question of Vietnam and taking it out to the students and taking it off campus and into the communities to the masses of people in this country. I remember when that was an unpopular position. I remember, when you got up to speak, the same thing that's happening now was happening then. Here come all these silly little frat rats and all these jocks and all the rest of them running up there with the American flag trying to act all big and bad and everything else. And often times, and whatever else happened, one thing you could count on was that if there was a group of Iranian students on that campus, if nobody on the entire campus stood with you and stood up in the face of those reactionaries and stood squarely with the Vietnamese people in the struggle against imperialism all around the world, the Iranian students did and we will never forget that.

There is nothing they can do to make us forget that or make us forget our duty to the whole international working class, to our class brothers and sisters and the oppressed people throughout the world. If they think that we are going to stand by and watch them whip up this reactionary chauvinist hysteria, all these neanderthal clowns coming out from under their rocks in various parts of the country—CIA agents, FBI agents posing as normal people; if they think that we are going to stand by, while they try to initiate these pogroms against the Iranian people, try to institute this persecution of the Iranian students here, try to force them all to come under even more vicious repression at the hands of the state and the imperialist ruling class that put the Shah into power in the first place; if they think for a minute that we are going to stand by and let this happen they got another think coming. They can kiss my ass once again because it's never going to happen.

I was listening to one of these call-in shows. This is the way they try to set it up and this is the role these media prostitutes and hired prize fighters play. These talk show hosts seem to be in a contest to see who can be the most reactionary and the most ridiculous, with a few exceptions. One of them got on right here in D.C., and he said, "Now listen, I'm not advocating any violence against anybody, but maybe we should learn from what Israel does." And the simple fact is that the imperialists created Israel at the cost of the Palestinian people's suffering in their millions in the first place and keep Israel alive right today. Who are they talking about, and since when did the puppet ever teach the master?

But this radio guy is talking about we should learn from Israel. "I'm just raising the question now," he said. "I'm not advocating violence or anything, but I'm just raising the question that maybe when hostages are taken we should adopt the policy that Israel does and we will not negotiate with people who have taken hostages or engage in terrorist acts." Terrorist acts! Here you have 35 million people in Iran committing "terrorist acts." The most beautiful "terrorist act" that I've ever seen! And so he said, "Listen, I'm not advocating violence but what do you

think? Call in and tell me what you think. When this situation arises should we maybe move to a different policy of not even negotiating but just saying that if one hair on one head of an American is harmed we will retaliate with ruthless violence? We will meet violence with violence and not negotiate with bandits and terrorists and hostage takers? I'm not advocating violence, but why don't you call and let me know what you think."

In the face of all this a woman called up and said, "Wait a minute, we have to back up and see what you're not dealing with," and she had a lot of misunderstandings and confusion about it but she got a few basic facts right and that was too much for this dog. She said, "Now just a minute. The problem that you are not dealing with and not discussing is that the United States government put in the Shah of Iran and kept him in power for all these years, and now the Iranian people want to get ahold of him." He said, "Well, I'm not talking about that, and again I'm not advocating violence. I'm just discussing the question that when hostages are taken, whether or not we should adopt the policy of not negotiating, but meeting violence with more violence."

In other words, he just ruled her right out of order. He said the point she was raising was out of order. In fact it was the only reality that was touched on in the whole call-in show up to that point. But it was irrelevant; he didn't want to talk about it, he wanted to begin after all *that* happened. And he didn't want to talk about it from the standpoint of the Iranian people, he wanted to talk about it from the standpoint of the American ruling class.

Our Embassy?

A lot of people out here are confused and say, "Listen, I don't like the Shah but, hey, we can't let people do that to *our* embassy." To hell with that. I want to say for myself, and you all can speak for yourselves, I don't have *no goddamn embassy*. It's not *my* embassy. It's not *your* embassy. It doesn't belong to the working class and oppressed people in this country. It belongs to the imperialist ruling class. And more than that, I'll say beyond that, we don't even have a goddamn *country*. We just happen to live here, that's all. This happens to be the place where they are enslaving and oppressing us. That's the only thing about it. It's not *our* country, we just happen to live here.

I remember when we were in jail in Washington, D.C. Can you imagine how foolish and ridiculous any prisoner would be to follow a guard who came running in and started passing out guns and said, "Hey! Everybody come out here and take these guns, somebody is invading our jail." Well every right-minded prisoner, and the great majority, except for a few fools and people who just got so used to lickspittle they couldn't give it up, would know what to do with those guns. They'd say, "What the hell do you mean *our* jail. We're *here* but it ain't *ours*. What the hell."

This is not our country. And that ain't our embassy. We happen to live in the homeland of these imperialists, directly under their boot. And, yes,

we have to make revolution in this country, but not just for ourselves and not just with our heads down and our vision narrow. We have to make revolution in unity with and together with and for the cause of the whole international working class and oppressed people around the world. And in fact one of the greatest reasons that we have to step up our work for revolution and seize hold of every opportunity to advance toward and then make revolution is not only and not mainly what it will mean for us here in this country. But more than that, much more fundamentally important than that is what it will mean for the working class and oppressed people, for our class all over the world, when we strike down this bloodthirsty monster that's not only oppressing us but preying on and squeezing the life out of people all over the world.

It is not our goddamn embassy, so don't worry about it. They're not going to let you have anything to do with it any way. And if anybody really thinks that they are concerned about 60 or so American soldiers and other people in Iran—does anybody really believe that? They will snuff your life out in a second. You are nothing but a slave to them, nothing but a piece of machinery, nothing but something to be used.

They just brought the Shah to the U.S. for "treatment," so they say. I don't know if the Shah has cancer or not. The only reason I hope he doesn't is because I think he should be sent back to Iran for the Iranian people to deal the death blow to him. But other than that, let's say the Shah did have cancer. Now, what about you and me and the oppressed people all around the world? The most they would do with us if we had cancer, if they ever let us into a hospital, they would use us for a guinea pig. That's all they think about us. That's all we are to them is things to use up, experiment on and shoot out of the end of a gun like a bullet when it's time for them to drag us off to war.

Do you think that after what they did in Vietnam to the Vietnamese people and the way in which they turned the American troops out there to commit the most despicable and treacherous acts, the most bloodthirsty acts against the Vietnamese people, and at the same time cynically used those American troops and didn't give a damn about how many of them were killed or maimed or came back with their lives ruined or their future over, under this system at least. Do you think they give a damn? Everybody that's been through this *knows* they don't give a damn. They don't give a damn about the lives of their slaves in this country or any other.

Yes, in a sense it is true that those people in that embassy are being held hostage, but the people holding them hostage when you get down to the real deal and the fundamental question are the bloodthirsty imperialist ruling class in this country. That's who is holding them hostage, to carry out their imperialist interests and to attempt to reinstitute their bloody rule over the Iranian people—to reinstitute the bloody dictatorship of people like the Shah, if not the Shah himself, over the Iranian people.

They want to repeat what they now openly admit the CIA did back in 1953—they pulled a coup that overthrew a popularly elected government

and put the Shah in power in the first place. There is very strong evidence that they were trying to do it again before the students took over the embassy. The students turned up U.S. documents. Not only did they show the U.S. planned to bring the Shah to this country knowing it would bring a reaction in Iran, they also exposed agents of U.S. imperialism inside the Iranian government at the time. This embassy takeover was very timely. The struggle of the Iranian people it has spearheaded has disrupted these U.S. coup plans.

Think about it. I don't think you have to think too long, once you become awake and begin to have a scientific view of the world. Here you have the greatest criminals in the history of the whole world—the ruling class of this country which is responsible for the suffering and misery and the deaths of tens and hundreds of millions of people all over the world. Responsible for those they have murdered outright in their wars of plunder, those they have sent off to fight and be killed to try to preserve their system, and those that they condemn day in and day out to the slow grinding agony of suffering from starvation and disease all over the world, wherever they extend their bloody tentacles. Literally, and it's no exaggeration to say, the lives of hundreds of millions of people have been wrecked and mangled and destroyed by these greatest of all criminals in the whole history of the world. And here they have the nerve to come out before the people of this country and to come out in front of the whole world with the blood of millions and tens and hundreds of millions of people all over their hands and the blood of their victims literally dripping down their bloodthirsty fangs. 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 enforcers. 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 us," and they will fall down on their knees and beg for mercy. I got news for you. I got news for you. It's never going to happen!

An Invitation to an Education

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.

The revolution in Iran is not finished yet. The leadership and government controlled by Khomeini have to be broken through and broken beyond in order for that revolution to thoroughly destroy the stranglehold of imperialism and move on to abolish all forms of exploitation and oppression in Iran together with the oppressed people and the working class throughout the world. But the Iranian people have been aroused in struggle. They have stood up to the most vicious, murderous repression where in one weekend alone the Shah—this poor, pitiful, sick, cancerous creature—sent out his armed forces with U.S. equipment and U.S. tanks and U.S. machine guns, and in one city alone, on one weekend alone, murdered 10,000 people in cold blood. Still that could not stop the surging tide of the Iranian people's struggle. For every one that fell, 10 more came

forward to take their place, and they went forward from unarmed struggle to taking up arms and striking powerful blows to drive the Shah out, and striking tremendous blows against these imperialist bastards.

So if you think that you're just going to go on over to Iran and the people there are all going to fall down on their knees and ask to be enslaved once again, those millions of people who went into the streets and put their lives on the line and hundreds of thousands who shed their blood to advance the Iranian revolution this far only to see the chains of imperialism fastened back more tightly on them once again—you go ahead and see what happens. Because the same thing that happened in Vietnam will happen on an even broader scale. A lot of those troops that they are preparing to send over there, if they think they have to and they can, a lot of these chumps and fools that think they want to go over there and act so bad, if they do go, will find an aroused Iranian people. They will get their ass kicked and that will be the beginning of their education.

At the same time we're not just leaving it up to the Iranian people to wage the struggle. Especially living in this country, in the very belly of this beast, especially being right where they have their foundation and where they stand to reach and stretch their tentacles all over the world, our Party recognizes that the working class in this country cannot allow these reactionary dogs and deathbed clowns like George Meany and the chump Gleason in New Jersey, or even the so-called "progressive" leaders of the ILWU in the Bay Area to speak for us. They have the nerve to talk about how they represent the American working class in taking a stand with these imperialist dogs against the struggle of the Iranian people. We have to go out and educate and mobilize and arouse and bring forward the actions of thousands and tens of thousands and more of American people to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Iranian people in the common struggle against our common imperialist and reactionary enemy. And that's exactly what we're going to do and that's exactly what we're already doing, and nobody and nothing can make us back up off it.

But they're not just trying to whip up 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. Right now they are trying at one and the same time to divert the anger of the masses of people in this country at the increased suffering they are going through onto our comrades and friends and allies and brothers and sisters in other countries, and divert it away from the *real* cause of our misery and suffering which is the ruling class that preys on us and the people of Iran and all around the world.

If you listen to them talk among themselves they put it straight up.

This dude Eisenstadt, who is an advisor to Carter, recognizes the deepening economic crisis and the outpouring of deepening frustration and anger on the part of broader numbers of American people. In response to this he wrote up a memo and said straight up, in so many words, that we have to find a scapegoat for the anger of the American people so they won't look at us, and nothing could be better than pinning it all on the OPEC countries. And that's the way they are playing you and the rest of us out here for chumps.

We've got to wake up. We've got to get a scientific view of the world. We've got to begin to do what they say that we are never going to do and that is to take up the scientific outlook of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and use it to shine a light on every event in this society and around the world and see, not only what are the real features and the real conflicting class interests in the struggle in each of those particular events, but, more than that, how does it all fit together. We have to see what is the common pattern, what is the common way in which all these things stem from one source, the imperialist system that rules over us and people all around the world, and the one way in which this can finally be solved. And that's to rise up and overthrow it and move the struggle forward to finally bury it.

The One Question You Cannot Ask

In this country they teach you that there is one question you must not ask whenever they do anything and whenever they tell you to do anything. You've heard this all your life. The one question you must not ask at all costs is: "Why?" Don't ask why the Iranian people were literally up in arms about the Shah of Iran being right here! Don't look deeper than what they tell you. Don't try to understand what the Shah's coming here has to do with what the U.S. is trying to pull off in Iran and its preparations for World War 3 and what it's got in store for us and people all around the world. You must not ask the question "why?" That is a dangerous question and one that is illegitimate for a slave to ask.

When they tell you to hate, you're supposed to hate and you're supposed to hate who they tell you to hate. When they tell you to fear, you're supposed to fear and you're supposed to fear who they tell you to fear. When they tell you to worship, you're supposed to worship what they tell you to worship in the way they tell you to worship. When they tell you who's your enemy, you're supposed to get ready to fight that enemy in the way they tell you to fight that enemy. When they tell you who your friends are, you're supposed to get together with them in the way they tell you to do it. You can never ask "why," because once we begin to ask "why" and go from there to actually seeking out answers to all these questions, it's going to lead us to the one thing that can provide an answer—the revolutionary liberating science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. It's going to lead us to the inevitable conclusion that only revolution can make sense out of all this, and more than that only revolution can *change* it in a way to move things forward in the real in-

terests of the great majority of society and the masses of people.

That is precisely why they've come after our Party in the first place. That is precisely why, even though we forced them to retreat now in this particular battle [the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants—ed.], they have to step up and intensify and broaden their attacks upon our Party. They have to because of what our Party says to the masses of people, to the working class and oppressed people in this country, about every question, about every event, about every incident in society, every idea and every institution. Our Party calls on people and says the first thing you should do is to raise your head up and ask "why." Ask "why" whenever they tell you to do anything, and for that matter, ask why whenever *we* say you should do anything. Because we're not afraid of people questioning us. We're not afraid of people digging into what we have to say. We're not afraid of people criticizing us and struggling with us, because we stand on the basis of the revolutionary science that represents the interests of the masses of people. And if our grasp of that science is not complete, if our grasp of that science is wrong in this or that particular aspect, or if the way in which we're applying it doesn't correspond fully to the interests of the masses of people, then we're not afraid—in fact, we insist—that people come forward and call us out and question us and struggle with us and criticize us. That's the only way that we're ever going to be able to bring that revolutionary science to the masses of people, and for them to take it up and wield it as a weapon to win their own emancipation.

But an exploiter, an oppressor, can never stand for you to question, criticize, struggle, debate or argue with anything that he says. They can never stand for this. But our Party calls on people to ask "why" and not to stop there, but to seek out the answer, to go to this revolutionary science that we're talking about, to use it, to take it up, to struggle to learn about and apply it to every event, every institution, every idea, every struggle in society, in order to be able to grasp our real interests and fight more consciously, more united and more powerfully.

Our Party's Call

They know what they're preparing the masses of people for. They know that the economic crisis is going to get deeper and people are going to suffer more. Their attacks on people are going to intensify. They're going to stick their knives in deeper and rip out even more flesh. It's the only way they have, even in the short run, for the next period, to try to find a way out of this that preserves their top-dog position. They are preparing to unleash world war in their rivalry and their competition with their equally imperialist, equally reactionary rivals in the Soviet Union. This is what they have in store. This is what their system is going to be bringing down on the backs of the masses of people in the years ahead, in the decade ahead.

And in this situation, do you think they can tolerate, do you think they can allow, do you think they can refrain in any way to use every means

they have to attack a revolutionary party that is uncompromising, that calls things out for what they are, and more than that calls on the masses of people to step forward, grasp their real interests, and consciously fight to rise up and overthrow all this? Do you think that they can allow this when they're preparing people to go off to war, to fight and die to preserve this system with them on top, when they have to put the people through that kind of hell? Do you think they can allow a revolutionary party which says it straight up, while the bourgeoisie is whining and moaning and calling out to the American people and saying, "We're getting weaker, we're in decline, we're in danger of no longer being Number 1, we're being challenged and threatened all around the world by our Soviet rivals and by the obstreperous people all over the world—by these slaves who don't know their place from Iran to Nicaragua to Africa to Asia and every other part of the world." Do you think that they won't do everything that they can come up with to try to crush our Party that says straight up: "Yeah, you're getting weaker. Yeah, your system is decaying. Yeah, you're in decline. Yeah, you're having difficulty maintaining your Number 1 position. Yeah, you're going to have to go off and fight a world war if you can do it before we overthrow you. Yes indeed, you are in deeper crisis, you're in decline and decay, you are getting more and more desperate. Yes, all that is true. And what we're going to do, and what we're going to call on and lead the masses of people to do, is join with people all over the world to help you get even weaker. And more than that, when you get weak enough, and when we get strong enough, when you're in a deep enough crisis, and when we're educated, and united, and prepared, and organized enough, that's when we're going to come at you and do away with you once and for all!"

Do you think they can allow a party to exist and function among the masses of people that takes that firm stand? Look around you. Look at the Washington Monument and who took it over. They had to lie about it. The *Washington Star* ran a little article about the vets taking over the monument and standing in solidarity with the Iranian people. And what did the *Washington Star* say? It said, "According to police reports, none of those arrested was actually a veteran." Well, this is a lie. And why did they have to say that? Why did they have to cover that up? They didn't call us up and ask if there were any veterans. They weren't interested in the truth. They wanted to lie to the people in this country, because they know that the veterans have a wide influence among broad masses of people; that people understand that if anybody knows about what this imperialist system is about and what it does to people in other countries, the veterans know, because they were the ones who were forced to go off and do this dirty work, sometimes at the cost of their own lives, and always at the cost of the lives of the people in those other countries.

And they understand very well how dangerous it is when the very people they've used up and even shot to pieces in many cases, maimed and injured carrying out their dirty work all over the world—when these same people come back standing proud and tall, or proud and tall even in their

wheelchairs, determined to take a firm stand with the struggle of the oppressed people all over the world. They understand very well how explosive this is among the masses of American people. They understand very well the danger this presents to them. And look around. I'll tell you right now, I don't know everybody here. I don't even know most people here. But I feel safe in saying that a large number of people here are veterans of the Vietnam War, and the great majority of them are determined that the next time they shoot guns, it's going to be shooting them at the real people who need to be shot at in order to do what needs to be done and have a revolution to get beyond all this madness, which brings down suffering and war on the masses of people.

The American People On the Front Lines of World War 3

The bourgeoisie is arguing and debating, maneuvering and finagling now, trying to figure out the best way to bring back the draft. But they know they're going to war, and not just what they call a "local war," like a war of aggression against the Vietnamese people's liberation struggle in Indochina; they're preparing to go all the way down to the big deal, World War 3, and they have to do that. And if you listen carefully to your enemy and you apply the scientific method we're talking about, you can see this even in the very things they try to do to maneuver in order to fool us. Because when they temporarily decided not to reintroduce the draft up in Congress here a few months ago, those who took the lead in opposing the reinstatement of the draft were straight up about it. They said: "The people won't tolerate it. We haven't created enough public opinion. We haven't brainwashed them enough. They still have too many lessons of Vietnam fresh in their minds. We can't do it now, it'll expose our hand too early and too far."

But make no mistake about it, they are bringing back the draft. They are going to drag these youth out here, men and women, into the army, because they're going to have to throw everybody into the war machine when they go down for the whole big deal, because they understand something else that we should understand. They understand that all this "Halls of Montezuma" bullshit, and "It's a Grand Old Flag" horseshit is not going to be what's happening in the next world war. They understand that they are not going to be able to do what they did in the two previous world wars. They are not going to be able to sit back on the sidelines for most of the war, and then step in when the opposing forces have weakened themselves, and plunder and grab and loot and rape the greatest part of the whole world. They understand very well from what they've already had to do in the Dominican Republic, in Lebanon in the 1950s, in Vietnam and in 100 other places they never even told you about, that when the next world war comes they ain't going to be able to sit it out on the sidelines and let the other forces weaken themselves. Because they've got an empire that they not only need to protect, but to expand. From the very beginning they're going to need American forces and American troops right at the front lines of the battle—right in the fiery furnace and focal

point of the whole world struggle between them and their allies on one side, and the Russian imperialists and their allies on the other.

And it ain't going to be what they were able to do before—step in at the end and grab a relatively quick and easy cheap victory. Do you know that in World War 2, only about 1 or 2% of all the casualties of the Allied forces were American casualties? That's the truth of all your damn John Wayne movies and the rest of the bullshit. That's what really went down. The Soviet Union was in the forefront, the Chinese people, revolutionary people in other parts of the world, and the masses of people in many countries are the ones who shed their blood in that war, while the rulers of this country hung back and stepped in at the end when they were in a favorable position to step in and grab up all the areas that the weakened powers, even their own allies, were no longer able militarily and economically to hold onto and dominate.

And that's why, coming out of World War 2, they were able to erect the dollar in place of gold as the standard of currency by which all their allies and everybody under their domination had to make their international exchanges. They were able to make everybody else accept the dollar as being as good as gold. Think back on it—at that time, one ounce of gold was worth only \$35. \$35 would buy you an ounce of gold. Today the dollar is worth less than 10% of that. Today it takes \$400 or more to buy an ounce of gold, and that is a very stark and shining representation of the weakened and declining position of the ruling class in this country and the fact that it has to go to war. That it can do nothing other than go to war to try to preserve and resurrect a position where it can dominate most of the world and once again establish its military and economic domination.

They're not going to be able, for that very reason, to sit back. They can't let the British, or the French, or the West Germans, or the Japanese fight on the front lines for years against the Russians and their allies, and then come in at the end to clean up and expand their empire. They're going to have to throw American troops and American forces right into the front lines of this war from the very beginning. And the only thing that will stop them from doing this is revolution here in unity with people throughout the world.

Turning the Guns Around

We have to not only see the horror and the devastation of such a world war, but we have to also see the fact that as that war goes on, as all their lies and promises about the great American empire and its ability to knock down everything in its way, as all the myths and the images they've built up of these invincible American forces are shattered on the battlefield, and there is no clear and easy victory for them; that not only will there be horror and devastation—all this system can ever bring down anyway—but there will be a growing opportunity for the enslaved people here in unity with our class all over the world to rise up and finally strike them down and be rid of them once and for all.

You see, it's like that old example Malcolm X gave, talking about the

old slave days. He said, when the master's house caught on fire, there were some of the slaves—the house slaves—who had a little bit of a privileged position. They were the George Meany's of their time. Or maybe some of these people who consider themselves “the great American craftsman.” Because of the fact that when the master had a few leftovers from his table, he dribbled a few crumbs down to them, and he gave them a little piece of blanket to sleep on his floor in his kitchen; because of the fact that they got to live, eat and work in the house, as Malcolm X said, when the master's house caught on fire, they were the first ones to run up with a bucket of water, saying, “Master, master, *our* house is on fire!” But the great majority of the slaves, the people who worked and slaved and suffered in the fields, when they saw that the master's house caught on fire, they didn't run up with a bucket, saying “Master, master, *our* house is on fire”—they ran up with some straw or whatever else they could find to throw it on the fire and help it burn down all the faster!

And just to extend that a little, because you see, it's going to go beyond that. Because what's going to be happening now is not only that there's going to be a fire developing in their own house, but at the same time they're going to come running to us in their own desperation. Look what it's going to force them to do. They're going to come running to us with guns, the one thing they never want us to have. Of course, they're going to come running with uniforms and orders too, but they're going to come running to us with guns. Can you imagine if on the old plantations the master not only came running out of his house saying a fire was starting there, but saying, “There's a riding party from the plantation down the road, and they're coming here to attack and take over our plantation—here's some guns and a uniform, you got to go out and protect *our* plantation!” He would have been a fool. Any slave who understands what his condition is and what the only way is that it's going to change in a fundamental sense—that is, to rid himself and people everywhere of slavery so that no one can ever again be slapped back into a slave chain—any slave who has been awakened to that, any slave who has begun to raise his or her head and see that, is going to say: “Fuck it! Give me the gun! I'll even take the uniform. Let me see your orders. But what are you talking about, *our* plantation? Some riding party coming down to attack *our* plantation? What the hell do I care about that? *You* go off and fight them, and when you get weak enough I'll be right behind to get rid of you, and then deal with them if they want to try to come in here and do what you've been doing.”

And that's the stand that our Party has taken. You go ahead and draft, not only the young men but the young women. Excellent. You take these women, out of your own necessity. Break the chain that holds them in the kitchen as a slave in their own household. Drag them out into the larger world. Give them a gun. Put a uniform on them. Give them military training. Get them physically fit. Teach them technological and logistical skills. Don't only do that with the men, do that with all the women that you can get, too! Take every one of them and train them as well as you

know how. But you see, we understand one thing—that while they're going to be doing a lot of work for us, giving people technical skills, logistical understanding, getting them better physically fit, in shape to fight a war—that they are never going to be able to rely in the final analysis on these troops.

Now the veterans out here know what I'm talking about—and anybody who doesn't, check it out, talk to people who have been in the service. You want to know why the imperialists can't win a war? Not only is their cause unjust. Not only do they have to plunder and aggress against the people in countries all over the world. Not only do they have to get people to fight for a cause that has no purpose except to accumulate more wealth and to make possible more plunder on the part of a handful of bloodthirsty thieves and gangsters, but as a reflection and as a direct result of that, the very way in which they have to train their own troops shows you why they cannot in the final analysis defeat a revolutionary war of the masses of people, no matter what defeats and setbacks we might suffer along the way. The veterans here know what I'm talking about. How did they train you to be a fighter in their army? Their whole objective is to get you to be a blind, ignorant, unthinking, unquestioning fighting machine. That's the only thing that they *can* do. They don't dare have political discussion of a real kind and let people freely speak their minds and seek out the answers as to *who* we should be fighting and *for what*. And so the way they train their troops is to try to degrade them. They try to humiliate them. They try to knock any sense of rebelliousness out of them, any sense of questioning any kind of authority. They shout at you, "You puke, you maggot, you pussy, you mama's boy, get up. I thought you were tough. Look at this sissy over here."

Now I'm going to tell you right now. You go ahead and train your army that way, because that's the only way you can train them. And I'm going to tell you right now, that just right there we can see why you're never going to be able to defeat the politically-aroused masses of people on the battlefield. Because those very people that you're counting on, relying upon to do your fighting, come from among our ranks. They come from us. You dragged them off from us at the point of a gun, and you've humiliated and degraded them and tried to keep them ignorant, but we're going to be out among them. We're going to be within your own army, working to disintegrate and to politically educate the ranks of your own armed forces, men and women. Cells and branches of the Revolutionary Communist Party are going to be built from one end of this country and from one end of this world to the other, right within the imperialist army of this country!

And I'm not being reckless saying this, because there's not a thing you can do about it, and I'll tell you why. You're not going to know what our tactics are. You're not going to know what our methods are. You're not going to know at any given time which of these people you're abusing, giving orders to, is the one who's going to take the lead in slitting your throat when the time comes! You're not going to know which among them is the one distributing the *Revolutionary Worker*, and other literature and pro-

paganda of our Party, secretly among all your troops, or which are the ones who, when you're drunk and in your stupor, are leading troops secretly at night by candlelight to hold political discussions about who are our real friends and who are our real enemies, and who should we really be shooting and who should we really be uniting with to carry out warfare, for what purpose and toward what end.

The Key Thing is Revolutionary Line

But the key thing right now in this battle, and what we can learn from, is precisely the question of revolutionary line. It is precisely the question of a scientific analysis at every point of the situation before us. Not just of what's immediately before us, but in the broadest and the farthest sense. Not just what you can see as it appears on the surface, but what's beneath the surface. Not just how it appears as a whole, but how it divides into contradictory parts which are struggling within it. And where, on the basis of that struggle, it is moving and developing.

We've learned a great deal up to this point in carrying out this battle about how to go grasp that line, how to apply that science more deeply, and how to bring forward and arm larger and greater numbers of the masses of people to consciously take up that revolutionary theory, that revolutionary line, that revolutionary ideology and program, and fight consciously on that basis for their interests.

The fundamental, critical, and decisive question in the tremendous tumultuous struggles and upheavals of the decade ahead, with everything going on the line throughout the world, is our ability to grasp revolutionary theory, apply it and deepen our understanding of this revolutionary line, and on that basis take it out and spread it more broadly, take it more deeply among the masses of people and bring forth increasing numbers of the people themselves to step to the forefront and, in turn, become organizers and activators of broader and deeper sections of the masses of people. We have to sink our roots and spread them so broadly that no matter what they bring down, and no matter what they do, they can never crush and destroy, they can never fully uproot the line and the program and the influence and the organization of our Party among growing numbers of people who are becoming restless, and going from being restless to questioning, and going from questioning to rebelling, and going from rebelling to seeing the need for revolution, and going from that to actively giving themselves to working for and bringing forward others toward the cause of revolution. That's the most important thing we have to learn in the all-around revolutionary movement that we have to develop.

The Bourgeoisie Miscalculated

Going back for a minute, you see, when they calculated and miscalculated at the start of this battle, they thought that we would either be an isolated sect of maniacs and fanatics, or else that we would back away from our revolutionary stand and go the way that others have gone,

the Communist Party before us, ultimately the leaders of the Black Panther Party and others who for a time were genuine revolutionaries in this country. They thought that we would go the way that they went, that we would water down our revolutionary politics, that we would talk less about the need to rise up and overthrow this system, and more about the need to defend our Party in a narrow and short-term sense. They thought that we would talk less and do less to expose the thoroughly rotten and reactionary nature of this system all the way through every level and every institution, from the courts to the cops, to the politicians, to the heads of the corporations and every other sphere of society.

They thought we would back away from talking about how this is a dictatorship of the capitalist class and its armed force and its apparatus of the state over the working class and the masses of people, and we'd water down our message and just talk more and more about the Constitution and our so-called democratic rights, covering up the fact that the very Constitution itself is nothing but a document of slavery to enshrine and codify the exploitation and oppression of the great majority of people in this society, and our so-called democratic rights exist only so long as we don't use them in any way to seriously question or threaten this system, and that democracy in this society is only democracy for a tiny upper crust of capitalist exploiters while for the great majority of the working class and the oppressed people it's outright and brutal dictatorship over them. They thought we would back up off of this. Or they thought if we didn't that no one would listen. They thought if we stuck to our revolutionary stand, if we didn't back down and compromise on our basic principles, that people out here, especially among those they've ground down and degraded the most—among the working class and the oppressed minorities and other sections of the people, would be too ground down, too ignorant, too selfish, too unconcerned to rally to the defense of our Party and take up this battle. And they have been proved wrong. They've been proved wrong by the tremendous surge forward of people in the thousands who came to the speaking tour all around the country, the volunteers who came here nearly 200 strong in response to the Party and made tremendous sacrifices, and by the people who came despite the way they try to manipulate people's thinking through the media.

That was another way they thought we miscalculated. Because through the media itself, even on their own turf in their own arena, literally several million people in this country who had never heard of the Revolutionary Communist Party before have heard of it now. And literally hundreds of thousands of people now have a clear and a basic understanding of our Party and what it represents—hundreds of thousands of people, most of whom had never heard of our Party or didn't understand what it stood for, and how it was different from the so-called Communist Party and many other groups out here. And among these people, tens of thousands whom had never heard of our Party before, have developed a firm and a growing basis of unity, stand in solidarity with our Party and its basic revolutionary message, and are becoming activated to join not just in the strug-

gle to rally to the support of and defend our Party, but to take up its revolutionary line and to wield it as a weapon to bring forward broader ranks of the people.

They Have Never Seen Anything Like The RCP

It became very clear to me going around and talking to the media, and seeing the reaction of these henchmen and mouthpieces of the ruling class. The simple truth is, and was brought home time and time again, they have never seen anything like the Revolutionary Communist Party in this country. And the reason is very simple—there never has been anything like the Revolutionary Communist Party before in this country. Now let me be clear on that. Let's be clear on what I'm saying. I'm not saying that there never before have been revolutionaries in this country—that's the farthest thing from the truth. I'm not saying that never before our Party were there people who were dedicated to the cause of revolution, who were heroic in fighting for revolution, who went out and put their lives on the line, stood up to vicious repression, murders, jailings, harassment, hounding, even being driven out of the country to spread the message of revolution and to try to lead things forward toward revolution in this country. There have been many such people and we seek to and must learn from all of them. The blood that they have shed and the sacrifices they made are the blood and the sacrifices of our class and the fighters who have gone before us. And when we take power in this country, there will be monuments erected to educate the people about these heroic fighters who have gone before us. And let's be clearer still. That if simply revolutionary dedication, if simply revolutionary heroism, if simply a burning hatred for this system and an unquenchable thirst to be rid of this oppression, if simply the self-sacrificing stand of putting everything, even your own life, on the line for revolution, alone could make a revolution—then certainly one would have been made in this country by now. And specifically we could say that, in its best time, when it was truly revolutionary, certainly the Black Panther Party could have led a revolution in this country, if it was determination, heroism, courage and self-sacrifice alone that could lead to revolution.

But unfortunately, those things alone are not enough. Now without those things—without a deep hatred of this system and all the evils it brings down and the suffering it subjects millions of people around the world to, without a burning unquenchable thirst to be rid of all this oppression and to bury the cause of it once and for all, without on that basis a willingness to be self-sacrificing, to put yourself on the line and even give your life and shed your blood if necessary as well as the blood of others in order to make revolution, it is impossible to be a revolutionary. No revolutionary party can exist without those things. And our Party certainly shares those feelings of millions and millions of the masses of people out here who for a lifetime have been subjected to this degradation and for a lifetime, if only flickering into a bright flame and dying down once again, have again and again dreamed of a way out of this, and of the millions of more people who will be drawn into political life and begin to raise their heads and question

and see the need for a way out in the future.

But what is different about our Party is that we are able to stand on the shoulders of those who have gone before us—not just in this country and not just in the last few years, but internationally and historically. We are able to learn from them. We are able to learn from their advances and their contributions, and we are also able to learn from their mistakes, their shortcomings, and their limitations. And the most important lesson of all that we've learned, the fundamental, decisive, and main thing that distinguishes our Party from anything that has gone before it in the history of this country, and that unites us with genuine revolutionaries throughout various countries all over the world, is that we have learned, and we have fought, to base ourselves on, to grasp ever more deeply and to apply in a more thoroughgoing way this indispensable and ultimately invincible weapon—the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and to combine that with the hatred that burns in the hearts of millions and millions of slaves in this country and all around the world.

The Two Things We Have To Stand On

When we get down to it, there are two things that we have stood on and that we have to stand on more deeply and more firmly in the battles ahead, not just to beat back attacks but to make revolution. And those two things are the broadest masses of people in this country who are enslaved and oppressed in their millions and tens of millions, on the one hand, and on the other hand, this liberating and revolutionary theory and science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. But we can't have these two things separated from each other. We can't have these two things isolated or cut off from each other, because the masses without this revolutionary theory and without a Party that embraces and embodies that and takes it out and arms them with it, the masses will fight, they will resist their oppression, they will rise up time and again, but will always in the final analysis be crushed and defeated. On the other hand, a small handful of people, studying this theory of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought in isolation, treating it as a dogma, or some kind of a prize, or some kind of knowledge to be used for personal gain and personal advantage in order to be able to lord it over other people, will never make revolution. A small group of people like that may have an intellectual understanding that revolution is necessary, may have a theoretical grasp of the ultimate inevitability of revolution, but they will never be able to lead the one force that has to come forward and consciously fight to make revolution, and that is the working class and the masses of people in their millions, tens of millions, and hundreds of millions.

We have to begin to more deeply and in a more all-around way apply this revolutionary theory to the struggle and, in the broadest sense and with the broadest view bring together and combine this revolutionary liberating science of Marxism with the hatred and the determination of the masses of people to rise up and be free of this. Our Party has fought for and continues to fight to arm itself with that theory and to bring it

together with the hatred and the burning desire of the masses of people to rise up and resist their oppression. That is what we have seen has been most decisive and that is what *will* be most decisive in the battles and tremendous upheavals in the period ahead.

Uniting Broadly and Struggling Constantly

Now don't get me wrong. That doesn't mean that we seek at any time only to unite with people who consider themselves communists, those who say, "Yeah, I'm a revolutionary communist, I'm ready to get down with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and that's the basis I stand on." Of course, the most important thing is to bring forward people on that basis and to unleash them to consciously and actively take up the cause of revolution. But this very revolutionary theory, this very scientific method, tells us that at any given time, and even in the overall struggle we have to be able to go out and unite broadly with many different strata in society, many different forces and movements of people beginning to fight back, from anti-nuclear movements to the people in the streets of the Bronx fighting back against these vicious police murders. We have to be able to unite with them in fighting back against the common enemy, while at the same time we have to be able to struggle, debate, argue and win them to the stand that only a revolutionary movement with the working class at its head, armed and guided by its vanguard party rallying around it the millions and millions of oppressed in this society and rising up to make revolution, can uproot and eliminate once and for all the very cause of all the evils and all the suffering that we are resisting and fighting and uniting to fight back against.

I think you've heard today a broad spectrum of opinion and a broad basis of people uniting in this battle, and this is a very good, a fine and a necessary thing. Our understanding of revolutionary theory tells us this has to be, and this is the way we have to go forward. But speaking for myself, and I think many of you recognize, it becomes clear in listening to all these various broad and diverse opinions and various levels of understanding, the different positions that people bring to this battle, and the various different ways and degrees to which they are uniting with it, why *only* the revolutionary outlook of the working class—the uncompromising stand of the one class in this society which literally and actually *has* nothing to lose but its enslaved condition, its chains—is the only class that can lead the masses of people to make revolution. The working class is the only class which has absolutely no interest in preserving any aspect of this rotting exploiting society, (I'm not talking about individuals, whether George Meany or some chump-change local official, I'm talking about the working class as a class—our class here and around the world), only the working class as a class has an interest—has every interest—in rising up and thoroughly overthrowing and abolishing this system once and for all. It is the only force—when guided by, its consciousness raised by, and linked together with its vanguard party and the revolutionary science of its class—which can lead a thoroughgoing struggle to completely uproot

and destroy not only all the evils that afflict us, but the very cause and the very source of all these evils.

Two Different Kinds of Violence

Now, I don't want to criticize anybody, certainly I don't want to attack anybody who came forward to take a stand in support of this battle—but at the same time, I'm going to make good on this friendly warning: we will never stop struggling with people about what it's going to take to uproot and eliminate all this. Of course, we would prefer if eliminating it could be done non-violently, but that is impossible. The nature of the beast that we are dealing with, the nature of its very system and what it has in store for us right in the period ahead make it clear that they will go to any length and stop at nothing, not only to try to crush revolutionary leadership that rises and leads people to rise up against them, but in an all-around way to try to preserve and prolong their bloodthirsty system here and around the world. And when you are dealing with a system that lives by and can only maintain itself by, not only exploiting and oppressing people, but constantly expanding that empire of exploitation and oppression at the cost of the suffering and the bloodshed of millions of people throughout the world, it is an idle and indeed a dangerous illusion to think that any other way than the revolutionary violent uprising of the working class and the masses of people in this country could ever put an end to all this. It is a *dangerous* illusion.

And I must disagree with one of the first speakers here, when he said in essence that violence is degrading—that when the oppressed rise up against their oppressors, when the slaves rise up against the slavemaster, that this puts them in just as degraded and just as corrupted a position as the slavemaster and the exploiter. We cannot agree with this. It is not true. And furthermore, although I'm sure that the brother who made that statement about non-violence did not intend this—and we unite with him in his stand in fighting back against this system—but nevertheless it has to be said straight up, that the stand of promoting among the people the view that they can somehow rid themselves of this misery without going straight up against, overthrowing and defeating the armed force of the ruling class of this country, is helping out the enemy. We have to combat that because whether the person wishes to or not, and I'm sure he does not, promoting the thinking that it can be done non-violently and more than that, that if the masses of people seek to rise up violently they will be degraded and become as corrupted as that enemy, has the effect of playing into the hands of and objectively aiding the enemy in keeping the people oppressed, exploited and degraded. We have to tell the truth to the masses of people. We cannot lie to the masses of people, and if we did, we'd have no right to say that we are the Party of the working class and oppressed people, and we'd have no right even to call ourselves revolutionary.

You see the fundamental error of people who advocate non-violence in an all-around way is that they don't draw any distinction between the

class nature of different kinds of violence. They don't take the Marxist scientific method of asking, which class does it serve, what kind of purpose is it being used for, what would it lead to in the final analysis? Because the objective of communists, the objective of our Party and all genuine revolutionary communists throughout the world, is not to maintain society and humanity at this backward and degraded and barbarous level where people are forced to go off and commit mutual slaughter in the millions and tens and hundreds of millions to preserve a blood-soaked system. Our stand unquestionably, definitely and beyond all doubt, as Mao Tsetung put it, is to move beyond the stage where mankind ever again has to engage in mutual slaughter and warfare. But the only way to move beyond that is to rise up, take up guns in hand—to violently rise up and overthrow the rulers of this system who are the cause of this suffering and of the fact that people are forced to go off against their own will, against their own interests, and slaughter each other only for the benefit of a handful of bloodsuckers.

We may wish to see some other way to bring this about, but there is no other way to bring it about. And failing to understand this fails to draw a fundamental distinction between the uprising of the oppressed to overthrow and finally bury their enslavement and all forms of enslavement, and the violence of the oppressor to keep the masses of people in an enslaved condition. Let's use a simple example. You mean to tell me that if a woman goes out here somewhere in society and is subjected to the brutality and degradation of being assaulted and raped, that in the face of that, in the face of such a vicious assault, such a demented attack, she fights back and even better than that takes a gun out of her purse and blows that vicious attacker away, you mean to tell me that there is no distinction between the violence of that rapist committing that degrading act, and that woman's violence in fighting back against that? You mean to tell me that by engaging in that violence, she degrades herself and corrupts herself on the same level as her attacker? Wake up and realize what is going on in the world and what it's actually about!

Now our objective, our aim, and our goal, and the highest vision that we have is not to see every woman have to walk around with a gun in her purse in order to be able to blow away or at least fend off rapists. No! Our vision is clearly to move beyond such a rotten, corrupt, decadent, degenerate and filthy society as this, where the question of people raping each other will be once and for all eliminated from society and where never again will the possibility of rape even exist. That's our objective! And rape, and all the other evils that are inflicted on us, that we have to suffer under, will never be eliminated until we do become politically aware, become politically armed, and when the time is ripe, become literally and militarily armed and organized with a conscious and clear revolutionary military strategy and tactics to go up against, defeat, overthrow, shatter and disintegrate the armed forces of these oppressors in order to be able to move society and ultimately all of mankind beyond the stage where a handful of people control, choke and suffocate the very means to

existence for the masses of people and keep people in a degraded condition.

And when we have done that; when we have not only overthrown this system, but when we have advanced the revolution together with our brothers and sisters all over the world. When all of mankind is free and every basis has been uprooted upon which any form of enslavement or exploitation by one person over another, or by one group of society over the majority of society. When we have finally uprooted and eliminated any basis for the division of society into classes, into exploiters and exploited. When together with that we have therefore eliminated any necessity and any basis for warfare of any kind—at that time, at that great time in the history of the human race, the people as a whole will hold a grand celebration and finally will be able to carry out the long-talked about and sung about dream and idea of finally burying and destroying every weapon of destruction or turning them into tools of creation and construction for the benefit of mankind as a whole.

At that time, beyond question, when there is no longer any more basis for exploitation and oppression and therefore no longer any need or basis for warfare—at that time the people of the whole world will once and for all bury and destroy or reconvert into productive means every weapon of war and destruction. At that time, *but not one minute before that*. Because we know we're going to have to shed our blood in order to be free of this oppression. And we know that we're going to have to maintain our political consciousness, maintain our political awareness, remain politically armed and at the same time we're going to have to maintain our political rule of society, including our organized military force and keep guns in hand in order to defeat enemies from within and without who would try to destroy, drag back, corrupt, and defeat our revolution.

This is not a game that we're playing. The lives and the suffering of millions of people here and around the world are not playthings. And the cause that we have declared that our Party is determined to lead the working class and masses of people in this country in carrying through, the historic task that is placed on our class, the working class, is not a gimmick. It's not a plaything, it's not a game. It is a life and death question for hundreds of millions of people, and more than that it is the historic task of the working class internationally and represents an historic advance for all of mankind. And for the oppressed to rise up and fight back against their oppressors, for them to take into their hands the means to first overthrow, and then to suppress and prevent from rising again the exploiting and oppressing classes in society, in no way can be compared to the vicious brutality that is brought down to keep the various forms of enslavement of the people and to chain society and the great majority of the people in this backward condition. It is not degrading, it is uplifting for the masses of people to take guns in hand and rise up and fight back against and more than that to overthrow and thoroughly defeat their exploiters and oppressors. Ask the Iranian people once again, were they degraded or uplifted when they rose up against the Shah and went from

unarmed demonstrations to an armed struggle to crush and break his stranglehold over them? Ask them—and they have delivered their message loud and clear. And like the song said earlier, what they did there, we can, we must and will do here.

Why They Backed Up and What They've Got in Store

You see the ruling class in this country, they miscalculated about our Party. They didn't think we could go out and bring forward the masses of people in a politically conscious way. They didn't think that we could give expression to and bring them forward on the basis of their highest aspirations and their conscious grasp of their own interests and their own ability to rise up and change the whole world through revolution. They didn't think that we could go out broadly among the middle classes and other strata in this society, among many people who don't agree, at least not entirely, with the stand of our Party, and unite them in this battle and at the same time to have an exchange, a struggle and debate with them about what is the cause of all this misery and what is the road forward out of all of it.

They thought if we got on their media, which to a certain degree they allow, on the TV, on the radio talk shows and when I went on Tom Snyder, they thought we'd make fools out of ourselves. They again left the masses of people out of the calculation. They thought that if we went on television, over the radio and said, "Yes, our Party is the only party in this country that is seriously and consistently and in an all-around way and with the strategic understanding and with the revolutionary theory not only talking about an armed revolution in this country but actively working and preparing and bringing the masses of people forward toward that goal"—they thought that when we said *that* we'd isolate ourselves among the people who heard it. They thought they'd say, "This is terrible, they should put these people away, they should even kill them." And there were some who said that. Of course the rulers of this country became sharper and clearer that that's what they should do, and of course some of these upper strata and backward clowns and fools that they have out here around Iran, for example, saw more clearly what a threat our Party is to the very existence of slave society in its modern form of capitalism.

But the one thing they didn't count on, the one thing they could never calculate or understand, is that among millions and millions of people who heard about this and among hundreds of thousands who paid serious attention to it, that when they turned their television or radio on and heard somebody call this system out for what it is and say straight up that we're going to lead a revolution of the masses of slaves in this country—people jolted awake. They said, "Who are these people, how do I get in touch with them? I've been looking for something like this all my life. Where are they, where have they been, how do I get together with them?"

They began to see this. You see they went around on this speaking tour that I did around the country. And we know you, cops. We saw you at every meeting and right there we know who you are. It doesn't take a lot

of understanding to know who you are. You're the ones who sit out there like zombies and maybe once in a while clap some but can never really understand what the hell we're talking about. You can't hide out there. We know who you are. You're the ones who have the blank stares all the time when we're talking about the conditions of the masses of people and how we're going to rise up and get rid of this once and for all. We saw you there and we know that you went back and reported, "Damn, he went on and talked for 4 or 5 hours and do you know all those people sat up there and listened so intensely to everything he had to say. What the hell is going on?" And it isn't because I or anybody else can rap good. It's because people have been waiting all their lives to hear this and are straining and listening intently, fighting off the fatigue that comes from being driven in these slave holes day in and day out or going through the degradation of unemployment or welfare. People straining to overcome that, and to get this revolutionary message and to be able to grasp and take it out to others to bring them forward.

Then the call came out from the Party Central Committee to mobilize volunteers to come to Washington, D.C. And they never thought this would happen. They thought, "Well, maybe they'll bring back some of the same people they brought back the first time they were here. Maybe they can get a few people, maybe the same old tired faces will show up." Then you were out there again—we saw you—lurking like dirty old men behind the tree with your cameras and tape recorders and everything else, skulking and slinking around when the volunteers came in from all over the country, snapping your pictures and trying to act cool. Then you went back and developed your pictures and you turned them over to your masters and they said, "Damn, I don't recognize more than *half* these faces. Where the hell did these people come from? These people weren't even at that speaking tour two or three weeks ago. Where the hell did they come from? We never counted on *this!*"

Then they looked as the people here, in the face of all the harassment and intimidation, all the slurs, all the rumors, all the slanders, took up each of these battles one after another and went after the masses of people and began to bring them forward. The authorities sat up there, on the highest level, shook their heads, wiped their brows, gnashed their teeth and said, "Damn, this is only early November, we haven't even had a major hearing yet and they're already beginning to do what they threatened to do and turn this city upside down. What the hell are we going to have on our hands if we actually go ahead with this trial? What's it going to be like here in February if we actually go ahead?" And they said, "God damn, wait a minute. Wait just a god damn minute! What's this going to mean if we go ahead with this?"

Retreat, Maneuver

And do you think it was accidental? Everything they do is calculated. They are fighting to save themselves from extinction. Do you think it was accidental that they maneuvered and brought out this decision three days

before these rallies and demonstrations were called here and on the West Coast? If you do, you've got to be a fool. They said to themselves, "Well, here's what we'll do, we'll bring out this dismissal, we can appeal it, we can put it up to a higher level, a higher political level, we can stick it up there in the appellate court and wait and see what we want to do with this. Maybe by the time we want to bring it back we'll have a lot of other sharper weapons to go after them with, legal or otherwise."

So they said, "Let's call this thing off right now. Let's, you know, make it look like our court system is fair, that if you can point out the inequities, if you can point out the injustices, if you can say that there was some vindictiveness here, then you can get a fair trial, and get justice under this system. Yeah, we may have subjected you to brutality, you may have lost your job, you may have been forced to come back here and suffer the degradation of being run through these courts time and time again and having to suffer the brutality and degradation of being run through this court system from one end to the other. But nevertheless, when all is said and done, if your cause is right," so this line goes, "if it's unfair what's being done to you, then it will sooner or later come out in the wash, and it will come out clean and fair, you can get justice under this system."

And the government thought, "Maybe we can run that old tired number out there again and maybe if the RCP doesn't believe it, we can get other people who are starting to come forward to support this, maybe we can get at least *them* to believe it and drive a wedge between them and the RCP. Maybe we can even make people think that after all we weren't so serious about going after the RCP and Bob Avakian. Maybe we can make them think that after all they shouldn't have come forward and sacrificed, stepped to the front lines and joined in this battle. Maybe it isn't so serious after all. Maybe it's not really worth it to stand with the Revolutionary Communist Party, maybe they aren't really capable of doing something that we regard as a serious threat."

Preparing More Vicious Attacks

This is how they calculate, this is how they maneuver. We have to understand exactly what they're doing here. They're preparing to bring down much heavier and much more vicious attacks. If we use revolutionary theory and science and don't fall into pragmatism and metaphysics, we can see precisely what's going on. They said it's time for a tactical retreat. It was forced on them, let's understand it, this is no less a great victory. Because if you and all the rest of the people out there who came forward in this battle had not done so, if our Party had laid down in the face of this, if we'd capitulated, if we'd watered down our revolutionary stand, if we hadn't taken this battle and our revolutionary line out to the masses of people, the government would have run this railroad right over us and they would have slapped us down for good measure—even if we had capitulated—to make their point.

So it's no less a victory, we understand that they were *forced* into their

backing up and maneuvering. They were forced by all the things that we're talking about, they were forced by the international support as well as the support in this country that was coming to our Party for the stand we took, and the solidarity that was being expressed in messages from revolutionary and communist organizations from ten countries all over the world that have so far come in.

Right now, on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party and the entire Party, I want to express our greetings and our solidarity and our thanks to those revolutionary and communist organizations and parties throughout the world and those organizations and individuals throughout this country who have come forward to join this battle. I want to express our solidarity and recognition of the common battle that we do have to make.

When they saw all this they were forced to back up. They did not want to back up because they wanted to hide all this in darkness. What they're doing can be seen in their comments. Yes, because we overhear you talking too. You think that you're just snooping on us, but we're snooping on you too. And we can understand by the comments that they make and the overall way they're moving and the overall development of things. You see out here in Washington, D.C. once some of the volunteers got here and were spreading out everywhere, one of them was in a store and overheard one of these pigs talking to another off-duty pig working in the store. He was referring to all the posters and all the political work being done around this battle. He said to the other pig, shaking his head in dismay, "Well, we had those people in jail back in January, and we beat them up a bit, but we should have killed them right then. Then we wouldn't have to be going through all that we're going through right now."

We have to understand that this is not just a bellowing of one outraged pig. It is that, but more importantly it is the viewpoint and strategy of the ruling class as a whole. They thought it would be too costly, too high a political price for them to pay to ram through this railroad at this time, in the face of the political momentum that was already gathering and the much greater potential that was clearly developing. But let's look at the situation overall. Does this mean they're going to back up? Does this mean they're going to cease or lessen their attacks on the struggle of the masses and most of all on the vanguard party in this country, the Revolutionary Communist Party? Again we'd have to be very narrow or blind or at least shortsighted to think so. We have to understand, for example, the significance of what happened in Greensboro.*

Now that was not our Party there. That was another group which says that it's communist. It even says it's the vanguard of the working class in this country. We have differences with this party. They have been made clear and they will increasingly be made clear in our newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker*, and in our other publications. I'm not going to speak to those differences here today. But I am going to tell the truth and

* The Klan and Nazis had just killed 5 anti-Klan demonstrators there. The killers have since been set free by the government—ed.

say straight up that we know, and we know the ruling class knows, who the vanguard party in this country is. And that's not a question of sectarian debate. That's a question of whose line (because line is decisive), whose understanding, whose program, whose strategy and tactics can actually lead a revolution in this country and whose, whether well or ill intentioned, can only, in the final analysis, lead off to the side, to a detour and an ambush.

And we know the ruling class understands that this other party, this Communist Workers Party/Workers Viewpoint Organization, is not the serious threat to its rule and to maintaining its system that our Party is. But if we look deeper we can also see that those same Nazis and Ku Klux Klan have attacked our Party before and after that incident, and openly bragged about how they were going to get us, in cahoots with the cops. And even since the Greensboro incident, these attacks have continued to intensify, with firebombs being thrown into our offices, with bullets being shot into our offices, with direct threats being made to attack and destroy our Party headquarters in various parts of the country. And direct attacks have, for example, been made on one of the other Mao Tsetung Defendants not far from Greensboro in Durham, North Carolina only a few weeks ago.

We understand and we have to understand even more deeply what this represented and what was the significance of what went on there in Greensboro. This takes place in a very clear context, a very important situation that we have to understand deeply. It takes place amidst all the crisis and upheaval that's going on. It takes place within a few days of the whole reactionary hysteria and frenzy that they're attempting to whip up around Iran for all the purposes that I spoke to earlier. The most significant thing about Greensboro isn't simply the fact that the Klan killed some more people as it has a whole degenerate rotten filthy history of doing. It's not simply that they again murdered some people. It's the way in which it was carried out, the context in which it was carried out, and who was involved. It was an open, a flagrant, a blatant execution of people who claim to be communists and their supporters in that demonstration. Those of you who saw that incident on TV or saw even the newspaper pictures, saw those coldblooded murderers clearly and openly bragging about working with the police and the authorities. You saw them calmly and calculatedly and coldly take out their weapons of execution, pass them out of the trunk of a car, as we said in our paper like beer cans at a picnic, coldly taking aim and coldbloodedly murdering people right on the spot with the convenient absence of the police—you see, that is very significant.

The Greensboro massacre was done for a very specific purpose. It was done to deliver a two-sided message. To the masses of people who are and will be increasingly rising up in the period ahead, it was making it known very clearly and unmistakably that this is what is in store for you. At the same time the message was also made clear on the other side to these reactionary murdering dogs that it is time now. We will allow you to openly,

flagrantly and blatantly shoot down people in the street. It is open season on Black people and other oppressed minorities, it is open season on any oppressed person in this country, any group of people that rise up against it. And especially it is open season on any vanguard force, or even any group that *claims* to be a vanguard force, that will step to the forefront to lead this struggle.

If we think that these two events just coincidentally or accidentally occurred within the space of a few days of each other, that is, the dismissal of these charges and taking them to a higher level of appeal on the one hand, and on the other hand what happened in Greensboro, if we think that timing was accidental or these things are not linked together, we've got to look more deeply.

I'm not saying that the ruling class is not going to come up with more legal indictments or even perhaps reactivate this particular attack. But I'm saying that more and more that out front attitude, that out front stand expressed by that pig here in Washington, D.C. is going to be the strategy on which the ruling class of this country is moving. That, "We had them in our clutches, we roughed them up, we beat them up a bit, but we saw that was politically very costly. Now it's time to start making it very clear and moving onto another level. It's time not only to come at them with the legal apparatus, it's time to come at them as we've done before and as we're going to have to do much more in the future. It's time to come at them with the bullets."

Beat Back All Forms of Attack

And we have to understand this very clearly. We are not going to be intimidated because we understand this. Quite the opposite. On the basis of grasping this we're going to be able to fight to beat back every attack every way they come and try to crush the genuine revolutionary leadership, in particular our Party, in this country. Because, you see, people will say, "They're just too powerful. They can do whatever they want to do. If they can't get you one way one day they'll come get you another way the next day. And look what they've done in this country. They murdered Malcolm X, they killed Fred Hampton in cold blood in his bed and murdered more than two dozen other Panthers. They'll just shoot you down if you really try to do something serious about rising up against it."

We know this is their nature. We understand that not only have they done it in the past, but they will do it even more viciously and extensively in the period ahead. The period of the '80s is going to find upheaval unlike anything even in the '60s in this country and internationally. The challenge and the stakes are going to be up, during that period. They are going to be much higher and much more life-and-death for them and for us than anything we've seen in several decades.

We've pointed out to people, yeah, that's true. They can, they have and they will not only jail people, not only hound and harass people—they will murder people outright and in larger numbers than we've seen in order to try to crush any revolutionary leadership and prevent the masses of peo-

ple from not only fighting back but consciously fighting through and winning victory and making revolution. But we're not helpless in the face of that either. If we're not helpless—and we've proved we're far from helpless—to beat back *this* attack, to stop this railroad and to back them up off their attack on the Mao Tsetung Defendants, then we are certainly not helpless to prevent them from murdering outright and in that way crushing and destroying the leadership of the working class and the masses of people in this country.

Yeah, they killed Fred Hampton. We know their nature. They murdered Malcolm X, much as they try to cover it up. But we can learn not only from the history of this country but from others. Let's look to a place like Russia where there was someone named Lenin. They hounded him out of the country but he came back not only to haunt them but to raise up the real spectre that not only filled them with fear but finally led to their overthrow—the class-conscious working class and the masses of oppressed people.

Let's look at China. They put a bounty on Mao Tsetung's head, offered 100,000 or more pieces of silver to people, to peasants in China whose children were literally starving in front of them for lack of food or would freeze to death in the winter. But they couldn't find anyone who, even if they wanted the money, was foolish enough to try to go up against and kill Mao Tsetung, because the wrath of the Chinese people would have come down on them like a thunderbolt.

So let's not only talk about the losses we've suffered, let's talk about the victories we've won. And let's learn from both. We have to understand that it's a battle. We have fought to keep them from carrying through this railroad and we can and we will fight to keep them from using murder or any other means to crush and cripple and destroy the vanguard party, the necessary weapon of the working class and the masses of people to rise up and make revolution in this country. We are determined to wage that battle and more than that we are determined to win it. The masses of people, no matter what they think, have something to say about whether or not they can destroy the revolutionary vanguard party in this country!

Turning All This Around

We have to look at Iran once again and look beyond the surface of what's going on. Look beyond the temporary hysteria that they have been able to whip up in the short run. Look to what is rising and developing within that situation. Look to what's represented by the action of those veterans, much as the press tried to cover it up and lie and distort it, when they went to the Washington Monument, took it over and expressed their solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the Iranian people. And, by the way, the significance of that action was not lost on the Iranian people, because the news of what happened was picked up and played all over Iran on Radio Iran to make clear that the American people here stood with the Iranian people. And that also makes clear what the stand and what the attitude of the masses of Iranian people is toward the *masses* of

people in this country, much as our rulers try to lie and distort, slander and try to drive a wedge between us and our friends and comrades and brothers and sisters in Iran and throughout the world, who share a common battle and a common enemy with us.

But if we look at this particular struggle, if we look at what's already beginning to happen, we can see not only the temporary and, in the long run, the secondary aspect of them being able to whip up some racist hysteria, chauvinist frenzy in preparation for maneuvers and attacks on Iran and more long term preparation for world war, we can see the other side growing and developing. Our Party and our youth group, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, have already hit back on campuses and communities throughout this country. We've gone into the midst of these reactionary demonstrations and reactionary frenzies and raised up the banner of the working class internationally and raised the stand of supporting the Iranian people and supporting them in their stand of using the American flag to take out garbage and burning it, which is the only good thing that should be done with it. We marched right into the midst of these reactionary demonstrations and created tremendous controversy on the campuses once again.

Just think back for just a second and you can realize how much this terrifies the ruling class of this country because they know the potential of the students, not only to fight back against them, but also to spread the influence of revolutionary ideas once they take hold of them. It is not mistaken to say that they are extremely displeased with what is happening on these campuses—that debates are now raging where only reactionary frenzy held sway before, that hundreds of students are having questions raised and also hundreds of others are having their heads turned around about what is really represented in this incident around Iran and in the larger picture into which it fits.

I was just out in California yesterday speaking to the rally out there. People were telling me about tremendous things happening—and not only in Berkeley but at San Jose State and other campuses all around the Bay Area and throughout California. A couple of weeks ago the student newspapers were full of really exciting articles about different professors who were sleeping with their students and so on. Now all of a sudden, through this whole upsurge of struggle, both around this case but even more so in the tremendous controversy and struggle that has raged around Iran, all of a sudden, even the student newspapers and the student governments are full of debate raging around Iran, about the larger questions it raised up, about the role of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade and the Revolutionary Communist Party in taking a stand with the Iranian people. And the ruling class in this country is again saying, "Damn it. Here comes that RCP once again and everything's getting out of hand again."

The most important thing we can learn out of this is that we are seeing in miniature around Iran what's going to be happening in a growing and a much more explosive and a much more deep and broad way in the period

ahead. Because we're seeing in miniature what will be exploding in this country and on a world scale as this crisis gets much deeper and spreads throughout the whole of society and as it approaches toward much deeper-going dimensions, perhaps even a revolutionary situation. Because today, the campuses once again are becoming politically charged. Students are saying, "Hell with going to classes, sticking your head in some empty textbook, I want to get out in the real world and be part of the real struggles about how to change it and understand what is going on and be part of that." A lot of these students come forward and say, "This is great. Where's the next demonstration? Where is the next debate? I don't want to go back to class." And this is something that the ruling class cannot stand. I'm not saying that all this has cleared up everybody's understanding, that everybody's understanding has been clearly raised to the correct position. But it has begun to expose the maneuvers of the ruling class, because what they wanted to do is release a bunch of reactionary drooling fools, build them up and say that they represent the sentiments of the American people while they pretended to exercise a restraining hand on all this, while in fact they were using it to prepare vicious attacks.

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 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 thoroughgoing 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 are 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.

But look what's happening around Iran. As the political situation becomes sharper, this is what's going to be happening on a massive scale when not only campuses but every neighborhood, every bus stop, every supermarket, every factory, every shipyard, every mine is going to be a cauldron of political discussion, seething with political debate and argument. And the workers are going to say, "Wait a minute. We're not going back to the machines yet. We're debating the question of what stand we should take on the Iranian people's struggle, what stand we should take on the question of people rising up in Italy to fight back against the exploitation there, what stand we should take on what's happening in southern Africa. We got more important things to do right now than follow your orders."

And this is what it's going to be like when the situation sharpens, and not just on the campuses and not just around one issue but repeatedly, around one issue after another throughout society, through the very workings of the system itself. As Marx said a long time ago: In order to carry out its own class interests and its own reactionary aims, even the bourgeoisie has to, in its own perverted and twisted way, drag the masses into political life and raise their heads up from the everyday routine—if only to try to stuff their heads full of more reactionary garbage.

But in doing so, in breaking the normal routine of everyday life, in forcing people to raise their heads up even to be filled full of this reactionary message, they also provide the opportunity as well for massive debates and struggles as to what really are our interests and how do we unite in our real interests and fight to carry them through and ultimately how to rise up and make revolution.

Spreading the Conspiracy

But if we're going to get to that point and really be able to deal with that situation when it actually does arise, we've got work to do. We've got battles to wage. Not just the battle to keep the defendants free and to stop the railroad once and for all. But we've got to spread and deepen and utilize more effectively the main weapon we have—and that's this paper. I'm going to hold it up so everybody can see it—the *Revolutionary Worker*. When the troops came here to D.C. they took a saying from China and transformed it and translated it into the specific conditions here. It was a saying of the Chinese People's Liberation Army under Mao Tsetung's leadership when they fought heroically by day and by night to tire out and defeat and surround and carve up the enemy. They said, the

enemy has tanks, planes, modern equipment, modern machinery and everything else supplied by the imperialists at its disposal, but we're defeating them, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, with a bowl of millet and a rifle. I know the troops, when they got here, they told me that they translated this into the concrete conditions here and said what we have in this battle right now is the *Revolutionary Worker* and a peanut butter sandwich.

This paper is our main weapon. This is a conspiracy. This is a conspiracy spreading and deepening, spreading out like the cells of a beehive among broader and broader ranks of the working class and oppressed people. And it's got to be spread consciously and actively much more broadly and much more deeply. You know when you read this paper wherever you're from . . . it isn't so often that we come together from all over. Most of the time we're working and struggling in the areas we come from. But whether you're in Chicago, Cleveland, Atlanta, Florida, New York or wherever, every week, you and thousands of other people like you already are getting armed and educated with the line of our Party. At the same time that you are taking this paper, reading and spreading it among others, thousands and tens of thousands of people are also doing so throughout the country. Spreading this conspiracy, broadening and deepening it, laying the basis for revolution.

You know some people say, "Listen, I don't dig it when this is the main weapon we got. I want to deal with the real deal. I want to get on with the real weapons. When you get to the point of a gun then come and let me know. I can't deal with a weapon that's made out of paper." Well, I can understand and sympathize with that sentiment, but if you really feel that way and if you're serious about it, if you really want to see things develop to the point where we can not only take up guns and go down like martyrs, but where we can actually lead masses of people to rise up and *win*, then you've got to wield this weapon now. Otherwise we're not going to get to the point where we're going to be able to seize the opportunity even if it does arise to rise up and lead masses to make revolution.

If you want to wield those weapons, which we do and which our Party stands for and which our every action is based on getting toward, then you've got to wield *this* other weapon now. This conspiracy's got to spread. The networks of this paper have got to spread. We not only have to read this paper ourselves, we have to take it out and among our fellow workers and people we live and work with who are struggling and suffering alongside of us everyday. We've got to get them in tens, and twenties, and fifties, and hundreds to read this paper. This is a serious thing, I'm not just throwing out numbers. Not only do we have to read it and get them to read it but we've got to win them over to sit down in groups and discuss it and then each group in turn has got to broaden and spread and deepen this conspiracy. Each of these people has got to take ten or twenty or forty and fifty of these papers and take them out to other people *they* know and work with every week to arm people on a consistent basis with this revolutionary line so they can go out and plunge into the turmoil and

upheaval that even the bourgeoisie itself is creating. We've got to do this to be able to raise people's heads.

How can we agitate around Iran, how can we defeat the reactionary garbage and hysterical reactionary racist and chauvinist frenzy that's being whipped up if we don't read this paper and become armed with the real understanding of what's going on? We're not going to be able to defeat them just by swearing. We're not going to be able to defeat them just by calling them "reactionary." We have to be able to *expose* them in order to isolate them and win over the great majority of people who do have an interest in grasping and standing with the struggle of the Iranian people as their own struggle and as part of the same battle being waged worldwide.

How are we going to do that if we don't arm more than just the 20,000 people who read this paper now. We've got to double this right away and over the period of a year or more we've got to take this 20,000 or 40,000 and it's got to become literally hundreds of thousands of people who read this paper and distribute it in ways that are even unknown to the enemy. Because we have to look ahead, we have to think ahead. We have to look and think ahead to the increasing sharpness of the situation and the more vicious attacks that are going to come down. We have to begin preparing now to develop the ways that they're not going to be able to find out about and they're not going to be able to destroy or rip out. We have to develop the ways that this paper can get into the hands of people, hundreds of thousands of people within the next few years, on a weekly basis no matter what they try to do to stop it. We have to begin now spreading this conspiracy and building networks and drawing more and more people into it to lay the basis and sink the roots broadly and deeply so that no matter if they bring down attacks they will *never* be able to stop this paper from getting regularly into the hands and educating and training tens and ultimately hundreds of thousands and finally millions of people in this country. If we're serious about making revolution then we've got to be serious about wielding this weapon. It is the most important weapon we have and we've got to wield it much more seriously and much more urgently.

May Day 1980

And we've got to wage other battles as well within which the use of this *Revolutionary Worker* on a consistent and expanding and broadening and deepening basis is crucial. And that means the call that our Party has issued to build a mass revolutionary May Day with the working class at the fore on May 1, 1980 in this country.

You see, if the ruling class thought that we were going to step back, catch our breath and let them catch their breath and come back to attack us; or if they thought that we'd let them maneuver not only against us but against the masses of people, that we'd let them work unchallenged to confuse people and keep them divided with more lies, work to keep people unclear about what their interests are and how they have to fight for them. If they thought we were going to lay back. If they thought we were

going to sit back and not celebrate in the way our class does, which is by stepping up our struggle, but celebrating their way by relaxing our struggle, letting down our guard, falling into the traps that they set for us. If they thought that, then they're going to find out how wrong they are. They're finding that out already. It's going to become more and more clear in the weeks and months ahead because we're going to go out and we're going to build a thing that's going to strike even deeper terror into their hearts. We're going to bring forward the advanced class-conscious section of our class, the working class in this country, despite all their lies and Archie Bunker filthy images and George Meany clowns and all the rest of these reactionary fools. We're going to bring into the forefront and onto the stage of history on May 1, 1980, thousands of people marching class-conscious and aware under the banner of their own class and rallying the oppressed. On May Day, 1980. And if they think they've seen political mobilization so far, wait till you see what's in store in building revolutionary May Day.

If we keep in mind the sharpening situation in all the things we've talked about, all the things that are gone into and analyzed in the *Revolutionary Worker* and in *Revolution* magazine and in other literature of our Party. If we grasp more clearly what it's pinpointing and what is analyzed in depth in the published report of the recent meeting of the Central Committee of our Party. If we understand the stakes that are involved. If we understand the urgency of the situation, then we understand all the more clearly how we have to step up and intensify our work on every front in an all-around way while concentrating our efforts on key fronts. That means concentrating our efforts to spread and deepen the distribution of the *Revolutionary Worker* and its influence and concentrating on this battle of revolutionary May Day.

We can understand more clearly how it's not just a question of outrage but it's a political necessity that we can no longer allow these reactionary vicious dogs like George Meany and the rest to stand up and have the nerve to speak in the name of the working class of this country. We have to stand up clearly, raise the banner of our class up and say that we are joining forces with the whole international working class and with the cause of the oppressed people throughout the world in the struggle for revolution. We *cannot* allow them to do it. If we understand the situation clearly, we can see that it's not just a question of outrage, it's a political necessity to raise up the revolutionary banner of our class and to march out on our holiday, the day of celebration and struggle of the international working class. We need to cast into the dust the reactionary chauvinist garbage they put out about how we *Americans* are different, we *Americans* are better, even the American workers should side with the capitalists of this country to help keep the working class and oppressed people enslaved throughout the rest of the world in order to get a few crumbs.

We don't want your miserable, filthy, rotten, stinking crumbs. We don't want any part of your oppression and your exploitation, degradation of ourselves and people throughout the world. We want a revolution. We

want to stand with our class worldwide. We want to join with them to take the future into our hands and to bring it about through our own conscious and determined struggle and action. And that's what the class-conscious, politically aware section has got to be out there forcefully demonstrating on May 1, 1980. And it will make a tremendous difference and significantly change the political climate of this country to see such a force all over this country in major cities rallying around the banner of revolution and the Revolutionary Communist Party, to stand up, unite with our class brothers and sisters throughout the world and openly unfurl the revolutionary banner of our class.

Let's make no mistake about it. It's not going to be like Houston when the oil companies, the banks and others not only gave their workers time off to go out and rally under the reactionary banner of attacking the Iranian people's struggle, but undoubtedly threatened and intimidated people that if they didn't go out, their job might be in jeopardy. You and I know it very well, anybody here who doesn't know it is a fool, a pig or extremely naive—or all three. You and I know very well that the ruling class of this country is not going to come around to the workers they enslave in the sweat-holes and the factories and the mines and in the fields and say, "Listen, not only do we want you to take time off, we demand it, and your job might be in jeopardy if you don't take time off to go join with other workers marching under the banner of the Revolutionary Communist Party to demonstrate for the time when you can rise up and overthrow us."

Now you know that is not going to happen. Just the opposite is going to happen. Freedom and democracy only means freedom and democracy to express and to demonstrate support for the capitalists and their plunder and oppression here and throughout the world. They are going to try and use intimidation, the threat of firings, the threat of jail, the threat of murder and even *outright* murder to stop this revolutionary demonstration of the working class taking place. We've got to be prepared for that battle. We've got to wage and we've got to win it. It is going to make a crucial difference one way or the other in advancing the struggle or seeing it set back. It depends on whether or not we and others like us, who didn't or couldn't come to this meeting, become the solid core to go out and not only wage this battle to derail this railroad permanently and beat back this attack once and for all, but to distribute the *Revolutionary Worker*, and to take out and spread the message of revolutionary May Day and to wage the kind of struggle that has to be waged to prepare to step into the streets and step onto the stage of history that day.

The Possibility of Revolution

Sometimes people say, "Listen, you keep saying to make a revolution takes millions and millions of people. We're only hundreds or thousands or maybe tens of thousands now." One of the things we have to learn most deeply that Lenin taught us in analyzing the revolution in Russia and its lessons for the worldwide struggle is that when, in still relatively ordinary times—that is, when the system is able to mainly carry out the function-

ing of its machinery in more or less the everyday way, even if there's turmoil and unrest—to be able to activate and mobilize thousands or tens of thousands of people, to be able to influence tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of people, is of tremendous significance. When, not just for a week or two around Iran or some other event, and not just on the campuses or in a few communities, but when throughout the whole society in a deep-going way everything is seething and up for grabs, when things deepen and in fact approach and actually get to a revolutionary situation, then the work that you've done to bring forward thousands and tens of thousands, to influence tens and hundreds of thousands, becomes of extreme importance. Because then tens and hundreds of thousands beginning to awaken to political life and political activity become millions and tens of millions beginning to question and search restlessly, beginning to rebel and seek a way out. And the tens of thousands that we mobilize now to raise that banner are not only a tremendous material force and an inspiration and a cause to awake masses of people beyond them in this society, but also those tens of thousands that we develop in political activity will become trained through the use of the *Revolutionary Worker* and in key political battles and campaigns. Those tens of thousands will be trained to be able to be the leaders of millions and tens of millions when everything does seethe with revolutionary ferment and when finally things do go up for grabs in an overall and all-around way.

Our Party does not promise anybody a quick and easy way to end this madness. Just as we refuse to capitulate, to back down in the face of any of their attacks. Just as we refuse to back up off our communist and our internationalist principles in standing with and supporting the struggle of the working class here and internationally, no matter what the enemy does and what attacks it brings down. Just as we are determined to more deeply fight for and grasp and apply in a deeper and all-around way this revolutionary science of Marxism, we firmly refuse to try to mislead people into thinking, or even mistakenly try to console people into thinking, that there is some cheap and easy weekend special way that we are going to be able to get rid of all this oppression and make revolution. Revolution is a struggle. Revolution requires sacrifice, it requires people consciously putting themselves and their lives on the line for the future, for the cause of the working class and ultimately of humanity. And the opportunity to make revolution does not come along, especially in a powerful imperialist country like this, very often. It doesn't come along every week, every month, every year or maybe even every ten years. The situation when all the conditions come into being at the same time, when the system does get weak enough, when the crisis grows deep enough, spreads broadly and convulses society sharply enough, when the people are dragged into political life and awakened and aware enough, and when in the midst of all that there is a party capable of guiding, educating, preparing, organizing and leading them in a revolutionary uprising, does not come about very often.

We don't promise, and we will not promise, any cheap and easy way

out of all this, or cut-rate blueprints for revolution. There are no such things, and anybody who tries to sell them is just another pimp and hustler off of the suffering and struggle of the people. We don't say for certain that a revolutionary situation will definitely develop and mature all the way and fully ripen in the next ten years. Even if it doesn't, as we've learned from revolutionary leaders of our class throughout the world, the only thing worth living for and worth dying for, the only thing worth fighting for and worth devoting your life to, is the cause of revolution—preparing, educating, sinking the roots and bringing forward the forces that in the future can lead the uprising of the masses. But on the other hand, not only are we determined to leave a revolutionary legacy and foundation for those who come behind us to build on and carry forward from, but we have to have a clear understanding of the possibility—not the certainty, but the possibility—of a revolutionary situation, of the chance to actually see those factors come together which will provide the objective basis for a mass uprising for revolution.

Looking at the crisis our ruling class and its system is already sinking in and is on the threshold of much more deeply. Looking at the position that they're in, and that it's not as favorable as it has been going into world wars in the past. Looking at the tremendous suffering and the tremendous devastation that they're going to bring down on people here and throughout the world, and the tremendous turmoil and upheaval that this is going to give rise to. Looking at all that and at the real possibility that a revolutionary situation and the objective conditions necessary may arise even within the next decade—all this gives us a much clearer sense of the urgency of the task we have before us. The urgency not just of rallying to the support of our Party in beating back the attacks on it, but the urgency of stepping up and intensifying our all-around revolutionary work.

Let me just say this, and I know people from other countries have and can and will testify that this is true, that on the day when we are finally able to bring everything together that's necessary to unleash the awesome and ultimately invincible force of tens of millions of people consciously fighting for revolution. On the day we are able to carry that through and overthrow this monstrosity of imperialism that oppresses us and feeds on people all over the world and crushes the very lifeblood out of them in the tens of millions. On the day we are able to do that here, not only will that be a tremendous blow for our own emancipation here, but much more importantly than that, and keeping the whole world struggle in mind and the whole struggle to transform the world and advance on a world scale to communism, much more importantly, that will be a tremendous blow for the liberation of oppressed people and our class throughout the world.

When that day comes there won't be anybody talking about how revolutionaries and people who fought against imperialism in other countries are not welcome here. They will be welcome, as they are in our ranks right now, as brothers and sisters in the common struggle. The people

who'd better not come here are the reactionary despots and flunkies and agents and murdering dogs of imperialism like the Shah of Iran. Because if they come here once we've got power, we sure are going to get hold of them and give them back to the people they've been oppressing to deal with as they should be dealt with.

And when the time comes that we can make revolution in a country like this, it is no exaggeration to say that literally hundreds of millions of people all over the world will come into the streets rejoicing, but rejoicing in the way that our class and oppressed people rejoice. Rejoicing in the festival of stepping up and intensifying our common struggle towards the lofty goal of ridding the world once and for all of class divisions and exploitation and oppression and the degradation this system still maintains us in.

Yes, ruling class, we hear your desperate bellowing. We know you're getting weaker. You're in crisis, your system is decaying, you're forced to lash out desperately. We hear you and we see your putrid efforts to bring forth the dregs and the rottenness of society to rally around your reactionary cause. Yes, you are getting weaker and we understand that very clearly. We also understand what we must do and what we will do. And that is that we must fight together with the people of the whole world to weaken you and when you are weak enough and we are strong enough, we're coming to get you.

AN INTERVIEW WITH BOB AVAKIAN

BY A REPORTER FROM THE WASHINGTON POST

Reporter: As you say, one of your roles is to expose to the world the inequities and evils of the system, and that's what you're doing now by broadcasting to the world what's happening in the trial of the seventeen defendants in November, right? At the same time you're doing that, you and your lawyers, through the method of filing motions, are asking the judge to put a stop to the very exploitation and to the evil system you're talking about. You're asking for some kind of equity in the court and you're asking the judge to correct it. All right, let's say for the sake of discussion, that the judge does go along with *all* the motions and supports them. And rules in favor of the defendants and throws the whole thing out. That does two things: one is that it tends to show that there are internal corrective mechanisms within the system, and it also takes away at least that immediate, tactical weapon that you've been using of the statements that you've been putting out on behalf of your own trial. Your own upcoming case. So you're saying—this system is exploiting and this is why it is, and they're trying to railroad us in a political trial, hiding behind a smoke-screen of calling it a criminal trial. Now if the judge ends up ruling in your favor in those rulings, it seems to me that whole process comes to a halt. Therefore, to take it one step further, under a Marxist strategy, I should think that you would *not* want the judge to rule in your favor. I want you to respond to that.

B.A.: Okay, well you see, I think when we talk about exposing the system, we're not talking about creating the inequities. When we say exposure we mean bring to light what exists. We mean revealing what is. We don't mean inventing. The operation of this system is criminal. So that's the first thing. When we say exposure we mean precisely that—shining a light on what exists and helping people to understand rationally how these things relate to each other and how they all stem from that one source.

The court system is a part of the dictatorship that exists in this country and it's completely unjust for the masses of people in this country.

Whether we are found "not guilty" by a jury or whether the judge feels he has to throw out this case, will in no way change that. It doesn't change the fact that every day, thousands of poor people and working-class people and oppressed people are being herded through these courtrooms and stuck away for long periods of time for the crime of being poor, for the crime of being oppressed and for the crime of not owning capital, and in some way or another for having run up against the capitalist dictatorship and so having its fist slammed down on them. . . . What's involved here is that *they* exercise dictatorship—which doesn't mean like high school textbook or fairy tale definitions of dictatorship—it means the rule of one class over another, fundamentally. The capitalist class rules over and exploits the working class, politically dominates the life of the country in its own interests and oppresses the majority of people. Its court system and everything else is set up to reflect that. But being an exploiting class, it represents a minority and represents enslavers, represents people who oppress the majority. They have to try to cover this up. They have to try and pretend that they are not oppressing and exploiting and dictating to the majority of the society.

And you see, they also have a particular kind of slavery that's different—in the old slave system, the slave owners didn't have to try to pretend that they were not dictating to the slaves. That was obvious and clear. They just developed theories and rationalizations to say that they *deserved* to do that because the slaves were inferior, sub-human, or what have you. Now the capitalists also have their ideologies and so-called sociologies and other theories to explain that the workers and the oppressed people are inferior to them, and to say that therefore, this is the only rational way to organize society because they're the only ones with the brains and the know-how and the initiative. The workers are dumb, stupid and lazy. Therefore everything is as it should be. But they can't simply rely on that. You see, their form of enslavement is one where you are so-called "free" to choose who exploits you. This provides them with both the need and the possibility to cover up or to attempt to cover up the fact that the essence is still one of enslavement and one of oppression. In other words, if you don't like working for General Motors, you don't have to work for General Motors, you can starve. Or you can try to go to work for Chrysler or U.S. Steel. But you're going to find that no matter who you work for, if you are able to get a job, you're going to be in the same social relations and the same conditions of exploitation because these people dominate all the large factories and banks. They control the means to life and if you want to live, you have to work for them. But the form of it is one where you are apparently "free." You're not a slave to be owned outright and tied to a piece of land. So you can be "free" to starve or to choose one exploiter or another.

What goes on then in these courtrooms is that they set up these legal procedures to exercise their political control and their dictatorship but they also have to try and cover it up. This is in fact to their advantage. In other words, if they were to come out openly and say: "We are the

capitalists. We control everything. All you are our slaves. You will do as we say and not step out of line." If they were to do that, then they'd be exposing themselves much more rapidly. Instead they do it much more subtly. Have you ever read anything by this guy who used to write for the *New York Times*, a sports columnist, Robert Lipsyte? Well, he wrote a book called *Sports World* in which he made a comparison which I thought was kind of interesting, about how sports writers learn what *not* to write, and I think it applies more generally. The first day the sports writer walks in to work wearing a blue sweater and a green hat and somebody punches him in the mouth. The next day he walks in wearing no blue sweater but still wearing a green hat and somebody punches him in the mouth. The third day he walks in with neither a blue sweater nor a green hat and nothing happens. Lipsyte's summation is: nobody ever has to tell the sports writer after that not to wear a green hat anymore. And that's the way they do it in this society. They don't usually come out openly and shoot you down and club you. They do that enough one way or another to tell you what your place is so that only when people find their conditions dramatically changed do they say, "Fuck it. I want to go up against it anyway. I don't care if they do come out with the club and the gun." Do you see what I'm saying? And that happens all the time in this society, but only when it happens in a massive way do you have a revolution.

So they put up this facade, this facade of democracy, of "equality before the law," and so on, and the *normal function* of their machinery is enough to keep most people in their place in so-called normal times, even though people hate it and try and find different ways to resist it. When we go out and talk about revolution and they tell us—"Hey look, they've got tanks, airplanes, and everything else." People are pretty clear about that, so it takes pretty desperate conditions. So, it's a complex question but basically to try and boil it down simply—the judge, the capitalist system, and its representatives, have this contradiction. Their courts are part of their apparatus of dictatorship but they have to maintain the facade of democracy. Therefore they get caught up because of that. There are certain contradictions they face and that's why I said it's more their problem than ours, fundamentally. Although it is a problem for us, you know, being indicted and facing this time in jail, I don't mean to belittle the seriousness of that. But in a sense they have a more fundamental problem. And that gives us some room to maneuver, and we take advantage of that contradiction. We continue to expose that it's actually *dictatorship*, but we also take advantage of the contradiction.

We're fighting to preserve and strengthen our Party because without our Party there can't be a revolution in this country and these conditions are not going to be changed without a revolution, and without our Party to lead it. So we take advantage of that. In other words, we don't accept their rules. We don't play by their rules in any fundamental sense, but we bring that contradiction to bear on them: "You're trying to maintain the illusion of democracy—therefore what we do is file motions and other things, the essence of which is to say—you're not even playing by your own rules."

That's the essence of what we're doing in court, saying, you're not even playing by your own rules. Now, that puts them in a position of having to choose, "Are we going to acknowledge or make it easier for the RCP to expose that we only play by our rules until we think we don't have to or until we think we shouldn't, until we're in a situation where even those rules aren't good enough and we have to even go beyond that? To expose the fact that we make the rules and we can change them when we get ready and that the fundamental thing is that we're going to run this society—OR—do we not feel like risking that and is it better for us politically to get rid of this problem (i.e., this case) and to dump this, to let these people off this time and then do precisely what you're saying, come out and say, 'You see, democracy can work here.'"

That's the choice they have to make. That's their choice. Fundamentally that's not going to get decided by what goes on in the courtroom. Fundamentally that's going to be decided by what political situation they see shaping up. In other words, if they see, for example, thousands and thousands of people here in D.C. and around the country, coming to see more sharply through our work around this what the nature of their court system is and how this case is just typical (this is not atypical, this is *typical* in a concentrated form of what life and political and economic conditions are like in this country for millions of people), then they're going to have that choice much more sharply presented to them: "If we go ahead with this case and we find these people guilty, it's going to expose us to thousands and maybe millions of people more sharply. On the other hand if we don't proceed with this case then it's going to be a victory for the RCP, much as we will get out there and say that this proves that democracy works. They're still going to have exposed us and in fact, defeated us in this battle." So they're going to have to weigh that.

There's another element they have to weigh. They obviously are trying to infiltrate the RCP. You know, the FBI acknowledges that it's doing that. We know that they're still carrying out COINTELPRO stuff and so on. What we're demanding in these motions is that a lot of that stuff be revealed, because it's obviously relevant to our defense.

Reporter: You have motions on surveillance?

B.A.: Yeah. This is important, especially if you have an "aiding and abetting" case, right? Now, if they're saying you "aided and abetted" an "unknown principal," it's quite relevant to your defense to know if that "unknown" person was a police agent. I mean, a police agent threw a rock and then we're all guilty by mere presence at a demonstration of "aiding and abetting" a police agent. So we're demanding to know this. Now they've got to weigh this also because they face the question: do they want to reveal the extent of and the particulars of their surveillance? Do they want to expose this? For example, suppose they're trying to work certain agents into our ranks, do they want to expose them? Do they want to come out and acknowledge that? Do they figure that this RCP is going to be around and it poses a much deeper and more fundamental threat than just this one political action, therefore, it's more valuable and impor-

tant to them, you know, to take their time and to try to sink their agents deeper into our ranks rather than revealing them right now just to get this conviction? They're going to have to weigh that too, if you see what I'm saying.

So really, you see, what we are doing, the way we're doing this legal case as well as the motions and so on, really amounts to this. We're saying, you're not even playing by your own rules. You *claim* to have these rules that are "due process," "fair procedure," and so on. You're not even playing by your own rules, which are rigged to begin with. We don't say their rules are fair, we say they're rigged to begin with to enforce the capitalists' rule, but you're not even playing by those rules. That's what our motions amount to. Now what are they going to do about it? Now the ball is in their court, you see what I mean? If they say, "You're right, fuck it. We don't have to play by even those rigged rules when we don't want to and we think it's time and enough's at stake to suspend those rules and introduce some new rules and we can do it and that's all there is to it," well, they can say that, and then that is more exposure. Do you see what I'm getting at?

Reporter: Yeah. Am I summarizing it correctly to say that either way it goes, you win? Because in effect if either the judge or the jury lets you off, that's vindication that shows you were wrongly arrested, wrongly charged and wrongly processed. If you're convicted, then you'll campaign that point; the system was successful, was designed to keep you down and successfully did it in this case by convicting you and sending you off to jail.

B.A.: Well, it's not quite so simple as that. If we lose the case, that will be a defeat. If we are convicted, that will be a defeat for us, there's no getting around that. We do not want to be convicted. In other words, it's not like, "Who cares. Heads we win, tails they lose." We do not want to be convicted! That would be a crippling blow against our Party and against building a revolutionary movement in this country. But, and therefore, we're going to fight mainly by mobilizing and doing political work among masses of people to expose what's going on here and to rally them in support of our fight, as well as by our legal maneuvers which also have a political thrust to them. (Our whole legal strategy is to bring out the political nature of what's going on here. It's not to wrangle with them about the niceties of the law.) Now, we believe that defeats can be turned into their opposites. You can, in fact, by working and by regrouping, overcome defeats and move forward in the face of defeats. So if we're convicted, we're not going to give up. We're not just going to say, "Well, they're too powerful. You can't do anything." We are going to use that as a further exposure. But there's no getting around the fact that would be a defeat for us. It won't in any way lessen our determination to work for revolution, nor will it prevent us from carrying out work for revolution. But it certainly would be a crippling blow and I don't want to try and downplay that. We're taking this extremely seriously. If we do suffer at the hands of that defeat, we will do what you have to do—which is to regroup to go out and use that as more material for exposure, as well as everything else going on

in society. . . .

Reporter: Will it be a defeat in the sense that the movement or the RCP will have lost credibility or will it be a defeat in the sense that a number of you will be literally out of circulation for a while?

B.A.: In the latter sense, because by correctly dealing with this politically, we will *not* be politically defeated through this. And that's very important. I think it's a very good question and an important distinction. You see, it's one thing if you are politically defeated, that is, if you discredit yourself politically or if you compromise fundamental political principles in the course of any activity that you carry out. Then you've suffered a defeat that is very hard to turn around because you've discredited yourself and compromised yourself politically. We will not do that. We are standing on our principles and we're going to continue to stand on them. But it would be an organizational defeat in the sense that you said. A number of us, including myself, would obviously be removed from the political situation. They've got a lot of years hanging over our heads. We've got work to do and it'll be a crippling blow against our Party and against the revolutionary movement if a number of us, including myself, are sent to jail for any period of time. . . . It would not be a minor blow, it'll be an extremely serious setback. It won't prevent revolution ultimately and it won't prevent us from working for revolution but it will certainly be a very serious setback. You know, this is a *real* struggle that we're involved in. It's not just some game. For example, it's like if you lose a battle in warfare, to use an analogy, you can't say that it was a victory for us because it shows how bloodthirsty the enemy is. I mean it does show how bloodthirsty the enemy is, but it's still a defeat. . . .

Reporter: So what it is going to boil down to, when the day of the trial comes, is a kind of credibility contest between you and the police witnesses. You both will be talking to a jury and the police are going to say that the RCP initiated the violence and you're going to testify that they initiated the violence.

B.A.: Right.

Reporter: It's really going to be a battle of testimony there and credibility in the way the two sets of testimony are offered.

B.A.: That's true, and that's important. But what will be most important and fundamental in resolving that is the kind of political atmosphere that exists generally, in the area and even across the country. Because we go in there again, as I said, with a great disadvantage. They are the authority. They are the state. They are the law. They are the United States of America, as they say in their indictments. In other words, they are the ruling class. We're just representatives of the exploited and oppressed people who fundamentally have no rights in this society. So we have to do a lot of work. That's the reason that we're bringing what we call "picked troops"* in here. By the time that trial happens, we're going to create a tremendous amount of turmoil political-

* 200 volunteers from around the country who came to Washington, D.C. in advance of the trial to build the battle to free Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

ly and public opinion. And I want to emphasize—*politically*—we're going to be creating *political* turmoil and creating public opinion around this whole case and all the issues. Because this touches on all the fundamental issues of society and the world. It touches on the developments towards world war. It touches on the nature of the dictatorship in this country. It touches on the question of revolution. Many of the fundamental questions, political questions, of society and world affairs are going to be brought out in this trial. But the main way we're going to fight to win victory, that is to defeat their attempts to convict us, is by going out broadly in this city and around the country, but especially concentrated in this city. So, as I said, the atmosphere is going to be one where, when the trial opens, they are going to have to weigh the political atmosphere where hundreds of thousands of people in this area and many more around the country know about this case and have heard from us what really went on. That's going to be, ultimately, the most decisive thing.

If you look at the Supreme Court, the Supreme Court is a high political body and in a certain way, it is a political barometer of what the ruling class is doing and what the level of struggle of the people is. They'll take the same issues of law and find *exactly opposite* things about them from one period to another. If you begin to read any of these decisions, you can see that they are inherently, essentially, and rather clearly political. A judge or a panel of judges will sit there and say one thing one time and say another thing another time, going all the way back to the beginning. You have the "Dred Scott" decision and everything else all the way up to the present. All of these are extremely political. They reflect the struggle between different class forces in society and that's what's going to be going on in this case. Whether the judge grants any of our motions is not going to be determined primarily on the basis of the force of our legal arguments, though our arguments, according to their own rules, are very powerful arguments legally. But that's not going to be decisive. The judge is going to weigh it politically and *he's* not even going to be personally deciding things in this case either. There are going to be people *much* more significant in the political structure that are going to be telling him how he ought to decide. They're not going to leave it up to Judge Pratt to decide this case. □