

MAO TSETUNG'S IMMORTAL CONTRIBUTIONS, PART 5: CULTURE AND THE SUPERSTRUCTURE



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Political Strikes, Rebellions Batter Regime

Down, Down, Down with the Shah!



Striking workers from a transformer factory near Tehran demonstrate on September 3, 1978.

The revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people has surged forward and reached new heights in recent weeks. From one end of Iran to the other millions are taking to the streets, battling the regime and demanding "Down with the Shah!"

A most significant development has been the eruption of a powerful strike movement involving more than one million Iranian workers. In plant after plant the workers are raising political demands, calling for the release of the

regime's political prisoners and for an end to martial law.

Over 40,000 oil workers form the heart of this strike movement. Their militant walkouts have shut down virtually all of Iran's \$22 billion a year oil industry, thus dealing a severe economic blow to the regime, throwing it into deeper political crisis, and giving a powerful impetus to the people's movement as a whole.

The U.S. imperialists are growing more and more alarmed about the mor-

—FLASH—

As we go to press, further developments have taken place in Iran. Widespread street fighting in Tehran left the state bank, the British embassy and numerous other imperialist targets in flames. Only the quick arrival of Iranian troops saved the U.S. embassy the same fate.

With panic spreading in the Shah's regime and among its U.S. puppeteers, the government of Sharif Emani was replaced by open rule of Iran's army, headed by General Gholam Reza Azhari. This is the same butcher who as chief of staff of the armed forces presided over the murder of 5000 people in Jaleh square on September 8.

Despite this assassin's new go-ahead for even more vicious repression of the masses, the cry "Death to the Shah" continues to reverberate throughout Iran. ■

tal danger the Iranian people's revolutionary struggle poses to their strategic interests in the oil-rich Persian Gulf.

Strikes Batter Regime

Beginning in early October, the list of strikers has grown to include: auto, machinery and match factory workers in Tabriz, steel workers and iron ore miners around Isfahan, copper, aluminum, textile and furniture workers and close to a million government em-

ployees, including nearly all of Iran's teachers. Iran's national news agency, the post office, railroads, the radio and television network, and the national airlines have all been closed down by strikes for most of the last several weeks.

In most cases the workers' initial demands were economic. A common demand was for 100% wage increases to catch up with the spiralling rate of inflation. But the strikes rapidly took on a political character and are now overwhelmingly directed against the Shah's regime itself (and in some cases, have explicitly targeted U.S. imperialism's domination of Iran as well).

- In Iran's southern oilfields striking workers refused the offer of a 100% wage increase. They called it a bribe and raised demands for the immediate release of the tens of thousands of political prisoners held by the regime and an end to martial law. In some instances, oil workers demanded that the regime rip up its agreement signed in 1973 to guarantee long-term supplies of oil from the "nationalized" oil fields at bargain prices to the Western oil consortium.

- Striking teachers changed their wage demands to the demand for the release of political prisoners.

- At one nuclear reactor plant, striking workers raised the demand of kicking out U.S. engineers, managers and military personnel from their plant.

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Moody 3 Fight Hits Raw Nerve



Demonstrations nationwide defended the Houston rebellion and the Moody Park 3. In Houston (left), police arrested 18-year-old Edward Gallegos, holding him on \$10,000 bail, at the end of this march. In Seattle (right), as shown here, police viciously attacked the demonstration.

Houston Youth Arrested, Seattle Cops Attack



VW Wildcat

Rabbit Bosses Sent Hopping

For a week in mid-October, rank and file autoworkers at the New Stanton, Pa. VW Rabbit factory had Volkswagen and the UAW International by the short hares. Their wildcat strike for wages and a contract in line with Big Three contracts had the six month old \$250 million plant shut down tight, temporarily upsetting the UAW International's plans to lure foreign auto manufacturers to this country by saddling autoworkers with rotten sub-industry standard contracts. Although the wildcat was short-lived and the workers have since been forced to accept a similar if not worse contract than the one they originally rejected, their example of taking on the auto companies and the sellout leadership of the UAW inspired many workers throughout the area and autoworkers throughout the country.

When Volkswagen first announced plans to set up an assembly line in this country, capitalists in several areas of the country under consideration began salivating in expectation, promising how "stable" their work force was, what tax advantages they could offer, and so forth. VW's decision to locate in New Stanton was portrayed as an "award" for the area, with company officials and local politicians doing a big PR job about all the "good jobs." 40,000 workers applied for jobs from all over the East and Midwest, because jobs are hard to find, and besides, UAW organizers were promising a contract "comparable to the Big Three

contracts."

But the UAW International had no intentions of fighting for parity with other autoworkers. Their actions have made it clear to many autoworkers that their main aim is to protect the capitalist's profits and to keep the workers in line, as they did in the sellout contract they helped force on autoworkers in 1976. And they had shown that on the question of parity they were willing to do more than conciliate, as for example exempting AMC from industry parity in 1976 because of its poor financial condition.

In June, when workers voted in the UAW Local 2055, they were determined to fight for a good contract, and against the unsafe conditions, mandatory overtime, and constant speedup and harassment they were already facing. For six months the workers laboured without a contract, making \$5.50 an hour (as compared to about \$8.20 an hour under Big Three contracts at present), while the UAW bargaining committee kept a tight lid on what was going on in negotiations. But VW was beginning to wake up to the fact that their hopes of having found willing docile slaves was a dream. On September 14 two workers shut down the assembly line because of the unsafe conditions. When they were fired, the entire plant walked out forcing VW to back down and rehire the two.

Nevertheless, VW and the UAW international thought the workers were ready to jump at the first sellout

package they wrapped up and called "great." When the joint company-union (or more simply company union) proposal was revealed on Oct. 8, the rank and file was outraged. On almost every issue, the contract was way behind other auto contracts, with wages averaging \$1.50 an hour less and not reaching the present wage level of autoworkers until the end of the three year contract. But with the Big Three contracts scheduled to be refought in 1979, this could leave VW workers further behind, while undermining these negotiations themselves and further breaking down industry-wide wage and benefit agreements. (This is the UAW International way to achieve parity—to hold down wages throughout the industry.) UAW president Doug Fraser accurately portrayed the VW contract as, "an excellent example for other foreign auto manufacturers who may open manufacturing or assembly operations in the U.S."—in other words, how low do you need to go?

The rank and file's response was not quite what the UAW and VW had expected. They voted 1235 to 94 to reject the pact over the opposition of the International representative who had his hands full trying to call everyone out of order saying "I'll tell you what you'll take." With him whining that a strike was not authorized, the workers voted to strike and shut the plant down on Monday Oct. 9.

But the UAW International quickly set about sabotaging this struggle. Because of the lack of an established union bureaucracy at VW, it had no traditional chain of command to rely on and the international representatives who were sent from Detroit had practically no respect among the workers. Instead a sizeable collection of would-be union hacks who are eyeing the upcoming union elections were more influential in breaking the strike by pushing "proper procedures" unionism. At the same time, while at first the rank and file felt free to rebel and rely on themselves, they quickly ran

up against their own lack of rank and file organizations and leadership and were unable to carry their rebellion through.

The UAW used this weakness to the fullest by avoiding calling another meeting like the plague. Instead they called a back to work vote for Oct. 14 which was held at a tire dealership with state police all over the place preventing workers from gathering into groups, forcing them to leave the area after voting and preventing anyone from distributing any literature. This was after the National United Workers Organization had gotten a leaflet out to the strikers, upholding the wildcat, during the week.

The UAW, working from the principle that the fourth biggest world auto maker in terms of dollars sales couldn't, in the words of VW's president and chief executive officer in the U.S., "afford at this time to match the Big Three and survive," quickly came up with another agreement whose overall cost to VW remained unchanged.

In return for 50¢ more in the first year of the contract, they agreed to "substantially" lower the pay scales for newly hired workers from the original agreement and increased the length of time these scales would apply from 90 days to 9 months. With VW planning to double its work force in January by adding a second shift these were more than valuable concessions. To get these attacks passed, the International called together a select group of 120 workers which they used to campaign for passage among the rank and file. And on Oct. 21, using the same procedures as for the back to work vote, complete with cops, they successfully got the contract ratified.

But as the rank and file workers at Volkswagen have already shown by their rebelliousness and their wildcats, they may have been defeated in this contract battle, but they will not be contained for long. ■

The Evidence? He's Black!

Tommy Lee Hines Railroaded

The following is compiled from several articles from the Workers Press Service (WPS). WPS links together the 19 local editions of the Worker, published under the leadership of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Tommy Lee Hines, a 26-year-old mentally retarded Black man from Decatur, Alabama, is now a prisoner of the State of Alabama. He had been a student at a school for the mentally retarded in Decatur. Judge Jack C. Riley ordered Hines jailed without bond following a ludicrous but vicious frame-up trial in which Hines was convicted and sentenced to 30 years for the rape of a 21-year-old white woman.

From the very beginning it was clear that Tommy Lee Hines could not and did not commit the crime he was accused of. Severely retarded from birth,

Hines has less mental capacity than a 7-year-old. His father testified that his son doesn't even have enough coordination to ride a bicycle, and that Hines rarely goes out at night, and never does so alone.

But the fact that Hines is both physically and mentally incapable of rape had no bearing on the final outcome of the case.

Over the strenuous objections of the defense attorneys, Judge Riley allowed the State to introduce into evidence a "confession" which the Decatur police had coerced from Hines, but it was not this "confession" that convicted him. Indeed, his father testified that Tommy Lee, because of his mental condition, would say whatever he thought someone wanted to hear, and would agree with virtually anything suggested to him.

Outrageous Frameup

A poignant example of this came out during the trial, in the testimony of a psychiatrist who had interviewed Tommy Lee. After he was arrested Hines had been charged with three unsolved rapes in Decatur. Two of these (for which he has not yet been tried) involved the rapist driving his victim to a secluded area before committing the crime. Since it was widely assumed that Tommy Lee couldn't drive, the police based their charges on the fact that he told them he could drive "a little."

The psychiatrist testified that during his interview with Hines the subject of driving a car was raised and Hines responded as he had responded to the police. The psychiatrist continued: "I then asked him, 'can you fly an airplane?' His reply was, 'sometimes, sir.'" Under such conditions the absurdity of accepting Hines' "confession" at face value was self-evident.

Nor was Hines convicted because of the rape victim's "identification" of him, about which she claimed there could be no mistake despite her own admission that her assailant had a green bag over his head. Her claim that she saw him through "a hole cut in the bag," coupled with her inability to identify Hines' picture in a group of five mug shots, stretches to the limits the credibility of her "identification."

No, Tommy Lee Hines was convicted because he is Black. The Hines case has from the very beginning exhibited all the earmarks of a royal frameup. Even the capitalist press was forced to report the trial with mock disapproval and dismay. "A new Scottsboro Boys case?" they asked, as if in disbelief. (The Scottsboro Boys were nine Black youths, aged 13-20, who were unjustly convicted of raping two white women in Alabama in 1931. It was only a broad-based mass movement—international

in scope and led by communists—which prevented their execution and eventually freed eight of them. The ninth escaped from jail in 1948 and charges against him were only recently dropped after nearly 20 years of living in hiding).

On the face of it, the Hines case is an outrage and must be condemned. When the ruling class tries to join in unison in the condemnation, it's a sure bet that they are only trying to compound the outrage. Contrary to the propaganda of the capitalists, this is no isolated case, nor simply an example of "southern injustice." The long history of brutal oppression of Black people in the South, dating back to the days of slavery, has been used by the ruling class to portray the Hines trial as a case of "southern racism" when in fact it is a blatant example of racist bourgeois justice.

There are literally thousands of Tommy Lee Hineses being held captive in jails and prisons across the country. They are prisoners of the system of capitalist "justice" that uses the laws, the cops and the courts as instruments of class rule over the working class and masses of people in this country; that uses jail cells to enforce national oppression, attack the struggles of the working class, lock away people who have serious problems and whose lives have been messed up by the very system itself, and to isolate those who actively fight back against it.

While the ruling class may hypocritically condemn "isolated" cases of injustice, it does so only in a cynical attempt to hide the fact that all oppression in this society, all injustice, is the direct result of its own rotten system of capitalist exploitation, and national oppression is no exception to this rule.

Rulers Unleash the Klan

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"Three Worlds" Strategy: Apology for Capitulation

For some time now, considerable attention in the international communist movement has been devoted to debating the Chinese international line. Since the counter-revolutionary coup in China shortly after Comrade Mao Tsetung's death, it has become crystal clear that the "three worlds" strategy is part and parcel of the Chinese revisionists' general line for the restoration of capitalism in China and capitulation to imperialism, particularly at this time U.S. imperialism, on a world scale.

In 1966 Mao wrote to his wife and close comrade, Chiang Ching, that if, after he died the capitalist-roaders came to power, then "The right in power could utilize my words to become mighty for a while. But then the left will be able to utilize others of my words and organize itself to overthrow the right." These words were very prophetic indeed. But what is remarkable is how few of his words the revisionists in China can dredge up to try to lend Mao's prestige to a line that runs counter to everything Mao spent his life fighting for.

Of course, what stands out most sharply is that the "three worlds" theory is not a theory at all, but rather an empty and shallow justification for the Chinese revisionists to pursue a pragmatic policy in international affairs. A policy not based on advancing the interests of world revolution but on the contrary a policy of sacrificing support for revolutionary struggles and based on an overall line of gutting socialism in China itself for what the revisionist usurpers see to be their immediate and narrow interests. It is a chauvinist "theory" that substitutes the national interests of China—as perceived through the distorted looking glass of the bourgeoisie—for the worldwide struggle against imperialism and demands that these "interests" occupy the central position in the international communist movement.

Because the "three worlds" strategy is a recipe for capitulation, it has found ardent supporters in many countries throughout the world among precisely those self-styled "Marxists" anxious to grab hold of any justification—especially one backed by a country as prestigious as the People's Republic of China—for capitulating to their own bourgeoisie. In our own country we have seen this most clearly and shamelessly on the part of the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (formerly the October League) which has used this "theory" to justify their line of aiming their "main blow" not at their own rulers, the U.S. ruling class, but at the Soviet social-imperialists. Similarly, they and others like them have found the "three worlds" strategy a handy justification for ignoring and in fact opposing the genuine struggles for national liberation in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. But just as this revisionist line has been taken up by opportunists and social-chauvinists around the world, genuine Marxist-Leninists have come forward to fight it from every corner of the globe also.

Discards Class Analysis

The Chinese revisionists (in their major article on the subject "Chairman Mao's [sic] Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds Is a Major Contribution to Marxism-Leninism") purport that the "three worlds" analysis reflects the alignment of class forces on a world scale. However, nothing could be further from the truth.

To take a step back, for a moment, from the lofty world of geo-politics, it is obvious that the "three worlds" analysis provides no insight into the actual tasks or alignment of class forces in any particular country. Quite the contrary, to the extent that it is used to provide any actual direction in this regard, it is downright reactionary—except perhaps in the Soviet Union, in which, apparently, revolution is not outlawed yet.

In the "third world," for example, we find lumped together countries with very differing class relationships. In most of these countries political power is in the hands of enemies of the revolution, the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlords. Can there be any question that in countries like Iran, the Philippines, Chile, Kenya, Nicaragua or Brazil, the task confronting the masses of people is the overthrow of their regimes even to win national liberation? What possible meaning can the "struggle against imperialism" have if it does not have as its cornerstone establishing the political rule of the popular classes, first and foremost the working class and the peasantry?

In other countries such as Mozambique or Tanzania, political power does not rest with the out-front spokesmen for imperialism and instead the political task is one of arming the masses with the understanding that the national bourgeoisie is likely to capitulate to imperialism or, failing that, to be crushed by it. The communists must prepare the masses politically, organizationally and militarily to carry the revolution forward to socialism and must consistently build struggle toward that aim. And the "three worlds" theory would even place the "socialist countries" as part of this monolithic "third world." (As to why Mao refer-

red to China as part of the "third world," more later.)

Similarly, with the so-called second world we find mostly imperialist countries. Their social order, their class basis, is indistinguishable from the superpowers themselves. The task of the proletariat in these countries can only be the overthrow of its own ruling class, not some sort of struggle against the superpowers in alliance with its "own" bourgeoisie. It is also quite clear that many of these so-called second world countries are big international exploiters in their own right. To talk of the "unity between the second world and the third world" can only mean the strengthening and expansion of the present "unity" (of opposites) that already exists. Does the fact that France, for example, has a bigger share in some West African states than the U.S. mean that somehow the masses in those countries should fight to preserve their present situation? That somehow the fundamental social order is different than if the U.S. or the Soviet Union singlehandedly ran the show?

The "three worlds" theory makes the assumption (and insistence!) in analysing the "second world" countries that a revolutionary situation does not exist nor can one conceivably arise. Therefore the working class in these countries can do no better than to vie with the bourgeoisie for the position of being the best fighters in preserving the imperialists' interests.

Thus it can be seen that no matter how it is looked at, the "three worlds" analysis provides no clue about how to advance the struggle for revolution in any particular country. But the "three worlds" strategy is being put forward as an overall global strategy (the question of making revolution in any country does not enter into it). The first question that inevitably comes to mind is, a strategy for what? And once again the answer emerges—for anything but advancing the revolution worldwide.

Indeed, one is treading on thin ice as soon as a "strategy" for the international proletariat is advanced. Historical experience has shown that such strategies, even where correct, have but limited and short-term usefulness. From a world-historic viewpoint one basic strategic alliance emerges in the epoch of imperialism—the link between the struggle of the proletariat of the advanced countries for socialism and the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples of the colonial countries as the two component parts of the world proletarian revolution.

Upholds New Colonialism

But despite the liberal use of quotations from Lenin, Stalin and Mao about this basic feature of the struggle against world imperialism by the Chinese revisionists, the "three worlds analysis" goes entirely against this Leninist principle. In fact, it exactly negates the national liberation struggles—essentially presenting them as a thing of the past. In place of the struggle for national liberation in the "third world," which can only have at its heart the struggle for political (i.e., state) power, it substitutes the fight for "economic independence," led by the reactionary ruling classes!

The "three worlds" strategy postulates that the great majority of "third world" countries have achieved their independence but are still subjected to bullying and encroachments by the superpowers. But this assumption, which they hope to pass off with a sleight of hand, runs contrary to the facts and to the revolutionary line of Lenin and, specifically, Mao. Lenin, citing Argentina's dependence on Britain, showed in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* that formal political independence did not at all rule out real imperialist domination.

While such cases were, in Lenin's time, the exception to the rule (the imperialists finding it still possible to rule through direct colonization), one of Mao's important points in the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism was to stress that neo-colonialism had become the common form for the imperialists, U.S. imperialism especially, to dominate large chunks of the globe. He fought tooth and nail against the very proposition that neo-colonial bondage could somehow disappear through "economic progress," i.e., without revolution. One need only recall Vietnam, where the southern half of the country was formally "independent," to realize what a shuck this line is. And, in fact, in the great majority of the "third world" real "independence," that is liberation from imperialism, is precisely the item on the agenda.

Far from a strategy which would encourage the masses of people in the "third world" nations to rise up against neo-colonial domination, the "three worlds" strategy is one which actually calls on it to be strengthened. A few of the "theoretical" (and practical) points raised by the Chinese revisionists are worth taking brief note of.

Here is how the Chinese revisionists present the struggle in the "third world" since World War 2:

In the early post-war years, most of the third world countries had not yet won their independence and some were in a semi-independent position. At that

time their struggle was aimed at winning national liberation and independence, and it primarily took the form of revolutionary armed struggle. It was then universally acknowledged that they constituted the main force in combating imperialism. Today, the people in some parts of the third world are still carrying on armed struggle for liberation and independence, still fighting in the forefront of the world-wide struggle against imperialism and colonialism. It is the sacred duty of both the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world to render resolute support to their struggle. [As in Iran?!—RCP]

Now a new question arises: Will the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America which have won independence continue to be the main force in the struggle against imperialism for a fairly long historical period? Our answer is yes. (Our emphasis. From the Chinese revisionists' major statement, "Chairman Mao's [sic] Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds Is a Major Contribution to Marxism-Leninism" appearing first in English in *Peking Review* #45, 1977 and republished as a pamphlet, to which the page numbers refer, and hereafter referred to as "Three Worlds" article. pp.42-3)

Clearly the point the revisionists are making is that the national liberation struggles as such are a thing of the past and can only exist today by way of exception. Instead the central point is whether the countries (which can only mean the regimes in power, as distinct from nation, meaning the people) will maintain and strengthen their independence. The fight for political power is liquidated, and with it the need for revolution for, as Mao put it so brilliantly, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Despite the fact that certain real changes have taken place in the "third world" countries over the last two decades and more, one would be hard pressed to explain how the fundamental class bases of the countries has shifted or how the hold of imperialism over them is now fundamentally different.

In Latin America, for example, almost all the countries were formally independent prior to World War 2: no real change in their social systems has taken place nor any real difference in their relation to imperialism. How can one say that the regimes in these countries correctly targeted by Mao and the Chinese Communist Party in the '60s as neo-colonial props of imperialism have now become "independent" regimes which have to be strengthened, not overthrown?

For the purposes of demagoguery, the Chinese revisionists deliberately try to confound the categories of "people" and "nation" with "country," hoping to bestow on the reactionary regimes the revolutionary mantle of the struggle against imperialism and for national liberation. But demagoguery is just that—demagoguery—and when we get to the heart of the actual political questions it is clear that the Chinese revisionists oppose the struggle for liberation.

Take, for example, one of their characterizations of the great progress the "third world" countries have taken toward independence. "A large number of third world countries now have their own armies and in varying degrees have shed the influence of colonialism." What an accomplishment! What, might we ask, is the class nature of these armies? Do they exist to maintain a social order based upon the rule of the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlords, or are they really armies directed against imperialism? Perhaps this view of the importance of the army explains the Chinese revisionists' special love for the Shah of Iran who has succeeded in building up an army which exceeds that of some imperialist powers in strength and arms. And the recent events in Iran should make clear to anyone who has followed events there and is not a fool, or a charlatan, on whose behalf it acts.

Lastly, on the Chinese revisionists' love for neo-colonialism, in Teng Hsiao-ping's 1974 address to the United Nations, at which the "three worlds" analysis was first presented, he makes the following suggestion:

In many developing countries, the production of raw materials accounts for a considerable proportion of the national economy. If they can take in their own hands the production, use, sale, storage and transport of raw materials and sell them at reasonable prices on the basis of equitable trade relations in exchange for a greater amount of goods needed for the growth of their industrial and agricultural production, they will then be able to resolve step by step the difficulties they are facing and pave the way for an early emergence from poverty and backwardness.

Quite a statement from a "Marxist-Leninist"! Not only is it unnecessary to wage revolution to emerge from poverty and backwardness, but the very neo-colonial relations themselves can accomplish it! Teng's recipe for progress is not one whit different than the Soviets' call for an "international division of labor," or, more crassly, imperialist Britain's now shattered claim to be the "workshop of the world."

The imperialist relationship between the advanced countries and the dependencies is not primarily the lack of "equitable trade relations," but precisely that

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Carter's LOSE Program

Wage-Price Speech Confession of Crisis

Jimmy Carter's recently unveiled wage-price guideline program is the latest in what is getting to be a long line of attempts by the capitalists and their state to deal with inflation. Kennedy attempted to set up guidelines, followed in this by Johnson. Nixon was forced to resort to a "wage-price freeze" which did, indeed, effectively hold down wages while prices continued to rise (as did profits).

This points up the class content of these "freezes" and guidelines. In the face of a very real crisis of U.S. imperialism, the capitalists must attack the working class, attempting to make the workers pay the toll for this crisis in the bourgeois system. This fact is so clear that even *Business Week* is constrained to admit that the effect of the Nixon controls and the Kennedy-Johnson guidelines was "to cut labor's share of national income and to boost that of capital" (11/6/78).

A Self-Exposure

After Nixon came Ford's short-lived "WIN" program. And now we have Carter's program, which might be called "LOSE." For the general context of Carter's proposal is the crisis of U.S. imperialism, the beginning of a downward spiral, a crisis which the U.S. bourgeoisie is powerless to prevent. (See accompanying article, this page.) In this context, Carter's program is largely a confession of this powerlessness. It is close to an open admission of the fact that increasing inflation and increasing unemployment lie ahead under capitalism.

In addition, the program is, like its predecessors, a political banner under which the bourgeoisie aims to shift

more of the burden of this crisis onto the back of the U.S. working class. This is even apparent on the face of it, if you read the fine print. Wages (and benefits) are supposed to be held to 7% annually. Prices are to have a "target" of 6-6½% nationwide—so that apparently wage increases can more than keep up with inflation.

But it turns out that this target is to be achieved through a system which involves giving any single company the leeway to raise its prices up to 9.5% (depending on how much it has raised them in past years)! Further, food prices are totally exempt from any guidelines at all. Actually the whole plan is predicated on the bourgeois theory (or agitational slogan) that inflation is basically caused by wage increases. Thus the reasoning is that if wage increases can be held down to 7%, the overall rate of inflation can be kept to just under 7%.

Of course this "theory" is a vicious lie, which has been disproved time and again even by bourgeois economists, who have shown that in general wage increases follow rather than precede price rises.

Then, to try to lure workers into this trap, Carter holds out a plan for "real wage insurance." This is a promise of tax rebates for workers whose wages don't go up more than 7% if the rate of inflation does go above 7%. But, as he has demonstrated so well in the past, Carter is a master of the "sincere" promise to the downtrodden—promises which he is somehow never quite able to keep.

In this case, such a rebate program would have to be passed by Congress, and would involve payments by the government of \$10 billion for each per-

centage point that inflation went above 7%. The chances of the U.S. government doing such a thing are about as great as that the bourgeoisie will lie down quietly and give up state power.

"Austerity"

Actually, rather than being linked to any thought of a giveaway, the heart of Carter's proposal is an "austerity" program. This, too, is the general context for the further economic measures announced a week later by the Administration.

In Carter's October 24 wage-price speech, he promised to hold down federal spending to 21% of the gross national product and to keep next year's federal deficit to \$30 billion or less, which means no growth in government spending at all in the next budget.

He also praised the Federal Reserve's restrictive monetary policies. (And, not coincidentally, the Fed tightened the restrictions one week later.) All of this shows the total hypocrisy of Carter's fake rebate plan, for if the rate of inflation next year were to be 10% (which is the current rate), the rebates would amount to \$30 billion!

Hurrahs! from Capitalists

Capitalists have been voicing satisfaction with Carter's plan—as well they might. Before the unveiling, for example, General Electric Co. Chairman Reginald H. Jones (who serves as liaison between the White House and the "business community") did not think he would like Carter's proposal, saying that guidelines would not dampen inflation.

After the speech, however, he praised the President for "insisting on more re-

sponsible fiscal and monetary policies and reducing the burden of excessive regulation." The reaction was typical, as the White House received letters and telegrams of endorsement from companies like ITT and 3M, as well as from people like Heath Larry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers.

The chiefs of the labor aristocracy, playing their expected role, rushed to capitulate, while mouthing a few face-saving grumbles on the side. Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons, whose union will be the first to negotiate under these guidelines, said that his members "will do their share." Douglas Fraser of the UAW announced: "I don't think anyone should reject this out of hand." And the AFL-CIO executive council made a show of opposition to the Carter plan—by demanding that mandatory controls be imposed! "Controls, yes. We're ready to have our wages controlled," squeaked George Meany.

Of course, these hacks try to put up a militant front as "fighters for the working man." Thus the main thing Meany emphasizes is the "unfairness" of Carter's guidelines; but his alternative is mandatory controls on workers and capitalists alike, which would in practice mean to deliver the workers, hands tied, even more surely into the hands of the capitalists. The real essence of the line of these bureaucrats, no matter what their pseudo-militant rhetoric, is capitulation.

Meanwhile Presidential advisor Barry Bosworth, director of the Council on Wage and Price Stability, let the cat out of the bag. In a speech October 30, he said that if inflation is to be controlled, the government must call off any effort to reduce unemployment. And, he added, there is a good prospect for a recession in 1979—"a recession far more severe than that of 1975."

This is what the bourgeoisie and their system have to offer the working class in the immediate future—cut-backs, real wage losses, growing unemployment, and a good prospect for a recession. In this context the Carter wage-price scheme has one main purpose: to try to get the workers to participate in and capitulate to attacks on the working class. ■

Legislation, Elections '78

Bourgeois Liberalism—A Tattered Cloak

The political happenings and maneuverings to which the bourgeoisie has treated us over the past month on the domestic front would seem on the surface to illustrate nothing so much as the utter banality of bourgeois politics. The most natural spontaneous reaction to the upcoming elections is a giant yawn. Before precipitously adjourning so that members could turn their full attention to campaigning in these elections, the 95th Congress passed a spate of legislation which has left even bourgeois commentators gasping at the combination of open chicanery and hot air. And then followed Carter's wage-price guidelines, a tired warming-over of attempts by previous administrations, all time-tested failures in achieving their stated goal of controlling inflation.

But, banal and yawn-provoking as all of this undoubtedly is, this does not mean that these events are insignificant. Their significance lies in the increasing inability of bourgeois liberalism, even while it remains the dominant line of the bourgeoisie, to provide even a token solution to the needs of the people, and in what this reveals about the crisis of U.S. imperialism.

Carter's Confession

It is fitting that Carter should have introduced his wage-price guideline program with such profundities as the following:

What is the solution? I do not have all the answers... Perhaps there is no complete and adequate answer... What we have instead is a number of partial remedies. Some of them will help, some may not...

But what else could he say? This is more than just Carter's usual sanctimonious humility. It is all too ap-

parent that all that Carter and the capitalists have been able to come up with is a resurrection of what the bourgeoisie has repeated every few years throughout this decade, without ever being able to abate, let alone halt, the virulent inflation which infects its system. Carter has been making much of his commitment to *voluntary* restraints (in line with his general promotion of appeals to "morality" and "sweet reason"). But this only contributes to the general air of hopelessness and the feeling that these "guidelines" are bound to be that much more ineffectual than Nixon's more-or-less mandatory controls.

Of course it goes without saying that in any of these schemes it is the working class which bears the brunt. This is also the meaning of Carter's scheme, to the extent it does have real effects. (See accompanying article.)

ERA and Humphrey-Hawkins

Some of the bills passed by Congress in its final weeks present a similar picture. The Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill, after a long gestation period, proved in birth to be a fitting progeny of what Hubert Humphrey was—empty, fatuous, puffed-up, with a veneer of mindless "optimism," whose only substance lies in its underhanded attack on the working class.

This bill was originally unveiled in 1976, and was supposed to be something which would *guarantee* "full employment"—defined as 4% unemployment! When it was finally passed, the bill was just a statement of intention to reduce unemployment to 4% by 1983—and also to reduce inflation, balance the budget, get a trade surplus and give higher price supports

to farmers!

Humphrey-Hawkins is more of a bad joke than anything else—a sop thrown to the weeping and hand-wringing liberal alliance which has been pushing for it, which reveals itself on its face to be less than even a sop. A more apt analogy would be throwing a whining dog a fake bone.

Originally the Humphrey-Hawkins was designed as a way of diverting the struggle of the working class for jobs into "proper" channels—namely into fighting for this bill. Something similar can be said of the Equal Rights Amendment, for which the bourgeoisie reaffirmed its support by extending the deadline for its ratification by the states. The ERA has always been a trap which the bourgeoisie has attempted to foist upon the women's movement.

The ruling class (or sections of it) has pushed the ERA for many decades now. At first one of their main purposes was to use the amendment to knock down the protective laws for women which the working class had fought for, and to lower the wages of men to the level of women's. But in the course of time the capitalists have come to value it even more for other reasons.

One purpose which it clearly serves is as a dead end into which they can try to steer the women's movement. If the mass struggle of women against their oppression can be directed into a legalistic battle for the passage of this amendment, so much the better for those responsible for women's oppression, the capitalists themselves. On the other hand, these same dogs can also take the opportunity to whip up a reactionary movement to "stop ERA," led by the likes of Phyllis Schlafly, an old Goldwater Republican who brazenly defends the oppression of women: "We like 'our place!'" Extending the

deadline means that the bourgeoisie has another three and a half years to use this weapon to try to divide, confuse and mislead the people around this issue—as well as to get the amendment itself passed.

Capitalists Get "Tax Relief"

In looking at the tax bill which Congress passed and the President will sign, it would be somewhat naive to remember Carter's heart-felt campaign promise to make the tax code "fair, equitable and progressive and to substantially lower taxes," and to compare this with the obvious fact, apparent even to bourgeois journalists, that this bill is "probably the most business-oriented tax measure produced by Congress since 1964" (*Newsweek* 10/23/78).

The main features of the bill are the lowering of the capital-gains tax and the corporate income tax. Income from capital gains (it is money realized from the *gain* in the value of one's *capital*) is already taxed at a much lower rate than income from wages, and this "reform" lowers it even more.

These are straight-forward measures to benefit capitalists to the tune of billions of dollars, and there are also new credits for various types of investments which will have the same effect, as well as all the usual special little "loopholes" that are specially tailored to benefit individual capitalists or companies. In addition, various tax *increases* for sections of the people are embodied in the bill. The elderly lost a tax credit, for instance, and the handicapped an exemption. Employees can no longer deduct contributions to pen-

Continued on page 10

Mao Memorial Month Final Events

Forward with Revolution Never Wavering!

The historic Mao Tsetung Memorial Month, which began with the two mass meetings in New York and San Francisco in early September, concluded with local programs sponsored by the Revolutionary Communist Party on the weekend of October 6-8. The programs marked two years since the arrest of Mao's staunch allies, the so-called "gang of four."

These meetings honored not only Mao Tsetung, but the Four as well, who refused to bow down and make a cowardly surrender of the cause of the proletariat, who fought to the last for Mao's line and in doing so made it still more possible for millions in China and around the world to grasp clearly the nature of the reversal and to pick up the revolutionary banner carried by these heroes.

The spirit and content of these final meetings really crystalized and underscored the significance of the Mao Memorial Month for Party cadre and the many advanced forces from among the masses who attended. A key theme of these programs, held in almost two dozen cities, was the importance of the Mao Tsetung Enrollment announced by the Party in the October issue of *Revolution*. This call for enrollment into the ranks of the Party was a "direct call to workers and others who see the need for socialist revolution and are serious about devoting themselves to bringing it about in this country and making every possible contribution to the historic task of achieving communism worldwide, to come forward and apply for admission to the vanguard of the working class in this country, the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A." The third anniversary of the RCP was celebrated at the programs.

Party speakers emphasized that the stand taken by communists and revolutionary-minded people in the face of the bitter defeat for proletarian revolution in China will greatly affect the struggle of the working class in the U.S. and other countries to liberate itself from the chains of capitalism. To fall victim to the cynicism the bourgeoisie is trying to spread, with its gleeful reports of the dismantling of socialism in China, will only lead to abandoning the revolutionary struggle of the masses. To embrace the scoundrels now riding high in China, to proclaim their trampling on all that Mao stood for and the victories of the

Cultural Revolution as the real meaning of revolution, to grovel before the "practical" capitalist crusade of the current Chinese leadership, is to condemn the masses to continued slavery. And to incorrectly sum up the reversal in China and its causes can only lead away from the path that will actually lead to revolution.

In sharp contrast, the Party used the knife of Marxism-Leninism; Mao Tsetung Thought to cut through the web of lies and treachery the capitalists and revisionists have tried to spin to confuse and demoralize people and to hide the real lessons of the reactionary coup d'etat. The Party rallied thousands under the call to uphold the banner of Mao and, summing up the causes and lessons of the revisionist triumph in China, boldly pointed to the future with revolutionary optimism.

This is no Pollyanna "stiff upper lip in the face of adversity." The Mao Memorial Month and the Mao Tsetung Enrollment are a sharp rebuke to those who think they have buried the red flag of revolution in the dust. Party speakers at these programs, as well as the call for the enrollment itself, emphasized the need to master and apply the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, not only in deepening understanding of the causes and lessons of the revisionist coup in China, but to get a firm grasp on the development of revolutionary struggle in the U.S.

A woman attending one of the programs said, "If I can understand the earthshaking things that happen in the world, like what happened in China, I can certainly play a role in helping to change the world."

Tasks Ahead

In this light Party speakers directly took on the question: "What do we do in the face of this reversal and what is the road forward to revolution in the U.S.?" How should we look at the massive upsurges that shook the country during the anti-war movement and the Black liberation struggles of the '60s and early '70s and the relative lull in mass struggle today?

What is the actual state of the capitalist system and its much proclaimed ability to "rebound" from crisis? What are the implications for the masses of the

people and revolutionary struggle of the intensifying contention between the U.S. and the Soviet Union?

It was pointed out that these are some of the key questions developed in the 1976 Central Committee report of the RCP, "Revolutionary Work in a Non-Revolutionary Situation." As one Party speaker bluntly put it: "Why are we busting our backs today to build revolutionary struggle and organization of the working class?"

The answer to that question lies in using the science of Marxism-Leninism to understand the inevitability of revolutionary crisis under capitalism and the eventual triumph of the cause of the proletariat. And, closely linked to this, it means grasping the possibilities for advances toward that goal that exist within today's situation and the important role that individuals, by taking the revolutionary stand of the proletariat and joining its vanguard party, can play in speeding the achievement of that great goal.

Mao Tsetung saw very clearly that the road to revolution is not a straight line, that it is marked by many twists and turns, advances and setbacks. One of Mao's greatest contributions to the development of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian ideology was his understanding, developed in the struggle against the Soviet revisionists and the capitalist-roaders in China, that even after the proletariat had overthrown the bourgeoisie and won liberation it was possible for proletarian rule to be reversed and capitalism restored.

Today the imperialist system is at the beginning of a new spiral. This spiral is and will be increasingly marked by the crisis of the imperialist system and will give way to another spiral only through world war among the imperialists to redivide the world, revolution or—most likely—both, on a world scale.

In this country as well as others, this will mean increased oppression of the masses—and increased resistance to

that oppression. And, while not definitely or automatically leading to a revolutionary situation here, it will raise at least the prospect of a revolution in a number of countries, possibly including the U.S.

In this regard, the speeches pointed out that our work today must be carried out as preparation of the masses and the Party itself for the ripening of a revolutionary situation, whether that comes relatively soon or only later, through the "working out" of the present spiral or only in a later one.

And these speeches also stressed that where things are at today—in a new spiral which might raise the real prospect of revolution in this country—is an advance from the period of the 1960s and early '70s. Still, moving ahead today requires building off the genuine gains of the struggles of the '60s, and many of these gains were expressed in a concentrated way in the formation of the Revolutionary Communist Party, which is determined to carry forward this revolutionary tradition, while basing itself firmly on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and on the proletariat.

The slogans for the final programs summed up the situation for the working people in the U.S. in the wake of the revisionist takeover in China. FORWARD WITH THE GREAT LESSONS OF THE PARIS COMMUNE, THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION AND THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION! In its great struggles and victories, the international working class has also suffered serious setbacks and defeats. Yet each of these victories, though later being set back, has advanced the cause of our class and led to new breakthroughs. LEARN FROM THE FOUR WHO FOUGHT FOR MAO'S LINE AND REVOLUTION, NEVER WAVERING! Because revolutionaries in China did not cave in to those who want to replace the goal of working class revolution with a bowl of goulash and new chains of exploitation, we are in a much better position not to let ourselves be dragged into dead-end reformism and capitulation to imperialism. CELEBRATE THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE RCP! LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM, MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT! ■

Take Up Science of Revolution

Party Call to Prisoners

In the wake of the counter-revolutionary coup in China, and at a crossroads facing revolutionaries world-wide, the Revolutionary Communist Party has pledged to uphold the banner of Mao Tsetung and to intensify our work toward revolution in this country.

As we said in our Mao Tsetung Enrollment Call last month, "We must redouble our determination to fight for the revolutionary cause of the working class and to master and apply the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought in order to accelerate the forward march of history."

As part of this great obligation, the Party announces a call to prisoners. It is a call to communicate with our Party and to take up serious and systematic study of *Revolution*, our central organ, and other Marxist-Leninist literature. In future issues, we will make suggestions to help guide this study.

America's prisons are crammed with sons and daughters of the working class, a third of whom are Black and Latin. These torture chambers are a fine reflection of the nature of capitalism as a whole, just as surely as they are a repressive arm of its state.

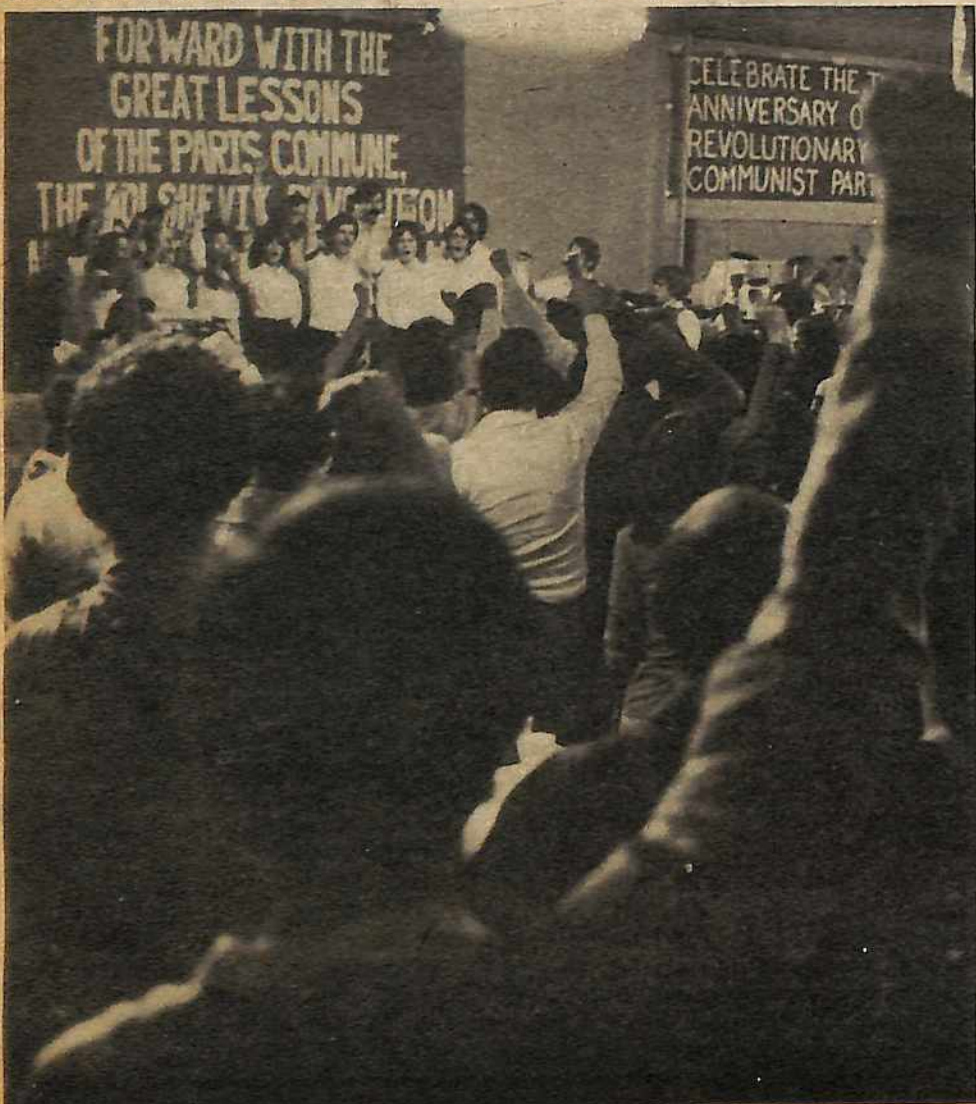
But still there are many who refuse to be beaten down and corrupted by this. From these dark, hellish holes, from Attica to Pontiac, prisoners have shined a light of rebellion—even the light of revolution, of Marxism-Leninism. They have fired those of us on the outside with further courage to push on in the struggle.

These contributions must not be ignored. They must be consciously built on to become still more firmly a part of the broader revolutionary struggle to bring down capitalism.

This is not a call for prisoners to join the Revolutionary Communist Party, nor is it authorizing anyone there to speak in its name. In fact anyone who does so is acting contrary to the Party and to this call. For enrollment into our Party is done strictly in accordance with the requirements in our Constitution, which include "extensive knowledge of the applicant's practice." And such an evaluation in prison by the Party is now impossible in most cases.

As the situation and the struggle further develops we will be in a better position to evaluate prisoners according to the criteria set forth. And today we are calling on prisoners to strengthen contact with the Party and to seriously undertake the task of guided study.

In this way the ranks of class-conscious fighters will increase. Another step will have been taken in preparing and intensifying the struggle both inside and outside the prisons. All this will bring us closer to that day when we can rise up and overthrow capitalism and, as part of this, as our Party's *Programme* says, "In the process of seizing power the proletariat, guns in hand, will open the prison doors and offer the masses of prisoners themselves the chance to join the proletarian army and fully remold themselves into fighters for the working class." ■



The October 8th event in Chicago, like those around the country, ended with the militant strains of *The Internationale*.

Opportunists: "Vote Your Troubles Away"

"Stop Rizzo" Dead-End Trap

With the campaign of Frank Rizzo to amend the Philadelphia city charter to allow him a shot at a third term as the city's mayor, the bourgeoisie is again treating the masses to a chance to determine their own fate—or so they and their apologists would like to present it. In reality the Rizzo campaign is just one more case where, as Lenin put it in *State and Revolution*, the masses "decide which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people." What gives the Rizzo campaign some particular interest is 1) how glaringly it exposes that indeed there is no lesser evil under capitalism, and 2) how some self-styled revolutionary groups more energetically uphold the lies of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself does.

No Lesser Evil

Is it true that there is no lesser evil? Isn't such an openly racist yahoo as Frank Rizzo a *special enemy* of the working class and the oppressed nationalities, who, in the words of the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (Mensheviks), must be stopped "at all costs"?

To take the case of Rizzo. Rizzo was brought forward by the bourgeoisie in Philadelphia in the late '60s and early '70s as the great white hope for mayor. The press pumped him up as a tough honest guy, who could get stuff done, even nicknaming him the Cisco Kid. More to the point, they cast him in the image of George Wallace, a defender of, or at least a spokesman for, white workers and the lower section of the petty-bourgeoisie.

Rizzo said that the Black liberation struggle was aimed at these whites, and he was willing to clamp a lid on it. Rizzo gloried in his brutal repression of the Black struggle while police chief—most notably his pre-dawn raid on the Black Panther party in September 1970 and his ordering of a brutal police rampage at a demonstration of Black junior high and high school students in April 1969.

The role of Rizzo and his like (police chiefs, not to mention less exotic brands of reactionaries, ran for mayor in Detroit, Minneapolis and other places at about the same time) was to promote a political program "for whites"—explicitly aimed at clinging to certain eroding privileges they possessed over Blacks. This movement straight-up cast its lot with the bourgeoisie in direct opposition to the Black liberation struggle.

This line took some root on the basis of a number of things. For one, the segregationist exclusionism of many of the higher paid white-only craft unions particularly important to Philly. While only a small minority of whites are even able to crack these unions, that minori-

ty is politically influential in defining the aspirations and values of the rest of the class, serving as models in a certain kind of road to "making it in the system."

At the same time white workers in general enjoy relatively less lousy neighborhoods, schools, job opportunities and so on which the capitalists promote as being some sort of stake in the status quo.

During the same period the bourgeoisie also spawned another phenomenon—that of the Black reformers. These reformers—for example Coleman Young of Detroit, Kenneth Gibson of Newark and Maynard Jackson of Atlanta—were promoted as the pot of gold at the end of the Black power rainbow. They were the culmination of the mighty struggle for Black liberation that had shaken imperialism to its foundation—or so they styled themselves.

In dozens of cities, these reformers faced off against Rizzo clones with all the attendant dire predictions and phony promises that the bourgeoisie runs as part of the election circus. Here, said the mouthpieces of capital, was at last an obvious choice where voting does make a difference. Here they said was a time you had to stand up and vote.

In fact the effect of the elections, whoever got in, was mainly to politically polarize the working class and its allies along national lines and wed all the nationalities more firmly to bourgeois agents of one type or another. As for the "actual conditions" in any of the cities, there is not one whit of difference to the masses of Newark or Detroit where Black reformers won and Philly where foaming-at-the-mouth Rizzo took it.

Two Sides of Bourgeois Coin

Compare for example the virtually identical suppression of sanitation workers' strikes in Atlanta by Maynard Jackson in spring 1977 and in Philadelphia by Frank Rizzo a year earlier.

Yes, Rizzo's reign has been an ugly one for the masses. He's presided over brutal tax increases on the already bled-to-death working class; he's taken a meat ax to social services, closing down the only public hospital in the city; and he's openly bragged about the vicious reign of police terror against Black and Puerto Rican people.

Not the least of it, Rizzo has used repression against the people's movements, including the Panther raids while police chief, attacks on striking city workers, and the threats to stop the 1976 Rich Off Our Backs July 4th demonstration with federal troops and his own local cops.

But this sort of thing has gone on in every major city no matter who runs it.

The choice between a Rizzo and a Kenneth Gibson who presided over the vicious Police repression of a Puerto Rican rebellion in Newark in September 1974 is absolutely no choice at all—it is a trap. And it's been a trap for years, and probably the favorite time-tested ideological hoax of the bourgeoisie.

Sure, Lyndon Johnson's not too hot, they told us in 1964, but if you don't at least vote against Goldwater, you'll have to go fight in Vietnam. So the lesser evil Johnson got in, and sure enough the U.S. government launched its brutal war against the Vietnamese.

Then in 1968 they used the campaigns of Eugene McCarthy and Bobby Kennedy against Johnson as another lesser evil to syphon off momentum from the anti-war movement. And in 1972, of course, the same thing was done again with McGovern. Nixon had to be stopped "at all costs" was the trap they promoted for those active in the anti-war struggle.

In each of these cases the bourgeoisie used the line of going for the lesser of two evils as a way to detour the surging struggle of the masses down a dead end, a way to politically disarm people and demoralize them, a way to keep the working class chained to the treadmill of capitalist politics. There is nothing different about the Stop Rizzo campaign in Philly.

Traitorous Role of Pseudo-Leftists

Anyone claiming to be Leninist should understand this, for Lenin conducted a serious and important polemic against "parliamentary cretins" who serve the bourgeoisie by diverting the workers' struggle into the toilet they call the voting booth. However, there are many forces in Philly who at least dip into it and on special occasions they push a classical Kautskyite line. This includes the CPML, which supports the Stop Rizzo movement. But in this case foremost among them is the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters and their sidekicks, the Revolutionary Student Brigade.

The RWH, RSB are a clique that split from the RCP over our line on China and our revolutionary strategy for the United States. Just how far this sorry band of Mensheviks have degenerated is shown by their work on the Rizzo campaign. These Mensheviks focus their efforts on, believe it or not, voter registration to stop Rizzo.

At Temple University they have militantly centered on the demand for a day off on election day to allow students time to vote. And why? Because according to a pamphlet they have published under the *nom de plume* of Workers Books, "two roads on which direction Philly will take are before the people... this time voting will make a difference... Rizzo must be stopped."

At some points the pamphlet claims that Rizzo represents a move to fascism on the part of the bourgeoisie. At other times they allow: no the bourgeoisie is not ready to move just yet, but when they do they will use people like Rizzo to do it so that's why he's got to be stopped.

Anyway, the heart of the pamphlet is hardly concerned with a coherent, politically principled position. And true to form, the idea that Rizzo is a product of the capitalist system, that this system is the source of both national oppression and racist ideology that exists in the working class and that capitalism must be replaced with socialism and ultimately communism, is never even hinted at.

Of course, even if these Mensheviks tacked on a paragraph about socialism it wouldn't change one wit the reformist line that oozes through every page of this pamphlet. In fact, social democrats often try to dress up their defense of capitalism with a few lofty words about "socialism."

In contradiction to the "lesser of two evils" fog spread by the "Stop Rizzo" campaign is the task of communists to

expose concretely how it is the capitalist system itself that stands behind all the attacks on the people and how this election is yet another dizzying diversion and a trap to disarm people for still more to come.

There are, of course, cases in which it is possible to make use of contradictions among the bourgeoisie to advance the mass struggle. But this is not one. This is a case of a well-worn revisionist approach for falling into a bourgeois trap.

The Mensheviks do expose the nub of the question as put by the bourgeoisie. They fall for it hook line and sinker. Their pamphlet begins, "A battle is raging over how this city will be ruled." It's Rizzoism or, we are led to believe, a better way.

This is precisely the lie spread by the sections of the bourgeoisie promoting the Stop Rizzo movement. Block him at the ballot box and capitalism will provide you a better choice.

Under these conditions there is no way to unite with the Stop Rizzo campaign without helping to spring this trap on the masses. And our Mensheviks are providing tons of fine evidence of this plain fact.

To really get the flavor of this pamphlet, we refer our readers to their old union newspapers and the literature on George Wallace that the AFL-CIO hacks ran in 1968 and '72. It's disgusting, but not surprising, that things have sunk to such a depth.

For one thing, some of the top leaders of this clique, including L. Bergman, opposed the line of the Revolutionary Union (which played the key part in building the RCP) on refusing to support McGovern and exposing this trap and building strong anti-imperialist actions with significant working class participation.

Bergman also ran the line that Coleman Young, mayor of Detroit, "might end up" in the united front. More germane, these dogs tried to split and then left the RCP, because their real ideal has always been the CPUSA before it went into final and wildly blatant revisionism.

Take the slogan they've popularized "Hey Rizzo, have you heard? Philly ain't Johannesburg." No way, scold our Mensheviks, this is *America*, a bourgeois democracy. Shades of the old CP slogan "Bring Dearborn back into the U.S.A." which they raised in unionizing Ford. Perhaps, too, the RWH recalls how the CP regularly delivered the vote to that "great antifascist" Franklin Roosevelt. After all Leibel Bergman, as he's fond of pointing out is "a veteran comrade who's been through this kind of thing before."

An Element of Farce

These opportunists are traitors to the working class. What underlines their treachery and lends it an element of farce is that the bourgeoisie, which so solidly backed Rizzo in 1971, is now in large part plainly disenchanted with their Cisco Kid, large sections wanting to dump him for a more cosmetic representative. And they want to clean their hands and blame Rizzo for all their crimes in the process.

As the *Philadelphia Daily News*, which is apparently giving inspiration to the Mensheviks, put it: "Rizzo has done a lot of rotten things, but his main fault has been that he split the city, racially, brutally and selfishly."

The work of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade stands in sharp contrast. The RCYB has agitated broadly to expose the bourgeois trap of this campaign, while uniting with and raising to a higher level people's anger against police terror, decaying conditions and the oppression of minorities. They held a well received march from Norris Park, site of the 1976 Rich Off Our Backs July 4 demonstration to City Hall.

While a new force in Philly, the RCYB has stuck to principle and united a significant number of people hungry for a revolutionary line to deal with what's happening.

What the Rizzo campaign shows most clearly is the burning need for the working class and its party to make a total break—a radical rupture—with the bourgeoisie and its ideology. The grip of the bourgeois democratic traditions on U.S. workers, coupled with the obvious power these traditions have exerted on leftists past and present make this break especially difficult, but all the more necessary. ■

Documents of the split in the RCP over China, with an appendix on the related struggle over the Party's line on making revolution in the U.S.

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Vets Struggle Against Imperialist War

The ever-sharpening contradictions between the superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the continuing acts of imperialist aggression and the very real possibility of world war is a fact which cannot be ignored. As our Party has summed up, without prior revolutions in both superpowers, prospects for which are not immediately on the horizon, we will be facing a situation of world war probably within the next ten years. This is a very sobering fact. The bourgeoisie, of course, is very aware of their necessity in this regard and is preparing militarily and politically.

A key part of their preparations includes an ever-increasing effort to sway public opinion in favor of their future war plans. Particularly since their crushing defeat in Indochina and the tremendous upsurge in this country of anti-war sentiment, the ruling class is acutely aware of the need to reinforce, and to some extent rekindle, the fires of nationalism, patriotism, and plain old red-blooded Americanism.

To accomplish this they are waging an ideological and political campaign which takes many forms. Beyond the more obvious saber-rattling and ranting and ravings that go on back and forth between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and the open threats of troop interventions to protect "our" interests, there are many more subtle ways the bourgeoisie tries to prepare the masses for war. More and more frequently we see recruiting posters which no longer show pictures of idyllic overseas vacations but have GIs driving tanks and training for combat, and there has been a veritable avalanche of books and movies summing up the Vietnam war—"sure it was a dirty war, and maybe even a mistake, but it was the patriotic and manly thing to do." Then there is the more straight-up patriotic holidays, like Veterans Day and Memorial Day, with Marine Corps marching bands, pom-pom girls and air shows.

Veterans and War

One of the key elements in many of these propaganda efforts is the veteran. Reactionary veterans get their books published, chauvinist veterans' organizations play central roles on patriotic holidays and around critical questions. For both positive and negative reasons, veterans enjoy a certain amount of respect in the eyes of the masses who grant them some authority on many questions, particularly those related to war, the military and foreign policy. As a result veterans often play a crucial role in many public debates around these questions. The ruling class recognizes this fact and for over a hundred years has attempted, and often succeeded, in organizing, cultivating and using the voice of the veteran in its class interests and in opposition to the interests of the masses of people.

Every imperialist war, however, has produced veterans who opposed these reactionary schemes and fought back militantly. The massive "Back Home" movement to force withdrawal of U.S. troops from Asia and Europe at the end of WWII and the tremendously powerful demonstrations of veterans led by Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) at the height of the Vietnam war are two outstanding examples. The proletariat and its vanguard, the Revolutionary Communist Party, has a

vital responsibility to organize this sentiment and aim it directly at the imperialist enemy.

This question of veterans in relationship to war came out very sharply in struggles within VVAW against the political views of a small band of former RCP members who leapt into the political garbage heap with the Jarvis-Bergman clique. Despite a pathetic attempt to use the positions they held in the national office of VVAW to take over the organization, they were officially "discharged" from office last July by an overwhelming majority of the organization. (See "The High Road in Vets Work," in the February 1978 *Revolution* for more on this struggle.)

Within VVAW the subject of imperialist aggression and war preparations has always been a pivotal question. As veterans returned home from Indochina they stood up against the way they had been used as instruments of oppression and exploitation and against the lies of fighting for the "defense of democracy." They played a crucial role in helping to bring millions to oppose the U.S. imperialist plunder of Indochina. VVAW grew from these struggles and as the organization developed, its support for just wars and opposition to unjust wars became a cornerstone of principle. In more recent years VVAW has taken a clear stand on the mounting danger of a new imperialist world war, and the organization has broadly exposed its source, the contention between the U.S. and the USSR. It has consistently been at the forefront of battles against imperialist acts of aggression and war moves, especially those of the U.S. bourgeoisie.

Menshevik Line on VVAW

To the Mensheviks, this proud history was only so much capital to build their careers on. Over the last few years in VVAW there has been a tendency, championed by the Mensheviks and fed by spontaneity, to downplay the powerful political role that organization can play around the questions of war, the military, patriotism and other related issues. While VVAW is not a communist organization, it does have an important revolutionary role to play in our movement and it is instructive to note in contrast what role these reformists, who claim to be communists, would have for VVAW.

Since splitting from the RCP the dethroned Menshevik vets, who are still running around calling themselves VVAW, have shown their full colors to the disgust of all genuine revolutionaries. They have totally liquidated the revolutionary role veterans can play. Around the question of war they have stopped seriously taking up and exposing acts of imperialist aggression, the contention between the superpowers and the danger of another world war. While sometimes paying lip service to these questions they have taken the revolutionary heart out of them claiming that this is not an "immediate concern" of vets. Even when they do raise the possibility of imperialist war, they argue that vets should be opposed, not on any political basis, but to save their skin, to avoid becoming "cannon fodder" again. According to them VVAW should focus its work primarily on bat-

ties that "we can also win," and of course they mean this in the most narrow way possible. In fact, according to them, fighting when you can't win immediate palpable results is "mindless fighting."

Agent Orange, a chemical warfare gas used in Indochina, which has been in the news recently as more and more veterans have come down with the poisoning, has been the major campaign of the Menshevik vets this year. Did they take it up in such a way as to expose the barbaric nature of a system that would drop poison on millions of people in Indochina during an imperialist war, to expose a system that would just as consciously poison many of its own troops, or to explain why that same system would then frantically attempt to cover these grotesque crimes? Absolutely not.

Why take this up? According to their internal newsletter: "more than an organizing or exposure device. The campaign around Agent Orange is one which vets can and will win." In the myopic view of these Mensheviks, Agent Orange became a battle cry for medical testing and treatment for vets, and in reality, even this battle cry was more like a limp snivel with not a hint of a revolutionary line. It was reduced to begging the Veterans Administration for help. One of the "single sparks" they were popularizing was the day they militantly marched into the VA and demanded to fill out the paperwork—they won!

It is of course not wrong to take up the issue of medical treatment for Agent Orange victims, but it must be done in the overall context of exposing and battling the imperialist system, and Agent Orange provides fertile ground for this. The only fertile ground the Mensheviks found was the well known revisionist swamp.

Real Proletarian Internationalism

African Liberation Day for them this year became a mockery of support for the just struggles of the African People. According to them, the "most important" part of their so-called ALD activities was collecting fatigues which they claimed was providing "concrete aid to the struggle of the people of south Africa." This is a flagrant violation of Marxism and reduces proletarian internationalism to a Salvation Army care package. Lenin minced no words on this question:

There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own* country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this* struggle, this and *only this*, line, in *every* country without exception. (Vol. 24, p. 75, Lenin's emphasis.)

Concretely around the situation in Africa, this means politically and materially undermining the imperialist aggression on that continent, especially that of the two superpowers, and particularly, for us, our own rulers. This means battling our own bourgeoisie in a way to weaken and expose them both for their actual role in Africa and by exposing the imperialist contention and maneuvering internationally.

Gathering material aid for the liberation fighters in Africa can aid this struggle if placed in the context of internationalism as defined by Lenin. In fact, the majority of VVAW, in organizing veterans to take part in ALD this year, did give material aid to the liberation fighters with the clear understanding summed up from the previous year that "the primary success of our fatigue drive last year was in its building of political support and the strong symbol of internationalism that it represented—certainly not in the five or

ten boxes of fatigues, that were given..." (VVAW internal newsletter, Vol. 6, No. 2.)

These efforts to take the heart out of VVAW are all part and parcel of our Mensheviks' retreat from fighting the imperialist system and preparing the masses for eventual overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to them the bourgeoisie and their agents aren't so bad after all. Listen to what they have to say about the reactionary veterans' organizations:

Groups like the Legion and VFW are dying. They have their halls for social gatherings, but in the political arena they are limited by the views of their leadership who have closed their ears to the needs of veterans and closed their eyes to U.S. involvement in wars and potential wars around the world.

This is the exact opposite of the truth. These organizations were created by the capitalist class for the express purpose of using the "right to speak" of veterans in the service of the bourgeoisie. The American Legion was even specifically created as an "Anti-Bolshevik" organization after WWI. They play a central role in drumming up public sentiment for national chauvinism and imperialist aggression—they sure didn't have their "eyes closed" last year when they launched a national petition campaign around the Panama Canal claiming "There is no Panama Canal, only an American canal in Panama." Far from "dying," these organizations will play a useful role for the bourgeoisie until they are swept away like all things reactionary.

Vets Day Actions Planned

VVAW is continuing to play an important role in the ongoing battles with the bourgeoisie around the questions of war, patriotism and other related issues. The organization has made significant political advances in the course of defeating the Menshevik line and in struggling against spontaneous tendencies towards rightism and pragmatism. It is now even more firmly committed to waging the extremely important political and ideological battles against imperialist aggression and war that face our movement in the period ahead and to which a veterans' organization is particularly suited.

It is in this spirit that VVAW is approaching the upcoming Veterans Day fanfare. Veterans Day, November 11, will be a scene of sharp class struggle in a number of cities. The bourgeoisie will be attempting to glorify and justify past imperialist wars and pave the way for future ones. In opposition to this VVAW will be out there saying "TO HELL WITH YOUR NATIONAL HONOR, WE WON'T BE USED AGAIN!" and exposing the acts of aggression and war moves of both superpowers particularly our own bourgeoisie. As the leaflet of the Chicago chapter of VVAW put it: "To hell with their traditions, we have a fine tradition of our own—a tradition of resistance to the Vietnam War, a tradition of throwing our medals at their White House, a tradition of common rebellion with the oppressed and working classes the world over. We're not afraid of war—our war is against this capitalist system and all the wars and torment that it breeds. Veterans Day is a day to tell the truth about what our rulers so-called 'national honor' really means." In addition to the overall slogan of "TO HELL WITH YOUR NATIONAL HONOR, WE WON'T BE USED AGAIN," the Veterans Day actions will be raising the following demands:

DOWN WITH U.S. AND SOVIET WAR MOVES! FROM IRAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST TO AFRICA TO CENTRAL AMERICA—U.S. IMPERIALISM OUT! SUPPORT THE JUST STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD!

UNIVERSAL AND UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY FOR ALL WAR RESISTERS! SINGLE-TYPE DISCHARGE FOR ALL GIs AND VETS!

JOBS OR INCOME FOR ALL! STOP THE ATTACKS ON VETERANS BENEFITS! ■

REVOLUTION

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Interview Provokes Foaming CPML Response

Stuck Pigs Squeal

Stuck pigs really do squeal. In the October 30 issue of *The Call*, the so-called Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) squeals so long and loud that their big brother pigs half way around the world in Peking can hear them.

The CPML has found it necessary to feature a centerfold article in their paper to defend themselves against an interview which appeared in the October *Revolution* entitled, "Blind Tagging Behind China Demanded—Ex-Member Exposes CPML." This is quite remarkable, since *The Call* has declared our Party completely isolated, completely discredited and practically speaking dead a hundred times over. Obviously the interview with an ex-CPML member struck a responsive chord among some CPML members.

In its hysterical rush to cover up what the interview laid bare, *The Call* seems not to have noticed that its "refutation" confirms the interview's points one by one, bringing out particularly sharply the method used by the CPML leadership to drag their own members through the rightist mud: maintaining them in ignorance, lying a lot, and gambling everything on the hope that they'll never figure it all out for themselves.

The two bold-faced subheads used by *The Call* to highlight their response illustrates this perfectly. The ex-CPML member said in the *Revolution* interview that there's little real political and ideological struggle within the CPML, rather mainly struggle "around people's personal lives as opposed to political lives. It's a warehouse for rumors. It's a warehouse for attacking people's personal lives as opposed to dealing with people politically."

As if on cue, the CPML defends itself by declaring in bold type, "RCP's new hero was expelled from the October League for woman-chasing and wife-beating." Another point made by the

ex-CPML member is that when all else fails them, the CPML resorts to their standard accusation that the RCP is "racist." Again on cue, the other bold-faced subhead declares, "If Malcolm X were alive today, RCP would attack him as 'Bundist'."

Here the CPML has shown its method for all to see. Someone has the nerve to criticize the line of the CPML? Well forget the question of line, just resort to lies and slander. In fact, it's ridiculous on the face of it, because it's well known that no one has ever been really expelled from the CPML for woman-chasing, or else their Central Committee would today be minus a number of its more prominent members.

The charge about Malcolm X has about the same relationship to the truth. Rather than defend their rotten rightist line on Martin Luther King (that "Pathbreaker for Black Liberation," as they recently called him), they lie and slander the position we have repeatedly taken on Malcolm X—before, during and after the sharp struggle against Bundism. Malcolm X, we have stated, was unlike King and stood with the Black masses. He was a revolutionary, although, as we have also pointed out, he was not a communist.

The CPML takes advantage of the fact that King is dead, and therefore not around to embarrass them, to embrace him and the reformism he stood for, while if Malcolm were alive today the CPML would undoubtedly denounce him as an "ultra-leftist" and probably as a Soviet agent as well, as they have done with so many living revolutionaries.

Loudest Squeal

But it is on the question of China that the CPML squeals the loudest, because

that's where they're really stuck. Here's where their attempts to reconcile people's desire for revolution with a reactionary political and ideological line really stick out.

How to account for the fact that today what the CPML supports (and glories in) is a revisionist attack on Mao and his line and everything he stood for? Why simple, just pretend it's all the same, duck any and all substantial questions, and, again, lie a lot. Once again it's plain how they gamble everything on the hope that those they influence have no knowledge of Marxism and Mao's line.

Here, for once, the CPML does depart from the tired old script they usually follow and makes a startling statement. Not true that we just went along with Hua, Teng & Co., they squeal. Why they had "not less than 150 articles" in *The Call* on the "gang of four" and "have gone into depth" about the changes in China in their theoretical journal, *Class Struggle*.

Such statements as these are clearly intended for internal consumption—to try to calm some troubles in the CPML. For anyone not drugged by the CPML atmosphere, "education" such as *The Call* etc. has provided is laughable.

All this "education" was already available in the *Peking Review* and was shallow distortion and transparent revisionism when it was printed there. It seems that, according to Klonsky, regurgitating something makes it more profound, when in fact it only makes it more disgusting.

A few minutes spent reading the "not less than 150 articles" and the "depths" of *Class Struggle* since the 1976 revisionist coup raises some interesting questions:

- Since your "response" to the interview brags about the "education" given CPML members, the interview with

Chairman Klonsky in the Fall, 1977 issue of *Class Struggle*, which is, after all, your "theoretical" journal, should give us a fine and relatively thorough example. And of course it does—it's a perfect example of the CPML's method of lying instead of facing up to political questions.

Here the interviewer asks, "A year ago Teng Hsiao-Ping was being denounced as an arch-revisionist. Now he is back in leadership. Did his line change or was he framed up from the start?" And Klonsky answers, "Yes, he was framed." Mao really supported Teng at the time, it was only the "Gang of Four" that opposed him.

The proof? Here's Klonsky's entire argument: "In the Central Committee resolution of April 7 [1976], Chairman Mao's name was not mentioned in the opening section calling the question of Teng an 'antagonistic contradiction.' Only the Political Bureau is mentioned here. Rather Mao's name is not mentioned until a later section calling for Teng to remain in the Party. Now looking back, I think this is very significant."

All that is necessary in answer to this is to quote this entire resolution, both its first sentence (the "opening section") and its second and last sentence ("a later section"): "Having discussed the counter-revolutionary incident which took place at Tien An Men Square and Teng Hsiao-ping's latest behavior, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China holds that the nature of the Teng Hsiao-ping problem has turned into an antagonistic contradiction. On the proposal of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Political Bureau unanimously agrees to dismiss Teng Hsiao-ping from all posts both inside and outside the Party while allowing him to keep his Party membership so as to see how he will behave in the future."

- *The Call's* "response" blasts the ex-CPML member for saying that "Teng Hsiao-ping is 'unable to distinguish the difference between Marxism and imperialism.'" Come now, CPML. Don't you remember it was *Mao Tsetung* who said that about Teng? Furthermore, Mao said that Teng "represents the bourgeoisie." Who do you support, CPML, Mao or Teng?

- The "response" also blasts the ex-CPML member for accusing them of "not mentioning the revisions in the Constitution of China at the 11th Congress or about the revolutionary committees being abolished." Well, what about the revolutionary committees, which until recently you *denied* were being abolished. Did you speak too soon, before you'd seen *Peking Review* No. 42, 1978, which explains why from now on it will be "factory directors, production brigade leaders, school principals, college presidents, and managers taking charge"? Or is it that you knew all along that the revolutionary committees were being abolished, since it was first made public last February, but were afraid to admit that this was the case until some "theoretical" justification came out that you could use to defend this reactionary return to Soviet-style one-man management?

- What about your statements on culture and education in China today? In several issues, including, for example, the September 4 *Call*, you've blasted the "gang of four" for putting forward the famous "two estimates"—that until the Cultural Revolution began in 1966 both culture and education in China were dominated by a revisionist line. Do you think that no one knows that the "two estimates" were made by Mao Tsetung? "For 17 years after the liberation the cultural and education circles have been dominated by revisionism." Are you waiting for some "theoretical" justification to come out in *Peking Review* before you can admit what everyone already knows—that it's Mao and his line that's being attacked.

- What about the question of international line? Fond as you are of parroting the current revisionist slander that the "three worlds theory" was "Chairman Mao's brilliant strategic

Old Pope "Recalled"

New Pope Blessing for West

The election of the first non-Italian pope to head the Roman Catholic Church in 455 years had a lot less to do with who would hold the keys to the kingdom of heaven than with which superpower would have the dominant kingdom on earth. Seen from the viewpoint of world politics and the internal crisis faced by the Catholic Church, the election of Poland's Cardinal Wojtyla is not as surprising as it seemed.

The new Pope John Paul, described by *Newsweek* magazine as "tempered by 33 years of confrontation with a communist state," has been enthusiastically hailed by the U.S. media. The bourgeoisie finds joy not in the breaking of the Italian hammer-lock on the papacy, but in the election of a prelate who will be a valuable asset to their contention with the Soviets. The Soviets, in the words of one revisionist official "view the election of Pope John Paul the second as destabilizing."

Ever since the Roman Emperor Constantine installed Christianity as the semi-official religion of the Roman Empire in the 4th century, the selection of a pope has been as tightly bound to worldly politics as it has been to the "lofty spirituality" of church politics on theology and dogma. Service to empire has meant survival, growth and influence for the church. As the bishops blessed the guns, missionaries followed the conquering troops of one ruler after another, opening churches and passing the collection plate to ever larger numbers of people.

But today the Vatican must conduct its business in a world divided and in-

creasingly dominated by the two antagonistic empires of the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. There is no question that the fortunes of the Catholic Church are tied tightly to the Western imperialists and that the church hierarchy stands firmly on the side of the U.S. bloc. Yet it must also deal with Soviet influence in the world, including control of traditionally Catholic areas of Eastern Europe, and worry about Soviet designs on Western Europe. There is particular concern over what would happen if the revisionist parties in Italy, France or Spain were to come to power.

No surprise that these concerns coincide rather directly with those of the U.S. ruling class.

For the Soviet capitalists the harassment and restrictions of the church in Eastern Europe has had importance long after they abandoned Marxism-Leninism in all but name. First of all, they had not abandoned the signboard of socialism so it would be difficult for them to openly embrace the churches with their reactionary ideology without further advertising their betrayal of Marxism. But there is a much more important strategic reason, and the Catholic Church in Poland provides a good example. Not only has the church served as a rallying point for opposition to the revisionist regime, it has served as an important lever for the U.S. imperialists in their efforts to foment trouble for the Soviets there and to try to pry Poland away from the Soviet orbit.

In this regard, Cardinal Wojtyla came with admirable credentials in the

eyes of the U.S. and Western European bourgeoisie, having been described as a "patron of dissident Polish writers and human rights activists." And the U.S. media reported approvingly that "in recent years, the prelate's increasingly outspoken attacks on totalitarianism have prompted Poland's rulers to identify him with the nation's dissidents."

But the Vatican's policy towards the Soviets and the phony "communist" governments of Eastern Europe has not been one-dimensional. Particularly under Popes John the 23rd and Paul the 6th the Vatican saw the possibility and advantages of making certain arrangements and agreements with the Kremlin and other revisionist governments. Undoubtedly this was made much more an inviting possibility by the increasing recognition that the "Marxism" of Khrushchev and Brezhnev had the much more familiar ring of capitalism and nothing in common with the Marxist materialism of Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung.

Especially under these circumstances the Church could and did strike some deals with the revisionist regimes of East Europe. The Catholic Church, as with most other religions, has been well known for its reactionary resiliency—its ability to adjust its doctrines to defend various orders of exploitation and oppression—from slavery and feudalism right up to modern social-imperialism. So while the church clearly favors Western-style capitalism, it is no sur-

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Tupelo, Mississippi

Fight Against National Oppression

For over a year now, Black people in Tupelo, Mississippi have been organizing a movement against national oppression. The spark that ignited the struggle was the murder of a Black man by a white store owner on September 13, 1977. This was not an isolated incident—indeed, it came right on the heels of the killing of two other Blacks, and was part of a long history of violence against Black people in Tupelo.

But this murder was like the straw that broke the camel's back, and it turned what the publicists had portrayed as "the sleepy southern town where Elvis was born" into a national symbol of struggle against oppression.

Noticeably absent from the struggle, except when they tried to "cool things down" and lead it into a dead end, were the comfortably established, self-styled "community leaders" who were on the receiving end of a few crumbs from the bourgeoisie's table as a result of the Civil Rights movement over a decade ago. These nervous Nellies, afraid that rocking the boat might jeopardize their careers, refused to do anything in opposition to the killings.

In the face of this, an ad hoc committee was formed by a number of Black people in Tupelo who were determined to take action. They first went to national organizations like the NAACP for help, but got no satisfaction. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH in Chicago told them they would have to prime his pump with some green stuff if they expected him to go all the way down to Mississippi.

The ad hoc committee got a much better response from the United League of Marshall County (Mississippi). The United League had been organizing resistance to police attacks and Black oppression in the northern Mississippi town of Holly Springs.

The ad hoc committee in Tupelo and the United League of Marshall County linked up with similar struggles in several surrounding counties and on December 12, 1977 they formed the United League of Northern Mississippi. They had organized picketing of Jule's Mini Mart, the store where the September 13 murder had taken place, and were building support when the struggle took another leap.

In January of this year, two Tupelo cops arrested a young Black man because he was with a white woman, threw him in jail on phony check-forgery charges and beat a "confession" out of him. There had been plenty of Blacks beaten by Tupelo cops before,

but for the first time a federal judge actually found the pigs guilty.

That was in February, and when 200 Blacks showed up at the city council meeting with a resolution to have the two cops fired, the mayor ignored them and asked what was the next item on the agenda.

Cops Get Heat

The United League immediately organized a march in Tupelo and forced the mayor to agree to "consider" firing the two cops. In a patronizing effort to placate the Black community, the mayor met with representatives of the United League as well as some of the old-guard sellout "leaders" of the past and offered to demote the two cops and give them 30-day suspensions.

The United League and the masses of Black people in Tupelo would have none of it, and the demonstrations continued until the two cops were forced to resign. Even then the pigs were granted retirement pay despite the fact that they were at least four years away from being eligible for it.

From the very beginning, most of the white-owned businesses in Tupelo supported the police. They have been notorious for refusing to employ Blacks, or employing them in the most menial, low-paying jobs. The United League took up the demand for decent, good-paying jobs in private business and city government, and when they met resistance they began a boycott of white businesses in Tupelo on March 24. Picketing of various businesses was organized and frequent marches were held throughout the spring and summer. It was estimated that the boycott was over 90% effective among Blacks.

In April, the Ku Klux Klan began to hold marches in Tupelo in order to intimidate Blacks and harass the whites who supported them. The Klan in Tupelo is headed up by the owner of a local chair factory, and has among its members the principal and head counselor at Tupelo High School, a deputy sheriff and a couple of Tupelo cops.

At one point during the boycott the Klan beat several whites who were talking to Black people at Chiz's Motel while the cops looked on in amusement. The Klan has also burned crosses on city property with the mayor's blessings. They tried to provoke violence by marching through the Black community and confronting United League demonstrations, and they have even shot at several members of the United League.

But all this has only served to strengthen the determination of the Black people of Tupelo and their white supporters. At one point, the KKK planned a meeting at a local motel without telling the white motel owner who they were or what they planned to do. When he found out, he told them in no uncertain terms that they were unwanted, and that if they didn't come and get their money back he was going to give it to the United League!

Oppression Brings Resistance

The struggle in Tupelo is a living example that where there is oppression there will be resistance. At the same time it is true that this resistance is presently aimed at various manifestations of national oppression (e.g., police attacks, theft of Black-owned land, discrimination in employment and education, etc.) and does not directly challenge the rule of capital—the source of all oppression.

The pull of spontaneity in the Tupelo struggle has already brought to the fore tendencies which, if not combatted, will only lead to a dead end. For example, emphasis is being placed on voter registration and the demand has been raised for better "law enforcement."

Likewise the recent entry of Charles Evers, brother of the murdered civil rights activist Medgar Evers, onto the scene has already had a stifling effect on the struggle. Evers is running for the U.S. Senate and is no doubt calculating how his role in Tupelo could enhance his career.

His first contribution was to talk the United League into halting all demonstrations until November 25, ostensibly as a "good faith" measure to persuade city officials to institute an affirmative action program. At the same time, all picketing of boycotted stores was to cease until early December!

The bourgeois press reported these events in such a way that many people were led to believe the boycott was over, and the effectiveness of the boycott was appreciably diminished.

Pointing out the weaknesses of this movement is by no means a condemnation of the very real struggle against national oppression in Tupelo, but it underscores the constant need to develop the leadership of a revolutionary line in every struggle.

In this light, the activities of certain forces at times claiming to be "communist" (particularly the Browderites of the CPML and their retarded cousins in

the "Revolutionary Workers Headquarters") provide a truly disgusting example of revisionist tailism developed to a fine art.

Opportunists

In the spirit of "unity" which is in fact the exact opposite of unity, the CPML and the RWH have offered no criticism of any aspect of the struggle in Tupelo and have scrupulously avoided the temptation of injecting revolutionary class consciousness into the movement.

"After all," they seem to ask, "how can we improve upon something so perfect and beautiful as what is immediately and spontaneously before us?" How, indeed? Apparently, if at all, by completely abandoning even the pretext of an independent, political communist role, and by enthusiastically taking their place at the tail-end of the spontaneous movement.

And all this fits nicely into their bourgeois world-outlook which, on the question of national oppression, has led them to fight to recapture the "golden years" of the old civil rights movement.

The very fact that such struggles as the one in Tupelo are still necessary is a clear indication that the old civil rights movement, which was based to a great degree on "improving" and not challenging the system, did not and could not bring an end to national oppression in this country.

Indeed, even when many forces got fed up with the reformism of the civil rights movement and moved beyond it in a revolutionary way in the late '60s, the ensuing national liberation struggles by themselves could not put an end to national oppression.

But forget learning anything from past struggles, say the CPML and the Mensheviks (and by all means "forget" the revolutionary role of communists in today's struggles). Let's just resurrect the past and see if we can help make a principle of its weaknesses.

This struggle against national oppression in Tupelo is an important one. And communists and all revolutionary-minded people must unite with and give support to its basic thrust.

There will be a demonstration in Tupelo on November 25 and the United League expects that it will attract forces from around the country. We will have more on the demonstration and the struggle in Tupelo in coming issues of *Revolution*. ■

Squeal...

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conception," why don't you explain why no one ever dared say such a thing while Mao was still alive, and why both the Central Committee statement and even Hua's speech made on the occasion of Mao's death fail to mention even once this three worlds strategy among the list of Mao's achievements? And maybe you could "go into depth" in your theoretical journal trying to show that Hua's hugging Tito and calling him a "Marxist-Leninist" is anything but a deliberate slap in the face of Mao, who long ago denounced Tito as a revisionist? Maybe you could reprint some of the pamphlet *Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country*, written under Mao's direct leadership as a polemic against Khrushchev's embrace of Tito, and then do a little "education" to show people how Hua is carrying out Mao's line? While you're in the "depths," since you love the "three worlds" strategy so, why don't you explain how it was Mao's line to rush to hug reactionary butchers like the Shah of Iran even as the entire Iranian people were rising in rebellion, and to do as *Peking Review* No. 42, 1978, does and condemn the mass upsurge of the people for causing an "unstable political situation" which might somehow benefit the USSR? Or are you afraid people will throw up?

• As a matter of fact, you could devote an article or even a whole special issue educating people as to how the current China rulers are really carrying out Mao Tsetung's political behests. You could quote the Statement of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Mao's death. Maybe you'd explain how Hua, Teng and the rest are carrying out Mao's behest to "deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping, continue the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts, consolidate and develop the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, enthusiastically support the socialist new things, restrict bourgeois right and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country." You could explain how by criticizing Teng, the Central Committee really meant support Teng, how by the Right they really meant the "Gang of Four," how by consolidating and developing the victories of the Cultural Revolution they meant declaring it over and wiping out its achievements, how by socialist new things they meant returning to elitist entrance examinations for the universities, experts and managers in command, bringing back feudal, bourgeois and imperialist culture, relying on the Western imperialists for technology and arms, etc., etc. You get the idea.

Maybe you could tell us how restric-

ting bourgeois right really means widening the gap between the wages of the working people and the intellectuals, experts and bureaucrats, etc. Maybe you could explain how by consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat they really meant bringing back every renegade to the Chinese revolution and the proletariat while suppressing and murdering revolutionaries?

Maybe you could explain how "proletarian internationalism," strengthening "the unity between the people of our country and the people of all other countries" really means subordinating everything to alliances with reactionary rulers, and how carrying "the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and modern revisionism through to the end" means restoring most of the particulars and certainly the essence of Khrushchevite revisionism, capitulating to U.S. imperialism and attempting to force modern revisionism down the throats of revolutionaries all over the world?

Surely anyone who is out to "educate" people about the changes in China and the arrest of the Four couldn't just pretend that the Central Committee never made this statement. In fact this statement is a good starting place for what Mao's legacy really was.

Hua and Teng's application of this legacy is truly at the same depths as your valuable "education." ■

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Workers Fight Productivity Drive

Safeway Strike in Fourth Month

Last week, the supermarket owners and Teamster International officials coughed up another sellout offer and tried to palm it off on the 3500 warehousemen and drivers in Northern California who have been fighting a bitter 15 week strike against Safeway, Lucky's, Alpha Beta and Ralph's markets. The message of the capitalists and their buddies in union office to the workers was clear: it's no use to fight, give up, go back to work, and take what we give you. The strikers' answer came swiftly. Unanimous rejection!

Teamster drivers and warehousemen have some of the highest wages and benefits in the country. In this strike many people have asked, if the Teamsters have it so good, why after 3 months on strike did they turn down a contract that offered \$1.90 per hour wage increase over three years?

The truth is this offer was an attempt by the food chain employers to take away many hard-won concessions and slash away at working conditions. On July 18, grocery warehousemen struck the Safeway distribution center in Richmond, Calif. sparking the Northern California walkout.

The main issue? A grinding speed-up program Safeway had introduced in all its other warehouses across the nation—one man forced to do the work of two, lifting 60,000 lbs. of groceries in an 8 hour shift. Eighty-six workers have been hurt on the job and over fifty suspended or fired for failing to keep the pace. This out-and-out attack is still in the contract offer.

Strikers Fired

Another kicker to the contract is the back-to-work agreement. Over 200 workers have been fired for going up against the police, rent-a-cops, company thugs, and strikebreakers and refusing to be intimidated in defiance of injunctions limiting picketing. The

Food Employers Council, representing the capitalists, demanded the right to fire anyone within 36 hours after the strike for picket activities, no amnesty for anyone already fired under the speedup or during the strike, the right to call people back to work out of seniority, and even the right to keep scabs on the job after the strike!

A number of workers could not believe that the strike would last so long, or that the employers would mount such a vicious attack. In the past a militant strike like this would probably have brought the companies to settle already. But the grocery industry is caught in the grip of the sharpening economic crisis hitting the whole capitalist class.

With their rate of profit falling, intensifying competition among the supermarket chains for the limited market has forced each employer to find ways to cut costs. They must try to come up with the capital to expand and invade each other's territory. The only way the employers can hope to generate this capital is at the expense of the workers' jobs, wages, and working conditions. At Lucky's this has meant job automation; at Safeway the production program.

What's at stake in this strike is these companies' very ability to turn the kind of profit they need to keep from going under. This is why even with business down by 30-40%, the Food Employers Council has refused to budge around the speedup program and why they have used every rotten method to break the resistance of the strikers, including the murder of Randy Hill, who was run over and killed by a scab as he picketed the Lucky distribution center.

This "No" vote represented not only a refusal to knuckle under to the food chains but also a growing hatred among the rank and file for the way the Teamster International has consistently backed up the owners and tried to sabotage

the strike. When Safeway was struck on July 18, they let the company know that they wouldn't fight for fired strikers. When the strike spread, they masterminded a move to get the butchers and clerks who were supporting the strike to go back to work. They pulled pickets from Safeway distribution centers in L.A., San Diego, Seattle and Denver, saying the union needed to show the bosses an "act of good faith" to settle the strike. And they are presently trying to engineer a back-to-work referendum ballot and get the government to enforce it even though the locals are voting this proposal down.

Much At Stake

Now after playing golf for a week in San Diego where Teamster boss Frank Fitzsimmons was holding his golf tournament, these officials like Vice President Harold Gibbons have come up with the same lousy contract offer. Some workers have asked, "Why don't these guys do their job?" But they are doing their job—hustling for the food chain capitalists. This strike is a threat to the ties they have so carefully cultivated with the employers. For example, the Teamster magazine said that workers have as much interest in these productivity programs as the companies themselves!

In the course of building this fight more workers are beginning to see that their struggle can't be limited to what the capitalists and the union bureaucrats find acceptable.

At one key juncture in the strike, when the Food Council and the International tried to use Randy Hill's death to get the strikers to go back to work without a contract, charging that all this violence must come to an end, the National United Workers Organization and other rank and filers organized a picket line outside the hotel where negotiations were being held, clearly pinpointing the capitalists and their killer production program for the strike. Over the protests of the union officials, this rally helped to turn back the sellout. It is clear from the rejection of the latest offer that the strikers are determined not to bow down before the food companies' demands or be taken in by the schemes of their bootlicking International. ■

Elections...

Continued from page 4

sion plans; the exemption for gasoline taxes was eliminated.

In addition, the social security tax will rise next year, and this, combined with the effects of inflation, will mean that for the great majority of Americans this bill will mean no tax cut whatsoever, or even an increase.

Meanwhile, the main issue around which bourgeois politicians are trying to run their campaigns is that of a "tax cut." In Congress, the Republicans thought they had a great demagogic vehicle to ride on the campaign trail in the Kemp-Roth bill, which was supposedly going to slash income taxes. The Democrats retaliated with their own bill to cut both taxes and government spending. Finally they all agreed to a non-binding "statement of intentions" to cut taxes and hold down spending. It is noteworthy that the most the bourgeoisie can promise now is less, not more. No more vistas of steady progress and visions of a "great society"—just a promise (empty, to be sure) to make it easier to get by in an overall worsening situation.

In the states, similarly, politicians have been trying to capitalize on the example of California's Proposition 13. Of course this is the sheerest sort of demagoguery and hypocrisy. In California the months since Proposition 13 have seen hundreds of new taxes imposed, while at the same time the "tax revolt" is used as an excuse to put through all sorts of previously planned cuts in public services.

Despite these new lures, the fish are not biting well, and bourgeois politicians and media alike are worrying about the "apathy" of the voters and speculating that these elections may set new lows for voter turnout. The mood of the masses is one of deepening cynicism and hostility toward the ploys of bourgeois politicians.

A Threadbare Disguise

All of this reveals a growing thinness to the disguise which the ruling class is able to draw over its increasing attacks against the people. Carter and others attempt to wrap themselves in the cloak of "liberalism," which has served the bourgeoisie so well in the past, but its more and more tattered and threadbare nature make this a harder and harder act to perform. More and more the bourgeoisie's program is reduced to empty hand-waving—a "tax cut" which does not cut taxes (for the masses, at least), a "full employment" bill which will have no effect on employment (and is not meant to), an anti-inflation program which will have little or no effect on inflation, and an "equal rights amendment" which will do nothing toward achieving equality for women. Of course, even when the bourgeoisie does make real (not phony) concessions to the mass struggle, it is with the purpose of diverting and attacking the struggles of the masses. But what stands out about these recent measures is how all of them are either totally empty, or are straight-out attacks hiding behind only the scantiest of veils.

And why is the U.S. bourgeoisie no longer able to offer the sops it once could? Why is it forced to expose itself more openly? It is because of the major crisis of U.S. imperialism which this decade has seen, a crisis which has gone and will go through various phases and ups and downs, but which is the beginning of a new spiral downwards for U.S. imperialism—a downward spiral which, as summed up in our Party's 1976 Central Committee Report, "... is the spiral that will lead to a major change in the relation of forces and will lead to the real prospect of proletarian revolution in this country as well as others." (*Revolutionary Work in a Non-Revolutionary Situation* [RCP Publications], p. 5). ■

"Let Bourgeois Art Do Its Thing"

In line with their policy of doing all around self-exposure, the CPML recently let it all hang out in a letter, published with extra emphasis in the centerfold of the Oct. 9 issue of *the Call*, hailing the end of the so-called cultural tyranny in China in past years and the proliferation of bourgeois culture in China under the revisionists. "Freedom, that's where it's at," squawks *The Call's* art critic, "We don't want anyone riding roughshod over us, so we shouldn't blame the Chinese if they don't either." One would be tempted to think that this shameless petty-bourgeois viewpoint trumpeted in a so-called communist newspaper just uncontrollably slipped out if it wasn't a well known fact that CPML is aiming at advanced world levels in upholding the counter-revolutionary garbage of their revisionist mentors in China.

"Freedom" is a grand word, but under the banner of freedom for industry the most predatory wars were waged, under the banner of freedom of labour, the working people were robbed," said Lenin in *What Is To Be Done?*, exposing exactly the same bourgeois view of "freedom of criticism" now openly put out by the CPML. And it is precisely under the banner of "freedom" that the revisionists in China have unleashed a torrent of bourgeois art and literature, as they hasten to forcibly bury the model works, like the *White Haired Girl*—works of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which joyously and openly inspired the masses of people to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in every sphere.

What the CPML applauds as "freedom of expression" is none other than the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat. Doe anyone seriously think that the masses of workers and peasants in China are clamouring to hear Beethoven? No, this wave of bourgeois art has been unleashed to please unreformed and disaffected petty-bourgeois intellectuals and bourgeois aspiring party bureaucrats—an important social base of the top revisionists. Does anyone seriously think that it is to these heights that the masses of workers in China should aspire? Obviously, the CPML does. But Mao Tsetung did not and struggled against this line from the time of the Yanan Forum right up to his last breath.

Thumbing through the pages of recent issues of *Chinese Literature* which *the Call* letter touts so highly, we find such brilliant examples of "exuberance, optimism and genuine



feeling" as the wood cut above, entitled *Youth*. This work, recently resurrected from 1961, might better have been called *Petty-Bourgeois Contemplation of a Modern Power Station at Midnight* or *Student Hypnotized by Electrical Tower Drops Pencil*. It is no wonder that Mao Tsetung said in 1967, "As I see it, the intellectuals, including young intellectuals still receiving education in school, still have a basically bourgeois world outlook, whether they are in the Party or outside it. This is because for seventeen years after the liberation the cultural and educational circles have been dominated by revisionism."

Rave on, Ladies and Gentlemen of *the Call*. You are "free" to hail the great new awakening in art in China. You are "free" to admire the lofty works of Shakespeare, Ibsen and the revisionist trash which have usurped the stage from the model revolutionary works. You are "free" to praise the "progress" represented by the staging of such inspiring works as Hans Christian Andersen's *Little Match Girl* by the Peking Dance School, or to tout the new slogan "Pay More For Well Dressed Hair" which has given quite a boost to China's hairdressing trade or Pierre Cardin's invitation to China to design new outfits for the new and old bourgeoisie. As Lenin said, you are free "to go yourselves wherever you will, even into the marsh. In fact we think the marsh is your proper place, and we are prepared to render you every assistance to get there."

U.S. Schemes to Hold Zimbabwe

Ian Smith's two week visit to the U.S. in October came at a time of mounting crisis for the notorious Rhodesian white racist regime. The Patriotic Front is currently operating in nearly three-quarters of the country and has inflicted a steady succession of defeats on the reactionary forces.

The Rhodesian economy is in shambles, with a large scale flight of capital abroad, thousands of white farmers abandoning their estates, and the cost of the war for the regime running to more than \$1 million a day (representing a whopping 56% of this year's budget). The "transitional government," headed by Smith and his three pro-imperialist black collaborators—Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau—is more exposed and politically isolated than ever before, both inside Zimbabwe and internationally.

Thus, Smith's U.S. visit was a desperate attempt to build up international public opinion in support of the bankrupt "internal settlement." His visit also brought into the open some of the maneuverings of the U.S. and Western imperialists as they try to implement their overall neo-colonial strategy for Zimbabwe.

Imperialist Backing for Smith Regime

U.S. imperialism has certainly given important support to the Smith regime in the past, and in fact continues to do so. But in recent years the U.S. has held

back from *openly* supporting Smith and his current phony "majority rule" plan that would guarantee the white settlers' economic and political power for years to come. The U.S. imperialists have had to do this for two basic reasons.

First, the strength of the Zimbabwean people's armed struggle is an objective fact, and the imperialists have no desire to go down the drain with Smith. Thus, they must make some gestures of pretended support for the Zimbabwean masses, such as offering their own sham plans for "majority rule" that would leave key imperialist interests intact.

Second, the U.S. has to stave off the moves of its superpower rival, the USSR, which has made a big show of "support" for the Patriotic Front and its fight against the Smith regime. Increased Soviet meddling is of growing concern to the Western imperialists in both Zimbabwe and the front-line states and other independent African states, where open support for the Smith regime would leave a much bigger opening for the USSR and its Cuban mercenary troops to exploit, thus jeopardizing overall Western imperialist interests in Africa.

Nevertheless, as explained in the August 1978 *Revolution* article "U.S., Britain Prop Up 'Internal Settlement'," the fundamental interests of the Western imperialists dictate that they give support (in mainly indirect forms at this point) to

the Rhodesian government. This is necessary in the short run to prevent the regime's total collapse and defeat at the hands of the liberation forces.

Overall, U.S. imperialism's strategic goal remains one of strengthening the reactionary pro-imperialist forces represented by Smith, the "three stooges" and others and of weakening the revolutionary forces centered around ZANU in order to create the most favorable conditions for a more stable and lasting neo-colonial government in Zimbabwe. At this particular point in time, the U.S. imperialists were banking on the Smith visit to strengthen the Rhodesian regime, including in negotiations that might develop in the future.

Smith was invited to visit the U.S. by a group of 27 right-wing Senators headed by Helms of North Carolina and Hayakawa of California several months ago. When the State Department finally decided to grant Smith a visa it was clearly the product of protracted negotiations. The U.S. imperialists evidently decided that allowing Smith into the U.S. would be worth the risks (such as expected condemnation by African heads of state and by the UN) only if certain grandstand moves—such as a new law "eliminating racial discrimination" and quite possibly the agreement to attend an "all parties conference"—were agreed to beforehand. The events of the next two weeks of Smith's visit were therefore a series of well-orchestrated public relations moves in support of the "internal settlement" and in overall defense of the "free world's" interests in Zimbabwe.

Smith's Grandstanding

In daily press conferences, Smith harped on a strong anti-communist theme. At the Virginia country estate of the American Security Council, a right-wing think tank, Smith said, "It seems the leaders of the free world are siding with the Marxist terrorists." And during an interview on NBC's "Meet the Press," Smith complained, "The United States and British governments seem to be holding us back from bringing in majority rule... We are bringing in a democratic constitution based on one man, one vote—all of the things that the people of the United States believe in."

While there continue to be important contradictions between Smith and the U.S. imperialists, this line presenting the struggle in Zimbabwe as a battle between "Marxist terrorists" intent on bringing the country under "totalitarian rule" and "a black-white government" dedicated to bringing about "peaceful change and democracy" is extremely useful for the imperialists—both in lending legitimacy to Smith and his gang of white reactionaries and Uncle Toms and in building public opinion for an overall pro-Western neo-colonial solution in Zimbabwe.

From the minute Smith first landed in Washington D.C., he made a point of appearing in public with Sithole or another of his black collaborators in order to give off the impression that this diehard racist dog had somehow "changed," that "maybe he isn't that bad after all." However, in nearly every city Smith dared to show his face, he was met by demonstrations called to hit this racist butcher and expose the real nature of the "internal settlement" and the U.S. imperialists' reactionary maneuvers in Zimbabwe (see box on this page).

Only several days into Smith's visit, in a clearly pre-planned move, the Rhodesian government announced that Zimbabwe's segregated schools, hospitals and residential areas would be opened to all races. To begin with, this promised "end to segregation" will almost certainly never occur—even formally. And even if the necessary legislation is passed at some time in the future, it will be meaningless for the overwhelming majority of the Zimbabwean people.

The requirement for moving into the white suburbs or going to white private schools would become the "ability to pay"; and in Zimbabwe the wages of the white settlers average 11 times those of the blacks. These gaping wage differentials, the systematic denial of democratic rights to Zimbabweans, the continued existence of the Land Tenure Act (which reserves one half of the land, and the richest sections of it, to the less than 230,000 white settlers), and above all the Rhodesian bourgeoisie's tight grip on the armed power of the state are the real underpinnings of the national and class oppression of the Zimbabwean masses; and these promised moves to "abolish racial discrimination" don't even make a dent in the vicious system oppressing the 6.7 million Zimbabwean people.

Midway through his visit, Smith got endorsements from former President Ford and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (author of the infamous "Tar Baby" memo in 1969, asserting that "the whites in southern Africa are here to stay" and "constructive change" can only come about through them). After a 40-minute meeting with Smith, Kissinger told newsmen, "The issue is whether the U.S. should support the ballot procedure, or people who are trying to fight their way in... I think we should test Smith's internal settlement."

Then, after a State Department meeting with U.S. and British officials near the end of his visit, Smith and his traveling party announced they had agreed to attend an "all-parties conference" including the Patriotic Front leaders, if it was called "without preconditions." It is no coincidence that the U.S. Congress recently laid down two conditions for lifting U.S. participation in the UN mandated trade embargo against Rhodesia: the willingness of the transitional government to stage "free elections" and hold an "all-parties conference."

In addition to building the case for lifting economic sanctions, Smith's of-

Continued on page 19

Protestors Hot On Smith's Trail

As Ian Smith travelled to the U.S. to breathe some new life into his dying regime, he found the ride a lot rougher than he expected. On October 7, when news of the State Department's final decision to grant Smith a visa was announced, several hundred demonstrators (including the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, RCYB) rallied at UN Plaza in New York City.

Two days later Smith was scheduled to speak at the luxurious International Club in Washington, D.C. to a group of businessmen. Trans-Africa, a Black lobbying group, called for a peaceful picket line (apparently with the knowledge and approval of Secretary of State Vance), but this demonstration involving several hundred American and foreign students, members of the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC), the RCYB and others turned out to be more than a limp-wristed pressure tactic.

In spite of the efforts of picket line marshals to keep everything "cool," over 100 demonstrators took over the first floor of the International Club and turned over tables in the room where Smith was slated to speak, forcing him to cancel out.

Clearly taken back by the militancy of this action in D.C., the press gave most of its attention to a march held in Atlanta on the same day. It was led by a collection of tired political hacks and representatives of the Black bourgeoisie including Mayor Maynard Jackson, Martin Luther King Sr., and SCLC President Joseph Lowery. In his speech, Lowery ran out a line nearly identical to the U.S. State Department's position, saying that "no settlement (in Zimbabwe) can work that does not include the negotiation and participation of the Patriotic Front."

When Smith flew to Southern California several days later, he didn't get any let up. In San Diego, he was met by a spirited demonstration of almost 300 people of all nationalities; in Los Angeles, by 800. In both actions, the ALSC led militant and disciplined contingents that attracted considerable interest from many honest people who showed up to strike a blow against Smith and his U.S. backers. Chants of "Ghettos Here, Prison Camps There, Fight Imperialism Everywhere!" and "U.S. Out of Zimbabwe, Superpowers Hands Off!" stood out in sharp contrast to the line of "Ian Smith Get Out of the U.S." raised by reformist and organized revisionist forces.

The ALSC-led contingents hit sharply at the imperialist system—the common enemy of the Zimbabwean people and the people of the U.S. They especially targeted U.S. imperialism and were the only contingent to hit *both* imperialist superpowers, speaking to an important question on the minds of many people about the real nature of the Soviet Union and its reactionary role in Africa today.

ZANU Secretary-General U.S. Tour

In order to hit back at the Smith visit and expose the real intentions of the racist regime and the U.S. imperialists in Zimbabwe, ZANU Secretary-General Edgar Tekere is arriving in the U.S. in early November. He will speak at the United Nations on November 1 and 2. From November 5-8, ALSC and ZANU are sponsoring forums with Tekere and an ALSC representative as the main speakers in Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Atlanta, and perhaps other locations.

In the months ahead, ALSC will be stepping up its support for the revolutionary struggle in Zimbabwe under the slogans:

- "Victory to the Zimbabwean People's Just Struggle!"
- "U.S. Out of Zimbabwe—Superpowers Hands Off!"
- "Down with White Minority Rule!"
- "Oppose Phony 'Majority Rule' Schemes in Zimbabwe!"



When Ian Smith came to San Diego on October 14, he was met by a demonstration of almost 300 people of all nationalities chanting, "Victory to the Zimbabwe People's Just Struggle!" and "U.S. Out of Zimbabwe, Superpowers Hands Off!"

3 Worlds...

Continued from page 3

imperialism enforces a situation where the colonial and neo-colonial countries are characterized by the production of raw materials and, on the other hand, are a market for the export of manufactured goods and, most importantly, of capital itself. And, of course, it is this basic relationship that makes the concept of "equitable trade relations" or a "new economic order" a sham and a farce.

In retrospect, it is clear that Teng's above statement was only partially aimed at justifying the *old* economic order of imperialism in general. He was also broadcasting his counter-revolutionary program for tying China once again into the imperialist orbit—a program which has been conducted with vigor since the counter-revolutionary coup of October 1976 in China. Just as Teng looked with envy upon the representatives of the oil-rich comprador bourgeoisies of the Middle East, so today he is in China carrying out his own advice, signing an agreement to sell billions of dollars of Chinese oil to Japan in return for advanced technology. (Teng's prescription for "progress" should have found support from Fidel Castro—despite differences over which superpower to kneel before—since Castro for many years has been implementing exactly the same program for neo-colonial dependence by maintaining Cuba as a giant sugar plantation dependent on the Soviet Union and telling the masses that somehow this will enable them to purchase an "early emergence from poverty and backwardness" some day.)

Teng's speech to the UN is one good example of what Mao was referring to when he said of Teng:

This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of "white cat, black cat," making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism.

Theory of the Productive Forces

The "three worlds" theory and the Chinese revisionists' general program for capitalist restoration have a common thread in the revisionist "theory of the productive forces." Just as Hua and Teng in fact preach that China will advance toward "communism" by accomplishing the "four modernizations" on the basis of restoring *capitalist* relations of production, so the "three worlds" theory holds that countries will become independent through economic gains without shattering the relations of imperialist dependence.

The "theory of the productive forces" presents "progress" as simply the quantitative acquisition of productive capacity while leaving productive relations to somehow automatically transform themselves. It ignores that under capitalism, and socialism also in important regards, it is precisely capitalist production relations (or remnants of them) that fetter the productive forces, that it is precisely revolution that is necessary to liberate the productive forces. And this outlook, the outlook of the bourgeoisie, invariably sees the productive forces as simply a question of the *means of production*, the factories, the oil wells, etc., and cannot comprehend Marx's truth that "the greatest productive force is the revolutionary class itself." Applied to the international situation, it is the outlook of the comprador bourgeoisie which seeks to fatten itself off the labor of the working masses, squabble with its imperialist overlords for a more "equitable" division of the spoils, but never entertain a thought of actually fighting to eliminate the relations of production and the relations between countries that imperialism fosters and maintains.

Defense of the Fatherland, "Three Worlds" Style

One of the heights of irony of the "three worlds" strategy is that while it basically writes off, as relics of a bygone era, wars for independence from imperialism (national liberation) in the third world countries (or at least those aimed against the U.S.), it resurrects them in Europe. According to the "Three Worlds" article, referring to Europe,

national wars against large-scale aggression, enslavement and slaughter by a superpower are not only possible and probable; they are inevitable, progressive and revolutionary. (p. 63)

It is hard to imagine a more direct attack on the basic Leninist principle on the attitude the proletariat in the imperialist countries must take toward its "own" bourgeoisie. Lenin's stand on World War I and the fierce struggle against those who would take any stand other than the struggle for the revolutionary defeat of their own bourgeoisie, is of course well known. As Mao summed up very succinctly in 1938, "on the issue of war, the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries oppose the imperialist wars waged by their own countries; if such wars occur, the policy of these Parties is to bring about the defeat of the reactionary governments of their own countries. The one war they want to fight is the civil war for which they are preparing." ("Problems of War and Strategy," *SW*, Vol. 2, pp. 219-20.)

But according to the current revisionist rulers of China the above quotation of Mao, like his revolutionary line in general, is outdated. Instead the com-

munist parties should be preparing to fight the war against the superpowers (read, Soviets). And they can begin "today," by raising the slogan of "defending national independence." ("Three Worlds" article, p. 59)

Searching for some justification for this betrayal, the Chinese revisionists offer up only the fact that where in previous periods five or six "Great Powers" struggled among each other for world domination, today only the U.S. and the USSR have superpower status. This is, in effect, nothing but a clumsy argument for a new era, somehow different from imperialism, in which Lenin's teachings do not apply.

First off, this argument is ludicrous on the face of it, for while in the past there were several imperialist powers more equal in strength, both previous world wars developed not as free-for-alls with each imperialist attacking the others indiscriminately, but rather as wars between two *blocs* of imperialist states, in which the contradictions between the states making up each bloc were temporarily mitigated by their common contradiction with the rival bloc.

The fact of the matter is that the war that the West European imperialists are preparing to fight is an *imperialist* war. War remains a continuation of politics by violent means, and the politics of these countries can only be the reflection of their social-economic system of imperialism. These countries are dominated by monopolies which export capital; they plunder others of their natural resources, prop up reactionary regimes and seek to extend their spheres of influence. The fact that they do so in *alliance* with U.S. imperialism in no way changes the fact that they are acting out of their "independent" imperialist interests. Nor can the fact that this alliance is *unequal* (what imperialist alliance isn't?) in any way change their imperialist nature.

As Lenin put it quite clearly, "In short: a war *between* imperialist Great Powers (i.e., powers that oppress a whole number of nations and enmesh them in dependence on finance capital, etc.), or *in alliance* with the Great Powers, is an imperialist war. Such is the war of 1914-16. And in *this* war 'defense of the fatherland' is a deception, an attempt to justify the war." ("A Caricature of Marxism," *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 34, emphasis Lenin's.) Not only do these smaller imperialist powers plan to go to war to preserve their current imperialist interests against the threats of the rival bloc, they also hope that in the event of the victory of their bloc the current "division of the world" would give way to one more favorable to themselves even among the victors (the U.S. role in World War 2 in seizing colonies away from Britain and France is an example of this).

To bolster their argument against Leninism, the Chinese revisionists, in an article incredibly titled "The Justness of Second World Countries' Defense of National Independence As Seen from Lenin's Expositions on 'Defence of the Fatherland'" (!) (reprinted in *Peking Review* #5, 1978), say that the "second world" countries are no longer concerned with "the problem of redividing the world with the two superpowers but how to safeguard their own independence and security." And, "as a result of the uneven development of imperialism, the imperialist camp headed by the United States has broken up." To this we can only ask: Gentlemen, what "world" are you living in?

Lenin did not argue that there could be no national war in the midst of an overall inter-imperialist war. During World War I, he pointed out that not only could there be such a war in the colonies but that in Eastern Europe such could be the case since there the national question was, as he put it, at that time a question for the present. But he did stress for example, that

The national element in the Austro-Serbian war is an entirely secondary consideration and does not affect the general imperialist character of the war." ("Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad," *CW*, Vol. 21, p. 159.)

The "three worlds" strategy takes as its premise the non-revolutionary situation existing in the imperialist countries and the weakness of the (pseudo and genuine) Marxist-Leninist forces. Lenin, however, stressed repeatedly, especially with regards to war, the possibility of a very rapid change in the mood of the masses into a revolutionary one. He pointed out the outbreak of world war can bring with it the embryo of a revolutionary situation. He also pointed out the possibility of revolutionary parties greatly expanding their influence among the masses quickly despite twists and turns and perhaps even initial setbacks.

Furthermore, Lenin stressed that "no socialist has ever guaranteed that this war (and not the next one), that today's revolutionary situation (and not tomorrow's) will produce a revolution" ("Collapse of the Second International," *CW*, Vol. 21, p. 216). He heaped abuse on those who would use this lack of a guarantee to fail to work unceasingly for the *defeat* of one's "own" bourgeoisie in the event of war. All that the "three worlds" strategy could ensure (if it were to be adopted by the Marxist-Leninists of the "second world" countries), would be that a successful revolution would not even be thinkable and that the result of the war would leave the proletariat of Europe not closer, but farther, from the task of socialism.

Soviet Main Danger

Despite the fact that in the "three worlds" strategy the two superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, are lumped together as part of the "first world," and labelled as the "common enemies of the world's

peoples," in fact this strategy makes a great to-do about the Soviets being "the most dangerous" of the two. The Chinese revisionists even argue that if

we should still indiscriminately put the two superpowers *on a par* and fail to single out the Soviet Union as the more dangerous instigator of world war, we would only be blunting the revolutionary vigilance of the people of the world and blurring the *primary target* in the struggle against hegemonism." ("Three Worlds" article, p. 39, emphasis added.)

Here we have it in all its glory. The two superpowers are the common enemies, but the "primary target" of the people of the world must be the Soviet Union. It is quite evident that this is the theoretical justification for the policy the revisionist rulers are following, of *allying* with U.S. imperialism and its bloc against the Soviets.

The basis for labelling the USSR the "most dangerous source of war" is that it is the Soviets who are on the strategic offensive, forced to demand a new redivision of the world favorable to them and, of course, at the expense of the U.S. and Western imperialists. Once again, the "most dangerous" line flies directly in the face of Lenin's basic teachings on imperialist war.

Is there any difference between the fact that the Soviet Union is on the strategic offensive, precisely because it lacks its "equitable" share in the division of the world, and the situation prior to World War I when it was Germany which was most directly and aggressively pushing for a new division of the world? There is no fundamental difference.

To make the Soviets the "primary target" of the people of the world is nothing but a base appeal for maintaining the *present* imperialist division of the world in which U.S. imperialism and its Western allies dominate the bulk of the world. Further, since the "three worlds" strategy cannot prevent an inter-imperialist war from breaking out, all the talk of "most aggressive" and "most dangerous" simply obscures what the class nature of such a war would be and helps prepare public opinion for the Western imperialists who will undoubtedly declare that they are fighting a war of "defense" against the encroachments of the Soviets.

Ironically enough, their "three worlds" line also has the effect of handing over the banner of "class struggle" and "class analysis" to the old revisionist parties and thus in fact strengthens their treacherous grip on important sections of the people.

The danger of world war cannot stem from anything other than the rivalry *between* the imperialist powers, the superpowers especially, and from the nature of the imperialist system itself. To try to attribute the danger of war as coming principally from one or another of the superpowers (and their bloc) is to make a mockery of class analysis and simply make it a matter of "aggression." This, of course, is exactly the road pioneered by the Second International in regard to WWI, when the great majority of socialist parties found one excuse or another for supporting their own bourgeoisie in the war, either openly or by refusing to call for its *defeat* in the war. To raise the slogan of "national independence" for European imperialists is outright social-chauvinism.

The defenders of the "three worlds" strategy attempt to use an article by Lenin, "The Junius Pamphlet" (*CW*, Vol. 22, pp. 305-319), which says that under an unlikely set of circumstances there could be a national war in Europe—as opposed to an imperialist war—fought by a "number of viable national states" against an imperialist Great Power that had subjugated them. Lenin not only called this "improbable," but added that "It would hurl Europe *back* several decades," because such a war would still find the bourgeoisie in the forefront or at least delay the question of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat.

And in this same article, Lenin makes very clear that "the class that represents *progressive* development is the proletariat," which was then, with regards to the imperialist World War I, "striving to transform it into a civil war against the bourgeoisie." Further, Lenin adds, speaking of Western Europe in particular, "international finance capital has created a reactionary bourgeoisie everywhere." Lenin, in stressing that the transformation of WWI into a national war in Europe was "highly improbable," also pointed out in this essay that "only a sophist can disregard the difference between an imperialist war and a national war on the grounds that one *might* develop into the other."

It can be seen that the "highly unlikely" set of circumstances which Lenin said would have to exist in order for there to be a (genuine) national war in Europe, does not apply to the situation in the Western imperialist countries of the so-called "second world." Indeed, if one were to examine the actual criteria that he set (namely, "if the *European* proletariat remains impotent, say, for twenty years; if the present war ends in victories like Napoleon's and in the subjugation of a number of viable states...") one could only conclude that these countries should wage their "national war for independence" against the U.S. imperialists, which, as we all know, is the last thing the Chinese revisionists are arguing for (at least at present).

United Front for What?

To return to the question raised earlier, what is the "three worlds" a strategy for? The proponents of the

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"three worlds" strategy never claimed it to be a strategy for revolution but rather for building a world-wide united front against *hegemonism*. Thus the task of the international struggle becomes not the fight for proletarian revolution, nor to combat imperialism, but simply to fight one *feature* of imperialism, the striving of the superpowers (read Soviets) for world hegemony. How "hegemonism" can be defeated without the overthrow of *imperialism*, monopoly capitalism, is a question our three worlders prefer to ignore.

The actual programmatic content of the "united front against hegemonism" is for the U.S. imperialists to further step up their war preparations, for the poor downtrodden imperialist powers like West Germany, France and Japan to tighten their unity with one another, and with the U.S. especially, on the basis of the opposing the USSR and for further strides to be taken in lining up every possible reactionary regime in the "third world" into this imperialist-led cabal. The role for "Marxists-Leninists," according to this theory, is to try to deceive the masses into believing that this imperialist policy is in their interest and become a cheerleading section for these reactionary ruling classes.

The new regime in China has truly been making its contributions to shoring up this imperialist alliance. First and foremost they help the imperialists by stepping into Khrushchev's shoes and trying to play the role of fire extinguisher of the revolutionary movements around the world. Hua Kuo-feng's recent trip to Iran in the midst of a mighty revolutionary upsurge is a good case in point and a perfect example of the "three worlds" strategy in practice. He praised the Shah's regime and gave credence to the lie that the Soviets were behind the current massive revolt. (See *Revolution*, October 1978 and article on page 17.)

The Chinese have also embarked on a good deal of "unity" building with the "second world," entering into various economic agreements that can only reduce China to a dependency on imperialism once again. And militarily they are in constant contact with the Western imperialist powers, so much so that Western bourgeois observers refer to China as "an unofficial member of NATO."

Indeed, stripped of all its verbiage the "three worlds" strategy is nothing other than a plan aimed at advancing what the Chinese revisionist leaders consider their own national interests. Since the Chinese revisionists perceive the biggest threat, at the moment, as coming from the Soviet Union, and since they lust for Western technology to attempt the "four modernizations" on a capitalist basis, they have developed an international "strategy" which would reduce the whole of the international communist movement to simply an appendage of their reactionary foreign policy.

This was particularly evidenced in an article from a group of so-called communists in Paraguay who wrote,

To achieve China's modernization at top speed and to continuously strengthen its national defense are the most important and most reliable guarantees that the revolutionary movement of the masses in all countries will in the long run defeat the main enemies of the people throughout the world—the two superpowers.

The statement goes on to criticize as "hidebound localism" all those who would dare put making revolution above China's new "long march" to capitalism. Most significant was not that this statement was made, but that it was published in *Peking Review* (#28, 1978).

No doubt the theorists of the "three worlds" truly believe that by awakening the West to its own imperialist interests, and in fact concluding a full scale alliance with it, China can avoid having to face a Soviet military threat singlehandedly. They hope that the outcome of World War 3 would be the victory of the "wars of national independence" and against "aggression" waged by the Western imperialists and that they could escape relatively unscathed. Further they hope that a real "new economic order" could emerge in which China would be able to play the "superpower of the third world," and they are today already beginning (to quote one of Mao's poems) to "assume a great nation swagger" in their dealings with those they regard as weaker (their vicious cutting off of aid to Albania is a case in point).

But this scenario is but a dream of the Chinese bourgeoisie. The actual road they are following, especially given the still backward conditions of China, will not lead to its emergence as a superpower but will make it once again a feasting ground for the imperialists. It is a strategy for national capitulation, as well as capitalist restoration.

The "Three Worlds" article states explicitly that "there will be different alignments of the world's political forces in different periods" (p. 7). This translates to mean that the present interests of China demand the "three worlds" theory, while future interests could well mean that yet another opportunist theory could be devised to justify some other course—particularly the possible capitulation of China to the Soviet social-imperialists (a point that will be addressed later in this article).

The Chinese revisionists emphatically state that the "three worlds" strategy is not a question of defending China against the Soviets, but that it is an accurate reflection of the current world situation and the needs of the world revolution. But by making this statement all they are doing is seeking to substitute their own bourgeois interests for the international revolutionary

struggle.

History of "Three Worlds"

Despite the attempts of the Chinese revisionists, and some others as well, to identify the "three worlds" as Mao's "strategic conception," such a view just won't wash. The most telling evidence that Mao did not originate the "three worlds" strategy is his entire life as a revolutionary. Mao's writings on the international situation are all entirely consistent with Leninist principles and in practice he always stood with the revolutionary struggles everywhere in the world.

While the revisionist rulers of China can show *no evidence* that Mao ever considered the "three worlds" to be the "new global strategy for the international proletariat and the oppressed people" ("Three Worlds" article, p. 21) there is every evidence that his fundamental analysis of the world revolutionary struggle was not based on "three worlds" but rather on the *four basic contradictions* in the world. These four contradictions are the cornerstone for the kind of international line developed by Lenin and Stalin and struggled for by Mao and other Marxist-Leninists worldwide in the fight against Khrushchevite revisionism. They were put succinctly in the report to the Ninth Party Congress (which though given by Lin Piao was done so against his will, and as the 10th Congress pointed out in affirming the Report of the 9th Congress, actually was Mao's line not Lin's). The Ninth Congress puts them this way:

...there are four major contradictions in the world today: the contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social imperialism on the other; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries; the contradiction between imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries; and the contradiction between socialist countries on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other.

It is interesting to note that the "three worlds" was never presented as a *strategy*, and still less attributed to Mao, during his lifetime. Teng Hsiao-ping's speech to the UN in 1974 (which stops short of openly proclaiming the "three worlds" as the international strategy for "revolution") makes no attempt to attribute the "three worlds" theory to Mao. Following Mao's death, neither the Central Committee statement which enumerated Mao's many contributions to Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, nor, for that matter, Hua Kuo-feng's memorial speech (obviously the product of struggle on the Central Committee and in the main reflecting Mao's line, not Hua's) mentioned the "three worlds" theory.

Similarly, the state Constitution adopted in 1975 (before the coup) stresses proletarian internationalism and support for the struggles of oppressed nations and peoples and does not mention the "three worlds," while the recent constitution, adopted by the revisionists, makes the "three worlds" line the *basis* for "proletarian internationalism" and relations with others in the world.

On the very same week that Teng Hsiao-ping was making his speech to the UN, Wang Hung-wen, one of the so-called "gang of four" and one of Mao's closest comrades-in-arms, pointed out in a speech to a visiting delegation from Cambodia: "Recently, Chairman Mao again taught us: We are Communists, and we must help the people; not to help the people would be to betray Marxism." (*Peking Review* #5, 1974) This was a very clear statement that cut against the whole direction Teng and Chou En-lai were taking in international policy.

And lastly, it should be noted that the current rulers of China are able to produce but two quotes from Mao referring to "three worlds" and neither of these in any way presents it as some sort of "global strategy." From all of this it can be seen that attributing the

"three worlds" theory to Mao is a monstrous forgery.

In the two years since the revisionist coup, endless examples can be found of the new rulers flagrantly ripping quotes from Mao out of context to make it sound like he was arguing against his own revolutionary line. They even do this to articles available in their entirety. Can there be any reason to doubt that this kind of misquoting and distortion is even more the case when they "quote" Mao from texts which haven't even been released?

Still, it is clear that Mao Tsetung and the revolutionary Left he led did sometimes distinguish countries into three broad groupings or "worlds." It is important to get a clear handle on what Mao and the Four were saying by this and what they were trying to accomplish.

To begin with, Mao Tsetung did, correctly, assess that in the world today there were but two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, and that the contention between them was leading toward world war. Few would deny that there is some validity in taking note of this objective difference between the superpowers and the lesser imperialist powers or the fact that, at present, it is only the two superpowers who are capable of *heading up* an imperialist bloc for carrying out world war—without, of course, ignoring the fundamental identity of the social order of *all* the imperialist states.

Similarly, Mao took note of the fact that contradictions of the world imperialist system were, in the period following World War 2, sharpest in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America—the "third world"—and that it was in these countries that the main revolutionary battles were taking place. As Mao stressed in his polemics with Khrushchev in the early '60s, the "storm center" of the world revolution had shifted from West to East (and he also pointed out that this "storm center" could and would shift back to the West as conditions for proletarian revolution ripened in the imperialist countries).

This was an important analysis, for it flew in the face of the Soviet revisionists who wanted to stomp out the flames of national liberation struggle and who downgraded their significance for the world revolutionary struggle, holding instead that the principal contradiction in the world was between the socialist and the capitalist camps and using this formulation to try to subordinate the revolutionary struggles to the (now bourgeois) interests of the Soviet Union's ruling class.

Mao also took note of the fact that all of the countries of Asia (except Japan), Africa and Latin America shared a common history of colonialism and imperialist domination and as such had certain common features, despite profound differences in many other regards. He took note of the fact that with the battering of U.S. imperialism, especially at the hands of the peoples of Indochina, and with the intensification of the crisis of imperialism, many of the regimes of the "third world" countries were taking some steps, however halting and partial in nature, that objectively struck blows at the imperialists or at least put difficulties in their path. Mao argued that such steps could and should be supported, particularly by the proletariat in power.

With this kind of orientation, Mao agreed to China's attempts to establish diplomatic and other relations with various countries in the "third world". One important aspect of this policy was the defeat of the imperialists' efforts to establish a diplomatic embargo on the Peoples Republic of China, a policy that came crashing down with the admission of China into the UN. China also used its diplomatic ties with various third world regimes to attempt to win them to support key revolutionary struggles, a case in point being the campaign to have these regimes recognize the revolutionary government of Cambodia during the In-

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China war or at least support its admission to the U.N.

China gave firm support to the Arab countries who took up the oil boycott during the 1973 war with Israel and later supported the efforts of the OPEC countries to demand higher prices for crude oil. Similarly, China supported efforts by "third world" countries to demand a 200 mile ocean sea limit to help protect their fisheries and similar moves to resist imperialist domination.

In taking these steps Mao never argued that the basic task of winning national liberation in these countries had been eliminated. On the contrary, the Chinese continued to give aid and support to the sharpest armed battles against imperialism including in Indochina, Palestine, the Philippines and other countries. They continued this support even in those cases (such as the Philippines) where they had established relations with the reactionary regime against whom the struggle was directed. In taking this policy, Mao was completely in keeping with long established practice among socialist states. Lenin and the Soviets, for example, entered into several agreements with the Weimer Republic in post-World War I Germany, while giving full support to the insurrections that took place there.

It is also clear that Mao Tsetung gave his endorsement to the general policy of "opening to the West" which began to take full form with the visit of Nixon to China in 1972. In doing so, Mao was reacting especially to the clear fact that the Soviet Union represented the main immediate threat to China's security. Nixon's visit reflected, above all, the failure of the U.S. imperialists' efforts to encircle China. For Mao to argue for establishing relations with the U.S. imperialists and trying to make use of the contradiction between the two superpowers is certainly not any kind of violation of principle and is indeed in keeping with the foreign policy of the USSR under both Lenin and Stalin.

Struggle Over International Line

At the same time it is clear that during this whole period there was intense struggle raging in China over whether to continue the revolution or adopt a revisionist line leading back to capitalism. This struggle was sharply reflected in the battle over international line and foreign policy.

From the early 70's, the Right, led by Chou En-lai, sought to pursue the kind of capitulation to imperialism that is currently being conducted under the signboard of the "three worlds" theory. For them, the Nixon visit and the "opening to the West" was not a matter of exploiting contradictions between the superpowers and other reactionaries but attempting to ally China with and make it dependent on the U.S. imperialist bloc.

They argued for decreasing support for revolutionary movements in the hopes of being able to cement this alliance. Hence Mao's rejoinder "not to support the people would be to betray Marxism" issued at the very time Teng was preparing his UN speech, takes on particular significance. So does the article (clearly putting out the line of Mao and the Four) written during the "Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius Campaign" which contained a blast at the "revisionist line" of "reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries." ("History Develops in Spirals," *Peking Review* #43,

1974.)

Similarly, the Left hammered at the theme of national betrayal, at capitulation to imperialism and betraying revolutionary struggles in many articles aimed at mobilizing people against the Right. This was particularly true of the campaign to criticize the novel *Water Margin*, which was specifically directed by Mao himself against capitulation.

Still, the Right held considerable influence throughout this period, including dominance of the Foreign Ministry and the liaison department of the Central Committee (whose task was to maintain contact with fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties but which was turned into little more than an adjunct of the Foreign Ministry.) These people went far beyond the limited moves that Mao was prepared to make in "opening to the West" and in encouraging regimes of the "third world" countries to resist certain imperialist practices.

Take Chile for example. In 1973 the Allende regime was overthrown by a CIA coup and a bloody reign of terror was unleashed against the revolutionary masses and revolutionary organizations. 30,000 people were massacred. In response, revolutionary and progressive people throughout the world condemned the crimes of the U.S. imperialists and their henchman, Pinochet. The response by the Chinese was totally disgusting. Chou En-lai made a weak-kneed statement to Allende's widow, with no denunciation of the U.S.

The articles in the Chinese press (and it must be pointed out that while the press was generally under revolutionary leadership, coverage of foreign affairs was heavily influenced by the Foreign Ministry) did not denounce the Chilean regime or its crimes against the people.

While the massacres were still going on, Chou rushed to be among the first to embrace the Pinochet regime and give it diplomatic recognition. Although there is nothing wrong in principle with establishing diplomatic relations with reactionary regimes, this move was a cynical backstabbing of the Chilean people's struggle and was seen as such throughout Latin America and the world exactly at a time when millions were looking to, and expecting, China to side with the revolutionary struggle. Chou's move served no purpose except to signal his intention to reactionary regimes throughout the world: we don't give a damn about the revolution in your country as long as you oppose the Soviets! As if Pinochet, or his CIA sponsors, needed any encouragement from the Chinese to oppose the Soviet Union. This whole disgusting episode only strengthened the hand of the Soviets and the revisionist parties throughout Latin America, as revolutionaries were rightly disgusted by the Chinese revisionists' betrayal.

But despite the fact that counter-revolutionary actions were taken in the name of "Chairman Mao's foreign policy" even while he was alive, as a whole the international line of the Chinese Communist Party remained a revolutionary one. And, undoubtedly, this question was deeply involved in the struggle Mao and the Four were waging against the Right at that very time.

The fact that the Chinese Party was never able to formulate an all-encompassing document on the international situation during the period before Mao's death is evidence itself that there must have been sharp struggle on this question. Further the Chinese revisionists themselves tell us in the "Three Worlds" article that,

In our own country, there are persons who frantically oppose Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds. They are none other than Wang Hung-wen, Chang

Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, or the "gang of four." Hoisting a most "revolutionary" banner, they opposed China's support to the third world, opposed China's efforts to unite with all forces that can be united, and opposed our dealing blows at the most dangerous enemy. They vainly tried to sabotage the building of an international united front against hegemonism and disrupt China's anti-hegemonist struggle, doing Soviet social-imperialism a good turn. (p. 24)

They go on to point out that "the 'gang of four' curse the theory of the three worlds." Every major political criticism of the so-called "gang of four" is actually directed at the revolutionary line of Mao himself, and this case is no different. The revisionists' bluster about the Four is further indication that Mao (and the Four with him) battled the capitalist-roaders on this question as they did on all others.

As stated before, in their attempt to lay out Mao's "strategic conception" of the three worlds, the Chinese revisionists can only provide two quotes where he actually uses those terms, the first simply describing three general groupings of countries and another in which he states:

China belongs to the third world. For China cannot compare with the rich or powerful countries politically, economically, etc. She can be grouped only with the relatively poor countries. ("Three Worlds" article, p. 51)

In this quotation Mao is in no way obliterating the distinction between socialist countries and those still under the rule of the bourgeoisie and landlords in the "third world." What he is doing is arguing against those who would compare China to Japan and the European countries (or the U.S.) and try to find fault with the socialist system in China if it could not outstrip these countries economically in a short period of time. In fact, it is this comparison that the present leaders in China trumpet, blaming the "gang of four," and in reality Mao himself, for keeping China backward with their revolutionary line that kept "interfering" with production. This whole question was one that Mao became clearer on as the socialist revolution, and especially the Cultural Revolution, unfolded. He argued that China's relative backwardness was a result of social conditions inherited from the old, imperialist-ravished China and that a "forced march to modernization" aimed at economically outstripping the West in a relatively short period of time would lead to the wholesale introduction of capitalist practices, as well as leading to failure. This is our understanding of Mao's statement that "China belongs to the third world."

Did Mao and the Four make mistakes in carrying out their revolutionary international line? As Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, put it at the Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings on the second anniversary of Mao's death:

On the whole, then, the line that Mao—and the Four—fought for in regard to the question of handling the contradiction between defending China on the one hand, and carrying forward the revolution at home and supporting revolutionary struggle worldwide on the other, was correct. But in dealing with this extremely complex and difficult question, they did make certain errors, in particular that of adopting an analysis of the Soviet Union as the most dangerous source of war, on a basis similar to that on which Stalin declared the fascist states the main enemy during the late 1930's. This error to a certain extent strengthened the revisionists in China, who were—and are—arguing that the Soviet danger to China justifies and requires writing off revolution at home and abroad. This sort of error by revolutionaries has, as pointed out, existed in the international communist movement, going back to the 1930's, and there is a real need to more thoroughly sum it up and criticize it in order to avoid it in the future. (*The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung*, p.114, RCP Publications, 1978.)

The reasons why the RCP believes it wrong to label the Soviet Union as the "most dangerous source of war" have been spelled out earlier. At the time, it was correct for Mao to recognize that the main threat of attack on China came from the Soviet social-imperialists and to make certain diplomatic efforts as part of dealing with this danger.

Mao and the Four never ceased supporting revolutionary struggle against the U.S. and its Western imperialist allies even while focusing their exposure on the Soviets and referring to the latter as the "main source of war." In the last few years of Mao's life, in regard to struggles aimed at the U.S. and the West in some areas of the world where the Soviets were trying to make inroads, the Chinese often made the analogy: when fighting the wolf at the front door, guard against the tiger at the back door. This analogy (which itself has weaknesses) was aimed at encouraging the vigilance of revolutionary forces toward the Soviets who were trying to make use of the struggle for their own imperialist ends. After the revisionist coup, this theme is no longer emphasized, just as China no longer gives genuine support to the struggles against the imperialists and reactionaries in the West. Now the advice is to join the wolf pack to fight the tiger.

Despite any mistakes that Mao and the Four might have made we have no doubt that the Four, and Mao, cursed the theory of the three worlds as it is being presently elaborated by the revisionist rulers who were obviously fighting for and trying to implement this line

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all during the period Mao was leading the fight against them.

The RCP and the Three Worlds Theory

The Revolutionary Communist Party concluded that the "three worlds" theory was counter-revolutionary at its Second Congress in early 1978. This conclusion was reached as part of an overall struggle to reach a correct line on the nature of the current rulers of China and their coup of October 1976. (For more on this see *Revolution*, September, 1978.)

From the time of the formation of the RCP (and of the Revolutionary Union which played the central role in forming it), the Party looked to and drew inspiration and understanding from the experience gained in the revolution in China and the great contributions of Mao Tsetung. On the question of the international line of the communist movement, the Party held general agreement with the position of the Chinese Communist Party developed in the struggle against the Khrushchevite revisionists and further developed with the emergence of the Soviet Union as an imperialist superpower and with the growing danger of a new inter-imperialist war between the two superpowers.

Our Party learned a great deal from the analysis of Mao Tsetung that capitalism had been restored in the Soviet Union and that it was not simply a question of opposing *revisionism* (as a line) there. As Mao put it, "the rise to power of revisionism means the rise of the bourgeoisie." This was clearly an analysis that never sat well with the capitalist-roaders in China, many of whom had various nationalist reasons for opposing the Soviets, but all of whom feared the scientific line of Mao which not only pointed to the nature and process of capitalist restoration in the USSR, but exposed the class basis and fundamental program of the revisionists in China itself.

Our Party considered it correct and important to support the actions the Chinese were taking in international affairs in making use of the contradictions in the enemy camp and to defend them against the hysterical cries of Trotskyites and the revisionists. The RU, for example, upheld the visit of Nixon in China as not contradicting China's internationalist responsibilities. We still believe that allowing this visit was not incorrect in principle.

At the same time and increasingly over the years, the RCP saw the necessity of waging a fierce struggle against those, in this country and elsewhere, who would substitute China's foreign policy for making a real revolutionary analysis of the tasks of communists. This trend became solidified in this country in the October League, which the RU correctly termed "pro-China Browderites" in 1974—that is, revisionists attempting to capitalize on identification with socialist China and to cover their own opportunism with certain aspects of China's foreign policy, in particular agreements and compromises it was making with imperialist and reactionary states.

Thus from early on, the RU and the RCP polemicized against the application of the "three worlds" strategy and the "Soviet main danger" line to the imperialist countries. Similarly, the RU and the RCP struggled against those like the October League who would have communists abandon support for the struggles of the people in various countries ruled by reactionaries because of the so-called "anti-imperialist role" of these reactionaries—the Shah of Iran is an outstanding example.

During this period of upholding what was a fundamentally correct line coming out of China, including China's attempts to make certain compromises to make use of contradictions within the enemy camp, the RU and the RCP constantly raised the quotation of Mao in 1946 when the Soviet Union, then a socialist country, was entering into certain agreements with imperialist countries:

Such compromise does not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home. The people in those countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions. ("Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation" *SW*, Vol. 4, p. 87.)

This principle was also stressed by leaders of the RU and the Party in private discussions with representatives from the liaison department of the Chinese Party Central Committee.

While this quotation obviously hits directly at what was the position of the Right in China and increasingly promoted by the liaison department (that revolutionaries must subordinate the domestic class struggle to China's foreign policy), it is interesting that representatives of the liaison committee felt obligated from time to time to repeat this quotation in discussions with RU leaders prior to the coup. This is further evidence that the *strategy* of the "three worlds" did not hold sway prior to Mao's death and the revisionist coup.

Before and immediately after the formation of our Party, in the summer and fall of 1975, considerable attention was devoted to further studying the international situation. This study further deepened the Party's understanding of the correct line, especially

around the question of what attitude one must adopt to one's "own" bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist countries in the event of war, the fallacy of raising the slogan of "national independence" in the imperialist countries, and opposing the "Soviet main danger." These points were stressed in several articles appearing in *Revolution* (see especially the articles "World War: The Correct Stand is a Class Question" and "Imperialist War and the Interests of the Proletariat" in the May and August 1976 issues respectively and reprinted in the pamphlet *War and Revolution*).

The 1976 Central Committee Report, *Revolutionary Work in a Non-Revolutionary Situation* (which was written before Mao's death and the coup in China), specifically condemns the Browderite parties in Europe as well as the October League for preparing to side with their own bourgeoisie in the event of world war.

All this was not lost on the October League or, for that matter, the Jarvis-Bergman revisionist headquarters within the RCP. The OL attacked the RCP frenziedly for not making China's foreign policy its line for making revolution in the U.S. Similarly some presently in the Menshevik clique formerly within the RCP wrote in an internal journal circulated in the process of forming the Party that "Contrary to the *Draft Programme* we think that the so-called 'three worlds' analysis is valid..." and demanded that it be made the basis of the Party's international line.

But even while struggling against the reactionary application of the "three worlds" line even before it was consolidated into an international general line after Hua Kuo-feng's coup, it must be said that the Party and the RU before it did fall into errors on this question.

In the June 1974 issue of *Revolution* (then the organ of the RU) an article reporting on the UN session which Teng Hsiao-ping addressed comments favorably on his speech and repeats several of his erroneous formulations. The next month a major article was published attacking the Communist League (a now largely irrelevant pro-Soviet sect) which made many correct points in criticizing CL but which defended Teng's speech. In other articles and documents of the RU and the Party (especially right around the time of its formation) one can find some reflection of the "three worlds" analysis.

The only other major statement by the Party up to this time specifically on the "three worlds" analysis was in the July 1977 issue of *Revolution*. That article was written as a polemic against tendencies to make the "three worlds" analysis the guiding line for revolutionaries throughout the world. It correctly describes the nature of the imperialist countries, including in Europe and Japan, and the tasks of revolutionaries there, specifically combatting such notions as fighting for "national independence" and pointed out that "still less can communists support imperialist military alliances..."

The article clearly stated:

Can the three worlds analysis decide and govern the revolutionary strategy in every country? No, it cannot. Such a strategy can only be arrived at and carried out country by country by using the method of concrete analysis—class analysis—of concrete conditions in each country, in the context of the international situation. And such a strategy cannot be developed by simply formulating an alignment of countries on a world scale, nor can the main enemy in any situation simply be determined by such a method.

However, while the *Revolution* article did not accept the "three worlds" analysis as a strategy, and in fact was a polemic against making it such, it was in some ways self-contradictory and made the mistake of failing to treat the "three worlds" strategy as a counter-revolutionary line and accepted it as valid in certain regards. This can be seen especially in the following excerpt:

This three worlds analysis gives, in our view, a correct appraisal of the general role that *countries*, or groupings of countries, are playing on a world scale. As such it is one important part of the more general worldwide united front line. It is part of making use of all contradictions and for isolating to the extreme the two superpowers, who are to the same degree and the same extent the main enemies of the world's peoples.

The above quotation contains a serious mistake. It maintains that the division of countries into three "worlds" is the fundamental way of describing the various alignments among states, when in fact the actual alignment of states in the capitalist world is much more, and increasingly, a question of lining up in two rival *blocs* headed by the superpowers.

The mistakes in the July '77 *Revolution* article are a result of several factors. At the time, the Party had not yet drawn conclusions as to the nature of the revisionist regime in China and two opposite lines were emerging within the Party on this cardinal question. Second, the Chinese party had not yet, at least formally, raised the "three worlds" to the position of *overall strategy* for the world revolutionary movement. (This occurred at the 11th Congress in August 1977 and in the major "Three Worlds" article in *Peking Review* #45, September 1, 1977.) For these reasons it was impossible for the Party to reach a unified conclusion that the overall international line coming out of China was, in fact, *qualitatively different* than the line coming out before Mao's death.

Since the above conclusion had not yet been reached, the July '77 *Revolution* article still reflected the general stand taken by the Party toward China's inter-



Mao Tsetung always led the Chinese people in showing support for the revolutionary struggles of people around the world. Here a 1968 demonstration in Shensi Province in support of the fight of Black people in the U.S. shortly after Mao's April 1968 "Statement in Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression."

national line under Mao's leadership. We understood Mao to have made a general description of countries as dividing into "three worlds" and we did not and do not today feel that such a description, in and of itself, is revisionist. Revolutionaries in Party leadership sought to defend Mao and to attack the "strategic" line bellowing increasingly loudly from China after Mao's death and the coup. Thus we defended the general grouping of countries into three worlds, while stressing that this could only be a partial explanation of certain phenomenon of the present situation and could in no way *replace* the analysis of the "four contradictions" cited earlier.

To the extent that this kind of grouping of countries into three broad categories had a practical significance, it was, in our opinion, limited to the role that *countries* (i.e. regimes in power) played and especially to how China could make use of its state-to-state relations, particularly to improve its defense posture *vis a vis* the superpowers and the Soviets especially. Our mistake in this regard was, as reflected in the *Revolution* article, that even in describing the role of countries the "three worlds" analysis could at best describe only an aspect of the situation, and one clearly secondary to what is the principal and determining factor in the conduct of regimes in today's international arena: the lining up of imperialist blocs for war.

The "three worlds" strategy as propounded by Hua Kuo-feng and company after Mao's death specifically argues against the very criteria on which the RCP upheld an even limited usefulness to the kind of three worlds analysis we understood Mao to have made. This came out fully later in 1977. The new revisionist rulers declared that:

In appearance, this theory of Chairman Mao's [sic] seems to involve only relations between countries and between nations in the present-day world, but, in essence, it bears directly on the vital question of present-day class struggle on a world scale. ("Three Worlds" article, page 5)

They refer to the "three worlds" as a global strategy "for the international proletariat and the oppressed people" (p.20) and say that it

gives immense confidence to the international proletariat and the people of the socialist countries and enables them to see clearly the essential relationships between the three forces—ourselves, our friends and our enemies—in the present-day world... (p.76)

In reference to the "Soviet main danger" question this article says,

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3 Worlds...

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Of the two imperialist superpowers, the Soviet Union is the more ferocious, the more reckless, the more treacherous, and the most dangerous source of world war.

Why must we say so? Is it because the Soviet Union occupies Chinese territory along China's northeastern and northwestern borders in contravention of treaty obligations and threatens its security? No. The United States, too, has invaded and occupied our Taiwan, likewise posing a threat to our security. Undoubtedly the people of each particular region can decide which superpower or imperialist country poses the more immediate threat to them according to their own specific conditions. But here we are discussing a general question concerning the world situation as a whole rather than a particular question concerning a particular region. It is not due to any accidental, transitory or partial causes that the Soviet Union has become the more dangerous of the two superpowers on a world scale. (pp. 33-34)

So it is no longer a case of the quite legitimate task of socialist China making use of contradictions to help defend herself against Soviet attack. Now "on a world scale" we are all mandated to mainly target the Soviets.

In the course of the RCP's struggle to uphold Mao's revolutionary line and the Four who fought for it against the revisionists usurpers in China and those within our own ranks who drew inspiration from and were emboldened by these revisionists, the Party has come to a correct all-round assessment of the counter-revolutionary "three worlds" strategy. The fact that the Party, while maintaining and fighting for an overall revolutionary line, fell into certain errors associated with the "three worlds" theory only increases the Party's determination to further analyze the international situation and deepen its grasp of the correct line and to carry through the task referred to by Comrade Avakian (quoted earlier from the Mao Tsetung Memorial Meeting) of conducting critical summation of the experience, positive and negative, of the international communist movement around these important questions.

The Three Worlds Theory and the Struggle in the International Communist Movement

Since the death of Mao Tsetung and the revisionist coup in China, the international communist movement has faced the most important struggle since the capture of the Soviet Union by a new bourgeois class led by Khrushchev. The struggle is an all encompassing battle between Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and revisionism. Revolutionaries everywhere have been and are being put to the test.

Already important victories have been won as a large number of Marxist-Leninist parties, organizations, and individuals have refused to blindly follow the baton of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping and lay down the red flag of proletarian revolution. These victories are due in great part to the tremendous experience and understanding gained in the struggle against modern revisionism, and in the tremendous battle of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution led by Mao Tsetung. At the same time, this struggle is far from over: initial victories must be built upon and deepened, Marxism-Leninism must be more deeply grasped in the fight against revisionism and reaction generally and further victories must be achieved.

Clearly, the struggle against the revisionist international line of the Chinese rulers, the counter-revolutionary "theory of the three worlds," occupies a very important place in this worldwide battle. Already many Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations around the world have criticized this reactionary line and have made some important contributions to the understanding of the international communist movement in this regard.

At the same time, the RCP is convinced that the struggle against the "three worlds" theory, as critical as it is, cannot occupy the center place in the current struggle against Chinese revisionism, nor still less be made the equivalent of that struggle. The central question raised by the emergence of revisionism in China, as was the case when the Soviet Union was dragged back down the capitalist road, is the question of the class struggle under socialism, of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and correctly understanding socialism and the proletarian dictatorship as the transition to classless society, communism.

The international line of a country cannot be separated from the class that rules it, nor can the line of a party be understood outside the context of determining what class that party represents. The counter-revolutionary "three worlds" theory and its history cannot be fully and correctly understood outside of its context in the class struggle in China between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the present all-round assault on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought by the new bourgeois rulers of China.

To attempt to do otherwise, to try to wage the struggle against the "three worlds" theory in any other context, will lead to confusing the part with the whole and to reversing the correct relationship between the internal nature of the Chinese regime and its revisionist international line. This is fraught with dangerous pitfalls.

Of course, it is absolutely correct and necessary to study the relationship between the international situation and the struggle over international line on the one hand and on the other hand the overall class struggle in China, but in doing so it is vital to grasp the basic truth of dialectics that the internal contradiction in a thing is what determines its character.

It is worth noting the experience gained in the struggle against Soviet revisionism. There were in the U.S. and other countries many who were revolted by Khrushchev's betrayal of the world revolution under the signboard of the "three peacefuls" (peaceful co-existence, peaceful competition and peaceful transition to socialism). But at the same time many of these forces never really adopted a Marxist-Leninist criticism of the Soviet Union and never really understood the actual nature of Soviet society under the rule of the revisionists. Many of the petty bourgeois radicals, revolutionary nationalists, and even neo-Trotskyites seemed to share Marxist-Leninist criticisms of the Soviet Union. But as capitalism was fully restored in the Soviet Union and as it developed into social-imperialism the character of the Soviet foreign policy radically changed.

No longer could it be characterized as mainly collaboration and capitulation to U.S. imperialism. Instead bitter contention with the U.S. over "spheres of influence" grew more and more predominant. Those forces who had opposed the USSR simply on the basis of its conciliation and collaboration with the U.S. became confused and disoriented when the Soviets began "supporting" certain liberation struggles to further their own imperialist aims and generally adopted a much more militant posture toward the West. As is well known, many of these people degenerated into out-and-out apologists for Soviet social-imperialist interests especially as represented by Cuba, and ended up supporting Cuban intervention in Africa, among other things.

While it is not possible for the Chinese revisionists, whatever their intentions, to turn China into an imperialist superpower (the backward character of that country will lead to it being once again a dominated state) it is highly likely that its foreign policy and international line could radically alter. Even today it is thoroughly based on pragmatism. Precisely because the Soviets are more of a threat to China it is easy to see how the Chinese revisionists could readily capitulate to the Soviet social-imperialists. And no doubt this very question is one that the current revisionist rulers are hotly debating. If this were to happen, the Chinese would very probably junk (or possibly "creatively re-interpret") the "theory of the three worlds" and discover that the international situation demanded yet another "global strategy," one that could on the surface appear very r-r-revolutionary and include a militant stand against the U.S. and in support of struggles aimed at it.

If this were to happen there would again be the grave danger that those who based their opposition to the Chinese revisionists solely, or even primarily, on the "three worlds" theory could become disoriented and end up tailing a thoroughly reactionary line of one kind or another.

Deeper Analysis

Of course, it is not only the possibility of future dramatic changes in the international situation and the line of the Chinese revisionists which requires that a shallow and simplistic approach to the criticism not be taken. We have seen several instances, in our own country and others, of parties and organizations who previously supported the "three worlds" theory but who are today vociferously denouncing it without ever really coming to grips with the overall questions involved, and, in fact, continuing to fall into many of the errors characteristic of the "three worlds" theory.

One such organization in the U.S. is the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists (COUSML, a tiny sect characterized by total dogmatism and utter isolation from the struggle of the masses, as well as a political line based on toadyism to whomever they feel has the most "capital" in the international communist movement).

COUSML and its parent group, the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), were uncritical supporters of all the worst tendencies (including the "Soviet main danger") associated with the "three worlds" analysis for years. They even made such "vanguard" interpretations of it as raising money for UNITA in Angola (the CIA and South African-backed guerrilla group which was fighting the Soviet-backed MPLA after the collapse of Portuguese colonialism) at the very time the U.S. bourgeoisie was openly recruiting mercenaries to fight on UNITA's side. They referred to the leader of this dubious outfit as "Comrade Savimbi"!

Yet today COUSML, without any serious self-criticism, parades about like a peacock, claiming to be in the forefront of the struggle against the "three worlds theory." And COUSML and the CPC(ML) (of which it is virtually a part) continue to uphold the line of "national independence" in the imperialist countries allied with the U.S. With such a line it is no wonder that they cannot sum up why they embraced the "three worlds" in the first place.

(A word should be said about COUSML's contenders for the title of "supreme fighter against the three worlds theory," the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee. MLOC also shamelessly trailed all the worst aspects of the international line coming out of

China—they, too, supported UNITA, repeated the "Soviet main danger" and so on. The chairman of their outfit even appointed himself the U.S. disseminator of the thought of E.F. Hill, the leader of the social-chauvinist Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), and ordered huge quantities of Hill's garbage. E.F. Hill first concluded that Australia was a "third world" country (!) many years ago but then decided Australia was a "second world" country that could still wage a war for national liberation. Originally this independence war was to have been waged against the U.S.; now he says they will fight for independence in alliance with the U.S. and the "patriotic" sections of the Australian bourgeoisie—an alliance directed against the USSR. Hill has generally achieved advanced world levels in ludicrous "creative applications" of Chinese revisionism.)

Of course, few, if any, other organizations in the world can be classified along with COUSML (or even MLOC), with its own particular and bizarre opportunist history. But the political tendency they represent cannot be said to be totally absent among other, genuine, revolutionaries. In particular, the question of what attitude to take toward the slogan of "independence" in the imperialist countries allied with the U.S. bloc is a vital question from the point of view of making revolution in these countries—an incorrect answer can easily lead to one form or another of "defending the fatherland," especially in the event of world war. Obviously this question is closely linked with repudiating the "three worlds" theory, but the fact that some have criticized the "three worlds" while remaining muddled or even outright wrong on the question of "national independence" in these countries shows that simply denouncing the "three worlds" theory is not enough.

Uphold Mao Tsetung

Finally, it is crucial to examine how taking the external (international) line of the Chinese revisionists as the basis for determining their internal nature (that is, their class nature) can lead to serious pitfalls. (Here we are not criticizing those comrades who took up study and struggle over the international line before studying the internal struggle in China, but rather we are speaking of the approach of using the international line as the sole or main basis for examining the domestic struggle in China.)

It is quite obvious that the counter-revolutionary "three worlds" theory has its origins prior to Hua Kuo-feng's revisionist coup. Fundamentally, its origins were with the capitalist-roaders, the bourgeoisie, in China who were building up strength and usurping important parts of the Party and state apparatus (including, as we pointed out, the Foreign Ministry), even as Mao and the Four were waging a fierce struggle against them and China remained under working class rule and guided by the Marxist-Leninist line of Mao. In addition, we have already pointed to some errors made by Mao and the Four in regard to the international situation, especially the analysis of the Soviets being the "main danger to the world's people."

Yet it is absolutely wrong, and quite dangerous, to see China's international line as a direct continuum of development since China's "opening to the West" in 1971. Many of the actions of the Chinese revisionists today seem in appearance to be basically the same as other, correct actions taken by China when it was still socialist. But the essence of these things is quite the opposite.

It is one thing to make compromises (and even establishing diplomatic relations, trade agreements and so are exactly that) with imperialists and reactionaries from the point of view of making use of the contradictions in the enemy camp. It is quite another to join the enemy camp itself. It is one thing to try to strengthen the defense position against those who were the main threat to China (the Soviets), providing such defense never takes precedence over the general world revolutionary struggle. It is quite another thing to make the defense of China and its "modernization" the highest goal, which can only be the line of the bourgeoisie.

Failure to recognize the fact that most of the moves made internationally by China during the period 1971-76 were not, in principle, wrong can lead to serious errors. When coupled with viewing the international line as the central question in evaluating China it leads to completely misunderstanding the class struggle in China, even to the conclusion that revisionism triumphed in China not in October '76 but when Nixon visited there (in 1972) or when Teng made his counter-revolutionary UN speech (in 1974). This kind of analysis would also lead to downgrading or even openly attacking the great role of Mao Tsetung and his defense and enrichment of Marxism-Leninism.

Conclusion

The "three worlds theory" is a counter-revolutionary line of capitulation and betrayal. It must be fought and defeated as part of the life and death struggle facing the international communist movement of fighting the revisionist usurpers in China and their motley pack of scraggly dogs who follow them and try to sabotage the revolutionary struggle in countries around the world. Efforts to cloak counterrevolution in the name of Mao Tsetung, the greatest revolutionary of our time, must be ruthlessly combated. We are confident that this struggle will end in victory for the international proletariat. ■

Iran...

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- Government bank employees refused to work as long as the pictures of the Shah and his family were allowed to remain on the walls.

- The 4,000 employees of Iran's national airlines, who had walked out over wage demands in late October, went back out on a political strike on November 1 to join in solidarity with the movement demanding freedom for political prisoners and an end to martial law.

By the end of October, nearly 40,000 oil production and refinery workers in southern Iran, concentrated around Abadan where the world's largest refinery is located, had united their ranks and stopped all of Iran's oil and natural gas export production, costing the regime more than \$60 million a day.

A week later, refinery workers in Tabriz, Shiraz and other cities to the north and west joined in, bringing the whole oil and petrochemicals industry to a virtual standstill. The army was ordered to seize parts of the huge Abadan refinery (because of supposed "threats from saboteurs"), and the workers were threatened with mass firings if they didn't return to their job by Nov. 4, but this hasn't got the oil flowing again.

The oil workers are wielding a mighty weapon. Oil literally runs through the jugular vein of Iran's ruling class. Even before the strikes the national budget, which relies almost entirely on oil revenues, was running a deficit amounting to over \$5 billion a year.

In addition, these strikes are being watched with horror by the Western European and Japanese imperialists (who rely on Iranian oil for significant portions of their energy needs) and by the reactionary Israeli and South African regimes (who get 80% and 90% respectively of critical oil imports from Iran). The threat all this poses to the Western bloc hardly went unnoticed by its kingpin—the U.S. bourgeoisie.

Repression Fails to Stop It

The Iranian people's mass movement has grown even stronger in the face of the regime's dual tactics of savage repression and a steady stream of sham "reforms." On September 8, now called Black Friday by the masses, over 5,000 unarmed demonstrators were gunned down by the Shah's troops in Tehran and thousands more were killed in other cities and towns.

The government hoped that these massacres, along with the imposition of martial law in Tehran and ten other

cities on the same day, would drown the people's movement in blood and give the regime some breathing room. But these savage attacks only led to new waves of mass rebellion and redoubled the determination of the Iranian masses to bring down the regime altogether.

In the first few days of November alone, 300,000 people marched in Qum, 100,000 rallied in Mashad, tens of thousands of students and workers demonstrated and fought troops in the streets of Tehran and more than 50,000 oil workers and others filled the streets of Abadan.

In numerous clashes with the Shah's troops and police agents, sections of the people have been armed, as many are grasping the necessity to meet the regime's counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence.

Around the time of the 40th day after the massacres of "Black Friday" (marking the end of the traditional period of mourning) mass demonstrations and uprisings took place in scores of localities. Government buildings, banks, police stations and other symbols of the hated regime and of U.S. imperialism went up in smoke; and in a number of villages thousands of peasants demonstrated against the regime and clashed with troops.

In Baneh, in rural western Iran, the people took over all the government buildings by armed force, killing or driving out of town all the officials of the regime. The people controlled the city for several days, until heavily armed troops were called in, backed up by machinegunners firing from U.S.-made combat helicopters. In the southern Iranian city of Jahrom, snipers killed the police chief and critically wounded the martial law commander as they were making their daily rounds in a jeep.

Marxist-Leninist Forces Developing Influence

One important feature of the current upsurge is the growing influence of the Marxist-Leninist organizations among the masses, especially among the students and workers at this time. Iranian communists have carried out revolutionary agitation and propaganda among the workers and have worked to develop the workers' battles into a class-conscious movement capable of leading the vast majority of the Iranian masses, particularly the peasantry, against the class enemies.

The universities, particularly in Tehran, have been important rallying points for the mass struggle and centers of Marxist-Leninist influence. Tehran University has been the scene of constant battles between revolutionary students and government forces.

Since October 25, the National University of Iran has been occupied by



Tehran University, October 26—Defying martial law students have forged unity with workers and many others and turned the campus into a center of revolutionary activity.

thousands of students in defiance of the Shah's orders to shut down the universities. Barricades have gone up and government forces have repeatedly been repulsed.

Recently, the National University hosted a conference attended by thousands to take up the burning questions of the revolutionary struggle. The University's presses have been used to run off hundreds of thousands of leaflets and print Marxist-Leninist classics which have long been banned in Iran.

The regime, in response to mass demands for the freedom of political prisoners, finally released 1500 at the end of October (including many veterans of the revolutionary movement who had stood up to long periods, even decades, of torture and solitary confinement in the Shah's dungeons).

They were met by crowds who carried them triumphantly on their shoulders to the National University campus. From here a number of these well-known revolutionaries immediately devoted their efforts to the mounting campaign to free the regime's political prisoners. When the government announced the names of 133 more political prisoners to be released next, this group of 133—in close collaboration with those recently freed—refused to come out until all the regime's political prisoners are released and then went on a public hunger strike!

While the influence of Marxist-Leninists has developed rapidly in the past year, the people's movement has had a predominantly petty bourgeois and religious leadership. For a brief period in late 1977, sections of the Iranian bourgeoisie opposed to the Shah occupied the leading positions in the mass movement, organizing poetry readings and gatherings that served as rallying points for tens of thousands of people.

However, their line of peaceful, constitutional reform of the Shah's hated regime did not reflect the growing revolutionary sentiments of the masses, and they were swept aside as massive demonstrations and uprisings demanding "Down with the Shah's Fascist Regime!" erupted throughout Iran.

At this point, the radical petty bourgeoisie, including many well-known religious figures, took over leadership of the mass movement. The religious leaders were in the best position to do this due to the continuing hold that Islam has on the vast majority of the Iranian people. And this afforded them with a public base of operations in the mosques which the regime could not so easily attack.

Many of these religious leaders—such as the exiled Ayatollah Khomeini—have generally stood with the masses so far and have been uncompromising in their demand for the destruction of the Shah's Pahlavi dynasty. In many instances, unity has been built between communists and such forces in the revolutionary struggle. However,

they are fundamentally unable to provide the correct leadership needed to advance the revolutionary struggle to victory, as shown by their tendency to vacillate (Khomeini has on and off publically disassociated himself from communists) and by their propagation of concepts such as an "Islamic Government" that would guarantee a vague "freedom" for the people as the goal of the mass movement.

This underlies the importance of the consolidation of the genuine communist forces and developing a program for the new-democratic, followed closely by the socialist, revolution. In a country such as Iran, this is the only way the power of imperialism, feudalism and the reactionary bourgeoisie can be overthrown and the political power of the Iranian masses, led by the proletariat and its communist party, established.

Revisionists

In relation to this, an important task for the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces in Iran is the exposure and political isolation of the revisionist, pro-Soviet Tudeh (Masses) Party, which has some lingering respect among the masses going back to the pre-1953 period. (After the CIA coup that returned the Shah and fascist rule to Iran, the leadership of the Tudeh Party deserted the revolutionary struggle and fled the country, paving the way for its total degeneration into the Iranian branch of the Soviet revisionists.)

Under the guise of "Marxism-Leninism," the Tudeh Party has put forward the utterly reformist line of building a "United Front Against Dictatorship." To achieve the "glorious"—and illusory—goal of ushering in a new era of bourgeois democracy, it is bending every effort to develop ties with influen-

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China Says:

Iran's Stability Key Link

After Hua Kuo-feng dodged mass demonstrations by helicopter during his recent visit to Iran, the Chinese revisionists have finally been forced, in *Peking Review* No. 42, to break their silence on the revolutionary upsurge in Iran. In so doing, they gave a clear example of what the "three worlds" analysis means in practice.

Their article "objectively" reports strikes and demonstrations, with no mention of what the demands or slogans of these actions are. Of course, there is no reportage, let alone denunciation, of the massacres by the Shah.

Instead we read simply that "On September 8 the Iranian Government proclaimed martial law in 12 cities for six months and started a campaign against price hikes and corruption. It also decided to grant a 12.5 per cent pay increase for all government employees from September 23."

Through its usual method of "objectively" quoting reactionary sources, *Peking Review* calls attention to Iran's "unstable political situation" and the "superpowers' interference and rivalry in Iran" which are "attempting to 'control it.'" Of course the role of the U.S. which already "controls" Iran is not mentioned and instead the article concludes by saying "that Brezhnev and company clearly understood Iran's strategic importance in this area."

Here we have the "three worlds" strategy in all its glory. A mighty revolutionary storm is battering a reactionary regime which is an out-and-out arm of U.S. imperialism. But the regime cannot be overthrown and in fact must be prettified because the Shah is part—even a leader—of the "third world" and opposes the "superpowers," i.e. the Soviets. They should have ended their article with the slogans: "Long Live the Progressive Regime of the King of Kings"; "Support the Repression of the People and the Cosmetic Reforms of the Shah"; and "Up With U.S. Imperialism and Down With the (35 Million) Soviet Provocateurs!"

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Iran...

Continued from page 17

tial "anti-fascist" sections of the national and even comprador bourgeoisie, especially those who are not opposed to developing greater economic and political ties with the USSR, which is located right on Iran's northern border.

For months, as the people's struggle has raged in Iran, the Soviet social-imperialists have stayed conspicuously silent—even going so far as to publically disassociate themselves from the rebellions after the Shah claimed the Soviets were meddling in Iran.

At this point, the new czars are not in a strong enough position to mount a frontal challenge to U.S. imperialism in Iran—especially because of their relatively weak base of support inside the country. Thus they are at present mainly laying low and banking heavily on the Tudeh Party to channel the people's hatred for the Shah and U.S. imperialism into support for Soviet-style revisionism.

Based on a thoroughly revisionist line, the Tudeh Party has attacked mass rebellions and militant acts of resistance of the Iranian masses as "anarchy" claiming that it just gives the Shah an excuse to bring down more repression on the people.

In promoting peaceful means of struggle (which has the additional goal of gaining it legal status and seats in Parliament), the Tudeh Party has even called on the people to unite with the military, which is supposed to be a potential ally of the people against the Shah's "dictatorship"! In a nutshell, the Tudeh Party's line is the "peaceful road to bourgeois democracy" and faithful service to Soviet social-imperialism.

The Chinese revisionists have also become notorious for scabbing on the Iranian people's revolutionary struggle. Their counter-revolutionary line is being creatively and feebly developed by forces in Iran who uphold the "three worlds strategy." While they can't openly come out in opposition to the mass movement, and in fact must pay lip service to it, they prattle that the mass movement should not go "too far," lest it create an unstable situation that the Big Bear to the North could take advantage of. (Significantly, this is the same stinking line pushed by their revisionist mentors in China in opposition to Mao's revolutionary line as they prepared for their reactionary coup—that the struggle of the proletariat and the masses had to be clamped down on because of the overwhelming danger of Soviet aggression.)

U.S. Imperialism Weighs Options

The steadily growing mass movement, together with the regime's deepening political and economic crisis, is forcing the U.S. imperialists to carefully weigh their options. In recent months, the U.S. has made it abundantly clear that it favors the continued application of vicious repression on the one hand and sham "reforms" and certain limited concessions on the other.

Due especially to the powerful strikes that have brought Iran's economy to a

grinding halt, the U.S. and the Shah are in basic agreement with the current tack of making some concessions around political prisoners and starting up negotiations with "moderate" opposition leaders in hopes of blunting the mass movement.

Still, in a neo-colony of U.S. imperialism such as Iran, the velvet glove is tattered indeed and even when it is worn, it leaves exposed the iron fist of reactionary dictatorship over the masses. The U.S. imperialists understand clearly that the Shah's regime rests fundamentally on the armed suppression of the masses. Even the French newspaper *Le Monde* presented strong evidence several weeks ago that the U.S. government gave the Shah the green light to declare martial law and to crack down on the opposition only days before the massacres of thousands of unarmed demonstrators on Black Friday, September 8.

For more than 25 years, the U.S. imperialists have placed all their marbles on the Shah. However, if the Shah proves himself completely unable to crush and control the mass movement, he will have become more of a political liability than an asset to the overall strategic interests of U.S. imperialism in Iran. Thus, the U.S. bourgeoisie is for the first time exploring the possibility of forcing the Shah to give up his absolute power (in some form of constitutional monarchy) or of dumping him altogether. But they also recognize that a hasty removal of the Shah at this point could create an extremely unstable and potentially even more dangerous situation for U.S. imperialism in Iran.

As explained in the October issue of *Revolution*, U.S. imperialism absolutely cannot afford to give up its hegemony over Iran and the whole oil-rich Persian Gulf area. This is what President Carter emphasized in a public statement on October 31: "our friendship and our alliance with Iran are one of our important bases on which our entire foreign policy depends." Taking into account the overall world situation, the U.S. imperialists' strategy calls for using every possible means to prop up the Shah's regime short of sending in the marines, but failing all this—and it is in fact failing badly now—U.S. imperialism will not hesitate to send troops to keep Iran firmly under its thumb.

In order to prepare the ground for any future course of action, the U.S. bourgeoisie has relied heavily on its reactionary public opinion campaign. The recent strikes—with their political demands clearly targeting the regime—have made it somewhat more difficult for the U.S. media to continue portraying the Iranian masses as "Moslem extremists" opposed to the Shah's "reforms" and "modernization." Nevertheless, this often-told fairy tale that the Shah is protecting "our" oil and is "modernizing and liberalizing" the country is still useful to the U.S. bourgeoisie in making the case for continued support for the Shah's regime and all-out "defense of the free world's interests" in Iran.

This was the basic theme struck by Carter on October 31 when he invited the "Son of Shah"—Crown Prince Reza Shah, who is currently receiving a



Tehran—mail piles up as postal workers join in strike movement.

U.S. Air Force education in Texas—to the White House for his 18th birthday celebration. Carter commented: "We're thankful for his move toward democracy. We know it's opposed by some who resist democratic principles. But his progressive administration is very valuable, I think, to the entire Western world."

The next day, Reuters reported that the U.S. Defense Department had recently announced it considers to be still in effect a treaty signed with Iran in 1959 that provides for direct U.S. military "assistance" if Iran's "security" is threatened. The Pentagon added that "we have long-term contingency plans to protect the 40,000 advisors and the 7,732 military contractors in Iran."

A recent ABC news broadcast by Barbara Walters went even farther, openly criticizing the administration for its "lukewarm" support messages to the Shah. Walters warned that Iran is now in a near state of "anarchy" and faces the danger of a "communist takeover" in the next few weeks.

While the U.S. bourgeoisie as a whole is not quite that hysterical at this point and is certain to measure its moves carefully, they will be increasingly looking for ways to gear up the American people to support increased U.S. intervention in Iran, including full-scale military intervention. As this possibility grows in the months ahead, the political, military and public relations maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists—both in Iran and the U.S.—must be exposed to the American people and militantly opposed.

While there are some significant differences between Iran and Vietnam and the world situation then and now, the lessons of the Vietnam War era demonstrate that mass actions of the

American people can make an important difference. The tremendous movement against U.S. aggression in Indochina and in support of the Indochinese peoples' just struggle made that war a lot more difficult for the imperialists to wage and contributed to their final defeat.

Furthermore, the work of the conscious anti-imperialist forces deepened the understanding of many thousands of people then, and must again now, that it isn't some bad "foreign policy" that is responsible for U.S. aggression, but that it is rather the inevitable result of the workings of the imperialist system, the common enemy of the Iranian and American people.

Bright Ray of Revolution

The mighty upsurge of the Iranian people is truly a bright ray of revolution in today's world, inspiring and urging forward all those who suffer the exploitation and oppression of imperialism and reaction. The situation demands that revolutionaries everywhere take their stand beside the heroic fight of the Iranian people, and creates an excellent situation for Marxist-Leninists to show concretely how this rebellion of the oppressed is in accord with the highest interests of the working class and oppressed peoples, hammering at U.S. imperialism, one of the two biggest exploiters in the world today.

While the reactionaries the world over are shaking with fear and trepidation, the revolutionary people the world over rejoice at this eruption of fury that foreshadows the storms that will do away with imperialism and reaction altogether—in Iran and the whole globe. Victory to the Iranian people's just revolutionary struggle! ■

Hines...

Continued from page 2

Indeed, at the same time as the ruling class has tried to put up a "liberal" facade of disapproval around the Hines case, it has used the case to stir up racist divisions among the people, especially by promoting the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. When Hines was arrested in Decatur on May 23, those who came openly to his defense did so in the face of reprisals from Decatur authorities, the KKK and other reactionaries. Led by Bill Wilkerson (the Imperial Rectum who got thrown for a loop last year in Plains, Georgia), the Klan staged marches to confront Black protestors in a clear attempt to provoke violence. They even set up tents and camped out on the lawn of the Decatur City Hall, with the blessings of the city fathers, after Blacks had demonstrated there against Hines' arrest.

Under these conditions, Hines' attorney petitioned the court for a change of venue. The judge "obliged" the defense by moving the trial to Cullman County, which has a population that is over 99% white! Most Black Alabamians consider Cullman to be the last place on earth they would want to stand trial, and the Hines case confirms their opinion.

The bulk of the testimony in Hines' defense was heard by Judge Riley without the jury present. Evidence vindica-

ting Hines was routinely ruled inadmissible. Defense objections were unceremoniously overruled and Hines was put on a non-stop railroad to prison. The all-white jury needed little time for deliberation, and after giving Hines a 30-year sentence, Judge Riley praised the prosecutor for a job well done.

It is important and necessary to support and defend Tommy Lee Hines and to expose the bloody hand of capitalism behind this racist frameup. And it would be a grave error to sum up from this case (as have certain tired reformists like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference) that we need to "rebuild the civil rights movement" of the late '50s and early '60s to force the government to "end discrimination." Can the government be made to "see the light"? If so, why hasn't it up to now? What the Hines case shows is that this system of capitalism—far from becoming "enlightened"—continues to pour out the most outrageous and disgusting forms of oppression against Blacks and other minorities as part of the overall exploitation of the working class upon which the system is based.

Do we need another "civil rights movement" to try to reform our way to the "promised land"? Absolutely not! What is needed is nothing short of a revolutionary movement, led by the working class of all nationalities, to end once and for all the rule of capitalism, whose very existence guarantees the daily perpetration of outrages like the Hines case. ■

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U.S. Schemes to Hold Zimbabwe...

Continued from page 11

fer to engage in "negotiations with no preconditions" is nothing more than a PR hype, with the purpose of demonstrating how "moderate" Smith & Co. are, while portraying the Patriotic Front as "unreasonable" for refusing to participate in such a sham conference. Smith and his U.S. backers know very well the position of the Patriotic Front: the only purpose of such a conference is to work out the actual mechanisms for handing over political power to the Zimbabwean people, which would first and foremost entail the dismantling of the reactionary Rhodesian army and police forces.

Smith's Real Intentions—Step Up the War

Even while Smith was making this empty offer of "negotiations" for the benefit of the U.S. press, his real intention of stepping up the war in order to bolster the bargaining position of the reactionary regime in the future was made abundantly clear. On October 19 and 20, the Rhodesian air force and army launched their largest raids ever against Patriotic Front bases and refugee camps in neighboring Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana. Immediately afterwards Smith commented that "I hope we go on having bigger and better raids every day until the terrorism ends."

Intensified war was clearly on Smith's mind as he announced upon his return to Rhodesia that it would be impossible to hold elections by the December 31 deadline set under last March's "internal settlement." This was followed within a week by the imposition of martial law on more than half the country. Obviously inflated by his U.S. trip, Smith boasted, correctly, that it amounted to de facto U.S. recognition of his government.

The main bulk of the Rhodesian forces were concentrated in a 48-hour offensive against three major ZAPU bases and nine smaller camps located deep inside Zambia. The most devastating bombing and strafing attack came against the base at Chikimbi, located 12 miles north of the Zambian capital of Lusaka, which housed over 3000 recruits, refugees, and ZAPU's main communications center. ZAPU chief Joshua Nkomo acknowledged losing 226 dead and 629 wounded in that raid alone. According to ZANU sources in the U.S., simultaneous attacks against ZANU camps in Mozambique (which have been regularly launched by Rhodesian forces in recent months) met with little success due to prior evacuation measures.

The most immediate reason for the bombing raids was to try to significantly weaken ZAPU's forces and weapons' reserves (which are overwhelmingly concentrated in Zambia and Angola) before the rainy season sets in during

December, when the guerrillas have better cover than during the long dry winter months. The raids were also directed at raising the sinking morale of the white settlers, who are now leaving the country at the rate of more than 1700 a month.

The Rhodesian reactionaries and the Western imperialists clearly view ZAPU, headed by Nkomo, as the weak link in the Patriotic Front. In recent months they have made no secret of their efforts to entice Nkomo into making a separate deal with Smith & Co. under Western sponsorship. In August Nkomo held two secret meetings with Smith in Zambia (with the Nigerian and Zambian governments providing back-up assistance). However, Nkomo's terms for capitulation must not have been acceptable to Smith, since the talks broke down and the bombing raids followed. Still, Rhodesian sources have expressed confidence that they can force a weakened Nkomo back to the bargaining table "within a year."

Nkomo has a long and well-known history of opportunism, bourgeois politicking, and capitulation to imperialism and social-imperialism—mainly depending on who is the highest bidder. Though Nkomo's pragmatic bourgeois nationalist ideology has at times led to doing business with the Western imperialists, ZAPU under Nkomo's leadership has historically relied heavily on support from the Soviet social-imperialists. This goes back to the 1960s, when both the USSR and ZAPU were sowing illusions about the "peaceful road to liberation" and denouncing the armed struggle initiated by ZANU as "adventurist." Sizable quantities of Soviet arms have been pumped into ZAPU, thousands of ZAPU troops have been sent to Angola for political and military training, and hundreds of Cuban advisors operate in ZAPU's bases in Zambia.

Superpower Rivalry Heats Up

Exactly because of the growing strength of the Zimbabwean people's struggle and the deteriorating position of the reactionary regime, both the U.S. and British imperialists on the one hand and the Soviet social-imperialists on the other are stepping up their interference in Zimbabwe and are trying to elbow each other out of the way in their drive to maintain or bring the country under their exclusive imperialist domination.

The stakes in southern Africa are high for both imperialist blocs and are growing higher as their intensified worldwide contention brings them closer to all-out war. In the area of strategic minerals, for example, Zimbabwe and Azania (South Africa) hold 89% of the world's reserves of chrome outside the USSR. In addition to containing substantial imperialist investments itself, Zimbabwe is the gateway to South Africa, which has by far the largest concentration of industrial power and mineral wealth in Africa. U.S. and West European capitalists have sunk over \$10 billion into the South African economy.

The Soviet social-imperialists, utilizing their sham "socialist" cover and the long history of Western backing for the

Poland (beyond church bingo, that is) has also been growing rapidly in recent years—and people are openly encouraged to try their luck. Advertisements in the government newspapers paint a bright picture of the lucky ones—prospects of travel abroad or buying a car. Earlier this year the Polish press reported preparations for opening state-controlled roulette gambling.

In the past several years there have been numerous contacts between the Vatican and the authorities of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to further this new co-operation, including a visit by Polish party boss Gierek to Pope Paul VI.

New Pope's Role

But for the most churchmen it has been very clear what ends this "opening to the East" has to serve and that in the dual policies of opposition and co-operation opposition has to be principal. There was considerable uneasiness among many Vatican bureaucrats



Ian Smith with N. Sithole, his companion on his U.S. trip and one of his Three Stooges, here reacting to the latest news from Zimbabwe.

reactionary white settler regimes in southern Africa, have gained an important edge in posing as the friend and "natural ally" of the liberation movements. According to the Soviets, self-reliance is an idealist dream, and modern weapons and the support of the "socialist camp" are decisive, not the revolutionary struggle of the masses of people themselves. This revisionist line maintains that it is impossible for the oppressed peoples to defeat U.S. imperialism without relying on their so-called "socialist allies" headed up by the USSR.

The Angolan Lesson

But as has been demonstrated in liberation struggles and newly independent countries worldwide—and in Africa, most clearly in Angola—the Soviet social-imperialists do not grant aid in order to help the masses in Zimbabwe or in any other country to wage a protracted people's war, with primary emphasis on self-reliance and mobilizing the people inside the country itself to be their own liberators; instead the Soviets work in every way possible to make liberation movements dependent on them. For instance, in Africa Soviet military theorists promote heavy reliance on conventional warfare and sophisticated Soviet weapons, which naturally requires large numbers of Soviet, East European, and Cuban advisors to be an essential part of the "aid" package.

The case of Angola provides a glaring example of how reliance on Soviet "aid" has in fact led to exchanging one set of imperialist slavemasters for another. It has been nearly three years since the MPLA—with its military backbone composed of 10,000 Cuban troops using massive shipments of modern Soviet weapons—defeated rival organizations backed by the Western imperialists.

Today, over 25,000 Cuban "internationalist" troops remain in Angola which should raise serious questions about just how much popular support the MPLA and the Neto regime have inside Angola. In late 1977, Angola became the first African country to join Comecon (CMEA, the main vehicle for the USSR's economic domination of

most of Eastern Europe), further deepening its neo-colonial dependence on the Soviet bloc. Thousands of Soviet and East European advisers hold important positions in every branch of the Angolan government, from the railroads to the Department of Internal Security.

With the Western imperialists facing major difficulties in implementing their overall neo-colonial strategy for Zimbabwe and southern Africa as a whole and earning the just hatred of the African masses for bolstering the reactionary Smith regime while pretending not to, Brezhnev, Castro & Co. can be expected to step up their interference in the Zimbabwean liberation struggle.

In mid-September the USSR teamed up with the reactionary Ethiopian military regime to stage an "International Conference of Solidarity with the Struggle of the African and Arab People Against Imperialism and Reaction" in Addis Ababa. Cuban Premier Castro and Soviet First Vice-President Kuznetsov were featured speakers and paid special attention to praising the Zimbabwean Patriotic Front and pledging all-out "support" for the fight against Smith and the Western imperialists.

The next few months will undoubtedly produce new reactionary maneuvers on the part of the Smith regime and its imperialist backers on the one hand, and increased meddling on the part of the Soviet social-imperialists on the other. In this situation the most effective support communists and other progressive forces in the U.S. can give to the Zimbabwean liberation struggle is to continue to hit hard at the U.S. imperialists' increasingly open support for the Smith regime and to expose the phony "majority rule" schemes for Zimbabwe being cooked up—whether in the form of the "internal settlement" or any of the endless variety of U.S.-British "peace plans."

At the same time, the imperialist ambitions of the new czars of the USSR must be exposed, as they try to peddle their revisionist line and "aid" in Zimbabwe. Above all, the heroic struggle of the Zimbabwean people and their revolutionary goal of breaking free of reactionary rule and all forms of imperialist domination requires intensified and whole-hearted support. ■

Pope...

Continued from page 8

prise that revisionist-style capitalist exploitation is far preferable to them than revolutionary struggle against exploitation.

Wojtyla and the Polish hierarchy gave a shameless example of just what this means in 1976 when the Polish workers rose up and rioted against steep food price increases. Wojtyla and the rest of the Polish hierarchy backed the government's efforts to squelch the rebellion by appealing to "Polish believers for peace and order and a return to work." In the past the Polish government has even appealed to the church to aid in convincing the small Polish farmers that they should go along with the revisionists' version of the collectivization of agriculture.

Of course the church is not the only means the Polish government hopes to use to impoverish and corrupt the masses. The gambling industry in

and cardinals from the U.S. and other Western capitalist countries whether Pope Paul and his successor John Paul I really grasped firmly this principle—whether maybe they were too conciliatory in the face of the Soviet threat.

Many of the papal electors, particularly the Americans, must have seen the sudden death of John Paul I as a "sign from God" that now was the time to move some one with a bit more experience and stiffer backbone into the papacy as the contention between the two superpowers heated up. "His greatest strength as a churchman," said *Newsweek*, referring to the Polish cardinal, "has been his ability to deal flexibly with communist authorities while strengthening the position of the church" (i.e., the church and the western imperialist bloc).

The fact that Wojtyla is from a "communist" country offered other pluses for the cardinals. In Latin America, for example, with its millions of nominal Catholics, the masses of peo-

ple are in growing rebellion against the reactionary and often openly fascist regimes long supported by the church hierarchy. The Soviets are using their counterfeit Marxist cover and contention with the U.S. imperialists to make inroads into the area. Wojtyla can present himself as a man who has suffered under "communist" rule and one who knows what is really behind all the fine words.

At the same time the new pope is advertised as a modern pope for modern times. No son of a lordly Italian aristocrat or humble peasant as have been a long string of his predecessors, John Paul II is presented as anti-Nazi activist in World War 2, poet, actor, athlete, guitar player and one-time factory worker.

All in all, the Polish pope fits the bill just fine for the beleaguered church and the U.S. imperialists, who are confident that His Holiness will know whose missiles to bless in the war between the superpower blocs that looms ever closer. ■

Moody 3 Fight Hits Raw Nerve

On Saturday, Oct. 28, nationwide demonstrations in Houston, Seattle, Chicago, L.A., the SF Bay Area and several other areas raised a storm of protest in defense of the Moody Park 3 and the rebellion against the police in Houston last May. The Moody Park 3 have been singled out by the ruling class in Houston for their militant role in the front ranks of the struggle against police murder and national oppression, and for their leadership in the fight to defend the Houston Rebellion and all those arrested in that mass uprising. They are charged with "felony riot," a Texas law blatantly aimed at the peoples' struggle which says that anyone present during a "riot" is guilty of any crimes committed there.

The trial of the Moody Park 3, which was scheduled for Oct. 30, has been postponed until Jan. 8. The reason is that politically and legally they need a number of felony convictions before the D.A. attempts to railroad the Moody Park 3 as well as other defendants who have had these phony "felony riot" charges added against them. Since many trials have been postponed, the D.A. apparently decided that attempting to convict the 3 without prior convictions was too much to bank on. But despite the postponement, which only exposes this political frame-up for what it is, the Committees to Defend the Houston Rebellion, the National United Workers Organization, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade and others around the country went ahead with local actions and took the battle squarely to the capitalists.

The march in Houston was a big blow against the ruling class' efforts to smash this struggle by harassing and intimidating active fighters who have come forward and attempting to isolate them from the people. People United to Fight Police Brutality, the organization that has stood at the forefront of the fight against police murder in Houston, led 75 people on a march through the Northside community where the rebellion took place. This was twice as many as the last march, and included people from Austin and Baton Rouge. The response from the community was even more positive than during previous actions.

At the close of the march, undercover agents of the Houston police and members of the C.I.D. ("Red Squad") stopped a car with guns drawn and arrested 18-year-old Edward Gallegos who had just spoken for the RCYB at the rally. The cops aimed their guns at the people with him and refused to name the charges. It was only several hours later that the charges became known: attempted murder (specifically the stabbing of TV newsman Jack Cato) during the Moody Park Rebellion. The bail: \$10,000.

The cops recently tried to get a conviction on another man for *this same charge* and failed. Now this newsman

under coaching from the Houston P.D. has suddenly "remembered" that it was Gallegos who stabbed him in the butt six months ago. That the police know how flimsy their case is was shown by the fact that they tried to force Gallegos to confess no less than 8 times during the 3 days he spent in jail.

Wave of Repression

This is the latest and sharpest attack on the movement to defend the Moody Park rebellion and to free the Moody Park 3 and all those arrested. Gallegos himself has faced much of this increasing repression. On Monday, following the Cinco de Mayo rebellion, when rock and bottle throwing at the police flared up again, he was arrested while sitting on his porch in Irvington Courts, the decaying federal housing project which had been the center of much of the rebellion. The charge: suspicion of arson. The proof: a book of matches in his pocket!

A month ago Edward was busted for wearing a "Free the Moody Park 3" T-shirt and refusing to move when an officer of the law told him to go home. He was standing in front of his apartment at the time. The charge: interfering with a police officer.

At the police station the cops found a copy of Mao Tsetung's Red Book in Edward's pocket. When they asked him, "Why do you let these communists fill your head with all this garbage?" Gallegos answered, "*You murder my people and harass my brothers and sisters and then you ask me why we turn to revolution!*"

The next night they came back and told him in front of witnesses—"We're going to get you." Only 2 weeks before the march and the day before he was to testify in support of the Moody Park 3, the police tried to frame him on a car theft rap.

All this was part of a general wave of repression aimed at the movement in defense of the Moody Park rebellion and aimed particularly at dividing the advanced fighters from the Chicano community which has been the heart of the struggle for Justice for Joe Torres. Several activists in both People United and the RCYB have been arrested for passing out leaflets and postering during the months since the rebellion.

The press, exposing their subservience to the needs and desires of the ruling class, has consciously blacked out any news of this intimidation and has boycotted press conferences, picket lines and marches. The only time any news squeaks out is when it suits the purposes of the capitalists to attack and slander the struggle.

But this repression has only served to fan the flames of this struggle and fire active fighters with a determination to turn up the heat. People United has continued to hold picket lines at the



The cops' attack on this demonstration sparked great controversy in Seattle.

preliminary hearings of defendants arrested during the rebellion. On the main opening day of these trials, People United again picketed but the reformist coalition (which includes the CPML) did not. Their reformist line has now apparently led them to conclude that such militant actions may "hurt the trials." This is a logical extension of their bourgeois line of relying on the very courts that let the pigs who killed Joe Torres off with a \$1 fine.

On the Tuesday after Gallegos was busted People United picketed the county courthouse and the jail until he was released on bail. The following day they picketed the city council to denounce this frame-up and Gallegos was there, refusing to be intimidated and continuing to stand courageously in the heat of the struggle. People United and the RCYB are planning further actions to build this fight. They will certainly clear up any misconceptions held by Houston's rulers that they have succeeded in intimidating people and stopping the struggle.

Sharp Battle in Seattle

In Seattle, Washington, the cops launched a vicious and planned assault on the march called there to defend the Houston rebellion and demand Free the Moody Park 3! Sixty-five people marched through the streets chanting "Joe Torres Dead, Cops Go Free, That's What the Rich Call Democracy," a slogan which had galvanized the feelings of the masses of people in Moody Park the night of the rebellion. To this chant, the demonstrators in Seattle added the name of John Rodney, a 28-year-old Black man recently murdered by the Seattle cops.

In the midst of the march, the cops drove a police car right up onto the sidewalk. They started to grab monitors and people from the line of march. One woman, 7½ months pregnant, was pulled from the march by her hair and thrown to the ground. The marchers moved to defend her and others the cops were trying to grab, forming a tight circle around them and pushing the cops back into the street.

The march continued defiantly. Four times the demonstrators fought off the cops' attacks. As the march wound through the open air farmers market, the cops moved in, singling out people they wanted to bust and smashing anyone in their way with billy clubs. But as one woman said, "The people swarmed around those that the pigs were after and got them away."

The streets were filled with people from the market. Angry bystanders threw fruit at the cops. One woman offered to hide one of the demonstrators in the freezer of her stall to help him escape from the pigs, and when the cops knocked a woman on the ground, the people on the sidewalk surrounded her to defend her from attack.

The demonstrators finally decided to disperse after a further confrontation when police tried unsuccessfully to handcuff a woman and were knocked to the ground and up against their cars. Sirens filled the air, and the cops cordoned off the area, running into stores and restaurants, even searching the bathrooms, looking for "demonstrators."

Four men were arrested. Three were held on charges of assault and riot on \$11,000 bail each. The fourth, who was badly beaten by the cops, is being held on \$14,000 bail for riot, assault and escape!

Immediately after the march teams of demonstrators went into the marketplace with bullhorns and leaflets to talk with people there. People who had seen the march were outraged by the police attack and many offered to testify on behalf of the demonstrators. The NUWO and RCYB rescheduled the rally for Monday afternoon and 50 people showed up defying mounted police and passing out thousands of leaflets explaining the political nature of the cops' previous attack. People on the street shouted their support and 50 came forward to sign petitions demanding: "Stop Police Terror" and "Defend the Houston Rebellion."

This was the most outrageous club-wielding assault of cops on a political demonstration in Seattle in several years. It was front page news for 2 days and has become the most controversial question being talked about in Seattle. The exposure of the role of the police as murdering servants of the capitalist class and the linking up of the murder of Joe Torres and the Houston Rebellion with the recent murder of John Rodney in Seattle obviously hit an exposed nerve of the Seattle rulers and their pigs.

In an attempt to cool the situation out the cops have already dropped charges against one man who was arrested, and one of the Mayor's flunkies contacted the office of the *Worker* for the Northwest and implied that the charges on the others could be reduced if a delegation would meet with the Mayor and presumably agree to scale down their protest activities. People's answer was an emphatic NO WAY!

These new attacks in Seattle and Houston are a blatant attempt by the ruling class to try to put out the spark that the Houston Rebellion has kindled and prevent the righteous cry that "It's Right to Rebel!" from spreading. They have tried to blame the rebellion on white outside agitators, because two of the Moody Park 3 are white, and now with the arrest of Gallegos they are also trying to blame it on "unruly Chicano youth," and say, you see this is what happens when you mess around with communists. The ruling class and their murdering cops hate the politically conscious people who have dared to stand up to them, expose them and focus the struggle of the masses against their system. But the more they try to suppress this struggle, the more they will only continue to feel the sharpening knife of the people's anger. ■

The following excerpts are from a telegram sent to Houston signed by 100 of the striking Teamsters from the Safeway strike in California:

The capitalists try to keep us fighting within the limits of their system. ... We're told not to deal with any issues outside of the strike. But our understanding of these bloodsuckers and the understanding of the power we workers have has grown in the course of our fight. Our struggle as workers cannot advance unless we take up broader struggles like the Houston Rebellion and make them the property of the whole working class. In your fight against these capitalists, each blow you strike strengthens us all in our common fight."



Besides demonstrations, many different activities were undertaken in support of the Houston rebellion. Here a worker in the Pilsen area of Chicago donates to support the defense of the Moody Park 3.