



# REVOLUTION

Organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

50¢

Vol. 3, No. 13

October 1978

## 2300 Hear Major Analysis of '76 Coup

# Historic Mao Memorials Combat Revisionism



1200 people attended West Coast Mao Memorial Meeting, September 10. Around 2300 people attended the two meetings. Simultaneous translation made the program available in Chinese, Spanish and Persian.

The Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings held on September 9 in New York City and September 10 in the San Francisco Bay Area signified a tremendous victory for the working class at a major crossroads. These meetings struck a powerful blow against the revisionists now ruling China and others who claim to represent the interests of the working class while all the time attacking and stabbing the workers and the masses of people in the back. By raising the banner of revolution against such treachery, these meetings also struck a blow against the imperialist rulers of the U.S.

and all reactionaries. In the face of the vicious betrayal of the cause of proletarian revolution by the clique of "goulash communists" who have usurped power from the proletariat in China, revolutionaries around the world have refused to compound the loss in China by following these revisionist rulers down the path of capitulation.

It was in this context that these meetings can truly be said to have been historic events. Khrushchev's coup in the Soviet Union in 1956 had been another such crossroads for revolution. As the opening remarks made at the meetings by leading members of the Revolutionary Communist Party Central Committee put it, "Summing up what has happened in China is the most pressing and important question facing revolutionaries around the globe... If one accommodates oneself to revisionism in China, or fails to correctly sum up why it has triumphed, one cannot make revolution in his own country. How could

Continued on page 4

## Party Calls For Mao Tsetung Enrollment

Pg. 3

## Direct U.S. Military Intervention?

# 7 1/2 Million March Vs. Shah's Regime

During the week of September 4-9, millions of Iranians took to the streets in the most massive demonstrations against the Shah's fascist regime in his 25 years of bloody rule. These huge demonstrations, starting on Monday, September 4 and continuing through Friday and Saturday when martial law was declared in Tehran and ten other major cities, brought over 7 1/2 million Iranians (according to official reports) from all walks of life into political motion and into sharper conflict with the regime. With the Shah's new "liberalization" program barely out of his mouth, the Iranian army and police opened up with machine guns on the unarmed crowds in Tehran and other cities on "Black Friday," killing upwards of 10,000 people on that day alone.

This barbarous attack ordered by the Shah and his clique of comprador bourgeois agents of U.S. imperialism will undoubtedly lead to a new intensification of the revolutionary struggle in Iran. And with the people's struggle in Iran reaching new heights, the Shah's regime and the U.S. bourgeoisie are together stepping up their reactionary public opinion campaign against the people's struggle, and the prospect of increased and more direct U.S. military intervention in Iran is growing rapidly.

### Struggle Builds, Regime Sets Abadan Fire

Less than a week after the Shah first announced his "liberalization" program in early August, he ordered troops into seven Iranian cities to suppress uprisings and enforce martial law. In Isfahan, an industrial city centered around the country's largest steel mill,

40,000 people rose up against the regime and its U.S. imperialist backers, fighting armed battles with the police and army troops for ten days.

Two famous luxury hotels, the Shahabab and the Pos—mansions-away-from-home for rich Americans and Europeans—were burned to the ground as well as U.S. banks and Western-style porno theaters. More than 300 heroic fighters were killed in these street battles, which spread to several small towns near Isfahan and continued after martial law was declared.

Further south in Shiraz, police attacked a mosque where people were gathered to hear speeches against the regime. The Shah's goons then set fire to the building, killing 30 and injuring more than 50. Thousands of workers in Tabriz and the capital city of Tehran went on strike and thousands more held street demonstrations in support of the martyrs of Isfahan and Shiraz.

It was exactly this great storm of rebellion that made it necessary for the Shah to make empty promises of "political freedom" even as he and the U.S. imperialists standing behind him prepared still more vicious attacks on the masses of people. And the next one was not long in coming, on Saturday August 19—25 years to the day after the CIA-engineered coup that placed the Shah back on his blood-soaked throne in 1953.

That night the Shah's police and army murdered at least 800 people who were watching a progressive film in the Rex theater in Abadan. In a closely coordinated media campaign, official Iranian sources and the U.S. press immediately blamed "Moslem fanatics" and "Islamic Marxists" for setting the fire in order to discredit the people's

movement and pose as great defenders of "civilization and democracy." This was especially aimed at international public opinion, since word of what had really happened in Abadan spread within days throughout Iran and the overwhelming majority of the Iranian people hold the Shah and his henchmen directly responsible for this heinous act. (See page 9 for more on the Abadan fire.)

### Shah's Sham "Liberalization" Program

Throughout the month of August, the Shah publicly trumpeted his new "liberalization" program, even while his agents were turning the Rex theater into a blazing inferno.

The Shah and the comprador bourgeois clique surrounding him have been under considerable pressure from other sections of the bourgeoisie (one of whose gripes is that they have been frozen out of politics and the related business dealings by the Shah's own

clique of multi-millionaires) and also from the U.S. imperialists to broaden the base of the regime among the bourgeoisie and the upper sections of the petty bourgeoisie. One important part of this was for the Shah to make some concessions to the conservative Moslem religious leaders such as Ayatollah Shariat Madari who have consistently put out a line of reforming the Shah's regime and have attempted to keep the lid on the mass movement.

To implement this strategy, the Shah announced in early August that he would allow the formation of political parties other than his Resurrection Party (though of course no revolutionary parties will be included in this program), and he announced that elections would be held in mid-1979. Only one week after the Abadan fire, the Shah retired his widely-hated Prime Minister and Cabinet, his personal physician (who had the "wrong" religion), and several army generals.

Continued on page 9



Martyrs Square, Tehran, September 8—Black Friday. Demonstrators carry fallen comrade after the Shah's machine gunners opened fire on masses demonstrating against martial law and demanding the overthrow of this murdering despot.



# Houston Trials in October

## Free the Moody Park 3!

The struggle of the people in Houston against police terror and murder, against killer cops going free while those who fight against them face many years in prison, is approaching a critical juncture. Many people's trials begin in mid-October, and on October 30 three of the leaders of the fight, the Moody Park 3, are going on trial on the extremely serious charge of felony riot, facing up to 20 years in jail. The three are members of People United to Fight Police Brutality, the organization that stood in the forefront of the more than a year-long struggle that began shortly after Joe Torres, a young Chicano veteran, was beaten and thrown in a bayou to drown by six thugs of the Houston police force.

The story of that struggle is well known. After Torres' murder an outcry swept through Houston. Two of six killer cops were indicted for murder in an attempt to quell the anger of the people. But after a mockery of a trial the cops were convicted of manslaughter and given a \$1.00 fine and a year's probation. Once again the fury of the masses neared explosion, and once again a handful of self-styled "community leaders," slick-talking politicians and priests told the people to stay cool and put their faith in the "justice" of the capitalist system.

It was only the struggle of the masses led by People United (a mass organization formed at the initiative of the Revolutionary Communist Party in the wake of the initial whitewash) that forced the Federal government to step in with new indictments of the killer cops. And it was People United which kept hammering away at the same theme—beware of another whitewash, never rely on the courts. For this uncompromising stand, People United won the hatred of the ruling class and its apologists, and the respect of the people.

Another whitewash was exactly what was in store. The federal government came through with convictions of civil rights violations and the cops were



San Jose Calif., Sept. 16. Members of the Committee to Defend the Houston Rebellion participate in Mexican Independence Day Parade.

sentenced to one year in jail (which they have yet to begin serving.)

All the pious proclamations of the bourgeoisie, all the pathetic pleas of the pimps who earned their keep by standing as a buffer between the authorities and the masses, lay exposed. The "justice" of the bourgeoisie was their armed power over the masses.

### Moody Park Rebellion

On Cinco de Mayo (May 5), a traditional Mexican holiday, the masses erupted. A small incident in Moody Park sparked by police harassment quickly grew into a major rebellion, the likes of which have been rare in this country in recent years. Cries of "Justice for Joe Torres!" filled the air as hundreds, mostly Chicanos, fought the uniformed protectors of the rich. Fifty people were arrested.

Once again People United was in the forefront of the struggle. Their banners were unfurled in the midst of the fighting to the cheers of the crowd. The next day, as the reformists fell over themselves denouncing the rebellion, and as opportunists and phony communists covered, People United spokesman

Travis Morales defiantly spoke to the press and upheld the courageous action of the masses and demanded freedom for those arrested.

Following this heroic act, the capitalist rulers were quick to retaliate. Outrageous red-baiting attacks filled the front pages of the Houston papers. The mayor issued a thinly veiled death threat against Morales. The "community leaders" let loose with more cries of "outsiders" and endorsed the threats of the authorities and the actions of the police at Moody Park. But People United held firm and conducted a very successful march through the neighborhood surrounding Moody Park. The cheers of passersby and the fists in the air put the lie to the claim that People United was just a handful of outsiders. Morales, Tom Hirschi (also a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade) and Mara Youngdahl (also a member of the National United Workers Organization) were busted on an outrageous law that holds anyone at the scene of a "riot" can be held accountable for any "crime" committed there. So they are charged with arson, looting, assault on a cop, etc. The initial \$500,000 bail and threats of many

years in prison, aimed at the leaders of the struggle, were supposed to break the back of the movement. It failed.

In Houston, People United took up the fight to free the Moody Park 3 and all others arrested as an integral part of the struggle against police terror and national oppression they had been leading. Through meetings, leafletting, car caravans and other forms, support has been rallied for the three fighters.

The National United Workers Organization (NUWO) voted to take up the case of the Moody Park 3 nationwide. Under their banner of "Workers Unite to Lead the Fight Against All Oppression" the NUWO has been explaining to their fellow workers why support for the Moody Park 3 is an important way for the working class to broaden its struggle against the capitalist enemy. This month the NUWO will be stepping up its activities, holding plant gate rallies, fund raising parties and local educationals, using among other things a slide show on the struggle.

The Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade has also recently decided to step up its activities around the Moody Park 3. It is printing a poster for nationwide use, planning campus agitation and sidewalk agitation aimed at youth in neighborhoods of all nationalities. In addition the RCYB has been linking up various local struggles against police repression with the Moody Park struggle.

### September 16 Actions

In several cities Committees to Defend the Houston Rebellion have been formed at the initiative of the RCP. The Committees have concentrated their work in the Chicano communities. Important steps were taken by the committees on September 16, another traditional holiday of the Mexican people.

In Los Angeles, San Jose, Calif., and in Houston itself contingents marched in the traditional parades. These parades are supposed to be a harmless (to the ruling class) expression of the pride of the Mexican-American community. But this year these parades were made the focus of widespread agitation about the case of the Moody Park 3 and how it relates to the fight against the oppression of the Chicano people.

Despite unsuccessful attempts in some of the cities to keep the Moody Park supporters from marching, tens of thousands of people, in all, responded enthusiastically. In Chicago, El Paso and the California agricultural town of Salinas, the Committees leafletted September 16 marches. In Houston a speech by Travis Morales was well received and people from the crowd at September 16 came up to greet him and express support.

The trials are growing close. The Moody Park 3 face a preliminary hearing on October 11 and their trials are scheduled to begin at the end of the month, Oct. 30. A number of other people arrested during the rebellion have their trials set for the 10th and 11th. People United is planning picketing for these days and is organizing a march for October 28, the Saturday before the trial of the 3. The RCYB will be mobilizing people from the Midwest and the South to come to this Houston march and representatives of other organizations will be there as well. The Committees to Defend the Houston Rebellion, the NUWO, the RCYB and others are planning local actions in a number of cities to coincide with the opening of the trial of the 3.

The authorities hope that by attacking the people and their leadership through these trials, they will put an end to the continuing struggle against police terror, against the oppression of minority nationalities and judicial whitewash in Houston, and throw fear into the hearts of the people everywhere.

But it is clear that support for the Moody Park 3 is broad and growing and the basis exists for even more people to take a determined stand in demanding that the Moody Park 3 go free. The trial is a serious attack on the people, but it can and must be turned into an opportunity to deal a blow to the bourgeoisie and advance the struggle against police terror and the oppression of minority nationalities. ■

## Convention in San Francisco

# Struggle Over "Gang of 5" Hits USCPFA

The fifth national convention of the US-China Peoples Friendship Association, held in San Francisco over the Labor Day weekend, was the scene of intense class struggle. In spite of the best efforts of the national officers of the Association to pretend that there was no burning issue and that the convention should be just "business as usual," it could not be, for in fact a revisionist coup had indeed taken place in China. This point was driven home by the delegates and observers upholding Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line and the role of the Four who fought for it right up to this coup.

The questions dominating the concern of friends of the Chinese people throughout the world, "Has there been a revisionist coup in China? Is the line of Mao Tsetung being repudiated?" dominated the hallways, workshops, and educational sessions of the convention, and burst into the plenary sessions. These questions and how to answer them were the central concern of both those documenting the revisionist coup as well as those supporting the new regime.

Since its founding in 1971, the Friendship Association has grown steadily, fueled by the perception of literally thousands of people that the revolutionary path charted by socialist

China was opening new vistas for mankind and in fact represented the future of human society. This did not mean that all those who came forward to build friendship with China were won to Marxism or even considered themselves revolutionary. But the great majority were sincerely attracted by the fruits of socialist revolution, in particular the "socialist new things" created and strengthened in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

### Communists Helped Build Association

Communists, members of the Revolutionary Union (and later the Revolutionary Communist Party) were instrumental in the formation of the earliest local Friendship Associations in 1971 and played a significant role in the creation of the national association and in the building of locals across the country. Representing the stand and outlook of the working class, they correctly supported a broadly defined friendship organization which welcomed as members all those who supported the building of "people-to-people friendship based on understanding." Yet while recognizing the China friendship work as a task in its own right, for communists building people-to-people friendship could not become an end in

itself. To do so would have meant slipping inevitably into utopian schemes of peace through universal brotherhood and reformist hopes of grafting socialist new things imported from China onto the dying body of U.S. imperialism.

For the working class, the significance of the China friendship work lay in its broad dissemination to people of all classes and strata the example of socialism in practice (the rule of the working class for the purpose of transforming society and reaching communism), and, secondarily at that time, the building of popular support for China, which would act as a material force in deterring aggression against China by U.S. imperialism. For Marxist-Leninists in particular, China stood as a bulwark against modern revisionism and the experiences of the Cultural Revolution had deeply enriched the science of Marxism-Leninism concerning the nature of class struggle during the period of socialism.

But the important and progressive role played by the Association for several years had necessarily come to an end with the revisionist coup in China. For while communists and all progressive people support people-to-people friendship with, say, the Soviet Union, they would not belong to and build the Soviet-American Friendship Council which serves to prop up and prettify the ugly features of Soviet social-imperialism.

An association based on building friendship with the Chinese revisionist rulers can only become a roadblock and obstacle to the struggle in China as well as in this country. In fact, the only progressive action to be taken in the China Friendship organization today is to leave it, to urge its disbanding, and to heed Mao's 1965 call to "resolutely expose and fight" any revisionists should they usurp power in China.

Continued on page 16



# Party Calls For Mao Tsetung Enrollment

The Revolutionary Communist Party announces the launching of a Mao Tsetung Enrollment into the Party. This is 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, USA—to commit themselves to systematically studying the Party's line and the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought on which this line is based, to working actively with the Party in carrying out this line in practice and to joining the Party in accordance with the principles and procedures set forth in the Party's *Constitution*.

As our Party has stressed throughout the Mao Tsetung Memorial Month, the setback suffered by the working class in China following Mao's death has once again brought revolutionaries everywhere and the international communist movement to a crossroads. What must be done in the face of this bitter defeat? Throw down the red flag of proletarian revolution, fall on our knees before the bourgeoisie, give up the struggle against the imperialists, revisionists and other tormentors of the people and become in one form or another the servile tools of reaction? Some have chosen this course, but they can never represent the main and forward trend of history and can only end up being swept into the dustbin along with every system and all upholders of exploitation.

What lessons must be drawn from the temporary reversal in China? That socialism is bound to fail and communism is a hopeless illusion? Exactly the opposite is the case. Socialism is a great advance over capitalism and opens the way to communism, but, as Mao Tsetung explained, socialism is a long transition period during which there are classes, class struggle and the real danger of capitalist restoration and the principal contradiction remains that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The goal of communism must and will be finally reached only through the victorious struggle of the working class to overthrow and finally eliminate the capitalist class and all the material and social conditions that give rise to exploitation in any form anywhere in the world. Twists and turns in the class struggle and temporary defeats are bound to occur, Mao taught, but these can never change the truth that the proletariat is bound to lead mankind to a whole new stage of history—communism, classless society.

Comrade Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, spoke to this in his speech at the Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings: "The Cultural Revolution was the highest pinnacle yet achieved by the proletariat. The proletarian movement, like everything else in the world, develops in spirals and since the proletariat is the rising class, it is bound to advance, through this spiral, from the lower to the higher level. The material conditions and the laws of society dictate that socialism and ultimately communism are inevitable, and no setbacks can change that historical inevitability. In the last 100 years or so, from the Paris Commune to the Soviet Union to socialist China and the Cultural Revolution, the proletariat has continued to ascend to still greater heights and win still greater victories, despite temporary setbacks and reversals. As Mao Tsetung said: 'The future is bright; the road is tortuous.'"

Because of the loss in China should we cast aside the revolutionary banner of Mao Tsetung, either openly or while hypocritically claiming to uphold it? No, we must in fact hold high the banner of Mao Tsetung's immortal contributions, learn from and carry forward the rich revolutionary legacy he has left to the international proletariat. 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. The revisionist coup in China has put communists throughout the world, including our Party, through a severe test. It is only through such storm and stress, as Mao taught, that advance can be achieved. Our Party has stood this test and has refused to compound the great loss in China with a further defeat in this country—the transformation of the revolutionary

vanguard of the working class into another knife in the back of the masses, another weapon of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Instead the party of the working class in this country has been tempered and strengthened.

But many, greater tests and more historic tasks lie ahead for our Party and all revolutionaries, here and worldwide. The developments toward world war, arising out of the contention between the two imperialist superpowers, are growing and intensifying, while at the same time the revolutionary struggle is advancing and maturing in very difficult conditions in many countries. Even where there appears temporarily to be calm or an ebb, beneath the surface things are seething and tides are gathering. In the period ahead the question will be brought even more forcefully to the fore: to continue to stand firm and do everything for revolution, or to retreat, conciliate and finally collapse into outright betrayal? There will certainly be increasing difficulties and dangers, but by correctly understanding and summing up the unprecedented achievements as well as the setback of the Chinese revolution and deepening our grasp of Mao Tsetung's enrichment of Marxism-Leninism and applying this to the situation before us, in the trials and upheavals ahead we can become further tempered, transform difficulty into opportunity, adversity into advance.

In this country, to make revolution, to overthrow one of the main exploiters of the people throughout the world, one of the two imperialist superpowers and main bastions of reaction, will strike a tremendous blow for the emancipation not only of the working class and oppressed people here but throughout the world. Whether such a momentous task can be attained before or during the world war whose shadow is more and more cast before us, or whether it will be brought about only later; in any event by unceasingly working for revolution and uniting with the proletariat and all the victims of imperialism and reaction throughout the world, by refusing to capitulate but instead constantly building struggle against, exposing and preparing for the final defeat of our imperialist ruling class and imperialism and reaction in general, we can and will continue to fulfill our obligations and make our contributions to the working class and its historic mission. This is the hard, high road of revolution on which our Party is determined to remain.

The answer, then, to the question—what must be done in the face of the reversal in China and the situation before us in general—is that we must intensify our work to bring about revolution and as a crucial part of this to build and strengthen the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, ideologically, politically and organizationally. It is with this understanding and in this spirit that the Revolutionary Communist Party announces the Mao Tsetung Enrollment.

Those who seek an easy way out of the situation we face, who cynically say that what has happened in China and even the international struggle as a whole do not really matter, or who insist on closing their eyes and hanging fast to every bit of revisionist treachery coming out of China and who do not want to reach any higher than the time-worn bourgeois aspirations of the renegades ruling China today, those who in one form or another repudiate or downgrade the immortal contributions of Mao Tsetung and his revolutionary line and Thought, and in general those who are looking for a niche for themselves and to serve a small circle or clique—all these will not and should not take up this call of our Party to work with, join and build it. It is not to them that this call is issued but to all those who are fired with a determination to put an end to all exploitation and oppression and the conditions that give rise to them, who are resolved to act in accordance with the forward development of history and to hasten the overthrow of everything reactionary and the final emancipation of mankind the world over, who dare to scale the heights and lead the masses in the greatest ascent in human history—to communism.

To respond please contact a local representative of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA or, if necessary, write RCP,USA; Box 3486, Merchandise Mart; Chicago, IL 60654. ■

## Just Published

### The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung

Major Speech Delivered at the Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings, 1978 by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP,USA

A clear and comprehensive analysis of the development of the class struggle leading up to the right-wing *coup d'etat* and the suppression of the left in China.

An analysis of the international and domestic factors underlying the success of the revisionist seizure of power and its lessons for the international proletariat.

151 pp. \$2.00

Order from:  
RCP Publications  
Box 3486  
Merchandise Mart  
Chicago, IL 60654

### The Loss in China and The Revolutionary Legacy Of Mao Tsetung



Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA at the MAO TSETUNG MEMORIAL MEETINGS 1978



# Memorial...

Continued from page 1

we presume to seek to advance society forward if we set our sights no higher than the time worn capitalist aspirations of the current Chinese leadership?"

At these meetings the Revolutionary Communist Party upheld the banner of Mao Tsetung and defiantly proclaimed Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought as the guide to making revolution. And further, these programs represented a major, if still initial, assessment of the causes of the reversal in China and the lessons that must be drawn from this by communists in this country and around the world if they are, as the major speech put it, to "transform difficulty into opportunity, adversity into advance."

It was in anticipation of this kind of major meeting that, in all, about 2300 people (1100 in New York and 1200 in the San Francisco Bay Area) came from all over the country. They came to hear the first public presentation by the Revolutionary Communist Party on the revisionist coup in China since the death of Mao Tsetung. Many people who had looked to China led by Mao Tsetung and his revolutionary line as a beacon, and who had been inspired by the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as a tremendous advance for all mankind, had deep questions about the earthshaking events in China and their implications for the people of the world.

The programs began with the revolutionary Chinese song "The East is Red" as spotlights fell on a huge portrait of Mao Tsetung, flanked by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, as well as portraits of the four revolutionary leaders—Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan—who have been arrested and vilified in China by the reactionary regime. Banners in English, Chinese, Spanish and Persian proclaimed: "Hold High the Banner of Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions and the Achievements and Lessons of the Cultural Revolution! Hail the Heroic Efforts of the Four who Fought to Uphold Mao's Line and Proletarian Rule in China! Revisionists are Revisionists and Must Not Be Supported! Revolutionaries are Revolutionaries and Must Be Supported!"

## Opening Statement

The opening statement delivered at the two meetings stated: "On this second anniversary of the death of Mao Tsetung, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Mao Tsetung Memorial Committees have called this meeting together not only to pay tribute to the greatest revolutionary of our time, but to put into practice one of Mao's behests. As Mao said in 1965, 'If China's leadership is usurped by revisionists in the future, the Marxists-Leninists of all countries should resolutely expose and fight them and help the working class and the masses of China to combat such revisionism.'"

Powerful revolutionary cultural presentations, inspired by the Chinese Revolution, followed the opening address and continued throughout the program. A film, "The Greatest Revolutionary of Our Time," which was enthusiastically received, showed a brief but sweeping history of the contributions of Mao Tsetung together with spectacular historical footage from the Russian Revolution, the struggle in China, including film of Mao Tsetung proclaiming the founding of the People's Republic of China and the Cultural Revolution.

There was a slide show entitled "Mao's Last Great Battle" and songs by Prairie Fire, a singing group from the San Francisco Bay Area, including two new songs, "We Stand with Mao Tsetung" and "Who Will Dare?" which addressed the question of the stand of the working class in the face of the reactionary *coup d'etat* in China. Two poems by Mao Tsetung which were written to inspire the Chinese people in the fight against revisionism were read at the San Francisco Bay Area

meeting. The program was translated simultaneously into Spanish, Chinese and Persian.

## Comrade Avakian's Speech

The highlight of the meetings was the main address by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, "The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung." This presentation was a deep and thoroughgoing analysis of the struggle which led up to the revisionist *coup d'etat* in China led by Hua Kuo-feng, Teng Hsiao-ping and their gang. Comrade Avakian spoke for several hours, addressing many of the questions on the minds of revolutionary minded people: the forces in the struggle, questions of international line and its relation to class struggle in China, and how do we begin to understand the causes of the reversal in China and its lessons.

Comrade Avakian's speech gave a concentrated analysis of the history of struggle in China and the role of Mao Tsetung and Mao Tsetung Thought in leading the masses in China through all the twists and turns of struggle, first in liberating China from imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism (as Mao put it, the three big mountains weighing on the Chinese people) and then in fierce struggle to build socialism, to keep power in the hands of the working class—a struggle which Mao fought to his last breath, together with the Four and other revolutionaries who continued to wage this battle after Mao's death.

The speech delved into the origins and development of the struggle which was to become Mao's last great battle. Comrade Avakian discussed the questions arising out of the period of the new-democratic revolution, the struggle within the Chinese Party on how to carry this out. He examined the role of various leading people including Chou En-lai and the history of their development, and he went into the difficulties and sharp struggles confronting Mao, the genuine revolutionaries in the Party and the masses in the transition to socialism. The speech analyzed the phenomenon of bourgeois democrats becoming capitalist-roaders.

Comrade Avakian analysed the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the intense struggle which led up to it—the need as Mao said to find "a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-around way and from below." Comrade Avakian's speech examined the twists and turns of this unprecedented class conscious mass movement, the forces involved, the role of the Four, and the unfolding of events behind the Lin Piao Affair.

The complex struggle against the capitalist-roaders in the Party, the open and behind-the-scenes role of Chou En-lai, the significance of the criticism of Confucius, the return of Teng Hsiao-ping and other key campaigns and events were examined, and the revolutionary line of Mao Tsetung and the method of struggle he developed in leading the masses were all gone into and analysed.

On the international situation and the question of war, Comrade Avakian denounced the "three worlds theory" now being peddled by the rulers of China and showed how this reactionary theory was opposed to Mao's line on the international situation. He discussed the influence of the international situation on the class struggle inside China. The speech went into the general question of the problems confronting a socialist country in developing line and policy in the international sphere. It spoke to the history of communist experience in handling the contradiction between defense of a socialist country against threatened imperialist aggression on the one hand and—on the other—continuing the revolution inside the country and support for revolution worldwide. The thinking of Stalin, Mao Tsetung and the Four on these complex questions was examined.

The speech went into the October 1976 *coup d'etat* and the resistance of the revolutionaries and the masses in China, what was the social base of the revisionist leaders—in particular, the problems resulting from "the existence



Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA delivering main address at Mao Tsetung Memorial in New York.

in socialist society of whole strata of bureaucrats, intellectuals, technicians, managerial personnel, etc., whose *spontaneous tendency* is very strongly to become conservative and to want to protect their relatively privileged positions..." and how Mao approached the problem of winning over and transforming as many of these people as possible.

In summing up the current situation, Comrade Avakian laid out some of the questions confronting the revolutionaries today, questions of political line which must be gone into deeply on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. He said: "In the last hundred years or so, from the Paris Commune to the Soviet Union to Socialist China and the Cultural Revolution, the proletariat has continued to ascend to still greater heights and win still greater victories, despite temporary setbacks and reversals. As Mao Tsetung said: 'The future is bright; the road is tortuous.'"

## Further Questions

Following the main speech there was a lively question and answer period. Questions were collected from the audience during the speech and Comrade Avakian answered a number of them. More than three hundred questions were posed by people at the meetings. Due to lack of time permitted in New York only a few were answered, and while in the San Francisco Bay Area the question period was much longer, it was not possible in one meeting to answer the many questions that were stimulated by the main presentation.

Some of the important questions dealt with by Comrade Avakian related to the recent letter from Albania about the stopping of aid to Albania by the revisionist regime in China and its comments on the nature of the Cultural Revolution; the relationship of Party leadership to the masses; and the "three worlds theory." The Party has been addressing these and many of the other questions raised through the various activities of the Mao Memorial Month and will continue to address them in the future.

The meetings were living proof that revolutionary minded people are determined to uphold the banner of Mao Tsetung and to pursue the questions posed by the earthshaking events in China. People thronged around the many booktables, buying revolutionary literature and posters. Two important new books, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution, The Revisionist Coup in China and the Struggle in the RCP*

(RCP Publications) which goes deeply into the questions of political line in the struggle against revisionism in China and *Mao Makes Five* (published by Banner Press) which makes available the key documents of the Left in China during the last round of struggle, sold by the hundreds. Many people requested that Comrade Avakian's speech "The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung" should be immediately published so that it could be studied further by those who had attended the meeting and made available to those who were unable to attend.

There was a widespread sense that this was truly a historic moment. The fact that these meetings had been held successfully, that so many people had come and such great interest shown in dealing with these questions was evidence that revolutionaries throughout the world were not going to blindly follow the revisionists now ruling China who act like they can outlaw revolution, who walk with a big nation swagger—the likes of Teng Hsiao-ping who was forced to admit in a "self-criticism" in 1966, "I must confess that not only have I not raised high the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, but that I have not even lifted this banner up." It was evidence that many people recognize that the events in China and what conclusions one draws from them have tremendous significance for the future course of the peoples' struggles all over the world.

And it was evidence that as Comrade Avakian said in reaffirming a statement he made shortly after Mao's death and shortly before the revisionist coup:

"What is inevitable is that people will continue to fight back against their oppression and exploitation, that this system of capitalism is not here to stay, or eternal... and that the very development of capitalism... has drawn together as capitalism's gravedigger a mighty army [of the working class]..."

"So when they raise the question, who will be Mao Tsetung's successors, the working class is ready with its answer: *We* will be Mao Tsetung's successors, in our millions and hundreds of millions, and we will continue the cause for which he fought and in which he led us and to which he devoted his entire life, until that great goal of eliminating exploitation and oppression and achieving communism has finally been achieved. *This* is the greatest tribute that we can pay to Mao Tsetung, and it's a cause which the working class today and our children and our children's children and theirs beyond them will carry forward." ■



# Opening Statement to Memorial Meetings

Delivered at the separate meetings by Bill Klingel and Joanne Psihountas, leading members of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

On this second anniversary of the death of Mao Tsetung, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Mao Tsetung Memorial Committees have called this meeting together not only to pay tribute to the greatest revolutionary of our time, but to put into practice one of Mao's behests. As Mao said in 1965: "If China's leadership is usurped by revisionists in the future, the Marxist-Leninists of all countries should resolutely expose and fight them and help the working class and the masses of China to combat such revisionism."

Hardly anyone can deny that there have been monumental changes in the People's Republic of China over the last two years. The rulers of this country with delight are praising the Chinese leadership for coming to their senses and implementing liberal reforms and "practical" policies. Even Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping don't really try to hide it. Reactionaries and opportunists everywhere are rejoicing over the end of the "wild and turbulent" Mao years.

But, for these years the People's Republic of China was the backbone of revolutionary struggle the world over. And further, China was a beacon light to all those who sought a brighter future for mankind. She was a source of aid and support to struggles on every

continent. The Chinese revolution did what the defenders of bourgeois rule always claim is impossible. The masses rose up and ended centuries of feudal barbarism and decades of plunder and aggression by "civilized" imperialism. A New China, a Socialist China was being forged on the ashes of the old and literally the whole world watched in amazement as the Chinese masses broke with all convention and tradition and took a China of backwardness and suffering and turned her into a vanguard of humanity.

With this New China came new conditions, new problems and new challenges. And it is in meeting these new challenges where the Chinese revolution and the contributions of Mao Tsetung stand out the most. Socialism had suffered a great defeat in the mid-'50s—there was no longer anything revolutionary about the Soviet Union—yet it had been the first country under working class rule; the bearings of revolutionary and progressive-minded people around the world were, to say the least, thrown off.

It would have been easy to just go along with Khrushchev's phony "we can out-produce you" communism. But the Chinese Party led by Mao together with the Party of Labor of Albania headed by Enver Hoxha were at the forefront of those who recognized this sham for what it was and refused to capitulate. The lessons of Soviet betrayal were summed up—of course through fierce struggle—and applied in China. The result was the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the most

class conscious revolutionary mass movement history had ever seen.

The Cultural Revolution was a Red storm that not only swept China, but gave new vigor to the class struggle throughout the world. "The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership in Everything" became its battle cry and down came those who would try to set the clock back and turn the successes of the Chinese masses into their own personal capital. The masses, led by Mao, vigorously took on the scars left from the old society that were the soil giving bloom to capitalist relations. New forms emerged that challenged the set methods that were in reality holding back the revolution. The Cultural Revolution actually thrust forward the shoots of the communist future.

But the Cultural Revolution and the Chinese revolution as a whole is being reversed. Today the world-wide struggle is at a crossroads just as it was at the time of the working class' defeat in the Soviet Union. Summing up what has happened in China is the most pressing and important question facing revolutionaries around the globe.

Not only are open reactionaries making hay and trying to spread defeatism through the events in China, but so-called communists are trying to brand what is currently going on as the path of the future. But that is a fatal mistake. If one accommodates oneself to revisionism in China, or fails to correctly sum up why it has triumphed, one cannot make revolution in his own country. How could we presume to seek to advance so-

ciety forward if we set our sights no higher than the time-worn capitalist aspirations of the current Chinese leadership? And the reversal in China entails the turning on its head of all the rich history of proletarian struggle and Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

The decisiveness of a correct orientation toward the events in China can be shown by how Khrushchev's coup in the Soviet Union was the condition for the final deterioration of the first communist party in this country, as well as for the majority of parties around the world. It was also part of the conditions for the pessimistic abandonment of revolutionary aspirations by thousands who incorrectly summed up Soviet betrayal as proof that man's exploitation by man could never be eliminated.

Today we have many serious questions to go into and discuss. Among them are why we feel that there can be no question as to the reactionary character of Hua Kuo-feng, Teng Hsiao-ping and the rest of *their* gang. What are some of the reasons that this tremendous set-back took place? How does it affect the international situation, the developments toward war and the prospects of revolution in the world? And what are the lessons we can and must draw from this temporary but heavy defeat in order to continue and strengthen the revolutionary struggle?

Our Party has studied and, as many people know, struggled fiercely over this question since the coup in China took place almost two years ago. But we also had the greatest assistance in reaching our conclusions from the great teachings of Mao on continuing the class struggle under socialism and from the invaluable contributions of the Four, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan who were steadfast and firm in the struggle to defend the gains of the Chinese revolution, not only for the Chinese masses but for the workers and oppressed of the world. ■

## Building for the Mao Memorials

# Unprecedented Campaign Sweeps Country

The political work to build the Mao Tsetung Memorial Month, particularly the big Memorial Meetings in New York and the San Francisco Bay Area, represents the greatest campaign of open communist propaganda in the U.S. in decades—perhaps ever, if one takes into account its *qualitative* as well as quantitative aspects. The campaign boldly proclaimed the necessity and inevitability of proletarian revolution to the masses of people in the U.S. It was a clarion call to revolutionaries who want to mobilize the masses to overthrow the bourgeoisie and transform society. It forcefully upheld the most advanced revolutionary experience of the international working class, China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and the immortal contributions of Mao Tsetung to the theory and practice of proletarian revolution.

At a time when Mao Tsetung and the Cultural Revolution are coming under attack, at a time when the revisionist rulers in China have entombed his body in a massive sarcophagus while they trample on all that he stood for, millions of people throughout the U.S. saw striking posters declaring him the greatest revolutionary of our time. At a time when the U.S. bourgeoisie is extolling the revisionist takeover in China, crowing that even in China, for a generation a beacon and bastion of world revolution, "moderates" had now come to power to undo what Mao had done and using this to spread cynicism and demoralization among the masses about the possibility of carrying through the revolution to build a new type of society—precisely at this point, revolutionaries stepped forward to uphold Mao's revolutionary banner.

From coast-to-coast over a hundred thousand large posters announcing the Memorial Meetings were plastered on walls, bridges and telephone poles. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets, explaining the role of Mao, the so-called "gang of four" and other revolu-

tionaries in China were passed out at factories, schools, shopping centers and in the communities. From Atlanta to Los Angeles to Portland, Oregon, giant pictures of Mao Tsetung dramatically appeared on billboards, proclaiming the slogans of the campaign and calling on people to attend the Memorial Meetings.

It was not a matter of promoting and taking out Mao Tsetung as some sort of religious icon, any more than the hatred and derision directed at him by the imperialists and revisionists has been simply aimed at Mao as an individual. What they detest and what the working class and revolutionary people of the world cherish is what Mao Tsetung was, what he represented: a relentless revolutionary, an implacable opponent of all those, whether the old exploiting classes or the new bourgeois elements that grow up under socialism, who try to prevent or divert the working class from carrying out its historic mission of eliminating the basis of the exploitation of man by man and achieving classless society.

### Storm of Controversy

The campaign generated a storm of controversy. All over the country the bourgeoisie was forced to comment on the campaign while trying to slander and ridicule it. "Mao alive, causing trouble in San Jose," read a story on the massive poster campaign in San Jose, California. "Mao Posters Making Greenville Folks Curious" said an AP dispatch from South Carolina. "Maoists warned not to paste posters on state's property" announced a Schenectady, N.Y. newspaper and "Schenectady woman fighting to keep Mao's Spirit Alive." Similar stories appeared in the bourgeois press from Seattle to El Paso and West Virginia.

Among the masses of people the campaign struck a responsive chord. As Party cadre and members of the Mao

Tsetung Memorial Committee took literature tables into the communities and college campuses and did street corner agitation, they found many people eager to discuss what was going on in China and the question of revolution in the U.S. At hundreds of plant gates where photo displays on Mao's contributions to the liberation of the people in China and the struggle to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat were set up, workers checked out the display carefully and peppered Party and committee members with questions.

Particularly in Black communities, many people were encountered who not only knew of Mao and identified him with the revolutionary aspirations of the people, but often would recall the mass upsurge of the '60s and say that they still had a copy of the *Quotations of Mao Tsetung* at home which they had bought when the Black Panthers were promoting Mao.

On more than one occasion, people out building for the Memorial Meetings met ex-prisoners who told of discussion groups in the joint where people incarcerated by the capitalist system had studied Mao. And time and again they met people from among the masses who expressed the sentiment that something was obviously very different now in China than when Mao was alive—and that it didn't smell very good. One worker, for example, said that while he didn't know a lot about China or com-

Continued on page 10

## New from RCP Publications

### Important Struggles in Building the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

A brief history of the major two-line struggles waged in the last decade to build the Party of the U.S. working class.

- The Beginnings of the Revolutionary Union
- Against the Left Adventurism and Anti-Working Class Line of Bruce Franklin
- Against Bundism—Adapting Marxism to Nationalism
- The Formation of the Revolutionary Communist Party
- Against Kautskyism and the Political Acrobatics of the October League/CPML
- Smashing the Jarvis-Bergman Menshevik Clique

"The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles." "And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life long against the alleged socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as a class and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflict with individual bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable struggle has broken out."

Frederick Engels

55 pp. \$1.00



## NUWO Demonstrates in Atlantic City

# Steel Convention: Company-Union Circus

The week of September 18th saw the convening of the 19th Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America. The convention was a typical stage managed affair of the traitorous leadership of the USWA, calling for more collaboration with the steel monopolies and greater attacks on the rank and file.

Lloyd McBride, current President of the USWA, was determined to put down any thought of dissent and opposition to the steel industry's control of the union leadership. Every "official" resolution that was brought to the floor was passed and even the slightest opposition muzzled. Resolutions coming out of the battles of the rank and file were ignored, or straight up attacked. The right to strike, the fight against discrimination, the fight against plant shutdowns—these were not "legitimate" demands at this convention.

Instead, the convention presented and embraced a host of spokesmen for the capitalist class and their top labor lieutenants who addressed the convention. President Carter, George Meany, Labor Secretary Marshall—all implored labor to make common sacrifices for the capitalists to "combat inflation." And to emphasize their line on common interests with the capitalists, McBride and Company seated a delegation of management from Bethlehem Steel at the convention.

This renewed call to steel workers for more sacrifice and capitulation was not without some militant talk, however. The officers' report to the convention sounded an alarm about the "growing tension that exists today between American labor and industry" and how this tension threatens to undermine "the stability painfully achieved over the decades." To go along with this was a call to fight the "right wing, anti-

unionist forces" among the industrialists. The message that came through this militant (militant for the USWA officials) talk was clear. The hacks can't cut as good a deal with their capitalist masters because of the growing economic and political crisis which is intensifying contradictions among them. The crisis means the hacks have less to show for their treachery and some of their individual positions and careers get weakened. So on one hand they "talk a little tougher" to their membership while at the same time scurrying around promising the capitalists to keep the workers in line and trying all the more to sabotage the fight of the workers.

Through the course of the convention, the hacks strengthened their stranglehold over the union. Salaries

and retirement age of International officers were raised, allowing McBride to run for another term as President. And in another move to perpetuate the machine, a limitation was placed on "outside" financial support for election of international officers including district directors. Under this provision no money can be raised from outside the union, including from workers of other unions.

This resolution is aimed at McBride's recent rival Sadlowski and others who might challenge McBride for union office. McBride need not worry about funding. He sits on the union coffers. In addition, a well set up patronage system exists. Union staffers, appointed to their posts by the international leadership, are expected to and must



40 steel workers participate in demonstration called by the Steelworker, voice of the steel section of the NUWO, on opening day of USWA convention in Atlantic City, NJ.

come up with about \$500 to \$1000 apiece to kick into McBride's election campaign. This provides literally hundreds of thousands of dollars at McBride's disposal for his campaign.

This resolution hit Sadlowski hard, because much of his funding did come from outside the ranks of the union and included various petty-bourgeois liberals and reformers and some sections of the bourgeoisie itself. But this resolution is still an attack, since it goes along with McBride's public opinion offensive to paint all opposition as "outsiders." In addition it could be used against efforts by rank and file steel workers to line up with workers in other industries.

McBride is trying to cover up the fact that it is he who is "outside" the working class, an agent of the companies within the union, as can be seen by the resolution he rammed through calling for low interest government loans to the steel companies to help them modernize and automate more workers out of existence.

McBride and the other top officials of the USWA were determined to give the appearance of sweetness and harmony within the union. They desperately needed the illusion of rank and file backing of their promotion of company-unionism. And anything that stood in the way of this image had to be squashed.

### Rank and File Demonstrates at Convention

The hacks' desperate need to maintain the appearance of unity around their program was made clear on the opening day of the convention. Forty rank and file steel workers from several locals held a demonstration called by the *Steelworker* newspaper, voice of the steel section of the National United Workers Organization (NUWO), in front of the convention hall. The demonstration exposed and condemned McBride's call for common interests with the steel companies and the class capitulation that the convention represented.

Steel workers came to this demonstration raising their demands around the fight against plant shutdowns, the

Continued on page 15

## Five Years Since Bloody Coup

# Rebirth of Chilean People's Struggle

The fissures are beginning to break into the open in Chile.

Strikes and even defiant mass demonstrations in the streets, unheard of for most of the past five years, have broken out in the last few months with increasing frequency. Conditioned by this reawakening of the mass movement, contradictions have come to light within the military dictatorship, and there is conflict between this dictatorship and U.S. imperialism, its most important backer.

Five years ago a U.S.-orchestrated military coup brought fascism to this country and the murder of perhaps 20,000 workers, peasants and others. The popularly-supported government of Salvador Allende which the Chilean revisionist Communist Party declared to be the beginning of the "peaceful road to socialism" in Chile ended in a nightmare orgy of reactionary violence, as Chile's ruling classes, together with U.S. imperialism, moved to drown the people's movement in blood. Yet despite this tremendous setback, after five years of fascist terror ever broader numbers of people are beginning to lose their fear of the dictatorship.

Some recent events show the direction and tempo of these developments:

•**May 1:** In the first May Day demonstration in five years, 4,000 people march through the streets of downtown Santiago, the capital city, right under the noses of military strongman August-

to Pinochet and his uniformed thugs. Although hundreds are arrested, another demonstration protesting those arrests follows almost immediately.

•**July:** Gen. Pinochet fires Air Force General Gustavo Leigh for involvement in U.S. maneuvers to cover its bets on Pinochet with a back-up civilian replacement if it proves necessary. Eighteen top Air Force officers resign in solidarity with Leigh. A few months later there are indications that the Navy, too, is uneasy with Pinochet, leaving him with the Army and the national police as his only firm supporters within the military junta.

•**August:** About 100 unemployed workers demanding jobs march in Santiago. This same month, two years after the murder of prominent Chilean exile Orlando Letelier in Washington, D.C., the U.S. government announces that it has discovered what everyone else knew all along—that Letelier's assassins were "somehow" connected to the Chilean junta. The U.S. requests the extradition of the men directly responsible, who never tried to hide their tracks since they'd probably acted with the cooperation of American authorities. Shortly after, the U.S. recalls its Ambassador to Chile for indefinite "consultations," expressing dismay over the lack of "human rights" in Chile—a dismay that the U.S. imperialists always seem to express whenever the butchery they order fails

to have its intended effect.

•**August 19:** Some of the 29,000 workers at the Chuquicamata copper mine, Chile's biggest, begin a boycott of the company dining halls to demand wage hikes and the rehiring of workers fired for anti-government activity. Later this develops into a strike at Chuquicamata, which spreads to other mines in Chile's major industry.

•**August 29:** More than 100 relatives of political activists who've "disappeared" at the hands of the junta stage a demonstration against a new law which declares the missing "presumed dead"—a law with which the junta hopes to declare the question of what happened to them a closed matter. This later leads to a mass hunger strike when the families gather together in a Santiago church.

•**September 1:** The government declares a state of seige at Chuquicamata.

•**September 6:** Another march of the unemployed in Santiago. 100 students from the Catholic University stage a demonstration in solidarity with the uprising in Nicaragua, raising slogans against the U.S.-backed regimes in Nicaragua and Chile. There are several violent clashes with government-organized reactionaries. Another student demonstration breaks out at the University of Chile.

•**September 8:** The government declares the national state of emergency renewed for another six months.

### Conflict in Ruling Circles

This rebirth of the mass movement which has helped bring about crisis within Chile's ruling junta has also breathed new life into the junta's bourgeois opposition, posing more sharply now than at any time during the past five years the question of the direction of the mass upsurge and its leadership.

Under the junta's rule, Chile has been brought more directly under U.S.

domination than ever. The government's economic policies are dictated by the U.S. big banks whose loans to the junta have kept it afloat in return for many millions each year in interest and tribute.

Under an economic plan cooked up by the Economics Department of the University of Chicago (which can be summed up in one word: plunder), all barriers to foreign investment and imports have been removed.

While the big landlords and the monopolists and middlemen for U.S. concerns are relatively happy with this situation, many of the big capitalists whose fortunes are tied to manufacturing and marketing in Chile are finding themselves pushed to the wall by unrestrained imperialist competition. Many, many smaller capitalists and businessmen are tumbling into bankruptcy.

This is what underlies the disunity in Chile's armed forces. It also has found political expression in the resurgence of the Christian Democrats, a CIA-spawned and Church-sponsored party which very powerful circles in the U.S. now want to bring back to office in Chile as a more "stable" alternative to Pinochet.

For the revisionist Chilean Communist Party (CP), this is everything they have hoped for. Although more tied to the Soviet social-imperialists than to the U.S., they are quite willing, for now, to accept being a pimple on the Christian Democratic rump, rather than to follow what they consider the "sectarian" course of building and relying on the people's movement. This, in turn, is crucial to the Christian Democrats (and their American sponsors), because the proven record of the Chilean revisionists in holding back the mass struggle is an important factor in the thinking of those who believe that U.S. imperialism's domination of Chile can best be preserved by some form of civilian rule.

Continued on page 18



## U.S. Imperialism Scrambles to Maintain Grip

# Civil War Erupts in Nicaragua

Civil war has been raging in Nicaragua for over a month now, as the tremendous hatred felt by the majority of the Nicaraguan people towards the Somoza regime and its U.S. backers has exploded once again. This new wave of struggle was sparked off by the takeover on August 22 of the National Palace by the Sandinista Front for National Liberation. Already last January, following the assassination of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, the editor of the main opposition paper, demonstrators had burned down U.S. banks, among other things, shouting "Death to Somoza!" and "Down with U.S. Imperialism!"

On August 22, twenty-five heavily armed Sandinistas forced their way into the National Palace, taking hostage the majority of the Chamber of Deputies, as well as a number of other high officials and family members of Somoza. They declared that they would begin executing them unless Somoza agreed to their demands—to free all political prisoners, pay a ransom of \$10,000,000 and provide them with transportation to Panama.

Faced with the threatened execution of half of his government, Somoza agreed to their demands within 48 hours. He coughed up \$500,000, "allowed" Sandinista declarations calling for widespread insurrection to be broadcast over the government radio, and provided them with two planes to carry the guerrillas and 59 freed political prisoners to asylum in Panama. Thousands of Nicaraguans lined the road to the airport, cheering the Sandinistas and shouting "Down with Somoza!" Even Western newspapers reported that it appeared "like a victory parade."

### Coordinated Uprisings

Following closely on the takeover of the National Palace, civil war broke out in Matagalpa, the third largest city in Nicaragua. More than 500 young supporters of the Sandinistas, armed only with pistols and some shotguns, stopped cold the first assault on the city by Somoza's elite guard unit, the Black Berets, who came backed up by armoured cars and tanks. The officers confessed to "demoralization" in the face of the courageous defense by the students, who held the city for five days despite being outmanned and outgunned.

Within several days street fighting had broken out in most of the largest towns outside the capital. Demonstrators erected street barricades and threw homemade bombs at National Guard troops. As rumors of a military coup circulated in the capital, Somoza arrested 85 officers and soldiers of his own private army, the National Guard.

On September 9, the Sandinistas launched a series of coordinated attacks on military installations throughout the country, declaring: "The time for insurrection has come." Workers, peasants, students and others took to the streets, and seized most of the major cities of Nicaragua—León, Esteli, Masaya, Chinandega—setting up barricades and fighting an intense struggle. Against the poorly armed but determined population, Somoza unleashed fighter planes and helicopter gunships to bomb and strafe the cities indiscriminately, reducing most of them to ruins and murdering thousands.

As Somoza's troops were finally able to move into the bombed out cities, they dragged people from their homes, and shot them on the spot, attempting to terrorize the population into submission. In León, 20 young men were executed Gestapo style in a trench outside the city. In Chinandega, a National Guard officer bragged that his troops had captured 26 youths near the Honduran border and had executed them immediately saying, "It's less trouble that way!"

But these Hitler-like atrocities have only increased the anger and defiance of the Nicaraguan people. Residents of cities leveled in the fighting declare that the struggle will go on until Somoza is



Tens of thousands of youth fought heroically in the uprising that shook the U.S.-backed Somoza regime in Nicaragua.

overthrown. Rebel posters go up as fast as the government forces paint over them, and despite the unevenness of arms, many National Guard have been killed.

Anastacio Somoza's present fascist regime has its origins in the "Nicaraguanization" of the country by U.S. imperialism from 1927 on. This was necessary to try to cover up continued U.S. interference in Nicaragua (U.S. Marines had been sent to control the country) as well as to take the military burden off the U.S. imperialists. The program included the formation of a National Guard and a hand-picked puppet to run it—Anastacio's father, who was educated at West Point Military Academy and held a job with the Rockefeller Foundation in the U.S.

The present day Sandinistas take their name after Augusto Cesar Sandino who led the armed struggle against this plan, but was later killed after falling for a scheme that partially disarmed the masses. (For more on Sandino and the history of the struggle in Nicaragua see *Revolution*, March 1978.)

The Somozas' history of lackeyism to U.S. imperialism, coupled with long years of oppression, exploitation and repression of the Nicaraguan people, has led to widespread opposition to Somoza's rule among the vast majority of workers, peasants and others. Along with this, Somoza, who now has the largest fortune in Nicaragua, is known for trying to muscle in on other businesses. When this was opposed, he has put the national bourgeoisie—and even some rival pro-U.S. elements—through various degrees of intimidation, reprisals and even murder.

This has led to a situation where Somoza is opposed not only by the vast majority of working people, but by virtually every political group and faction, including the conservative parties, the Catholic Church, and the majority of businessmen. Even the Chamber of Commerce opposes him and has been outlawed for its support of the present general strike against Somoza. This strike, as well as the 14 day strike after the murder of a newspaper editor last January, were organized by the Broad Opposition Front, a coalition of a dozen opposition parties and three labor organizations. This coalition has refused to enter into any direct negotiations with Somoza until he releases jailed opposition leaders and lifts the censorship of the news.

### U.S. Whistles Different Tune

The U.S. imperialists, who have depended on the right-wing dictatorship to preserve their interests, have tried to assume a "neutral" stance towards Somoza as the fighting goes on. When he seemed likely to fall earlier this year, Carter criticized him for "human rights violations." Then, when he seemed to

be hanging on, Carter changed his tune, praising the dictator for "making substantial progress" in this area. As a reward for a job well done, the Carter administration requested a \$150,000 training grant for Somoza's National Guard, which is known for such heroic acts as pushing political opponents out of helicopters or into volcanoes.

Somoza's recent campaign of mass terror and murder against the people concentrates the anti-popular, pro-imperialist nature of his regime. Meanwhile, after the Parliament refused his request to leave the country, Somoza is hiding in "the bunker", his underground headquarters—the only place he is safe.

With all this going on, the U.S. imperialists are beginning to consider Somoza a liability. Senator Frank Church of the Foreign Relations Committee stated recently that "Somoza is through," and called for cutting off U.S. military assistance to "hasten his downfall." And while executions in Nicaragua never bothered the imperialists when things were going smoothly for them, now suddenly Washington is "deeply concerned about reports of widespread atrocities." Ambassador Jordan has been sent as a special envoy to try to arrange "peace talks" between Somoza and "interested opposition groups." While it excludes the Sandinistas, it appears that this may be successful in involving various bourgeois parties.

### Complex Struggle

These talks have one goal: to use any means necessary to quell the mass movement in Nicaragua. To accomplish this, these talks seem to be trying to reunite the various bourgeois forces into a block against the Nicaraguan people and the revolutionary forces, and, at the same time, to fish around for a possible successor to Somoza in case he proves completely untenable.

They will also undoubtedly try to take advantage of any divisions within the Sandinistas to try to win over a section of them to join this alliance in one way or another.

There also can be no doubt that the Soviet social-imperialist vultures and their Cuban flunkies are keeping a close eye on developments in Nicaragua, hoping to find forces whom they can

use to advance Soviet interests in the area.

Despite claims by Somoza that the insurrection has been "smashed and defeated," the rebel forces of the Sandinistas have merely retreated temporarily into the hills in the face of superior firepower, and have continued to launch attacks on National Guard outposts. Ever since their formation in the 1960s, the Sandinistas have represented a force staunchly opposed to Somoza and his U.S. backers, and in this, they have remained as an expression of the aspirations and struggles of the Nicaraguan people. The taking of the National Palace served as a catalyst for mass upsurge. It helped sharpen the class contradictions in Nicaragua and expose the role of U.S. imperialism there.

The main enemies of the Nicaraguan people are the U.S. imperialists and their lackey, Somoza. A broad united front has been solidifying against these enemies, including conservative parties and bourgeois elements who, at this point, are in motion against Somoza. But, at the same time, the class nature of these forces makes their unity with the people only partial and conditional. While these bourgeois forces and parties can be united with against Somoza, their fundamental long range interests run contrary to those of the workers, peasants and the vast majority of the people of Nicaragua. Any illusion as to their reliability will be disastrous to the struggle of the Nicaraguan masses.

As in every country victimized by imperialism, there is a need for a genuine Marxist-Leninist communist party to lead the masses to win genuine national liberation and advance the struggle forward to socialism and communism. And there are people in the current struggle determined to advance on this path.

Today Somoza's regime is tottering. The Nicaraguan people are determined to fight to the end, and the Sandinistas and others have expressed confidence that Somoza will not last long.

But even after the defeat of Somoza, whether it comes sooner or later, a complex struggle lies ahead for the people in which they will have to rely on their own strength and avoid traps with which the imperialists and reactionaries hope to ensnare them. ■

## REVOLUTION

*Revolution* is the organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCP,USA). It is published monthly. All correspondence to the Par-

ty should be sent to RCP,USA; P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart; Chicago, IL 60654. Overseas cable Address: RCPUSA, Chicago.





In the midst of massive rebellion by the people of Iran against the reactionary regime of the Shah, Hua Kuo-feng rolled into Tehran, hailing the great successes of this dog.

## Embraces Tito, Shah

# Hua's Trip: All-Round Capitulation To Imperialism

Last month Hua Kuo-feng celebrated the second anniversary of Mao's death by shamelessly flaunting his betrayal of Mao's line in several countries of the world. A tour that led him first to Rumania, then on to Yugoslavia where he met with the traitor Tito, concluded with the repulsive scene of Hua cavorting about with the Shah and his million dollar courtesan in the midst of the mightiest upsurge of the Iranian people in decades.

The message of Hua's visit, a message lost on no observer, was that revisionist China is going full steam ahead in betraying revolutionary struggle around the world and in allying itself with U.S. imperialism.

After visiting Rumania, Hua scurried off to Yugoslavia where he spent several days being photographed in various shameless poses with the long-time renegade to socialism, Tito.

Tito has for decades been a symbol of modern revisionism, and capitulation to U.S. imperialism in particular. As far back as 1948, Tito was condemned by the Marxist-Leninist parties constituting the Communist Information Bureau. Under the guise of "non-alignment," Tito attacked the socialist countries and entered into an alliance with U.S. imperialism, which included condemning China for its "active interference in the Korean war" and voting in the United Nations for the embargo on China and Korea.

Tito's international line went hand-in-hand with his policy of constructing a capitalist economy under a socialist signboard. The Yugoslavian revisionist system became a focal point in the struggle against modern revisionism. Immediately on coming to power, Khrushchev rushed to embrace Tito, and this became an integral part of the criticism of Khrushchev by the Chinese Communist Party and the Party of Labor of Albania and other Marxist-Leninists.

Thus, Hua's embracing of the renegade Tito was a clear statement to the whole world on the Chinese revisionists' complete reversal of the revolutionary line of Mao Tsetung. Mao himself had always been quite clear on Yugoslavia. Not only did he give leadership in the writing of the pamphlet "Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country?" (which proves emphatically that Yugoslavia is capitalist (but in 1962 Mao spoke satirically about how the Soviet revisionists were claiming that China had "become 'Left adventurists,' 'nationalists,' 'dogmatists,' 'sectarians,' while the Yugoslavs have become Marxist-Leninists. Nowadays Yugoslavia is quite alright, she's doing fine. I heard that she has become 'socialist' again." (*Chairman Mao Talks to the People*, p. 191) Today under Hua and Teng it is rather obvious to all observers that it is China, not Yugoslavia, that has changed its colors.

According to reports from Albania, Hua blamed the previous correct line of the Communist Party of China on Yugoslavia on Stalin and the joint meetings of Marxist-Leninist parties. It is also clear that the blame is being placed on Mao Tsetung, whose verdict on Yugoslavia is well known.

While in Yugoslavia Hua muttered not a word about what he falsely attributes as "Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds," instead preferring to endorse Tito's concept of "non-alignment." This is further evidence that not only is the "three worlds" theory not "Chairman Mao's strategic conception" but is nothing but a "theoretical" justification for Hua's and Teng's vicious pragmatic policy of capitulating to imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular. To paraphrase Teng Hsiao-ping: three worlds cat, or non-aligned cat; what's the difference as long as it allows

you to capitulate?

Hua Kuo-feng's trip to Yugoslavia came close on the heels of the Chinese revisionists' act of treachery toward Albania in withdrawing their aid and technicians. Indeed, such an act may well have been one of the preconditions for the trip. Tito, like Teng Hsiao-ping, can drive a hard bargain. To compound this treachery, Hua Kuo-feng endorsed Yugoslavia's long-time designs on Albania as well as its oppression of the Albanian and other peoples within its borders with the statement that "Yugoslavia has pursued a policy of national equality"!

### Timely Visit to Iran

But Hua's crimes committed in Yugoslavia, towering though they are, were certainly matched by what he did on the next stop of his journey, Iran. As everyone knows, Iran is in the midst of the greatest revolutionary upsurge to sweep that country in decades, and truly one of the strongest explosions of the peoples' struggle anywhere in the world in the last several years.

But Hua, of course, had nothing to say about any of this. In fact, he blasted the Soviet Union for "meddling in Iran's internal affairs" at the very time the Shah was trying to paint the righteous opposition to his bloody rule as "Soviet inspired."

Coming to Iran in the middle of a revolutionary upsurge was not at all "unfortunate" to Hua. This visit had full conscious and vicious symbolic value. It was a clear message: Reactionaries of all stripes, have no fear, as long as it suits our "national interests" we Chinese revisionists will support you. Rest assured, Mao's proletarian internationalism is dead.

In a carefully worded but nonetheless clear statement at his official banquet, Hua indicated that Iran was no longer oppressed by imperialism! "In modern times," said Hua, "the traditional contacts between our two countries were temporarily blocked and undermined because we both suffered from imperialist invasion and oppression. Now, it is for us a source of great satisfaction that the friendship between our two countries is revived under new historical conditions..."

If Hua's statements were not clear enough, the press releases from Hsinhua News Agency correspondents who accompanied Hua should clarify matters. Nothing of course about the upsurge shaking the country or the Shah's bloody suppression of the people. Instead we read a lustful account of Iranian oilfields.

With the prospects of selling out China's natural resources not hard to read between the lines, they write glowingly about the facilities which enable 1000 tankers to carry away over 200 million tons of crude each year. Especially noteworthy to these revisionist reporters was the "impressively small number of workers." And in what appears to be the only comment by the Chinese press on social conditions in Iran, they stress that the workers' living quarters "comprise a dormitory, a shower room, a kitchen and a recreation room, all with air condition facilities."

### Chinese Foreign Policy

While Hua's trip represented a qualitatively new step in China's foreign policy, it has still raised questions among many people about the policy followed under the leadership of Mao, for, as is well known, China had some dealings with the Shah and even Tito during Mao's latter years. And, of course, Marxist-

Leninists have never considered it some sort of mortal sin for a socialist state to establish diplomatic relations with various types of reactionary regimes. In fact all socialist countries have necessarily done so.

Several points are important to note. First, while China had in the past established certain relations with both Yugoslavia and Iran, Hua's trip marked something different. Never under Mao's leadership had China backed off from its assessment of Yugoslavia as a capitalist country and Tito as a revisionist. It had never referred to Yugoslavia as "socialist" and still less of "Comrade" Tito "applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of Yugoslavia," as Hua has done.

As a Chinese Central Committee statement put it last June, Hua and Tito have brought China-Yugoslavia relations to "a new state of all-round development." For one thing, unlike before, party-to-party relations have begun. It was generally correct for China, in the realm of state to state relations, to encourage resistance by states like Yugoslavia and Rumania to the Soviet Union—especially since the Soviets posed the greatest military threat to China. But such policies, which Mao agreed to, are fundamentally different from the all-around capitulation and abandonment of revolutionary principle now practiced openly by Hua.

Furthermore no revolutionary, least of all Mao Tsetung, would shamelessly traipse to visit a reactionary puppet regime of imperialism at a time when its people were rising in arms against the reactionary regime. Still less would a revolutionary parrot the slanders of the rulers made against the popular struggle.

Clearly, such acts go far beyond the correct but limited sphere of state-to-state relations, and in fact substitute the narrow national interests of the state for proletarian internationalism, which must remain the bedrock of the international activities of the socialist state.

It is clear, however, that some of the roots of Hua's current treachery can be found in some of the activities and stands taken toward some of the reactionary regimes previously by China—in particular a tendency to present them one-sidedly as opposed to imperialism and to downplay support for the revolutionary struggles. Interestingly, Hua gives some indications in his many speeches abroad as to the origins of these pro-tendencies.

While continuing to make ritualistic reference to Mao Tsetung, Hua in fact attributed Chinese policy in foreign affairs to the legacy of the counter-revolutionary Chou En-lai. Similarly, the same *Hsinhua* that reported the magnificent living conditions of Iranian workers also reported on Hua's conversations with the Shahbanou, the high-price plaything of the Shah. She said that in her visit to Peking in 1972 Chou "had a proposal for the building of Persian-type Iranian embassy in Peking." Her only regret was that Chou would not be there when this example of the Shah's feudal splendor was completed!

Furthermore, *Hsinhua* points out that the Iranian reactionary regime was well aware of the class struggle raging in China and no doubt realized what effect would have on its relationship with Iran. "The name of Hua Kuo-feng has been familiar to the Iranians for some time. In the autumn of 1976, when the Chinese people were joyful that Chairman Hua had led them in smashing the 'gang of four,' the Iranians throughout the country were delighted to receive the good news. Leading papers published in the capital reported the event under banner headlines such as 'All China Hail and Supports Chairman Hua.'" Not bad press coverage from the Shah's regime.

What is clear from all this is that before the capitalist roaders were able to usurp supreme power in October '76, they were already trying to use their control over the key aspects of China's foreign policy (through Chou En-lai and Teng Hsiao-ping) to pursue a capitulationist line, but they were unable to completely follow their own inclinations as long as the proletariat in China still held power. Once the coup took place, the revisionists were free to carry out the line that they could only partially pursue previously.

It is also clear that Mao and the Four saw the need to come to some agreements with the West in light of the fact that the main danger to China came from the social-imperialist USSR. As part of this, the revolutionaries went along with some of Chou En-lai's policies, including efforts to establish diplomatic ties with various reactionary regimes.

However it is just as clear that Mao and the Four never saw this as a substitute for support of the revolutionary struggle in China and always fought hard against efforts by the bourgeoisie in China to turn this into an all-round recipe for capitulation and betrayal.

### China and the Two Superpowers

What all three countries on Hua's itinerary have in common is a border with the Soviet Union. Hua's trip was aimed at encouraging these countries to stand up against the USSR and to join with the U.S.-led imperialist bloc. (Although one does wonder why Hua found it necessary to take this message to Iran, for example—it would seem the U.S. imperialists have done a good job of lining up the Shah without any help from Hua!)

What the Chinese revisionist rulers are doing is recognizing the growing danger of world war, and the ex-

Continued on page 16



# Iran...

Continued from page 1

For his new Prime Minister, the Shah chose Jaarad Sharif-Emami, who had been in the Shah's inner circle of confidants for years, and who had served briefly as Prime Minister during the early 1960s, which was a period of mass popular upsurges in Iran. Sharif-Emami's advantages to the Shah's "liberalization" program consisted of his recent post as Senate President (thereby giving him a "democratic" image) and of having close ties with some of the conservative religious leaders. Thus his first grandstand move was to order all casinos in the country shut down (most of which had been trashed by the Iranian masses already) and to scrap the non-Islamic calendar (which was being popularly ignored anyway).

The Shah, with his imperialist masters in the U.S. no doubt applying considerable behind-the-scenes pressure, was clearly hoping that these concessions would win the support, or at least a wait-and-see attitude, from reactionary bourgeois figures and religious leaders with some influence among the masses. The Shah thus hoped to encourage splits and confusion in the ranks of the people's movement, at the same time as the regime worked to discredit it and attack it savagely.

However, these reactionary calculations were upset by the resurgence of the mass movement in early September, flooding through the cities and towns of Iran like a tidal wave. This new high tide of struggle drove home the point that the Shah's highly publicized "reforms" are purely cosmetic and do not even begin to affect the basic reasons for the deep-seated hatred of the Iranian masses for the fascist regime and U.S. imperialism.

These so-called reforms are just another slap in the face for the hundreds of thousands of peasants who have been ruined and forced off their land; for the workers slaving for \$2-3 a day in the oil refineries and sweatshop factories; or for the untold thousands who have had close friends and relatives massacred by troops with "shoot to kill" orders, or chained inside a burning movie house by the Shah's henchmen. In addition, these "reforms" do not even begin to touch U.S. imperialism's domination of Iran—the dozens of branches of the Chase Manhattan Bank, the more than 40,000 military and technical "advisers" stationed throughout Iran or the investments of the U.S. multinational giants.

## New High Tide of Struggle— Millions in Streets

These massive demonstrations started on September 4, the last day of the Moslem Holy Month of Ramadan, and were called to commemorate the uprisings and the 5-6,000 people martyred in the previous month. This certainly included the 800 people burned alive or shot trying to escape the fire at the Rex theater in Abadan.

On Monday, September 4 over one million people marched through the streets of Tehran, and the regime pulled back its troops. In some areas of Tehran, people fraternized with the troops, asking the soldiers not to fire on them if ordered to do so. That same day, demonstrations of 50,000 in Qum and 300,000 in Mashad were attacked by the Shah's troops. In Mashad, U.S.-made helicopters were used to drop tear gas and grenades into the crowds.

The next day in Tehran, the regime turned down applications for a march on Thursday made by representatives of some of the 14 bourgeois political parties that had surfaced or formed in preceding weeks. Nevertheless, the word started spreading throughout Tehran that mass demonstrations were going to be held on Thursday and Friday to commemorate the people martyred during the month of Ramadan, and this sentiment picked up momentum rapidly after Ayatollah Khomeini—a well-known revolutionary nationalist religious figure exiled in Iraq—sent a message urging the people to demonstrate and not be afraid "to

## Shah's Murderous Fire in Abadan

According to eyewitness accounts from inside Iran this is what really happened around the fire in Abadan. On Saturday night, August 19, the Rex theater, located in a working class neighborhood in Abadan (which for many decades has been a center of anti-Shah and anti-imperialist activity), was showing a progressive film, "The Reindeer." This film was critical of the Shah's regime, and though the government had censored it heavily, it was playing to full houses in many cities.

The Rex theater itself was known as a center of political activity. Housed in the building were a bookstore and coffee shop where progressive literature could be secretly obtained and discussed.

On Saturday night, both showings of "The Reindeer" were sold out. The predominantly youthful audience of 830 included many entire families. As the second showing began at 9 p.m., police and army men were seen out in the lobby chaining the doors shut so no one could escape. They poured gasoline all around the building and then set it ablaze. At around 9:45, people in the neighborhood noticed smoke coming out of the theater. As a crowd grew in front of the Rex, hundreds of armed police and soldiers formed a wall in front of the building, shoving the people back.

For four hours the fire raged. At one point, people inside the theater broke through the doors and even one of the walls, only to be clubbed and pushed back inside the death oven by soldiers. As a number of people broke through the roof and prepared to jump, the soldiers started shooting them before they reached the ground in front of hundreds of horrified people outside.

Even though Abadan is the main oil producing and refining center in Iran and has some of the Middle East's most modern fire fighting equipment, of the several fire trucks that did eventually arrive—one had no water, one said it had no "permission" to use the oil company's hydrants, and another had a broken nozzle. Outside the blazing inferno, crowds of people heaved desperately against the police lines. By 2 a.m. they knew that everyone inside was dead, leaving at most a dozen survivors who had escaped the death trap.

According to several people who escaped the fire, deadly gas fumes were pumped into the theater prior to the actual outbreak of the fire in order to make sure there would be no survivors or witnesses. One Iranian who had watched the fire from beginning to end later went into the smoldering ruins of the theater. In a letter sent to an ISA member (printed in the October 1978 *Resistance*), he wrote: "Most of these people were burned while sitting in their chairs and it was something strange. Even several mothers, while holding their children, were burned like that... Couldn't this be a fact that from the air conditioning vent they sent gas all through and the poor and innocent people were knocked unconscious before burning?" Throughout the night, bodies were loaded onto army trucks and sent off to mass graves outside the city to avoid people's rage.

The next day, the people of Abadan took to the streets, with hundreds who had watched their friends and relatives perish in the Shah's death trap marching in the front ranks. Over 20,000 people in Abadan raised the cry of "Down with this fascist regime!" "Death to the murdering Shah!" and "Burn the Shah!" Since that day, Abadan has been the scene of near-continuous demonstrations and acts of resistance such as armed attacks on police stations. For the people of Abadan, for the workers, peasants, students and other oppressed masses in Iran, only one thing will bring justice for the 800 people who died inside the Rex theater: the total extermination of the Shah's fascist regime and the complete liberation of Iran from U.S. imperialism which backs up the Shah.

take martyrs." This was especially significant because the conservative religious leaders, whose main spokesman has been Shariat Madari, were telling the people not to demonstrate on Thursday in order to give the new government "time to prove itself."

On Thursday, September 7, three and a half million people demonstrated against the government throughout Iran. One and a half million marched in Tehran alone, many carrying signs that read "Death to the Murdering Shah!" The troops again stood by uneasily, awaiting orders.

And new orders came the next morning, after an all-night emergency Cabinet meeting. Early Friday morning, martial law was declared in Tehran, Isfahan, Tabriz, Shiraz, Qum, Abadan and five other cities; all demonstrations were banned; and SAVAK started picking up opposition bourgeois political figures who had surfaced under the

Shah's "liberalization" program.

## Millions March in Tehran, Shah Opens Fire

In spite of these new edicts, 4,000,000 people took to the streets of Iran on Friday, September 8. Most of Tehran, with a population of four million, was in the streets. On Friday morning massive demonstrations in four districts of the city headed towards Jaleh Square in the heart of Tehran. A number of people marching towards Jaleh were told by soldiers that they had been given orders to open fire later on during the day at the square.

As the massive crowds moved towards central Tehran, both chants calling for reforms and for the overthrow of the Shah's fascist regime were heard, but it was not long before cries of "Death to the Murdering Shah!" dominated among the people. Along the

march route, foreign banks, government buildings, police cars and other symbols of the hated regime and its imperialist backers were attacked and set on fire.

Meanwhile, as tens of thousands of people gathered inside Jaleh Square itself, machine-gun toting troops moved into position. After firing "warning shots" above the crowd for just *eight seconds*, the troops opened fire on the people jammed into the square. Everyone in the front lines was killed or wounded, including a number of liberal bourgeois figures who had been trying to tell the people not to "provoke" the troops with anti-Shah chants. The order to fire was given by Gen. Ali Oveissie, the same executioner who carried out the massacre of 15,000 in Tehran fifteen years ago—on June 5, 1963.

Five thousand unarmed people were massacred at Jaleh Square and other parts of Tehran. Hundreds of homes in the surrounding area were turned into makeshift hospitals, and hundreds died there for lack of medical treatment rather than risk execution at the city hospitals.

Not satisfied with this bloody massacre on Friday, the Shah's murdering henchmen attacked massive gatherings held at the Behesht Zahra Cemetery on the outskirts of Tehran on Saturday and Sunday, shooting down people inside the cemetery itself.

Throughout these three days of bloody attacks on the people, there was obviously a great deal of turmoil among the soldiers themselves. Many refused to fire on the crowds and one soldier was seen shooting his commander before he shot himself. The fascist regime is obviously worried about the reliability of the army, especially with the added difficulties of enforcing martial law in more than a dozen cities. The hours of martial law in Tehran, for example, have been reduced to 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. to avoid stretching the army too thinly and facing the danger of desertions and increased fraternization with the people.

While the mass demonstrations subsided rapidly after September 8—now called "Black Friday"—sporadic battles have flared up in the following weeks. Jaleh Square itself has been renamed "Martyrs Square" by the people. For several weeks, groups of revolutionary students in Tehran have waged a running battle with police and army troops, pulling down the Jaleh Square signs and replacing them with "Martyrs Square" several dozen times. In an increasing number of these skirmishes, the people have been armed, as many revolutionary organizations are more urgently than ever before taking up the question of how to get arms to hit back at the fascist regime's reactionary violence with revolutionary violence.

In a significant development, over 250,000 workers all over Iran have gone on strike recently. Thousands of telephone workers walked off their jobs, joined by oil workers in Abadan, one of the key sections of the country's industrial proletariat. The striking workers have increasingly raised political de-

Continued on page 12



Thousands of people were torn to shreds by the Shah's bullets during the historic September 7 and 8 uprising. At one cemetery alone on September 9, 4500 bodies were buried.



# TO MAO TSETUNG

(This poem was written by a comrade as a contribution to the Mao Memorial Month.)

*When Mao Tsetung died the heavens shook  
tears bathed the earth like gentle rain  
and the whistles of a thousand factories  
screamed in unison China's pain.*

*The sky leaned over to embrace the earth  
her grief far wider than China's girth  
and her billion laboring hearts did cry  
his death far weightier than Mount Tai.*

*Mao Tsetung!*

*Who led the people from their humiliating role  
a starving China under imperialism's heel  
from the yoke of capital, the carrying pole  
they put their shoulders to History's wheel!*

*The masses! The real heroes, he said!  
who barefoot climbed each peak of snow  
who crossed each desert of great suffering  
who marched long years, each face aglow.*

*Mao Tsetung!*

*Who forged advances in the fires of retreat  
while the Wolf of Capital stalked the world  
and hammered out victory on the anvil of defeat  
as the sleeping Tiger of the Masses uncurled.*

*Like a mighty scythe that conquers the field  
the invincible sword of the people sang  
and slew the grey dragon of Japan  
and then the reactionary Kuomintang.*

*Mao Tsetung!*

*The enemy was driven from China's soil.  
For exploiters no longer the people would toil!  
And they inscribed on every hammer and plow  
the communist future proclaimed by Mao.*

*In ever widening steps he strode  
taking China down the socialist road  
and China a beacon to all the world stood  
where labor served the common good.*

*Mao Tsetung!*

*Under his guidance wild rivers were tamed  
and mountains lowered to raise the plain.  
The land was swept with an iron broom  
and the countryside burst with socialism's bloom...*

*But mere appearance was stripped of its disguise  
when viewed through Mao's dialectical eyes  
for in the socialist soil were still poisonous weeds  
nurtured by a new breed of capitalist thieves.*

*Mao Tsetung!*

*Who warned the people of this festering sore  
as revisionism reared its head, full-blown  
and the capitalist-roaders came to the fore  
from the very ranks of the Party's own.*

*Who taught us the capitalists will always sow trouble  
"Never forget classes and class struggle!"  
who went into battle with the Four at his side  
heroes who braved the counterrevolutionary tide.*

*Mao Tsetung!*

*For the masses there was but one solution  
the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!  
And to those who on the workers' labor would dine  
This was Mao's answer: Revolution is fine!*

*Release the initiative of the masses!  
Unleash their boundless revolutionary zeal!  
And they will move far greater than  
rivers, mountains or tons of steel!*

*Mao Tsetung!*

*Who saw great learning in the work of the factory  
great knowledge rooted in the college of the field  
and princely scholars were pulled from their towers  
to the wisdom of workers forced to yield.*

*Who saw no peace without great turmoil  
who championed rebellion and rebellion led  
against those plodding "practical" men  
who have turned precious socialism on its head.*

*Mao Tsetung!*

*Who steadfast fought to keep China red  
these traitors now declare his legacy is dead  
though everywhere men still long to be free  
from the chains of capital and wage slavery.*

*But the Red Banner we, his successors, still fly!  
To the lords of production we raise this cry:  
The light of Marxism's burning brand  
shall never be extinguished from the people's hand!*

*Mao Tsetung!*

*Great navigator of the human course  
who against all deviating winds set mankind's sail  
in the midst of the storm our ship sets forth  
to the shore where Communism shall yet prevail.*

*And flung from the masthead of his Thought  
the hearts of men are still unfurled  
as Revolution forward rages  
like a hurricane sweeping across the world!*

ward presentation of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of Mao's line and the reactionary coup pulled off after his death. Since they have proved themselves unable to do anything but parrot the latest revisionism appearing in the pages of *Peking Review* and incapable of presenting a coherent political defense of Hua, Teng and Co.'s wholesale attack on Mao and Mao Tsetung Thought or a political response to the line of the RCP, they wanted to insure that as few people as possible heard what the Party had to say, most particularly their own cadre.

## Chinese Revisionists Fear Exposure

The revisionists in China were most worried and also a bit more astute in assessing the significance of these events from the beginning. When the Chinese Performing Arts Troupe appeared in the San Francisco Bay Area in August with its raggedy act of Monsters, Ghosts and Talents, the RCP and the Memorial Committee greeted them with signs, leaflets and banners proudly hailing Mao Tsetung and the lessons and achievements of the Cultural Revolution. In one amusing incident, as the bus carrying the troupe pulled up in front of the theater the actors applauded the people outside holding up a banner of Mao with the slogan upholding Mao and the Cultural Revolution—until the banner was translated for them. When this part on the achievements and lessons of the Cultural Revolution was read they quickly stopped applauding.

The revisionists in China, of course, were not at all amused at any of this—particularly the leaflets passed out at the performances pointing out the differences between what was being presented on the stage and the revolutionary cultural performances developed under Mao's line and the leadership of his wife Chiang Ching. They had long since targeted the RCP as an "enemy line" in the U.S. and set about a vicious campaign of intimidation to keep people from attending the Memorial Meetings. In the Chinese communities in New York and the San Francisco Bay Area, for example, tremendous pressure was put on overseas Chinese and foreign students. The word was put out that anyone who attended might well risk forsaking any future trips to China to visit family and friends or returning to "make a contribution to the motherland" someday.

In other petty actions, China Books and Periodicals, which has long viewed itself as "China's distribution arm" in the U.S., has gone all out to prevent anyone they consider to be associated with the RCP from obtaining quantities of Marxist-Leninist books, flatly refusing to sell them these books. The Party and its supporters have long been the major outlet for the distribution of this literature among the masses, but China Books, of course, is not at all interested in the distribution of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, instead basing their business on expensive art and tourist books and trinkets. While they cannot openly stop distributing the Marxist classics at this point, China Books would rather keep them entombed on their shelves than let revolutionaries get their hands on them and take them out to the masses.

Supporters of the revisionists in San Francisco's Chinatown have also tried to mount a boycott of Everybody's Bookstore, for years the center of Marxist-Leninist classics, books on the Asian-American movement and Party literature in that community. And Hong Kong publishing companies tied to China for which Everybody's has been a distributor of magazines and newspapers have recently cut off shipments without notice—along with a cut-off by the official Chinese publishing house, Guozhi Shudian. Once again, unable to silence Marxist-Leninists politically, they resort to capitalist methods of economic blackmail.

But despite all the lame and ineffectual efforts of the Hua-Teng gang and their stooges in the U.S., the Mao Tsetung Memorial meetings were carried off quite successfully and had a great impact. In fact, in San Francisco's Chinatown the line of the RCP on

*Continued from page 17*

## Campaign ...

*Continued from page 5*

munism, he knew that Mao was one heavy revolutionary. He expressed disgust at the "moderates" now in power in China and as he put it: "All this talk about 'moderates and moderation' in China now... Hell, I know one thing, 'moderate' is the last thing you could call revolution and communism."

Scores of letters were received from people around the country who had seen the posters and who wanted more information about the Memorial Meetings, Mao and the RCP. One woman wrote from Southern California: "I noted your sign on the bus seat in front of a bus stop this morning and was overwhelmed by the article, can you send me some information on Mao Tsetung." Another letter, from Birmingham, Alabama asked for information regarding the meetings and said: "All of your posters in this area have been torn down. You might notify your people to replace these."

### Getting Out the Word

And no question about it, the poster-ing was clearly a part of the class struggle. The opportunist sycophants of the Chinese revisionists, the U.S. bourgeoisie and their agents, and all stripes of petty reactionaries were incensed at this bold campaign to uphold Mao, the Cultural Revolution and the revolutionaries in China. People paid by the Kuomintang, police, and the Moonies, or those like the CPML or the Mensheviks who split from the RCP, as well as various independent slime, crept around with scrapers and cans of spray paint to deface and tear down the posters. But even this tended to backfire on them, creating more interest among

many people who saw literally thousands of defaced posters and asked: Why are these posters being ripped up when hundreds of others hang on poles and walls for months and years?

In one incident in San Jose, members of the Memorial Committee had been out poster-ing and discovered a religious freak who had been tailing behind them, spraying over the posters. They confronted him and a heated argument ensued. As this jerk was yelling that the Committee and Party members were completely isolated from the people, a young Chicano Vietnam veteran stepped up and told him: "Look, my people have been oppressed for 200 years in this country. We are forced to go to Vietnam and fight and when we come back what do we get except unemployment and more oppression. What these people are doing is right!" When the religious nut continued to rail against the posters and Mao, the vet became so angry he stepped up and punched him in the face.

In Portland, Oregon, where a billboard company that had agreed to put up the advertisements for the Memorial Meetings refused when they saw the content, and in Boston where the city transit officials at first refused to put ads in the subways, the Memorial Committee mobilized demonstrations and press conferences and forced them to back down.

Taking the campaign out so widely and thoroughly among the masses helped create a certain climate of opinion among advanced workers, consciously revolutionary-minded people and those who had interest in China on one level or another that the developments there were essential issues that cannot be ignored or swept under the rug. And increasingly it became clear to more and more that the Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings would be major events, presenting a serious and documented

exposé of the revisionist takeover in China.

This was demonstrated effectively at the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association Convention held in San Francisco the week before the Mao Tsetung Memorial Meeting. The careerists and opportunists who have entrenched themselves firmly in the executive offices of this once important organization and who, following the lead of their business partners in Peking, have set out as some opposing them put it to make it a modern, powerful tourist agency before the year 2000, were bound and determined to prevent any serious discussion of the revisionist coup at the convention. As the article on the convention in this issue of *Revolution* describes, they failed.

### Opportunists Boycott

At first the various revisionist and opportunist groups, like the CPML and their friends the Mensheviks tried simply to ignore this campaign to defend Mao and his revolutionary legacy. But as they saw that it was actually becoming a broad mass issue and whether or not to go to the meetings was an important question for many, they began to move actively to try to dissuade people from attending, to boycott these meetings because "they would only build the RCP." Of course they would like nothing better than to see the party of the working class disappear—and didn't want Mao's line propagated.

In New York, where 1100 people attended the Memorial Meeting on September 9, for months the Mensheviks had been telling people that the RCP had ceased to exist. But what they feared most was that large numbers of honest, revolutionary-minded people and those who had developed a keen interest in revolutionary China would come to hear a clear and straight for-



# Blind Tagging Behind China Demanded Ex-Member Exposes CPML

[The following is an interview with a former member of the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist. He recently left the CPML in opposition to their opportunist domestic and international line. The interview concentrates on the question of China and the CPML leadership's behavior in imposing an opportunist line on this question in the CPML—Ed.]

Why does the CPML leadership feel they can get away with tailing behind the current revisionist leaders in China who are clearly reversing the revolution in China, selling out revolution everywhere and attacking everything Mao Tsetung stood for? What was the response among CPML members (and leadership) when the coup first took place in China?

I guess the best way to look at how the CPML views China and how it's changed is that in the first place they don't really take a serious view of the class struggle. When the situation came down in China, when the so-called "gang of four" was beginning to be attacked, the CPML members, the rank and file, themselves were not clear on what was happening in China. It was more or less up to the leadership of the CPML to try to explain what was happening.

How did they talk about Mao Tsetung, with the present rulers in China attacking Mao?

Well as I remember the CPML was very careful about talking about Hua and Mao. It was like one person told me that the thing was essentially to rally around the flag, that the Communist Party of China was a proven and tested Party, and who were we to say that something in China wasn't right. When Klonsky returned from China they said they had raised with the Chinese what was going on in China, and Klonsky said what it amounts to was that they do have some questions, but that Hua was the genuine successor of Mao, and because of that the CPML was going to rally around Hua and the Chinese Central Committee and not raise questions. We aren't in the position to question the leadership of China, who were we?

For a period of time the questions intensified, like around the "three worlds theory"—that was a tough struggle. But it came down to those who struggled against the "three worlds theory" were accused of being against Mao's line and China. That was the attitude of the CPML leadership and they let it be known to those in the CPML and those who were close to it that they wouldn't tolerate struggle against the leadership in China. If you raised questions against China you were criticised or else black-balled and more or less slandered. That was the case with me. I thought that the "three worlds theory" was garbage. What they said to me about this was that I was attacking China.

Did they play on emotionalism around China?

Of course, it wasn't a struggle based on politics. Anybody who made any kind of analysis about what went down in China would know this. The CPML went to great lengths to avoid the questions about what was going on in China—particularly the leadership of the CPML. This went to the point of not even mentioning the revisions in the Constitution of China at the 11th Congress, or about the revolutionary committees being abolished, or the very fact that Hua and Teng were saying that the Shah was a real revolutionary force in the world that cannot be opposed—that to oppose the Shah was in fact to oppose some kind of united front built to oppose the USSR. Even more recently with Hua making all kinds of overtures to Yugoslavia and Tito, to my amazement most folks in the CPML didn't even know who Tito was, or those who did know Tito told me that Tito made some kind of miraculous change.

I talked to some people in particular about Yugoslavia and the overtures that China was making to it. I showed them

this book—the polemic written against Tito in 1963—and they hadn't even heard of this book. And I know one of them was a member of the CPML, and when they raised this book in the CPML, the CPML was more interested in where and who gave them the book than in the content of the polemic.

Did they claim it was a great thing that the CPML was carrying the banner of China?

For sure. Look at the *Call* and their article on the first anniversary of the party. In that article and several after that, one of the main reasons why the CPML claimed that it was a great and correct party capable of leading the working class was because of its close ties with the present leadership of China. Their whole claim to fame is their closeness to Hua and Teng and the revisionists of China.

What kind of struggle is there around political line in general inside the CPML? Is there any kind of study of line based upon Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought?

I think that the leadership of the CPML studies MLM works for the purpose of revising them, for the purpose of over-awing the cadre, for the purpose of putting the rank and file in its place. I think there are some honest people in the CPML who try and study Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, who are trying to see what is going on in the world. But as for any ideological struggle inside of the CPML, I would have to say no.

From my experience, the most struggle goes on around people's personal lives as opposed to political lives. It is a warehouse for rumors, it's a warehouse for attacking people's personal lives as opposed to dealing with people politically. If you're going to talk about someone they try and dive off someone's personal questions and turn them into a political thing by saying it's his line on the woman question or his line on this particular question, but as far as any kind of ideological struggle—no.

How does the CPML rationalize this really rank social-chauvinist line of uniting with the bourgeoisie in the U.S.

and other reactionaries around the world to defeat the Soviet Union? Isn't there some struggle around this inside the CPML?

For a long time the CPML has been screaming that the U.S. bourgeoisie is "appeasing" the Soviet imperialists, and because of the U.S.' appeasement the Soviet Union is able to be aggressive all over the world. The CPML, like the Chinese revisionists, wants the U.S. bourgeoisie to get tougher. This has been their line for some time. I think in the main the social chauvinist line of the CPML is the really serious thing, not just on the international situation, but on minority nationalities in this country as well. I think it all flows from a line that says there's a decent section of the bourgeoisie that can be united with, negating the class character and real nature of the bourgeoisie, similar to the "three worlds theory." Look at Iran—the CPML has always held the Shah is a progressive dude.

In fact, like the RCP pointed out, you can never forget the class character of national liberation movements, that is, whether or not proletarian elements exist inside that movement. And as the RCP said, the only reason communists support a national liberation movement is to the degree and to the extent that it weakens imperialism. I think here it's

Continued on page 19

## CPML Caught in Dilemma

# How to Attack Mao While Pretending to Uphold Him

On the face of it, the silly attacks and distortions leveled against the Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings in the pages of the CPML rag the *Call* are exactly what would be expected and are hardly worth commenting on. But what is very interesting and worth pointing out is the dilemma they face which is revealed in their September 25 "report" on the Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings and the summation of Klonsky's speech at their so-called "memorial meetings" in their October 2 edition.

The dilemma for the CPML and other "pro-China" opportunists is how to attack Mao and what he represents while still pretending to uphold him. They know that inside China itself attacks on all that Mao stood and fought for are becoming more open day by day.

They know that those who, as Wang Hung-wen described them, saw the Cultural Revolution as a dark night or a ravaging flood and a savage beast are now riding high in China. So the CPML clearly cannot do much more than throw Mao's name around a bit. After all, a franchise operation has to follow the lead of the main office. On the other hand, they don't like it at all that the RCP has boldly stood up to expose what the revisionists are up to and to raise the revolutionary banner of Mao Tsetung and lessons and achievements of the Cultural Revolution.

Not that the CPML wants to defend Mao and the Cultural Revolution and the revolutionaries in China. But the CPML knows that millions see the name of Mao Tsetung inextricably connected with revolution and the fight against revisionism. This is the source of a dilemma. It is, of course, because of this that the CPML does not and cannot truly uphold Mao, yet at the same time, since the CPML is anxious to appear "revolutionary" they prefer to make passing and perfunctory reference to Mao while utterly betraying his teachings.

### Empty Revisionism

The contradiction between Mao's revolutionary line and the garbage spewing forth from the revisionists in Peking is becoming more apparent to everyone daily. The CPML cannot answer the political arguments and documentation that the RCP has brought out to show that the so-called "gang of

four" is actually a "gang of five" led by Mao himself, and that the attacks leveled at the Four by the Hua-Teng crew are directed at Mao's line.

In the face of the substantive political questions raised by the struggle in China—the relation between revolution and production, the role of education and science under socialism, the question of the bourgeoisie arising within the Party—on these questions and others the CPML offers either silence or a thin and empty analysis, shameless and laughingstock pabulum which is increasingly unsatisfactory even to their own cadre and sympathizers.

In fact, at the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association convention in San Francisco, the CPML leadership went so far as to instruct their cadre not to say anything on the question of China and the revisionist takeover if confronted by members of the RCP.

Thus their current stock-in-trade is to avoid the line questions altogether and simply repeat that in China everything is fine. "Some people who have recently visited China testified today to the great advances they saw under socialism and how it felt for once in their lives to feel free of exploitation and oppression," said Klonsky. No doubt, the revisionists have not yet been able to undo all the great accomplishments of the Chinese people under the revolutionary leadership of Mao Tsetung.

But what about the people who have come back recently to testify that their official hosts and guides and other people in positions of authority are saying that the Cultural Revolution was a "disaster for China, a big mistake." Now they are not just attacking the "excesses of the Cultural Revolution" as they did in their opening shots, but the whole Cultural Revolution itself.

Of course "Madison Avenue Mike" Klonsky did not have a single thing to say about the Cultural Revolution—can't talk about that these days, nor Mao's role as its initiator and leader.

### Pathetic Attacks on RCP

In an effort to explain to their cadre the large turnout at the Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings, 1100 in New York and 1200 in the Bay Area (of course they had to lie about the size of the attendance), particularly in comparison

to the paltry showings at their own sham memorials (at most 300 at the Bay Area opportunist amalgamated circus, 50 people in Chicago and even less in New York), Klonsky & Co. tried several different approaches.

First they took a page from bourgeois anti-communist scum like Victor Reisel and Fulton Lewis Jr. to make the patently ridiculous charge that "the bourgeoisie" paid to fly people to the memorial meetings. (A particularly ridiculous charge for one thing since the U.S. bourgeoisie is openly welcoming Hua's revisionist cause.) Apparently according to the contemptuous outlook of the CPML, masses of revolutionary minded people couldn't possibly pay their way to these meetings and contribute to them. Only the bourgeoisie could do that. But since even the *Call's* yellow journalists know this would not get over, they then tried to explain it by claiming that preparations for the meetings had been the RCP's "only work for more than six months."

Well, we will not only admit, but proudly state that the exposure of the revisionist *coup d'etat* in China and the defense of Mao, the Cultural Revolution and the Four who fought heroically for Mao's line and proletarian revolution has been the major political task of our party in the last period, because this has been the major question facing Marxist-Leninists in the U.S. and worldwide.

As a final explanation, Klonsky says that the CPML has their "own way" of commemorating Mao's death. "Modestly," he says. In fact, they commemorate not what Mao fought for, but his death! (It will be more accurate shortly for them to talk about "celebrating" it.) Their San Francisco leaflet, appropriately, featured a picture of Mao's tomb. "It is not necessary for us to make a big fanfare at the present time," he says. Of course not!

The less said about Mao these days the better, as far as the revisionists are concerned. "The best way to commemorate our fallen leaders is to apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions in our own country." All this is but a nice way of saying that the CPML will continue following Hua Kuo-feng's lead in tipping his hat to Mao's mausoleum while spitting on his life achievements and making their central task reversing the course he set for China. ■



# U.S. Imperialism's House of Cards Camp David Sellout

The Camp David agreements now being celebrated in the media with such hoopla represent a definite plus for Jimmy Carter in his career as a bourgeois politician and a temporary victory for U.S. imperialism and its Zionist running dogs.

It is also a sell-out not only of the just struggle of the Palestinian people, but also of the legitimate aspirations of all the Arab peoples and nations in the area. But, at the same time, these agreements have all the stability of a house of cards, and the only question is how long it will take before they reach their proper resting place in the waste-basket of history.

The agreements reached at Camp David among Carter of the U.S., Begin of Israel, and Sadat of Egypt constitute, according to the participants, a "framework for peace" not only between Israel and Egypt but in the Middle East as a whole. This "framework" consists of two documents. One is a plan for what Sadat's enemies have (quite rightly) long accused him of aiming for—a separate peace between Egypt and Israel.

As Begin boasted afterward, this makes it impossible for the other Arab states bordering Israel (notably Syria

and Jordan, which are still technically in a state of war with the Zionist state) to attack or threaten Israel, for they are too weak to do so without Egyptian participation.

Sadat has gone ahead with "his" peace while Israel still retains in its clutches Syria's Golan Heights and the West Bank (of the Jordan River) area which Jordan claims. Syria immediately called the agreements "a stab in the heart," and King Hussein of Jordan declared himself "surprised and shattered."

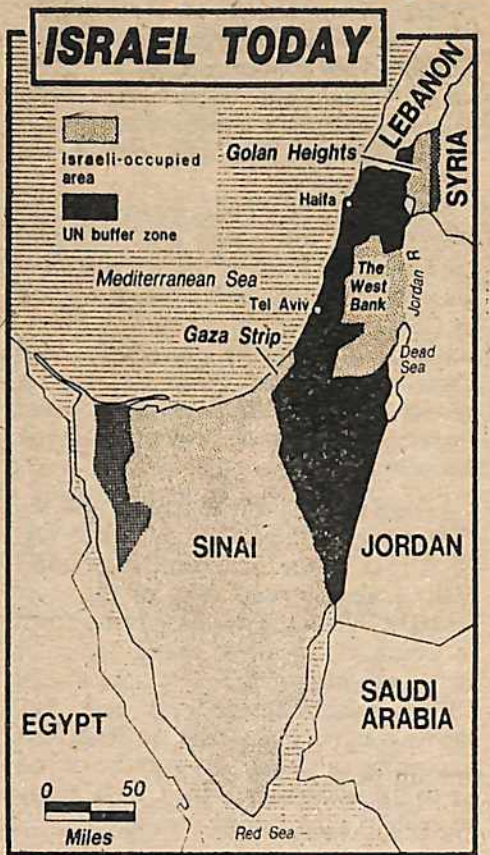
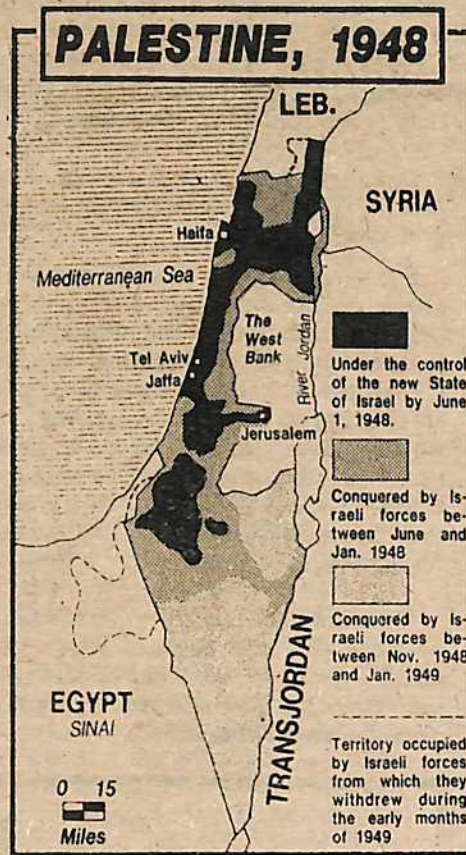
But more to the point is that these agreements spit in the face of the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. It is they who inhabit the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and to whom these territories actually belong; it is they who once inhabited the entire area which Israel now claims as its own, until the majority of them were driven from their homeland by the most terrorist and bloody means by the Zionists; and it is they whose heroic struggle for their national rights has made the Middle East the "trouble spot" it has been—and will continue to make it a trouble spot for the imperialists as long as the imperialists continue their domination and oppression of the Palestinian nation.

This becomes even more clear in the second document, pompously entitled "The Framework of Peace in the Middle East." This bases itself on United Nations Resolution 242, which not only recognizes Israel's "right" to exist on the territory of the Palestinian nation, but refers to the Palestinian people only as "the refugee problem"—in other words saying that there is no such thing as the Palestinian nation and its struggle for

liberation, but only some problems with displaced persons and refugees.

And then there is the question of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. These areas, overwhelmingly inhabited by Palestinians, were overrun by Israel in its 1967 war of aggression, and since then the iron grip of Israeli military government has allowed thousands of

Continued on page 20



## Iran...

Continued from page 9

mands as well as economic issues—in some cases openly calling for the overthrow of the Shah's fascist regime.

One important result of this massive popular upsurge is that the revolutionary forces have been growing in strength and influence among the people. Various opportunist leaders, including some of the conservative religious leaders, have been further isolated and shown themselves to many more to be obstacles to the continuing revolutionary struggle. The growing revolutionary forces are politically mobilizing the masses of people, and are organizing for armed struggle to bring down the Shah's regime, kick out U.S. imperialism and build an independent, democratic (and eventually socialist) Iran free from all imperialist slavemasters.

Genuine communists have been active in this struggle from the beginning, but the critical task remains of establishing a communist party. This revolutionary communist leadership is necessary for the masses of people to be able to persevere through the twists and turns of the struggle to victory, and its authority among the masses is a necessary condition for a revolutionary situation to fully ripen.

### U.S. Imperialists Back Shah to the Hilt

As the Shah's regime is engulfed deeper and deeper in crisis, and the mighty mass movement of Iran's 35 million people grows in strength and consciousness of its revolutionary goal, the Shah's fascist regime is in more trouble than at any time since the U.S. originally put him in power in 1953. And the regime's dependent relationship with imperialism—U.S. imperialism in particular—is more desperately clung to by both the Shah and his masters than ever before.

On Saturday September 8, while thousands of people were being massacred in the streets of Iran, Jimmy "Human Rights" Carter telephoned the Shah from Camp David to express his "personal support" for this fascist butcher. Carter "reaffirmed the importance of Iran's continued alliance with the West"; and no doubt also reaffirmed the promise Carter made to the Shah during his visit to Washington D.C. in November 1977 that if necessary the U.S. is prepared to use military force to "defend" the Shah's regime not only against the rival imperialist USSR, but against the masses of Iranian people themselves.

Since then, the U.S. has continued to beef up its military and technical "advisory" mission in Iran, which now exceeds 40,000—many of whom work alongside Iranian officials at virtually every level of the government and military. In addition, the U.S. imperialists are continuing to sell arms to Iran at the annual rate of \$4-5 billion—more than to any other country in the world.

The massive military buildup in Iran is the direct result of U.S. imperialism's post-Vietnam strategy of setting up regional gendarmes to "share the responsibilities" of suppressing the peoples' revolutionary struggles, and of consolidating the position of the U.S.-led imperialist bloc in strategic areas of the world in the face of stepped-up contention by its rival imperialist superpower, the USSR. The Shah's regime has been primed to "defend" the Persian Gulf region, which holds two-thirds of the world's known oil reserves, and supplies the imperialist countries of Western Europe and Japan with 60% and 90% of their oil needs, respectively.

Particularly in the context of the fierce struggle between the U.S. and USSR to control strategic areas and line up blocs of countries in preparation for world war, the U.S. imperialists absolutely cannot afford to give up their hegemony over Iran and the whole Persian Gulf area. As Joseph Kraft, a prominent Washington columnist, put it last month: "With the weak regimes in Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and India, Iran is the only force of stability [!] in the area and the only barrier against Russian penetration. In these conditions the United States does not have the luxury of sniffing at corruption in Iran or playing liberal missionary on human rights."

### Growing Possibility of Direct U.S. Military Intervention

If all else fails, and particularly in the event of a rapid collapse of the Shah's regime, the U.S. imperialists have made it crystal clear that they are prepared to land U.S. troops in Iran. Early in 1978 in fact, Defense Secretary Brown announced the formation of a 100,000 man strong "rapid reaction strike force"—composed of two Army airborne divisions (including the infamous 82nd) and one Marine division—which would be tapped for duty in strategic areas named by Brown such as Western Europe, the Persian Gulf, Israel, and South Korea.

With the possibility of direct U.S. military intervention in Iran likely to grow in the months ahead, the political and military maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists—both inside Iran working through their military and CIA "advis-

sers" and here in the U.S.—must be exposed to the American people and militantly opposed. A key part of this is combatting the reactionary propaganda of the imperialists and the Shah's regime aimed at creating public opinion for such adventures.

In this task, many of the lessons of the Vietnam War—the common interests of the Indochinese and American people in fighting U.S. imperialism, the predatory nature of imperialism that drives it to wars of aggression, and the massive opposition to such unjust wars that developed among the American people—must be drawn upon. However, the parallels between Vietnam in the late '60s and early '70s and Iran in the late '70s are far from exact. The international situation has since gone through a number of important changes, among which are: U.S. imperialism has fallen from its dominant position in the world, in no small part because of the crushing defeat it suffered at the hands of the Indochinese peoples; Soviet social-imperialism has emerged as a full-fledged imperialist superpower aggressively contending with the U.S.-led imperialist bloc for world domination; and the bitter rivalry between the two imperialist superpowers is step-by-step bringing them closer to world war.

Under current conditions, U.S. imperialism cannot move as freely and quickly in Iran as it could in the mid-1960s in places like Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, and it will certainly do all it can to shore up the Shah's regime short of sending in the Marines. On the other hand, Iran is of much more strategic importance to the imperialists than Vietnam was, and it is critical for the U.S. and the other Western imperialists to keep Iran firmly in their bloc—and this may well require massive U.S. military intervention, despite the dangers.

### Reactionary Public Opinion Campaign

For both these reasons—the U.S. imperialists' strategy of propping up regimes such as the Shah's short of direct military intervention on the one hand, and the necessity for decisive military action at a certain point on the other—the U.S. bourgeoisie has been waging an all-out propaganda campaign to justify any future course of action in "defense" of the Shah's fascist regime.

The more intense and massive the Iranian people's struggle has become, the more systematically the U.S. government and press have lied about and distorted the situation there. Nearly every article in the U.S. press about the

recent demonstrations, the Abadan fire, and so on has portrayed them as a case of the Shah's "reforms" and "modernization program" meeting opposition from "fanatical Moslems" who want to take the country back to the Dark Ages.

This reactionary public opinion campaign is aimed at slandering the Iranian people's movement, cleaning up the Shah's image as a "benevolent monarch" who is protecting "our" oil, and covering up the depths to which U.S. imperialism has sunk its claws into Iran. The U.S. bourgeoisie is relying heavily on this public opinion offensive to justify its continued all-around support for the Shah's fascist regime, as well as to lay the groundwork for increased and more direct U.S. military intervention in Iran.

As an important part of this coordinated public relations campaign, the bourgeoisie has launched new and more vicious attacks on the Iranian Students Association, such as a brutal assault in Los Angeles by hundreds of riot-equipped police on September 7 against an ISA demonstration in front of the *Los Angeles Times*, which had been called to protest the lies in the U.S. press about the Abadan fire. One hundred and seventy-one Iranian students were arrested by the LAPD and dozens were injured.

This attack was met with a demonstration of 350 called several days later by the ISA that marched back to the *L.A. Times*, and from there went on to L.A. police headquarters to demand that all charges be dropped. This was followed on Sept. 23 by a demonstration of over 800 protesting against L.A. police brutality and martial law in Iran.

In order to get over with their distortions and vicious lies among the American people, the bourgeoisie clearly understands that it must suppress revolutionary forces such as the ISA who have been consistently opposing the Shah's fascist regime, supporting the people's revolutionary movement, and exposing the U.S. imperialists' continued support for the Shah and their plans for increased U.S. military action in Iran.

In the months to come, the responsibility of communists and revolutionary forces in the U.S. to rip away the web of lies and deceit which reverse right and wrong in Iran, and to unmask the U.S. bourgeoisie's preparations for further bloody crimes against the Iranian people, will grow together with the mounting revolutionary struggle of the Iranian masses hitting at our common enemy—U.S. imperialism which stands behind the lackey regime of the Shah. ■





Fired Bulk Mail Center workers and supporters demonstrate at U.S. Postal Service Office in San Francisco demanding their jobs and opposing the sellout contract for the country's postal workers.

# P.O. Arbitration Deal Delivers Still Worse Sellout

On Friday, Sept. 15 the federal mediator called in to settle the postal contract dispute announced that he had come up with a final arbitrated settlement. The ruling left postal workers with an agreement that is basically even worse than the first offer that was soundly rejected by the rank and file.

The mediator was forced to put on an appearance of "impartiality" by removing the ceiling on the puny cost of living formula and slightly increasing the wage package, although this will still leave postal workers far behind the increase in the cost of living during the next three years. But the main thrust of the new settlement was the weakening of postal workers' job security by opening a big crack in the no-layoff clause.

The new settlement provides that the Postal Service for the first time will be able to lay off any new employees who are hired unless they manage to work for the Postal Service for six continuous years. And this will be very difficult for new workers to achieve since the Postal Service is literally chomping at the bit to use this new power of laying off as a means to continue their drive to combine and eliminate jobs. The weakening of the no-layoff clause (which was far from adequate to begin with) is also a serious attack on the working conditions of senior workers who will be expected to take up the slack as newer employees are laid off whenever it suits the purposes of the postal bosses.

This stinking settlement was the result of a new 15 day "renegotiating" period which was forced on the Postal Service and the national union officers by the militant wildcat strikes at the New York-New Jersey Bulk Mail Center and the San Francisco Bulk Mail Center as well as the subsequent overwhelming rejection of the initial contract offer. While it was a definite victory that the workers were able to force the Postal Service back to the bargaining table, the postal bosses and the national union hacks were able to turn this situation to their advantage by agreeing to binding arbitration, a course of action which inevitably benefits the bosses as events have shown. With momentum for defying the national union leadership and striking having died down, it looks as if this rotten deal is going to stick.

In a cynical show that "the rank and file have the last say," the Letter Carriers Union and the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) have sent out mail referendum ballots even though the national officers have made it clear they will not be bound by the results if the arbitrated settlement is voted down since it is legally binding. In a personal statement sent out with the ballots, APWU president Emmet Andrews all but openly said that the national union would do everything it could to sabotage a strike should the membership vote against the offer. As can be expected, the rank and file are looking to this "vote" with not much interest

and a lot of disgust. It's clear from the past actions of their union "leaders" in this contract battle that this referendum is nothing but a sham.

### Sellout Brings Questions

Faced with this sellout, there is much

debate and different opinions among the rank and file about why they were unable to defeat this sellout, who's to blame, and what this means for the future. The fact is that in the course of this contract fight the rank and file put up more resistance than in any battle in the last eight years since the national wildcat strike in 1970.

When the first rotten offer came out in July, the workers at the two Bulk centers defied the no-strike law and their national union hacks by staging the longest walkouts in post office history. Then, with the Postal Service insisting on binding arbitration, a number of local unions, jammed by the rank and file who were inspired by the Bulk walkouts, began taking strike votes and setting up strike preparations. Yet, postal workers still ended up on the short end of the stick.

There are several reasons why this happened, the main one being the nature of the capitalist system itself. With their economy spiraling downward, the capitalists are increasingly driven to take a hard line, to attack the workers with more and more ferocity to prop up their sinking profit margins and avoid collapse. And likewise the workers are compelled to resist that much harder to keep from being driven down into the dirt. Many contract battles are harder and harder fought, and yet despite the intensity of these contract battles (like the recent coal miners' strike) it is increasingly difficult to wring concessions from the capitalists, whose reserves are dwindling and who are faced with their own necessity to keep their exploitative system alive.

The Postal Service has had to step up

its attacks on the workers in face of a growing deficit, even though they are subsidized by the government to the tune of a billion dollars a year. The capitalists have long been eyeing this subsidy, anxious to free up this capital from the post office and move it into areas of investment that will return a profit. The only way they can accomplish this is to ruthlessly attack the jobs, the pay and working conditions of postal workers in a relentless drive to make the post office "pay for itself." (See *Revolution*, July 1978.)

For this reason, the bourgeoisie was very united in their determination to attack the postal workers. There were the very real threats of Carter to call out the troops to put down any strike action. There was the endless barrage of propaganda telling the workers "you've got it pretty good, don't rock the boat" and the time-worn lie that striking would only "hurt the public." This included using widespread unemployment as a club, aimed especially at Blacks and other minorities, to convince people that the unemployed would be happy to scab and that postal workers would be crazy to risk their "high paying" jobs.

The bourgeoisie also unleashed the power of their state apparatus, hauling strikers into court and threatening them with contempt charges and issuing countless injunctions designed to threaten postal workers that they were going up against the law if they dared to continue to fight for their class interests. And along with this, the Postal Service made good on its threats to fire

Continued on page 20

## Setback for RR Workers

# Hacks Cave In To Carter's Threat

The national railroad workers' strike was brought to a swift and unsuccessful conclusion on Sept. 29 when a federal judge issued a restraining order and union leaders told striking workers to report back to work. While officials of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) were trying to cloak their cowardice and pawn off their humiliating defeat as a "great victory" (because no reprisals were to be taken against the strikers!), many of the railway workers themselves were angered over the outcome of the strike.

The bourgeoisie had wasted no time in lashing out at the striking workers. Two days after the national strike began, President Carter held a press conference at which he denounced the strike and announced the government's intention to break it. His outrageous assault on the railroad workers was reminiscent of similar action against the coal miners' strike last winter.

Despite the militance of the strikers, the government felt that BRAC officials would be more successful in getting the workers back to work than UMW officials were with the miners.

Indeed, despite the fact that railroad workers have been under vicious attack by the bourgeoisie for decades and have seen their numbers dwindle every year, no strong rank and file movement to organize against the capitalists and the traitors at the top of the railway unions has yet been successful. Nevertheless, it had been apparent that most strikers saw this as a critical strike and wanted to carry it through to the end.

Railroad clerks had shut down two-thirds of the nation's railroads (some 43 rail lines) in support of fellow workers on the Norfolk & Western Railroad in West Virginia.

On Tuesday, Sept. 26 picket lines went up at rail facilities throughout the country as 300,000 workers refused to report for work. Defying court injunctions, the workers halted most rail freight shipments and tied up commuter trains in most major cities.

The Norfolk & Western clerks had been out since July 10, fighting attacks by the railroad owners that would mean

loss of the majority of their jobs through automation. N&W wants to further computerize its operations, hire non-union computer technicians and eliminate 65% of the clerks' jobs.

For years the railroad industry has been on the verge of financial collapse. But because rail transport is so vital to the profits of the capitalist class as a whole, they have been forced to keep propping it up with massive government subsidies. While the capitalists can't afford to keep funneling money into an unprofitable industry, at the same time they can't afford not to keep the trains running. The only way out of this contradiction is for the rail industry to boost its profits the only way it can—at the expense of the railroad workers' jobs and working conditions.

### Government Strike-Breaking

In Chicago the court had actually handed over injunctions to the railroad bosses for delivery to the striking workers. There, as elsewhere, the injunctions were ignored and the strikers held firm. Dismayed over the railroad workers' obvious determination, the capitalists then dangled Jimmy Carter in front of TV cameras, issuing appeals to reason and invoking the "Railway Labor Act" (a sort of Taft-Hartley for rail workers) in a cynical effort to intimidate the workers. Response from the rank and file was one of anger at the government's unbridled attack and strike-breaking efforts.

During the course of the strike N&W received \$800,000 per day from other rail companies as a result of a "mutual aid pact" aimed at defeating strikes at individual rail companies. The nationwide strike was aimed in large measure at forcing the other railroads to withdraw their "mutual aid" to N&W, thus strengthening the hand of the N&W workers.

Industries dependent on rail transport were hard hit by the strike. Eighteen Ford plants announced shortened workdays due to lack of parts. Both Ford and GM announced that thousands would be laid off and

the auto industry paralyzed unless the president's back-to-work efforts succeeded.

### Coal Miners

Twenty-five thousand coal miners were laid off due in part to a shortage of trains to haul the coal. In an attempt to divide and weaken the working class and break the strike, the capitalists screamed in the press that the railway clerks were "hurting" the miners, the auto workers, the commuting public, and threatening the nation's food supply. This is the same cry they raise whenever workers in vital industries like the miners and postal workers dare to fight to defend their class interests. Coming from the government, which issued a Taft-Hartley injunction and threats of troops earlier this year, such "concern" for the coal miners is especially heartwarming.

Whenever workers wage a powerful strike there are bound to be sacrifices. But the ones who are really being hurt are the ones who are doing the yelling and screaming—the capitalists.

When the capitalists tried to blame the railway workers for the miners' layoffs, headlines in West Virginia blared: "N&W Strikers Get No Miners' Sympathy." The Miners Right To Strike Committee, a rank and file organization of coal miners which played a leading role in their recent strike, wrote a lightning response in support of the railroad workers: "... Right now their cause is the cause of all workers. Their defeat would weaken one of the oldest sections of unionized workers, would be an advance for the owning class to succeed in turning the collapse of a major industry into a brutal assault on the workers in that industry. It is important to support this strike in the interest of all workers..."

Shortly after the striking workers had been ordered back to work by the union officials, a section house (storage building for tools and equipment) was blown up in Kincaid, West Virginia. Earlier a train carrying 55 carloads of coal derailed in the Bluefield Yards in southern West Virginia. Federal officials have been brought in to investigate these occurrences.

Union and management are now under court order to re-open negotiations, and it remains to be seen whether a breakdown of such negotiations will occur and, if so, what the result will be. But it is clear that the workers are not satisfied with the situation as it now stands. The railroad workers are sure to be heard from again. ■



## WE WILL STAND WITH MAO TSETUNG

He gave no quarter and none did he ask.  
It's a life and death struggle we're locked in,  
Slave against master, class against class.  
'Til victory's won there's no stoppin'.  
He ruthlessly fought the traitors that whine  
And preach that the struggle is done,  
While all the time pushing their own rotten line  
To overturn victories won.  
He told us all the choice is ours,  
Which road will you take?  
Down in the dust with the traitors and fools  
Or with the history the masses will make!

Chorus:  
We will stand with Mao Tsetung.  
We will stand with revolution.  
And for the freedom of all mankind  
If you don't want to be left behind  
Then this is the dividing line—Mao Tsetung!

He never wavered in a world tempest tossed  
When traitors in Moscow stole power,  
The future seemed hopeless, the future seemed lost  
But Mao said the future is ours!  
He put the lie to the new czars who claimed  
"Man wants his bread and no more."  
Red flag held high, he stated our aim:  
To end classes once and for all.  
Our victory is certain, this he made clear,  
But all along the way,  
Wolves in sheep's clothing again will appear  
And his words ring with full force today!

### CHORUS

"Bombard the headquarters! It's right to rebel!"  
Let the struggle rage!  
High in the Party the renegades dwell  
Drive them from their seats of power  
Sweep them all from history's stage!  
Crusty old bureaucrats ranted and raved  
Confucius was spinning around in his grave  
'Cause the masses were rising wave upon wave  
Mao Tsetung leading them, cheering them on!  
Never before had mankind scaled such heights,  
Never before had the world beheld such sights  
Workers ran cities, peasants wrote plays  
Changing the world in incredible ways  
When hundreds of millions with fists in the air  
United to proudly declare:

# Songs from the Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings

by Prairie Fire

### CHORUS

Forced into hiding they bided their time  
Waiting for their big chance  
But Mao was relentless, exposing their crimes  
Preparing the next advance.  
He fought these dogs to his very last breath  
Warning they might prevail.  
They had to wait 'til after his death  
To carry out their betrayal.  
But they will find no peace in store  
Mao prepared us well.  
The Chinese people will rise once more  
And bury these bastards in hell!

### CHORUS

Deep is the sorrow, bitter the rage  
And great is the challenge before us.  
They're turning back history's brightest page  
But we **will not** be dragged along!  
Satins and silks and color TV  
May be **their** final goal,  
But we mean to rule all society  
And fight 'til their kind is no more.  
So crawl away with history's pimps  
And wallow with them in their dung,  
Or boldly advance on China's great gains  
With the beacon of Mao Tsetung!

## WHO WILL DARE?

Who will dare defy  
A thousand years of tradition's chains  
And the venom of the snakes  
Who would paint the red flag white?

Who will dare,  
Dare to go against the tide  
And hold high the banner of Mao Tsetung?  
Who when all he stood for  
Is being heaped with scorn  
Who will defend his work and carry on  
In the advance of history?

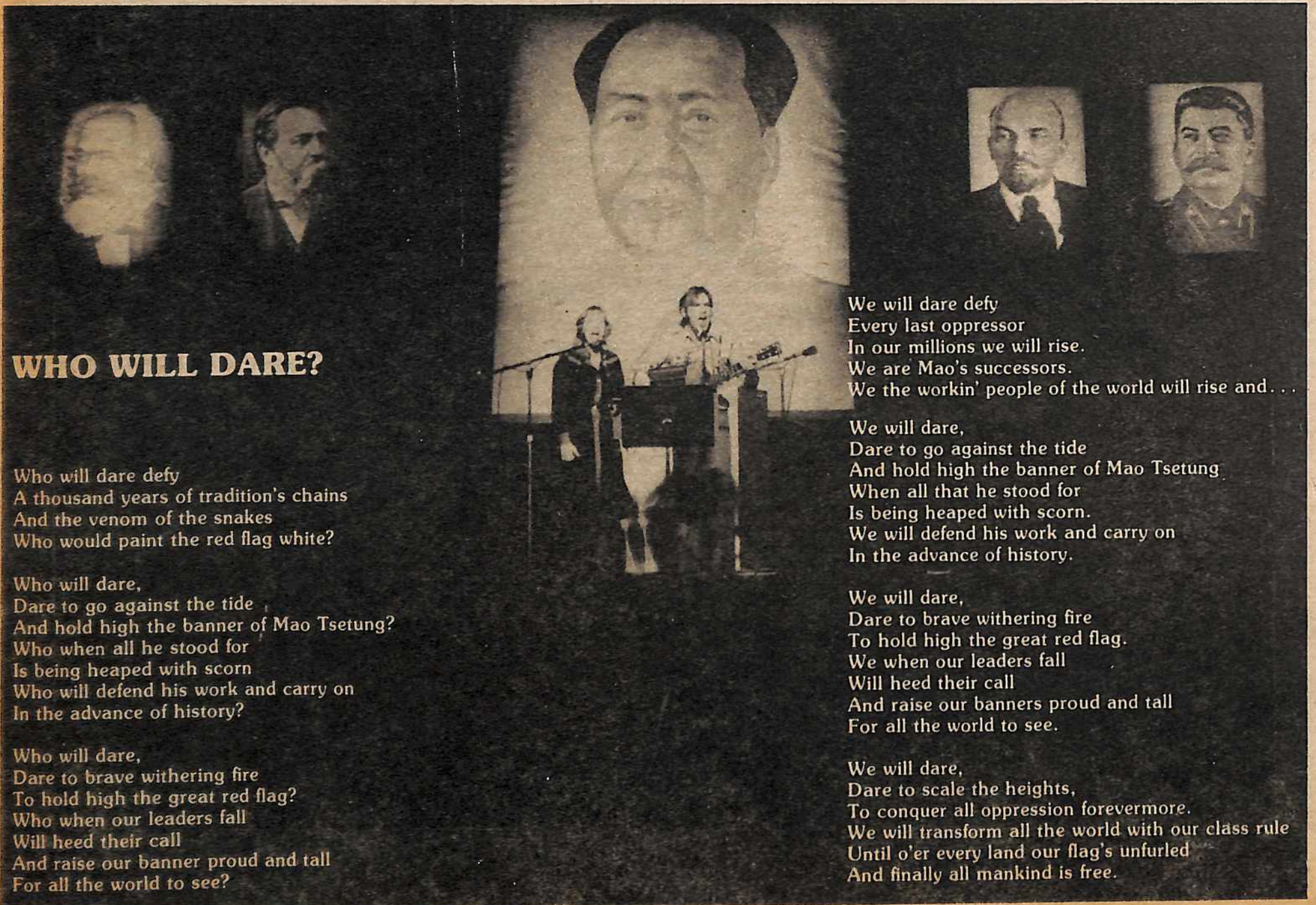
Who will dare,  
Dare to brave withering fire  
To hold high the great red flag?  
Who when our leaders fall  
Will heed their call  
And raise our banner proud and tall  
For all the world to see?

We will dare defy  
Every last oppressor  
In our millions we will rise.  
We are Mao's successors.  
We the workin' people of the world will rise and...

We will dare,  
Dare to go against the tide  
And hold high the banner of Mao Tsetung  
When all that he stood for  
Is being heaped with scorn.  
We will defend his work and carry on  
In the advance of history.

We will dare,  
Dare to brave withering fire  
To hold high the great red flag.  
We when our leaders fall  
Will heed their call  
And raise our banners proud and tall  
For all the world to see.

We will dare,  
Dare to scale the heights,  
To conquer all oppression forevermore.  
We will transform all the world with our class rule  
Until o'er every land our flag's unfurled  
And finally all mankind is free.





# Steel...

Continued from page 6

struggle to smash the no-strike ENA agreement, to win the right to ratify contracts, against the sabotage of the International in the strikes that have occurred, and others. But more important than the demands themselves, the focus of the demonstration was on the character of the overall convention: the common interest theme between capitalists and workers; the company-unionism proclaimed to be the only way forward; and the entire stacked deck, rubber stamp bought-and-paid-for affair that the convention would certainly be.

Over 300 staffers were lined up outside the hall that morning in an attempt to keep the demonstration away from the convention hall, and barring that, to smash it.

To these hacks, who never so much as lifted a finger to support the struggles of the rank and file around job eliminations, the shutdowns of plants or the fight against discrimination, the fact that steel workers were marching under their own banner, proclaiming their interests, raising their demands and with it proclaiming the interests of workers everywhere—this was something they were eager to fight against. Seeing a banner that read "Down with Company-Unionism, Up with the Struggle of the Rank and File" was more than these goons could stomach.

These goons and hacks failed miserably in their cowardly attempt to attack and stop the demonstration. While there were some minor skirmishes, the demonstration was able to remain intact and picket the convention site for a period of time. And this demonstration expressed the sentiments of the rank and file and struck a blow at the illusion of "one big happy family." A number of honest delegates who were at the convention supported this demonstration and were enraged at McBride's attempt to squash it.

### Phony "Communists" Run For Cover

This determination to go up directly against McBride and the class capitulation he represented was not taken up by other forces who claim to represent the interests of the working class. A host of other organizations sang in unison with Lloyd McBride's attempt to label the demonstration as anti-union.

While all speaking very militantly about "fighting McBride's dictatorship" and fighting for the demands of the workers, these forces ran for cover as soon as things began to get hot. When it was clear that McBride would allow no dissent, these forces scurried as fast as they could trying to paint themselves as "legitimate" opposition. At each point during the convention

these would-be saviors retreated and allowed McBride to set the terms of exactly what kind of opposition would be "allowed."

When it came to opposing McBride and his plans for the convention outright, these forces, which included the Communist Party USA and the Mensheviks (former members of the RCP who tried to split the RCP), could not stomach this. This they declared would be anti-union.

As far as the CPML is concerned, they were so "official" that they didn't even bother to show up at the convention. While they had members and supporters running for delegates to the convention, they would not think of coming to the convention if not elected. As one member put it when asked if she was going to Atlantic City she drew a clear line of demarcation between herself and the demonstration called by the *Steelworker* newspaper. "I'll go to Atlantic City *only* if elected," she assured the hacks.

All this, apparently, is this array of so-called communists' idea of "fusing" with the working class. Genuine communists have made important progress in recent years in becoming a force among steel workers. But, for these opportunists, real "progress" has meant a chance at being part of the loyal "union opposition."

This increasing surrender on the part of these forces was made clear around the question of the right of ratification of contracts for all USWA members. Here they coalesced with and made up part of the Sadlowski forces at the convention. The steel workers in basic steel do not ratify their contracts and this demand has been an important part of the struggle.

Coming into the convention, these forces were promising that ratification could be won at this convention. Their line, instead of organizing the masses, was based on lining up the delegates to vote the right way. Such a view was, to say the least, a highly idealist scheme, in light of the control the top union hacks exercise over the convention—and it was the terms of the convention itself that had to be fought.

In order to achieve this pipe dream, these forces were quite willing, and in fact did, drop everything else. All of a sudden, the ENA, the no-strike deal, which has been the sharpest example of the deliverance of the workers to the steel companies—all of a sudden it just wasn't that important. The fight against the plant shutdowns in steel, which occurred last year, and which promises to arise again (despite a short lived "boom") also could not be fought. Likewise with the fight against discrimination, with the fight against the attempts to tie steel workers to the coattails of the Democratic Party and other important demands and battles of the steel workers. All this had to be given up, it was claimed, to win ratification.

Yet even this surrender of the basic demands and struggles of the workers

## Felix Ayson: Staunch Revolutionary (1898-1978)



This past May Day in Oakland, California the crowd rose to honor the struggle of the tenants of the International Hotel (who had been battling for years against attempts to evict them from their homes) and one of their staunchest fighters, Felix Ayson. Battling against his own poor health, Felix came out on that important day to express his solidarity with the struggle of the international working class. It showed the immense dedication Felix had to the struggle to end oppression.

On Monday, September 18, Felix Ayson died of cancer. He was 80 years old.

In his lifetime he had experienced colonial exploitation in the Philippines and bitter national oppression and wage slavery in his years in the fields and shipyards in the U.S. While still young he "turned Red," as he liked to say.

At the age of 72 he threw himself into the forefront of the I-Hotel struggle, smashing the capitalists' slanders that the tenants were feeble and worthless old men.

Felix's example inspired thousands, and the advances of the struggle he and other tenants waged have brought people closer to the lofty goal that never left his sight. While hospitalized this final time, Felix recalled with supreme confidence the title of a speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, "The working class will free itself and all mankind."

in the quest for legitimacy did not stop here. These forces grouped around Sadlowski were careening farther and farther to the right and with each successive day their aims got narrower. When ratification came up, McBride just tabled it until the Basic Industry Conference. These forces felt that this was o.k. with them—they felt like they were getting their foot in the door. This time their opposition was reduced not even to fight for ratification on the convention floor, but just fighting around what year would the Basic Industry Conference be called—1979 or 1980!

### Mensheviks Go For Red-Baiting

One example which illustrates how far one could stoop in the never ending quest for "legitimacy" might be of

some value here. Throughout the demonstration, McBride and the International executive board went wild with attacks and red-baiting on any opposition to him. This was especially focused on the demonstration called by the *Steelworker* newspaper, and the RCP which supported it. But it was not limited to that.

This red-baiting attack came by way of thousands of leaflets passed out at the convention (and some prior to it) as well as verbal assaults in front of the union hall. At a planning meeting called one night by the Sadlowski forces, one delegate got up and said how he was sick and tired of being called a communist, and wanted people to join him in front of the convention hall the next day to proclaim that "we are not communists and do not support communism." And he demanded to know who would be joining him in making this kind of statement.

He didn't have to wait long for an answer, as the Mensheviks raised their hands, only too eager to lend their support and their assurance that they were not communists. Actually, this was perhaps the only true statement they made since leaving the RCP!

In fact, their whole performance at the convention, calling everyone that had a delegate badge "brother," scurrying after some legitimate mantle to wear, and capitulating to red-baiting, shows how far from communists they really are.

There is no surprise in the fact that the 19th Constitutional Convention was a rubber stamp for the hacks and the steel companies in their attacks on workers and their struggles. Nor is the fact that forces claiming to represent the interests of the working class surrendered and capitulated to McBride and the steel companies. But the forces of the rank and file represented by the *Steelworker* and the NUWO were able to make their presence felt very sharply in the convention and give McBride a fair warning of what he will see multiplied many times over by steel workers across the country. ■

## Subscribe Now to Revolution

Organ of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA

Revolution is now featuring a continuing series, "Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions," an important series of essays analyzing in depth Mao's great contributions to Marxism-Leninism, the science of working class revolution.

### BACK ISSUES AVAILABLE:

April/May	Part 1: Revolution in Colonial Countries	25¢
June	Part 2: Revolutionary War and Military Line	50¢
July	Part 3: Political Economy, Economic Policy and Socialist Construction	50¢
August	Part 4: Philosophy	50¢

### IN COMING ISSUES:

Part 5: Culture and the Superstructure	50¢
Part 6: Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat	50¢

Subscriptions to REVOLUTION are \$5 per year (\$12 for First Class mail)

I would like to subscribe to REVOLUTION for \_\_\_\_\_ years. Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_.  
[Check one] Surface \_\_\_\_\_ First Class \_\_\_\_\_ Begin my subscription with the \_\_\_\_\_ issue.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_



# Hua...

Continued from page 8

pansionist aims of the USSR toward China, and responding simply on the basis of what they believe will be most beneficial international policy, at the moment, for pursuing the plan for capitalist restoration they have set out in China. Right now this means tying themselves completely into the U.S. imperialist bloc, in hopes that its "nuclear umbrella" will prevent the Soviets from launching an attack on China prior to the outbreak of a third world war, and so that if such a world war does break out, China will have powerful allies.

Further, their whole program of "four modernizations" is directly linked with plans to mortgage China to the West. This latter aspect can be seen very clearly in recent trade agreements between China and the West as well as in the Chinese leaders' own statements. For example, an article from a staff correspondent for *Peking Review* reported in issue #38 that "In our visits to factories in the five [West European] countries, while we noticed the advanced equipment and great productive capacity, we understand that most were not operating at full potential. A serious problem confronting the Western countries is that they cannot find enough markets for their products, causing reduced investments, leaving huge amounts of capital lying idle."

One might think that this very apt observation was the prelude to a comment about capitalist society. Hardly. The article goes on, "As things are it is natural that there is a great interest among Western enterprises in establishing economic co-operation with China, a big country with a population of 800 million." It is hard to imagine a more shameless call for selling China lock, stock and barrel to the world imperialist system.

Similarly, in his speeches in Rumania and Yugoslavia, Hua stressed that China required a "peaceful international environment" in order to carry out the four modernizations. He hopes that by hitching on to the U.S. imperialist camp in opposition to the Soviet imperialists he can bring this situation about and prevent an attack on China. But, along with being directly in opposition to Mao's line of relying on the Chinese people and not on the imperialists for the defense of China, such a line flies in the face of reality. China's alliance with Western imperialism is no reliable defense against Soviet attack and certainly



Hua and Tito—revisionists in arms.

can have no significant effect on the development of world war. For such a war has its roots in the workings of the imperialist system itself, and not in the will of Hua Kuo-feng.

What can be said is that by throwing proletarian internationalism out the window, and by linking themselves entirely with the Western imperialists, the Chinese revisionists are playing right along with the moves of the Western imperialist powers to prepare public opinion for war, and are helping to weaken the ability of the working class of the imperialist countries to resist such war moves and to make revolution in the event of the outbreak of such a war.

Furthermore, it must be said that by basing their international actions solely on the basis of the most immediate and pragmatic concerns, the Chinese leaders are setting the stage for possible capitulation to the Soviet Union at a later date. While it may be most "expedient" today to ally with the West, the failure of this "defense policy" might

basic understanding friendship would remain shallow and could be mobilized for reactionary ends with the changing events in the class struggle both in the U.S. and China.

By contrast, the revisionist line held that people were "turned off" by talk about socialism, that the Association was not a political organization, that the primary task was the normalization of state-to-state relations (and this should be pushed on the basis of "jobs and peace"), and that the most important people to reach were the "opinion makers" and leading figures of the bourgeoisie. One former officer of the Association even went so far as to distribute a paper holding up the NAACP as the model which the Association should emulate! Of course whenever threatened by exposure from the Left, these rightists would always lapse into loquacious demagoguery about "outreach to workers and minorities." Rightist tendencies within the Association also looked to China's "opening to the West,"—especially as spearheaded by Chou En-lai—as a source of strength for their own desire to be "leftists" safely attached to a wing of the U.S. imperialist ruling class.

As long as the working class held power in China, the Right in the Association was somewhat held in check by the rank and file. But with the revisionist coup, they gained powerful backers. In short order the tourism program jumped to 5,000 a year (a budget of \$1.4 million!), a lobbying office was opened in Washington, and the ranks of paid staff began to swell. At the same time, the thousands of enthusiastic members who had joined out of their

excitement for the new China found they had less and less of a role to play. Instead of programs and discussions going into the revolutionary changes in new China, people were offered the opportunity to collect signatures on petitions for normalization.

make going along with the Soviets the most expedient thing tomorrow. Today the Chinese revisionists are infatuated with their role as an important factor in the maneuverings of the two imperialist blocs headed up by the superpowers. To use the words of one of Mao's poems, they do indeed "assume a great nation swagger" and no doubt dream of becoming a modern "socialist" superpower by the year 2000.

But the restoration of capitalism in a still relatively backward country like China will not lead to becoming a superpower but to once again becoming a nation subjugated to imperialism. China is on the road to becoming a semi-colonial dependency, capable of throwing its weight around in certain spheres so long as it serves the interests of its imperialist overlords. And like pre-liberation China, it will no doubt be a territory where rival imperialists each seek to carve out "spheres of influence" and cultivate compradors to assist them. ■

excitement for the new China found they had less and less of a role to play. Instead of programs and discussions going into the revolutionary changes in new China, people were offered the opportunity to collect signatures on petitions for normalization.

## Struggle at the Convention

While the great majority of activists in the Association have experienced worries and questions about the new direction in China after Mao's death and the arrest of the "gang of four," the questions were not formulated sharply until the Revolutionary Communist Party summed up the nature of the reactionary coup and began a systematic educational effort on the principles of scientific socialism and the contributions of Mao Tsetung and the Cultural Revolution. By the time of the Convention, a solid core had been consolidated in the Association with the determination to raise this central political question openly at the Convention.

On the first day, delegates streamed in past a 30 ft. billboard advertising the up-coming Mao Tsetung Memorial programs. Through leaflets and by word of mouth, delegates were invited to visit the "Gang of Five Hospitality Room" in the hotel where a slide show on Mao Tsetung was being presented and Chinese literature from before the coup and RCP literature were on sale. The officials of the Association began to panic quickly, and in violation of the Association by-laws expelled one member of the National Steering Committee (NSC) from that body for participating in a press conference (together with the

Chair of the host San Francisco Local) which denounced the revisionist coup in China.

By the opening plenary, the whole Convention was buzzing with the debate over China and how to respond to those in the Association who were openly supporting Mao and the Four. A guest speaker, Dr. George Hatem, (who had previously in a printed interview called Chou En-lai "the most beloved of the Chinese leaders"—clearly over Mao) tried to open an attack from the podium. Now he quipped that some people at the Convention wanted to support "four isolated people" instead of the "masses of Chinese people." Observers rose chanting "Five! Five! Mao Makes Five!" Dr. Hatem beat a hasty retreat from the podium.

When the venerable revisionist, and chairman of the Association, Frank Pestana launched into an attack on Sue Becker of Seattle, the NSC member purged the day before, delegates again took to the aisles and would not let the session go on until Becker was given an opportunity to respond. And when refused an opportunity to read a statement to the convention on behalf of those delegates and Association activists supporting Mao, the statement was immediately distributed throughout the hall in written form.

Grasping at straws, Association officials could only respond by putting up national Co-Chairperson, Unita Blackwell (the Black woman mayor of Fayette, Miss.). Dipping into the reactionary bourgeois nationalism and white guilt-tripping of the type well-discredited in the '60s, Blackwell attacked the pro-Mao forces, likening them to the KKK, and haughtily announced, "You can't be for revolution unless you are for me!" She then listed the various advisory panels to which she has been recently named by President Carter. Such are the forces being "liberated" by the wide-open reactionary line of the Association.

But in spite of all attempts to bar the distribution of literature from the floor and filibuster through sessions with pre-selected speakers upholding the revisionist line, the same political questions came up again and again from the floor: "How can dissolving the revolutionary committees be called upholding Mao's line? How can the mercenaries of the French Foreign Legion be called the friends of the people of Africa? How can building up the productive forces be the main task of socialism? What was Mao's analysis of Teng Hsiao-ping?" And so on. In the end, the Association officials were forced to announce that a planned visit to the Convention by an official Chinese delegation had had to be cancelled "because of the atmosphere in the Convention."

That atmosphere, one created through struggle, was one in which no one could get up and expound the revisionist line without having to answer sharp and political questions. Afraid or unable to answer these questions, and denied a pep-rally reception, the visiting Chinese delegation found discretion the better part of valor.

## "Disruption"

Quite characteristic of their political outlook, the leadership of the Association made absolutely no attempt to defend the new revisionist leadership in China. Instead they vainly sought to change the issue to that of "disruption" of the Convention. While it is certainly true that the revolutionaries supporting Mao's line were from time to time "disruptive" (indeed, revolution itself is sometimes disruptive!) it was also clear to the delegates that such disruption occurred when it was necessary to force the airing of the opposing viewpoint. In truth, what the officials of the Convention actually considered disruptive was the powerful and—if constantly cut short—reasoned and documented presentation of the working class analysis and stand. And what they objected to was the "disruption" of their revisionism and their turning the Association into an appendage of reaction. When one delegate speaking for the leadership said that the pro-Mao forces don't have the right to cry "fire" in a crowded theatre, a speaker replied, "What are you supposed to do if the theatre is on

# USCPFA...

Continued from page 2

## Home-Grown Revisionists Strengthened

The Association was, from the beginning, the scene of a sharp struggle between two lines. Those in Association leadership who pushed a rightist line constantly tried to appeal to and build up tendencies among quite a few Association members to be pessimistic about the revolutionary potential of the U.S. working class, while hoping for a little progressive effect by "soft-selling" China to the American public. ("We don't talk about politics, we just let the example of China speak for itself.")

The line of communists working in the Association was not only to build the Association broadly (among different classes and strata) but also to go into questions deeply. That is, rely on the masses as the main force and strive to deepen people's consciousness and understanding of events and class struggles unfolding in China. Communists fought for the line that China's socialist system be shown to the masses in this country, and that an understanding of the class struggle in China to advance along the socialist road toward communism be taken out to the American people. Similarly, communists always stressed that the basis for friendship was the common interests of the peoples of all countries. Without this



fire.”  
The debate on the plenary floor was most instructive. The Convention listened quite attentively as delegate after delegate rose to detail the line of Mao and the Four and how it fundamentally differs from the revisionist line of Hua, Teng & Co. You could have heard a pin drop as the statement of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party summing up Mao's behests right after his death was read to the body by a pro-Mao delegate. As if recognizing the truth themselves, not a single speaker for the Right in the debate had the courage to deny that a Rightist coup had taken place in China or to even argue that the policies being implemented by the new regime were correct or in the interests of the Chinese people.

Instead there was speaker after speaker giving little testimonials on how their region or their caucus had voted overwhelmingly to expel the pro-Mao forces. The powerfully corrosive effects of revisionism were strikingly revealed in this parade of degeneracy. The spokesperson of the “minority caucus” charged that the criticism of revisionist leadership of China was “national chauvinist” and the RCP was “racist” for approaching minority delegates as individuals to struggle with them over the political issues. A Menshevik professor lambasted the pro-Mao forces as dogmatic and likened their pursuit of political principle to the quest for the “Holy Grail.” An Association official who supports the line of the CPML complained that the RCP was trying to intimidate Association activists by putting up posters all over the country!

Disgust for this kind of political cowardice was eloquently expressed on the plenary floor by a delegate from Cincinnati who sarcastically remarked, “Ours is not to reason why, ours is but to organize a tour!”

In voting on the various resolutions, the program of the Right won by a large margin. While it is true that a number of pro-Mao delegates had their credentials lifted in pre-emptory purges just before the Convention and were forced to sit in the observer section, this was a minor factor. But then the supporters of Mao and the Four had not come to the Convention to win votes, run for office, or secure staff jobs, but to raise the political issue of the revisionist coup in China. And in this they clearly succeeded.

Despite the appeals by Association officials to “ignore the disrupters” there was a big attendance at every showing of the Mao slide show and people always stayed to discuss the events in China. While the majority of delegates were not prepared to accept the conclusion that revisionism had indeed temporarily triumphed, they were still deeply concerned by what they see going on and were hungry for serious discussion of the issues—a discussion which was obviously being thwarted by the Association officials.

Nonetheless it is important to sum up why the majority of the delegates, who joined the Association overwhelmingly because of the socialist path China was taking, voted with the organized revisionist leadership.

The first reason lies in the class com-



Mao Tsetung Memorial Committee demonstrating in front of CPML, etc. sham “memorial” in San Francisco. This hastily called action drew about as many people as the opportunist “memorial.”

## Campaign ...

Continued from page 10

China has become a major, if not the major, political question being discussed among progressive minded people. And while many people are not yet united around this line, there is great interest in studying it further.

### Other Meetings Held

Throughout the rest of the month of September, after the two major Memorial Meetings, a series of meetings were held in cities all over the country to explain further and go deeper into the Party's position and to carry the defense of Mao, the Four and the revolutionaries in China to still more people. These meetings were marked by lively discussion and struggle, as people strived to get a deeper understanding of the developments in China and Mao's revolutionary line. And in several areas

position of the Association, which is overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois. In this period of dying imperialism and parasitic capitalism, many members of this class are powerfully drawn to revolutionary ideas. The growth of the Association itself in its first years is testimony to this. They have played and will continue to play a progressive role in exposing and fighting against the big bourgeoisie with whom they have many contradictions. On the other hand, they bring with them into the struggles of the masses all the weaknesses and prejudices of their class. These include the tendency to vacillate in the face of adversity and a powerful attachment to reformism and “practical politics” (i.e. staying well within the bounds of the established system). Suffering from constant degradations of their own position

smaller-scale Memorial Meetings were built at which the Party speech delivered in New York and San Francisco was delivered. Denver, Albuquerque, Tucson, Arizona, and St. Louis were the sites of some of these meetings.

A memorial meeting was also held in Hawaii on September 24 which was attended by over 100 people. In Hawaii, as elsewhere, the campaign to build the meeting involved a sharp struggle against class enemies. At the University of Hawaii the campus administration, while claiming that they had nothing against the revolutionary politics of the RCP, used the excuse of “illegal poster- ing” to ban the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade from the campus and extend the ban to any literature associated with the Party.

These attacks helped the Party and the Mao Memorial Committee to raise real questions among the students and faculty about what the RCP had to say on China that was so feared by the administration. And the ban was defied as the Committee, the RCYB and the

in this society, they nevertheless share a common fear of the proletarian dictatorship with petty bourgeois elements in China, and generally approve of the “freeing” of intellectuals and scientists and the new social esteem in which they are held by the revisionists.

Secondly, the level of knowledge of scientific socialism is very low in the Association. In general “goulash communism” is accepted as the real thing. It is widely believed that once your country is freed of foreign domination, the basic task of socialism is to develop the productive forces and provide a better life for the people. To criticize this bourgeois-democrat-to-capitalist-roader orientation is seen as “wanting to keep the Chinese poor for the sake of political ideology.” The failure to educate activists on the nature and importance of the class struggle during socialism lies with the shortcomings of the work of communists in the Association and was in no small part due to the influence of the Menshevik line which wanted to confine work in the Association to just being the “best friendship builders.”

Thirdly, hundreds of activists are still visiting China on Association sponsored tours. What they see there are the fruits of socialism created by the people of China under proletarian leadership, the great bulk of which—while under attack—have not been destroyed yet. And the people with whom they come in contact, principally intellectuals and cadre, are universal in expressing support of the new regime. Here it is especially difficult to get beyond the appearances of things and get to their essence. For example, the fact that the massive campaign against the Four still continues is often taken as evidence of continuing support for the new policies rather than an obvious political need to combat the continuing support for Mao's line among the masses.

Party carried out a militant and “illegal” march on campus, carrying copies of Mao's red book and chanting slogans such as “Up with the Gang of Four!” and “Mao Makes Five!”

Over a decade ago Mao Tsetung said that if the revisionists and reactionaries in China should ever seize power, it was the duty of Marxist-Leninists throughout the world to stand with the people of China to expose and oppose them. The Party has taken this duty seriously and has built the Mao Memorial Month along with other revolutionary-minded people as boldly and broadly as possible.

This duty will not end with the Memorial Month. The scale of the past months of concentrated political work was clearly demanded by the great significance of the reversal in China. The events of the month as well as the campaign to build them have boldly and clearly raised the banner of Mao and Mao Tsetung Thought and have played a key role in rallying significant numbers of people around this banner.

Finally, Chinese officials have made it abundantly clear to the Association that no liberalism toward the supporters of the Four (and hence Mao) will be tolerated. To fail to purge supporters of the Five would inevitably mean an end of the tour programs (which Pan-Am may get anyhow), which in turn would eliminate the entire budget of the Association, paid staffers and all. Those who have serious questions, but are not prepared as yet to make a final judgment, are clearly not ready to break formal relations with China and end the Association in its present form of operation.

Thus while an important victory was won in forcing to center stage the issue of the coup in China, a controversy and debate which would not have occurred without the active intervention of revolutionary forces, including the Revolutionary Communist Party, only a relatively small percentage of Association members are likely to take the immediate step of resigning from the Association. Nevertheless, as events in China, in the world, and in the Association continue to unfold, more and more members will find irreconcilable contradictions between the revisionist line in power in China and the reasons for which they were attracted to socialism and to revolutionary China. As this happens activists will continue to leave the Association and take up new and progressive tasks in the society.

For its part, the Friendship Association will complete its transformation into a funded staff operation on behalf of the Chinese government in cooperation with U.S. imperialism. The future of the US-China Peoples Friendship Association can be seen today in the atrophied form taken by the Soviet-American Friendship Council, now that the Soviet Union has completed its “Four Modernizations.” ■

**A MUST FOR THOSE WHO WANT TO KNOW WHAT HAPPENED IN CHINA FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF “THE GANG OF FOUR.”**

Edited with an Introduction by Raymond Lotta

A Stinging Indictment of the Current Leadership in China.

A Valuable Collection of Hard-to-get Documents from the struggle in China from 1973-76.

522 pp. illustrated \$5.95 paper \$15.00 cloth

Order from: Banner Press  
Box 41722, Chicago, IL 60641

Thoroughly Expose and Criticize  
The “Gang of Four”

2nd National Learn From Taché Conference

A Battlefield for Criticizing  
The “Gang of Four”

Forreting Out “the Bourgeoisie”  
— Another “Gang of Four”

“Gang of Four” Criticizing

**AND MAO MAKES 5**

Mao Tsetung's last great battle

Trade: Why the “Gang of Four”



# Chile...

Continued from page 6

(Although of course whether it's a general or a politician who wears the title of president, none of the reactionaries have ever considered weakening in any way the power of the armed forces, upon whose guns their rule ultimately rests—as was demonstrated so clearly when the Allende government was crushed almost overnight by the armed forces.)

## Revisionists Retrace Betrayal

A recent article by Luis Corvalan, head of the Chilean CP, republished in July in the U.S. revisionist journal *Political Affairs*, shows in an all but openly stated fashion what course of action the revisionists intend to follow in Chile. Writing safely from Moscow where the Soviets have stored him ever since they secured his release from Chile by trading him for a Russian "dissident," Corvalan shamelessly entitles his article "The Unarmed Road of the Revolution: How it Worked Out in Chile."

How it "worked out" was this: The Allende government, elected in 1970, passed a few measures (such as nationalization of copper) which were blows against U.S. imperialist domination of Chile (although certainly not crushing blows). These and other measures, most notably the lukewarm agrarian reform, brought some benefits to the masses (whose struggles had made the government's election possible in the first place). But most of all they benefited the development of national capital (especially state capitalism) in Chile. This was in opposition, to a degree, to the enforced backwardness and stagnation of Chile's economy, especially its countryside, under the domination of U.S. imperialism and the Chilean landlords and financial kingpins.

While the CP and other partners in Allende's coalition were busy grabbing up control of the factories and farms taken over by the government, parceling out the directorship of the nationalized companies according to their strength at the polls, like minority stockholders in a takeover bid, the revisionists told the workers and peasants that now "the people are in power" and that now they would have socialism.

When the mass struggle overflowed the bounds set for it by the rules of bourgeois democracy and not even the efforts of the revisionists could call it back, the capitalists rallied almost to a man behind the most powerful and reactionary among them and unleashed the armed forces, who along with the state bureaucracy as a whole had been left intact by Allende's election. This "peaceful road to socialism" was an ambush.

But for the revisionist chieftains, who hate and fear real revolution and socialism, the Allende years were a taste of heaven. Corvalan says it quite plainly—they intend to try it again. His party makes only two self-criticisms: first, that they didn't ally firmly enough with the Christian Democrats (who slipped out of their hands and joined in the coup), and that they didn't give enough importance to "a proper military policy."

He makes it plain that he doesn't mean the organizing and arming the masses to smash the reactionary state, including its armed forces. As part of the CP's attempts to maintain an alliance during the Allende years, it supported and helped impose efforts to search the farms and factories and seize whatever weapons were in the hands of the masses.

Corvalan also makes it clear that he doesn't mean mainly doing political work among the rank and file of the armed forces—the CP opposed and helped betray to the enemy those who tried to win the soldiers and sailors to the cause of revolution. Above all, by

"a proper military policy," Corvalan means that the Chilean CP should be more like the CP in Portugal—that it should build up its influence among middle level and even top military officers so that it can back up its demand for a share in the wealth and power.

The vicious joke of it is that this almost naked lust for state power gleaming with guns—state power for new exploiters alongside old—this is still wrapped in the package of "the peaceful road to socialism."

Corvalan's repetition of this "peaceful road" line is clearly a promise to the imperialists that the revisionists will do everything they can to encircle and suppress the revolutionary struggle of the masses with reformism and bourgeois illusions. This revisionism is not pacifism, it is as bloodthirsty as ever.

## Revolutionary Organization

In this situation, the independent and revolutionary—including armed—organization of the masses and correct political leadership is clearly crucial, for what is at stake here is whether or not the Chilean people will suffer yet again the cycle of military and civilian stooges that the U.S. has imposed throughout so much of Latin America (as imperialism has everywhere). It is a question of whether or not the struggle can move to revolution or just a change of regimes.

The masses have achieved what they have so far without the help of and despite the revisionists (who preached defeatism and at least until recently opposed mass action). The clandestine resistance committees organized in the factories, farms, schools, etc., in many cases under the leadership of the People's Front led by the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, are especially important now in reviving the mass movement not only because of the role they've played so far but also because they point the way to the future. This future requires the leadership of the working class, united with all who

can be united but following at the tail of no one. Only the independent and finally the armed struggle of the masses can carry through the revolution.

The setbacks suffered by the Chilean people's struggle have provided a stern lesson for the people everywhere on the need for a correct political line and the disastrous consequences of an incorrect one. It has been a lesson paid for in blood. But so, too, the proud rebirth of that movement in defiance of all the terror the U.S. and its local allies have been able to unleash provides another lesson. It is the powerful and inspiring truth that, no matter what the twists and turns, the exploited and oppressed will revolt again and again. And, with leadership forged in this struggle, they will win their liberation.

As *El Pueblo*, the clandestine organ of the RCP of Chile puts it:

"Today the question is, who will overthrow fascism? Who will be in power after the junta is overthrown? ... Who has the power will decide the question of whether or not there is any real (and not just formal) change in the system of oppression and exploitation exercised by the imperialists and the oligarchy without interruption in our country until the present day.

"To let oneself be dragged behind the alternatives posed by the bourgeois opposition (pro-Yanqui or pro-Russian) is to perpetuate all the evils which arise from capitalist exploitation, such as unemployment, hunger, misery, the abuses of the bosses, the fascist dictatorships, the massacres, etc. It means continuing to go around and around forever in a never-ending vicious cycle.

"To build the unity, organization and struggle of the working class and the people for the armed overthrow of fascism and its backers is today the fundamental task of authentic anti-fascists. This is how there can be created a situation favorable to the conquest of power by the working class and people, with the perspectives of a bright socialist future." ■

## Books and Pamphlets by the Revolutionary Communist Party

- ☐ **The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung.** Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP at the Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings, 1978. 151 pp. \$2.00
- ☐ **Important Struggles in Building the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.** 60 pp. \$1.00.
- ☐ **Revolution and Counter-Revolution.** The Revisionist Coup in China and the Struggle in the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. 501 pp. \$4.95
- ☐ **Programme and Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.** 175 pp. \$1.00
- ☐ **Revolutionary Work in a Non-Revolutionary Situation.** Report from the 2nd Plenary Session of the 1st Central Committee of the RCP (1976). 69 pp. \$1.00
- ☐ **Communist Revolution: The Road to the Future, The Goal We Will Win.** Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA at the founding convention of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade. 38 pp. 50¢
- ☐ **Communism and Revolution Vs. Revisionism and Reformism in the Struggle to Build the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade.** 36 pp. 50¢
- ☐ **The Tasks of Party Branches, The Task of Revolution.** Contains two important articles re-printed from *Revolution*. 25¢
- ☐ **A Powerful Weapon for Our Class, A National Workers Organization.** Also available in Spanish. 37 pp. 50¢
- ☐ **War and Revolution.** Seven articles reprinted from *Revolution*. 36 pp. 50¢
- ☐ **The Mass Line.** 3 articles reprinted from *Revolution*. 12 pp. 25¢
- ☐ **Auto and the Workers Movement.** Learning from the Proud Past to Fight for a Brighter Future. 44 pp. 75¢
- ☐ **Our Class Will Free Itself and All Mankind.** Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA on the occasion of the founding of the Party. 30 pp. 75¢
- ☐ **Cuba: The Evaporation of a Myth from Anti-Imperialist Revolution to Pawn of Social-Imperialism.** Reprinted from *Revolution*. Available in Spanish. 48 pp. 50¢
- ☐ **The Chicano Struggle and the Struggle for Socialism.** 59 pp. \$1.50
- ☐ **How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle.** 156 pp. \$2.50

- ☐ **The Communist.** Theoretical Journal of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.
  - Vol. 1, No. 1, Oct. 1976. \$2.00
  - Vol. 1, No. 2, May 1977. \$2.00
  - Vol. 2, No. 1, Fall/Winter 1977. \$2.00
  - Vol. 2, No. 2, Summer/Fall 1978. \$2.00

The following reprints from *Revolution* are in both English and Spanish:

- ☐ **Proletarian Dictatorship vs. Bourgeois "Democracy."** 10¢
- ☐ **Correct Line Achieved Through Study, Struggle, Criticism.** 10¢
- ☐ **How Socialism Wipes Out Exploitation.** 10¢

Bulk rates available on request. Please prepay all orders to: RCP Publications; PO Box 3486, Merchandise Mart; Chicago, IL 60654.

The pamphlets *Revolution: Only Road to Women's Liberation, Classes and Class Struggle*, and *The Party—Invincible Proletarian Vanguard* are temporarily out of stock and will be made available shortly.

Books and Pamphlets from RCP Publications are available at many bookstores in the U.S., including:

**Revolution Books**  
16 E. 18th St.  
New York, NY 10003  
(212) 924-4387

**May Day Books**  
3136 E. Davison  
Detroit, MI 48212  
(312) 893-0523

**Liberation Books**  
2706 W. 7th St.  
Los Angeles, CA 90057  
(213) 384-3856

**Liberation Books**  
825 E. Denny Way  
Seattle, WA 98122  
(206) 323-9222

**Everybody's Bookstore**  
17 Brenham Place  
San Francisco, CA 94108  
(415) 397-0629

**The Worker Bookstore**  
923 W. King St.  
Honolulu, HI 96817  
(808) 845-2733



# Interview...

Continued from page 11

clear that the movement led by the Shah does not weaken imperialism one bit but strengthens it. The movement being led by the Iranian people against the Shah is what really is weakening imperialism.

But the CPML downplays the struggle of the people of Iran, to them the people's struggle is only a secondary thing. It's like Hua—he sees the struggle of the people as secondary, the main thing is the deals he can make with the Shah. The leadership of the CPML doesn't understand the character of national liberation movements, and especially that these movements are part and parcel of the overall struggle against imperialism.

It's particularly clear when you look at the national question here in the U.S., in particular the struggle of the Afro-American people in this country. They downplay the revolutionary struggle of the Afro-American people and play up folks like Jesse Jackson and a dead preacher, Martin Luther King, who was more reaction to the militancy of the people than anything else. Folks like Malcolm X and H. Rap Brown they mention to stay in step with the national aspirations of their more militant cadre within the party.

A specific example was here in the city where I live. Here there was a thing where the folks new to the CPML and independent of the CPML had to force them to do an event around Malcolm X. The CPML for all practical purposes gave no leadership and did not participate in the event. People went ahead to do the event, a number of people came, and only one member of the CPML outside of those of us involved showed up.

*So the question is how do they get over with this kind of politics?*

By bourgeois politics. Klonsky is deep, Eileen Klehr is deep, they're deep people, know more Marxism than you. How dare you challenge the Chairman. How dare you challenge the Central Committee. How dare you raise questions. Or the other way—attacks on a personal level. It's like when the bourgeoisie decided to ice Eagleton [during the 1972 election campaign], they went for the mental record. Or for new workers coming in, their level of Marxism is low and they use that against you—quoting Marx and Lenin to make it seem like they know more.

Most CPML people you catch selling papers in the parking lot, you can ask them a question and they can't give you an answer; many of them don't even read the *Call*. Most of the folks close to the CPML or who were eventually won to it have never really known what was going on in the international situation because it's not a thing that's really discussed among the people in the CPML. When there were questions among the masses that were reflected in questions among the cadre, these were never brought forward for discussion and more struggle. They never relied on the masses to search out these questions.

*Do people inside the CPML think there's an impending world war, and what do they think their role in it should be?*

That's something that's really unclear. I think on the one hand the CPML recognizes there's an impending world war. They don't recognize the possibility of turning this imperialist war into a civil war and because of that they don't organize in that direction. As far as they are concerned world war is inevitable, there's nothing that can be done to stop it. They disagree with Mao's line that there's a tendency towards both war and revolution. As far as they are concerned, a revolution before a world war is impossible and inconceivable. Why even think about it? People inside the CPML—their minds get clouded with all the threat of fascism, and there's no showing of the bright future of proletarian revolution.

The main force they rely on to turn the threat of world war around is the U.S. bourgeoisie—which has to get tougher with the Soviet Union, and that's the view they put out among the people.

That really ties in with the view of the average worker that comes around the CPML, that the U.S. has to get tougher and the workers can't really go up against these odds of the Soviet Union, the U.S. and the threat of fascism.

*So the CPML really hasn't broken in any way from the bourgeoisie?*

Yes, I think you got to look at it that the CPML is no different from the revisionists of the Second International. More and more as the situation develops toward war, you are going to find the CPML saying quite openly that the working class should be prepared to go to war under the banner of U.S. imperialism to stop the Soviet Union's attack against China.

*Is there any organized discussion within the CPML of opposition lines? For example, the Call simply takes on the RCP by slander and distortion. Is there any serious analysis within the CPML of these lines?*

I would say off hand, of course not. People inside the CPML don't study the RCP's line. The CPML cannot really have a serious comparison between the programmes. The main reason that cannot go down is because there would be a clear distinction between what is Marxism and what is not. I think it's to the RCP's credit that they have done this on different questions. This would raise serious questions for the leadership of the CPML that they could not answer.

The main reason they can get over with this now among many cadre is because of the principled position the RCP has taken in regard to China. The leadership of the CPML says that anybody who opposes the present leadership in China is opposed to proletarian revolution, opposed to proletarian internationalism, and that within the CPML that will not be tolerated. People who differed with the CPML leadership around China could not bring it up, because whether you want to quit or not they will get you thrown out.

For example, when the whole situation came up around China, and the Albanians published their "three worlds" polemic, any kind of politicizing, talk, questions about whether or not the "three worlds theory" had any weaknesses was attacked—not from the standpoint of political line but because this was "Mao's theory" and how could you go against Mao. Is that ideological struggle or is that suppression?

*Isn't the slander against the RCP of being "racist" and "liquidating the national question" the bottom line used to close people's eyes to the RCP?*

That's it. The RCP is a racist organization. Doesn't support busing. The CPML puts forward unequivocal support, that in every instance and every situation you support busing. They had to attack the RCP on the question of national oppression. The CPML's view is in the main that the bourgeoisie, through busing, can overcome its problems, that it's just a question of mass integration, that it's not a question of destroying the material base for racism and discrimination and national oppression. They're saying the same thing as Teng Hsiao-ping, they're unable to distinguish the difference between Marxism and imperialism.

And as for the Afro-American cadre, they appeal to their nationalist views, the fact that they are looking for someone to take up their fight, for someone who will lead the Afro-American movement to victory. So the CPML glosses over the whole question of national liberation and proletarian revolution by saying that anybody who doesn't uphold busing in every case is a racist, and the RCP's stand against busing [in some instances, such as the Boston busing plan—Ed.] fueled a lot of the narrow nationalist sentiments of the cadre within the CPML itself.

*How do they get over with the line on Martin Luther King and the Crown Heights business?*

It's easy, coming off their whole "three worlds theory," to justify the line of trailing behind the petty bourgeoisie, and in some cases the bourgeoisie, because China says you can do this.

Think about the Crown Heights situation [referring to a struggle in a New York neighborhood against police murder and national oppression—Ed.]. The CPML is uniting with some of the most reactionary forces in the Black community today. Because, they say, for the time being, these people are uniting against the racist attacks coming down inside Crown Heights, forgetting that it's these same people, like CORE, who continuously attack the more militant and revolutionary elements inside the Black community, time and time again.

For the CPML, it's "we're going to support these reactionaries regardless of the fact they're reactionaries, because they're Black and this is a struggle against racism. Damn their political line. And anybody who comes out opposed to this is opposed to the struggle against racism." Rather than analyze the class forces inside the struggle and who must be relied on, the masses or the bourgeoisie. For the CPML, the masses, the revolutionary forces, and developing the revolutionary sentiment of the people inside the Crown Heights community are the secondary thing. Who do we unite with? We unite with the well-known leaders.

*Do they have to make any rationalization for obeying the Central Committee or is it just the way things are?*

Any time there is an enforced situation inside the so-called party of the proletariat where the political level is kept at a very low level, and you are always involved in the practical work but not knowing where it's going or coming from, but simply following the directives of the CC, there is bound to be over a period of time a situation where people will be in fear of raising differences they have within the party itself. Inside the CPML that has happened for quite some time. Talk to members of the Fight Back and they'll talk about fighting for reforms in a revolutionary way, but ask them what about the whole system of capitalism, what about destroying the material basis for these problems, and you will find that most of the people inside the CPML and their mass organizations don't know. Because communism is something the CPML does not talk about to a large degree.

The proletariat, which is the most capable and the only class within society that is committed to overthrowing the bourgeoisie, they don't talk about. For them, the working class leading the struggle against capitalism is a secondary thing. And therefore, the logical conclusion arising out of this is that within the party itself, the proletariat is incapable of giving any leadership to it. It is only these great brains and geniuses

who can give leadership to the party. In fact, when you start talking about ideological struggle inside the party, you are talking about ideological struggle as led by these great brains and geniuses. The role of the masses is to merely study the line of these great brains and geniuses and go along with it, or be thrown out, whichever comes first.

*When Hua and Teng took over it must have filled them with joy.*

The revisionism of China fit the CPML like a glove. It was really easy for them to go along with what is going on inside of China now. It might not be too far-fetched to think that Klonsky might have given Hua some lessons.

*Surely there are some people in the CPML who are serious revolutionaries, who really want to make revolution. What is the glue, the internal life, that holds the CPML together in the face of this outright opportunism?*

The CPML always says, with all of our problems, we are the party of the proletariat, and some people honestly believe that. They believe that Marxism-Leninism is the answer, that proletarian revolution is the answer, and the CPML is able to hold itself together because it is able to play on the fact that these people believe this, even though they don't have a deep understanding of these things, obviously. And the leadership makes a point of keeping these people's political level very low. Because the CPML leadership does that, many people believe that on the one hand you have to overcome your "subjectivism" about what's going on inside the party, and on the other you have to uphold this party among the people because we have to make a revolution.

If the CPML is weak it's not because the leadership of the CPML is screwed or the line of the CPML is messed up, it's because you're messed up. When the work is not going good, it's not because the people haven't been educated to understand what the work was, or what this political campaign was about—even though that's true—but it's on you, that you didn't make the effort to understand this particular program, or you didn't make the effort to take the program out among the masses and develop it.

In the main what holds the CPML together is, on the part of honest people, unclarity; and on the part of leadership, opportunism. The leadership of the CPML is united in terms of misleading the working class and keeping the level of the party cadre low, and because the level of the cadre within the party is low they are unable to struggle against the opportunism of the leadership. ■

## 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.



The struggle in the RCP, USA happened in the context of a worldwide struggle between Marxism and Revisionism. **REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION** presents the Marxist-Leninist line of Mao Tsetung and the so-called "Gang of Four" sharply contrasted with revisionism on the major issues of socialist revolution and construction.

- On the Bourgeoisie in the Party
- Continuing the Revolution under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat
- On the Relationship between Revolution and Promoting Production
- On Science and Technology
- On Education
- On Culture, Literature and Art
- On the International Situation, War and Military Policy.

514 pp. \$4.95

Order from RCP Publications  
Box 3486  
Chicago, IL 60654

514 pp. \$4.95 Order from RCP Publications



# Sellout...

Continued from page 12

Israeli settlers to come streaming in.

Under the plan of the "framework," Israel will keep at least half of its present 11,000 occupation troops in these territories, which will also be "safeguarded" by a motley collection of U.N. troops, Jordanian police and U.S. electronic surveillance equipment. Amidst all this, the Palestinians who presently live here are supposed to get "autonomy" over a 5-year transition period.

In fact, this is clearly a scheme to fragment and control the Palestinians from many sides, while maintaining de facto Israeli control over the areas. Thus there is no provision for the pull-out of the remaining Israeli troops at any time in the future, and the "autonomy" of the Palestinians in these areas, with these and other troops stationed in their midst, is about as much as Indians in the U.S. have on a reservation.

And although all the participants at Camp David have finally been brought to the point of mouthing the phrase, "legitimate rights of the Palestinians," there is of course not the slightest prospect in this "framework" for the setting up of even a nominally independent Palestinian state. As for those Palestinians living in Lebanon and Jordan, they will constitute the famous "refugee problem," according to the vision of this agreement. But in fact these Palestinians are not "displaced persons," but a displaced people, who will not give up their fight to return to their rightful place in all of Palestine.

Further, the "framework" says nothing about disbanding the Zionist settlements in Gaza and the West Bank—only that Israel will make no new settlements there during the time of the negotiations. And then when it was all over Begin announced that *his* interpretation was that this only applied to the Sinai negotiations with Egypt over the next two or three months. It did not, he said, apply to the long-term negotiations

concerning Gaza and the West Bank themselves, which had been the understanding of everyone else involved!

Clearly Israel, which pushed ahead with these settlements right up to the eve of Camp David, has no intention of giving them up. And these enclaves of Israeli citizens will continue to be considered part of Israel, showing that the Zionists have not the slightest intention of giving up actual control of these territories.

Israel has also occupied Jerusalem since 1967, and in this document it did not agree to withdraw from this city at all. There was merely an agreement to have an "exchange of letters" on this topic. And when this exchange came, the Israeli letter says: "Jerusalem is one city indivisible, the capital of the state of Israel," revealing once more the Zionists' refusal to give up one ounce of their plunder unless forced to do so.

## Sadat Holds Short End of Stick

But although Sadat cravenly betrayed the Palestinian struggle, it is not as if his capitulation to Zionism and imperialism reaped any benefits for Egypt, either. Supposedly Egypt is getting back its "sovereignty" in the Sinai, but there are large areas where the Egyptian military is forbidden to set foot, including in the airfields. Other areas will be swarming with UN troops, and Israel will not completely withdraw its own military until two to three years after a treaty is signed. Some sovereignty!

But Sadat is rushing to give away Egypt's independence and sovereignty and to sell out the interests of the Egyptian masses in every way he can. He now dreams of disbanding one third of his 750,000-man army, putting them to work building new cities, and attracting U.S. aid and investment in his newly "peaceful" and "stable" country.

In fact such peace and stability as he may be able to achieve will be very short-lived, since where there is the imperialist oppression and domination which Sadat so eagerly invites, there is also resistance. The Egyptian masses, although some may be momentarily beguiled by false hopes of peace and prosperity, will rudely puncture this im-

perialist dream.

Meanwhile, Israel has scored a temporary victory at the expense of the Arab masses. But these advances for Zionist designs are also advances for the U.S., for Israel is a creature of U.S. imperialism, which created the Zionist state in 1948 and has singlehandedly kept it in existence since then with massive infusions of aid (much more than to any other country in the world) and other subsidies. The reason is that the U.S. has wanted its own "policeman" in the area, someone to harass the peoples of the Middle East in the interests of U.S. imperialism, and Israel has fit the bill very well.

The struggles of the Arab peoples, however, have by the present time come to make it impossible for the U.S. simply to back up Israeli terrorism and aggression. The U.S. is also seriously worried about the penetration of its rival imperialist, the USSR, in the area. Thus the U.S. must try to appear more even-handed.

While continuing to provide Israel the most modern arms and other support, the U.S. has for some time been trying to trade Israeli return of some of the occupied territories for Arab recognition of the legitimacy of the Zionist state. This was the basic plan put forward by Nixon and Kissinger which has begun to bear fruit under Carter.

## A Shaky "Peace"

But this fruit is already proving to be somewhat wormy, and the "framework" rather shaky. Syria's President Assad immediately denounced the accords and (quite accurately) accused Sadat of betraying promises he had made not to sell out the Palestinian struggle, not to give up Jerusalem and not to make a separate peace with Israel. Libya, Algeria, South Yemen, and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) have, along with Syria, formed a "Steadfastness Front" to oppose the plans.

In Saudi Arabia, the Cabinet declared that the Camp David agreements "cannot be considered a final acceptable formula for peace," and the Jordanian Cabinet issued a communique

saying that Jordan was neither "legally nor morally bound" by the accords. Saudi Arabia helps prop up Egypt's economy to the tune of \$1 billion a year, and Jordan is envisioned in the "framework" as playing a crucial role in connection with Gaza and the West Bank, so that their opposition has the potential to cripple the whole scheme immediately. However, U.S. officials are firm in their confidence that eventually both Jordan and Saudi Arabia will come to support the Camp David scheme, at least tacitly.

The reason for this is that both these countries are fairly securely in the camp of U.S. imperialism. One important aspect of Camp David is the U.S. desire to tighten up its bloc in the Middle East as part of the overall process of preparation for imperialist war with its superpower rival.

Among those united in the "Steadfastness Front" are some with which the USSR has been able to make significant headway. Along with this, there are governments like Syria's which are not against selling out the Palestinian struggle, but don't want their own state interests to be sold down the river in the process.

The current fighting which has erupted in Lebanon may have a direct connection with the Camp David agreements, with Lebanese right-wing "Christians" claiming that Syria is trying to undermine the accords by causing trouble in Lebanon, while Damascus insists that the rightists are trying to provoke intervention by their Israeli allies.

Even at the level of imperialist intrigues and shifting alliances, this framework is rickety at best. And in the fundamental direction of history, which is determined by the struggles for liberation of the masses of people, it is a totally doomed structure.

Carter no doubt wishes toward the struggles of all the peoples of the Middle East exactly what he expressed recently concerning the Palestine Liberation Organization: "It would be nice for us if they would just go away." But no, Jimmy, the mass struggles will not go away, and what is more they will sweep you and your fellow parasites off the face of the earth. ■

# P.O....

Continued from page 13

anyone who challenged their authority, dismissing a total of more than 200 of the most active and militant workers at the two striking Bulk Centers.

Another reason this sellout came down was the despicable treachery displayed by the officials of the three big postal unions (APWU, Letter Carriers, Mailhandlers). From the very beginning it was clear that these hacks would do nothing to mobilize the rank and file and unleash the powerful potential that a national postal strike would have for bringing the postal bosses to their knees. They called on the workers to "stay cool" and have faith that the union leadership would negotiate their way to victory.

## Two Roads on How to Fight

In this situation, there were two different roads on how to fight. One was the "soup up our union" line promoted by various forces including the Mensheviks (who split from the RCP early this year), members of I Wor Kuen, Trotskyites like the International Socialists and, co-incidentally, the local "opposition" hacks like Moe Biller of the N.Y. APWU Local. Throughout this fight, these forces pushed the line that all you have to do is pressure the national union officials to act like good leaders should, and that this will solve all the problems and get postal workers a good contract. According to this view, the struggle was limited to what the union officials would do at any given time and it completely negated the independent role of the rank and file taking matters into their own hands.

This line played right into the hands of the union hacks, both the national officers who openly sabotaged any strike action as well as the local "dissident" hacks who talked militant but ended up capitulating at every crucial

juncture, obeying court injunctions and refusing to act when many workers looked to them demanding they call strike action.

The other road has been the position of RCP members together with other workers in the Postal Section of the National United Workers Organization. That has been to call on the rank and file to seize the initiative, take matters into their own hands, break the chains of the no-strike law, and tear off the handcuffs placed upon the rank and file by the capitalists' labor lieutenants in union office. And instead of dismissing the very real obstacles to this, the real teeth of the bourgeoisie, the NUWO has consistently exposed the fact that there is no easy road to victory, that the capitalists are tightening the chains out of their blind necessity to enforce their rotten system of wage slavery, compelled to launch ever greater attacks on the workers, and that the working class has no choice but to fight back against being crushed down.

These two opposing lines came out strongly at the national APWU convention in mid-August when rank and file

anger against the sellout was running high. Members of the NUWO went to the convention to sharply raise among the delegates—most of whom were local union officers and shop stewards—that they had two choices: to go along with the national mis-leaders' sellout plans or to take a stand in both words and action with the rank and file in breaking through the chains. The Mensheviks, who were there from their "good contract committee" in N.Y., were horrified at this and demanded that the NUWO members stop raising this kind of hell because it would upset their delicate negotiations with the "opposition" hacks to get a few dollars for the fired strikers and to support one of their followers who was running for regional union office.

In this contract battle, it was clear that the rank and file was not solidly united enough that the only road forward was to rely on their own efforts and that independent action like the wildcat strikes were worth the risks involved and the only way under the circumstances to beat back the Postal Service's attacks. Related to this was the

relative weakness of rank and file organization capable of spreading the kind of militant resistance shown by the Bulk strikers in the face of the very real and serious obstacles that the bourgeoisie placed in the workers' path.

## Struggle Will Continue

Members of the NUWO, however, are fighting to unite the rank and file on the real lessons of the Bulk Center strikes—that they were indeed a tremendous step forward that stood up to the capitalists, their no-strike laws and their bought-and-paid-for hacks in union office. And in the course of struggle they have sought to link up the fight of the rank and file against being sold out with the need to build a class-conscious workers movement that recognizes this system of wage slavery for what it is and that will be able to break through the bounds within which the capitalists have demanded the workers' struggle stay confined.

NUWO members in Chicago, Oakland and S.F. have organized "sticker days" where the rank and file showed their anger over the whole stinking deal, wearing badges that said "Sold Out, But Not in Silence" and "No-Strike Laws—National Union Traitors—Down With This Rotten Setup!" And they have made it clear that the fight for amnesty for the fired strikers must go on in this same fighting spirit. Petitions demanding Amnesty For All Strikers are being circulated nationwide. Copies will be sent to the national union heads to demand they take action on amnesty for these militant fighters.

Although this sellout agreement is being pushed through, a contract is no truce between the working class and its exploiters. To judge from the resistance put up by postal workers in this contract battle and the anger that is smoldering among the rank and file, the postal bosses will have their hands full in the sharp battles that are certainly yet to come. ■



New York postal workers demonstrate during wildcat strike.