



REVOLUTION

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

Vol. 4, No. 4 April 1979 75¢

FREE The MOODY PARK 3

SHOWDOWN
IN HOUSTON—
REBELLION
TRIAL BEGINS

see
page 7



RCP PLANS NAT'L
WEEKLY
PAPER

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MAY DAY INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' DAY

In Iran, Around the World, And
Here at Home Flames of
Revolution are Spreading!

Down with U.S. and Soviet War Moves!
Free Revolutionary Fighters and Leaders from
Houston to Washington D.C.!
Workers Unite to Lead the Fight
Against All Oppression!
Hasten Capitalism Into Its Grave!

**Oakland, California
Washington D.C.
Weekend of May 5-6**

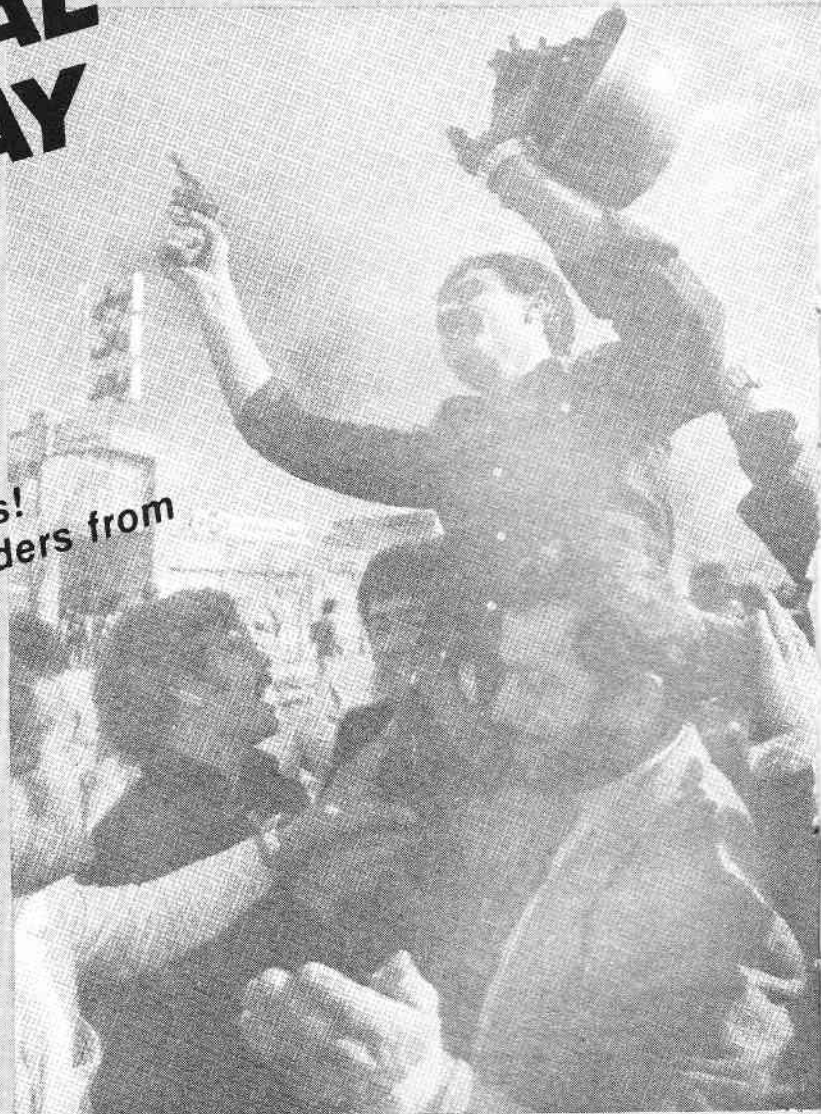
May Day is *the* revolutionary day for workers and oppressed people all over the globe. On this day, even the hammerlock of our rulers' "press coverage" is often broken by news of big demonstrations, of revolutionary actions by our fellow workers from Iran to Europe to Africa to Latin America. And so we get a glimpse of the truth that the working class is one class worldwide, sharing one common destiny—to wipe out this hellish worldwide system of poverty, war and crisis and to build a whole new world.

And since May Day is a day when we hold high our dreams of revolution, then May Day is right on time in 1979. For the year since last May Day has been a year when revolution was powerfully blasted back onto the map by the heroic people of Iran, and in this country by the righteous rebellion of the Chicano people of Houston. And the potential for revolution looms ever larger with the deepening crisis of this capitalist system and its rumblings of war.

May Day is not just a day for us to dream of revolution. It is a day to gather forces and to make plans—big plans for the future—plans for bold new steps in making that dream a reality. And this year the Revolutionary Communist Party, the National United Workers Organization, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War are calling for such a May Day.

All those who hate this system, who want to spit in the face of our capitalist exploiters and want to move on toward the future, are being called to come out on the weekend of May 5 and 6 to Washington, D.C. and to Oakland, California for national demonstrations. D.C. is the capitalist citadel of bloodsoaked power, the spot from which their government directs its crimes against the people of the whole world and against us here at home. And D.C., too, is where their courts are hatching their frame-up plots against the 78 Mao Tsetung defendants who were arrested demonstrating against Teng Hsiao-ping's U.S. visit. These demonstrations will be saying that we will fight this railroad, and that they can try to jail some revolutionaries, but they will *never* jail the revolution.

May Day 1979 will be a day when seeds are planted and a declaration of war—class war—is made. May Day 1979 will see the birth of the first issue of the weekly national Party newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker*. And on May Day 1979, right in Washington D.C., Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, will make an important statement—announcing major plans for our Party and all revolutionary people to step even more boldly forward in battle in the near future—in this coming year in particular.



REVOLUTION

April 1979

Vol. 4 No. 4

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May 1, the Revolutionary Worker will become a national weekly paper. The time is now to take a leap forward. We need a weekly paper that can follow closely in the twists and turns of events. We need to go toe to toe fighting the capitalists for public opinion, blasting their lies, laying bare their system's ugly features and the need to rise in revolution to overthrow it. We need a national paper that can go anywhere, a weapon in the hands of class conscious workers across the country and all those who hate the way things are. This paper is a social force for revolution, a force that can organize for revolution. Step forward now, take up this paper and swing it like an ax for revolution. p.3

Who says it's not a political trial? With the prosecution yet to produce one shred of evidence, the 78 Mao Tsetung defendants have twice been forced to travel hundreds of miles for hearings and lineups. The DA has based her case on one premise: they are revolutionaries who work for the armed overthrow of the government and didn't back down in the face of police attack. p. 10

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Einstein: Physics And Metaphysics

The hundredth anniversary of the birth of Albert Einstein, this March 14, has been the occasion for an orgy of reaction by all sorts of bourgeois experts and popularizers, both in regard to Einstein the man and his theories. From Germany to the U.S., and now in China, a chorus of voices is loudly singing his praises. But what many of those voices are praising is not the advances in human knowledge that Einstein helped make. Rather, they are promoting the concept of science as the property of "geniuses," as well as a whole reactionary outlook summed up in the misuse of the word "relativity," the name of his theories, to mean that "everything is relative" and that as a result, human beings can never obtain real knowledge of the objective world.

For example, in a special section on Einstein in *Newsweek* (March 12) the views of physicist John Wheeler, a "leading expert" and writer on Einstein's theories, are summed up by the declarations that "the physical world emerges from the observations made" and that "no phenomenon is a phenomenon until it is observed." The whole set of articles in this special section is a sharp example of how the bourgeoisie uses Einstein, to promote the idea that science is incomprehensible to ordinary people on the one hand, and on the other, insofar as they do actually present his scientific theories, to cast doubt on the very existence of a real world distinct from our perceptions of it.

This old-hat reactionary idealism is in no

Einstein's views were themselves very contradictory. He stubbornly insisted that "science without religion is lame, religion without science is blind" and that science could not be applied to human activity.

way a "contribution" of Einstein. In fact, Einstein helped knock down some of the idealist and metaphysical ideas dominant in physics. By explaining and drawing certain conclusions from the scientific discoveries of his time which had thrown the old physics into an uproar, his theories stood as a rebuke to those who claimed that these discoveries threw science itself into question. In his special and general theories of relativity, Einstein introduced fundamentally new concepts about time, space, mass and energy, which enabled physics to make a leap in the direction of more

closely reflecting objective reality.

Yet it is true that Einstein's views were themselves very contradictory. He stubbornly insisted that "science without religion is lame, religion without science is blind" and that science could not be applied to human activity, which is straight out anti-scientific idealism, running in direct contradiction to the advances he helped make. His contradictory world outlook also limited his contributions to physics itself.

Einstein's theories are a product of science, not mysterious brain trips of a "special individual." Thousands of precise experiments have been carried out to test them, which so far have confirmed much of them as valid. For example, Einstein's theory

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that time slows down at high speeds has been confirmed by experiments with highly unstable radioactive particles which decay much more slowly when accelerated. With this theory, Einstein predicted that if one twin takes off on a high-speed rocket journey, he will return to the Earth having aged much less—and thus younger—than the twin who stayed behind.

His theory that the mass, or resistance to acceleration, of objects increases at high speed has been confirmed repeatedly by experiments which show that no matter how much energy is applied to a particle, its speed can only approach, but never reach, the speed of light. All these are not "mysteries of the universe" as the bourgeois press headlines them, but rather advances in our knowledge of the universe. They explain why the sun didn't burn out long ago, why the planets and other bodies move the way they do, the motion of light and other phenomena much better—with much more truth—than was possible before.

Breakdown of Classical Physics

Einstein published his special theory of relativity in 1905. Since it marked a sweeping break with many old concepts of physics, it was at first treated very skeptically. Gradually it was realized that it contained much of value for an understanding of electromagnetic phenomena, radioactivity and other things which could not be understood at that time. Finally, in 1919, Einstein was thrust into the public spotlight when careful measurements of the bending of light by the

sun's gravitational field during a solar eclipse confirmed the predictions of his general theory of relativity (published in 1916). It then became widely accepted that a "revolution" was going on in physics and that the classical physics developed by Newton in the 17th century required fundamental overhaul.

What were the theoretical underpinnings of physics before Einstein? Newton had held that space and time are absolute, not in the sense in which Marxists speak of an absolute reality existing independent of our perception and relative knowledge of it, but rather in the sense that space and time supposedly existed independent of matter in motion. Engels, in his criticism of the bourgeois philosopher Dühring, parodied this conception of absolute time by showing how it boiled down to saying,

If we want to grasp the idea of time in all its purity, divorced from all external and irrelevant admixtures, we are compelled to put on one side, as not being relevant in this connection, all the various events which occur simultaneously and one after another in time, and in this way to form

the idea of a time in which nothing happens. (*Anti-Dühring*, "Space and Time")

Similarly, Newton's concept of empty "absolute" space, existing in the absence of any matter whatever, was metaphysical. In refuting this metaphysics, Engels quoted Hegel, who had said, "Space and time are filled with matter . . . just as there is no motion without matter, there is no matter without motion. . . Only in motion have space and time reality."

Newton had also claimed that objects could be considered to be at "absolute rest." For Newton, motion could exist without matter and vice versa. But as Engels said:

Motion is the mode of existence of matter. Never anywhere has there been matter without motion, nor can there be. . . A body, for example, may be on the ground in mechanical equilibrium, may be mechanically at rest; but this in no way prevents it from participating in the motion of the earth and in that of the whole solar system. Matter without motion is just as unthinkable as motion without matter. (*Ibid.*, "Cosmogony, Physics, Chemistry.")

Newton's concepts were not only metaphysical, they were idealist as well, as Lenin pointed out: "What is essential is that the attempt to *think* of motion without matter smuggles in *thought* divorced from matter—and that is philosophical idealism."

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New National Weekly *Revolutionary Worker* “Create Public Opinion . . . Seize Power!”

On May Day this year, the Revolutionary Communist Party will blast out with a tremendous advance, a leap in the revolutionary agitation and propaganda work of the Party—the new national weekly *Revolutionary Worker*. This paper will be published in English, Spanish, Chinese and other languages. The *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper is the voice of the Party among the working class and the broad masses of people. Until now it has been published in 19 local editions, unified by a central Workers Press Service under the leadership of the Party, with nine of these coming out twice a month. While there have been many advances both in the content and distribution of these papers, resulting from the deeper grasp of our Party on the central role of agitation to the work of the Party in preparing for the revolutionary seizure of power, what we need now is a different kind of newspaper.

The new *Revolutionary Worker* will continue emphasizing agitation, whose importance has already been underlined (see the article “On the Role of Agitation and Propaganda,” *Revolution*, November 1979). But more, in a whole new way it will really put the face of the Revolutionary Communist Party out to the broad masses as a national political force, a force for revolution. We need a newspaper that comes out not once a month, not twice a month, but regularly every week, a newspaper that concentrates the most glaring political exposures from all over the country, which at once reveals a picture of all the ugly features of this man-eating system of capitalism and a sweeping view of the development of the revolutionary movement.

There is no such newspaper in this country, and without such a paper we cannot prepare to carry out the central task and the highest form of revolution: the seizure of power by armed force. Mao Tsetung said, “First and foremost create public opinion and seize power,” and it is in this spirit that we launch the new national weekly paper. We are not talking about a newspaper in the hands of a relatively few revolutionary agitators. We aim to make this newspaper a social force for revolution among the workers and the masses of people, a weapon in the hands of millions, creating revolutionary public opinion and hounding the bourgeoisie at every turn. Neither are we talking about a newspaper like this simply in order to raise the general political consciousness of the masses. With this paper we will be building a network to train revolutionary leaders among the workers and the masses of the oppressed people and to swell the ranks of the Party. There exists today the potential to put this paper in

the hands of many more people, far beyond the ranks of the Party, and in taking this bold step, the Revolutionary Communist Party aims to seize the time right now.

Speaking to the need for such a national paper, Lenin said:

We must not be discouraged by the fact that the voice of political exposure is today so feeble, timid and infrequent. This is not because of a wholesale submission to police despotism, but because those who are able and ready to make exposures have no tribune from which to speak, no eager and encouraging audience, they do not see anywhere among the people that force to which it would be worthwhile directing their complaint against the “omnipotent” Russian government. (“Where to Begin,” *Collected Works*; Vol. 5, pp. 21-22.)

While the particular conditions of the struggle in Russia in 1901 were different and there was no really unified communist party at that time, still the principles on which Lenin based his analysis of the need for a national newspaper apply today. Today, it is not mainly the case that the relatively low level of the struggle of the working class is the

result of outright suppression by the bourgeoisie, although that is part of it and overall is a growing aspect, but rather the political and ideological domination of the ruling class which shows up in generally backward trends still prevailing among the broad masses of workers. This is because of the remaining reserves of the U.S. imperialists. Despite the recent defeats and growing crisis of U.S. imperialism, still the conditions among the majority of workers is such that they do not see the necessity, nor the inevitability, of rising up to make revolution. But this situation is not static, and today there is a downward spiral, marked by increased exploitation and oppression for the masses and the growing threat of world war.

Is it not the case that there are tens of millions of people in this country who hate the system, at least what it does to them—many of them who awakened to political life in the storms of the 1960s and many more who will be awakened and drawn into political life in the 1980s? Aren't there millions whose questions have not yet been answered, whose longing for an end to oppression has not been extinguished, but burns deep inside, often concealed? Is it the case that their oppression has ended? No. Rather it has intensified. Their questions remain

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unanswered.

In fact, as we have begun to step out more boldly with the local editions of the *Revolutionary Worker*, we have seen that this spark, this longing for revolution is very much alive among the masses of people, and people have come forward around the newspapers. How much more powerful will be a frequent and regular national newspaper, clearly presenting a picture of the need for revolution and representing a force which aims to smash the "omnipotent" state of the capitalist class to dust. The fact that this newspaper can "go anywhere" both from the standpoint of gathering exposures and in distribution, far beyond the ranks of the Party, will be a powerful encouragement and impetus for the masses to gather round the newspaper, read it, write for it, distribute it and join together in common cause to put an end to misery.

A Powerful Social Force

This is no *idle* dream. We dare not only to dream of revolution but to work unceasingly for the fulfillment of this dream. And now before us is the most practical, concrete and pressing task that we must undertake to prepare for revolution—the publication of a national weekly newspaper.

Through carrying out concrete political exposures, in the main, this newspaper must become a powerful social force for revolution. Lenin compared such a newspaper to "part of an enormous pair of smith's bellows that would fan every spark of the class struggle and of popular indignation into a general conflagration." ("What Is To Be Done?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 508.) The national weekly must become the face of the Party to millions. In every factory, every housing project, every working class district, every ghetto and barrio, every hell-hole prison and broadly throughout society wherever people are awakening to political life, wherever there is discontent and outrage against this system, the *Revolutionary Worker* must become an indispensable weapon in the hands of the masses.

This is not simply a matter of increased distribution. It is a matter of turning this newspaper into the lifeblood of a developing revolutionary movement. It must become a newspaper that the class conscious workers and broad masses look to for political nourishment and direction, a newspaper that the workers take up as their own in the way that the following letter written by a Russian worker on behalf of his comrades to Lenin's *Iskra* puts it: "We would like to write a letter to your *Iskra* and ask you to teach us, not only how to begin, but how to live and how to die."

Indeed, in the years before the Russian revolution the newspapers of the Bolshevik Party served as such a social force. Workers waited by the hundreds outside the newspaper offices of *Iskra* to get copies of the paper for distribution before the police could arrive to stop the paper from going out. The newspaper *Pravda*, which began publishing as a daily paper in 1912, was the political sustenance that reared a whole generation of Russian workers for the cause

of revolution.

Now we are taking the leap to the regular publication of a weekly paper, not yet a daily, but we aim to create precisely this type of revolutionary force with the *Revolutionary Worker*. And it is clear that as the rapidly changing objective situation intensifies, millions more people will be awakened to political life and will be in search of some revolutionary answers to the question: why the hell do we have to live this way?

The *Revolutionary Worker* will be able to serve not only as a "tribune of the people" in creating a lifeline between the Party and broad masses and building a broad revolutionary movement, but as a "collective organizer" for the Party as well. In fact, the newspaper is central to the work of actually training professional revolutionaries from among the masses of workers and oppressed people, as well as revolutionary intellectuals.

What is required to build this paper is an army of revolutionary agitators who penetrate into every political, social, cultural and scientific aspect of society and into every social movement, an army of communist reporters who as Lenin put it are "ubiquitous and omniscient." That is, they go everywhere and analyze every aspect of capitalist society, penetrate behind the scenes, establish contacts far and wide, and are able to uncover all sorts of "state secrets" which the politicians are so puffed up and inflated about and which they find so easy to blab.

To accomplish this, local work for local editions must be transformed into work for the common national newspaper and the local editions of the *Revolutionary Worker* into bureaus which branch out into new ground and multiply their revolutionary

agitation tenfold. The local bureaus will publish local supplements to the national paper, but the principal aspect of these bureaus must be to devote their work to the publication of the national newspaper; for until this is done we will not be able to establish a single newspaper capable of really serving the development of the revolutionary movement with all-around agitation and propaganda.

A paper that is truly national in scope is essential not only to spread the influence of the Party and the Party organization itself to areas where we are not, but also to glean information from every corner in order to arm the Party and the broad audience of the newspaper with a real knowledge of the pulse of the country and diverse classes and strata. How many corners of the country are not reached by the Party's revolutionary line? How much do we know about the lives, the thoughts, the struggles of sections of the people like the farmers, the soldiers, the urban petty bourgeoisie? There have been advances with the further development of the local *Revolutionary Workers* and the central press service, but only the weapon of the national weekly newspaper is truly suited to changing this situation.

Fruit of Struggle Against Economism

This leap to the publication of the *Revolutionary Worker* as a national weekly newspaper is a devastating blow to economist thinking in the ranks of the revolutionary movement, a blow to the remnants of the influence of the line of the revisionist CPUSA which was crystallized in the reformist and capitulationist Mensheviks that were driven

Continued on page 39

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Joint Declaration of Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America

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Adopted at a meeting of the delegations of the leadership of the above Parties in Latin America, September 29-30, 1978.

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA believes that the Joint Declaration of Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America represents an important development in the international communist movement. It contains much that can be united with and much that should be seriously studied by revolutionaries in the U.S.

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Opportunists on China—Vietnam War

Phony Marxists Display Pro-Imperialist Wares

At the outbreak of World War I, as the revisionist leadership of many socialist parties dropped their figleaf of class struggle and scrambled to the defense of their governments in that war, Lenin pointed out how the reformism long festering within these parties through the relatively peaceful years had gone over into open counter-revolution. Under the new conditions of war, "the boil burst"—these opportunists went over from aiding the bourgeoisie by acting as a brake on the development of the revolutionary struggle to openly standing with the bourgeoisie—still with a "Marxist" cover of course, which made them all the more useful for the purpose of rallying the people around the flag of reaction.

Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea and China's subsequent invasion of Vietnam, which brought home just how fast things are moving towards world war, also brought out just how quickly revisionist forces of various types are bursting over into openly standing with one side or the other in the coming superpower showdown. Along with this criminal prostitution of Marxism as a means to *promote* imperialism, there is another, somewhat related tendency arising among some forces to say that the emergence of a "socialist" superpower and wars between "socialist" countries throw all of Marxism into question. This is something the pro-superpower (especially pro-U.S.) opportunists have helped to promote, with their insistence that the principles of Marxism don't apply to this conflict, and in turn this new "agnosticism" is also a one-way street into one or the other superpower war bloc.

Of course, one of the pus-filled boils most aching to burst is the so-called Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), which has gone over from justifying and defending U.S. aggression to openly *advocating* it. They are warmongers plain and simple. With this they have become as ugly and fully reactionary as any organization "left" or right in the U.S.; in fact, many of their statements are indistinguishable from those of the most openly reactionary U.S. circles.

Of course the CPML has no choice but to paint themselves as proponents of peace and enemies of aggression, since otherwise no one would listen to them at all except the imperialists themselves. For this reason they have no choice but to lie, to insist that in regard to Vietnam all China is doing is *defending* itself, fighting to "push the Vietnamese forces out of Chinese territory and well into their own country to secure the border." But unlike the CPML, China hasn't bothered at all to hide the fact that it *attacked* Vietnam, to "teach Vietnam a lesson"

about who is going to call the shots in Southeast Asia. In fact, the CPML's ludicrous claim that the Chinese "do not want a single inch of Vietnamese territory" came just exactly as the Chinese government was announcing that it was going to continue occupying parts of Vietnam it considered rightfully Chinese territory, as well as strategic military locations within Vietnam.

CPML: Imperialist Think Tank

The CPML's pious call, issued in their newspaper of the same name, for mutual withdrawal of Vietnam from Kampuchea and China from Vietnam, is almost identical to the "peace proposal" formulated by the U.S. National Security Council. The upshot of this "mutual withdrawal" proposal is that China's invasion of Vietnam is fine, because Vietnam attacked Kampuchea first.

Just as the U.S. imperialists are using Teng Hsiao-ping & Co. to say openly what they cannot say, even though it *appears* the other way around—as if the Chinese revisionists were urging on "reluctant" imperialists—in the same way the CPML plays its own puny role. The mouth is the *Call*, but the words came from the imperialist master. When the CPML complains that in backing the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, the U.S. "took a vacillating and contradictory position" with such "U.S. appeasers" as the State Department "bent on placating the Soviet-Vietnamese aggressors," who is talking to whom? Can it be that the tiny CPML is more bloodthirsty than U.S. imperialism? Or isn't it a case of the CPML having become, objectively, an arm of U.S. imperialism, helping to carry out the bourgeoisie's war preparations in the sphere of public opinion?

Oh yes, the CPML hates war all right. That's why it sums up "the lessons" of the China-Vietnam war—which it considers a great success—with the following quote from a pro-China Hong Kong newspaper: "This gives the people in the world a new concept. The Soviet Union bullies the weak and is afraid of the strong. To oppose hegemonistic expansion does not necessarily create wars. On the contrary, it is a good method to relax a tense situation." You see, war against the Soviets is war for the cause of peace. We can already hear it now: if small wars against the Soviets preserve peace, a big war against the Soviets would be the war to end all wars!

The CPML has its mirror image—its father, in a way—in the CPUSA, long a spindly arm of the Soviet social-imperialists. Trying to take advantage of the prestige revolutionary Vietnam had won during its heroic war against the U.S., the CP worked through various fronts and willing ac-

complices to stage what were billed as "antiwar rallies" in San Francisco and New York. In fact the CP has been working overtime to resurrect the old antiwar movement, which they tried to sabotage, and turn it into its opposite—into a movement *for* Soviet imperialism and its flunkies. The war that the CP is against is China's invasion of Vietnam, which has become a pawn in Soviet hands, and they don't hesitate at all to *defend* Vietnam's war against Kampuchea—that imperialist-backed war they're all in favor of.

CPUSA's Pro-War Movement

In fact, since it's building public opinion in favor of Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea that is the CPUSA's most difficult task, it's on this question that much of their press has focused. According to the CP's *People's World*, repeating a Cuban reporter's words, the Pol Pot regime was "*worse*" than the Nazis, the South African government, etc., in that it planned to exterminate *all* of its own people, as part of a conspiracy to wipe out the entire population of Southeast Asia and repopulate with Chinese seeking "vital space." Aren't these the same kind of wild and racist charges the U.S. used to justify its invasion of Vietnam?

In addition to some well-meaning fools stuck in the past, in these counter-revolutionary demonstrations the CP has been able to mobilize hordes of Trotskyites, who despite all their "criticisms" of the USSR as a "deformed workers' state" still consider it their homeland and model of what they want the world to be. Like so often in the past, these Trots supply many of the troops for the CP. Of course, they have "differences" with the CP. "Our demand on the Soviet Union," says the Socialist Workers Party paper in reply to a call raised at the New York demonstration for a Soviet "second front," "is not to *attack* China but to *defend* Vietnam." Some difference!

Unfortunately, the Albanian Party and government have put out a lot of statements about the China-Vietnam-Kampuchea situation that aren't very different from the Soviet stand.

In a February 21 article in *Zeri I Popullit*, organ of the Albanian Party of Labor (reprinted by the Albanian Telegraph Agency), the Albanian Party puts itself squarely on the side of Vietnam. This is reactionary enough all by itself, since taking sides with Vietnam—today the invaded, yesterday the invader—means taking sides with the USSR in a superpower war by proxy, when proletarian internationalism demands opposition to all the reactionary governments involved and thorough exposure of the superpowers



March 8—100,000 women, joined by thousands of men, march through the streets of Tehran.

Struggle of Women Advances Iranian Revolution

On March 8, International Woman's Day was celebrated in Iran for the first time in more than 30 years. Rising up against the bonds of women's oppression, rebelling against the backward social relations and ideas that the imperialists have used as a pillar of their rule in Iran, hundreds of thousands of Iranian women demonstrated in the streets of Tehran and other cities for nearly a full week beginning on March 8.

International Women's Day in Iran came on a momentous occasion this year—only weeks after the victorious popular insurrection in which millions of men and women, united in revolutionary struggle, swept away the Shah's fascist regime and dealt a mighty blow to Iran's reactionary ruling classes and to U.S. imperialist domination.

These demonstrations played a powerful role in pushing forward the Iranian revolution. Further, because the demand for the emancipation of women cannot be achieved short of the revolutionary transformation of society as a whole, they pointed beyond the present stage of struggle to complete the new-democratic revolution to the future necessity to carry through this revolution under working class leadership to the elimination of all traditional relationships and ideas through socialism and the establishment of communism.

Without the full and active participation of the masses of women, especially the women

of the most oppressed and exploited classes, the Iranian people will never be free. If Iranian women had stayed at home and obeyed tradition and not taken to the streets and to arms, the Shah would still be in power today. As Lenin declared in *Women and Society*, "It has been observed in the experience of all liberation movements that the success of a revolution depends on the extent to which women take part in it." And the only way that the masses of Iranian women can be mobilized in the all-around revolutionary struggle is by waging a determined struggle against the social and ideological chains that oppress women, in every aspect of their lives.

Rallies on International Women's Day were originally called by a number of Marxist-Leninist and progressive organizations, including the newly formed League of Fighting Women of Iran. The basis had been laid for these IWD celebrations by the growing influence of the revolutionary Left in the mass movement and by the vastly increased participation of Iranian women in the struggle over the last year's revolutionary upsurge.

Momentum picked up rapidly on March 7 when Ayatollah Khomeini declared that women employed in government ministries must wear the *chador*, the traditional full-length veil which Islamic law requires women to wear in public. "Sin may not be committed in Islamic ministries. Women should not be naked at work in these ministries," Kho-

meini decreed. "There is nothing wrong with women's employment. But they must be clothed according to religious standards." Among a large section of Iranian women, particularly the urban petty bourgeoisie, these attempts to force them to wear the *chador* symbolized the growing campaign of the new government and Islamic religious authorities to force women out of the political and social arena and to maintain them in a subordinate position full of backward feudal trappings.

This was only the most recent in a series of reactionary decrees by Khomeini and his advisors affecting Iranian women. He had condemned coeducation as an evil practice that has turned many schools into "centers of prostitution." And Khomeini suspended several laws on the books supposedly guaranteeing women's marriage rights (never effectively enforced under the Shah) in order to bring them into conformity with Islamic law—thus reaffirming the arbitrary power of men to divorce their wives, retain custody of their sons over the age of 2 and daughters over the age of 7, and practice polygamy. Iranian government radio and television also denounced the plans to celebrate International Women's Day on March 8, calling it a "West-inspired ceremony" and urging Iranian women to wait until Ayatollah Kho-

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Showdown in Houston

Moody Park 3 Trial Begins

The trial of the Moody Park 3 is scheduled to begin in Houston on April 10. A major rally sponsored by the Coalition to Free the Moody Park 3 is set for April 8. As the dates approach, the battle between the two sides becomes fiercer by the day, and sometimes by the hour. On one side are the people, courageously smashing the chains of oppression, and on the other, the stench of oppression which rises out of the towering skyscrapers of the oil barons and their filthy executioners—the Houston Police Department, the City Hall and their courts.

The cops and the courts are carrying out their pre-trial preparations with a vengeance—repression, repression and more repression. They are preparing for a long and heavy trial with plenty of cops as witnesses to testify that the Moody Park 3 are guilty of the felony of "inciting to riot." The continuing repression, like the trial itself is meant to keep the revolutionaries from doing their work among the masses and to create an atmosphere of terror to keep the masses from taking up the defense of the Moody Park 3 and the Houston Rebellion.

The Houston Rebellion of Cinco de Mayo 1978 is at the center of this struggle. The bourgeoisie in Houston was freaked out by that rebellion, as their class always is when the masses of people rise up to break the chains of their oppression. They hated it, and feared it, just like the bourgeoisie hated and

feared Watts, Detroit and Harlem in the 1960s. And the fact that people would step forward to uphold and defend this rebellion and spread its lessons across the country drives them into a frenzy.

The Houston rebellion was a powerful action of the Chicano people rising up to throw off their oppressor in a violent act, shattering the lies that oppressed people will live forever on their knees, begging at the feet of the slave master. It was a rejection of all the lies and treachery of the *vendidos*, all their preaching about relying on the courts, going through legal channels—a rejection of a dead-end reformist road. The rebellion in Houston was, in fact, a revolutionary struggle, a glimpse of the future, when the masses of people led by the working class will take up arms and seize state power. It was a political act that went up against the whole system, where the masses of people took matters into their own hands in a mass and militant way. It directly challenged the "way things are" with mass revolutionary violence aimed against the hated enforcers of law and order.

No wonder they immediately launched a vicious campaign to distort and cover up the

significance of this rebellion, to try and teach the masses a brutal lesson—that rebellion is



futile, and that they damn well better never do it again. And no wonder they singled out for especially vicious repression people who came forward to uphold and defend the rebellion: People United to Fight Police Brutality, the Revolutionary Communist Party, the National United Workers Organization, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade and specifically the Moody Park 3: Travis Morales, Mara Youngdahl and Tom Hirschi.

Travis Released, Then Jailed Again

They have taken particular aim to try to silence Travis Morales and keep him away from the masses of people in the period before the trial begins. When the authorities threw Travis in jail February 3, they had him locked up in maximum security, away from contact with fellow prisoners, in a cell next to mass murderer Elmer Wayne Henley. Threats by guards, attempts to set him up for dope smuggling—it was clear that Travis' life was in danger.

But instead of producing fear, this cowardly act produced outrage. The full \$75,000 bail ransom they were holding him on was raised. When Travis Morales walked out of the Harris County jail, fist held high, greeted by chants of "Moody Park, It's Right to Rebel, Rich Man's System Go to Hell," it had a profound effect on the struggle.

You could see it on the faces of the people who came to welcome Travis out—and on the faces of the pigs as well. Dozens of scowling swine were there. Uniformed murderers, undercover pigs, Red Squad. As demonstrators shouted their greetings to Travis, these dogs slunk around, angry but demoralized.

But it wasn't long before the ruling class and their cops made another attempt. Less than a week and a half after Travis was released from jail he was busted again—the seventh time in 10 months and part of 50 arrests carried out by the cops against those active in defending the Houston Rebellion. This time they busted him for leafleting without "a receipt for clean-up fee for non-commercial handbills."

Travis and another Chicano revolutionary had been out talking to people in Houston's Northside barrio. They were on the steps of a Northside home with leaflets in their hands when the cops swooped down and busted them. The bail for each was set at \$203.50. The message was clear: "Travis, we'll stoop to the most outrageous tactics to keep you and your supporters from building mass political struggle in the weeks leading up to the trial." But a few hours later, as TV, radio and newspapers reported this latest outrage, Travis was again snatched from their jails. All the capitalists had done was to expose their weakness and further anger the people, calling more forward to take a stand against them.

The next evening, as People United to Fight Police Brutality continued door-to-door canvassing, the masses standing on their steps turned off the outside lights to shield the revolutionaries from further attack. At an apartment complex, one Chicano, who had heard of the latest assault on Travis, started ringing all the residents' door bells. People came out into the foyer and a lively

struggle developed over whether the people could take on the vicious repression of the pigs, whether the rebellion had accomplished anything, whether there was any hope of ending the brutal oppression of Chicanos, and whether a powerful blow against that oppression could be dealt at the April 8 rally.

Three days later at a fundraising picnic in Moody Park sponsored by the Coalition, the cops again tried to come down. They started congregating across the street from the park. Pretty soon there were five squad cars full of oinkers. Chainbreakers, a local revolutionary band, jumped on a table and defiantly began to sing "Put the Heat on the Heat," and another song about the Moody Park Rebellion. The cops came into the park trying to provoke a confrontation, trying to find some way to get at Travis and to bust two others for leafleting in the park. They ripped down a banner tied to the trees. People stood their ground, chanting, as others came from different parts of the park and from the neighborhood to defend the picnic. "Abajo, abajo, con la opresión, arriba, arriba la rebelión!" The cops were faced with two choices, either Moody Park Rebellion #2 or slink back to their pigmobiles. They backed off, defeated by the masses again.

In the months since the Houston Rebellion the bourgeoisie, despite all their efforts, has been unable to bury the rebellion, unable to put out the fires, largely because conscious revolutionaries have kept those flames alive in the hearts of many people and spread them nationwide.

In the Northside barrio the sentiment of the vast majority comes out as deep respect for Travis as one Chicano leader who hasn't gone down on his knees, one Chicano leader who has stood up to all of them—the pigs, the mayor, the courts. This is in sharp contrast to all the vendidos who set up shop on the backs of the people, who ride their struggle to positions for themselves, and crawl before the enemy. In other barrios around the country, as the rebellion—the revolutionary road forward—becomes more broadly known and supported, the vendidos are scrambling to push their reformism and to slander the rebellion and the Moody Park 3.

Dividing Line Stretches From Coast to Coast

In fact, as Party members and other revolutionary forces have gone out to build support for the Moody Park 3 and spread the message of the Houston rebellion from coast to coast, the same kind of reaction has come from the bourgeoisie and their lackeys in other parts of the country as has been seen in Houston. They don't want people to hear about it, and certainly not to see its significance and come forward to support it. Defending a rebellion against the police and the whole system behind national oppression?! Defending class conscious, revolutionary leaders in such a rebellion?! Good God!

At one cannery in Honolulu, a NUWO member was agitating in the locker room, calling on fellow workers to sign a banner she had. A supervisor, trying to silence her, brought in a suspension notice, only to see it torn up in his face, as workers took the banner and marched straight onto the shop

floor, stopping production for five minutes.

In defense industries in Seattle and Los Angeles, industries so vital to the capitalists' drive towards war that they run them like prisons with security guards in every department, there have been plant gate rallies, lunchroom speeches and other support actions. Two NUWO members have been fired for these "subversive" activities, while in one plant where a NUWO member works, people have been called in by security and grilled about any petitions signed, telegrams sent or donations made defending the rebellion.

Vendidos Jump Out

The reaction of the self-serving, so-called leaders in many Chicano and Mexican communities has been particularly disgusting.

In Chicago, a bitter controversy broke out after Moody Park slogans were painted on the walls of a high school where the RCYB had been doing agitation. Because the construction of the new school had come through the struggle in the Chicano community, school authorities and some backward elements who could see no further than their noses used this to whip up sentiment against the Brigade for "vandalizing our school." This line reached such a disgusting level that a local Chicano publication called "La Raza" had the nerve to ask rhetorically: "What is more criminal, the policeman who supposedly kills a young man with a proven history of misconduct [referring to the police murder of Joe Torres, which helped spark the Houston rebellion], or painting on the walls of a school with slogans that don't have anything to do with student life?" The article ended up calling on people to inform the police about anyone painting slogans so that these sloganeers could paint on jail cell walls. What they really meant was that the people should turn in anyone who threatens their control over the community by exposing the source of national oppression and calling on the people to stand with their brothers and sisters who rise up in rebellion. It's exactly the same thing that the reactionaries did in the Chicano community in Houston.

The Houston Rebellion and the defense of the Moody Park 3 has also become a dividing line between those who stand with the struggle of the masses for liberation and those who want to cover over the stench of the capitalist system with the perfume of reformism. In San Jose, California, to give a good case in point, a motley crew of narrow nationalists, reformists and some so-called communists ("The League of Revolutionary Struggle," formerly the August 29 Movement and I Wor Kuen, which is closely allied with the CPML) organized the "First Annual Chicano Spiritual Walk" for March 24, a date whose only significance was in its opposition to the building for the Moody Park 3 trial. The stated aim in their leaflet: "We are walking for the love of our people, not the hatred of our enemy." \$1,200 was provided by the San Jose City Council for this garbage. Cops swarmed around to protect the march, and in the front was the youth group of the "League of Revolutionary Struggle" holding up pictures of the Virgin of Guadalupe. A con-

tingent of 50 people organized by the RCP, RCYB and the Committee to Defend the Houston Rebellion marched up under a banner that proclaimed "Fan the flames of revolution, love the people, hate the enemy."

The cops, at the request of the organizers of the walk, battled the revolutionaries for half a mile to keep this message out. The contingent regrouped in a truck and formed several blocks ahead of the walk, receiving an enthusiastic response as leaflets from the Party exposing the reformist road and calling for the masses to take the road of revolution and to uphold the Houston rebellion were eagerly received.

Forces Come Forward

But for all their repression, all the work of their hacks and flunkies, all their efforts to silence and bury the lessons of the Houston rebellion, the bourgeoisie has not been able to do so. From Atlanta to Louisville to Boston, Chicago and Hawaii people have come forward to stand with the struggle in

Houston. And in West Germany, three GI's were arrested for passing out leaflets demanding "Free the Moody Park 3" and charged with insulting and being derogatory to the U.S. Army. And as the movement has grown among the oppressed nationalities and the multinational working class, other forces have also come forward to take a stand. Over 200 lawyers have signed an ad which will appear in one of the Houston daily papers. Endorsements for the April 8 rally are coming in from teachers, professors and other professionals all over the country.

At the star-studded New York opening of "Zoot Suit," the first Chicano play ever to hit Broadway, people coming to the theatre were greeted by leafleters, calling on them to take a stand against the modern day oppression of Chicanos, which in essence hasn't changed since the chauvinist anti-Zoot Suit riots of the 1940s. Five cops jumped on the leafleters, shoving one person against a car and charging him and two others with disorderly conduct and refusal to disperse.

After this show of force, the leafleting continued. And there was some very good response from the people going in. One young white professional gave two tickets to the leafleters. Another man, a poet who owns a cafe in Manhattan, offered his place for an open discussion, commenting that a friend in Houston had been keeping him abreast of developments in the struggle there.

As April 10 approaches—the opening day of the trial of the Moody Park 3—the wave of support is growing among all sections of the people, as more eyes are opened to this dividing line, and more have stepped forward to take a stand. But there is much more support that has yet to be tapped, thousands more to be moved to support the Moody Park 3, revolutionary leaders to be cherished and defended.

Free the Moody Park 3! Drop the Charges Against All Arrested! Stop Police Terror—Justice for Joe Torres! Down with National Oppression!

Oakland Pigs Gun Down Black Youth

"Avenge the Murder of Melvin Black"

On March 17, in the Black ghetto of North Oakland, Cal., three plainclothes cops murdered 15-year-old Melvin Black in front of the city-owned housing project where he lived. Claiming that Melvin "fit the description" of someone who had been shooting at cars on the freeway nearby, these pigs pushed Melvin up against a car and shot him in the back, point blank. As he struggled up the stairs to his apartment, they pumped four more bullets into his body until he lay dead in a pool of blood.

After a quick internal investigation, the Oakland Police Department ruled that this cold-blooded murder was "justifiable homicide." When the enraged and grief-stricken family went to see Oakland's Black mayor, he said he'd try to set up a meeting later, perhaps "next month."

But people didn't wait until next month. A few days later, a press conference and demonstration on the steps of City Hall was organized by members of Melvin Black's family, the RCP, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade and the Committee to Defend the Houston Rebellion. Sensing that the word of this murder was about to shoot like lightning through Oakland's Black community, the Oakland City Council voted to appoint an "independent committee" to investigate Melvin's death.

Their plans to whitewash yet another police murder hit a snag. The call to "Avenge the Murder of Melvin Black" was taken out to the people by the revolutionaries. On the day of Melvin's funeral, they passed out 800 black armbands bearing this slogan at Oakland high schools and called on people to break out of school to attend this funeral. As 200 youths gathered at Oakland High to hear what the revolutionaries had to say, the cops moved in, jumping an RCP member and hauling him and two members of the RCYB



off to jail for "inciting a riot, assaulting a police officer and resisting arrest." They were held on a total of \$21,000 bail.

This move by the Oakland cops, designed to intimidate the students, only outraged them further. When 10 a.m. rolled around, over 100 students from Oakland High and Oakland Tech (both mainly Black schools) walked out. At the funeral, the preachers did all they could to cool things out. But when the funeral procession went by, 100 people militantly raised their fists as the RCYB called on them to turn their sorrow into strength and fight the sadistic capitalist system that murdered Melvin Black.

A brother and sister of Melvin Black have endorsed the call for the April 8 rally in Houston on the eve of the trial of the Moody Park 3. What links this struggle around a cold-blooded police murder of a Black youth in Oakland with a rebellion of Chicanos

thousands of miles away? The police terror that cut down Melvin Black is everyday life in the ghettos and barrios across the country. The people of Houston's Northside around Moody Park know it well. It is the vicious repression that drives people to rebellion. And in rising up against the police as they did in last year's Cinco de Mayo Rebellion, they stood up against the whole system that gives rise to police terror, national oppression and a thousand other abuses. They gave a glimpse of the future, of mass armed proletarian revolution, and the day when there will be no more funerals for murdered youth, no more lives cut down by capitalism's bullets.

This is how we will avenge the Melvin Blacks, the Joe Torres, and the thousands more murders we know are yet to come—by giving the capitalists and their killer cops no peace and fighting them until they and their system are six feet under. ■

Mao Tsetung Defendants Charged With Being Revolutionaries



Washington D.C., January 29, 1979

This isn't a political trial, oh no, they're saying in the courtrooms and judges' chambers in Washington, D.C. So what are the defendants accused of? The fact is that these 78 people were arrested, many beaten, their bail suddenly upped from \$300 to \$10,000 each, a bail unprecedented in recent D.C. demonstration arrests, and now face dragged out legal proceedings and a trial on a grand scale. Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, was singled out for special treatment because "he is a revolutionary leader," and hit with special bail requirements. Yet despite the fact that all the 78 face the identical charge of felonious assault on a police officer, with one exception, not a single shred of evidence has yet been presented to link any one of them with a particular crime.

This shows very well what the 78 are on trial for—for daring to stage a demonstration that denounced the Chinese revisionist rulers' capitulation to U.S. imperialism. They stood up for revolution, and they ripped off the mask of "peace" that covered Teng's visit to expose it as part and parcel of U.S.-Soviet war moves. That's why they're called the Mao Tsetung Defendants—because it's revolution itself that the capitalists are trying

to put on trial. In late February and early March, the 78 Mao Tsetung Defendants arrested on January 29 in the anti-Teng Hsiaping demonstration in Washington were dragged back to D.C. hundreds of miles from dozens of cities for the second time in 3 weeks to stand in police line-ups ordered by the court.

The defendants had challenged, through their lawyers, the "right" of the District of Columbia Superior Court to order them to stand in line-ups in the first place. Even according to the bourgeoisie's own code of law, the line-up order is a travesty of justice. Bourgeois law itself states that line-ups may not be used to build a case against a defendant who is supposedly "presumed innocent until proven guilty" and may only be ordered after the court has been presented evidence against each particular defendant reasonably demonstrating that he is "guilty" of a particular crime. But did the D.A., Judge Hannon (whose court heard the original charges against the defendants and set bail at \$10,000 each originally), or the D.C. Court of Appeals let a little thing like their own "laws" stand in the way of their railroad of the Mao Tsetung Defendants? They used the defendants' legal brief, demanding a postpone-

ment of the line-ups until the legal issues involved were heard before the court, like so much toilet paper to wipe their posteriors clean of a few more stinking remnants of bourgeois justice.

Preliminary Hearings

The defendants' demand to dismiss the line-up order stemmed from the results of their preliminary hearings held in Washington in mid-February. In spite of the fact that the District Attorney made no attempt whatsoever to present evidence against the defendants (with one exception, an Iranian student)—all 78 defendants were bound over on bail for the grand jury which will convene sometime in April. Out of the grand jury's findings will come the actual indictments—making clear which of the 78 revolutionaries are being charged with what crimes and who will be brought to trial.

So far the D.A. has based her whole case against the 78 on a single premise: these people are revolutionary communists who openly proclaim their intention to work for the armed overthrow of the U.S. government, and more, they didn't back down in the face of police attack and intimidation. If we can't convict them, then who can we convict?

It didn't take much if anything to convince the Judge of the bourgeois validity of such an argument. In fact, he only stirred from his slumbering posture in the hearings to coach the D.A. in making her line of argument still more convincing—interrupting the defense attorneys' questioning of various witnesses to suggest to the D.A., "Don't you want to object to that?" "Why, yes, your Honor, I do." "Sustained."

One pig after another took the stand to oink out the D.A.'s case for her. A veteran cop with 15 years in the Special Operations Division (15 years of brutalizing demonstrators who come to D.C. and helping the courts with their system of injustice) testified that the anti-Teng march was the "most organized, disciplined and militant" march he had ever seen. Thank you, Mister Swine—we should hope so, since it was led by the vanguard Party of the most organized, disciplined and militant class the world has ever seen. Cop after cop testified that every demonstrator seemed to be "well armed." Thank you again—these revolutionary fighters were indeed politically "well armed" with the revolutionary outlook and line of Mao Tsetung, hundreds of hands holding high Mao's red book and proudly bearing dozens of huge red banners, flags and posters of Mao and the Four.

Finally the pigs testified that they had indeed feared this revolutionary march, that

the marchers seemed to "know exactly what they were there to do." Right again, Boys in Blue—the revolutionary marchers in Washington on January 29 did know what they were there to do—to deliver a sharp political blow against Teng & Co.'s delivery of China on a "modern" platter to the banquet of U.S. imperialism, and to expose and take a stand against stepped-up U.S.-Soviet moves toward war.

And the cops were quite right to be afraid of the revolutionary message delivered by this march in Washington, for just as the message clearly stated that the revolutionary battles being fought today in this country are seeds from which will grow the proletarian revolution in the future, so, too did the message include the understanding that today's pig is definitely tomorrow's bacon.

Judge Hannon was ready (in fact, impatient), willing (in fact, eager) and very able to believe the boys in blue, prop up their contradictory stories, and help the D.A. make her "case." Down came the gavel, once, twice and three times in the series of the preliminary hearings for the 78 defendants. And then down it came again to order all 78 to return to D.C. in two weeks' time to stand in police line-ups.

Line-Ups

The purpose of the line-ups for the bourgeoisie's attack on these revolutionary

fighters was two-fold. Clearly they are an obvious attempt to harass the 78 defendants, forcing them to leave their jobs, families and local areas, travel many miles to D.C., and submit to the line-up procedure, which itself is meant to be degrading. But more importantly, the D.A. had planned with the court's full backing and approval to use these line-ups to build a fabricated case against the 78. Between the preliminary hearings and the line-ups the D.A. worked overtime to refresh the memories of the cops who would be witnesses to the line-ups by showing them a board of photographs—which included over 60 photographs of defendants. The task was fairly simple: review the board, memorize as many faces as possible, and look for the same faces again at the line-ups.

The line-ups themselves were a farce from beginning to end. Due to the number of defendants involved, the D.A. claimed from the get that it was impossible to hold what she called a typically "fair" line-up. A typical police line-up includes 8-12 persons, only one of whom is accused of a particular crime. The witnesses to the crime must then identify the one particular person in the line-up from all the rest. All persons standing together in one line are supposed to physically resemble each other. But the D.A. openly argued that these basic bourgeois stipulations for line-ups were in this case frivolous and had to be ignored straight-up for the line-ups

Houston Animal House—Pigs in a Kangaroo Court

In Houston, Texas, on February 2, 1979, police headed off a march against Teng Hisao-ping by kidnapping 32 people, almost the entire march, two blocks away from the hotel where Teng was staying.

The charges brought against the demonstrators were no more than a ridiculous excuse for having arrested them: carrying prohibited objects (picket signs), interfering with police, abusive language, traffic tickets (while walking) and so on. Several charges were later dismissed, but eight people were brought to trial March 19. There was an assortment of convictions for carrying sticks and "abusive language," resulting in fines ranging from \$30 to \$90.

The judge refused to allow testimony bringing out the presence of Secret Service, FBI and other national police forces during the arrests, which would have clearly revealed the nationwide coordination behind the attacks on the Revolutionary Communist Party and those who uphold Mao Tsetung and denounced Teng and what the U.S. imperialists were up to with his visit. Nor did he allow any other testimony relating to anything that happened other than at the street corner where the arrests were made.

His "reason" for this was that the only issue to be judged was whether the defendants did carry sticks, call police names, etc. So therefore he didn't allow the defense to introduce testimony about the undercover swine who showed his magnum to a well-known RCP member and asked him if he

wanted "a piece of it." No testimony was allowed about how the female doctor giving "exams" to female demonstrators lifted their blouses in the main booking room filled with snorting pigs. But one bit of testimony did bring out what all this was about. A defendant told how he had been forced to lie face down in a puddle of water. The prosecutor quickly retorted, "That's your fault for demonstrating."

In his closing statement, the prosecutor gave the following excuse for the arrests: "No telling what these people might have done. Maybe they were planning to physically harm the Chinese Vice Premier and cause an international incident. Can't blame the police for what happened to them—after all they have American feelings and here were all these demonstrators shouting communist slogans and marching around with pictures of Mao on these clubs..."

"Communist slogans" and "pictures of Mao." "International incident"—the prosecutor did not reveal this brief glimpse of the limits of the bourgeoisie's famous "freedom of speech" of his own free will. His case had been badly punctured. Several oinkers had claimed that they had been "conducting an investigation and met with resistance" and that was why the bust occurred. But a police video tape that they were forced to show proves conclusively that the arrest by scores of riot-equipped officers was pre-planned and directed by police chief Caldwell himself. In fact, the revolutionaries had the pleasure of

dragging Caldwell as a hostile witness to this misdemeanor case.

With teeth clinched in rage at having to submit to this ordeal by those forces he most hates, he admitted having congratulated the reactionary Taiwanese forces, who also carried "sticks" on which hung Kuomintang and American imperialist rags, allowing them to demonstrate right in front of the hotel. This fact brought out very sharply the dictatorship that hides behind the mask of bourgeois democracy: no rights for those who oppose the ruling class; police protection for the "rights" of those who serve the ruling class and promote anti-communism and reaction.

In fact, showing that it's the bourgeoisie that the police protect and not any supposedly "neutral" law, Caldwell continued in the courtroom the task he had carried out in the streets by giving "helpful" orders to the bumbling prosecutor when his ability to use the law like a billy club faltered.

One person was convicted and fined \$30 for calling Caldwell a coward during the demonstration. At \$30 a word it probably would have been too expensive to tell the whole truth—that Caldwell, hiding behind the skirts of their rotten law and phony "democracy," had provided a fine example of how the police and the courts are both a tool of the rich man's rule, nothing but cowardly flunkies for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. ■

to accomplish their purpose.

Her original plan was to hold line-ups made up *only* of defendants—giving the cops the chance to go after these revolutionaries like shooting fish in a barrel. This plan was modified only slightly after repeated protests from the defense attorneys. Many of the persons who came to stand in the line-ups as “fill-ins” were cops who stepped out of their jackets and ties to stand beside the defendants while their brother pigs worked hard on the other side of the one-way mirror to identify the revolutionaries standing in the line.

When handing out the numbers by which the cop-witnesses would make their identifications, the Mao Tsetung Defendants were given numbers one through ten and all of those who came to “fill-in” were given numbers 11, 12, 13, etc. Oinking out the guilty numbers wasn’t too difficult for the witnesses since even most cops can count to ten. As far as grouping people in line-ups by physical characteristics, the police setting the lines up demonstrated their “standard of justice” on this front clearly in the first line-up that took place. A blue-eyed blond man was placed in the line-up of the Iranian students arrested. The cops may truly have the intelligence of the species they are known as—but even a pig isn’t blind!

The end result of these “frame-ups” was that slightly more than half the defendants were “identified”—as doing what? As having been “involved in an incident in the 1500 block of Pennsylvania Avenue on the evening of January 29, 1979.”

In addition to the main aim of fabricating their evidence in the cases against the MTT Defendants, the bourgeoisie also hoped that the fact that some defendants were identified by five or six or seven cops, others by one or two cops and some by none at all, would create cracks in the unity of the defendants, splitting off some who would become worried about their own skins. And they hoped that the humiliating experience of the line-up procedure itself would make some of the defendants at least think twice about the enemy they are up against and the stakes of the battle.

But the pigs might as well have stayed in their stys for all the good this attempt came to. With the same revolutionary outlook that had brought them to D.C. in the first place on January 29, these fighters took everything the cops handed out and worked to turn it around against them. As pig after pig strolled in to make his identifications, they were treated to the strains of the Internationale and other revolutionary songs, reaching their ears through the one-way sound system connecting the witness room with the line-up area.

No, the revolutionary defendants didn’t just stand meekly in line, mouths shut and hands behind their backs. They stood tall and erect, heads up, and proudly *hummed* the same revolutionary message they had delivered so powerfully on January 29! Then as each group of defendants was released from line-up custody, they marched through and out of the building fists in air, chanting revolutionary slogans.

At noon during a break in the line-ups, all the defendants came together on the steps of the building where the line-ups were going on to join in singing revolutionary songs, while some went out among the masses walking by to sell the *Revolutionary Worker* and agitate, not only about the line-ups going on and the case of the D.C. defendants, but about the need for revolution, the whole system of bourgeois justice, Moody Park, and other revolutionary struggles going on that call for the people’s support and participation. The pigs were furious and terrified by this show of the strength and revolutionary optimism of the defendants. They had hoped to demoralize these revolutionaries with this latest attack on them—yet here they were again, back in the streets of Washington, carrying forward their revolutionary work, working to turn the necessity of returning to D.C. imposed on them by the court into the freedom to expand and deepen the work for revolution.

As the defendants sang and chanted and talked with people on the steps of the very building where the latest frame-up was going on, the watching cops grew obviously more and more up-tight. They sent for reinforcements: motorcycles, patrol cars and a paddy wagon rolled up. Would the defendants back down and be intimidated? No, they stood their ground and their voices rang out even stronger. The situation grew so tense that the District Attorney sent a personal message to the Pig in Charge—for heaven’s sake, don’t do anything to those people here and now!

In the morning while the women defendants were held in police custody for their line-ups, the men fanned out to neighborhoods and schools in D.C. to sell the *Revolutionary Worker* and the *Revolutionary Communist Youth* and to get down with the masses. In the afternoon, the process was reversed. Two hundred copies of the *Revolutionary Worker* were sold throughout the day, new contacts were made, and the defendants successfully turned the attack on themselves into a political offensive against the enemy.

But the line-ups of the 78 revolutionaries in D.C. were only one of the latest bounces made by the whole kangaroo-court system of “justice” in their overall attack on all the revolutionaries who stood up to oppose Teng’s visit and hold Mao’s banner high. The trials and convictions of the revolutionaries in Houston (see p.11) are a still much more glaring example of the face of bourgeois dictatorship which hides behind the cosmetics of bourgeois democracy, when those cosmetics are washed away by the struggle of the masses.

White House 2, Embassy 5 Trials

The two revolutionaries arrested on the morning of January 29 at the White House lawn party to welcome Teng Hsiao-ping into the fold of U.S. imperialism will come to trial in early May. These two are charged with “disorderly conduct”—specifically with making loud and rude noises and disrupting the President’s speech. How rude to loudly and proudly go into the tiger’s lair to stand

up for Mao Tsetung and revolution worldwide, and wave Mao’s Red Book right in the terrified face of the Traitor Teng and his masters!

The next of the opening shots in the barrage of fire the imperialist class intends to shower down on the Revolutionary Communist Party and all those who have dared to stand up for Mao Tsetung and revolution will be the May 24 trial of the Embassy 5. These are the five revolutionaries who dared to take a bold and courageous stand last January 24 against Teng & Co.’s attempts to paint the red flag of revolution white.

On that date the Chinese chancellory in Washington, D.C. was assaulted, windows were broken, and white paint was splattered across the walls of the building housing these phony “red” rats. This action became an international incident which served to focus the eyes of the world on the U.S. in the days preceding Teng’s visit—demonstrating clearly that the voice of revolution has not been and will not be drowned out by the whining of capitulationism or the false bravado of imperialism. The stand and action of the Embassy 5 were critical in setting the context for the major demonstration against Teng & Co. on January 29. The five now face extremely serious charges ranging from “carrying a concealed weapon” (a misdemeanor) to six felony charges against them, some of which carry a possible *life* prison sentence.

The District Attorney in this case has openly admitted that he is getting his orders from the State Department itself. Knowing that the line of defense taken by the defendants is and must be principally political in nature, the D.A. plans to file a motion before the court to “limit the evidence” allowed in the trial; that is, to prevent any evidence concerning the *motive* of the five defendants in relation to the crimes they are accused of from being brought up or discussed before the jury. The District Attorney admits that he is afraid the Embassy Five’s trial may turn into a “full airing of the politics of Teng’s visit” to the U.S., and he wants to avoid this at all costs. But in fact, what do the arrests of these five, as well as the other Mao Tsetung Defendants, the charges against all and their trials represent if not a “full airing” of the *imperialist* politics of Teng’s visit?

The blow struck against Teng & Co. and their imperialist godfathers on January 29 was tremendous. It sent them howling in rage and anger to strike back against revolutionary fighters with the might of their bourgeois dictatorship and further rip the veil of “justice” and “democracy” from the ugly face of their courts and legal system. Like the political battle it reflects, the dimensions of the legal battle which revolutionaries must now take up to free the Mao Tsetung Defendants is both broad and deep.

Close to 100 people have faced legal charges so far. Eighty-five still face charges, carrying the possibility of up to five years in prison for the 78 (including Comrade Avakian) and even heavier sentences against the Embassy Five. Close to 20 attorneys are actively involved in legal defense work which will cost tens of thousands of dollars before the battle is over. Exactly because of the

magnitude of the attack, the case of the 78 revolutionaries in D.C. will take at minimum several months to go from indictments to the opening of the trial, and the trial itself may last several months.

The imperialists are definitely hoping that the complexity of the case, the large number of defendants from so many different areas of the country, the tremendous amount of money needed for political and legal work in connection with the battle—and the length of time the battle will take to be concluded—will all serve to dull the response to this attack and the ability of the revolutionaries to arouse the people. They want the

thousands and even millions who saw the D.C. demonstration on national TV news or heard about it in the weeks after January 29 to forget all about it as time goes by. They hope to use the convictions of the Houston defendants and convict the White House 2 and Embassy 5 to add legal weight to their case against the 78, and even more, to politically sharpen the edge of their overall attack on all who would dare to stand up for revolution.

In particular they want to slip by “guilty” verdicts in the Embassy 5 case quickly and quietly behind closed doors and away from the anger and outrage of the masses of people

who have heard about the attack on all the Mao Tsetung Defendants. Revolutionaries across this country cannot and must not let this happen. Instead they must go toe-to-toe with the enemy through every political and legal twist and turn of the battle, using our work now not only to prepare for the bigger battle that lies ahead—the trial of the 78—but more important, using our work now and in this whole battle to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants to continue to raise and carry forward the banner so proudly and militantly carried by these fighters on January 29. ■

Middle East Pact

They Call It Peace But It's a Step toward War

As Carter, Begin and Sadat embraced and grinned into the TV cameras, bombs ripped through Jerusalem and many cities inside Israel. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians staged a general strike that paralyzed the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip and reached into Jerusalem. In the Palestinian refugee camps of Lebanon and other Arab countries, effigies of the three were burned in the streets. In Tehran, Iran, Palestinians and supporters seized and occupied the Egyptian embassy. In Kuwait and Iraq angry crowds stormed the Egyptian embassies, smashing doors and shattering windows. In Egypt itself the army was put on alert. Thousands of Palestinians and other Arabs demonstrated outside the White House, their angry voices at times drowning out the signing ceremony itself.

The U.S. was nervously watching other reactions to the treaty. At the same time, the oil ministers of the OPEC countries were meeting in Geneva to establish new price hikes, and in Baghdad, Iraq, the finance and foreign ministers of the Arab countries were meeting to try to come to some agreement on sanctions and counter-measures against Egypt. The USSR, although dealt a blow by the U.S.'s ability to line up Egypt behind it, began working to turn this situation to advantage by trying to make itself the center of an anti-Egypt-Israel alliance.

For years the U.S. has pursued a policy of “no war-no peace,” using the threat of Israeli aggression to keep things boiling. The move to secure an alignment between Egypt and Israel represents, in effect, an abandoning of that policy. It represents a move to try to solidify the key Arab states in the U.S. war bloc, alongside Israel. Sadat's delivery of Egypt, the most populous and militarily powerful of the Arab states, is no small victory for this effort. But the failure of the U.S. to as yet get the open backing of Saudi Arabia and Jordan for Sadat's capitulation demonstrates both the failure of the U.S. and its flunkies to crush the Palestinian struggle and the fact that the Palestinians and the

broad backing their liberation movement has from the masses of Arab people remain a central factor in all the developments in the Middle East.

The Treaty

“The Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty” is a complete misnomer. It is neither an Egypt-Israel treaty nor a peace treaty. It is a U.S. treaty signed by its two client states. And it has as much to do with peace as the new fighter planes the U.S. promised to send both countries as part of the multi-billion dollar reward for following in step.

The basic agreement in the treaty is simple. In return for Egyptian recognition of the Zionist settler state, Israel will hand back the Sinai peninsula which it has occupied since

the 1967 war. But this much was pretty much already accomplished de facto 16 months ago when Sadat put his tail between his legs and trotted off to Tel Aviv. What took them so long to come to final terms? It certainly wasn't due to any lack of desire to strengthen the hand of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East.

For the Zionists the obstacle was their fear of the Palestinians, despite the fact that the U.S. imperialists have armed them to the teeth with all the latest military technology to defend their squatter's state. Hence their insistence on defensible boundaries, phased withdrawal from the Sinai (over three years), new bases to be built by the U.S. and no concessions to the Palestinians. For Sadat the big obstacle was his fear of the Palestinians and the support they enjoy from the Arab masses. This meant getting something into the treaty that he could use to hide the fact that he was capitulating to the Israelis and stabbing the Palestinians in the back.

The solution for dealing with the Palestinians was embodied in the letters and memoranda of agreement that were signed along with the treaty. These agreements set up plans for negotiations to give



Palestinian freedom fighters in training.



CONFERENCES Called to Debate These Questions

IS WORLD WAR 3 COMING? WHAT SHOULD WE DO ABOUT IT?

For more information contact:
RCYB, P.O. Box A3836, Chicago, IL 60690;
or, the *Revolutionary Worker* in your area.

Today, even as the media coos like a dove over the latest Mideast "peace" treaty, Congress is debating how to bring back the draft. The SALT II talks wrap up—as worthless as SALT I; the stockpiles of nuclear weapons grow ominously higher. With the recognition of China, there was promised a "lessening of world tension"—within weeks Indochina exploded with the U.S. supported Chinese invasion of Soviet-backed Vietnam.

We are staring dead on at the growing threat of the most massive and destructive war in the history of humanity—World War 3. The U.S. imperialists are hell-bent on keeping and expanding every square foot of their worldwide empire. So are the Russian rulers. U.S. vs. USSR—they want us to play imperialist roulette—for us, a bullet in every chamber.

What should the American people do? The RCYB is initiating conferences to debate and discuss these issues on 20 campuses across the country on the weekends of April 14 and 21. There is much concern and many different ideas about what's behind these events and what can be done. These conferences will bring together spokespeople from differing viewpoints to thrash out these questions. Such "teach-ins" played a vital role in the '60s educating thousands of students and others about the vicious nature of the Vietnam war. The campuses were turned from isolated ivory towers to centers of resistance to the war.

Today the stakes are much higher. While the conferences will be held on the campuses, workers, veterans, and many others will take part. Hard questions face all of us. The events shaping up today will have a profound effect on our lives. It is crucial to take part in these conferences to understand where things are headed in the world and what we can do about it.

“autonomy” to the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. This satisfied both sides. Sadat could say that this was part of a framework for a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. The Palestinians would have a chance at determining their own future. Begin could say, as he did, that they meant nothing. No autonomy over the land. The Palestinians, at most, might be given “home rule” on what he calls “sacred Israeli territory.” Israel, he says, will never give up Jerusalem and will never consent to a Palestinian state. Begin is right. “Autonomy” means nothing. It is a sham. To drive his point home, Begin announced before he left for the treaty-signing ceremonies in Washington that Israel would open up 12 new settlements in “Samaria and Judea” as the Zionists arrogantly call the West Bank.

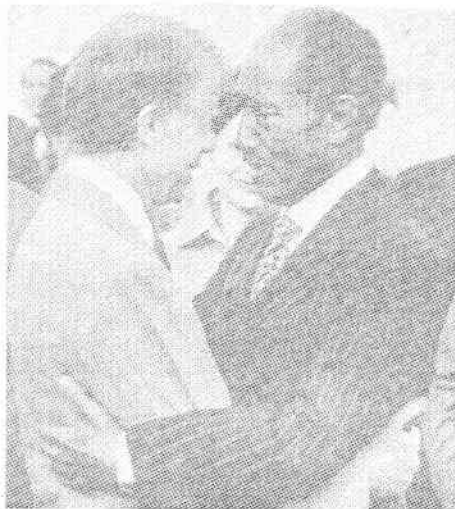
From No War-No Peace to Lining up War Blocs

But there are much larger interests at work in the Middle East than the self-preservation instinct of the Zionists and Sadat’s reasons for capitulation. In fact, the reason that Israel has been preserved at all is that it plays such a vital role for U.S. interests. In the last five years alone the U.S. has poured over \$15 billion in military and economic aid into Israel, most of it in the form of outright grants. As control of the Middle East’s vast oil resources has become more and more crucial to the U.S. empire, the role of Israel has grown in importance for the U.S. imperialists.

As one bourgeois author admitted rather candidly in a recent book arguing for the U.S. to step up its military intervention in the region: “Oil has given the United States a vital national interest in Israel. For without Israel, America would have nothing with which to bargain in the Middle East. With Israel, Arab states still have something to gain from the United States, whether it be territorial concessions or limitations on Israeli advances in a new war or adjustments in the status of Jerusalem.” He underestimates what the U.S. imperialists have going for them in the Middle East, but the point is essentially correct: Israel has been the dog of war which the U.S. can threaten to unleash against the Arab states.

Since the 1973 war this has been worked out in the form of a conscious policy of no war-no peace. The U.S. has played a game of seeking a negotiated settlement between Israel and the Arab states, while actually holding the possibility of further Israeli aggression over the Arab states. But now they have moved off that to a policy of trying in earnest to get a negotiated settlement on the basis of Arab capitulation to the legitimacy of the Zionist settler state. What in the overall situation in the Middle East has initiated this?

Since 1948 the Arab states have fought a desultory and rather hapless battle against an Israel armed to the teeth by the U.S. These reactionary Arab governments proved incapable of stopping Zionist aggression precisely because they feared unleashing the forces that could wage this struggle successfully: the Palestinian revolution and the



Carter to Sadat: A kiss and \$5 billion for capitulation.

masses of people of the Middle East. In fact they probably put more effort into crushing the struggle of the Palestinians and the Arab masses than they did opposing Israel. As superpower contention for hegemony in the Middle East becomes more and more of a central factor, these regimes increasingly see no option but to join up behind either the U.S. or the USSR. Jumping with the U.S. means coming to terms with Israel. While Jordan and Saudi Arabia have already more or less in effect done this, Sadat was the first to express his eagerness for open and complete capitulation to Zionism.

Another factor in the move from “no war-no peace” is the growing weakness of the Israeli economy (40% inflation rate, constant devaluation of its currency, big trade deficits) which has been entirely propped up by the U.S. Israel’s economic crisis and the social contradictions this is bringing to the surface show that Israel isn’t such a solid bedrock of reaction as the U.S. had hoped. But the main factor is the renewed threats from the Soviets in the region and the overall global trend towards consolidating war blocs. For the U.S. imperialists this became an even more urgent necessity in the Middle East after the revolutionary storm that swept the Shah from his peacock throne in Iran.

Sadat’s capitulation was seen as an important step in winning the Arab rulers to coming to terms with Israel. Egypt has close to half the Arab population of all the Arab countries and is by far the strongest militarily. Without it, the chances of the other Arab countries besting Israel in a war are severely diminished. The U.S. bet that Egypt’s coming to terms with Israel would pave the way for Jordan and Saudi Arabia to do the same. If they could create this situation, the U.S. might then be able to make new inroads with Syria, Iraq and Libya, where the Soviets now have the upper hand. To merely continue to try to maintain the policy of no war-no peace, on the other hand, seemed to be giving the Soviets new opportunities to fish in

troubled waters.

The big stumbling bloc in this scheme, however, is the Palestinians. Having failed to crush the Palestine liberation movement during the civil war in Lebanon, the U.S. is now taking the tack of trying to neutralize and isolate the resistance movement, on the one hand offering the pretense of a “reasonable proposal” for autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza and, on the other hand, trying to convince Jordan and Saudi Arabia that they should give up *their pretense* of supporting the efforts of the Palestinian people to liberate their homeland, for the sake of unity against the Soviet threat.

Why Saudi and Jordanian Hesitation

But to date, despite considerable effort, the U.S. has not been able to get any of the reactionary monarchies of the Middle East to endorse the Egypt-Israel pact. This is obviously not because of anti-imperialist sentiments of the House of Saud or the Hasemite kingdom of Jordan or the sheiks of the United Arab Emirates, nor because they stand with the revolutionary struggle of the Palestinians. What it does show is the strength and their fear of the Palestinian struggle, and the support that struggle enjoys among the masses throughout the Middle East.

Time and again the imperialists and the reactionary regimes of the Middle East have been ready to sing a requiem over the Palestinian struggle only to see it emerge stronger from betrayal and attack. This happened after the vicious extermination campaign waged by Jordan’s Hussein in 1971 (“Black September”) and again after Syrian and Israeli-backed Christian rightist attacks in Lebanon in 1976. Like it or not, the Palestinians are a force the reactionary Arab regimes have had to recognize. Not only do the Palestinians have strong support among other Arab masses, they are a real force in themselves in several of these countries. Despite Hussein’s earlier attacks, there are still almost 700,000 Palestinians in Jordan, in addition to another 300,000 to 400,000 in the West Bank.

In oil-rich Kuwait, for example, Palestinian refugees make up a quarter of the total population. As *Business Week* put it in trying to explain the dilemma of the Kuwaiti royal family, they are “a highly politicized group and hold high positions in business and government. In fact they almost control the bureaucracy and the managerial group.” While this certainly does not describe the living conditions of the vast majority of Palestinians, forced into squalid refugee camps throughout the Middle East, it underscores the fact that they are a powerful force that these Arab regimes can ignore or double-cross only at their own grave risk. It’s not surprising that one of the first moves that the Ayatollah Khomeini made in Iran in an effort to certify his own revolutionary credentials among the broad masses of the Iranian people was to kick the Zionists out of their Embassy in Tehran and turn it over to the PLO.

The kings and princes of Saudi Arabia are understandably reluctant to risk touching off

Superpowers Turn Yemen Into Battlefield

The fighting which raged over a month in Yemen has brought the southern tip of the Arabian Peninsula and the issues confronting the U.S. imperialists there to the front of the newspapers. The conflict in this formerly not very well known area has strong implications for the whole Mideast. It is of great concern to the rulers of the two superpowers, who are directly responsible for the blood being shed there.

In Yemen two different contradictions have become very sharp, interpenetrating with each other. In the Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen), the most widespread popular uprisings in recent years have broken out against the reactionary government kept in power there by Saudi Arabia and the U.S. At the same time—and of greater significance in determining the character of the situation at this time—the Soviet-dominated People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South Yemen) has engaged in a series of battles with the YAR's armed forces along the border separating the two countries, and is trying to use the revolts in the North for its own ends. This reactionary war reflects stepped-up superpower meddling, which has turned the region into an armed camp with brother pitted against Yemeni brother.

Middle East

(Continued from page 15)

a new explosion of Palestinian struggle that could rock their own thrones, and provide new opportunities for Soviet moves, by simply trotting along behind Sadat's craven betrayal and capitulation. That does not mean at all, however, that they won't go along with the new U.S. consolidation plans, particularly if the U.S. will force Israel to go along with what seems like a more substantive concession to the Palestinians acceptable to some of the liberation movement leadership, i.e., an autonomous or even "independent" Palestinian state on the West Bank and in Gaza.

The achievement of the Egypt-Israel pact is being hailed as a great victory for the U.S. But in fact, it was more necessity than hope that led them to it, since they had little choice but to move in this direction to try to stabilize the situation before they suffered even greater losses. And this "historic" pact will not last very long. By exposing Sadat and some other false "friends" of the Palestinians and the Arabs in general, it will help undermine the web of treachery that the U.S. imperialists have worked so hard to weave in the Mideast. ■

In recent months, shiploads of Soviet bloc arms and advisers have poured into the PDRY. These arms shipments were dramatically increased following the *coup d'etat* in Aden in June, 1978 that tightened up the Soviets' domination in the South. (See *Revolution*, August 1978, p. 8.)

On the other hand the YAR has for years been in the hip pocket of U.S. imperialism and Saudi Arabia—which openly bankrolls the YAR's armed forces. As fighting broke out in late February, President Carter invoked a "national security emergency" provision to send more than \$400 million worth of F-5E jets, M-60 tanks, armored personnel carriers, and other heavy weapons to North Yemen via Saudi Arabia. Over 100 U.S. Army and Air Force "advisors" accompanied these arms shipments, with U.S.-trained Jordanian and Saudi pilots to fly the jets rounding out the package. Saudi Arabia put its 45,000-man army on full alert, broadcasting its intentions to plunge directly into the fighting if its client regime in the North was in danger of being toppled. At the same time, Carter ordered a naval task force, including the giant aircraft carrier USS Constellation, to set sail from Subic Bay in the Philippines for the waters of the Arabian Sea just off Yemen.

Like the countries on the Horn of Africa, Yemen is strategically important to the imperialists because it sits on the entrance to the Red Sea shipping lanes that handles Persian Gulf oil and other key raw materials bound for Europe. In addition, Yemen is only a shot away from the world's largest and richest oilfields in Saudi Arabia. The nine million population of the Yemen Arab Republic outnumbered that of Saudi Arabia, and events in the YAR have a potentially critical influence on its oil-rich neighbor, since more than one million northern Yemeni emigrants work in Saudi Arabia.

Due to its strategic location, for much of its history Yemen has been dominated by foreign powers, especially British imperialism, which originally split the country in the 19th century into South (where the British set up a colonial administration in Aden) and North (which they ruled indirectly through tribal chiefs and the Imam). More recently, the U.S. and the USSR's pursuit of their imperialist interests in the region have been a major factor in keeping Yemen divided, in a continual state of war or near-war.

Revolution and Betrayal in the South

The establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in 1967, after years of guerrilla warfare against the British and reactionary sultans in league with them, was

a big advance for the national liberation struggle of the Yemeni people. During the late '60s and early '70s the national democratic revolution in South Yemen stood in stark contrast to the North, which continued to stagnate under the grip of imperialism and feudalism. The PDRY took a number of anti-imperialist, democratic measures, such as nationalizing foreign enterprises, expropriating the vast estates of the reactionary sultans and launching a widespread collectivization movement among the peasantry. The PDRY maintained an overall anti-imperialist foreign policy, which included support for the liberation struggles in Oman, Palestine and Eritrea.

However, in recent years the Soviet social-imperialists have steadily consolidated their political influence in the South, offering the PDRY leadership revisionist "shortcuts" to economic development and military defense. In fact, as the PDRY has fallen more deeply into the clutches of the USSR, the national democratic revolution in South Yemen is being reversed. Once again it has become a vassal of imperialism.

Today, the PDRY's government and military are swarming with more than 2,000 Soviet, Cuban and East German advisers, whose job is to turn the PDRY into a neo-colony of the USSR and a springboard for Soviet imperialist expansion in the Middle East and the Horn of Africa. Following the lead of the Soviet social-imperialists, the PDRY leadership has thrown out their previous support for the national liberation struggle of the Eritrean people, and has recently sent troops to fight for the Ethiopian reactionaries. The USSR now has the full use of Aden's port and air base, as well as naval facilities on the island of Socotra.

Soviet-dominated "economic development" in the PDRY has only led to greater dependency on the USSR and its East European allies. But the USSR has placed far greater emphasis on military aid recently, and has already taken to calling the PDRY "the Cuba of the Middle East."

Reaction in the North

The Yemen Arab Republic has been a long-standing client state of the reactionary rulers of Saudi Arabia, one of U.S. imperialism's main watchdogs in the Middle East. Under the rule of tribal chieftains and feudal landlords, the overwhelming majority of North Yemenis are chained to the land, barely eking out a living. There are almost no roads, schools and medical care outside a handful of cities and towns. Saudi investors and traders control much of the YAR's economy, and the government is openly offering up its mineral resources (copper, iron ore, and possibly oil) to U.S., West German and other imperialist exploiters. This combination of semi-feudal relations and domination by the Saudis and Western imperialists has kept the YAR's economy so backward and stagnant that today over 1½ million of its 9 million people have been forced to work in other countries, including tens of thousands in the U.S.

These oppressive conditions have produced a groundswell of popular opposition to

the northern Yemeni regime and to foreign, especially Saudi, domination. This struggle has roots in the 1962-70 civil war in the North between Saudi-backed royalist forces and republican forces supported by Egypt which ended in a stalemate—though in recent years the pro-Saudi feudalists and reactionaries have become dominant.

Over the last year mass struggle against the reactionary northern Yemeni regime has grown by leaps and bounds. The recent rebellions have spread as far as the northernmost province bordering the Red Sea and Saudi Arabia, where the governor called on the people to rise up against the government in Sanaa (the YAR's capital city). However, the most visible leadership in the North is the National Democratic Front, whose leaders and political positions are heavily influenced by the PDRY and rely on the south Yemenis and the USSR for their military supplies. Certainly the struggle in the North has the potential for developing in a revolutionary direction just as dangerous to Soviet interests as those of the U.S. But as to relying on the PDRY and the Soviets—how can relying on the same forces enslaving the South bring liberation to the North? Nothing good can come of such reliance.

Since the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in the late '60s, Saudi Arabia (backed, of course, by the U.S. imperialists) financed and organized attacks by mercenaries into the PDRY and encouraged the reactionary regime in North Yemen to take an openly hostile attitude towards the South. However, today it is the PDRY and their Soviet revisionist masters who are overall on the offensive in Yemen and are attempting to utilize the revolutionary ferment in the North for their own

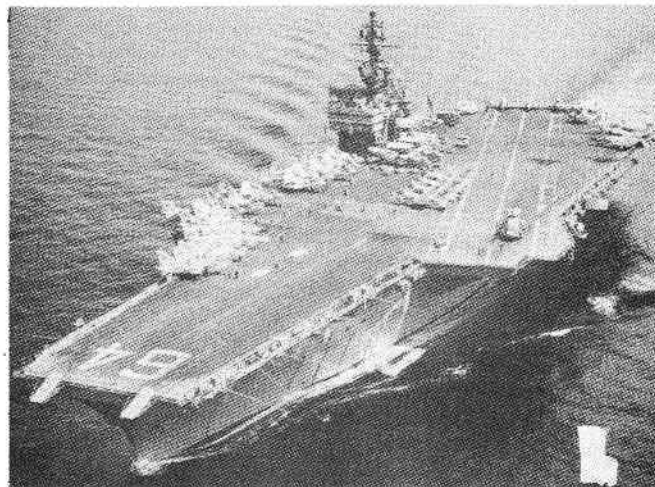
ends. From all indications, the strategy of the PDRY and its ever-present Soviet-Cuban "advisors" during the recent fighting was to tie up much of the YAR's armed forces on the border while popular revolts spread further north. However, the main question here isn't "who fired the first shot," for the regimes in *both* the North and the South are fundamentally pawns of one or the other imperialist superpower, who have ambitions of bringing all of Yemen under their own exclusive domination. And even though the fighting in Yemen appears to have died down for now, the threat of war, an even wider war, still hangs in the air—exactly because Yemen and the whole Arabian Peninsula are so valuable and strategic to the U.S. and the USSR's rival imperialist blocs.

Only several years ago, the U.S. could have counted on the Shah of Iran to rush his U.S.-trained and equipped troops into North Yemen, just as thousands of Iranian troops were used to put down the Omani liberation struggle in the mid-1970s. But the Iranian revolution has not only meant an end for the Shah's role as chief policeman for U.S. interests in the oil-rich Persian Gulf, but has concretely loosened U.S. imperialism's grip on the whole region.

Thus, the U.S. ruling class is being forced to play an increasingly direct role in Yemen and the Middle East as a whole. Plans are be-

ing drawn up to station vastly expanded U.S. military forces in and around the Middle East (see article on p. 13), and the fighting in Yemen is being milked for all it's worth to whip up support for these war preparations.

The imperialists are using conflicts such as that between North and South Yemen to push the idea that the oppressed peoples of the world have no choice but to hitch onto the warwagon of the U.S. or Russian imperialists. Standing as a powerful refutation of this line is the Iranian revolution, which is showing that it is possible to break free of domination by one set of imperialist pirates without relying on their superpower rival. This is the only road forward to genuine liberation for the Yemeni and other oppressed peoples of the world. ■



Aircraft carrier *Constellation's* current assignment—protecting U.S. imperialism's interests in Mideast.

Another "Oil Crisis"

Imperialists Defend Jugular Vein of Empire

The revolution in Iran has brought new cries of an energy crisis of catastrophic proportions from the U.S. imperialists. The shutdown of Iranian oil production, and the cutback in the level of production since it has resumed, are said to have caused severe shortages worldwide and to underscore the ongoing and intensifying oil crisis faced by the U.S. and its allies.

But in fact, the shortage in world oil flow due to the interruption of Iranian oil production has not even really been that significant because it has largely been compensated for by increased production from other members of the Organization of Oil Exporting Countries (OPEC) and by the drawing down of stockpiled oil. The increase in the price of Iranian oil and the extra oil produced by other OPEC countries has had some economic impact, but more on Western Europe and Japan than the U.S., which imported less

than 5% of its oil from Iran.

What really stands behind all the banging on empty oil barrels is the reality that the U.S. position in the Middle East and its control of the region's strategic oil reserves is being shaken by the revolutionary struggles of the masses of people and is increasingly challenged by the Soviet Union. This is what makes the present "oil shortage" hysteria different and even sharper than the "oil crisis" of 1973-74. The response of the U.S. imperialists has been to accelerate moves towards military action to protect their interests in the Middle East and to secure those vital oil resources for a final showdown with the USSR.

Take a look at their main moves in the wake of the Iranian revolution. 1) They are trying to whip up a new oil shortage hysteria as part of efforts to line the American people up for the "drastic measures" they say will

be necessary to protect "our common interests." 2) They are making open threats and plans for direct military intervention in the Middle East. 3) The new impetus to deregulate the price of domestically produced crude oil in the name of encouraging more domestic production and energy self-sufficiency—along with another round of pressure on the masses of people to "conserve energy"—is increasingly described in terms of "American security," i.e., war preparations.

The reaction of the vast majority of people to this latest "energy crisis" has ranged from open skepticism to the widely held belief that the oil shortages are artificially created by oil companies to increase their profits. Faced with this, the capitalist newspapers have taken to running headlines like "Energy Crisis? The experts agree—This time it's real!" Energy Czar Schlesinger announces that it is "more serious than the traumatic oil embargo of 1973-74." People already paying over 80¢ a gallon are told that \$1-a-gallon gas will be here by summer—along with long lines to the pumps and maybe rationing as well.

In Chicago recently, a TV commentator voiced the outlook the capitalists would like to cultivate among the masses. He said that he knew that the Shah had murdered and tortured tens of thousands, but as "a practical American consumer" if it was a matter of

having cheap gas and the Shah in power, or \$1-a-gallon gas and no Shah, he'd go with the Shah. This is the vicious, narrow and animalistic state to which the imperialists want to reduce the people in the name of what they call "our common interests." They are trying to hype people, to psyche them into a crisis—even war—mentality, to build mass support for whatever action they take, whether against those "dirty Arabs" and "crazy Iranians" or directly against the Soviets.

Military Intervention

Spokesmen for the U.S. ruling class are talking openly of direct military intervention to secure U.S. control of Mideast oil. Schlesinger called for an increased U.S. "military presence in the area," including the development of a Marine strike force stationed nearby and ready to drop in at a moment's notice. Secretary of Defense Brown was even more blunt: "Protection of the oil flow from the Mideast is clearly part of our vital interests. In protection of these interests we'll take any action that's appropriate, including the use of military force." Senator Henry Jackson suggested a joint U.S.-Egyptian strike force to protect the flow of oil from the Persian Gulf. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have called for the formation of a new U.S. naval fleet (the "Fifth Fleet") to be based in the Indian Ocean, or the rotation of naval task forces through the area from the Sixth Fleet, now stationed in the Mediterranean, and the Pacific-based Seventh Fleet. The Navy is now openly hunting for more centrally located mainland ports in Egypt, Abu Dhabi, Oman, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.

But the U.S. military moves already have gone beyond the talk stage. A squadron of F-16 fighter planes were sent on a "goodwill" mission to Saudi Arabia to let the royal House of Saud know that the U.S. had no intention of letting them go the way of the Shah of Iran. (Of course they had no intention of letting the Shah go the way of the Shah either.) The aircraft carrier Constellation was ordered to set sail from the South China Sea to the Persian Gulf area. As the fighting on the tip of the Arabian Peninsula between North and South Yemen intensified, creating new threats to the stability of Saudi Arabia and potential new leverage for the Soviets through their clients in South Yemen, the U.S. made its point by giving direct military aid to North Yemen.

Since the Arab oil embargo and fourfold price hikes of 1973-74, the U.S. was actually able to greatly strengthen its domination of the Middle East at the expense of the Soviets. The "triple pillars" of U.S. hegemony have been Israel, Iran and Saudi Arabia. The Israelis have played the role of the dogs of war, which the U.S. can threaten to unleash against the Arab states. Saudi Arabia, with its oil wealth, has been used to finance and promote reaction in the whole region. Iran has been their "policeman." The Shah was armed to the teeth to crush any mass struggle in the Persian Gulf or Arabian Peninsula, as he did in Oman. Basing itself on these "pillars" the U.S. took further moves to consolidate its position. In Lebanon they used the

Zionist-backed rightist Christians and Syrian troops in an effort to smash or bring to heel the Palestinian liberation movement. And their biggest breakthrough has come with the capitulation of Sadat to Zionism and U.S. imperialism. (See article p. 13.)

But the Middle East picture has not remained quite so stable and harmonious for the interests of the U.S. imperialists as they hoped it would. In fact, they have taken to talking of an "arc of crisis" that stretches from the Horn of Africa through the Middle East and Iran to Afghanistan. The heart of this arc is the vast oil resources of the region.

While the Soviets suffered setbacks, particularly in Egypt, they did not stop maneuvering and pushing for advantage. They seemed to concentrate their efforts on the "periphery" of the Middle East, consolidating and propping up client states in Ethiopia, South Yemen and Afghanistan. At the same time they worked to tighten their grip on Libya and Iraq and to bring Syria more firmly into their orbit.

The U.S. bourgeoisie viewed these Soviet moves as "ominous developments." Then came the massive uprising of the people of Iran, a revolution directed at the U.S. as well as its puppet Shah. They watched in shock as the regime of the world's second largest oil exporter, one of the "main pillars" of their strategy for Middle East hegemony, crumbled before their eyes. The tremors from this earthshaking struggle have been felt by every reactionary regime throughout the area—particularly by the monarchs of Saudi Arabia.

The U.S. bourgeoisie quickly began trying to sum up their lessons from the Iranian revolution. And they have come to the conclusion that they cannot rely solely on local reactionary stand-ins to defend their interests. As a result, they are moving rapidly to prepare for a greatly expanded direct U.S. military presence in and around the Middle East.

The imperialists—both U.S. and Soviet—face an "energy crisis" in the Middle East. But control of the area is not just a matter of fat oil profits. It's a whole world of profits that is at stake. Maintaining their domination over the Middle East's oil, where two-thirds of the world's known oil reserves are located, is absolutely critical for the U.S.-led imperialist bloc. The U.S. at present only imports about 20% of its oil from the Middle East. But Western Europe depends on the Middle East for over 50% of its oil and for Japan the figure is almost 90%. The flow of oil to Europe and Japan is vital to maintain them as tremendous sources of economic and military power for the U.S. bloc, and in war oil is the jugular vein. The imperialists will need oil to fight a war—lots of it. They need it to move their guns and troops around and to run their industry day and night to make more war materiel. The U.S. imperialists are making clear their willingness to go to war in the Middle East to protect "their oil," whether it's a move against one or another oil-producing state or a more direct confrontation with the Soviets.

Energy Self-Sufficiency—for What?

Since the downfall of the Shah, the U.S.

bourgeoisie has once again begun screaming about the dangers of dependency on foreign sources of oil and the need for the U.S. to become self-sufficient in energy. This screaming has reached a new pitch, far more shrill than the actual sharpness of their oil problems in and of themselves. Since the 1973-74 Arab oil embargo and price hikes, foreign oil imports (at the new prices of course) have been the single largest factor in the U.S. balance of payments deficit, and thus greatly weakened the dollar, playing havoc with U.S. trade relations with its imperialist allies. To cut imported oil, the government has carried out a big campaign around energy conservation: turn down your thermostat, 55 miles per hour, telling Detroit to make more energy-efficient cars, etc.

But the finger-shaking at OPEC oil prices as the cause of inflation that has gone along with this is bogus. Since 1973 inflation has gone up much more dramatically than OPEC price increases. In fact, inflation and the decline in the value of the dollar have meant an actual loss in real oil revenues by the OPEC countries. And the U.S. has depended on its buddies in Saudi Arabia and the Shah to prevent OPEC from pegging the price of oil to at least keep up with inflation. Furthermore, for every nickel OPEC has raised its oil prices, the oil companies have raised their prices a dime.

Despite all the histrionics about the price of OPEC oil, the fact is that the amount of oil the U.S. imports has risen from 36% in 1974 to about 45% today. The simple reason is that it is still more profitable for the oil companies to bring in foreign oil than it is to produce new oil here in the U.S. Behind all the mystification they try to spread the oil companies have made it clear that the energy crisis is in fact a profits crisis. As the Treasurer of Exxon put it several years ago: "Unless and until the real nature of the crisis is understood and profit levels become such that the industry is confident that its investments will bear fruit, the supply of energy required will not be forthcoming." The goal is profits, not oil production. This has been borne out very sharply around the great Alaska oil fields which were supposed to greatly reduce U.S. reliance on foreign oil—and have not had that effect. In fact, the oil companies are backing off of new exploration and production in Alaska because the profitability has not been up to their expectations.

The oil companies' main argument has been that the only thing that will really insure an increase in domestic production is the deregulation of the price they can charge for domestic oil. Here they have run up against opposition from other sections of the capitalist class, particularly the big energy users, who have not been about to foot the bill for oil company profits.

But now, suddenly, after years of government opposition to deregulation, Carter seems certain to go along with it in some form or another. Why the change? Everyone admits that this will result in a big increase in energy costs. Is it because Carter and the rest of the capitalists have been won to the oil

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Young women vow to avenge police murder of Black youth in Oakland, Ca. after March 22 funeral.



International Women's Day—1979

Women—A Mighty Force for Revolution

“Break the Chains! Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution!” It was a bold and exciting slogan. And the programs sponsored by the Revolutionary Communist Party in over 20 cities carried through with this spirit. The content of the speeches and the cultural performances at this year's International Women's Day celebrations were a major political advance, firing revolutionary feelings and understanding.

They had a sweeping revolutionary view of society. They struck in anger at this capitalist system that wraps women in a thousand chains and calls it a pedestal. They described the oppression of women as part and parcel of exploiting class society and how the liberation of women must be an important front in the struggle to end class society, and how that advance for humanity can never come unless women are unleashed as a mighty force for revolution.

They exposed and challenged some of the key political and ideological illusions which the bourgeoisie spreads to blind both men and women and shackle them to misery and degradation. And they shined a light to the future, gave a sense of what life could be

like for men and women under working class rule, and in classless society, communism. These celebrations also had an international spirit that was dramatized and filled with high emotion in many places by the presence of brothers and sisters from Iran, revolutionary fighters who were about to return home to carry through the revolution.

International Women's Day 1979 took place at a time of increasingly revolutionary ferment in the world, in particular a time of major revolutionary breakthrough in Iran. It was celebrated at a time when it becomes daily more obvious that the superpowers are on a collision course of imperialist contention that will plunge the world into war. And here in the U.S. the situation for the people is becoming more desperate. More and more people are asking what the hell is going on, and growing numbers are coming to see that what is going on is the crisis and decay of the capitalist system—and that the system has to be put to an end and replaced. It is a time when the bourgeoisie is intensifying its efforts to infect the working class with its decadent outlook, including about women and their role in society, and to promote the idea

that nothing can ever really change.

Revolution Worldwide

In this worldwide upheaval and struggle for revolution, women are playing an increasingly powerful role. This was brought out sharply in the examples of the role of women in the Iranian revolution. The Party speaker at the Chicago program pointed out that “what has powerfully blown away a lot of the bourgeois notions about women in the struggle is Iran.” She described the inspiring picture of hundreds of thousands of women who despite all the restrictions put on them had come out to demand death to the Shah, in defiance of the armed force of martial law and thousands of years of tradition that said women don't do things like this. And the pictures of revolutionary women armed with captured M-16's, declaring their determination to carry the revolution forward to the end, illustrated that “Hell hath no fury like women revolutionaries in struggle against the enemy!”

In the context of the struggle of the international proletariat to break through the chains of capitalism and advance towards

communism, Comrade Chiang Ching was upheld in these programs against the slanders and attacks that the bourgeoisie and the revisionists have leveled against her. She was hailed as a heroic revolutionary fighter for Mao's line on all fronts who had made many contributions to mankind's struggle for emancipation.

In his speech at the San Francisco Bay Area program, Comrade Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Party's Central Committee, spoke of the tremendous possibilities that the future holds. "Today when capitalism is on its last leg... we can say that the period of history in which society has been divided into classes, and in which together with that women have been subordinated and oppressed, this period is a very brief one indeed, only a few thousand years. It is very short compared to the long period of primitive classless society before that and pales in significance compared to the period that lies ahead with the abolition of class society, with the abolition together with that of the oppression of women, and with the opening up of a new dawn of communism, when men and women together and people throughout the world will march together to consciously take up the task of transforming and remaking the world."

But, as Comrade Avakian emphasized, that kind of a society will not come of itself. It has to be built through constant struggle. You cannot conceive of this kind of society with the oppression of women, or of getting there without fighting it. "We cannot sit around and wait for the advance of communism for the oppression of women to be automatically eradicated... or there will be no advance to the socialist revolution, and ultimately to communism. There will be no such advance except through the most determined struggle against the capitalist system and its oppression of people on every front, and a most important front within that is the

oppression of women."

In her speech in New York, Joanne Psihountas, a leading member of the Party's Central Committee, referred to what Karl Marx had said over 100 years ago, that "anybody who knows anything of history knows that great social change is impossible without the feminine ferment." But, she went on to say, "part of the very nature of the oppression of women, the role and position of women in class society, holds them back from their full participation. There are thousands of chains on women, economic, social and ideological."

The Family

These chains not only hold back the masses, she pointed out, but also have an effect in the revolutionary movement. One of the places this ideological hold of the bourgeoisie is the strongest is around the question of the family. They spread the illusion that the family can be some sort of island of stability in the midst of the crisis and turmoil of capitalist society. And the women's tasks are defined principally in terms of the family, and in the most narrow way possible. Everything is for *my* family, protect and sacrifice for *my* family. My family first and foremost.

In a speech in one city a woman who had been involved with the Chicano movement in Houston years back described concretely how this comes down—and how she struggled against it. The group she was involved in had fallen apart and she had gotten married, had a child and been divorced. She said that when the Houston rebellion erupted, those revolutionary fires that had been kindled in her years before were given new life. She wanted to become involved again. Her family argued against it, saying that her main responsibility was to take care of her child. But she knew there was more to it, and she struggled with them. And then, she looked into the audience and said, "Isn't that right, Dad." For she had not only struggled with them but had won them over. Her former husband was at the event too, having come out for International Women's Day.

The programs put the question out there squarely both to the conscious revolutionaries and to the people from among the masses: Are we living to try and carve out some island of stability for ourselves and our family, a myth that will be blown away by the forces of society no matter how devoted and dedicated parents we may try to be? Or are we about making revolution, creating a new society not just or mainly for our children—but for all future generations of children.

Advances

The advance in the political understanding of the Party that was reflected in these International Women's Day programs was also seen in the work in building for them. In the Bay Area, for example, people went out and did some agitation around the road forward for women's liberation. In one instance, they confronted ex-Congresswoman Bella Abzug at San Francisco State University where she was giving a lecture and attacked her as a mouthpiece for the bourgeoisie for her

reformist dead-end trap of holding up the ERA as the focal point of struggle for women.

Her security guards tried to kick the people out, but everyone spilled out into the University Commons and a huge debate ensued over a whole range of questions regarding women's oppression and the struggle against it.

One speech or one program isn't everything. But these programs demonstrated how tremendously liberating a revolutionary line can be. In short, International Women's Day 1979 was an important political advance for the Party and the overall revolutionary struggle. ■

Jugular

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companies' Pollyana arguments that if domestic oil prices rise, consumption will decline, oil imports will subside, the dollar will strengthen and the whole economy will benefit?

Hardly.

The new factor arguing in favor of deregulation and the hoped-for resultant increase in domestic oil production is the increased recognition by the U.S. bourgeoisie that as a war with the Soviets looms closer on the horizon, and the struggle of the masses in the oil-producing countries creates greater "instability and uncertainty in the guarantee of oil flow," it has to secure its oil sources. And this is becoming the main argument for what they call energy self-sufficiency.

But none of this in the slightest means that the U.S. imperialists are throwing up their hands in defeat or pulling back into a shell of "self-sufficiency." Quite the opposite. In reality they are trying to expand their sources of foreign oil. The dust from the collapse of the Pahlavi empire in Iran hadn't even begun to settle before Carter hustled off to Mexico to try and lean on the government of that country to commit four to five million barrels a day of its recently discovered vast oil reserves to the U.S. And the U.S. has by no means given up in Iran.

As their contention with the Soviets heats up, the campaign for "energy conservation" that the U.S. bourgeoisie is trying to run on the American people takes on a new and sharper edge. People should walk more, says Rosalyn Carter! Schlesinger threatens to close down gas stations on the weekends. New gasoline taxes are proposed. These measures have some economic purposes. But principally it is a political move to try to get people into a belt-tightening, "let's all sacrifice for the country" mood. And that creation of public opinion is an essential ingredient of the imperialists' war preparations.

Is there an oil crisis? Yes, in the sense that there is a profits crisis for the oil companies. But the crisis that the capitalists are yammering about now is mainly not an economic crisis, but a political crisis. They are banging on the empty oil barrels over a new crisis for their imperialist rule and world domination—and that banging has the distinctive rhythm of war drums. ■

—New Pamphlet—

Break the Chains! Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution!

Excerpts from speeches
given by representatives of the
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
at International Women's Day
programs around the country in
March 1979.

Available soon

Message of Solidarity with RCP, USA From Iranian League of Fighting Women

Comrades:

Please convey our warmest revolutionary greetings to the heroic working class and especially the millions of oppressed women of the U.S.A.

It is with the greatest sense of pride that we the League of Fighting Women of Iran, speaking for the exploited and oppressed women of Iran, are able for the first time in over three decades to express to you and through you to the fraternal working class people of America our unwavering solidarity with you in our common fight against the common enemy.

It is only through our steeled unity that we can help bring about the complete overthrow of imperialism and reaction and thus free all mankind. It is only in the course of this struggle that we shall be able to carry out the revolutionary fight to win real and final emancipation for women all over the world. In this struggle we shall never forget the great contributions of the American working class and progressive women, whose valiant struggles have always been a source of inspiration to our people. It is to the determined fight for the emancipation of women that March 8th, International Women's Day, is dedicated.

Comrades, our valiant people, the courageous masses of workers, peasants, students, women and progressive clergy and patriotic businessmen, and revolutionary soldiers, have scored brilliant successes in their long fight to free themselves. We are sure it won't come as news to you that during the last year and a half the people of Iran gave close to 100,000 lives to win independence and democracy and that with the valuable support that we were able to receive from the people worldwide we were finally able to overthrow the monarcho-fascist regime of the Shah and its U.S. imperialist masters.

The world should know that throughout the decades of struggle by the bold people of Iran, our women stood shoulder-to-shoulder with the revolutionary men of our country and fought heroically in the front ranks to achieve the great aims of our people. Overcoming all political, social and traditional

barriers, we withstood the long imprisonment and vicious torture, firing squads and wholesale slaughter, in complete unity with all the oppressed people of Iran who finally took up arms to smash our enemy, and now are keeping to the orientation in helping to consolidate the great achievements of our movement and to deepen the democratic revolution. We are continuing the fight to eradicate the remnants of feudalism and imperialist social relations that still weigh heavily on our shoulders. In unity with our oppressed masses, we are taking the lead to free our women from these two reactionary forces that act as the main pillars of all that is antiquated and reactionary.

Needless to say some forces within our movement are still clinging to backward ideas and due to their narrow class interests adhere

SWP [Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party—ed.] has imported for its cause the feminist mercenary Kate Millett, who is nothing but a thinly disguised tool of the remnants of the reactionary ruling classes of Iran. This trend which attempts to pit men against women in the abstract and which negates the historical necessity for women to seek their emancipation in the context of a united struggle of all oppressed social classes and strata, to bring about the revolutionary transformation of the society as a whole, serves only to disunite the ranks of revolution and to allow the reactionaries and imperialists to elevate the contradictions among the people to an antagonistic level and carry out their worn out policy of divide and conquer. The League of Fighting Women will resolutely beat back these trends at every step

of the way while delivering its main blow where it should, at imperialism and reaction.

Comrades, you can rest assured that we did not travel this long and tortuous road only to stop half way. Quite the contrary. One could say we have only just begun. Let all imperialists and reactionaries be warned that the Shah and his boss Carter were mere obstacles for the bright future of men and women alike. After they are finally swept away there still remains the lofty aim of building an Iran free from all exploiters

and oppressors. Our country up to now has been a bastion of reaction. It needs to and it will become a staunch bulwark of revolution, with the unwavering support of oppressed people of the world, men and women alike.

Finally, comrades, allow us to once again openly declare our deep admiration of your heroism and ever deepening solidarity with your sacred cause. We hope you will forgive us for not being able to send a representative to your festivities. We hope to remedy this situation in the future.

Long live the Iranian revolution! Long live the great solidarity between the Iranian and American people! Death to imperialism! Death to reaction! Women of the world in unity with all the oppressed rise up in revolt!

League of Fighting Women of Iran



to the positions which only help to keep us down. By offering us special positions strongly resembling feudal ties, these forces are only demonstrating their vacillating nature and their inability to lead our people to complete victory. We have no doubt that through a resolute struggle against these backward and sometimes reactionary tendencies, we will be able to win to our side those who are honest but have not yet grasped the essence of our revolutionary cause and to isolate and crush those who despite all our patient efforts still continue to stand in the way of our total emancipation.

There is also a completely different trend that has attempted to infiltrate our ranks. We are speaking of course of feminism. This reactionary imperialist trend that is now being propagated by the Iranian version of the

Iran IWD

(Continued from page 6)

meini declares an "Islamic Women's Day."

At the same time, the overall political struggle was sharpening up between the Marxist-Leninist and other revolutionary forces, on the one hand, who are calling for deepening the anti-imperialist democratic revolution, and on the other hand, the vacillating middle forces grouped around Khomeini and the present government who are attempting to halt the revolution at the stage of a bourgeois "Islamic republic" and are increasingly relying on remnants of the old reactionary regime, especially the armed forces, to consolidate their power. The call for this "Islamic Republic" is a dangerous pipedream because its programmatic content is to stop the revolution without completely uprooting U.S. imperialism and the forces of domestic reaction, which still have significant economic and military power.

This struggle has been particularly intense over the Khomeini-Bazargan government's policies of demanding that the revolutionary forces and the masses give up their captured guns (while the old reactionary U.S.-trained armed forces is being pieced back together, with almost all of the old officer corps, minus some top generals, retaining their commands); leaving scores of U.S. and foreign-owned factories and banks, as well as large landholdings, in the hands of their imperialist owners; opposing the just democratic demands of the Kurdish people and the other oppressed nationalities in Iran; and holding a referendum at the end of March giving the Iranian people the sham "choice" between an "Islamic republic" and the hated monarchy.

100,000 March

Though the demonstrations were in the main sparked by Khomeini's reactionary stand on the chador and other issues directly affecting women, this overall political atmosphere of continuing struggle to carry through the revolution helped set the stage for the powerful explosion on March 8. On this historic International Women's Day nearly 100,000 women joined by thousands of men marched through the streets of Tehran in a driving snowstorm. With clenched fists in the air and unveiled heads, many women chanted "In the dawn of freedom, there is an absence of freedom." The League of Fighting Women's revolutionary chants and slogans linked the fight for the emancipation of women directly to the necessity of waging a united revolutionary struggle against imperialism and the reactionary ruling classes and continuing to deepen the revolution.

At several points along the march route, bands of right-wing Moslems, including previous supporters of the Shah's regime (described as "revolutionaries" by the U.S. press), attacked women with clubs and knives, calling them "prostitutes," "SAVAK

agents" and "communists." The demonstrators fought off these attacks, teaching these right-wing elements and die-hard male supremacists some painful lessons.

The news of this powerful march in Tehran travelled from one end of the country to the other, stirring up interest and controversy everywhere. The demonstrations that followed two days later were even more widespread, and revolutionary women played an even greater role in them. More than 100,000 women in Tehran streamed out of office buildings, government ministries, hospitals, high schools and universities at mid-day and surged through the streets to demand democratic rights for women. Large numbers of Moslem women wearing the chador lined the march, demonstrating their support with raised fists and denunciations of the reactionaries' attacks on the demonstration. And in Rasht, Abadan, Sanandaj, Tabriz and other cities, thousands of militant women rallied and marched for the first time on March 10.

Faced with these spreading demonstrations and the development of widespread support for them, government spokesmen and Ayatollah Khomeini himself were forced to beat a hasty retreat. Khomeini explained that his earlier statement should not be taken as an *order* for women to wear the chador, but only that it was their "Islamic duty" to do so. Khomeini even stated that "these women are our sisters" and pledged to punish those attacking the demonstrations. Still, Khomeini and other religious leaders maintained that women have an "even higher status" than men under Islam.

One particularly significant event was the rally and conference called on March 10 by the League of Fighting Women, which had been formed just one week earlier. Upwards of 6,000 women and men gathered in a large auditorium at Tehran University to discuss and struggle over the road forward for the fight for the emancipation of women and for the Iranian revolution as a whole (see accompanying letter). During the conference, messages of support were read from a number of communist organizations including the Union of Iranian Communists and the Organization of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, from workers' organizations in the oil fields and the steel mills, and from the People's Fedayeen and the Mujahadeen.

The League of Fighting Women is setting out to mobilize millions of Iranian women, especially the women of the working class and peasantry which form the backbone of the revolution, to participate fully in the overall revolutionary movement; and in this context to organize the masses of women to struggle against and eliminate the feudal and imperialist social relations and ideology that weigh particularly heavy on Iranian women. And though much of the spontaneous outpouring of women's hatred for their oppression during these days was triggered by Khomeini's statements on the chador—which had to be and were resolutely opposed by revolutionaries—the League resolved to oppose any attempts to narrow the struggle against women's oppression to the question of

women's dress and the chador or to make this question the dividing line between progressive and reactionary forces—which could only play into the hands of the imperialists and sever the struggle for the emancipation of women from the overall tasks of the revolution, whose present target is the imperialists and their Iranian cats-paws and the landlords. In the weeks following the International Women's Day demonstrations, the League of Fighting Women has taken the woman question on this revolutionary basis out broadly and has grown rapidly in the course of its work.

Imperialism, Feudalism Oppress Women

The oppressed position of women in Iran today and for the last 70-plus years has been shaped principally by the domination of imperialism and feudalism. In general, the tightening grip of imperialism on Iran has had two contradictory effects. On the one hand, it has tended to break down traditional, feudal social relations and ideology (replacing them with its own thoroughly bourgeois social relations and ideology and cultural decadence). On the other hand, and this is overall principal, by forming an alliance with the monarchists, landlords and other reactionaries, imperialism has preserved and enforced the most backward social relations and ideas—painting them over with the decadent brush of Western imperialism rather than eliminating them, especially in the countryside.

From the Constitutional Revolution in 1905 down to today's revolutionary upsurge, Iranian women have fought heroically at the front lines of the struggle against imperialism and reaction. In doing so they have had to wage a resolute struggle against the feudal-based oppression of women having the weight of thousands of years of tradition behind it, as well as against the more "advanced" and phony anti-feudal forms of the imperialist exploitation of women.

For instance, during the 1920s, when the hold of the feudal landlords and the reactionary Islamic clergy over the masses severely limited the participation of the mainly peasant Iranian women in all areas of society, Reza Shah ordered Iranian women to shed their veils in order to build up his image as a "progressive monarch" and prepare certain strata of Iranian women for imperialist roles. Reza Shah went so far as to order his gendarmes to rip veils off women in public, which met with tremendous resistance from the masses, both from the standpoint of defending the traditional status of women and from resisting imperialist domination.

Exactly because the question of the chador has received so much publicity from the U.S. bourgeoisie and in their press (which has all along seized on it and the traditional and religious component of the revolutionary struggle to build up public opinion for the Shah and imperialist domination of Iran as forces for progress and "modernization"), it is important to get straight on just what it represents. According to Islamic theology, men and women are both intrinsically evil by nature, and the only way to keep them from engaging in immoral activities is to cover up



This poster from a girl's high school in Tehran reads: "For the Freedom of Women—For the Freedom of Society—March 8, International Women's Day 1979."

the woman's body, which can only incite men to sin. This reactionary excuse for the subjugation of women is linked to feudal social relations and ideology, which have held the vast masses of Iran in chains.

The chador began to appear on a large scale in Iran (ancient Persia) only after feudalism (the rule of the landlord class) had replaced the slave system, and the previous subordination of slaves mainly by force had to be replaced by new forms of social control, such as by religious codes, including the chador. However, the chador has never been a universal phenomenon in Iran. Today in northern Iran, for instance, in the fertile agricultural region along the Caspian Sea, the chador is almost non-existent among peasant women who work in the tea and rice fields, in the citrus groves and generally play a big role in agricultural production. Though the chador is still worn by the majority of working class and peasant women, its use is most concentrated among women locked in the home, isolated from social production. The chador is also worn by large sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie, especially orthodox Moslems and women relatively insulated from Western influence in the bazaars. On the other hand, among women factory workers, modified chadors that are really just scarfs have become more widespread. And among some sections of urbanized petty bourgeois and bourgeois women, especially professionals, government employees, university students, etc., the chador is rarely worn.

All this points to the fact that imperialist domination and the development of capitalist relations in Iran has drawn more and more women into socialized production, in which the chador and other traditional forms of dress have increasingly become an obstacle. In addition, the developing social and political consciousness of ever greater numbers of Iranian women has led to reject-

ing the backward ideology underlying the chador and has pushed women to take up more advanced forms of dress.

But within these social developments, which fundamentally represent an advance because they lay a stronger basis for waging the overall class struggle as well as the fight against the oppression of women, the imperialists and their reactionary allies centered around the monarchy have vigorously promoted a bourgeois social role for women, rife with imperialist decadence. Far from "liberating Iranian women," this has led to the importation of foreign imperialist culture, particularly from the U.S., including Western "fashions," pornography, X-rated movies, prostitution and other "modern" forms of exploiting women.

Imperialist "Liberation"

In certain parts of Iranian society, imperialism has replaced traditional feudal social relations with the bourgeois position of women as commodities, to be bought and sold on the market—whether as Western-style wage slaves or sex objects. In order to corrupt Iranian women with imperialist ideology and to mobilize them for the regime's sham "modernization" plans, the Shah encouraged the formation of reactionary women's organizations, which functioned as an arm of the fascist Rastakhiz Party and were led directly by Empress Farah, Princess Ashraf (a notorious international heroin dealer) and other women from the comprador bourgeois ruling circles. The Shah's main efforts to bring imperialist-style "women's liberation" to Iran were concentrated among the upper strata of petty bourgeois and bourgeois women, though the regime's drafting of women into the armed forces, especially for the Village Health Corps and Education Corps, reached further down among women from the peasantry and working class. Much of the regime's reac-

tionary work among women was used as a propaganda vehicle abroad, as proof of the benefits of opening Iran to large-scale imperialist penetration. Farah and Ashraf often travelled to the U.S. to receive awards from the bourgeoisie and its agents in the women's movement for their enlightened work in "liberating" the women of Iran.

The great reforms that the Shah claimed credit for were a vicious sham. One of the biggest farces was that Iranian women were given the "right" to vote. This was nothing more than a cynical public relations maneuver aimed at whitewashing the Shah's fascist dictatorship, which guaranteed women revolutionaries that they would be tortured and executed along with their male comrades. The new "family protection laws" put on the books under the Shah were hardly ever enforced, with women remaining virtual slaves of their husbands under traditional Islamic law. Throughout the countryside, peasant girls as young as 9 and 10 years old were forced to marry men two and three times their age in prearranged marriages. Working women were restricted to menial jobs as maids and servants, working in textile plants and other sweatshops where their pay was less than half the miserable wages paid to men. The growing domination of imperialism, interlocking with traditional feudal social relations, served to tighten the chains of oppression on the overwhelming majority of Iranian women, especially the workers and peasants.

As the revolutionary struggle against the Shah's regime came to a head over the last year, massive resistance built up to these "modern" forms of exploiting women. This was expressed in the growing participation of women in the struggle against the Shah's regime and in the growing influence of Marxist-Leninists among the masses of women. Overall, however, there was fertile ground for the Islamic religious leaders, especially the more conservative of them, to hold out the promises of "freedom" in a return to women's traditional status. During this high tide of mass struggle, the conservative mullahs didn't have the objective ability to push women out of the political arena (and in fact often had to call on them to take to the streets), though they nevertheless did their utmost to keep traditional restraints on women, such as forcing them to stay in separate sections of the massive anti-Shah marches and requiring them to wear the chador. And according to these same forces, now that the revolution is reaching its final goal of an "Islamic republic," Iranian women are facing increasing pressure to return to their traditional oppressed social roles.

U.S. Bourgeoisie's Line on Women's Demonstrations

It is exactly just contradictions such as these within the ranks of the class forces that have united to overthrow the Shah which the U.S. bourgeoisie has picked up on over the last year to picture the Iranian revolution as a reactionary movement aiming at putting veils

Continued on page 24

back on women and destroying the Shah's great "modernization" plans for Iran. After the victorious armed insurrection in February the U.S. media latched on to these backward aspects within the people's movement to say openly that the Iranian revolution has only replaced one form of dictatorship with another, and generally to promote cynicism about revolution among the people in the U.S. The *Christian Science Monitor* editorialized recently that "the fundamental question facing Iran is whether, in its haste to do away with the Shah's legacy of tyranny and corruption, it will do away with the good inheritance as well." And nearly every newspaper article or TV report on the March demonstrations claimed that Iranian women are fighting to keep the "rights" they had won under the Shah's regime.

Furthermore, the U.S. bourgeoisie is consciously working to build up the influence of forces, including remnants of the old comprador regime and national bourgeois forces willing to deal with U.S. imperialism, who are trying to stop the revolution at the stage of a bourgeois republic, shed of its more fervent and unpredictable Islamic ideological trappings and its petty bourgeois social base. This was clearly reflected in the publicity the imperialists gave to the narrow, bourgeois feminist currents that arose within the demonstrations—ranging from the spontaneous tendency to raise demands around women's rights separate from the overall revolutionary struggle, to the overtly bourgeois feminist position of judging the advances of the Iranian revolution mainly or solely by the new government's position on women, which came out in slogans raised at times in the demonstrations such as "Down with Khomeini" and "Down with Dictatorship," which confuse the present main target of the revolution and objectively serve the cause of imperialist counter-revolution.

Trotskyites: New U.S. Advisors

One organization that has assisted the imperialists' efforts is the Iranian branch of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party, which sponsored the recent publicity-seeking trip of American feminist author Kate Millett to Iran. The American and the Iranian SWPs, together with the international "Committees to Defend Women's Rights" they have set up and "big names" like Millett, have been pushing the line that regardless of what class they're in, whether women are workers or exploiters, all women are "sisters" who have a common struggle for "liberation" separate from the struggle for revolution. The reactionary essence of this line came out long ago, when the American SWP and their Iranian tag-alongs distinguished themselves by defending the "rights" of Queen Farah—a vicious executioner of thousands of Iranian freedom fighters in her own right—from "oppression" by her husband the Shah!

In order to oppose the current new democratic tasks of the revolution in Iran, the SWP religiously mouths the mandatory Trotskyite dogma about "the struggle for socialism." However, beneath this very thin "left" cover of opposing the actual current stage of the revolution, the essence of their

rightist line is reducing the revolutionary struggle in Iran to the struggle for the "rights" of workers, peasants, women and oppressed nationalities. In the context of Iran today, this adds up to a reformist struggle for bourgeois democracy, a bourgeois republic, which is a sure-fire recipe for liquidating the struggle to seize political power and place it in the hands of the Iranian masses led by the proletariat, and for setting them up for slaughter—sooner or later—at the hands of the imperialists and the reactionary ruling classes.

The Iranian SWP has managed to develop some influence among bourgeois and upper petty bourgeois Iranian women who have been most heavily influenced by Western imperialist culture and tend to view the fight against women's oppression solely as a struggle for equality with the men of their own class. Aided by the feminist mercenary Kate Millett, they have attempted to target conservative Moslem men and leaders and especially Khomeini as the main obstacle to the liberation of women, rather than delivering the main blow to imperialism, feudalism and the reactionary ruling classes.

This line guided the "international feminist actions" organized by the Trotskyites in mid-March. In New York City, this event featured bourgeois feminists such as Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan, and Bella Abzug who got on their high-horses to denounce the mistreatment of Iranian women by the Khomeini/Bazargan government, playing directly into the hands of the U.S. imperialists who are saying that the Iranian revolution has brought "Islamic tyranny" and increased oppression to the Iranian masses. Where were these people when Iran's women were shedding their blood to overthrow the Shah?

Millett's reactionary political performance in Iran was entirely consistent with her literary career and with her association for several years with the SWP front group, the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). In the late 1960s, Millett received some attention with the publication of her book *Sexual Politics*, which declared that sexual divisions are "the most stable, universal and permanent" divisions in the world and that everything else flows from them. Hardly distinguishing between women of various classes, she did not recognize, let alone attack, the rule of the bourgeoisie. The truth is that within the U.S. movement for women's liberation in the 1960s and early '70s, Millett represented a backward tendency from early on, in contrast to the growing number of women in those years who came to see the links between the chains that bind women and the overall nature of a society based on the exploitation of the working class and the oppression of the masses of people. Many others who came forward in the women's movement became proletarian revolutionaries. Kate Millett achieved "equal opportunity" employment as a flunky for the capitalist ruling class.

CAIFI, which awarded Millett her credentials as a "supporter of the Iranian revolution," limited itself for years to denouncing the Shah's denial of artistic and intellectual

freedom. It gained a following among liberal intellectuals and straight-out bourgeois forces such as ex-Attorney General Ramsey Clark. However, CAIFI represents more than just a reformist and Trotskyite trend. It has earned the active hatred of all progressive Iranians ever since it was founded several years ago by a renegade and traitor to the Iranian revolution named Reza Baraheni.

In the early 1970s, Baraheni, a self-proclaimed "revolutionary poet," was arrested and held in Iranian jails for several months. In contrast to the courageous example set by thousands of revolutionary fighters in the Shah's prisons, Baraheni caved in and publicly recanted on Iranian TV.

When Baraheni arrived in the U.S. he was immediately granted political asylum—something which no member of the ISA ever received from the U.S. imperialists—and then he founded CAIFI. Using his "anti-Shah" credentials, this counter-revolutionary traitor started touring the country, shamelessly attacking thousands of jailed Iranian revolutionaries who resisted the Shah's fascist regime to their last breath, calling them "crazy" and "hero worshippers," and claiming that the "real revolutionaries" would save their own skins like he had. Needless to say, the U.S. bourgeoisie loved this cowardly sewer rat, and CAIFI under Baraheni's leadership played a thoroughly reactionary role in opposing the revolutionary struggle in Iran and attempting to channel opposition to the Shah's regime and U.S. imperialism into a reformist dead-end. Apparently he has had much less success in diverting things in Iran, where revolutionaries recently prevented him from speaking and beat him up like the enemy agent he is.

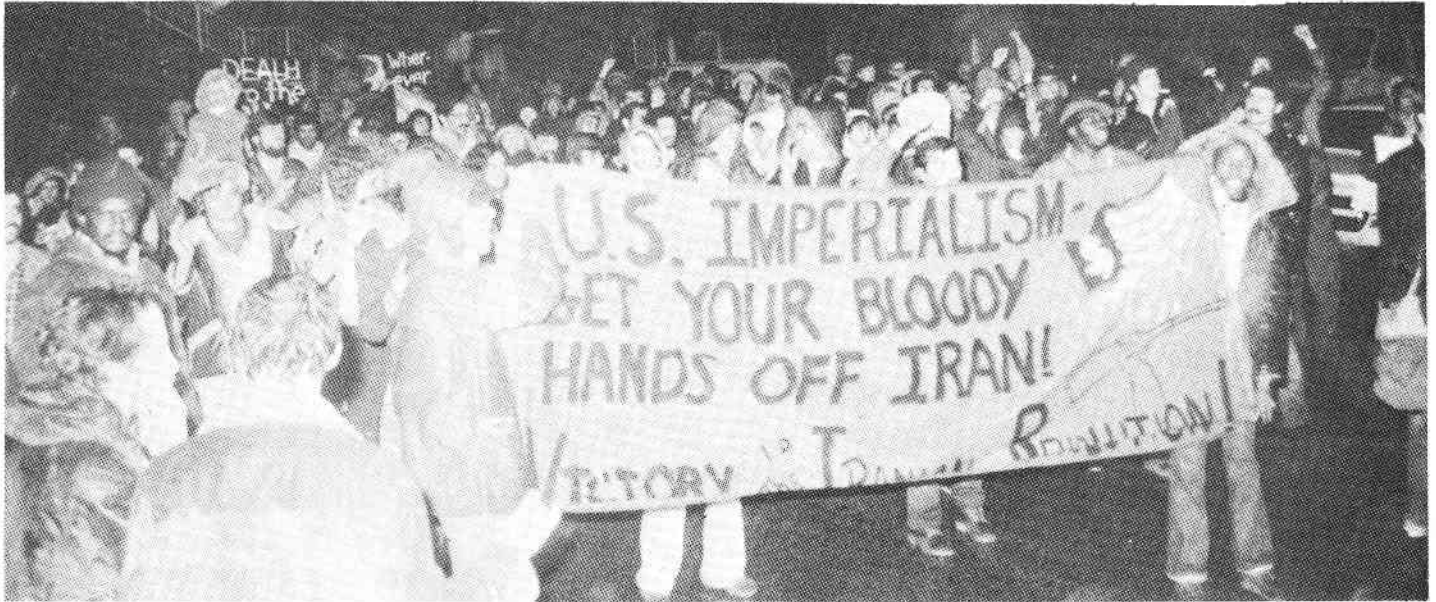
Proletarian Leadership Necessary

Many forces involved in the movement to overthrow the Shah have continued to cling to and promote backward social relations that subjugate women and weaken the masses' ability to resist imperialism. On the other hand, narrow and reformist tendencies have spontaneously arisen within the struggle against the traditional bonds of women's oppression, which the imperialists and revisionists of all stripes have attempted to capitalize on. This points all the more to the crucial importance of a proletarian line and the work of genuine Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary mass organizations such as the League of Fighting Women. Without this leadership, it will not be possible to mobilize the masses to crush the forces of imperialism and reaction and push the revolution through to the end.

This emphasizes all the more the revolutionary potential of the struggle against the oppression of women as a component part and a vital force within the revolutionary struggle to transform society as a whole, which alone can lead to the total emancipation of women. With this revolutionary orientation, millions of Iranian women will take their places on the front lines in the decisive struggles still to come. ■

Major Port for Arms Shipment to Iran

Iranian Revolution Hits Wilmington, N.C.



The port of Wilmington, North Carolina, long a major shipping point for U.S. tanks, guns and other instruments of bloody military suppression sent to Iran, was turned into a political battleground in support of the Iranian revolution on the weekend of Feb. 24-25. Nearly 300 revolutionary fighters from the East Coast and South organized by the February 24th Coalition (RCP, RCYB, NUWO, ISA and VVAW) converged on Wilmington.

As word started to spread about the demonstration, shipping company executives sent letters to the dockworkers warning that if they refused to load military arms bound for Iran the army would be brought in to do it. But coalition members went to the local International Longshoremen's Association hall (which is 98% Black) and rapped about how not only was the armed revolution in Iran a fine and liberating thing, but that it was against the same oppressors who people had picked up the gun against in the Black rebellion in Wilmington in 1971. (The 1971 Wilmington rebellion started over school desegregation and developed into a boycott. The Klan and nightriders then came into the Black community and started shooting people. But the Black community started shooting back and kept the pigs and Klan out for three days. The National Guard had to be called in. All this led to the now famous frameup of the Wilmington 10.)

The coalition was well received in the Black community where the rebellion took place. Quite a few dockworkers openly stated their support for the Iranian revolution and its links to the Wilmington rebellion. The local ILA president even felt compelled to state his support for the coalition.

The march was scheduled to go through Stevedore Row, a white residential area right

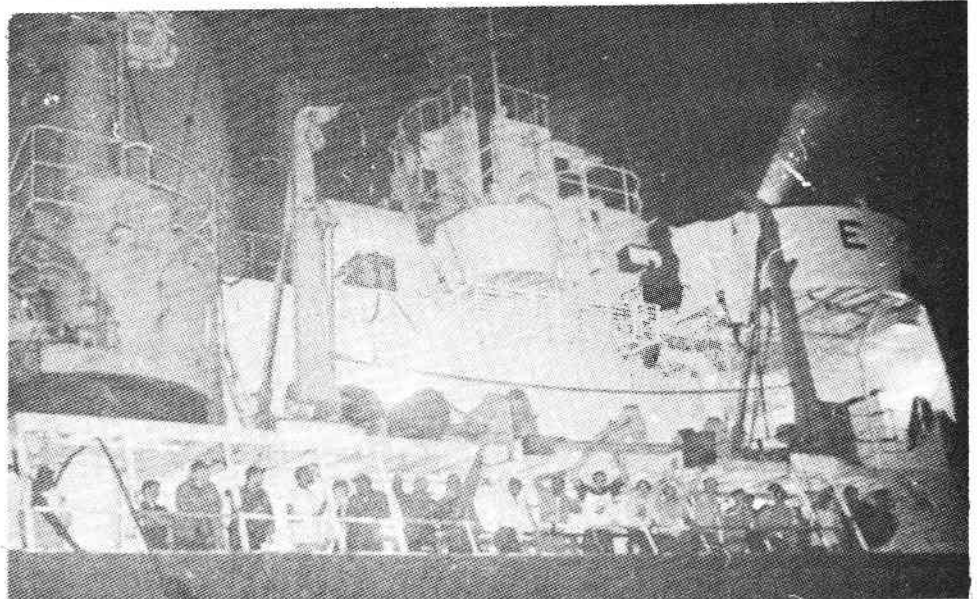
next to the docks. Through the press, rumors were floated that vigilantes were meeting at Stevedore Row to attack the demonstration. However coalition members took this head on and went door-to-door in Stevedore Row to talk to people about the Iranian revolution. Many openly expressed support for the coalition's activities and bought the *Revolutionary Worker*. One family even invited people in for dinner.

Meanwhile the pigs sneaked around and intimidated church leaders and put out the word to hotel owners and others, forcing the conference to be held 60 miles south of Wilmington in Myrtle Beach, S.C.

After the successful conclusion of the con-

ference, a caravan headed back to Wilmington to hold a rally at the Federal Building. Chants rang out: "Jimmy-boy, Jimmy-boy, run, run, run. The Iranian revolution has just begun." "Wilmington '71, Black people picking up the gun. Iranian revolution today, armed revolution is the only way!" All the cops could do was stand around and watch. This in itself was a big victory after the cops' threats.

Across the street from the rally on the waterfront, sailors on a Coast Guard vessel cheered the rally and raised clenched fists. Twice the officers ordered them off the deck, but this didn't stop the sailors from showing their support for the demonstration.



Sailors on Coast Guard vessel in Wilmington harbor cheer rally.

Revolutionary Battalion Returns to Iran

ISA: Staunch Comrades, Frontline Fighters

It had become a frequent but always inspiring scene in cities across the U.S. Fiercely militant, disciplined demonstrations of Iranian students, strong voices shouting "Down with the Shah!" Marching through crowded city streets, passing out thousands of leaflets, agitating, exposing, educating the American people to the vicious role of U.S. imperialism in Iran and around the world.

The U.S. media slandered and attacked them in every way they could. "Crazy," "disgruntled students," "spoiled brats," "troublemakers," "an impotent minority." Overthrow the Shah? Impossible! He's tremendously strong. He's armed to the teeth. He's got the most powerful military apparatus in the whole Middle East, and he's backed to the hilt by the U.S.

Iranian students were a constant target of the bourgeoisie's harassment and intimidation. They were arrested and threatened with deportation to the torture chambers of SAVAK, the Shah's hated secret police. But with every attack from the U.S. ruling class the Iranian students became a stronger and more influential force.

The imperialists and the Iranian reactionaries tried to paint the picture of the Shah's rule as rock-solid stable, and the resistance of the masses as nothing. But suddenly the factors for revolution that were gathering beneath the surface burst through, sweeping the Shah from his royal palace and sending him running into exile, whimpering like a wounded dog.

And now thousands of Iranian students who carried on the struggle against the Shah right here in the U.S., the imperialist country that installed the Shah in power and propped him up for 25 years, have left or are soon to leave for home to continue the revolution guns in hand. Many of these students are members of the Iranian Students Association, which led the struggle against the Shah in this country. These are truly some of the finest sons and daughters of the proletariat worldwide. These revolutionary fighters received a heroes' farewell as they prepared to leave this country.

The deep feelings of emotion and the bond of comradeship between these revolutionary fighters of the ISA and revolutionaries in the U.S. that was expressed at a farewell party in Chicago after the International Women's Day celebration represented what happened around the country. As songs of struggle and the high spirit of revolutionary Iranian dances filled the night, there was hardly a dry eye in the hall. There were tears of sadness that we would not be seeing these strong comrades with whom we had stood shoulder to shoulder in so many battles. But even

more hearts were filled with joy because these staunch revolutionaries were returning into the thick of the struggle in Iran, determined to carry the revolution through to the end. And although we would be separated by the distance of many thousands of miles, we would be joined together by something much more powerful, the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and reaction.

History of Struggle Will Never Be Forgotten

The words "Iranian students" today have become synonymous to large numbers of the American people with revolution, with the fight against oppression and imperialism. As one worker said on learning that a fellow worker was a communist, "Oh, that means you go on all those marches with the Iranian students."

The members of the ISA have had a determination and a revolutionary confidence and optimism that sets an important example to revolutionaries everywhere. And they demonstrated a faith in the masses of people here in the U.S. that is also something to be learned from. Here they were in the country of their oppressor, yet they had confidence that the masses of people would listen to them and respond—and they did. They took their struggle straight to the people, passing out probably millions of leaflets over the years at factory gates, shopping centers and college campuses, explaining to people what was the real nature of the Shah's regime and exposing the role of U.S. imperialism in the oppression and exploitation of the people of Iran. Millions of people in the U.S. learned much about events in the Middle East—from the movement in Iran to the struggle of the Palestinian people to the occupation of the country of Oman by the Iranian army—through ISA forums, marches and leaflets, and through the ISA national newspaper *Resistance*. Many young Americans were brought into the revolutionary movement in this country through the actions of the Iranian students, and in particular the work of the ISA.

The militancy of their struggle fired revolutionaries in this country and remains a powerful example. In November 1977 the Shah came to the U.S. to see Jimmy Carter on what was to be his last routine pilgrimage every time a new top representative of the U.S. ruling class was chosen. 5000 Iranians and American supporters battled the D.C. cops and hired Iranian reactionaries for hours outside the White House, unmasking the foul lie that the Shah was only hated by a band of 60 fanatics who traveled from place to place around the world to stir up trouble. It was the largest and most violent demon-

stration in Washington, D.C. since the height of the Vietnam War.

And in January, 1979 the flames of revolution burning down symbols of imperialism and reaction in Iran lit up the sky right here in the U.S. 2500 Iranians and Americans stormed the Beverly Hills mansion where the Shah's mother and sister were trying to hide out after fleeing the revolution in Iran. They torched the hillside surrounding the mansion and fought pitched battles with the cops who poured in from all over the Los Angeles area to protect this family of vipers. This action brought home to the American people that the Iranian revolution couldn't be isolated off in the Middle East.

ISA Stood for Proletarian Internationalism

Perhaps more than anything else the ISA has come to symbolize proletarian internationalism. Their struggle has been rooted in a fierce hatred for imperialism and all forms of reaction. And while in the U.S., they joined wholeheartedly with the struggles of the American working class and masses of people.

When the Chicano people in Houston rose up in rebellion against their national oppression, the ISA immediately and broadly joined in the movement to free the Moody Park 3 and to defend the Houston rebellion. When striking coal miners marched through the streets of Charleston, West Virginia last year to denounce the sellout by their union misleaders and the efforts of the capitalists to smash their strike with the Taft-Hartley injunction, members of the ISA marched with them. And they actively took up the work to build support for the miners' struggle. They sent word of the battle back to Iran and together with the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade they took word of it out to college campuses around this country.

It is hard to think of an important struggle waged in this country in the last few years that did not see the ISA in the front ranks. They exemplified the spirit of internationalism which Mao Tsetung talked about on the death of Norman Bethune, a member of the Communist Party of Canada who went over to China to serve as a doctor in the Red Army and died there in 1939:

What kind of spirit is it that makes a foreigner selflessly adopt the cause of the Chinese people's liberation as his own? It is the spirit of internationalism, the spirit of communism, from which every Chinese Communist must learn. Leninism teaches us that the world revolution can only succeed if the proletariat of the capitalist countries supports the struggle for liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial

peoples and if the proletariat of the colonies and the semi-colonies supports that of the proletariat of the capitalist countries.

The ISA was not a communist organization but rather a mass democratic organization corresponding to the present national democratic stage in Iran's revolutionary movement. Nevertheless, it always stood for the general interests of the working class and oppressed people of the world. And it made significant contributions on the ideological front in this country.

In opposition to the various opportunist and revisionist lines, the Iranian Students Association has played an active and revolutionary role, helping to slice away the moldy cover of the CPML and get straight to their rotten essence, nailing these petty patriots for their reactionary claims that the Shah was an anti-imperialist fighter against the so-called main danger of Soviet social-imperialism. And it took a firm stand against social-imperialism, exposing the Soviets and their lackeys in Iran. Members of the ISA from all over the country marched with the RCP to give a "fitting welcome" to Teng Hsiao-ping and expose this traitor to revolution when he came to Washington D.C. to plot with Carter and the U.S. ruling class. The ISA participated in and made important contributions to the major conferences on the international situation the Party initiated two years ago, as well as in many other educational forums over the years.

Learn from the Revolutionary Spirit of ISA

Long after our comrades in the ISA leave this country, their contributions to the struggle against imperialism will be remembered and cherished. They have helped carry out the key task of raising the revolutionary consciousness of the working class and masses of people in this country.

Just as the struggle of the masses in Iran has delivered a heavy blow to the U.S. bourgeoisie's best laid plans for the continued domination of Iran, so too the struggle of the ISA here in the U.S. has helped to narrow the ability of the imperialists to carry out their designs. It will be an important task of the Party and all revolutionary people in the U.S. to carry on our work around Iran in the spirit of the ISA, exposing and building powerful opposition to any moves by the imperialists to re-establish their grip on that country, and giving firm support to the revolutionary struggles of the Iranian people.

To our Iranian comrades and friends who are leaving or who have already left: you leave behind a rich legacy of revolutionary work here among the American people. Our Party, the Party of the American working class, is very proud to have fought shoulder to shoulder with you over the past many years. Yes, it is with tears in our eyes and joy pounding in our hearts that we see you leave. For we know that you will add great strength to the revolution in Iran. We must build and deepen the revolutionary unity already forged between our peoples, together with the working class and oppressed peoples worldwide. ■

HEIDAR KHAN AMOGHLI

صدرخان اموغل

Presented to the R.C.P. in deep solidarity with the working class in U.S. and their REVOLUTION!

I.S.A.U.S. march 11, 1979



Heydar Amoghli—founder and revolutionary leader of the first communist organization in Iran, the Organization of Iranian Social-Democrats, which later became the Communist Party of Iran in 1919.

Steel Layoff Protests Rock France

On March 23, 70,000 French steelworkers from Lorraine and other people marched through Paris in a massive protest against layoffs. Although the action was sponsored by unions in the hands of the revisionist French Communist Party (PCF), these hacks could not control it. The workers repeatedly clashed with police, defied PCF orders to disperse, and fought back against PCF goons who attempted to attack more militant forces from within the march after a police frontal assault was beaten back. As night fell, workers and students spread the fighting to several areas of Paris, including a train station which was taken over by demonstrators and then burned when the police attacked.

This is just the latest round of a series of strikes and actions centered in the region of Lorraine (in the northeast part of France bordering Belgium and Luxemburg) which have rocked France more than anything else since the uprising of workers and students in 1968. French steelworkers are up in arms—at

times literally—against layoffs which threaten to turn entire regions of France into ghost towns. This is taking place in the context of the “Barre Plan,” a plan proposed by Prime Minister Barre to stabilize France’s crisis-ridden economy and improve its competitive position in the world by increasing the exploitation of the workers and launching wholesale layoffs and cutbacks. Longwy, a steel mill town in northern Lorraine and the scene of militant and even armed protests, has become a rallying point for opposition to the Barre Plan.

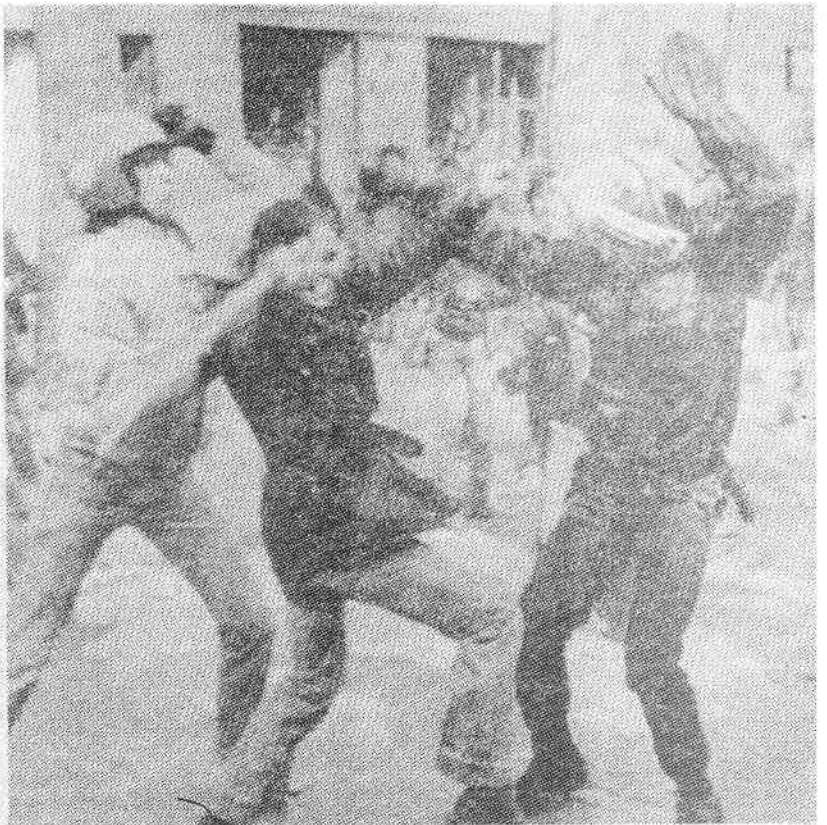
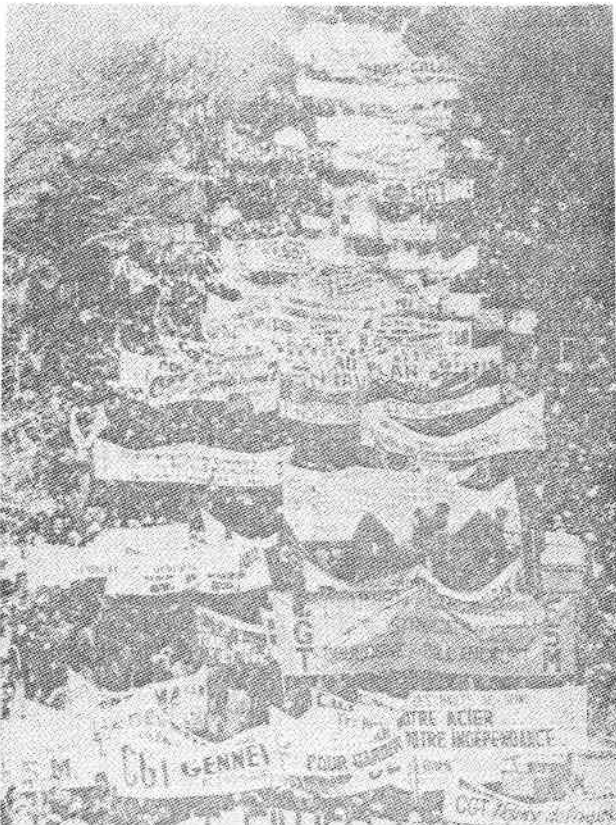
The crisis in French steel is an especially sharp aspect of France’s overall deepening economic problems. It is tightly linked to the international economic crisis. The intensified competition among Japan, the European Common Market countries and the U.S. that has accompanied the partial “recovery” from the 1974-75 slump has resulted in a worldwide glut of steel. Like many giant steel monopolies in the U.S., the big steel barons

of Europe are “solving” their crisis by restructuring the steel industry, concentrating capital in the biggest and most modern plants and closing down the older plants which are not profitable.

Since 1975, 75,000 steelworkers in the European Common Market countries have lost their jobs, and the layoffs are continuing at a rate of 2,500 a month. In France alone 14,000 steelworkers have been thrown out of work in two years. Out of the industry’s current workforce of 130,000, 22,000 more are scheduled to be laid off before the end of this year. In the government-owned mills of Lorraine, in particular, the whole region faces ruin.

The Lorraine steelworkers have fought back with every means at their disposal. They have stormed police stations and steel company headquarters, ransacking them, throwing official pictures, records, layoff orders and desks out the window, as well as tossing molotov cocktails at attacking police. In several cases they have occupied plant offices and taken plant managers hostage. They have paid particular attention to spreading the word of their struggle, taking over the local radio station, stopping internationally bound trains to leaflet the passengers, and even seizing the first floor of the Eiffel Tower in Paris to hang their banners from it.

The bourgeoisie has launched the police and the revisionists against the workers like two fists of the same body. The revisionist union hacks have demanded that the workers stay in the proper channels and just leave them alone to do their negotiating. In Janu-



70,000 people shook Paris in demonstrating against massive steel layoffs. Although the French CP and union hacks organized an attempt to siphon off the anger that has led to virtual uprisings in steel regions, the revisionists were unable to control the militant workers, who were joined by Paris youth.

ary, after a union-management deal was hatched, the workers refused to accept it. They refused to give up the steel administrators they had taken hostage during a factory occupation, and only a police attack succeeded in turning them loose. The local population was so enraged by this that over 5000 marched the next day, and 400 bombarded the Longwy police headquarters with pieces of pavement. Whenever actions such as these have taken place, the PCF has claimed that this was not really the steelworkers but outside agitators and provocateurs at work.

In an effort to whip up national chauvinism—the “common interests” of the exploiters and exploited of France—the PCF has tried to aim the steelworkers’ struggle against the capitalists (and workers) of other countries. When the steelworkers overturned trainloads of coal, the PCF used this to raise the demand for an end to the importing of coal from the African country of Mauritania. Even more loudly, the PCF has pointed the finger at West Germany, playing off emotions left over from World War 2, by claiming that German industry is “taking over” Europe. In January they staged a demonstration of women with slogans such as “French

Steel Sacrificed, the Pays-Haut (High Country) Murdered, SAY NO TO A GERMAN EUROPE.”

Of course it is true that much of German steel is more modern and competitive than some French steel. But this ignores the fact that the steel layoffs sweeping Europe are a reflection of an underlying economic crisis gripping the entire Western imperialist bloc, and that what’s threatening Europe is not a “German takeover” but a U.S.-Soviet showdown over who gets Western Europe and with it the rest of the world. In this way the revisionists are doing their worst to undermine the interests of the workers by hiding the main enemy of the French workers—the French bourgeoisie—and by hiding the criminal nature of capitalism in general (including capitalism Soviet-style).

At the same time that they carry out this political work for the bourgeoisie, the revisionists also do open police work. Their march “monitors” have been indistinguishable from the police in their attempts to keep more militant workers from breaking away and carrying out more advanced actions. In fact, the mayor of Longwy who is responsible for the police attacks on the workers is

himself a member of the PCF!

But so far the bosses and the revisionist backstabbing would-be bosses have had a pretty tough time trying to get these Lorraine workers into line, and their struggle seems to be spreading. On February 2, iron miners occupied the mines and administration offices and took a manager hostage in solidarity with a 24-hour steel strike in Lorraine. Later that month a day-long Lorraine strike spread to the Nord and Pas de Calais regions. A Longwy group occupied the French embassy in Luxemburg to emphasize the international character of their struggle. Support has come from steelworkers in the Ardennes, auto-workers at Renault, workers at the International Harvester, Chrysler and Elliot Automation plants in France, as well as from busmen, railway workers, teachers, the Lille Philharmonic Orchestra and so on.

In March the Lorraine workers took their fight to Paris, where they were joined by many others in the March 23 events. As the crisis which underlies not only France but all of its allies makes itself felt in sharper and sharper ways, this is one of the first shots announcing bigger and more significant battles ahead. ■

Andrés Figueroa Cordero

Heroic Fighter for Puerto Rican Independence

The funeral of Puerto Rican patriot Andrés Figueroa Cordero—imprisoned for 23 years for shooting up the U.S. Congress—erupted into a massive protest against U.S. imperialist domination, showing that the cause of independence to which he dedicated his life is more and more a battle cry of the Puerto Rican people.

On March 9, more than 10,000 Puerto Ricans from every part of the island marched in Figueroa Cordero’s hometown of Aguada, shouting “Long Live Free Puerto Rico! A patriot has died, we’ll continue the struggle!” As they passed the Aguada municipal building, a group of revolutionary nationalists took over the building, ripped down the American flag flying above it and raised the Puerto Rican flag. Then they burned the hated flag of Yankee imperialism which has for so long represented the oppression and exploitation of the Puerto Rican people.

To the last days of his life, Figueroa Cordero stood firm against U.S. imperialism and boldly proclaimed the need for the masses of Puerto Rican people to rise up in armed revolution against it. This is what has made him and the other Puerto Rican nationalist political prisoners a powerful symbol and a rallying point for the Puerto Rican independence movement.

On March 1, 1954, Andrés Figueroa Cordero and three other members of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (NP)—Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Irving Flores Rodríguez—carried out what came to be known as “The Day the U.S. Capitol Was Attacked.” At that time the U.S. House of Representatives was trying to hide its colonial

domination of Puerto Rico by declaring it a Free Associated State. The four unfurled the Puerto Rican flag from the visitor’s gallery and sprayed the House of Representatives with gunfire, shouting “Free Puerto Rico!” Five politicians were wounded.

Absolutely Unrepentant

While in prison these four nationalists—along with another member of the NP, Oscar Collazo, who was convicted in 1950 of an assassination attempt against President Truman, linked to an uprising in Puerto Rico against U.S. domination—continued the struggle for Puerto Rico’s independence. They refused to ask for pardon, declaring that what they had done was completely just. Still unrepentant today, and proud of it, Lolita Lebron recently sent U.S. imperialism’s current chief representative, President Jimmy Carter, a letter demanding that he return the Puerto Rican flag that she had unfurled 25 years ago in the House chambers.

Suffering from cancer, Figueroa was finally released from prison in October, 1977 after doctors determined that he had only several weeks to live. In order to avoid the massive outcry that would have followed his death in prison, the U.S. government granted him an unconditional release. When Figueroa arrived in Puerto Rico he encouraged “every Puerto Rican to fight to the end against yankee imperialism.” Until his death Figueroa continued to struggle for the freedom of his four imprisoned comrades and openly stated time and again that “the only way Puerto Rico will become independent is through the bullet.”

The example provided by Figueroa and the other Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners—so long held captive by the U.S. imperialists for refusing to renounce their revolutionary cause—has been a powerful impetus to the struggle of the Puerto Rican people against U.S. imperialism. Today, the cry, “Free the Four Nationalists and Free Puerto Rico Right Now!” can be heard from each corner of Puerto Rico, to right in front of the White House where just a few weeks ago more than 1500 Puerto Ricans marched and rallied to free the four nationalists and to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the attack on the U.S. Congress.

However, the march leadership, dominated by the pro-Soviet revisionist Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), did its utmost to pour cold water on the revolutionary spirit and militancy of many demonstrators. In contrast to the unyielding position the imprisoned Puerto Rican nationalist fighters have stuck to for the last 25 years, the PSP presented a petition pleading with President Carter to really implement his “human rights policy” and free the four nationalists: “Their [the four nationalists] unconditional release will be an act of implementing the policy of human rights which you [President Carter] have placed as an international priority.” And the petition then went on to “remind” Carter that four ex-governors of Puerto Rico, the Puerto Rican legislature and several members of the U.S. Congress have all come out for freeing the four.

This is a slap in the face to the uncompromising struggle for Puerto Rico’s freedom which the imprisoned nationalists have come to represent. ■

Breaking With Old Ideas

RCP Presents Banned Chinese Revolutionary Film

Breaking With Old Ideas is now banned in China. The revisionists in power hate and are terrified of this film by Chinese revolutionaries, wishing they could burn every reel. It's an electrifying film. You could picture Teng Hsiao-ping squirming in his seat, feeling the shock. *Breaking* was storming and tearing apart one of the sacred cows of the capitalist-roaders—their line on education, a reflection and concentration of the two-line struggle in society. This is exactly why the film must be cherished as a tremendous weapon, one of the finest achievements of proletarian art.

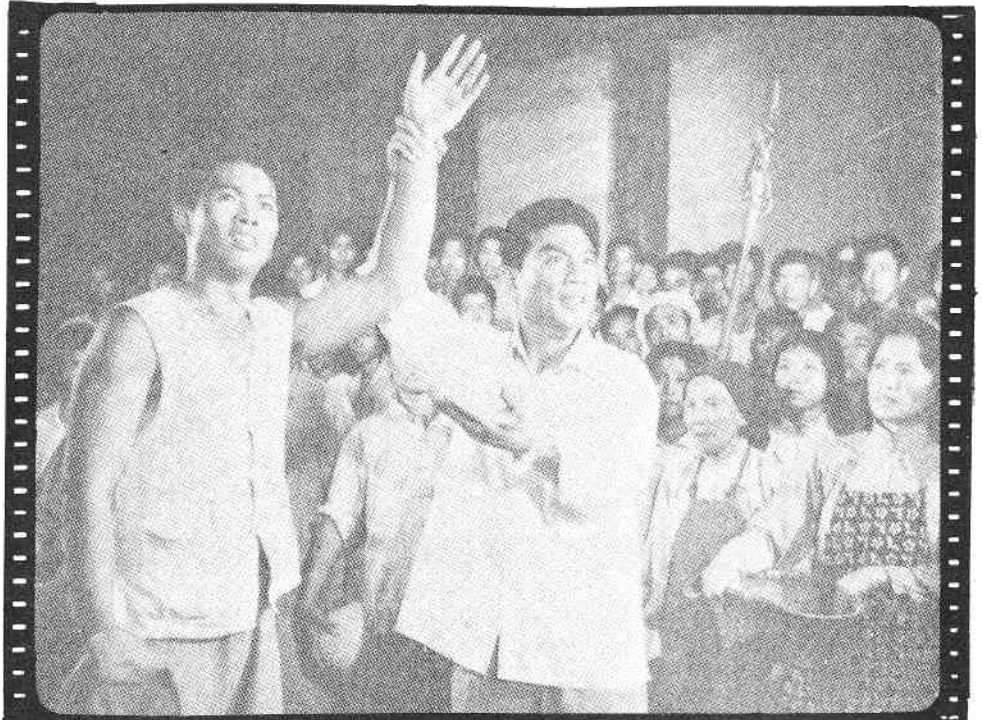
The Revolutionary Communist Party proudly presented this film on March 2 to over 300 who attended in Berkeley, and it will be shown nationally in the near future.

It's banned exactly because it exposes and attacks the bourgeoisie. Just contrast it with the bourgeois junk coming out of China now, such as the film *Lin Tse-Hsu* (the hero is a Manchu official), or the Chinese Dance Troupe tip-toeing feudal Lotus dances—reviving “Foreign Mummies, Emperors, Kings, Talents, Beauties,” which Mao blasted and the masses swept off the stage during the Cultural Revolution. But Teng & Co. must dust off these mummies to bring back the old exploiting system and ideas, in order to snuff out revolutionary ideas and revolution itself.

Breaking was made in 1975, in the midst of a raging struggle. The Right was gathering strength in whipping up the Right Deviationist Wind. The three poisonous weeds, including the infamous General Program, were drafted that summer. In July, Chou Jung-hsin, Teng's man and newly appointed Minister of Education, went on tour, bitching about the “lowering of academic standards” and attacking many socialist new things such as open-door education.

In November '75, Tsinghua University officials wrote to Mao, calling for going back to the days when bourgeois intellectuals ruled. Mao saw this as part of a whole offensive by the Right and initiated struggle against it. Mao declared, “Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people,” and “The question involved in Tsinghua is not an isolated question but a reflection of the current two-line struggle.”

It's no accident the all-out battle against the Right Deviationist Wind began on the educational front. Education is an extremely important part of the superstructure and plays a crucial role in maintaining and reinforcing one kind of class relations or another in society. It will shape the outlook of the new generations who will occupy key places in all levels of society. How opposing forces lined up on the question of education was indicative of how they lined up on every



Lung Kuocheng, principal of the school, holds up the calloused hands of a blacksmith who has just been admitted, making the point that students must come from the workers and peasants, and education must serve their interests.

major question in society—on all the different fronts where the two-line struggle was raging. Education became one of the most concentrated points of attack by the revisionists to snatch back the victories of the Cultural Revolution.

Breaking With Old Ideas is set in 1958, during the Great Leap Forward, in a struggle to establish and develop the Sung Shan Communist Labor College. Through all the twists and turns the film concentrates the two-line struggle in education and elevates the point of view of the proletariat. *Breaking* sharply puts forward the line of Mao and the Four in complete opposition to the present revisionists. The stakes of the battle are nothing less than who will triumph—the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

In the 17 years before the Cultural Revolution, education was dominated by revisionism. Agricultural colleges to teach farming were located in the cities far away from the peasants and the fields. In the film, Lung, the main character, a former cowherd and now a cadre, is sent by the Party to be the new principal. He proposes that the college be set up away from town, in the countryside. The struggle unfolds in the very first scenes when Lung passes by graduating students who moan, “Why send me to poor mountain regions? I can make

more of a contribution in the cities.” Lung sees clearly why “the working class must exercise leadership in everything.” As Mao said, “Education should be revolutionized, the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should not be tolerated any longer” (May 7, 1966 statement).

Admission Standards—Bourgeois vs. Proletarian

Who will be admitted? This is a fierce battle of the two lines. In the film hundreds of young people walk miles to enroll but are turned away. The college dean Sun echoes the bourgeoisie like those in power today, “not enough schooling, not qualified!” An old peasant leader bitterly complains that in the old society the ruling class kept poor peasants out of school. Now it's a new society where the people are the masters, but the workers and peasants still can't get in.

It was against these “gate-keepers for the bourgeoisie” that Mao issued his directive on July 21, 1968: “Students should be selected from among the workers and peasants with practical experience and they should return to production after a few year study.” In a powerful scene Lung opens the gate, interrupts the quiet entrance exam room, and invites everyone in—to the shock of Dean Sun. Lung asks the old leader of the Peasant

Association and Dean Sun to sit with him and judge who will get in. Clearly the proletariat wants first and foremost students with high socialist consciousness, recommended by their fellow workers and peasants. The students must in turn return among the masses and serve them. Exams are only a secondary tool for evaluation.

To stand up for this revolutionary line meant that *Breaking With Old Ideas* had to go up against a stubborn gale of revisionism, because China's capitalist roaders never reconciled themselves to Mao's line on this, or any other, question. Chou En-lai himself is credited by China's present revisionist rulers with working underhandedly to sabotage it. In 1972 Chou-En lai said, "The revolution in education is still at an experimental stage," and using this as an excuse suggested "other ideas" to be used "together with" the "method of selecting college students from among workers and peasants with practical experience" (*Peking Review*, No. 46, 1977).

Now that they have seized power, the revisionists can be all the more blatant and less eclectic. The same *Peking Review* article says straight out, "Entrance examinations will be restored and admittance based on their results." Current directives on admissions are full of bourgeois elitist talk of "talented young people" and so on. *China Reconstructs* (April 1978) promotes a "model worker" who gushes, "Here I am, seemingly at odds with my age, burying myself in something I should have done a dozen years ago—cramming for university entrance exams."

Teng Hsiao-ping just cannot help letting his capitalist soul ooze from every pore. He says, "Examinations are an important method of checking on studies and on the efficacy of teaching, just as checking the quality of products is a necessary system for ensuring factory standards" (*Peking Review*, No. 18, 1978).

The line now being restored, the line this film was a blast against in 1975, is exactly the line criticized by Mao before the Cultural Revolution: "The present method of education ruins talent and ruins youth. I do not approve of reading so many books. The method of examination is a method for dealing with the enemy, it is most harmful, and should be stopped." ("Talk at the Spring Festival on Education," February 13, 1964, quoted in *Chairman Mao Talks to the People*, Schram, p. 205.)

Today, just like before the Cultural Revolution, there are "key" schools which get the "best" teachers and more money to train "geniuses" and an elite. Students can go directly to college without ever "dirtying" their hands with manual labor. Restricting bourgeois right, reducing differences between mental and manual labor are all being thrown out the window. What's brought back is the Confucian garbage of "he who excels in learning can be an official." It will revive the same class polarization as before the Cultural Revolution, when most college students were not children of peasants and workers, but of officials, professors and the privileged class. Most never set foot in the

countryside, and in fact learned to despise labor.

Revolutionary Successors or Bourgeois Intellectual Aristocrats

Mao said, "train students with both socialist consciousness and culture" and "education must serve proletarian politics and must be combined with productive labor." The film brings out sharply that revolutionary successors should be both red and expert, but being red is principal.

As Mao put it in a talk with his nephew Mao Yuan-hsin, a man who was apparently killed in the 1976 coup, "the class struggle is your most important subject, and it is a compulsory subject... Only when you have completed such a course of political training can I consider you a university graduate. Otherwise, if the Military Engineering Institute lets you graduate, I won't recognize your diploma." (Schram, p. 246.)

In a dramatic scene the night before a do-or-die exam, a woman student of staunch class stand, Li Chen-feng, finds insects called night bandits which could wipe out all the peasants' crops in one night. Risking probable expulsion she rallies the other students to save the crops.

She's the model of what a revolutionary successor must be. Under the bourgeois admission standards she would not have even gotten into college. In fact she knew about the insects only because of the new teaching methods of integrating education, research and production. But clearly the question was what she would do with that knowledge. She's the opposite of another student in the film who also came from a peasant background but became an intellectual clone in the bourgeoisie's own image and became ashamed of his family and village.

No wonder the revisionists hate *Breaking*.

People might laugh at how they're promoting their new hero, Chen Jing-run. This book-worm slaved away for years to try to prove Goldbach's conjecture which allows you to understand that $8 = 3 + 5$. *China Reconstructs* (January 1978) said in awe, "everyday he buries himself in endless numbers, formulas and symbols... but it is just in this endeavor that he finds the joy of struggle and the meaning in his life." No doubt he didn't let the Cultural Revolution or any kind of class struggle "disrupt" his life.

The revisionist message is clear: It's right *not* to rebel against reactionaries! Knowledge, to the revisionists, is the private capital of geniuses to gain fame and position, and not the product of mass movements and collective experience. Even less should it serve the people.

The film certainly stands as an indictment of the revisionists' recent announcements which set the basis for eliminating the policy of sending educated youth to the countryside. In fact, rather than viewing it as a struggle to combat bourgeois right, narrowing the three great differences (between mental and manual labor, town and country, worker and peasant), they see it as tied only to production needs and, in fact, just a way to get rid of city youth who would otherwise be unemployed: "middle school graduates will still go to the countryside in the next few years, but the number will be gradually reduced as socialist modernization advances... In those cities where conditions are available for accommodating all the middle school graduates, they may remain there" (*Beijing Review [Peking Review]*, No. 5, 1979).

Compare Mao's line, the line this film champions: "We must drive actors, poets, dramatists and writers out of the cities, and pack them all off to the countryside. They should all periodically go down in batches to



The leading cadre at the school confronts a died-in-the-wool rightist professor: "If we don't criticize and repudiate bourgeois education... how can we revolutionize education?"

“Sure We’ll Fight the Capitalists—in Russia”

Mensheviks Wave Stars and Stripes at URPE Conference

A March 17 New York City conference on “the Nature of the Soviet Union and its Role in the World Today,” attended by at least 800 people, became a platform for traitors to the cause of revolution who did their best to turn it into a social-chauvinist rally in favor of U.S. imperialism.

The conference was called under the name of the Union of Radical Political Economists (URPE). The Revolutionary Workers Headquarters—the Menshevik faction that tried to split the RCP a year ago over the question of China—came to dominate the conference, mainly by behind-the-scenes maneuvering, organizational connections and icing out other forces, and not by the power of their line. In fact, most people who came were expecting a very different sort of event.

A very reactionary event it was indeed. True, the USSR was called out for the state monopoly capitalist, imperialist country that it is—but to what end? To win people to the

lie that the U.S. variety of imperialism is the lesser evil. And rather than bring out the revolutionary tasks of the American working class and people in the face of a superpower confrontation, the conference single-mindedly focused on describing Soviet aggression in a way that left out U.S. imperialism altogether, and instead presented the U.S. as a “positive factor” in a worldwide anti-Soviet united front.

Originally the conference was billed as a debate featuring some Soviet representatives, well-known writer Paul Sweezy, and one of the authors of *Red Papers 7: How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle*. Neither the first nor the third of these features turned out to be real.

The large number of people and their mood indicated how much many people are searching for answers to the questions posed by the restoration of capitalism in the USSR

and now China, brought out especially sharply by the new U.S.-China alliance and the Vietnam-China war. Questions like why countries that call themselves socialist are locked in combat, about what the hell is going on in the world and what should be the orientation and tasks for progressive and revolutionary-minded people in the U.S.

While a number of workshop speakers tried to seriously take up these questions, the net effect of the conference was to promote confusion and demoralization—and to influence some people with a thoroughly reactionary line.

Empiricist Exposure of USSR

In their own plenary presentation and in the workshops, the Mensheviks never talked about what had happened in the USSR to allow the bourgeoisie to seize power. They failed to talk about what this experience means for the proletariat worldwide in its

the villages and to the factories. We must not let writers stay in the government offices; they will never get anything written if they do not go down. Whoever does not go down will get no dinner; only when they go down will they be fed.” (“Talks at the Spring Festival.”)

The film also raises the important question of what the colleges should teach. One day Dean Sun, under the influence of the revisionist line, holds forth at length in the classroom on “the function of the horse’s tail,” completely ignoring the fact that horses are seldom seen in that area of China, while water buffalo, about which he knows and cares nothing, are vital to farming there. The students criticize his lectures, the revisionist chieftains counterattack. “This has upset our whole curriculum!”

Where Mao would stand in such a struggle is clear. He said, “If your lecture is no good, why insist on others listening to you? Rather than keeping your eyes open and listening to boring lectures, it is better to get some refreshing sleep. You don’t have to listen to nonsense, you can rest your brain instead.” (“Talks at the Spring Festival.”) And Mao regarded the question of what class education should serve as a critical question of the revolution.

In the film the revisionist view is best put forward by vice-principal Tsao who angrily asks, “ $2 + 2 = 4$. Tell me, which class does that belong to? If we can train students with a high level of knowledge, won’t they be serving socialism?” But Dean Sun finds out just the opposite. His best student used his skill to profit off the peasants. Shocked, Sun, unlike Tsao, changes and realizes bourgeois intellectuals can in fact become a powerful social base which the revisionists can mobilize for capitalist restoration (as has actually happen-

ed in the Soviet Union and now in China).

This is a direct attack on what Teng Hsioping was saying at the time and openly said at the National Science Conference in 1978: “The overwhelming majority of them (intellectuals) are part of the proletariat. The difference between them and the manual workers lies only in a different role in the social division of labour. Those who labour, whether by hand or by brain, are all working people in a socialist society.” (*Peking Review*, No. 12, 1978.) He also explains that as long as you’re working under socialism, you are automatically red.

This is nothing but the same “dying out of class struggle” crap Liu Shao-chi and the rest of the capitalist-roaders mouthed. The revisionists have now even more blatantly reversed Mao’s line and declared that the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals are “no longer the object of uniting, educating, and remoulding, but are now a part of the working class engaged in mental labour and a force the Party relies on.” “Fundamental changes have taken place” (!!!) and this policy of Mao’s is “no longer applicable” (*Beijing Review*, No. 5, 1979, p. 10, our emphasis). The bourgeois academic tyrants have now really been unleashed to lord it over the masses.

Fight the Bourgeoisie in the Party!

Throughout the film, the nature of class struggle under socialism unfolds. The basic line is, as Mao formulated, “Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In this historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions, and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration.” The

bourgeoisie, he points out, is right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road. In the film, behind bourgeois intellectuals like vice-principal Tsao stand the real commanders, the capitalist roaders. At each point, a high party official, Chao (conspicuously similar to Chou En-lai) protects and unleashes bourgeois forces to attack the proletariat.

The revisionists must ban *Breaking* and all revolutionary culture which drags them out, indicts them and prepares the masses for their revolutionary overthrow. Teng & Co. desperately are banning the term “rightists,” and are even removing the designations of landlord and rich peasant (*Beijing Review*, No. 7, 1979, p. 8). To attack Mao’s whole line of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, *Hongqi* (Red Flag, Feb. 1979, p. 6) accuses the “Gang of 4” of “enlarging the target of the class struggle... using the mysterious, so-called basic line.” (In other words, *what* basic line?) “They cooked up without any basis in reality, class struggle, class enemies inside the party; even cooked up a so-called bourgeoisie inside the party.” The revisionist criminals are truly terrified of the light of day.

Breaking With Old Ideas is deadly poison to the bourgeoisie, but a tremendous inspiration for the proletariat. The Chinese revolutionaries who literally put their lives on the line and defied the revisionists to produce this film have created a tremendous and inspiring testament to the power of art at the command of the proletariat. It is a must film for all who want a taste of what is possible under proletarian dictatorship—a product of intense class struggle, and in turn, a weapon to wage that struggle. The RCP is proud to have preserved this film for the proletariat. ■

struggle to achieve communism. They didn't even pay lip service to Mao Tsetung and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, an earth-shaking mass movement to oppose and prevent capitalist restoration based in large part on a summation of what had happened in the USSR.

Of course this was no oversight. Were they to go into these issues, they risked opening a Pandora's box of questions about the path of the neo-Krushchevite rulers of China today. Instead of addressing these questions, their plenary speaker begged off, saying lamely that "not much practice in building socialism has been accumulated" and that therefore "confusion is inevitable."

How remarkable that this Menshevik plenary speaker who bills himself as a "contributor" to *Red Papers 7* had so little to say about the basic class analysis of the USSR which is the backbone and bulk of that book! Part of the explanation is petty careerist pilfering, since his only "contribution" to *Red Papers 7* was a heavily edited travelogue in the book's appendix. But more, the problem was directly political, because in fact the Mensheviks don't and can't agree with that book at all—since its analysis of the process of capitalist restoration applies all too well to China today and not just the USSR.

While the Mensheviks were avoiding the question of the class nature of the present system of the USSR and how it got to be that way, they were leaving the field open for some other featured speakers who did address those questions. One, associated with the neo-Trotskyite (Trotskyite without Trotsky) Communist Labor Party, argued forcefully that the USSR is *not* capitalist but socialist. Another, Paul Sweezy, argued that it is neither capitalist nor socialist but something mysterious in between—a "state society" in which neither the proletariat nor the bourgeoisie runs the state.

The Mensheviks were not at all reluctant to blast away with fact after fact to show how terrible life is in the USSR—without saying why, except in the most superficial way. And they were particularly eager to use "facts"—long descriptions of Soviet aggression in Asia, Africa and Latin America—to "prove" their point that "the Soviets are the main force at this time directly bringing war and aggression to the countries and peoples of the world."

What were people supposed to conclude from this? As one leading Menshevik, a "theoretician" more herky-jerky than ever, put it: "I'll say it straight out—the U.S. has a positive role to play."

Of course he went on to justify this in the name of defending "socialism." This omits the minor detail that China is no longer a socialist country, that China is on the capitalist road *even* according to the criteria advanced by the Mensheviks in their split with the Party—before Teng Hsiao-ping launched his Great Leap. But even aside from all this, what they are putting forward is not some tactical maneuver to "defend China" but a strategy for capitulation to the U.S. imperialists. In their special conference edition of the "10¢ Workers Voice," they describe what they mean by "positive factor" with this statement: "Militant opposition to

foreign aggression—particularly to the Soviet Union which is seeking to align new forces to launch a new world war—has already started to become effective and is an integral part of the struggle for social change and revolution throughout the world. We offer this supplement in this spirit, the spirit of increasing awareness and opposition to the aggression of the Soviet Union; the spirit of opposition to all wars of foreign aggression; the spirit of continuing to stand up and fight for independence, liberation and revolution."

This is exactly a rerun in miniature of the stand taken by Karl Kautsky, the German "socialist" whose name has become synonymous with a betrayal of revolution, the renegade who sought to find an "internationalist" cover for his national chauvinism. On the eve of and during World War I, he denounced imperialist aggression—the imperialist aggression of Germany's rival, Russia. He did a thorough job of exposing Russian aggression in Turkey and stood up for its independence, declaring "Turkey must not be made a vassal state to anyone"—while neglecting to mention German imperialism's war aims of conquering Turkey for itself.

Lenin denounced such people by showing how they "help *their* respective imperialist governments by concentrating attention principally on the insidiousness of their rival and enemy, while throwing a veil of vague, general phrases and sentimental wishes around the *equally* imperialist conduct of *their own* bourgeoisie." ("Bourgeois Pacifism and Socialist Pacifism," *Lenin on War and Peace*, Peking, 1970, p. 84.) This describes the Mensheviks to a "T."

"Practical" Opportunists

In contrast to the CPML's attempts to stuff their opportunism and national chauvinism with the "Three Worlds" theoretical dressing, these Mensheviks base their call for people to bow down before the Stars and Stripes on agnosticism, empiricism and some old American pragmatism.

Their promotion of agnosticism with the nonsense about "not much experience" having been accumulated in socialist construction boils down to: Well, who can know what socialism is—all we know is that no matter what, China is a socialist country and we've got to defend it; and we've got to support the U.S. imperialists because they are a defense for China. They talk as though Mao and the advances of the Chinese revolution never existed. As though there were no laws which distinguish capitalism from socialism. In this, the Trotskyites certainly have become a "positive factor" for them. Not because the Trots agree with the particulars of their line (they tend to be pro-Soviet), but because they claim that no socialist country can ever really go capitalist, and like the Mensheviks try to hide the class nature of the conflict between the U.S. and the USSR.

But an even more raunchy component of their agnosticism is their continuing theme that because of the rise of the USSR as a superpower "we have to look at the world with new eyes," and "liberate our minds from old categories and old thinking." This kind of

stuff is very much in vogue now among petty bourgeois radicals, although the *Guardian*, for example, another leading exponent of the new know-nothing trend, uses the same approach to argue for going along with the Soviets. But whatever mutant form of opportunism this agnosticism takes, they all try to use the particularities of the present world situation to attack the basic line set by Lenin for the whole imperialist era—for the workers and oppressed people of the world to unite and overthrow all the imperialists and their allies in every country.

The Mensheviks argue that everything is different today because the workers of the world do have a country which they must defend—China. First, this is wrong because China is *not* socialist. Second, even if it were still socialist, while it might conceivably be necessary for it to enter into a tactical alliance with one imperialist bloc against the other, as the then-socialist USSR correctly did in the face of the threat from Nazi Germany, this would never justify *capitulating* to imperialism, calling imperialist politics and aggression "a positive factor," and trying to pin the workers and peoples of the world like a tail on some imperialists' war horse. The strategic aim of the working class in the era of imperialism is still to overthrow it. It's still proletarian revolution and not preserving imperialism in the name of defending socialism.

The Mensheviks' agnosticism goes hand in hand with their empiricism. They throw up a smokescreen of jumbled facts isolated from any (openly stated) overall analysis of the world situation. The Soviets are trying to move in on Latin America, they are moving in Africa, the U.S. has been weakened in Southeast Asia and Iran, etc. From all of these "facts" they imply that the only beast that exists is the Soviets. And they conveniently ignore the central fact that both superpowers are heading up imperialist blocs and are locked in combat for a new redivision of the world. But of course there is an overall analysis behind all this, one based on opportunism and national chauvinism.

And their line is pragmatic in the most disgusting form. "We oppose Soviet aggression, don't we?" Then what could be more "practical" than joining with the U.S., the most powerful anti-Soviet force in the world? This is very practical indeed—unless your goal happens to be breaking free of imperialism and all reaction, a goal which can never be reached by joining up with one or the other superpower war bloc.

Opportunists Collude and Contend

For the Mensheviks, this conference represents something of a coup, about the most "successful" (that is, big) thing they've been able to pull off in over a year of searching for cracks to crawl through. They proved far more capable of promoting the stars and stripes on the basis of "facts" and practical considerations than the CPML has been with all its patently absurd appeals to capitulationism on the basis of the "three-worlds theory" and ridiculous claims that this was the way Mao Tsetung said to go—which appeals neither to genuine followers of Mao

Vietnam Veteran Stands Trial

What's Wrong With Treason?

(WPS)—In September 1965, Marine private Robert Garwood, a jeep driver, disappeared on the way to division headquarters near Da Nang, Vietnam. Now, thirteen years later, Garwood has come back to the U.S., where he is being kept under lock and key on a military base on charges of having deserted to the other side and trying to get other GIs to do the same.

Shortly after Garwood disappeared, an American was spotted fighting alongside Vietnamese liberation forces. As *Newsweek* put it, "It may or it may not have been Garwood, since a handful of other Americans also had gone over to the other side. These deserters were known to American troops by nicknames such as 'Porkchop,' 'Tex,' and (in the case of a white renegade and his black sidekick) 'Salt and Pepper.'" This was in 1965, in the *first months* of all-out American troop involvement, before thousands of GIs declared their own peace with the Vietnamese liberation forces and American officers seemed more likely to get killed by their own men than by the other side, before GI rebellions began to blow the U.S. armed forces apart.

When men accused of siding with the "enemy" came home—and there were more

than a few of them—they faced the stockade or prison mental wards. The military used every psychological and chemical means at their disposal to break them—not to get them to recant, which was impossible, but to convince them that it was useless to hold out. Their families came under intense fire. Sinister "friends," like lawyers eager to "save" them if only they'd be "reasonable," sprang up from nowhere. At least one ex-POW who was the victim of such an assault was driven to suicide.

These men had it driven home to them—if they hadn't figured it out already—that this wasn't their country, that it's the capitalist ruling class that runs it and tries to crush all resistance.

When these men were coming back from Vietnam a few years ago, the bourgeoisie did their best to keep it quiet. They tried to keep it out of the public eye, and didn't make a big deal about denouncing them as traitors before the people, for fear that a great many people would support them and realize that they too supported treason.

With Garwood, it's different. Now the imperialists have no choice. They're dusting off the uniforms and the rifles, and they know damn well that an awful lot of people didn't like the last war and don't want to fight another one. So they throw the book at Gar-

wood and threaten to take him out and shoot him, and hope that all the guys who'll be the grunts next time are watching and learning a lesson. At the same time they're hoping they can get Garwood to say that he didn't do it, so that they can pretend that it's impossible that any American would ever turn against "his" country.

But to some extent, and for a time, millions of Americans turned against "their" country during the war in Vietnam. A great many came to stand up for the other side. This has left a deep impression, which helps to prepare the conditions so that next time, when it won't be a matter of going over to the "enemy" but of opposing both superpower sides, GI rebellion can lead to turning the guns around and waging revolution.

Those GIs who committed treason were the only American heroes in Vietnam. Those who refused to go out in combat or fraggged an officer, those who rebelled, demonstrated, mutinied—they struck a blow against the common enemy of the people of the U.S. and Vietnam. There were thousands of heroes like this in Vietnam, thousands who betrayed their country, betrayed the imperialist blood-suckers who rule America and sent them to Vietnam, and in this way stood up for the real, basic, revolutionary interests of the American people and the people of the world. Those who took their guns and went over to the side of the Vietnamese showed true valor.

They joined up with and waged a war against the U.S. imperialists. Such men pointed to the future. One day, if in other wars the rulers of the U.S. put guns in our hands, the American working class and the masses of American people in their millions will launch our own war and wipe them off the face of the earth. ■

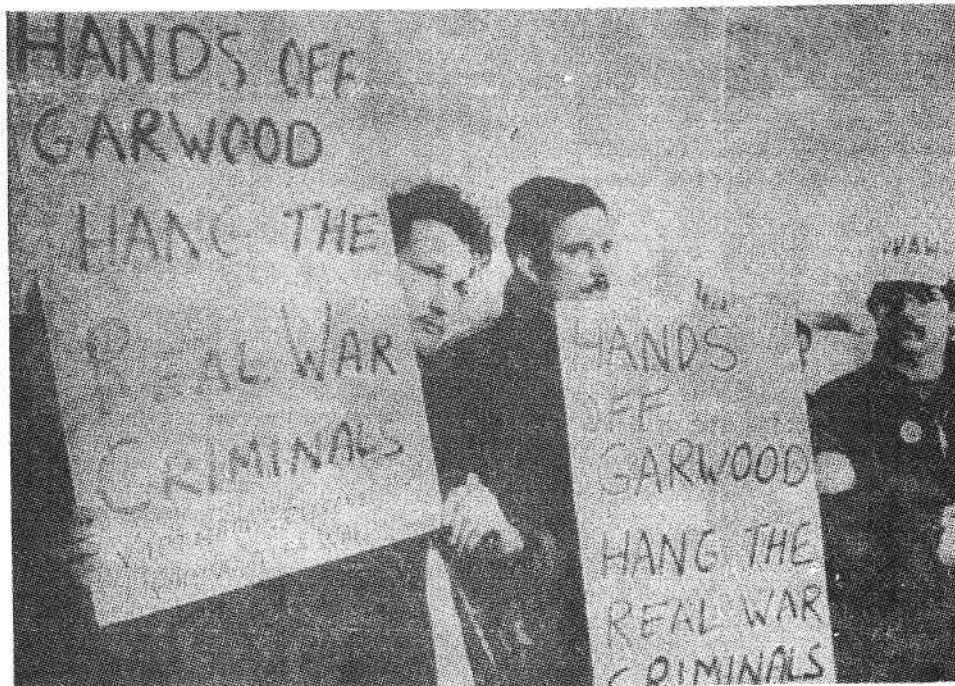
URPE

(Continued from page 33)

Tsetung nor to the pragmatist and somewhat anti-communist minds of many petty bourgeois radicals. For awhile the Mensheviks seemed reluctant to openly put out the CPML "defend U.S. imperialism" on the basis of the "Soviet main danger" line. But now the Mensheviks have achieved advanced world levels in social-chauvinism themselves.

Why wasn't the equally social-chauvinist CPML brought into the conference in a big way? Was it because their long-time practice has made them stink to even the most naive radicals? Is it because the Mensheviks didn't want the CPML there to start yapping about the "three worlds" and so on and blow their empiricist and pragmatist trip? Or was it just plain sectarian rivalry? Of course, all this takes place within the context of growing unity between the two groups and the promise of more to come, despite all the jockeying for just who is going to unite on top of whom.

This whole conference was a backward step which at best left people confused and/or annoyed and in a few cases actually won some people over to its counterrevolutionary line. It was an attempt to ambush people who have come forward against U.S. imperialism and turn them upside down. ■



VVAW interrupts close-door press conference at Chicago military base where Garwood is held. "Why are you trying to hang Garwood?" Marine security freaks out. "Isn't this one more way to get the American people prepared for war?"

Phony Marxists

(Continued from page 5)

whose hands are moving their pawns from behind the scenes.

But the Albanian statement goes from bad to worse. It slanders the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea, criticizing the (Vietnamese) forces which overthrew it for being "a little slow." It labels the Pol Pot government "nothing but a group of provocateurs in the service of the imperialist bourgeoisie and especially the Chinese revisionists." The evidence? "The anti-popular line of this regime is also confirmed by the fact that the Albanian embassy in the Cambodian (*sic*) capital, the embassy of a country which has given the people of Cambodia every possible aid, was kept isolated, indeed encircled with barbed wire as if it were a concentration camp... Phnom Penh had become a deserted city, empty of people, where even for diplomats it was difficult to secure food, where you couldn't find a doctor or even an aspirin."

What a shameless example of narrow nationalism and empiricism! What does it matter that the Kampuchean people faced starvation and were under the most fierce attack on all sides, including from fifth columnists within and from their false "friends" in Peking! What does it matter that *this* was what made desperate measures necessary! No, the important thing is that Albanian diplomats couldn't find an aspirin! The authors of this nonsense even have the nerve to say that the Pol Pot regime "provoked" the Vietnamese by publishing communiques about Vietnamese troops killed by Kampuchean government forces in border fighting! When it comes down to it, the Albanian "criticism" of the Pol Pot government is that it was attacked.

Betrayal of Proletarian Internationalism

The Albanians betray the Kampuchean people by slandering the Kampuchean revolution—and ironically they even join with the chorus from the U.S. and China in singing the praises of Prince Sihanouk, who has emerged as an acceptable "alternative" (to the U.S. and China) Kampuchean figurehead, in opposition to the struggle against Vietnamese occupation being led by the Communist Party of Kampuchea. And they betray the interests of the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world by justifying Soviet aggression and helping the imperialists hide the fact that what is going on in the China-Vietnam war is superpower war maneuvers—that both sides are completely reactionary.

All this fits in well with the Albanian line on Mao, which forms the putrid bottom line for this thoroughly disgusting declaration on Vietnam. They refuse to distinguish between socialist China and revisionist-ruled China and between the revolutionary line of Mao Tsetung and the counterrevolutionary line of Teng Hsiao-ping. While Mao was still alive, they say, "The Chinese leadership, like the Soviet social-imperialist leadership, irrespec-

tive of certain minor aid which it may have given, obstructed and damaged the anti-imperialist war of the people of Vietnam." Here the fact that the USSR is also slapped a little is far overshadowed by the repetition of the vile Soviet slander about the alleged "lack" of Chinese aid, which the Vietnamese themselves refuted many times in the past. Further this Albanian declaration even goes so far as to say that the invasion of Vietnam is a consequence of China's foreign policy under Mao Tsetung, and that Mao Tsetung Thought is the "ideological basis" for that invasion and for all of China's current international crimes. This attack on socialism and Mao's revolutionary line is as much treason in the ideological field as is Albania's siding with the USSR around the political question of Vietnam.

But Albania is not the only force that refuses to distinguish between capitalism and socialism. Trailing behind, as always, is the *Guardian* newspaper, which has raised slogans about "ending the socialist wars" while throwing up its hands and wailing in complete, petty bourgeois despair.

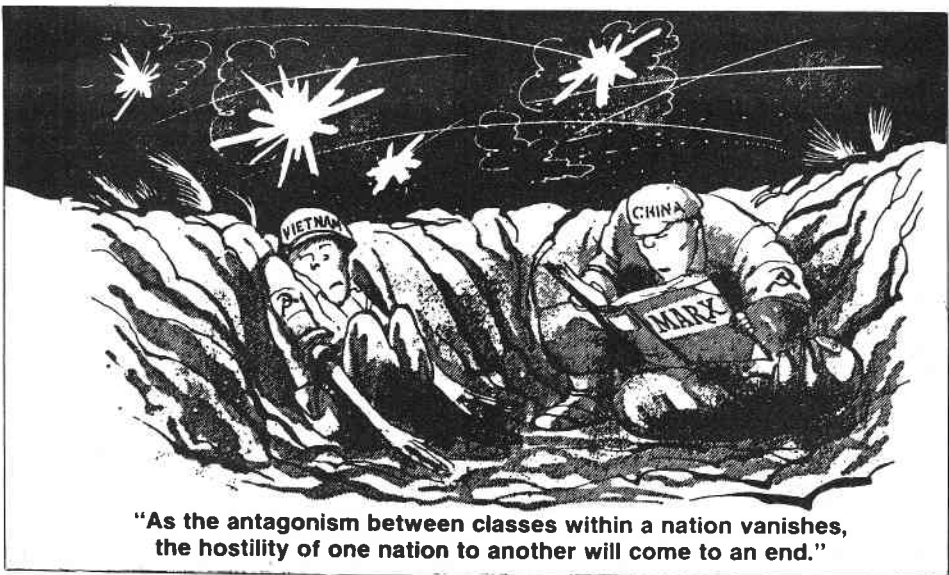
A cartoon which has appeared in many big bourgeois dailies and magazines illustrates the *Guardian's* stand very well: a Chinese and a Vietnamese soldier are together in a trench. The Vietnamese is dead or dying. By the rocket's red glare, the Chinese soldier reads Marx: "As the antagonism between classes within a nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end." The point of all this is, as one news magazine headlined it, "Vietnam—Graveyard of Communist Ideology." Marx was wrong. War has nothing to do with *classes*—it's just how it is. Thus the class nature of the conflict—both the reactionary class nature of the Chinese and Vietnamese governments and the superpowers behind them—and the revolutionary interests of the proletariat are all neatly covered in a fog of cynicism.

"Sorry Days" for Whom?

"These are sorry days for socialism," begins the *Guardian's* front page editorial, February 28. "Where will it end?... Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Ho—imperfect beings all, perhaps, but the vehicles to convey to the masses the message of humankind's historic dream of a classless society of cooperation—we pity your unquiet sleep. More, we pity those for whom your dream of socialist internationalism and friendship has become a nightmare... We dread for the future of the dream throughout the world unless the sons and daughters of the founders of scientific socialism—class comrades all—cease their fire and return to their homes."

The *Guardian* has good reason to be upset. It gambled everything on supporting "socialism" in all of the belligerent countries in this clash, and now the middle it has tried to occupy has become a war-torn no-man's land. The threat of a "socialist world war" they refer to mainly reflects the fact that it is their little world which is being blown apart. A March 7 front-page "Emergency" fund appeal declares that "The *Guardian's* survival is at stake." On the one hand, the ruling revisionists in China, wanting something more anti-Soviet than the wishy-washy *Guardian*, have cut off their highly profitable tour business. On the other hand, Wilfred Burdett, by far the *Guardian's* most famous correspondent and its calling card for entry into wealthy pro-Soviet revisionist circles, has quit the *Guardian* because it did not go far enough in attacking the Pol Pot regime. So what is a poor centrist to do when the bottom falls out of the center?

But the *Guardian* is not just an opportunist without an opportunity. It speaks to a social trend, a whole political tendency among petty bourgeois radicals who came forward around the time of the Vietnam war (and those



The bourgeoisie takes advantage of the war between "socialist" China and Vietnam to throw mud on Marxism's teachings on capitalism and war. The *Guardian* newspaper, although supposedly "Marxist," promotes the same line, throwing up its hands in the face of the world situation and falling into pro-imperialist pragmatism.

younger ones who are politically absorbed into that milieu every day), who want to oppose U.S. imperialism—that is, genuine radicals, unlike the CPML—but who lack a firm political and ideological footing and tend to get swept away by the complexity of the world's changes. Some of these people end up going along with the U.S. after all—this is an important pond in which the pro-China revisionists are fishing, and many more will fall for the bait as the stakes get higher. Others, like the *Guardian* itself, end up more and more sliding into the Soviet camp not because they love the USSR but because it seems like there's no place else to go. (Of course, the *Guardian* too could easily slide to the other end of the scale and support U.S. imperialism when things get heavier.)

It's all too complicated, so the *Guardian* tries to list it all in ABC order. "We denounce U.S. imperialism, even though it's not yet directly involved." It's not? Then what was Treasury Secretary Blumenthal doing in Peking when the invasion was launched, if not paying off for a job well done? But no, what they condemn is "Washington's refusal to fulfill its obligations to make reparations and its continuing hostility to Vietnam." They *can't* condemn the U.S. for being the hand that moves the Chinese cat's-paw, because they claim that "China is a great socialist country" and refuse to acknowledge any changes whatsoever in the nature of China's social system since the death of Mao Tsetung. While they do denounce China's invasion of Vietnam, to the *Guardian* the explanation is that "great socialist countries make great mistakes."

As for Vietnam, "Vietnam, too, is a great socialist country." Like a political ostrich in danger, the *Guardian* thrusts its head into the sand and rear into the air. Is Vietnam a pawn of the USSR? That's just "imperialist slander." Next question. What about Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea? Vietnam also "made a great mistake." So how are we to judge this situation? Well, Vietnam was wrong to invade a smaller country, but China is much bigger and so its invasion of Vietnam is much worse. Time after time they tell us that Kampuchea has six million people, Vietnam 50 million, and China 900 million. How convenient, how fair and objective a way to rate "socialist wars"!

Where does the USSR fit into the *Guardian's* scheme? Basically they'd like to leave it in the background, since not even the *Guardian* wants to call it a "great socialist country." But they do insist that it's still socialist, even though they've called it social imperialist, and say it has to be defended *in relation to the U.S.*, if not in its own right. "The socialist world is deeply split," they tell us. "U.S. imperialism is the principal enemy."

In a signed "Opinion" column in their March 7 issue it's put more plainly: "We must think 'the unthinkable': we must seriously consider the merits of a tactical alliance with pro-USSR forces for the time being. Until imperialism—and the Trilateral countries [NATO plus Japan] in general—are truly weakened, we should not, as a rule,

direct any significant blows at the Soviet Union."

"Odd Turn Around in Soviet Policies"

In the past, the *Guardian* has been characterized as centrist—that is, they combined trying to associate themselves with the revolutionary prestige of socialist China and Mao Tsetung with a failure to break with Soviet revisionism. Their beef with the USSR was not that it had become capitalist—which they denied—but rather that it gave in too much to the U.S. But now the USSR is much more to the *Guardian's* liking.

As an unsigned article in their March 14 issue said, "We must also note the odd turn-around in Soviet policies. While Brezhnev has not abandoned Khrushchev's revisionist theoretical propositions, the repeated Soviet attempts to collaborate with U.S. imperialism have been, by and large, rebuffed by Washington. Almost despite itself—and primarily for reasons of national self-interest rather than solidarity with revolutionary struggle—the Soviet Union has been forced to challenge the political role of the U.S. and assist certain liberation movements... The fact is that genuinely anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces frequently find Moscow a source of at least limited support."

Something else has changed as well—China. No longer does China have any revolutionary glory for the *Guardian* to try to latch onto. Even for the *Guardian*, China smells bad and they want to wash their hands of it. Not because they don't like Chinese revisionism, mind you. They always thought Mao more than a little "left" for his uncompromising stand against the Soviets and the forces of the bourgeoisie within China. The one thing they hail about that "great socialist

country" is Teng's great plan for "modernization" (that is, capitalist restoration). What the *Guardian* can't swallow is that China is capitulating to the U.S., not because it doesn't like class collaboration, but because the *Guardian's* point of view is that of a petty bourgeois radical who can't stand life in the imperialist U.S. but who just can't see proletarian revolution, and is especially frightened by times of crisis and war, which is exactly when there's the most opportunity for proletarian revolution. (Of course, if China turned around and went over to the Soviet bloc, the *Guardian* would be as happy as a clam—then they really would have the "unity of the socialist world.")

As war approaches we see more and more former "revolutionaries" of various stripes are becoming "practical." The storm is coming and so they search out a warm super-power wing to hide under, or they hide their heads in the sand. But this is really the greatest idealism, because the countries and peoples will be drawn into this whirlpool no matter what anyone wants or all the fine distinctions they make.

These "revolutionary" forces who do not base themselves on a class analysis of *all* sides and on the revolutionary interests of the proletariat will be swept into—are already being swept into—the rush towards world war, trailing behind the imperialist belligerents, without being able to oppose world war by revolution against the imperialists, which is the only way to prevent world war, or to turn tragedy into opportunity, if world war does break out, so as to put an end to imperialist war through revolution. For such "socialists" as these, there are some very sorry days ahead. ■

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Einstein

(Continued from page 2)

(*Materialism & Empirio-Criticism*, Collected Works, Vol. 14, p. 268.)

Newton's concepts had allowed him to make great contributions to mechanics, optics, mathematics and astronomy in the 17th century. But they reflected bourgeois philosophy and the overall limitations of man's understanding of the universe at that time. Since the beginning of the bourgeois revolution in science, in which Newton had been the central figure, the development of production and scientific experiment revealed many new things which could not be explained by Newton's physics and, in fact, contradicted it.

These discoveries came to a head at the end of the 19th century. One concerned the speed of light and other electromagnetic waves, which had great implications for telegraph and radio communications and other extremely

characteristic only of certain states of matter. For the *sole* 'property' of matter with whose recognition philosophical materialism is bound up is the property of *being an objective reality*, of existing outside of mind. . . .

It is mainly because the physicists did not know dialectics that the new physics strayed into idealism. (*Ibid.*, pp. 260-262)

What Did Einstein Contribute?

Einstein broke with Newton's concepts of absolute space and time, showing that space and time can only be meaningfully defined in reference to events—which in reality means the motion of matter. He showed that as a result, space and time interpenetrate each other. Thus, for example, as noted above, radioactive particles decay much more slowly when travelling at high speeds, having a "lifetime" some 30 times longer when accelerated to 99.94% of the speed of light as measured by observers who are at rest with respect to the earth. To observers travelling

“. . . modern physics . . . is advancing towards the only true method and the only true philosophy of natural science . . . by zigzags . . . not clearly perceiving its "final goal," but drawing closer to it gropingly . . . Modern physics is in travail, it is giving birth to dialectical materialism." (Lenin)

important technical breakthroughs. It was discovered that the speed of light was not affected by the rotation of the earth—that you will measure it to be the same when you beam it against the direction of the earth's rotation as when you beam it the other way. Newtonian physics, based on the "common sense" of everyday life, insisted that the speed with which the beam travelled would be the speed of light plus the speed of the earth's rotation going in one direction, and the speed of light minus the speed of the earth's rotation going in the other. Attempting to explain this contradiction, classical physics got bogged down in a set of special cases, and exceptions, and so on.

In addition, there were the discoveries of radioactive elements, which by releasing energy in the form of radiation, undergo a reduction in their mass. There was no allowance in Newton's physics for the conversion of mass into energy in this manner. As a result, many physicists came to the erroneous conclusion that "matter had disappeared." Confusing matter in the physical sense (that is, mass, as distinct from energy) with matter in the philosophical sense—meaning that which exists objectively—they fell into the swamp of idealism. Lenin pointed out the source of their confusion:

'Matter disappears' means that the limit within which we have hitherto known matter disappears and that our knowledge is penetrating deeper; properties of matter are likewise disappearing which formerly seemed absolute, immutable, and primary (impenetrability, inertia, mass, etc.) and which are now revealed to be relative and

with the particles, it would seem they are aging at the usual rate. Other observers, moving as the particles are, though not as rapidly, will conclude, say, that the particles are aging 5 times more slowly than normal. And all these observers will disagree about how far the particles travel. Each will arrive at a different conclusion about the amount of time, and of space, which separate two points during the "lifetime" of the particle.

But as Einstein's theories showed, this does not mean that "everything is unreal" or only dependent on the observer. Einstein showed that the amount of space, and of time, making up the real interval between the two points can be measured differently. Yet the interval itself, combining aspects of both space and time, must, in special relativity, be measured to be the same by all observers according to a formula which Einstein derived. In other words, while measurements of space and time are relative, they reflect an underlying absolute reality.

Another result of Einstein's theories was the idea of the interconversion of mass and energy (the famous equation, $E = mc^2$, where "E" is energy, "m" mass, and "c" the speed of light in a vacuum). This broke with the old idea that energy and mass were two completely separate things, and showed instead that they interpenetrated and that one could be converted into the other, a result which Engels had pointed to. As explained earlier, this helped explain previously unexplained phenomena like the loss of mass and was a blow to the idealist notion that "matter disappears." This equation allows us to understand why the sun has been able to burn so long—roughly 5 billion years. According

to all 19th century understanding of combustion, which is a very inefficient way of releasing heat energy, the sun should have burned out long ago. But using Einstein's ideas, which apply to the much more efficient conversion of mass into energy through nuclear fusion which goes on in the sun, it is possible to understand this and to predict that it will go on burning for perhaps another 5 to 10 billion years.

In his general theory of relativity, Einstein junked Newton's concept of gravity as "action at a distance" transmitted at infinite speed. Since everything else in the universe moves at finite speed, this infinitely fast acting gravity was closely linked to Newton's idea that behind the motion of all things lies the action of God. According to Einstein, gravitation involves the propagation of a material field at a finite speed—its effects cannot be transmitted infinitely fast, as no matter can go infinitely fast. With his new concept of the effects of a gravitational field on space and time, Einstein was able to correctly predict the amount of bending of light rays by the sun's gravity, of the wobbling in the orbit of Mercury about the sun, and so on.

Many of Einstein's ideas, especially in general relativity, are still being debated and researched by physicists and astronomers. It is beyond the scope of this article to examine and criticize Einstein's theories in detail, nor is that the point. What is important here is that the theory of relativity, insofar as it is correct, is a weapon against idealism and all the philosophical "relativism" it is currently being misused to promote. It provides a confirmation and a deeper understanding of the fact that the fundamental reality *is* matter in motion, nothing more nor less, as well as a summation of some of the laws that govern matter in motion; that the "conditional boundary lines" in nature, of which Engels spoke, are just that—conditional; and that to understand any part of nature correctly, it is necessary to consider the whole and understand the general laws according to which it develops.

These dialectical concepts pointed to by Einstein's theories should be seen in the context of the general development of physics, as Lenin outlined it near the turn of the century:

“. . . modern physics . . . is advancing towards the only true method and the only true philosophy of natural science not directly, but by zigzags, not consciously, but instinctively, not clearly perceiving its 'final goal,' but drawing closer to it gropingly, unsteadily, and sometimes even with its back turned to it. Modern physics is in travail, it is giving birth to dialectical materialism. The process of childbirth is painful. (Lenin, *Ibid.*, p. 266)

What this means is that reality itself is dialectical and material. To the extent that scientific theories are true—that is, to the extent that they correctly sum up experience and enable it to be correctly predicted—they must reflect this. On the other hand, the outlook of the bourgeoisie, which needs science

Einstein refused to give up the classical view of physics that nature was something "perfect" created by God... that science should deal with nature "as such" while in human affairs something other than science—for Einstein religion—was needed as a guide to action.

to carry out production, is metaphysical and idealist, and this outlook dominates and holds back science. This is shown most clearly with Einstein in the fact that, failing to reject the bourgeois philosophy of determinism, which was closely bound up with his religious beliefs, he rejected instead some of the key further advances made in physics in the 1920s and 1930s.

Science, Religion & Society

At the heart of these advances was the development of quantum physics, so called because it is based on the fact that energy can be carried and transferred only in discrete packets or "quanta." (It is ironic that this very idea, which reflects the general fact that, as dialectical materialism holds, nature develops by leaps, rather than continuously—that this idea was developed for light energy by Einstein himself.) From this understanding quantum physicists derived the "uncertainty principle" and a resulting statistical theory of subatomic processes. Basically the uncertainty principle reflects, as Mao said, that "to know the structure and properties of the atom, you must perform experiments on it and change its state." What flowed from this is that we cannot know at a given time both the precise location and the precise momentum of a particle, because to learn about them—by using a light beam—we must change the one or the other. Thus, we cannot predict the whole future motion of a single particle with absolute exactness. This was a source of enormous torment to Einstein, who felt that there must be directly deterministic, simple, non-statistical laws at this level, which were a reflection of the divine Reason and Harmony in the universe. As he put it, "I cannot believe that God plays dice with the universe," and he refused to submit this thoroughly reactionary view to scientific scrutiny. As Engels had so penetratingly shown, this determinism, which denies that chance exists in nature, is essentially a dogma, very much akin to religion, since there is no way to demonstrate the "simple, direct necessity" which it asserts exists everywhere, and belief in *this kind* of necessity is an article of faith. (See *Dialectics of Nature*, International Publishers, 1971, pp. 230-234.)

The way that Einstein made certain contributions but got stuck because of his outlook, and then argued against some of the key advances in physics for the second half of his life, was comparable to the experience of other physicists who also got stuck, characterized in the following quote taken from a Chinese scientific journal published under the leadership of Mao's line:

Max Planck, the first man who worked out the Quantum Theory, notwithstanding the situation that Quantum Theory had already broken through the conception of classical physics and had been confirmed and further developed by many investigators, insisted on interpreting the Quantum Theory by the concepts of classical physics. As a consequence, he travelled a backward route for fifteen years... The same thing happened to Lorentz who made important contributions to the founding of the Theory of Relativity... These are profound historical lessons which demonstrate how important a correct world outlook is in directing successfully the work of natural science. ("Why Lin Piao Kicked Up a Rumpus About the 'Anti-Particle,'" *Scientia Sinica*, Oct. 1974, p. 607.)

Einstein refused to give up the classical view of physics that nature was something "perfect" created by God, so that to arrive at a "perfect" understanding of it, it was necessary to eliminate any influence of "imperfect" man on nature, to treat man as though as an individual and in society, he stood completely outside nature and separate from it; that science should deal with nature "as such," while in human affairs something

other than science—for Einstein, religion—was needed as a guide to action. This fallacy was exposed by Engels, who pointed out that

...it is precisely *the alteration of nature by men*, not solely nature as such, which is the most essential and immediate basis of human thought. (*Dialectics of Nature*, p. 172.)

These same contradictions which limited Einstein's contributions to physics also came through in more obvious ways in his views on society. Einstein used his prestige to promote a progressive stand on many burning political questions. He opposed World War I and later fascism in his native Germany. Later in the U.S. he opposed McCarthyism, the execution of the Rosenbergs, and the U.S. nuclear blackmail and bullying in general. Yet on all these issues he based his stand on liberalism mixed with utopian "socialism". Thus he fell into some reactionary political stands (like supporting Zionism) because he had no scientific basis on which to analyze and understand things.

In fact, although vaguely sympathetic to what he understood socialism to be, he specifically disagreed with Marxism because he thought it "exaggerated" the possibilities of arriving at a scientific understanding of human activity. Although he spoke out against the idolatry which the bourgeoisie showered on him, he saw no role whatsoever for the masses of people in science and considered that some people were just superior to others. This view of Einstein has lent itself very well to the bourgeoisie's attempts to use the idea that you have to "be an Einstein" to understand things, in order to widen still further the gap between manual and mental labor,



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Einstein and the "Gang of Five"

The March 2, 1979 issue of the utterly revisionist *Beijing Review* (Peking Review) tells us how the "gang of four" . . . slandered this most influential scientist of the 20th century who was also a man of integrity deeply concerned with the cause of human progress. This gang of maniacs did not want science, culture and scientists. . . . The fact that the 100th birthday of Einstein is commemorated today represents a resounding victory over the 'gang of four.' "

This is resounding baloney. The Chinese revolutionaries upheld Einstein's contributions but did not uncritically trumpet him to the skies, either as a scientist or for his political views, and most certainly not as a model for science and scientists in China.

The Chinese revolutionaries correctly criticized Einstein's philosophy, and also criticized parts of his general theory of relativity. The ridiculous charge that they completely negated his contributions, and more, that they ignored and/or sought to destroy science, is refuted by looking at the articles written under the leadership of the proletarian headquarters in the Party, which show that Einstein's theories were studied and discussed broadly. Even the notoriously reactionary Hoover Institute had to admit, writing shortly before the revisionist coup of October 1976, that "research in both applied and theoretical physics is proceeding rather vigorously." (*Chinese Scientific Policies*.)

What the current revisionist rulers are ranting and raving about is what line led in science: First, given the concrete conditions in China, that science must emphasize applied rather than basic research, so that

Revolutionary Worker

(Continued from page 4)

from the ranks of the Party just over one year ago. It is a blow against primitivism and localism. Speaking of the need for a national as opposed to local papers, Lenin said:

The predominance of the local papers over a central press may be a sign of either poverty or luxury. Of poverty, when the movement has not yet developed the forces for large scale production, continues to flounder in amateurism, and is all but swamped with the petty details of factory life. Of luxury, when the movement has fully mastered the task of comprehensive exposure and comprehensive agitation and it becomes necessary to publish numerous local newspapers in addition to the central organ. Let each decide for himself what the predominance of local newspapers implies in present day Russia. ("What Is To Be Done?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 485.)

There is no doubt what the predominance of local papers means today. It is a sign that we are still haunted by primitivism. Local newspapers played a very important role in

science would serve the needs of the masses of people, which would also develop the material basis for more research. And second, that science must not be the property of ivory-tower intellectuals. Scientists must work to remold their world outlook and adopt the dialectical materialist stand, viewpoint and method of the proletariat, and the masses in their millions must be mobilized and relied upon in scientific research as well as all other endeavors. This revolutionary line is absolutely necessary for the overall development of society—fortifying the dictatorship of the proletariat and attacking the social base of the bourgeoisie, step by step breaking down the divisions in society which give rise to a new bourgeoisie and insuring that science serves the working class and not the bourgeoisie. This Marxist-Leninist line is also key to liberating science itself from the prisonhouse of idealism and metaphysics, of individualism and private property.

In the context of what the revisionists were fighting for in past years and are now doing in China today, destroying socialism in the name of "the modern and the advanced," attacking the advances made in breaking down society's divisions and instead widening them, sending the working people from the colleges back to the fields and factories to labor as beasts of burden while playing on the backward aspects of intellectuals and other petty bourgeois forces to mobilize them as a force for capitalist restoration—in this context the way they are trumpeting Einstein is completely reactionary.

They are trying to use Einstein as a model for their reactionary line that "individual genius" is the basis for scientific advance. In fact, this line is an attack on socialism and will also cripple science. Despite Einstein's

the early days of the Revolutionary Union and the period leading to the formation of the Party. These papers helped in grouping together the revolutionary forces, spreading the influence of the RU and spreading the influence of the revolutionary forces among the broad masses. There was no basis for a national paper at that time, and without these local papers many forces would have been wasted on more narrow activity and consigned to political oblivion. At the time of the formation of the Party, these various papers were unified and transformed from anti-imperialist papers to Party newspapers with a central news service—the *Worker* newspapers. But their continued publication as local papers after the formation of the Party in large part reflected the influence of the Menshevik line and economism in general. The repudiation of this line and the development of the local editions into really revolutionary newspapers cannot be separated from the overall political struggle against this line and the deepening of the Party's understanding of the central role of revolutionary agitation to the work of communists, that is, the main role of communists as tribunes of the people. (Lest the Ladies and Gentlemen of the CPML get too puffed up about all this, we wish to remind them that we are speaking of course about a *revolutionary* newspaper and the poverty

contributions, the line that socialism will advance science by creating "many Einsteins" is revisionist on two counts. First, Einstein's outlook was far from thoroughgoing dialectical materialism, whereas the proletariat must transform the outlook of scientists and defeat bourgeois ideology. Second, no matter how "thoroughly Marxist" a relatively small group of scientists may be, they cannot be the main force in liberating and developing science for the service of humanity. As part of its struggle for communism, the proletariat seeks to advance science by fighting for the all-around dominance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and by mobilizing the masses of people to master science and all of society.

Mao Tsetung pointed out that "Marxism embraces but cannot replace realism in literary and artistic creation, just as it embraces but cannot replace the atomic and electronic theories in physics." Marxism arose through the study and critical assimilation of all branches of human knowledge, creating and developing dialectical materialism, which is not only a summary of knowledge, but also, through its application to practice, leads to the continual enrichment of human knowledge.

Einstein was most certainly not a dialectical materialist. This led him into many errors which must be criticized in order to defend and develop dialectical materialism. But because his theories largely reflect the fact that reality itself is dialectical, they have enriched our knowledge of that reality. ■

resulting from primitivism in the *revolutionary* movement, and not a thing like their *Call* which has since its inception demonstrated weekly and on a grand scale not merely poverty but the complete political bankruptcy of the CPML.)

While it is certainly not the case that the newspapers are still stuck in the rut of "the petty details of factory life," and while they have gone over to revolutionary political exposures as their main content, these advances in the local papers have only served to sharpen our understanding of the necessity for the leap to the national weekly. The situation is excellent. But it will help to take a more thorough look at certain past views of the need for local papers.

Breaking with Wrong Thinking

In the past there was a tendency to think that there was some other "more concrete work" than the publication and distribution of a national newspaper which would better lay the foundations of the revolutionary movement and build up the vanguard Party of the working class. Included in this thinking about some "more concrete" means to organize the revolutionary movement was the concept that local papers were better suited to gather around them the class conscious workers and revolutionary minded people. Local work, local exposures, were judged

“more interesting,” “closer” and “more relevant” to where the workers were at. Nestled in this line of “more concrete” were shades of the Menshevik line which sent people into the factories with the aim and main activity of “organizing” the masses around the abuses most directly in front of their noses, a line which opposed the role of communists as “tribunes of the people” as “left idealism” on the basis that it would alienate Party members from the masses who are principally engaged in the economic struggle.

In fact local political exposures will only really be brought alive in the context of a national paper. In addition to having local supplements, the national weekly *Revolutionary Worker* will publish and bring to national attention the best, the most powerful local exposures. The fact that it is the national voice of the Party will help put every local exposure in the revolutionary context of the need to overthrow and smash bourgeois state power in this country.

In arguing against posing national newspaper work in contradiction to building strong political organization in the local areas, Lenin pointed out:

It is not true to say that “we have been carrying on our work mainly among the enlightened workers while the masses have been engaged almost exclusively in the economic struggle.”... That is the first point. On the other hand, the masses will never learn to conduct the political struggle until we help to train leaders for this struggle, both from among the enlightened workers and from among the intellectuals. Such leaders can acquire training solely by systematically evaluating all the everyday aspects of our political life, all attempts at protest and struggle on the part of various classes and on various grounds. Therefore to talk of “rearing political organizations” and at the same time to contrast the “paper work” of a political newspaper to “live political work in the localities” is plainly ridiculous. (“What Is To Be Done?”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 500.)

Lenin, at that time involved in the process of actually forming the Party, described the newspaper as the link that “guarantees its possessor the possession of the whole chain.” In our conditions, with the vanguard Party already founded, the national weekly *Revolutionary Worker* is also the key link in further expanding, strengthening and unifying the Party. Lenin further described the newspaper as a guideline for “bricklayers.” Lacking such a paper, “bricks are often laid where they are not needed at all... they are not laid according to the general line, but are so scattered that the enemy can shatter the structure as if it were made of sand and not bricks.” Only through the work of the national paper can experienced “bricklayers” be trained.

It is in this way that the national *Revolutionary Worker* will serve as the basic collective organizer of the Revolutionary Communist Party. The Party has other national publications such as *Revolution* and *The*

Communist, consisting of propaganda and theory, which also play a role as collective organizer by answering the deeper questions of the advanced. (See *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 1, “New *Revolution Magazine*.”) But by centering on timely communist agitation on all the major events of the day, as well as some propaganda and theoretical articles, the *Revolutionary Worker* will play the main role in arming many people with the line of the Party. Around this paper, revolutionary fighters will gather and train to become leaders of the revolutionary movement. In fact there is no other, more concrete, way to train political leaders than through the work of a regular national newspaper, the very publication and distribution of which requires conducting constant revolutionary agitation among the broad masses, analysis of every political question of the day and a network of professional revolutionaries to carry out such work as well as the organization of various revolutionary actions. This training is key to building the Revolutionary Communist Party and to preparing for the armed seizure of power.

Who are these professional revolutionaries? They are full-time revolutionary workers for the Party, agitators and propagandists who can go anywhere, spreading the influence of the Party especially where the struggle is sharp and the masses are raising their heads and looking for answers. The national weekly will require, train and provide ammunition for many such professional revolutionaries. The need to free up and train people to perform this crucial task has been a struggle against the Menshevik line of avoiding such work like the plague. At one point, these opportunists jumped out to propose a national newspaper, but what was the content of their proposal? Their version of a newspaper would require fewer forces and would allow more people in the local areas to concentrate on the day-to-day struggle in the shop, thus saving them from the horrible fate of making revolution. Just how much their proposal had in common with the national weekly *Revolutionary Worker* can be seen from the pitiful content of their occasional publication, the *25¢ Workers Voice*.

A Revolutionary Network

The all-around political work associated with the national newspaper is as Lenin put it the best means to “ensure the flexibility required” of a militant communist Party, that is “the ability to adapt itself immediately to the most diverse and rapidly changing conditions of struggle. This flexibility is essential to carrying out revolutionary work in periods of ‘acute revolutionary depression’ and to preparing for, appointing the time for and carrying out the nation-wide armed uprising.”

The work of publishing the national weekly *Revolutionary Worker* will at once provide revolutionaries with the most effective means for broadly creating revolutionary public opinion and building the Party and a network of trained revolutionary fighters under its leadership, which can be prepared to lead the broad mass movement in going over to armed struggle when the time is ripe. As Lenin put

it, the network

that would form in the course of establishing and distributing the common newspaper would not have to ‘sit about and wait’ for the call for an uprising, but could carry on the regular activity that would guarantee the highest probability of success in the event of an uprising... Precisely such activity would train all local organizations to respond simultaneously to the same political questions, incidents, and events that agitate the whole of Russia and to react to such ‘incidents’ in the most vigorous, uniform, and expedient manner possible; for an uprising is in essence the most vigorous, most uniform, and most expedient ‘answer’ of the entire people to the government... (“What Is To Be Done,” *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 513.)

The purpose of all the education and struggle we conduct when there is not yet a revolutionary situation is exactly to prepare for the armed struggle whenever such a situation develops. Why is it the case that in preparing for this highest form of revolutionary struggle a newspaper which mainly plays its role in the realm of consciousness must be at the center of our work? Lenin said, “A newspaper is what we most of all need; without it we cannot conduct that systematic, all-around propaganda, consistent in principle which is the chief and permanent task of Social Democracy in general...” (emphasis ours). Mao Tsetung put it this way, “First and foremost create public opinion and seize power.” Were Lenin and Mao idealists? No. They were pointing out the tremendously important role that man’s consciousness plays in the revolutionary seizure of power. This “public opinion” that Mao is talking about is the revolutionary consciousness of the masses—a powerful force. Without such political consciousness, the masses cannot make revolution. *

Overall, struggle is principle. What we are preparing for is indeed a struggle—the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. While the Party must promote struggle, especially revolutionary struggles, the Party’s principle role overall in this period of preparation for the armed struggle is to create public opinion—raising the class consciousness of the masses. It is not possible to accomplish this task without the national weekly *Revolutionary Worker*.

The urgent need for a paper like this stands out starkly against the background of events which are rapidly accelerating. Monstrous forces are in motion, pulling millions toward the swirl of capitalism’s inevitable crises and imminent war. The masses must be armed so that they can seize their destiny and grasp the opportunity for revolution when the time is ripe. The Revolutionary Communist Party calls on all those who want to hasten capitalism to its grave to take up this task of building the *Revolutionary Worker*, to write for it, distribute it, agitate with it, study and discuss all the political questions of the day, and wield this paper as a powerful force in preparing for the great storms of the future.

Books and Pamphlets by the Revolutionary Communist Party

- Programme and Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.** 1975. 175 pp. \$1.00
The *Programme* of the RCP summarizes the present situation facing the working class in its struggle and points the road forward. It is a concentration of the Party's basic aims, strategy and tasks as the Party of the working class. It sets forth to the working class the goal of its struggle—revolution, socialism and ultimately communism—and the means to achieve this historic goal. It is a guide to action. The *Constitution* of the RCP summarizes the basic program of the Party and sets down its basic organizational principles which enable it to carry out its tasks and responsibilities as the Party of the working class.
- The Immortal Contributions of Mao Tsetung.** By Bob Avakian. \$4.95 paper, \$10.95 cloth.
- Joint Declaration of Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America.** \$1.00
- Look to the Future, Prepare for Revolution.** A Talk by Bob Avakian, on two cassette tapes. \$6.00 set
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