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NEW BATTLE PLAN FOR REVOLUTION!

RCP's New Draft Programme, Draft Constitution Published



"Seize the day, seize the hour." These words of Mao Tsetung sum up and conclude the new Draft Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Together with a new Draft Constitution these documents hit the streets on March 8, 1980. They hit in a time of growing turmoil, a time of Afghanistan, Iran, of growing crisis and preparations for a world war.

Piercing through all this is a declaration of war—revolutionary war—a call to action and a battle plan for destroying the old and creating the new. This is the Programme and Constitution of a Party that has analyzed today's situation and the underlying forces and come to the conclusion that the time when things ripen may well be very close—within the next decade. Our Party is now preparing—preparing to seize the time when the time is ripe to smash this rack of capitalism before it makes another torturing round. We do not intend to miss the opportunity.

Nor are we preparing simply to fight and then lose. Revolution does not come out of nowhere. Today we are

battling out the possibility of winning in the future. That is not only the significance behind this programme and constitution, but behind why they are appearing *now*—as May Day Brigades take to the streets and the battle shapes up that will result in thousands of workers and others across the country on the streets on May 1st—International Workers Day. This May Day battle, the study and use of the Programme and Constitution, and all the actions of the advanced, will in no small part determine how far along we are and whether we are able to break through all the way when conditions fully ripen and the opportunity for revolution is there to seize.

In this light, the purpose and nature of this new Draft Programme stands out starkly. It urgently calls attention to and analyzes the immediate situation facing the working class and masses in this country, in the context of the world situation and world struggle. It sharply indicates the only road forward out of this—proletarian revolution—by making

Continued on page 15

Iran Bourgeoisie Grabs Hostages for U.S.

Thursday morning, March 6, the announcement was made: the militant Iranian students who, over 4 months ago, shook the world when they took over the U.S. embassy "spyhouse," were turning control of the hostages over to the Revolutionary Council. They stated that they would "give up the hostages rather than allow the UN commission to visit them," and that the visit of the commission "was being imposed by the U.S. and is not what the Iranian nation wants." At the same time, thousands of Iranians gathered at the embassy gates within moments of the announcement,

to angrily protest the decision.

U.S. state department officials expressed "surprise" at the statement by the students, but the past two weeks of the UN commission's investigation in Iran has only been another lesson in the politics of imperialism. Under the guise of the so-called impartial UN team and through the bourgeois forces in Iran the U.S. imperialists have been carrying out their tactic of blackmailing the students to give over the hostages, and blackmailing the Iranian government to make them do it.

Since the commission began its dirty work in Iran, the pressure to end the "hostage crisis" was intense. The students, refusing to let the commission meet with the hostages, saw all along that the real intent of the commission was to secure the release of the hostages. Far from exposing the crimes of the Shah and his U.S. imperialist backers, the commission's goal was to help further isolate the students as "extremists," who "proved" they were unreasonable by "refusing to go half-way"—that is, for refusing to allow the commission to turn reality on its head.

With the U.S. demanding Bani-Sadr and his cohorts come through in the clutch, crying about the Soviet threat, the need to stabilize the country to deal with Iran's problems, with the middle forces wavering, and most significantly the Ayatollah Khomeini pressuring them, the students were convinced to step aside. Clearly they were told the UN commission was the dividing line, and it was reported that the students made numerous calls to the airport to see if the commission were actually

Continued on page 4

Fools Gold "Victory" in Zimbabwe Election

The results are in from the British supervised elections in Zimbabwe (or Southern Rhodesia as these colonizers prefer to call it) with Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) leader Robert Mugabe the big victor. Mugabe will be the new prime minister of Zimbabwe while ZANU candidates took an absolute majority of the 80 available parliament seats—57 compared to only 20 seats for Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) led by Joshua Nkomo and only 3 seats to Ian Smith's former prime minister Abel T. Muzorewa. Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front Party, of course, automatically won 20 seats as guaranteed in the "internal settlement" plan agreed to by all parties concerned in London last December.

With Robert Mugabe being labeled as a Marxist and with his prestige as a freedom fighter due to his position as the president of ZANU, by far the main organization leading the armed struggle of the masses of Zimbabwean people to overthrow the Smith regime and kick out the U.S. and British imperialists, many are heralding his landslide victory as a victory for the Zimbabwean revolution. It must be bluntly stated that it is nothing of the kind. This whole election process, or more to the point, the whole "internal settlement" has in fact resulted in a serious setback for the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. And to think for a minute that this election of Mugabe has brought the country closer to real independence instead of actually farther away is indeed an extremely dangerous illusion...

The answer to the question who has political power in Zimbabwe today is the same as the answer to the question who controls the military—who commands the guns. And decidedly, it is not the masses of people in Zimbabwe. The key part of the London agreement as far as the U.S. and British imperialists, and the white settler regime, are concerned was the agreement to a cease fire and the subsequent virtual disarmament of the bulk of ZANU guerrillas. As a result of the settlement some 22,000 guerrillas, including over 16,000 of Mugabe's ZANLA forces and Nkomo's ZIPRA army gathered at 16 assembly points. Only a few thousand guerrillas stayed away from the assembly camps. The guerrillas are, of course, limited in



"Free elections" in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Is this the path to true liberation for the people of Zimbabwe?

the types and numbers of weapons and even more importantly ammunition they can have in these camps and are surrounded by large numbers of heavily armed "monitoring forces" made up mainly of Rhodesian army troops and Muzorewa's 20,000 man paramilitary auxiliary with a few British troops thrown in. They are virtually sitting ducks for the imperialists' guns. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of Rhodesian troops, South African troops, and paramilitary auxiliaries roam the country doing as they please. In fact, on the eve of the election at the order of Lord Soames—the head of the British election monitoring committee, the entire white male population of Zimbabwe under the age of 60 was called into military service. During the election campaign hundreds of Zimbabwean people were massacred and several ZANU leaders were killed and injured including two attempts on the life of

Mugabe himself.

Such was the scene leading up to the voting in these elections. Essentially, the imperialists were holding a gun to Mugabe and ZANU's head. With the entire Rhodesian army apparatus intact along with Muzorewa's troops and South African troops as well the situation will not at all be favorable for those surrounded in the assembly camps when the British monitoring forces leave the country. Even if the guerrillas join the regular Rhodesian army as planned they will not be in any position to really take over the army. And Mugabe has even made statements implying that he will retain the commander of the Rhodesian army Lieut. Peter Walls. Immediately after Mugabe's election Walls made the following statement, "Anybody who gets out of line will be dealt with effectively, swiftly, and, I might say, with enthusiasm."

Clearly, without military power, ZANU's seemingly new political power can only be an illusion. This can be very clearly seen in how far backwards Mugabe has been forced to bend since

signing the London agreement. Whatever hopes Mugabe may have had in being able to gain some sort of advantage by agreeing to the settlement are being dashed on the rocks of reality. Once he was in the imperialists' trap the deeper he sunk and the harder it became to climb out. Consequently, he and the majority of other ZANU leaders have participated in the shameful capitulation and sellout of the struggle of the Zimbabwean people.

For example, Mugabe now says that he will not nationalize business and industry, and that no white farms will be confiscated—only land that is unused or held by absentee owners will be redistributed to Blacks. The ZANU election manifesto allows the continuation of foreign investment in Zimbabwe and does not call for the nationalization of mining and industry. The military apparatus is kept intact. In fact there are rumors that Mugabe will even retain some of the old government officials of the white settler regime. In addition, Mugabe has told South Africa that he will not "interfere in its internal affairs" by aiding the Azanian (South African) liberation forces. To be quite frank, Mugabe's program and statement are not much more radical than Muzorewa's in essence.

For the U.S. and British imperialists, all this represents a big turnaround. Only months ago they were moaning and groaning about "the deteriorating situation in Zimbabwe." The racist regime with its puppet head Bishop Muzorewa was almost completely isolated internationally and still faced UN sanctions; the country's already shaky economy was under greater strain than ever before (in fact, white settlers were packing up and leaving at the rate of more than 1000/month); and most of all, large areas of the country had been liberated by ZANU forces and the Zimbabwean masses were continuing to deliver powerful blows to the Rhodesian racists and their imperialist masters.

Of further importance, their Soviet imperialist rivals had been using every possible means to gain influence in the liberation struggle, mainly by supply arms and advisors, hoping to get a foot in the door in order to move Zimbabwe toward state capitalism and increasing dependence on the Soviet bloc, without head-to-head battle with the Western powers on what is clearly "their turf." Over and above the super profits the

Continued on page 15



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Break The Chains!

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

International Women's Day was forged out of the red hot flames of the struggle of women garment workers in New York City in 1908. Because it concentrated so much about women breaking the chains, women of all nationalities uniting, taking a righteous role in the front ranks of the class struggle, it inspired an international proletarian holiday.

International Women's Day 1980 has special meaning. Tremendous forces are swirling into motion, forces which will inevitably propel the masses of women into political life. At the same time, the possibility of fully breaking the fetters holding women back, ending their oppression, is a real prospect—proletarian revolution. The question of activating the masses of women and arming the class-conscious proletariat with a revolutionary, scientific understanding of the woman question, is more urgent than ever at this year's International Women's Day. The fate of revolution depends on the participation of the masses of women, and there is a great basis for this, for women have never stood aside from any great social movement.

"Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas" proclaimed Marx and Engels as the *Communist Manifesto* blasted communism onto the center stage of history. This could hardly apply to anything as much as it applies to the position of women throughout the whole history of class society, held back by property relations and the backward ideology and mental chains used to keep them back. Really, isn't it time to end this historically backward situation where half the population is subjugated so property could be passed on?

In opposition to all this, Lenin and the Bolsheviks, after the seizure of power raised the slogan, "Every housewife must learn to run the state." One of their first tasks was the socialization of housework and the development of young shoots of communism—nurseries, public dining rooms, etc.—so critical because they freed women from the chains of domestic drudgery to play an active role in building socialism. How could the proletariat allow half the people, of society's labor, to be wasted? After one year (a year in which the Bolsheviks battled to stay in power, because the bourgeoisie was not about to "just let" socialism develop), Lenin remarked, "In this year we have accomplished more for women than any of the most advanced, most democratic, most bourgeois republics."

The truth of that is quite evident when we get a whiff of this indubitably most advanced, most democratic, most bourgeois, most stinking republic—the USA. A handful of Jackie Kennedy's get adopted into the ruling class, while the masses of women not only do not run the state, they don't run anything—they just get run ragged. Sure, these women are free to choose what they are—domestic slaves, beasts of burdens in the shittiest of the shit jobs, sexual objects and now "the new liberated alternative", cannon fodder. Different cuts, but still pieces of meat. Today women earn half of what a man makes, but that's the least of it. Last year saw women in several major cities take to the streets "to take back the night." So here is this "most advanced, most democratic, most bourgeois" country, half of the population—and more—can't even walk the streets at night. Someone gets raped every 7 minutes in this country. Pornography abounds everywhere.

What advances were made in massive access to birth control, including abortion, taking control of reproduction out of the hands of the bourgeoisie and freeing women from being trapped and kept "barefoot and pregnant" have been reversed. Forced sterilization increased 300% between 1970 and 1975, but, of course, abortions are harder and harder to find. Child care seems almost a hopeless dream—it's available for a fraction of the kids who need it. The oppression of women has intensified. It's worse than ever and sure to intensify.

Even Nazi war crimes look pale up against the "enlightened" U.S. imperialists' crimes against the people here and worldwide, and that definitely includes crimes against women. Let's talk about the sterilization of one third of the women of Puerto Rico. Let's talk about the deaths from illegal abortions and in child birth. Let's talk about the rapes, the alcoholics, the suicides. Let's talk about half the people weighed down with such heavy mental chains, their initiative squeezed out of them, their minds lobotomized by a stultifying and narrow existence. What's so different from the master race experiments?

To many anything different seems impossible—unimaginable. That's the way it's always been, that's the way it'll always be. You fight so hard to win the right

to abortion, and several years later they turn around and wipe it out for millions of women on welfare with the Hyde amendment and now (due to the bourgeoisie's ulterior motives, the Hyde amendment is on ice, announced coincidentally only days after the draft registration was announced). You fight for women to get into schools and jobs, within years the Bakke decision erodes that. Meanwhile degradation is much much worse.

Every historical advance turns into its opposite under the fetters of imperialism. Women joining the work force frees them from the isolation and indivi-

The 1980s

In this light, let's look at the '80s. If there was any decade when what's happening with women will be inseparably linked with the world-shaking storms, this will be it. Capitalist crisis will worsen; so will the oppression of women. But that's not the half of it.

As Chairman Bob Avakian put it in his 1980 article in the *RW*, our rulers, faced with the prospect of world war, "are driven to conjure up forces they cannot control, including and most fundamentally, the force that they most hate and fear. They must drag the masses of



Iranian revolutionaries training at Tehran University.

dualized drudgery of house work and forges them into part of the proletariat. Yet under imperialism, this is still stunted—women are still a "reserve" shuffled in and out of the work force and even where it happens it only means more misery because on top of working in factories, offices or other people's homes, which is hardly liberating, they've got all their house work and responsibilities, too.

The oppression of women can never be wiped out until we root out its source. Even in this most modern, advanced country, land of jet planes and space probes, the chains that bind women are thousands of years old. They go way back—not to time immemorial—but to the beginning of class society and private property.

At a certain point in history, men's labors away from the "home fires" became productive enough to produce a surplus, which became private property. To pass this private property along to the man's heirs, it became socially necessary to know who his heirs were. Thus came monogamy, a revolution which, as Engels put it, "was the world historical defeat of the female sex." So with the development of private property and classes, women became subordinate—bound to the home and family—and the destruction of that subordination is tied to the abolition of these property relations, in other words, to communist revolution.

If the liberation of women is not viewed in this way, is not tied to the emancipation of the proletariat and all humanity, it'll never happen. This is the importance of grasping that only socialism has begun to wipe out the oppression of women. Without a materialist understanding of this question, if it's severed from the class question and what's happening in society overall, the balloon of idealism will get popped and will deflate into reformism and defeat.

people into political life." And being world war, this means everybody—so up come the "reserves"—the masses of women.

So now Carter's talk about "equality" and his big push for the ERA come into new light. All these honeyed words about "equal" are more than simple hypocrisy, coming from those who plan the continued oppression of women. These words and plans are straight out, cynical war preparations: "Women are equal, put 'em in the Army."

There are plenty of wrong answers out there. Phyllis Schlafly screeches, "yes, we want the war—but don't let women fight it." The reply from many bourgeois feminists is "No, we don't want the war, but damnit, women will fight in it." Objectively both end up as nothing more than "Aunt Sams"—recruiters luring women into the U.S. war machine.

Looking at things "simply" from the point of view of "formal equality" has its pitfalls, and they assume hideous proportions when applied to the draft. Equal rights to be cannonfodder; equal rights to die for the U.S. imperialists who are responsible for women's oppression and all oppression, equal rights to stab the working class and oppressed people of the world in the back by standing with the U.S. ruling class is *not* equality.

But this situation requires *all* narrow views about the woman question and the ERA to be discarded, which leads us to repeat again what Comrade Bob Avakian said last year by way of self-criticism about our Party's past position on the ERA. He pointed out how economism—a view of the struggle as being limited to a struggle over day-to-day conditions—had narrowed our understanding and our work. The ERA

Continued on page 8

Shockley's Reactionary Deposit

Among the legions of pseudo-scientists who share the bourgeoisie's concern that the lower classes are multiplying too rapidly and will one day inherit the earth, and who carry out various kinds of bogus research in genetics and "intelligence testing," William Shockley has earned distinction in the last dozen years. Not content to rest with the cooked-up statistics that "proved" that Blacks and other minorities, and working people generally, were "mentally inferior," Shockley moved a step beyond to make a practical proposal: to offer \$1000 to every woman of "subnormal" intelligence, for each point that her "IQ" was below 100, if she would agree to be sterilized. This, he calculated, would cost the government less than having to support future generations of welfare recipients, who were just these same "genetically disadvantaged" people.

Forced to beat a temporary retreat in the face of the Black liberation movement in this country and the struggle of other oppressed people, and particularly deflated when it was shown beyond a doubt that the "statistics" on which he had based so much of his argument had been fabricated out of thin air by the reactionary British psychologist Cyril Burt, Shockley has now taken a somewhat different tack. While continuing to urge that poor and oppressed people be sterilized, he has joined up with millionaire tycoon Robert Graham's "Repository for Germinal Choice" to push a new sperm bank for those of "superior intelligence."

The story broke in several periodicals this week that Graham had set up an exclusive sperm bank, for Nobel Prize-winning scientists only, in a lead-lined vault in the back yard of his southern California estate. In order to be deemed worthy of being inseminated with this prestigious sperm, a woman must prove that she has an exceptionally high "IQ" by being admitted to MENSA, a nationwide mutual admiration society for the flattery of the "gifted."

The aim of Graham's sperm bank is to breed several "child geniuses" and so demonstrate the possibilities of carrying out a eugenics (selective breeding) program on a larger scale. It was the

brain child of the late Nobel Prize-winning geneticist, Hermann Müller. Müller, once a progressive scientist who upheld the accomplishments of the then-socialist Soviet Union, degenerated into rabid anti-communism in the 1940s and became an active participant in the U.S. imperialists' cold war. In 1961, *Time* magazine approvingly summed up his theories on the problem of how to deal with the "genetic degeneration of mankind": "In former days, (Müller) argued, the harsh processes of natural selection kept the human species on the upgrade, but now modern medicine keeps alive the bearers of defective genes and enables them to reproduce."

In other words, in the good old days, millions of poor people died young and their children often didn't live to reproductive age (not, however, because they were exploited, but because they were "genetically inferior" and so couldn't "compete" in capitalist society); but in the 20th century, Müller lamented, these inferior people were living longer, raising more children, and—worst of all—not accepting their lot. Especially alarming to him was the increasing number of those with "lower than average endowment of genes conducive to mutual aid and socially useful behavior"—of the ones whose behavior was socially disruptive and outright rebellious, the oppressed classes who didn't properly appreciate that a handful of parasites are "naturally" meant to rule, while the majority are "naturally" meant to suffer.

Müller's dreams of a way to produce more "supermen" have finally been realized in Graham's sperm bank. And Shockley has stepped forward as the most outspoken supporter of this high finance as well as the only Nobel Prize winner to admit making deposits. To newsmen he boasted, "This is a remarkable attempt, and I'm thoroughly in sympathy with this sort of approach. . . I am endorsing (this) concept of increasing the people at the top of the population, which is to be differentiated from. . . my past and present emphasis on reducing the tragedies of the genetically disadvantaged at the bottom." Being disarmed of much of his

statistical mumbo-jumbo, Shockley had in recent years taken a somewhat more straightforward line, saying it's easy to tell the genetically disadvantaged because "nature has color coded individuals." His idea of "reducing the tragedy" for those at the bottom, which amounts to sterilizing Blacks, Chicanos and other oppressed nationalities and poor people generally, is, of course, not at all "differentiated from" his most recent contributions to eugenics—it is just a new variation on his same thoroughly reactionary theme.

In fact, this new twist represents a deepening of Shockley's line. In managing to make several sperm deposits in the bank, the old fossil made his greatest contribution ever—and, it must be said, found yet another (and more direct and concentrated) way to spew out his own brand of poison.

But more significant was the way the story was covered in the bourgeois press. The accounts typically never pointed out Shockley's reactionary and racist history, never questioned the phony "IQ" concept by which sperm donors and recipients were "certified," and never brought forward any serious criticism of the whole program from Nobel Prize winners or anyone else, preferring to give the impression that it was all just a harmless experiment.

Nobel laureate Max Delbruck's comment was typical of the kind of responses from scientists printed in the press. He said simply that the sperm bank was "pretty silly." Both the media's treatment of this bizarre and totally reactionary "experiment" as a legitimate scientific pursuit and the apparent lack of denunciation of this bull by the "scientific community" graphically show just how deeply U.S. imperialism and its kept "scientists" are sinking into their own slime.

There is nothing at all new about Shockley and Graham's concept. In fact, eugenics programs are common in the history of the U.S. and regimes like Nazi Germany as well. During the period after World War I, for example, when large numbers of class-conscious workers were immigrating to the U.S. from eastern and southern Europe, the army of "mental testers" was called

forth to brandish its newly-found weapon, the "IQ test." Their findings? 83% of the Jews, 80% of the Hungarians, 79% of the Italians and 87% of the Russians seeking entry into the U.S. were "feeble-minded." On the basis of these tests, immigration quotas were set, and laws were passed against interracial marriages which were in force for several nationalities into the 1930s.

The Nazis, of course, spared no effort in trying to breed the white, blond-haired, blue-eyed "super race." "Theories" such as Shockley and Graham's go hand in hand with straight-up genocide—the elimination of the "undesirables"—and they are used to justify the most savage oppression of minority nationalities and oppressed people as a whole. Even Graham was forced to address this indirectly by pointing out that he didn't discriminate against Nobel laureates on the basis of race. Of course, he failed to mention that the Nobel Prize in science has never been awarded to a Black or a Latino from this country, even though Black scientists have been responsible for, among other things, contributing to the discovery of blood plasma, helping develop open heart surgery, and inventing cortisone—achievements for which they have received almost no recognition. As for Chicanos, so far from having access to the world of higher education and bourgeois power politics which is the real breeding ground of Nobel Prize winners (a prize which is, after all, awarded by the ruling class overwhelmingly to those who serve it), it was only five years ago that the first Chicano graduated from the UCLA Medical School!

No doubt there will be numerous other variations on Shockley's theme coming from feeble-minded Nobel laureates and other pseudo-scientists as the very real fears of the bourgeoisie for its survival and its desperate need to justify its continued oppression and exploitation of the masses of people—in fact its very existence as the ruling class in society—grow sharper. But like the bourgeoisie itself, eugenics is destined for the scrap heap of history along with all notions like "the divine right of kings."

Iran Bourgeoisie Grabs Hostages for U.S.

Continued from page 1

leaving (they were) or if it was just a threat, and the announcement came as the commission was about to board the plane.

The forces within the Iranian government have been running at a frenzied pitch this last week. Seizing the opportunity to use this UN commission as an "impartial body" investigating the crimes of the ex-Shah, President Bani-Sadr has repeatedly called on the students to end this government within a government, that is one not under his control. Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, who promised the UN commission a meeting with the hostages at least a dozen times, for his part, began characterizing the students as "communists and Zionists." And the UN commission itself threatened not to release their report if they didn't get to see the hostages—there was very little mention of the crimes of U.S. imperialism or the Shah.

Khomeini himself held the trump card all along and his release from the hospital earlier this week was a sure sign that he had gained "heart" that the political situation was favorable to emerge and pull the plug on the struggle. In recent weeks, he has acted to consolidate the power of the new government, including giving Bani-Sadr the powerful position of commander-in-chief of the army.

Now, although Khomeini still says that the soon to be elected parliament will decide when the hostages are to be released, he has clearly taken a stand against the struggle which has done so much to galvanize the revolutionary Iranian masses. In fact, even giving decisive power to the parliament has two advantages for him in this case.

One, he doesn't have to expose himself by demanding that they hand the hostages over immediately, and two, it further legitimizes the bourgeois government which the masses have no interest in. Perhaps trying to put distance between himself and what's to come, he issued a statement yesterday saying that from now on he would tend to only religious matters and that Bani-Sadr should be consulted concerning political questions. However, he neglected to mention that within the Islamic Republic all political matters are considered to be of a religious nature.

The students' statement in part said, "We recognize that our responsibility for the hostages is finished, and we believe that the Iranian nation guards the revolutionary line of the Imam and will respond to any deviation from this line." The students have consistently put forward their views in the name of Khomeini, seizing upon the more progressive statements he has made and speaking in the name of the Imam, a tactic which has made it difficult for Khomeini to openly attack them without exposing himself. But while this statement may be partially intended as a warning to the Iranian masses to carry on where they have failed, invoking Khomeini's name has more and more of a hollow ring to it, for it is becoming clear that his bourgeois class character is getting the best of him. Despite earlier statements made by Khomeini that the Iranian people should not give up on their demand for the return of the Shah, it is clear that Khomeini played a big part in the "intolerable pressure" put on the students to give up.

While the U.S. and the Bani-Sadr forces are undoubtedly breathing a sigh

of relief, they still recognize that they have not yet sold their dirty plan to the Iranian masses. While Bani-Sadr has been invoking the Soviet danger in Afghanistan and the need to get Iran to settle down and deal with economic problems, the latest blow at the embassy has emboldened right wing forces in Tehran to attack leftists in the streets. The Iranian bourgeoisie is

pressing to consolidate its rule and this means cowering to the U.S. imperialists. The next period is sure to bring more sharp class struggle as the U.S. imperialists and their agents in the Iranian bourgeoisie try to tighten up and the masses of people refuse to give up the revolutionary dreams they fought so hard for.

This System Is Doomed Let's Finish It Off!

Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party at May Day rally, May 5, 1979 in Washington D.C. Includes historic call for revolutionary May Day demonstrations on May 1st, 1980.

"I've heard them all—I've even heard Malcolm X—but I've never heard anything like this!"

—A Black worker from Detroit

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May Day Storm Gathers in Silicon Valley

White light exploded in her head. Her arms ached at the shoulders, pinned back by two men. As her vision cleared, she focused on another man standing near the door, arms folded, smirking, nodding approval. She turned and looked at the bastard whose fist had just crashed into her left eye. Another of the countless horror stories of women being abducted, beaten and raped? In a way, yes.

But this beating was going on in the back room of the National Semi-Conductor (NSC) factory in San Jose's Silicon Valley. The men were two company security guards, the head of personnel and a Contra Costa sheriff. The woman was a well-known revolutionary who had just spoken in the cafeteria, exposing her firing that morning. A firing that was supposed to stop the word of Revolutionary May Day from spreading at NSC. A beating that was supposed to enforce the age-old message of "Woman, know thy place"—and stay in it! And this has been punctuated by the beating and firing of a second woman who had spoken out against the firing of the first. But a message is being delivered in return by these revolutionary women, by the class-conscious workers and the May Day Brigade, a message that says: "Woman's place is fighting with the people of the world for revolution."

As I drove around the Silicon Valley, talking with this revolutionary fighter about her beating and about the chains that women in this society labor under, I became very angry. It became very stark to me that paying lip service to the battle against women's oppression for a few days around March 8th, International Women's Day, was giving in to the ruling class. This brutal oppression, physical and mental, that women suffer is so indoctrinated, so enforced, so much a part of daily life under capitalism that many women, and especially men, are numbed into accepting this crap as routine.

Valley of Horrors

Silicon Valley from the outside looks like serenity and tranquillity. The electronics factories look more like nice office buildings or classrooms at a junior college. In many of the complexes, behind a redwood fence perhaps, there are ponds and tables for lunch. A small oasis in the middle of paradise. But four months ago the stillness was shattered in the valley as the veil was ripped off and what was revealed was the dark reality that, for 70,000 women, the electronics industry is nothing more than a chamber of horrors.

A lawsuit was filed by four women who worked for Signetics, one of the companies in Silicon Valley. These four women were used as guinea pigs by the company. They were sent into work areas to detect the presence of chemicals and metals in the air. Were they asked to make daily reports? No. Were they given equipment to detect these conditions? No. Were they even told that's what they were doing? No. The detection equipment was their own bodies. And the reports they would file would be their own bodily reactions to these poisons. In the space of six months, the reports began coming in. Blisters formed inside their mouths. One woman's feet grew a size and a half larger. Another woman grew a couple of inches taller. When they refused to work any longer in this situation, they got fired. The company had gotten its test results.

But the real horror story is that this is nothing unusual. In the fabrication shops at National Semi-Conductor (NSC) Arsine leaks (arsenic gas) are a daily occurrence. Women work with their whole bodies covered. Not until people start dropping are the alarms sounded so that the most production is squeezed out. And it is standard for the company to send back some "volunteers" to finish the wafers that are in the furnaces so they don't get scrapped.

To make these wafers that the semi-conductor chips are on, women must stand over vats of hydrochloric acid and sulfuric acid breathing the fumes eight hours a day. Think for a moment what this does to the body. Think for a moment what this does to a developing fetus. There is this other acid called HCF which is odorless, tasteless and does not burn the skin. Instead it soaks into the body, into the bones, and begins to eat its way back out. The effects don't become apparent for three to five years.

Silicon Valley and the city of San Jose were built on the backs of working women. In 25 years the semi-conductor industry has boomed, changing the face of this once small town in California. Semi-conductor manufacture, a product of war research at Stanford University's think tank during World War 2, is even more tied to the imperialists' war preparations today. In fact, the founders of Hewlett-Packard Company are students from Stanford and, remembering the '60s, pose as liberal management types to attract the engineers who graduated in the heat of campus rebellions of that decade, and convince them that making the components for the Trident missile is okay now that Vietnam is "behind us" and "we have to get ready for the Soviets." Right next to Moffett Electronics is Moffett Naval Field and Lockheed missile manufacturing—how convenient—they can test the products on the weapons by walking across the parking lot. And now the headlines read: Sign Up For the Draft—And That Means You Women Too.

Breaking Chains

Against this backdrop, an ideological battle is raging as daily the "women's place" is sketched out and in a thousand ways she is told to stay in it. "Honey, we have some important orders to get out," the lead man or supervisor begins, and as he explains further, his arms slither around the women's shoulders or snake around their waist. And it gets more blatant. In

order to get the chump change raises of 25¢ added to their \$3.50 an hour, the women have to go through a periodic review system, usually an interview with a male supervisor. And it is common to find that these raises and promotions are held out in exchange for sexual favors. Then they have the audacity to promote among the workers that "we are all one big happy family."

In some departments the best workers are given a bouquet of roses. (That practice was halted in one department several months ago when seven women proudly wore "Death to the

Shah" buttons as they prepared for a teach-in on Iran at the NSC cafeteria.) The women are constantly referred to as "honey" or "girls" by the supervisors, tightening the idea that women are helpless, weak and must lean on the men to get by in this world. The company even organized a little group who call themselves "Charlie's Angels" after the plant manager, to oppose the revolutionaries. And the atmosphere that is actively promoted is that women are brainless, backbiting bitches who need some reasonable male supervisors

Continued on page 8

"Go Back to... Youngstown!?!"

This letter came from a Chicano worker in Chicago who distributes the RW in his plant and is a member of the May Day Committee.

Who says politicians are good for nothing bores? These clowns can at times be fun and good for a few laughs.

As I was getting ready to go to work a few weeks ago, there was this Mr. August Sallas who is running for ward committeeman in the neighborhood of Little Village, and of course he was making the usual promises if elected, etc., etc., etc. He said he wanted to serve the Latino Community and needed their vote. He was trying to speak Spanish and was failing something awful. The announcer had to help him along. One of his promises was to see to it that street corners in the neighborhood got trash cans because he noticed that that was one thing the neighborhood needed! He was very upset also because his posters were being torn down. He said it was the competition because they didn't want to see him get elected. Anyway, at the end of his ramblings the announcer asked listeners to write in their comments.

So I wrote him a brief note on one of the May Day leaflets which said: we look to the future for things other than trash cans. Stop being a HACK. Change your ways. Learn to speak Spanish. You were terrible.

He wrote back: learn to speak English. Learn to spell it (I misspelled his last name). Get a job. Stop parading around (referring to the May Day leaflet). And go back to Youngstown, Ohio (since I also sent him a Youngstown leaflet).

First they tell me go back to Mexico, then they say go back to Russia, and now they say go back to Youngstown.

He also mentioned some of his sponsors and among them was the United Steelworkers.

This just makes one think: the ruling class has nothing to offer but these little political HACKS and I hear that in the big leagues they might bring in Gerald Ford and Richard Nixon advising on campaigning matters. What next? Hurry up May Day!!!



Morgan State College, Maryland. As members of the Revolutionary May Day Brigade fanned out across this campus on a rainy afternoon last week, students noticed something unusual. In the center of the courtyard, flying from the flagpole was a bright red flag. The cops grabbed a Brigader and demanded to know, "What the hell did you do with the flag?" The police had apparently forgotten that it is considered "desecration of the flag" to fly it in the rain, and alarmed at its disappearance (and more alarmed at its replacement), they freaked. All ten Brigaders were stopped. One activist, a Morgan State student who had joined up for the day, was thrown up against a van and handcuffed by the cops.

Students gathered. Debate raged for an hour. As some defended the red, white, and blue, one student shouted out in response "Fuck the flag, I stand with the commies."

The cops backed off. As the brigaders left, they looked back. The cops had ripped down the red flag and there, sagging in the rain was "Old Glory".



Chinese Revisionists Rehab Mao's Greatest Foe Rotting Corpse From Capitalist Boneyard

The Chinese revisionists dropped a bombshell after the recent 5th Plenary of the 11th Party Central Committee. On February 29 the official communique announced the rehabilitation of "Comrade Liu Shao-chi," calling him a "great Marxist-Leninist, and proletarian revolutionary"! This same Liu, the mortal enemy of Mao, was correctly denounced as "renegade, hidden traitor and scab" and "China's Khrushchev," and thrown out of his presidency by millions led by Mao in the Cultural Revolution. The revisionists now call all this "the greatest mistake of our Party's history," and all those who went down fighting for his counter-revolutionary line will also be restored to revisionist-style honor. By direct clear implication all those who fought against Liu, including Mao, are traitors.

You can almost see the revisionist chieftain Teng Hsiao-ping's tongue sticking right through his cheek as the communique cynically states that these decisions show "the Party's determination to restore Mao Tsetung Thought's true nature." This declaration to "restore Mao Tsetung Thought's true nature" can only rival Liu and Teng's efforts in 1966 at the 8th Party Congress when they completely *took out* Mao Tsetung Thought as the Party's theoretical guide. One Hong Kong journal with close ties to the Chinese government even charged that Liu got purged because—get this—he was the true upholder of Mao Tsetung Thought and Mao himself violated Mao Tsetung Thought!

Mao and Liu were mortal enemies, but far from some sort of personal rivalry as the bourgeois press maintains, the struggle between them concentrated the life and death struggles of society between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Their differences over every major question in society was like night and day.

Because it is one more step in the process of capitalist restoration that has been going on in China since the coup in 1976, Liu's rehabilitation was in fact very predictable. While two and a half years ago, the freshly-installed revisionists were still publicly calling Liu a "revisionist", the RCP even at that time predicted his restoration by using Marxism to dissect the ideological and political line of the revisionist rulers. And, as Mao put it, "the rise to power

or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything."

For Teng and company, rehabilitating their hero Liu is being dictated by urgent political necessities, both domestic and international. (Of course they'd prefer to have done it sooner if not for the risk of widespread resistance). Consolidating a capitalist China over the past three years required a clearing away of the "ideological confusion"—that is the revolutionary communist line—left by Mao and the Cultural Revolution and now openly replacing it with Liu Shao-chi thought and program. In particular they're unleashing their backers among the strata of technocrats, experts and officials to lord it over the masses. Teng and company feel there's little time to

tion under the dictatorship of the proletariat and eliminate inequalities—Mao saw this as a major struggle. But for capitalist readers like Liu whose outlook was made famous by Teng's favorite saying, "It doesn't matter if it's a black cat or white cat, so long as it catches mice"—capitalism is fine! In 1949, right after the victorious liberation of China, Liu put it bluntly in a talk with some Tientsin capitalists, "exploitation by capitalists today is not only not criminal, it has merit. Today it is not the case that there is too much exploitation, but there is too little. The suffering of the workers and peasants lies in the fact that there is nobody exploiting them. Your ability to exploit is of great use to the state and the people."

Liu: "Criticism of inferiors by superiors is alright but the other way around things become chaotic."

Mao: "It's right to rebel against reactionaries."

waste.

Carrying Out Liu's Line Without Liu

Since the '76 coup, Teng and company's "four modernizations" is clearly nothing more than a xerox of Liu's theory of productive forces which was attacked as revisionist by millions led by Mao in the Cultural Revolution. At the 1956 Eighth Party Congress, Liu in his political report had declared that the principle contradiction in China was "between the productive forces which are backward and the advanced socialist system." All China had to do was produce; forget about socialist revolution!

Together with this was Liu's preaching of the dying out of class struggle. Liu said, "The question of whether socialism or capitalism will win out in our country has already been resolved." Liu's line concentrated a revisionist programme for restoring capitalism in China. It was an open attack on Mao who stressed that "the question of who will win out, socialism or capitalism is not really settled."

Mao said, "Liu Shao-chi advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to

Cloning the Party in Liu's Image

To restore the "merit" of capitalism, Teng and Co. must transform the Party's soul from communism to the "soul of capital." In fact the revisionists' idea of what their Party members should be was nakedly laid out by Teng in an October 4, 1979 interview published in the January 1980 issue of *Wide Angle*, a pro-revisionist mouthpiece in Hong Kong. "Recently, I held a talk with people from [Japan's] Sony Corporation. They say, of their corporation's 30,000 people, a big percentage inside the country are managers, technicians... up to 70%. We can say, they are specialist cadres. *What we lack are precisely these kind of cadre.* There are too few technicians, managers, and too many do-nothings." Teng emphasized in a January speech that "red must mean expert" and the Party must replace cadre who are "political" with experts. The communist party, in Teng's bourgeois view, is nothing but a giant Sony Corporation!

And like a good corporation—Teng is instituting another bourgeois necessity: Everybody, especially the "uppity" workers, must obey the orders of those above him. In line with this, the recent Central Committee meeting took some

stability," cries the recent Central Committee Communique. Liu put it more bluntly once: "Criticism of inferiors by superiors is alright but the other way around things become chaotic." (Page 96 of *Wind in the Tower* written by Han Suyin, a current defender of the Chinese revisionists.) In contrast, Mao insisted, "going against the tide is a Marxist principle."

It's not surprising that, along with Liu, the revisionists are bringing back his infamous book *How to Be a Good Communist*. In 1962 shortly before the Cultural Revolution, 60 million copies were republished and widely distributed as compulsory reading for cadres, compared to only 14 million copies of Mao's four-volume *Selected Works* (Han Suyin, page 187). In Liu's book, he calls for "absolute and unconditional" obedience to the Party like a company manual. The entire text says nothing about the dictatorship of the proletariat or the battle raging against Soviet revisionism. But it did contain veiled attacks on the "impetuosity" and "destructiveness" of some comrades—"the one who considers himself a Marx or a Lenin... who demands veneration... who has not really been selected but considers himself a leader." Liu's "good communist" is nothing but a bureaucrat who deserves special privileges. He stressed, "It is

necessary to secure for members the indispensable conditions of material life, of work and of instruction, that allows them to perform their duties with tranquility." What a difference from Mao's idea of a communist's duty—"It's right to rebel against reactionaries!"

The rehabilitation of Liu indicates the fierce infighting among the Chinese bourgeoisie. The law of the jungle dictates that there will be some internal "bloodletting" as the blasts against Mao take cross-fire casualties. The recent meeting purged four Politburo members, Wang Tung-hsing, Chen Hsilien, Wu Teh and Chi Teng-kuei. Far from being "pro-Maoist" as the bourgeois press widely reports, these four were part of the treacherous backstabbers who helped launch the vicious '76 coup after Mao's death. Wang and Chen in particular were strategic commanders of military forces in Peking who were key in overthrowing working class rule. There were no doubt others who went along at that time, at that critical juncture, just to save their own ass. These were part of the "whatever" faction—accused by the Teng forces (who were the main targets in the Cultural Revolution) as following "whatever Mao said." Their accusation, of course, was absurd. Rather these people had ridden on the back of the Cultural Revolution, and many even at a time supported it to get some of the spoils as many of the Liu-Teng forces got kicked out. Now their past connections with the Cultural Revolution and Mao have become more like the kiss of death than a meal ticket. The fortunes of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng are definitely taking a dive. With his base being knocked away by Teng, Hua is surviving by pretending to go along. It is perhaps fitting that these backstabbing traitors are backstabbed themselves.

This purge points to an overall problem Teng and Co. still must deal with. The legacy of Mao and Cultural Revolution remains a headache. It is not enough that over 1/4 of the Central Committee was purged after the coup and tens of thousands jailed or killed. Over 17 million of the Party's 37 million members were recruited during the Cultural Revolution. In the last month a stream of *People's Daily* articles have been harping on "Party disunity." Teng, in his January 16 speech admitted, "right now, it is still not consolidated, and there are still unstable elements in various aspects... the ideological and organizational remnants of the gang of four still exist."

Continued on page 9

Liu: "The question of whether socialism or capitalism will win out in our country has already been resolved."

Mao: "The bourgeoisie... is right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road."

of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie"—and this definitely meant Liu.

Various revisionist apologists in this country, including the CPML and the Menshevik "Revolutionary Workers Headquarters" (who split with the RCP over this assessment of China), all labeled predictions like this "outrageous" and "slandering"—"no it can't be true, 'gang of four idealism'!" They faithfully spewed out all the lies, low-life slander and horror stories coming from Peking, insisting that they were the "genuine revolutionaries" fighting revisionism—including the revisionism of Liu! Now, since they have already swallowed the revisionist poison, this reversal will not even bring a peep of protest from them. The whole affair is a great example of the truth stressed by Mao that "the correctness

wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers... Did class struggle die out?" (Teng, holding the important post of Party General Secretary at the time, was then the "number 2 capitalist roader" in China and he couldn't have agreed with Liu's line more.)

In 1962 Mao pointed out, "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes and class contradictions and class struggle; there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is a danger of capitalist restoration." Mao was summing up the bitter lessons of the Soviet reversal. How to prevent a new bourgeoisie from turning China back to capitalism, how to continue the revolu-

more measures.

During the last three years, the revisionists made a big deal out of their "Democracy Wall" and the "undemocratic gang of four"—Mao's followers—and how they stifled the "free expression of ideas." But it's clear just what class—the bourgeoisie—is supposed to get democracy and what class—the proletariat—is supposed to get dictated to. At the recent meeting, in the interests of their greater democracy, they eliminated the famous "four freedoms" (speak out freely, air views fully, write big character posters and hold big debates) to which Mao attached great importance and for which the masses of Chinese people fought. As a result of the Cultural Revolution, they were written into the 1973 Tenth Party Congress as well as the country's Constitution. "It creates too much in-

"IN YOUR FACE!"

Notre Dame 76, DePaul 74. The country's number 1 college basketball team is defeated on February 27 for the first time in the season, in double overtime. In Chicago, where DePaul is located, and especially among the more than one million Black people in the area, as well as in ghettos and poor people's neighborhoods in many other parts of the country, there is not only disappointment but frustration and anger.

It was a week in which sports events made banner front-page headlines. So thick were the political overtones surrounding the Winter Olympics (they were held in Lake Placid, New York, despite the presence of thousands of U.S. military bases and hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops occupying other countries) that one radio disc jockey remarked, only half-jokingly, that the winner of the U.S.-Russia hockey match would get control of Afghanistan as the prize. The winner, quite unexpectedly, turned out to be the U.S., and this became the occasion for such a barrage of chauvinist yahoos, orchestrated and conducted not just by the lower level cheerleaders in the media but by leading political spokesmen, that you actually got the feeling that World War 3 was on.

When the U.S. hockey team, suddenly the standard bearer of an "underdog" U.S. rising to the challenge of the swaggering Russian bear, went on to win the Olympic hockey championship and was rewarded by being the featured guests at a White House celebration, you weren't sure if their uniforms had been those of athletes or infantrymen—or whether it made any difference. Coming on top of the U.S. government's insistence on a boycott of the Summer Olympics—because they were being held on the rival superpower's turf and would give them an advantage in making propaganda points—all this left little room for the illusion that sports is somehow separate from or "above" politics.

Picking up on the rhetoric of the hour, a Chicago sportswriter, referring to the notoriously boisterous and belligerent Notre Dame rooting section and its impact in the "Fighting Irish" home basketball arena, where the game with DePaul was played, churned out the following comparison: the DePaul "Blue Demons" had, he wrote, ventured "into a neighborhood so hostile that the Soviets would have thought twice about invading it." No, especially in times like these, the rulers of this country and their mouthpieces, right down to hack writers in the sports section, do not hesitate even to go out of their way to make sports serve politics and particularly now to use it as a stick to bang on the drums of war preparation.

The DePaul-Notre Dame basketball game, however, unlike the Olympic hockey match, had nothing directly to do with superpower rivalry, nor was it even an overtly political contest. But it nevertheless assumed profound if not explicit symbolic significance, socially, politically and ideologically.

Somehow, as this game approached and then as you watched it unfold, you got the impression that Notre Dame was supposed to win, even though DePaul (despite the fact that one of its starters was playing injured) clearly fielded the superior team, individually and collectively. This impression came not so much because of the much-vaunted "home court advantage" enjoyed by Notre Dame, with its thunderous rooting section, but more because of the whole terms in which the game had been cast by sports pundits.

DePaul, they had repeatedly droned, was bound to stumble from the weight of not merely its number 1 ranking, but its undefeated record and, if nothing else could, the Notre Dame game in the Notre Dame gym would cause the "Blue Demons" to crack under the pressure. DePaul's players, after all, were not only young and inexperienced (with only one senior among their starting five) but there was the constant reference or inference to the notion that they were undisciplined.

Al McGuire's Line

This whole thing was rather nakedly

expressed and the symbolic importance of the game indicated by Al McGuire, former basketball coach at Marquette University in Milwaukee and presently a voice of authority—and for authority—on NBC's weekly college basketball television broadcast team. During the course of the nationally-televised Marquette-Notre Dame game a few days before DePaul came into the Notre Dame arena, McGuire responded to the question as to his pick for the upcoming game by predicting, and virtually decreeing that Notre Dame would (must) beat DePaul. This, he quickly added, would be "good" for DePaul, because—and here's the bottom line—they would "listen to the coach!"

What bugs McGuire about the kind of players that make up DePaul's team and brought it the number 1 ranking is not really that they don't "listen to the coach," but that they don't listen *without question*. Openly declaring this during another nationally televised game, McGuire complained that "these players nowadays, you can't just tell them what to do, they want to know *why*, they want to *discuss it!*"

Even this, to voices of authority like McGuire, is unacceptable and represents a challenge in itself that has to be "coached," or if that fails *knocked*, out of people, in sports no less than other aspects of society. And further, recognizing the preponderance of Black players in basketball, including among the major college teams today, McGuire's complaint can also be seen to boil down to the familiar racist outcry—they are "uppity niggers."

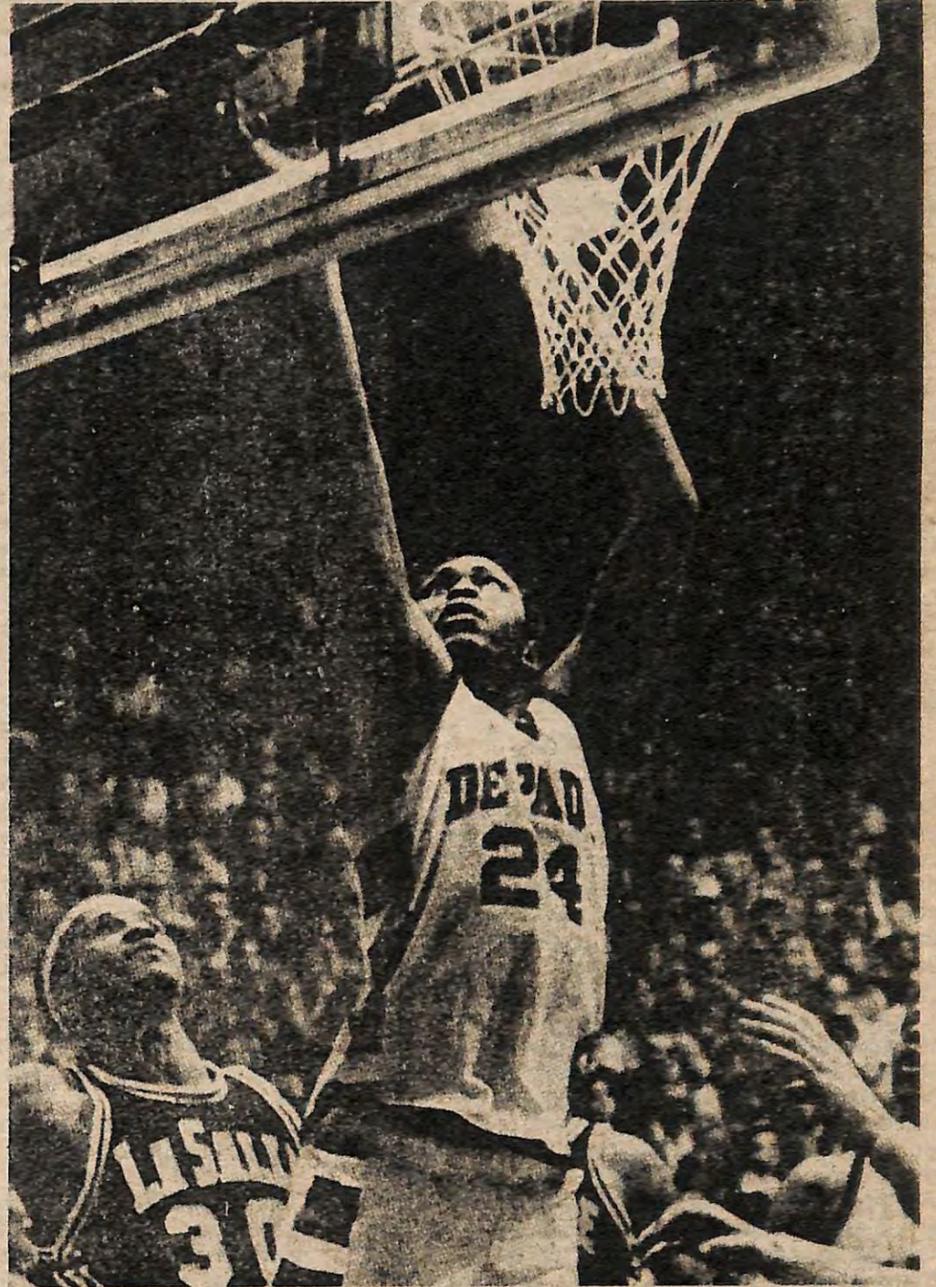
McGuire, who continues to use such chauvinist phrases as "Chinese steps" (by which he means quick shuffling of the feet in short steps) in the course of his nationally televised commentary, compiled a winning record as a coach at Marquette by recruiting Black players from around the country, especially his native city New York, famous for its incredible playground basketball, and then as much as possible "coaching" the spontaneity, initiative and innovativeness out of them. This is called "discipline" and "welding together a team" by the established authorities in sports (and in general).

McGuire, who does possess extensive technical knowledge of the game, did, finally, manage to have a national championship team a few years back, but this was more as a dying gasp of the past than any wave of the future. McGuire, astutely recognizing this, immediately retired from coaching, and in another of this year's televised games summed up himself that "My way of coaching went out with the buffalo." Unfortunately, this is an exaggeration—there are still plenty of coaches who follow the same model as McGuire, and in general coaches do their best to suppress the style learned on the playgrounds, where the most creative basketball in the country is played—but, because of changes in society brought about in the tumultuous decade of the 1960s and its aftermath, it has become increasingly difficult to use the McGuire-type methods and produce a perpetual winner.

To put it simply, "these players nowadays" don't have to put up with this to the same degree—and they don't. The coaches, and the higher authorities even more, still of course have the final say, in sports as in everything else in society, but they don't have it without question and they have found themselves having to bend a little—even while they consistently work to enforce conformity as the price for "success," or even the illusion of it.

From the Roots

What has stood out about DePaul's team this year has been that the style of the masses of people, in particular of Black youth, has not yet been drilled out of them and in fact continues to shine through. The nucleus of its young team is largely recruited from the Black neighborhoods of Chicago (four of its top six players, two sophomores and



Significantly, one common establishment criticism of Aguirre is that he does not always "give 100%" but instead plays only hard enough to win—in other words, he doesn't give "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay."

two freshmen, are from Chicago high schools) and these players in particular are not that far away from these roots.

Much of the basketball learned on the playgrounds still shows itself when DePaul takes the court—and, while to people like Al McGuire and other "experts" and authorities "playground ball" is basically a c-r-se word, the masses of people love it. And this does *not* mean that DePaul is an undisciplined team, or a motley bunch of individualists each trying to do his own thing without consideration of the team and the game as a whole. In fact, what marks DePaul's players is that they excel both one-on-one and as an overall unit. They play as a cohesive team but not as computer-programmed cogs in a machine. And they have, to the surprise of a great many "experts", compiled the best college basketball record this year.

Some of the credit for this does have to be given to the coach, Ray Meyer, who has been head man of DePaul's basketball team for nearly four decades, but what he actually deserves most credit for is bending with the times and with the style represented by his present players—a fact even Meyer himself has acknowledged. It is all this that excites the masses who have seen or followed DePaul's team this year—and dismisses the voices and forces of authority, whether, like Al McGuire, they openly say so or not.

The point here was graphically illustrated a few years back when the all-Black Hirsch High School team became the first Chicago team to win the Illinois state basketball championship in a number of years. They did it with the fast-paced, aggressive, creative style of the playground, tempered—but not "refined away"—and welded together into a genuine and powerful team effort. After they had won the championship game, one of the sports commentators from a local Chicago TV station

began an interview with the Hirsch players with a "question" that ran something like this: "Well, you guys just come out there and run and gun and blow by everybody." In other words—you are not really much of a disciplined team but you make up for it with raw ability. The implication was clear: you don't have it when it comes to the *mental* aspect of the game, but you can run and jump (he didn't need to add "like all you 'niggers' can").

As though their style of play resulted from some innate racially-determined physical traits, rather than from the mastering of this style of play, in theory and practice, through years and years of experience on the playground, propelled by a driving desire to overcome racist oppression and break out of the poverty and degradation that stalks the ghettos.

And this commentator's meaning was not lost on the Hirsch players, one of whom boldly shot back in response to this "question"—"Man, I don't know what you're talking about!" Hirsch had whipped its opponents through the players' combined efforts in dealing with both the mental and physical aspects of the game, and they didn't want to hear any of that bullshit.

Mark Aguirre

Returning to this year's DePaul team, it is no accident that the radio and TV announcer for their games referred during one game to DePaul's star forward, Mark Aguirre, from Chicago's Westinghouse High School, as the "Muhammad Ali of college basketball." There is truth in this, but the comparison is not to the present Ali, flunkey and travelling salesman for U.S. imperialism who recently made a complete fool of himself on his mission to convince African nations to support the U.S. call for a boycott of the Summer Olympics.

Continued on page 10

Unleash the Fury of Women

Continued from page 3

should be opposed, but to oppose it on the grounds that it is an attack on the living standards of the people is just plain wrong. Not only was the ERA an attempt to divert the women's movement into bourgeois reformism and legalism, its bigger implications are now getting clearer. To oppose a major step in war preparations as if it were just an attack on living standards is missing the boat, to say the least.

It is not even enough to say we are against the draft for both men and women. We are against it since World War 3 is shaping up and we have no intention of supporting the war preparation of U.S. imperialism. In fact, our plan is that the winners that emerge from this war will not be those that started it, the U.S. and Soviet imperialists—but instead the working class and its parties in many countries, including the USA. The fact that, despite our opposition to war preparations, the bourgeoisie is being forced to bring women into the Army, pull them out of the narrow confines of the home and train them in armed warfare will ultimately be a fine thing for the proletariat. For once that fury is unleashed—against the bourgeoisie—it will indeed be a mighty force for revolution.

A Bourgeois Contradiction

The bourgeoisie is caught in a contradiction. As today's kingly inheritors of the top of the dung heap in class society, part of the foundation of their rule is keeping women at the bottom end of society's division of labor—tied to the home. At the same time, as their profit interests have brought women into production, their profit interests have again demanded that it only be in the most exploited and unstable way possible—a "reserve army of labor", as Marxists have called it.

But when that army get mobilized—even initially in the interests of the bourgeoisie—it poses a potential threat to bourgeois order. Even though it's in a most twisted and upside down way, the draft—and beyond that the whole war mobilization—will pull masses of women into political life. The capitalists' assessment is that there are not enough men to "man the trenches" and push the pencils stateside. Women have to don the green. Old line warhorses like Gen. Lewis Hershey compare women to "men in wheelchairs" in combat, but they have to be calmed down. The new line is "Look, women in combat isn't a question of being for women's rights, it's just a military necessity."

Bringing women into the army will pose some sharp contradictions (and provide fertile soil for revolutionary agitation). Women are supposed to be passive,

helpless blobs; now they are supposed to pick up the gun. Women will be shedding their blood in battle at the same time that women with nothing but combat boots on will be featured in the *Hustler* and *Playboy* centerfolds. Life for women is living hell, and its sure to be hell for women in the army. Millions of women will no doubt be awakened and equipped to take those guns and point them in the right direction, as the terms of the battle become clear.

Family

Even as they mobilize the masses of women, they will pour on the reactionary crap thicker than ever. Pornography. Rape. Maybe a "new woman" for the 80s who fits the old chauvinist stereotypes with a few modern "independent" twists thrown in for the sake of war-time perversion. "Blondie" is *Penthouse's* cover girl "Sex Symbol of the 80s".

And of course there will be the standard "family, home and kitchen" role thrown up whenever the masses of women get really threatening. Even as they pull women out of the home to fight and go to work for them, they will raise the icon of the "ideal family" as another chain to hold women back. Even as they literally force women out of the home at gunpoint, they'll say "a woman's main responsibility is to her family" like a form of torture. Movies like "Kramer vs. Kramer" play this role for them.

It's time to set the record straight on the family. First off, the bourgeoisie's hypocrisy stinks. They don't give a damn about the families of the working class. Capitalism has been destroying the family since it's early days. Marx exposed how it pulled women and the older children into the labor force, leaving infants and young children home 12 to 14 hours at a time. U.S. trained SAVAK agents tortured revolutionaries by cutting off their children's limbs in front of them. Right here in the modern U.S. in 1980 babies freeze to death and are refused medical care because there's no money to pay the bills.

All the talk about "family" is nothing but a social fetter to keep women subservient to the false hope that they as individuals will raise up children carefully shielded from the forces of capitalism. It is an impossible and backward-looking dream. Education and society will have more effect on a child than any "family training"—and kids don't want the conservative influence anyway. Besides, what family can protect a child from the capitalist forces of crime or war—or for that matter hold them back from the forces of revolution?

These backward pressures have to be fought. The family should be viewed in an historical context, Mao Tsetung said, "The family which emerged in the last period of primitive communalism, will in the future be abolished. It had a beginning and will come to an end... Historically, the family was a production unit, a unit for the procreation of the labour force of the next generation and a unit for the education of children. Nowadays the workers do not regard the family as a unit of production... in short, the family may in the

future become something which is unfavorable to the development of production. Under the present (socialist—RW) system of distribution of 'to each according to his work', the family is still of use. When we reach the stage of the communist relationship of distribution of 'to each according to his need', many of our concepts will change. After maybe a few thousand year, or at the very least several hundred years, the family will disappear. Many of our comrades do not dare to think about these things. They are very narrow minded. But problems such as the disappearance of classes and parties have already been discussed. This shows that the approach of Marx and Lenin was lofty, while ours is low." ("Talks at Chengtu")

The early stages of socialism will not destroy the family. Relations between men and women will generally become better, with bourgeois ideology under broad attack and relations based on mutual respect, equality and common participation in the struggle—not pulled together by economic compulsion and pushed apart by bourgeois social decay. But at the same time, the conservative "family outlook" will be fought and the material basis for women being chained to the home will be greatly reduced with the profit motive removed and things like child-care centers and communal kitchens established.

Time and again in every revolutionary movement these chains of oppression have been broken, and how thoroughly they have been smashed is a direct measure of the depth and success of the revolution. Generations of tradition's chains may appear unbreakable, but women and the working class as a whole have risen to smash them again and again. Even in a society burdened with feudalism, arranged marriages and foot binding, the Chinese women rose to discard the past and take up Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, the guide to the future. And today in Iran, nothing can prevent tens of hundreds of thousands of women from joining in revolutionary struggle. Years of backward, feudal training, right down to mothers telling daughters to stay off the streets are blasted away in a few days as the future shows its strength in overcoming the past.

Today all this cries out to be done. May Day 1980 will be a battle that plays a major part in setting the stage for the 1980s. Against the backdrop of gathering forces, the actions of those class conscious workers who take to the streets on May First will be crucial. They cannot be without the full participation of women as they step onto history's stage on that day. The chance to strike off all the chains of exploitation and oppression may well arise in the next decade. But without the full participation of women, the chains will hold. But with the women... that's another matter. There is a lesson to be found in Engels description of the attitude of a bourgeois fearfully observing the powerful role of women in the first proletarian revolution—the Paris Commune of 1871: "If the French nation were a nation of women, what a terrible nation it would be."

Silicon Valley

Continued from page 3

to mediate among the shrews. At NSC, they have "communication sessions" where women who have a hassle are made to stand up in front of the crew and "communicate" about their differences with the supervisor sitting in as paternal referee.

There is a war going on, all right, but it will never be settled in one of their warped little "communication sessions." More and more, NSC is relying on security guards and county sheriffs to "mediate." And the question that is being asked and debated, often in whispers, is, "Why is the company going to such extremes? Why is May Day so important that you fight so hard? Where should women be standing today and on May 1?" And the chains of women's oppression are real. It's a fact that right now it's mainly the men, engineers and production workers, who are joining the May Day Committee, and not mainly the women. But it's a very volatile situation. Politics, revolution, and not Avon and Tupperware, are being debated. Last year, during the weeks building up to International Women's Day, management at NSC put out a brochure aimed at combatting the call to women to "Break the chains, unleash the fury of women as a mighty force for revolution!" The management brochure presented women, especially Blacks and other minorities, telling how good it was to slave away at NSC and how you could really make it if you just applied yourself. That was last year. This year, the stakes are up.

Dozens of women waiver on the edge, going through turmoil, awakened to political life, provoked by the revolutionary line to consider taking the first step to join the class-conscious workers on May 1st. "My family is my whole



Truth in advertising (Part III)— California Milk Advisory Board billboard.

world. I can't get involved." "My husband doesn't dig this stuff." "I don't have the time." "I'm just a woman and I can't understand all this." The hollow rattle of chains which keep women "in their place," passive observers in their own lives and the lives of millions which are being ripped apart, clutching at the straws of illusion, apart from the revolutionary force which can lead to the destruction of the property relations that are the basis for the chains that bind women in "their place" to begin with. And this rattle is sounding increasingly hollow to many who are straining to find a way out of this madness.

Women on the inside are circulating petitions for the rehire of the fired workers. And when word got out that the press around the valley was not going to cover these firings, a woman in the plants called them up and told them to get their asses down to NSC for a press conference.

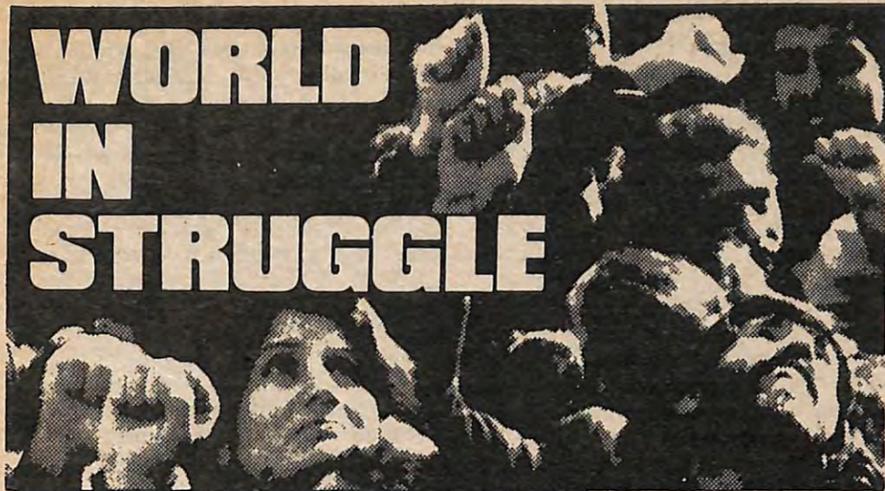
Mary, a woman in her sixties, told me she hated the sexual harassment and tells the supervisors off all the time. And she said straight up that both she and her husband would be in the May Day march while in the same breath blaming the minority workers for many of the problems like low wages in the industry. How do we break with all the bullshit and go straight for our enemy, the imperialists?

The arrival of the May Day Brigade at NSC last week sparked a powerful example of the united action of the class-conscious workers, men and women of all nationalities. In response to the two beatings and arrests, the May Day Brigade marched into the storm center at NSC. That same morning 372 *Revolutionary Workers* were sold at a major intersection of Silicon Valley as cars stopped for the light. Workers bought dozens of papers to sell inside to their friends. And something happened that freaked the company and shocked

and excited many of the workers who saw it. Four workers, men and women, punched out, and right in the face of security guards and picture-taking company sucks, crossed the walkway and joined the May Day Brigade and marched out of the parking lot. I asked one Black worker at NSC what had turned him into an organizer for May Day and what made him join the Brigade as it marched through the parking lot. "Well, the firings and beatings started me asking some questions. But what made the difference was the meeting the other night (a forum on national oppression by the *Revolutionary Worker*) when I saw people of all races together, together struggling over the politics of how all this shit works and how are we going to deal with it."

In the valley of horrors, the specter of May Day has reared its head. Some people appear to have grown taller. But this time it is not the terrible effects of chemical poisoning. It is simply because they are standing up.

WORLD IN STRUGGLE



5,000 Political Prisoners in Colombia's Jails

Ambassadors from 14 different countries, including the U.S., are being held hostage in the embassy of the Dominican Republic in Bogota, Colombia. The ambassadors were captured as they were gathering at the embassy for a celebration of the anniversary of the "independence" of the Dominican Republic. The main demand of the April 19th Movement (M*19th), the urban guerrilla organization which occupied the embassy on February 25, is freedom for all political prisoners in Colombia.

The embassy takeover occurred as kangaroo court trials were beginning for more than 300 worker, peasant and student activists, accused of being "terrorists." The trials mark an important stage of the Colombian government's crackdown on the popular movement. There are an estimated 5,000 political prisoners in Colombian jails, over 3500 arrested in 1979 alone. The government wants to get the first 300 convicted with stiff sentences, to pave the way for railroading the rest, thereby demoralizing the people's movement.

However the trials are being hit with stiff opposition. On the same day as the embassy takeover, there was a march of several thousand students, demanding that the prisoners be set free. The march was attacked by police and government troops, killing several people and wounding dozens. That same day, the Mexican press reported that the top military chiefs of the country met in an emergency session in Bogota to discuss the "severe political crisis" the country is facing.

Colombia has been in an almost constant state of siege for most of the last twenty years, due to the powerful struggle of the masses of people. Landlords trying to rip off land to grow more coffee for exportation to the U.S. have been met with stiff and growing resistance from peasants who have staged massive protest and land seizures. Strikes by industrial workers have also shaken the country, increasing greatly in the last few years as the cost of living has skyrocketed 30% in the last year alone.

The Colombian government has tried to squash the people's struggle through military repression and through arrest and torture of thousands of political activists. The bloody hand of U.S. imperialism is very visible in this campaign of terror; between 1962 and 1975, over \$101 million in U.S. military aid was given to Colombia, most of it to purchase anti-riot gear.

In September of 1978, the government passed a statute of security. Based on the Security Laws passed in Chile after the CIA-sponsored coup and massacre there, this statute provides for all criminal charges to be handled by military courts, identifies political prisoners as "common criminals," outlaws all strikes and demonstrations, and places all press media under strict government censorship. President Turbay Ayala is today using this law to deny the demand for release of political prisoners, saying "There are none," calling those in jail, "thieves, murderers, and other types of common criminals."

San Salvador—Nat'l. Guard Headquarters Attacked

The revolutionary struggle in El Salvador continues to turn up the heat on the U.S. puppet junta. In what was described as "the most audacious military action yet" by Salvadoran rebels, the Ciudad Delgado District of San Salvador was occupied and held for several hours on March 4. Guerrillas used home-made bazookas and mortars to shell the national guard headquarters from two nearby hills, pinning down over 1,000 troops. Barricades were erected out of automobiles and paving stones. Finally forced to retreat in the face of advancing tanks and armored cars that rumbled through the streets of the district, many of the rebels took refuge at the National University where sporadic fighting continued. Nine people were officially reported as wounded in the battle. Thousands of heavily armed troops are now reported to be occupying the deserted streets of San Salvador having regained control of the city, at least temporarily. Daily the junta is becoming more and more isolated and its downfall imminent.

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and

need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* is establishing a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

Rotting Corpse

Continued from page 6

ist... there are still people who hold an antagonistic attitude toward our present ideological, political, and organizational line." Rehabilitating Liu was obviously a clear signal to any opposition that Teng was in charge, but especially as the Chinese rulers run into trouble in delivering the dazzling economic promises, the legacy of Mao will haunt them even more.

Capitulation

Liu's comeback represents a certain consolidation and leap for the Chinese revisionists in their capitalist transformation of China. No longer do they need to hide the fact that they are successors to Liu's revisionist line. And as Mao pointed out "whoever practices revisionism practices capitulationism." These bourgeois democrats want to build a powerful country under their control. But because they cannot rely on the revolutionary activism of the masses—for it would sweep them away as well—they are overwhelmed by China's economic backwardness and the apparent strength of imperialism. They see the only hope for themselves as caving in to one or the other big imperialist powers. Thus we see Teng and Co. today bending over for the U.S. imperialists in hopes of economic and military aid, but always with a watchful eye towards the Soviets.

Praying to the imperialist gods for the safety of his little revisionist ass, Teng said on January 16 that, "The 80's is a decade of danger. The start of the 80's was not very good—there was the Afghanistan incident on top of the Iran problem, not to mention the earlier Vietnamese and Middle East problems. There will be a lot more problems later." There is none of Mao's vision of self-reliance and proletarian internationalism, none of the revolutionary optimism of looking into the disorder and turmoil for the opportunity of revolution. Instead, these narrow bourgeois democrats see only a weak, backward China and one or the other superpowers who must be relied on and capitulated to.

Once again it's clear why the present rulers must call Liu a "great Marxist," for he was a supreme capitulationist. Even in 1946 right after the victory over Japan and on the eve of nationwide communist victory, Liu stated: "Americans will inevitably seek a comprador in China. We can serve as a comprador for them—a red comprador!" (China's *People's Daily*, July 6, 1967). Later when Khrushchev was in power in the Soviet Union, Liu preached the "Three Reconciliations and One Reduction" which basically called for following Soviet revisionism in reconciliation with U.S. imperialism, and with Western countries as a whole, and reduction of aid for revolution and national liberation.

But it was becoming increasingly clear that Liu, a pro-Soviet element, was setting China up for capitulation to the Russian revisionist rulers. Liu praised the CPSU's Twentieth Party Congress in 1956 where Khrushchev laid out his revisionist line, calling it "A great political event of worldwide significance... it put forward the stand of further promoting peaceful co-existence and international cooperation, made outstanding contributions to relaxing world tensions." In a scarcely veiled attack on Mao, Liu and Teng echoed Khrushchev's denunciations of the "personality cult of Stalin." Mao counter-attacked, "The complete negation of Stalin on the pretext of combatting the personality cult and the thesis of peaceful transition to socialism by the parliamentary road... are gross errors of principle."

In 1961 shortly before China led by Mao began open polemics against the Soviet revisionists, Liu said, "We should study the experience of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries in the building of socialism." It's no wonder Liu's rehabilitation raises the question: is China moving one step closer to reconciliation with the Soviet Union? That this is not an abstract question but a real possibility is shown by Teng's remark in his January 16

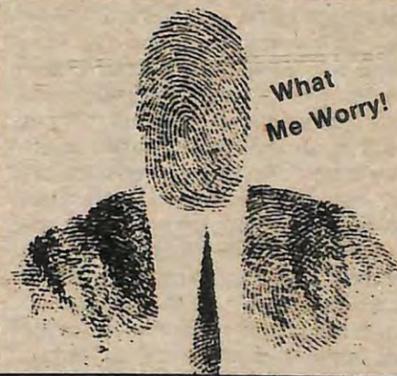
speech: "The Soviet Union has been building socialism for 63 years since the 1917 October Revolution"!!! So, there was no revisionist takeover by Khrushchev's clique and the Soviet Union is still a socialist country with a wrong policy of expansionism! (Of course, it would be absurd for Teng and company to continue to criticize Soviet revisionism out of *principle* when they themselves are following right in their footsteps.) The struggle between the Soviet Union and China now is not over any Marxist principles but a dispute between an imperialist and a national bourgeoisie, like the mafia don and his intended, a dispute which may get hot but which they can come to terms on, given the right bargaining conditions.

The rehabilitation of Liu can only help rip away any remaining illusions about the real nature of the present revisionist rulers in China. But as these new capitalist rulers are forced to face a situation where the two superpowers are fiercely contending and preparing for an actual showdown, China's revisionists are panicking over the sand castles they are building. Mao very sarcastically and poetically exposed those like Liu and Teng in his poem, "Two Birds: A Dialogue" written in 1965 against Liu and released in 1976 against Teng:

The roc wings fanwise,
Soaring ninety thousand li
And rousing a raging cyclone.
The blue sky on his back, he
looks down
To survey Man's world with its
towns and cities.
Gunfire licks the heavens,
Shells pit the earth.
A sparrow in his bush is scared stiff.
"This is one hell of a mess!
O I want to flit and fly away."

"Where, may I ask?"
The sparrow replies,
"To a jewelled palace in elfland's
hills.
Don't you know a triple pact was
signed
Under the bright autumn moon two
years ago?
There'll be plenty to eat,
Potatoes piping hot,
Beef-filled goulash."
"Stop your windy nonsense!
Look, the world is being turned
upside down."

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In Your Face!

Continued from page 7

Nor, on the other hand, is it a comparison to the Ali who, during the height of the Black liberation and anti-war movements in this country in the 1960s, took the conscious political act of refusing induction into the U.S. armed forces, for which he was threatened with jail and stripped of his title. Rather, Aguirre is more like Muhammad Ali as he first rose to prominence in professional boxing—when he was called Cassius Clay—cocky, defiant, daring...and victorious. In other words—another “uppity nigger,” a thorn in the side of those who hated or feared a change in the status quo, but loved and cheered for by millions rebelling against it, including many whites, especially among the youth.

One of the best tributes to Aguirre, both his ability and style, was recently paid, unintentionally, by Bobby Knight, basketball coach at Indiana University. Knight is the Woody Hayes of college basketball coaches, formerly coach at West Point, who like Hayes not only admires but fashions himself as “General Patton,” and who recently started a filmed interview with Al McGuire standing in front of a howitzer in the snow because, as Knight said, that is the kind of atmosphere he feels most comfortable in.

Last year, as coach of the U.S. basketball team in the Pan-American Games in Puerto Rico, Knight put on a stellar performance as the “Ugly American,” getting into a brawl with a Puerto Rican policeman and following that up with a racist tirade against Puerto Rico and its people. Although arrested, Knight ultimately managed to avoid a jail sentence—much to the disappointment of the masses of people in Puerto Rico and many in this country who have witnessed Knight's antics. When discussing not long ago the question of what single player he would most like to build a team around, Knight did *not* name Aguirre, even though he is widely recognized as the best and most valuable player in college basketball today. Aguirre, to his great credit, is just not Knight's type—he is flashy, flamboyant, takes chances, flaunts what he can do...and does it.

Aguirre is, of course not the only college basketball player, and DePaul not the only team, even among the top-ranked ones, that possess flash and flamboyance (Louisville, for example, the “Doctors of Dunk,” led by “Dr. Dunkenstein”—Darrell Griffith, also nicknamed “His Griffness,” a 6'4" guard who can by actual measurement leap four feet vertically—can hardly be said to be a boring team with a conservative style of play).

But with Aguirre and DePaul there is more of that spark of the “in your face” spirit, not only toward the opposing team but toward the “accepted way” of doing things. The point is not whether Aguirre and DePaul's players generally are conscious rebels or what their stand is on various social and political issues. The point is what they still reflect—the rebelliousness, still at this time largely spontaneous and undirected politically, of Black youth in particular, out of whose ranks they mostly come.

There are particular reasons why this spirit has so far not been lost by Aguirre and his DePaul teammates. One of the main ways that a school like DePaul, a small Catholic college, can build up its reputation and finances is through athletics—and in particular basketball, which requires the recruitment of only a small number of top-flight athletes to make a highly-ranked team. In recent years, DePaul has embarked on this course vigorously, and the recruitment of Aguirre represented a qualitative leap. Now, in his second year and already a “superstar,” he is not only pivotal to DePaul's winning season and possible national championship this year, but beyond that he is critical in DePaul's future recruiting. Black players in particular, in considering DePaul, will take very seriously his assessment of what kind of treatment they will get there, the degree of racism and discrimination they will have to

deal with, as well as other, more general questions about the basketball program and the school as a whole. If Black players already at DePaul, and Aguirre most of all, give the word that things are bad, this could seriously cripple DePaul's recruitment. This gives a little deeper meaning to coach Ray Meyer's comment about the fortunes of DePaul's basketball team—“we will go as far as Mark Aguirre can carry us.”

Of course, the irony is that if DePaul succeeds in becoming a basketball powerhouse and therefore less dependent on one or a few recruits, the spark that now distinguishes DePaul's team will be more easily doused if not entirely extinguished. Already, in line with and as a further step in its move up the basketball ladder, DePaul is preparing to move next year from its small gym on the campus in Chicago's north side to a large arena, the Horizon, in nearby suburban Rosemont. This will, of course, give more fans a chance to see DePaul play, as school officials are quick to point out, but it is also part of a general process that will mean that what they see, even if DePaul's winning ways continue, will not be quite the same as it is now, will be missing some of that spark. But for now DePaul stands, and is looked to and cheered for by many, many people, as an upstart challenging the established powers; and in various ways as well as with varying degrees of consciousness, this goes well beyond the basketball arena.

Established Powerhouses

It was all this that was on the line when DePaul travelled to South Bend, Indiana to take on the “Fighting Irish” on their home court—Notre Dame—in a number of ways a vaunted bastion and symbol of tradition and the status quo. In the area of sports, long a power in football and over the past decade establishing itself as the same in basketball. The arrogance associated with all this was expressed by “Irish” basketball coach “Digger” Phelps in an interview prior to the DePaul game. Of course, DePaul had done well, he allowed, but they couldn't expect to continue with it indefinitely.

Through not only the content but the tone of Phelps' remarks the meaning became clear—not simply that more established powerhouses like Notre Dame would again assert themselves but, even more significant, that if DePaul expected to continue among the top it would have to become like those who occupy the top. “You can be number one only if you *act* like number one, only if you learn the rules—if you listen to the coach.”

As the game itself started, the anticipated pattern began to play itself out. Notre Dame, a model of methodical, mechanical style, did everything it could to slow the game down (thereby, incidentally, making a powerful argument in favor of a rule, now being debated, that would require the offensive team in college basketball to shoot the ball within 30 seconds). DePaul, on the other hand, was at its best when it forced an accelerated tempo, including by aggressively pressuring Notre Dame when it had the ball. The lead saw-sawed back and forth, with Notre Dame up a point at the half; and then, as it came down to the final minutes of regulation time, both teams played more cautiously and near the very end stalled for the chance to get the last shot. The regulation period ended in a tie and so did the first overtime, marked by the same conservative play as the end of the regulation period. So, too, went the second overtime, but when it was over Notre Dame had won by two points.

As the overwhelmingly pro-Notre Dame crowd went wild with victory, the television camera zoomed in on Kelly Tripucka, star of the game for Notre Dame. Tripucka, whose style perfectly personifies that of Notre Dame, scored 28 points—the same as DePaul's Aguirre, though the latter had been surrounded by two or three Notre Dame players whenever DePaul had the ball. Now, however, hoisted into the air, Tripucka had not the common look of joy characteristic of such moments but that of ferocious conquest and vengeance. “We put them in their place!”—that was the unmistakable message etched in Tripucka's face.

And whatever Tripucka's specific thoughts might have been, the racial overtones were unavoidable. Notre Dame's basketball team, though a few years ago boasted such Black players as current professional star Adrian Dantley and featured Black players as starters in general, in more recent years has been characterized by its lack of Black players—only two starters out of 5 on this year's team, for example—as compared with most other major college basketball powerhouses. Those upstarts, DePaul, had been “taught a lesson,” and in particular “those uppity niggers”—those “uppity” proletarian “niggers” from the slums of Chicago—had been shown who is and always will be boss!

“The Work Ethic”

Neither Tripucka nor any other major figure in the drama actually said this in so many words; of course (and it is possible that Tripucka did not consciously have all this in mind) but they didn't have to. The symbolism could not be missed. And besides, less blatant ways have been found to put across the same message. For example, in a moment not unlike the Notre Dame victory over DePaul, Dick Motta, coach of the professional Washington Bullets basketball team and well known as an authoritarian conservative, crowed after his team beat the Philadelphia 76ers in a playoff series a few years back: “This is a victory for the work ethic over earrings.” The “earrings” referred to 76ers center Darryl Dawkins, who has distinguished himself not only by wearing one in games but even more by his awesome dunks, which on a couple of occasions have resulted in glass backboards being shattered and, one of these times, in the rim being torn down under the force of Dawkins' descending forearms. Dawkins went directly from high school into the professional ranks and thereby missed having much of the spirit and style of playground ball, especially in the Black neighborhoods, “coached” and “disciplined” out of him before he got to the pros.

In his still young pro career he has become famous not only for the ferocity of his dunks but also for the fact that he gives names to the more outstanding of them, often taunting the opponent over whom they were made (the “in your face disgrace” dunk being one of the simpler and less flamboyant titles Dawkins has come up with).

It is this spirit, especially when it is accompanied by triumph, that the Dick Mottas, and the rest of the establishment figures and authorities, cannot abide and are determined to defeat with “the work ethic.” Never mind that it brings fans in droves, never mind that the masses love it—or, rather, exactly because they do—it must be shackled or conquered; order and tradition must be maintained. (Significantly, one common establishment criticism of Aguirre

is that he does not always “give 100%” but instead plays only hard enough to win—in other words, he doesn't give “a fair day's work for a fair day's pay.”) All this is not to say that DePaul was bound to lose to Notre Dame. Nor, despite some questionable calls by the referees in Notre Dame's favor at critical moments in the game, especially near the end, would it be correct to say that the game was “stolen” from DePaul. The main reason that DePaul lost, despite its superior team, is that in a real sense DePaul did give in to the pressure—not entirely, but just enough to be finally beaten in this game.

Some who have commented on the game, including even Ray Meyer's son, Joey, a member of the DePaul coaching staff, have pointed to the fact that DePaul played too tentatively. DePaul got where it is by aggressive play, forcing the game and the acceleration of its tempo. Against Notre Dame this was difficult, because of course the other team also affects the tempo of the game and Notre Dame was deliberately working at slowing it down. But the degree to which they succeeded in this was also partly the result of DePaul's own tendency to try to play too cautiously. In fact, twice during the second half, DePaul built up a lead and had Notre Dame on the run but then got conservative and lost the lead.

Conventional analyses of the DePaul-Notre Dame game, including even those that have noted this tendency on the part of DePaul, have not, predictably, linked this up with the more general pressure mounting on the DePaul players to become more conservative. And this is reinforced by the whole outlook that once you get to the top (or even ahead in a key game), the thing to do is to play cautiously, to “sit on a lead” and concentrate on merely keeping what you got.

But staying on top is not and cannot be a static thing—it doesn't mean trying to stay where you are, it means continuing to advance, doing all the more what got you as far as you've come so far. If you're afraid of losing what you got, then sooner or later you'll lose it anyway. And all this becomes all the more important the higher the stakes become.

For DePaul the loss to Notre Dame was not the end of its hopes for top ranking among college basketball teams but only an episode before entering the national collegiate basketball championships this month. The interesting question that is posed now is not whether DePaul will be for some time a basketball powerhouse, nor even simply whether it will win the championship this year and emerge “number 1”, but whether even in the short run—because in a society such as this it is impossible in the long run—DePaul's team will be able to finish the season in triumph without losing the qualities that make it worth rooting for them to do so. ■

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Bob Avakian Defendants on Trial in Greensboro

Greensboro, North Carolina. Feb. 25 was the first day of the appeal trial of the 9 Bob Avakian Defendants. Judge Wood eyeballed the courtroom packed with supporters and scurrying assistant d.a.'s, and announced, "I'm going to give these people a fair trial, not like Cuba and Russia." To be sure this trial is not intended to be one of those foreign frame-ups. It is intended to be a red, white and blue railroad. In their first move, the judge and district attorney offered a plea bargain deal they thought the defendants just *couldn't* refuse. "Admit you're guilty," they said, "and we'll suspend the two-year sentence you got in the first place for a 5-year period and not throw you in jail if you stay off the University of North Carolina campus (UNC-G) and out of the Hampton Homes projects" (where the defendants were arrested on a number of misdemeanors last October while building for Bob Avakian's speech here). "Shut up, keep your revolutionary ideas to yourself, and maybe, just maybe, you can keep your ass out of jail." This was their generous

"offer." The day after this deal was flatly rejected, one of the defendants was fired from her job at Levi Strauss, hauled out of the plant, and thrown in jail for trespass for refusing to take a May Day button and a Bob Avakian button off her machine.

The government wants a conviction in this case and they want it *now*, before the March 27 hearings of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants in federal court. A conviction in this case would be valuable "evidence" in the scenario the government is trying to create that Bob Avakian lead an organization of "crazies" that whip themselves into a frenzy and threaten violence wherever they go. Not only did the cops testify in the original trials that the 9 defendants incited a riot by supposedly shouting at 100 Hampton Homes residents "Kill the pigs! The revolution is now!", but this testimony was directly linked to Chairman Avakian by the prosecution.

The prosecution and the judge are doing everything they can to speed this trial through and put their official seal

on this picture of the Revolutionary Communist Party and Bob Avakian. To this end the Guilford County jury commission was ordered to put people to work day and night to come up with a legal jury pool from which to draw a jury for the trial. The previous pool had been ruled illegal because it was blatantly rigged by local authorities. This had threatened to stop all trials in the county for several months. Defense motions challenging the new jury pool were denied while lawyers for the Klan/Nazi murders responsible for the Greensboro Massacre were allowed to challenge the judge's decision when their trial came up with the judge saying, "You can sit in on this if you want. If you don't like my decision you may present your motion again."

Two lawyers for the Bob Avakian Defendants were forced to come to court sick, one hardly able to stand up, after the judge ordered several defendants to either go to trial without attorneys or to sever their cases from the others. "I will not delay this trial," he bellowed.

No doubt the bourgeoisie also wants to get this trial over and get on with the trial of the Klan/Nazis responsible for the Greensboro Massacre. The word around the D.A.'s office is that many of these vermin are going to be let off scott-free and those not let off will only get between 2 and 4 years. While the rush to convict the revolutionaries is mainly linked to the trial of Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants, the Greensboro authorities are also anxious to throw the book at the defendants to drive home the same point that their Klan/Nazi lackeys were trying to make when they went on their murderous orgy last November—"If you stand up to us we'll be gunning for you."

However, the massacre and the hounding, harassment, and arrests of revolutionaries in Greensboro is having just the opposite effect. Outrage at this open political repression not only has brought hundreds from Greensboro out on the streets against the Klan on February 2, but has brought people forward to support the Bob Avakian Defendants as well. One example of this growing support is the fact that 85 residents of the Hampton Homes project have signed a statement in support of the Bob Avakian Defendants in the face of eviction threats and police harassment.

Iranian Doctor Fired For Anti-U.S. Stand

"You criticize and hate the U.S. government and I think all people like you should be kicked out!", explained the hospital administrator after it was announced that S.M., an Iranian surgical resident at New Hanover Hospital in Wilmington, would not have his contract renewed next year. This firing of S.M., who has become known for his outspoken defense of the Iranian revolution, is part of a systematic government program of hounding and harassment of this and other activists across the country in connection with the current government campaign against Bob Avakian and the RCP and its supporters.

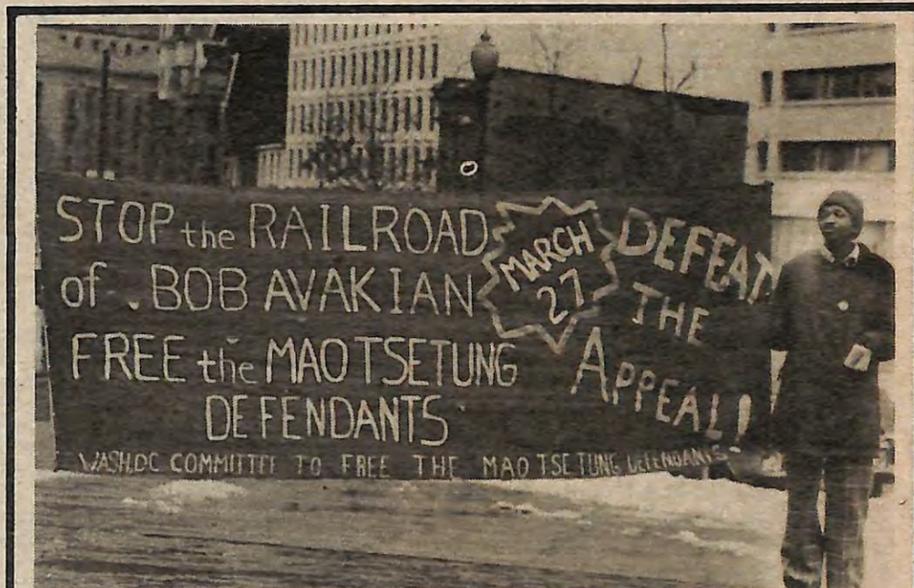
Just two days after the embassy

takeover in Iran (which S.M. proudly and publically supported and defended), Secret Service agents roamed around the hospital "interviewing" S.M.'s co-workers and finally S.M. himself. In addition to the usual kinds of questions such as what kind of car he had, when his visa expires, etc., there were questions about what organizations he had connections with, whether he was a communist, if he had ever threatened the life of a president, whether he had guns, and if he had ever been in Washington, D.C. Since that time the FBI has gotten in its share of "interviews", and there has been both open and anonymous threats on his life, including a noose left dangling over a

tree branch outside his apartment (which is located on the hospital grounds).

It could hardly be coincidental that the questioning of this Iranian revolutionary should be so similar to Secret Service/FBI "interviews" and investigations of Bob Avakian and other

members and supporters of the RCP. The government harassment and firing of S.M. and others bears a striking resemblance to past hysterical, red-baiting campaigns launched by the U.S. bourgeoisie and must be opposed and exposed as such.

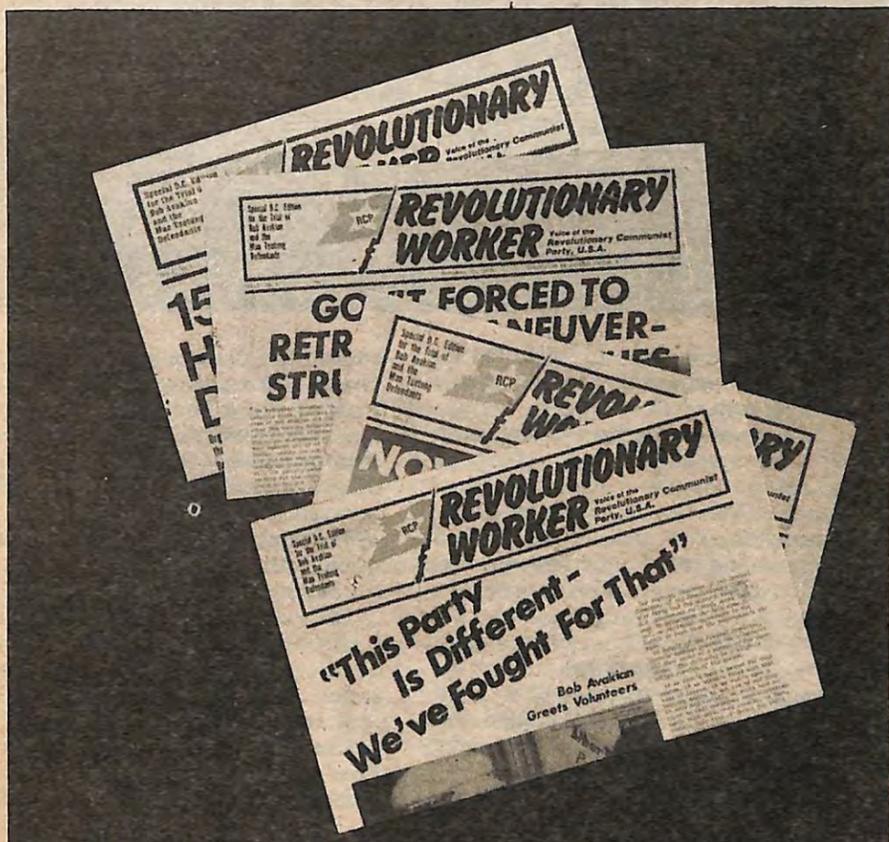


On Tuesday, March 4, the Revolutionary May Day Brigade burst into the office of the U.S. Attorney in the District of Columbia Courthouse carrying a huge picture of Bob Avakian. In the prosecutor's office, they read aloud a formal indictment on behalf of the U.S. working class. The statement of the case in the indictment read in part:

"On or about January 29, 1979, and in the ensuing months, the defendants (known pimps, thugs, front-men, hit men, mouthpieces and pigs for the U.S. capitalist class), did intentionally and with malice of forethought conspire to save, serve and protect the ass of their capitalist masters... these aforementioned defendants in a

cowardly manner have sought to strike down the revolutionary leadership of the U.S. working class by constructing, oiling and greasing the tracks of a railroad of Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and the 16 other Mao Defendants."

The Brigade then marched out and joined a demonstration called by the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants.



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Pick Up the Red

"Around the world," states the May Day 1980 Manifesto, "a force already exists—without us—that each year takes May 1st as its own, our brothers and sisters of every flag, recognizing no flag but the red one of revolution."

The red flag—standard of the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat. The red flag—cherished by millions of oppressed around the world. And while backstabbers of the working class—revisionists, like those in the Soviet Union and China—have dragged the red banner through the mud, the uncompromising revolutionary stand it truly represents is hated and hounded by the enemy—the imperialist bourgeoisie and its lackeys—worldwide.

On MayDay this year in the U.S., the red flag will be raised. An advanced politically conscious section of the working class—numbering in the thousands—will be joined by many more and will march in several cities under, among others, the slogan, "Our Flag Is Red, Not Red, White and Blue!"

The Red Flag Through History

Red with the blood shed by the oppressed, and with the blood shed of the oppressor, the red flag has historically been raised by classes in revolt. In the struggles which rocked the rule of Rome, ultimately bringing it down hundreds of years ago, the red flag was the battle standard held high by slaves who had no way out but rebellion. And in the first part of the 16th century, great peasant revolts swept across Germany. Whole armies moved from one part of the land to another, raising the red flag in their midst.

The following four hundred years were a period of radical transformation throughout Europe. Everywhere the flags of the feudal rule of the kings and queens were knocked down. The productive relations—the way that society is fundamentally organized—over which these masters ruled, grew obsolete, and increasingly in conflict with a new class which was to rise up, rally the majority of people behind its banner, challenge and overthrow the old order.

History dictated that this rising class—the bourgeoisie, the capitalists—would bring about the modern nation-state. As it struggled to knock down the barriers imposed by the feudal system in order to create favorable conditions for its development, a market for its goods, and freedom of commerce and transport, it welded together *countries* as we know them today. This historical process was described by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*, written in 1848:

"The bourgeoisie keeps doing away more and more with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralized means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. Independent or but loosely connected provinces with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class interest, one frontier and one customs tariff."

But, as the bourgeoisie brought all this about, it also brought about a new class—the proletariat. The petty bourgeoisie in the countryside—peasants—were ruined in the face of big capital and met the same fate as their petty-proprietor brethren in the urban areas—they were forced in large numbers into the factories of the capitalists to become workers. By the 19th century, the class struggle in Europe bore a completely new character from what it had



300 years earlier at the time of the German peasant wars. Then the working class in only an embryonic form had entered the struggle behind the peasantry. Now the face of every significant social movement would in one way or another be influenced by this class of proletarians. And, in addition, the red flag raised by *this* class bore an entirely new importance.

From the very beginning, Marx and Engels—the founders of scientific socialism, or communism—analyzed the significance of the birth of the working class as distinct from all other classes. Its relationship to production was not based on property, but the opposite—it was a class of propertyless wage slaves. Its historic mission was the revolutionary overthrow of capitalist rule and the transformation of society in its image. Ultimately, the proletariat would bring about the end of all class divisions in society and the end of all private property relations which are, at bottom, responsible for these divisions.

Moreover, contrary to the interests of the bourgeoisie, the interests of the proletariat were (and are) *international*. "Because the workers are in a similar situation in all countries," said Marx, "because their interests are convergent and they have the same enemies, they must struggle collectively; to the fratern-

ity of the bourgeoisie of all countries they must oppose the fraternity of the working men of the world."

And, again in the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels answer a charge against the communists from the bourgeoisie: "The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality. The workingmen have no country. We cannot take from them what they do not have. . . ." Thus, raising the red flag of revolution today *means* internationalism; for the struggle of the proletariat will not, and cannot, stop until all exploitation and oppression are abolished from every corner of the earth!

Paris Commune

In 1848, the year that the *Manifesto* was written, in fact only months before it was published, the red flag heralded the developing proletarian struggle all across Europe. Already, 16 years earlier in France, the workers of Paris raised the red flag in an insurrection aimed at overthrowing the government of Louis Philippe. And now, in February 1848, the Parisian workers took to the barricades again.

The question of choosing the French national flag arose in subsequent days. Workers demanded that it be red. Sections of the bourgeoisie which had

entered this struggle against feudal survivals, seeking to transform the state from that of a bourgeois monarchy to that of a bourgeois republic, demanded that the national flag be the tri-color—the banner which was raised during the bourgeois revolution at the end of the 18th century, the same that remained throughout the empire of Napoleon (through 1814).

The workers stormed the capital to state their demands. And while many, if not most, of the workers were not conscious of the internationalist stand objectively taken by this action, the bourgeoisie certainly was. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, revealing the "internationalism" of his own class, replied,

"If you take away from me the tri-color flag, you take away from me half the force of France abroad! . . . I will resist to death the flag of blood, for the red flag that you bring to us has been dragged through the blood of the people, while the tri-color has made a tour of the world with the name, the glory and the liberty of the fatherland!"

The conditions which existed in society at that time dictated that this young working class—young in the sense of its actual historical development, but young also in the sense that politically it

ed Flag!



sistently maintained a revolutionary stand toward the government—that the working class was actually able to take advantage of the severe war-aggravated crisis fared by its rulers, mount an armed insurrection, and seize state power. Only in Russia was the national flag torn down and replaced by the red one.

A revolution in February of 1917 had replaced the Tsar with the Provisional Government, a government representing the interests of Russia's capitalist class. But this government was not stable, and the question of "who will rule" was not settled. The following several months were a period of great turmoil inside Russia. Many political parties representing different Russian classes were contending for leadership of the struggle, many claiming to be revolutionary. Strikes by workers, as well as outbreaks in the Russian military, were frequent.

The Bolsheviks evoked the hatred of virtually every major political party in Russia (and unquestionably of sections of the people who were fooled by the line of the bourgeoisie), particularly for their stand on the war. They continually agitated among all sections of the people for a revolutionary solution to the question of war—showing that the only way the war could be ended was through the overthrow of the Provisional Government. For this they were slandered and attacked. For their stand *against* the national flag, they were branded as German agents by all the opportunist parties.

Russia was losing the war. The bourgeois press cried, "It is the Bolsheviks who are chiefly to blame for our defeats." This was echoed by the Socialist-Revolutionaries (whose base was among the peasantry), the Mensheviks (who claimed to represent the workers, but sought to restrict the workers' struggle to the bounds acceptable to the bourgeoisie), and others. In the months preceding October, the stand of every party on the war was scrutinized by the masses of people in Russia, as the Bolsheviks worked tirelessly to show that the source of the war which was growing more unpopular daily, and of the rest of the misery in society, was the bourgeoisie.

A military commissar of the Provisional Government reported with alarm that "The morale of the army is steadily deteriorating owing to the vigorous agitation of Bolshevism, and heroic measures will have to be adopted to restore the fighting capacity of the army. A fight—and a ruthless fight—must be waged against irresponsible demagogues."

The capitalists in Russia were naturally panicked at the tide of revolution imminent in Russia. As if to prove Marx's words when he spoke of "the fraternity of the bourgeoisie of all countries," a famous Russian capitalist, Stephan Lianozov (also known as Russia's Rockefeller) made a telling remark to a newspaper reporter in the fall of 1917. "Revolution," he said, "is a sickness. Sooner or later the foreign powers must intervene here.... Of course, it would be more or less improper, but the nations must realize the danger of Bolshevism in their own countries—such contagious ideas as 'proletarian dictatorship' and 'world social revolution'...." This capitalist raised another possibility, however: "There is a chance that intervention may not be necessary. Transportation is demoralized, the factories are closing down and the Germans are advancing. Starvation and defeat may bring the Russian people to their senses...."

In a way, "starvation and defeat" *did* "bring the Russian people to their senses." In late October, Lenin and the Bolsheviks summed up that the conditions were ripe for the seizure of power. They had come to the head of the revolutionary movement which had developed across Russia, and a significant section of the working class would, they summarized, march to the fore, while others would support such a move. Their demands—"Peace, Land and Bread"—were known to all, and there had been a decisive shift in the mood of the masses toward the

Continued on page 14

had not completely broken with the bourgeoisie—would go down in defeat. The representatives of the workers attempted to get a position in the bourgeois government—a special Ministry of Labor. But this was a hopeless scheme; this Ministry became a joke with no political power. As Marx noted, the representatives of the workers "were supposed to break the pillars of bourgeois society by dashing their heads against them...." The workers' struggle was eventually crushed, and the only concession to their initial demands that the flag be red was a red rosette attached to the French flag-staff.

In 1871, the red flag soared again over Paris, a declaration of the historically unprecedented act of the working class in seizing power. The Paris Commune was established. This was the first time that the red flag stood not just for rebellion, not just for revolt, but for the victory of the working class and the establishment of a proletarian state.

The French government had been at war with Prussia and was suffering military defeat. The Parisian workers took advantage of their enemy's weakness and seized the time, launching an insurrection. "The flag of the Commune is the flag of the world's

republic," they declared. The masses were armed. The "victory column," a monument cast from the captured guns of Napoleon, a symbol of instigating national hatred, was torn down. Despite the Commune's defeat two months later, its short life marked by the red flag signaled future battles. In Marx's words, "The red flag, hoisted by the Paris Commune, crowned in reality only the government of the working men of Paris! They have clearly, consciously proclaimed the emancipation of labor and the transformation of society as their goal."

Engels later noted that the Commune "was a bold challenge to every expression of bourgeois chauvinism. And the proletariat of all countries unerringly understood this."

WWI and the Russian Revolution

The development of capitalism into imperialism in several European countries, the U.S. and Japan at the end of the 19th century signaled the coming of imperialist war. The world had been divided between the great powers, each laying claim to vast areas of the globe. But the necessity of the capitalists of each of these countries to expand, and the economic crisis which occurred in these countries at the same time, meant that the only way out for these capital-

ists was a redivision of the globe. The world exploded into World War I.

Every bourgeois government had the task of convincing its subjects of the justness of its cause—that it had entered the war, not for the purpose of expanding its empire and therefore the profits of its capitalist class, but for the purpose of defending the nation. The national flags of these countries became the rallying banner of the bourgeoisie, and their cry was "Defend the fatherland!" One after another, the Social-Democratic parties of Europe—parties which supposedly had represented the interests of the working class—fell in behind this imperialist war cry. Thus, with the aid of these parties, the workers of Germany were led under the flag of the German bourgeoisie to fight the workers of France, England, Russia and other countries, while the workers of these countries were led under the flags of their respective rulers to fight the Germans.

The red flag was raised by the workers in many of these countries. Large-scale revolts broke out in the army and navy in both France and Germany. The red flag was also raised in the U.S. by the Industrial Workers of the World and others. But it was only in Russia—where the party of the working class and its leader V.I. Lenin had con-

Red Flag

Continued from page 13

Bolsheviks' political programme. The Bolsheviks issued a call for an uprising on the night of October 25. The red flag was raised above the Winter Palace, and the Provisional Government arrested.

Only days after victory, as thousands poured through the streets to Red Square, spontaneously and slowly singing the Internationale—the song of the international working class—from atop the Kremlin wall gigantic red banners were unfurled down to the ground. On them were the letters, "Martyrs of the beginning world socialist revolution—those who had given their lives for this first socialist state" and "Long live the Brotherhood of Workers of the World!"

At the same time, Lenin spoke to the significance of the October Revolution: "We have never made a secret of the fact that our revolution is only the beginning, that its victorious end will only come when we have lit up the whole world with these same flames of revolution."

The Red Flag in Countries Oppressed by Imperialism

These were not idle words of Lenin's. Political and material support was given as the red flag was raised in countries across Europe after the first world war, notably Germany, where an unsuccessful attempt by the working class to overthrow the bourgeoisie took place. And, increasingly, Lenin's eyes were cast on the storms which were brewing in the underdeveloped countries of the world—the colonial and semi-colonial countries oppressed by imperialism. The advent of imperialism and the consequent subjugation of entire nations of millions and millions of people brought about the resistance to and revolutionary struggle against imperialist oppression and exploitation throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The imperialists' need to export capital to these countries, the construction of modern industry and the creation and welding together of a working class have by now generally laid the necessary conditions for the proletariat to emerge as the leading force in the struggle against imperialism. Many class forces, including some bourgeois forces, whose view of the struggle is limited to eliminating the obstacles to their own development, enter it and play a progressive role. But it is only the working class—and at its head a communist party—that can lead the struggle through the necessary stages, raise the red flag to thoroughly defeat the imperialist enemy in the new democratic stage of the revolution, and move on to the struggle for socialism. Thus, in 1949, Mao stood under the red flag in Peking, surrounded by hundreds of thousands of people, and declared, "The Chinese people have stood up!"

Of course, even in such (neocolonial) countries where either the proletariat has not developed to the point where it can play this role, or where, for one reason or another, it has developed but has been unable to consolidate itself as the leading class in the alliance with other class forces, still the revolutionary struggles for national liberation must be supported. These struggles deal blows to the common imperialist enemies of the people worldwide, they unleash the revolutionary initiative of the masses of people, and they also clear the way for the possible entry of the working class and its party in the future.

All this is particularly important for class-conscious workers in the U.S. to not only grasp but actively advocate. After all, what does raising the red flag in this country mean if not pledging to the people of the world that first we will rise in revolution against U.S. imperialism, ending the domination—in fact, the very presence—of the U.S. military, banks, corporations and imperialist political connections in every country, and then, once in power, strain the limits to give unswerving support to revolutionary struggles around the world?

Revisionists Paint Red Flag White

Today, there are those who raise the red flag not in the revolutionary interests of the working class, but in the reactionary interests of the bourgeoisie. Thus, today, in the Soviet Union and in China, countries where the working class once held state power but was overthrown in reactionary coups d'état which restored capitalism, the red flag has been trampled upon and dragged through the dirt.

The actions of the present rulers of China, who under the signboard of "advancing socialism" have once again subjected that country to imperialist enslavement, are living proof of something Mao Tsetung once said—"All counterrevolutionary revisionists raise the red flag to attack the red flag."

Of course, it was Mao Tsetung along with a core of revolutionaries around him who hoisted the red flag in 1966, unleashing the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. He called on the masses of people to rise in revolution against forces within the Communist Party of China who were hell-bent on restoring the rule of capital. Exactly because the proletarian struggle had advanced to an unprecedented degree, the enemy of the working class was forced to masquerade in the costume of the proletariat, raising the red flag to attack the red flag. The people, Mao said, must learn to distinguish between the political line of revolution and that of counterrevolution, and further, the ability of the proletariat to hold the reins of political power ultimately depends on the political consciousness and activity of the masses of people.

Mao led the Chinese people to keep in mind, as he put it, not just the interests of China, but of the people of the whole world. In 1968, one million demonstrated in support of the Black people's struggle in the U.S., and on many occasions millions rallied in support of the Vietnamese revolution, while workers all over China worked overtime and donated their wages to support the Vietnamese.

While our own rulers attempt to bury the red flag of revolution raised by Mao Tsetung, they focus instead on the "red flag" raised by the Chinese, and especially, by the Soviet revisionists. The flag of the Soviet Union has become the national banner of the Soviet bourgeoisie. It is under this flag that Soviet troops marched into Afghanistan, and it is under this flag that missiles will roll through the streets of Moscow on May 1. Moreover, it is under the Soviet flag that the social-imperialist rulers will force Soviet workers to fight and die in world war.

Naturally, the U.S. imperialists want workers to draw anything but the correct conclusion from these facts—in particular, the conclusion that the world war which looms on the horizon is a war between two imperialist superpowers and not a war "in defense of democracy" in America against "communism" in Russia.

But in addition, the bourgeoisie has the task of preventing the workers in this country from picking up the red flag—not out of the fear that this represents some sort of advance of a Soviet fifth column (they're smarter than that)—but because of what this will really mean.

Our enemy is well aware of what lies ahead for the people of this country in the coming decade. War, crisis and the spectre of mass upheavals are already commented upon in the pages of the nation's established press. *Time* magazine, for example, recently lamented that "The true danger of any inflation, especially hyperinflation, is that it will ultimately destroy the sinews of society... History's great inflations have almost always been followed by a dictator who promised among other things to restore the currency's value. Napoleon, Hitler and Mao Tsetung all rode to power on the back of hyperinflation." Of course, a Napoleon or a Hitler they can handle, in fact promote. What they are truly concerned about, in contrast, is a Mao Tsetung, or in other words, a revolutionary struggle aimed directly at their rule.

And they are well aware of the potential impact of thousands of class-conscious workers raising the red flag

on May 1, 1980 in preparation for this goal.

Claiming the Red Flag—May 1, 1980

Picking up the red flag on May Day 1980 and raising the slogan "Our Flag is Red, Not Red, White and Blue" is, of course, an extremely controversial thing to do. And in doing so, the conscious workers will be going up against deep bourgeois prejudices held by the people in this country. Face it—life inside the U.S. over the last thirty years or so has messed up the minds of millions of people, sticking them with the idea that they actually have a stake in this system. But this is all the more reason for a section of the advanced workers to raise the red flag on May Day. For as conditions for revolution ripen, and this is clearly a possibility in the '80s, millions will be jolted awake. The conscious workers must unite today and form the core which may well lead the struggle to victory in the near future. But key to this is raising the red flag, and stamping the red, white and blue into the dirt.

It would be a mistake to imagine that all people in this country act like those screaming "demonstrators" who were pictured in the papers day in, day out during the "Iran crisis," or that this is the only form of patriotism that must be fought. *Time* appropriately in the same issue noted earlier, ran an editorial which advocated a brand of patriotism which is a little easier to swallow. *Complaining* that "Patriotism has reappeared, along with its scruffy little half-brothers, xenophobia and chauvinism," *Time* went on to note the real meaning of patriotism: "At its truest, American patriotism has a sort of abstraction about it that makes it uniquely difficult and valuable: it is a devotion not to a specific physical place, gene pool, cuisine or cultural tradition, but to a political and social vision, a promise and the idea of freedom—an idea not much honored elsewhere in the world or in history... It should be possible to love one's country intelligently, without being either a schlockmeister or an incipient Nazi. (Anyone incapable of distinguishing between the Third Reich and the U.S. is a moral imbecile)..."

Leaving aside the fact that millions of people around the world are not only rightly "incapable of distinguishing between the Third Reich and the U.S." but more that they correctly view U.S. imperialism as worse than the Third Reich, it is this brand of worship of the red, white and blue that may appear more palatable, sort of a do-your-own-thing love of country. But this is as, if not more deadly.

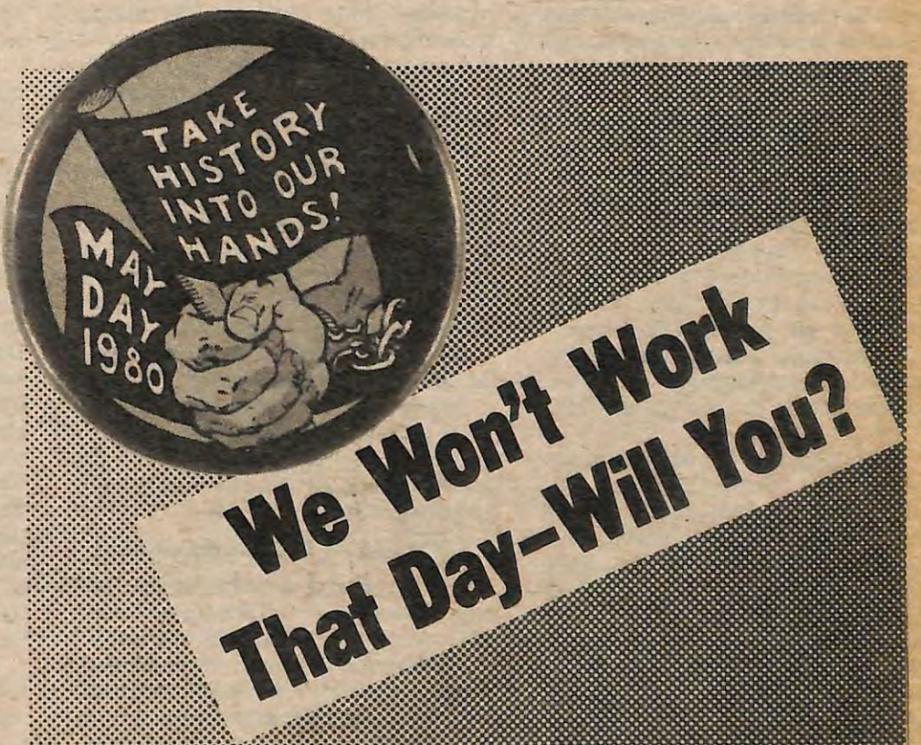
It is an unfortunate, in fact shameful, hallmark of the history of what is broadly referred to as "the left" in this country that it has (with few exceptions) associated itself not with the red flag,

but with the red, white and blue. Long before the '50's when it thoroughly degenerated into the revisionist swamp, the Communist Party USA all too often competed for the title of "best patriot" with the bourgeoisie. While the advanced section of the movement against the war in Vietnam rejected this notion, the struggle was generally waged with the idea of "setting America straight," of purging it of its problems, etc. And today, as increasing numbers of people come into motion in opposition to the draft and other preparations for war, similar ideas again come to the fore: "Our country doesn't need the draft," it is said by people who honestly want to struggle but are suffering under some sad illusions, as well as by ruling class spokesmen like Teddy Kennedy, who hastens to add, "...yet!"

The red, white and blue has only one rightful place in the revolutionary movement—under the torch. It belongs to the bourgeoisie, so let them have it. How can one refuse to denounce the red, white and blue—clammering about a "return to the sacred principles upon which this country was founded"—when the "sacred principles" this flag represents are the principles of bourgeois terror and murderous oppression of millions of people in this country and around the world? Really—does it make sense on the way into battle to wave the flag of the enemy?

At the bottom of all this is the thinking that fundamental change in society, the prevention of world war and the elimination of the other evils which are daily enforced on the masses of people by this rotting system, can come about by some other means than revolution—specifically, proletarian revolution. In fact, it is revealing to note, that while opposition to raising the red flag on May Day (or any day) may come from quarters which object because the Soviets use the red flag and therefore our use of it tends to confuse the issue and the people, more than often this opposition is based on the same ideology as revisionism!—that is, the idea that the profit system, capitalist productive relations, can somehow be reformed and made to work in the interests of the masses. But "our" nation is our enemy and it is high time that the disgusting and treacherous legacy of claiming to oppose the bourgeoisie while upholding its bloody banner be buried.

It is both possible and necessary to put an end to this legacy this year on May Day. On that day, the working class—its conscious section—will raise the red flag. Behind this will stand the history and the lessons of the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat. In front of it will stand the future, the hopes and dreams of millions, the challenge, the tortuous road, the only way out—revolution in the U.S.A. ■



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New Battle Plan

Continued from page 1

a clear and concrete summation of what such a revolution will mean. The Programme spells out how the proletarian revolution, upon achieving success and winning power, will deal with the needs and demands of the masses of people and with the world situation we face.

Of course communists are not fortune tellers, and this Programme cannot and does not say precisely what *immediate* problems will have to be addressed, in what order and relation to each other, and every concrete and specific step that will be required to bring about a revolutionary resolution of a revolutionary crisis.

But it can—and does—address the basic questions that we can already see

shaping up. How will unemployment be eliminated? Discrimination and national oppression? The oppression of women? How will agriculture be dealt with? How will industry be organized? Given the likelihood of world war, how will the revolutionary government get out of it? What will be the policies toward education, culture, the rights of the people? All these urgent questions are addressed—their solutions are indicated.

The constitution deals with the basic line of the Party, its principles, the tasks and duties of the Party and Party members in relation to the historical task of revolution and communism and to the masses of people who must carry out that task.

This new Programme and Constitution are themselves the product of a revolutionary process. They are not the first, but the second, programme and constitution of our Party in the 5 years of its existence. The previous ones, we can now see, had many shortcomings, but the need to change these documents should not be seen mainly negatively.

Instead it is a real advance, breaking with not only our own past errors, but even more importantly with tendencies which have existed throughout the history of the communist movement internationally—a movement which, in many parts, has been caked with a thick layer of crusty reformism. These tendencies, more like a gross disease in the case of the old C.P. in the USA, have prevented any serious preparation for revolution in this country.

There have also been big changes in the world. Most importantly the world situation has sharpened greatly, underlining the urgency of a thoroughly revolutionary line and programme, one that will stand up through the storms.

Another of the great changes has been of the reversal of the revolution in China with the reactionary coup after the death of Mao Tsetung. This was a major setback, but it also put revolutionaries worldwide to the test—to go down the drain with the revisionists or to advance in another wave. As with all such tests, the revolutionary movement

internationally and in this country has split—with part going each road. But our Party in particular, after much struggle, has emerged much stronger, more united around the revolutionary leadership of its Chairman, Bob Avakian, and much broader in its revolutionary influence. This is as it must be, because we must all race from behind to catch up.

These documents are drafts, weapons in preparation. We are spreading them widely and deeply so that many among the working class and others oppressed by this monster, imperialism, will seriously study them, take them up and help sharpen them. By the beginning of April, the Spanish language drafts will be ready and the process of circulating these drafts will go on for a short time after May First.

Study these drafts, write us, meet with us to criticize and strengthen them—and unite with us to carry them out.

Central Committee, Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Zimbabwe

Continued from page 2

U.S. and Britain reap from Zimbabwe's mines, tobacco plantations, etc., they view continued control of Zimbabwe as a *must* because it is literally the gateway to racist South Africa, with its billions of dollars worth of gold and raw materials needed to fuel their war machine.

More desperate than ever, the U.S. and Britain shifted gears over the last year, banking heavily now on the front-line African states to pressure ZANU and ZAPU into agreeing to a ceasefire and "free elections." Though the means had changed somewhat, the imperialists' goal remained the same: break the back of the armed struggle and ensnare the Zimbabwean people, and many of their leaders, tightly in the net of neo-colonialism. The U.S. bourgeoisie, laying bare its plans in the State Department journal *African Affairs* (July 1979), boasted,

"Before 1975 the only external influence over the liberation movement had been provided by their arms suppliers, foremost among them the USSR. The Western powers have now secured an equally important force by associating negotiations with the armed struggle and not separating the two... the United States, for example, may no longer be attempting to defend the white state system in order to buy time to reorder the original balance of power but it is still attempting to prevent national liberation from undermining the economic infrastructure of Southern Africa to which it attributes political influence."

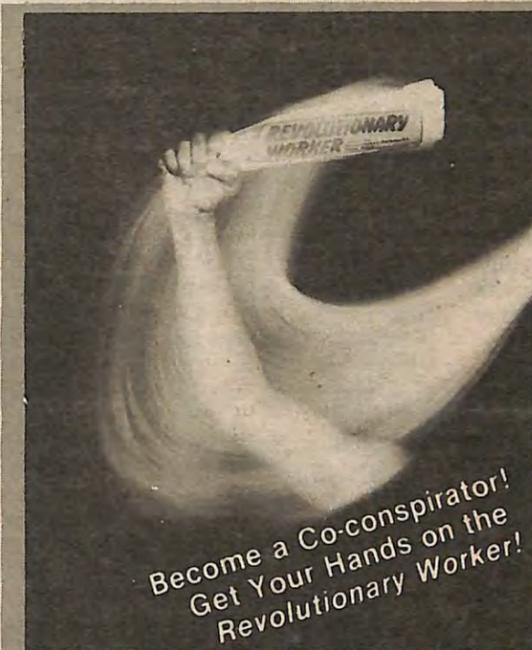
Indeed over the past months, the imperialists have spun out their plan to "prevent national liberation" (as well as block a Soviet end-run) by first luring and now boxing in Mugabe and the ZANU leadership. The continued existence of the Rhodesian-South African armed forces are a powerful means of leverage over the new government that will force *them* to continue to militarily and politically disarm the masses and strike up a "businesslike" relationship with the Western powers that will leave their strategic interests in southern Africa virtually unscathed.

However, the U.S. and Britain will not hesitate to use the "stick" if the "carrot" does not produce total surrender. At the minimum they expect that some, even quite a few, "diehard elements" of ZANU will balk at this sellout of the liberation struggle—and at any time they feel that the new government may not be willing to compromise enough, the bloodstained racist Rhodesian army will be unleashed.

While Mugabe and others crow about their "smashing success" in the elections, you only have to look at the example of Chile to see the dangers lying ahead, and not so far ahead at that.

In 1970, the "socialist" Allende government, backed to the hilt by the pro-Soviet CP of Chile was elected and made a number of reforms, including nationalizing major U.S. holdings, but

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The Communist. Theoretical Journal of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. Issue No. 5, published May Day 1979, features a full reply to Enver Hoxha's wretched attack on Mao Tsetung. Also articles on the inadequacy of Charles Bettelheim's critique of Chinese revisionism; Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* and its role today; and why the bourgeoisie likes to push Plato. 238pp. \$2.50. Four Issue Subscription \$10.00 (Institutional Rate \$14.00).

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left the U.S. trained and equipped army intact and restrained the masses of people from fighting to uproot the power of the reactionary classes and their imperialist backers (even going so far as to support gun control laws, for the masses, that is). Only three years later, in 1973, the CIA engineered a right-wing military coup that temporarily drowned the Chilean revolution in a sea of blood.

As in Chile, the reality is that Mugabe and ZANU, while they may control the executive, they do not really control state power. It is a law of the class struggle, paid for many times over in blood, that the only road to liberation for the workers and oppressed peoples worldwide is to rely on their own mass, revolutionary struggle and *seize* this power by smashing the armed reactionary apparatus. As Mao Tsetung

once put it, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The trap that the imperialists have set for the Zimbabwean people has not yet sprung, but it is rapidly closing. More than ever before, two roads lie in front of the Zimbabwean people: the well-worn rut of capitulation and compromise and using the masses' struggle to get a piece of power, or the high road of self-reliant revolutionary struggle. ®

Literature of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Iran: It's Not Our Embassy! Excerpts from speech by Bob Avakian, Nov. 18, 1979. 12pp. \$0.25.

Revolutionary Work in a Non-Revolutionary Situation. Report from the 2nd Plenary Session of the 1st Central Committee of the RCP. 1976. 69pp. \$1.00.

Communist Revolution: The Road to the Future, The Goal We Will Win. Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the CC of the RCP, USA at the founding convention of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade. 1978. 38pp. \$0.50

Important Struggles in Building the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. By Bill Klingel and Joanne Psihountas. 1978. 55pp. \$1.00.

Our Class Will Free Itself and All Mankind. Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP on the celebration of the founding of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA in October 1975. 1976. 30pp. \$0.75.

How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle. 1974. 156pp. \$2.50.

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Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions, by Bob Avakian. 1978. 344pp. \$4.95.

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