



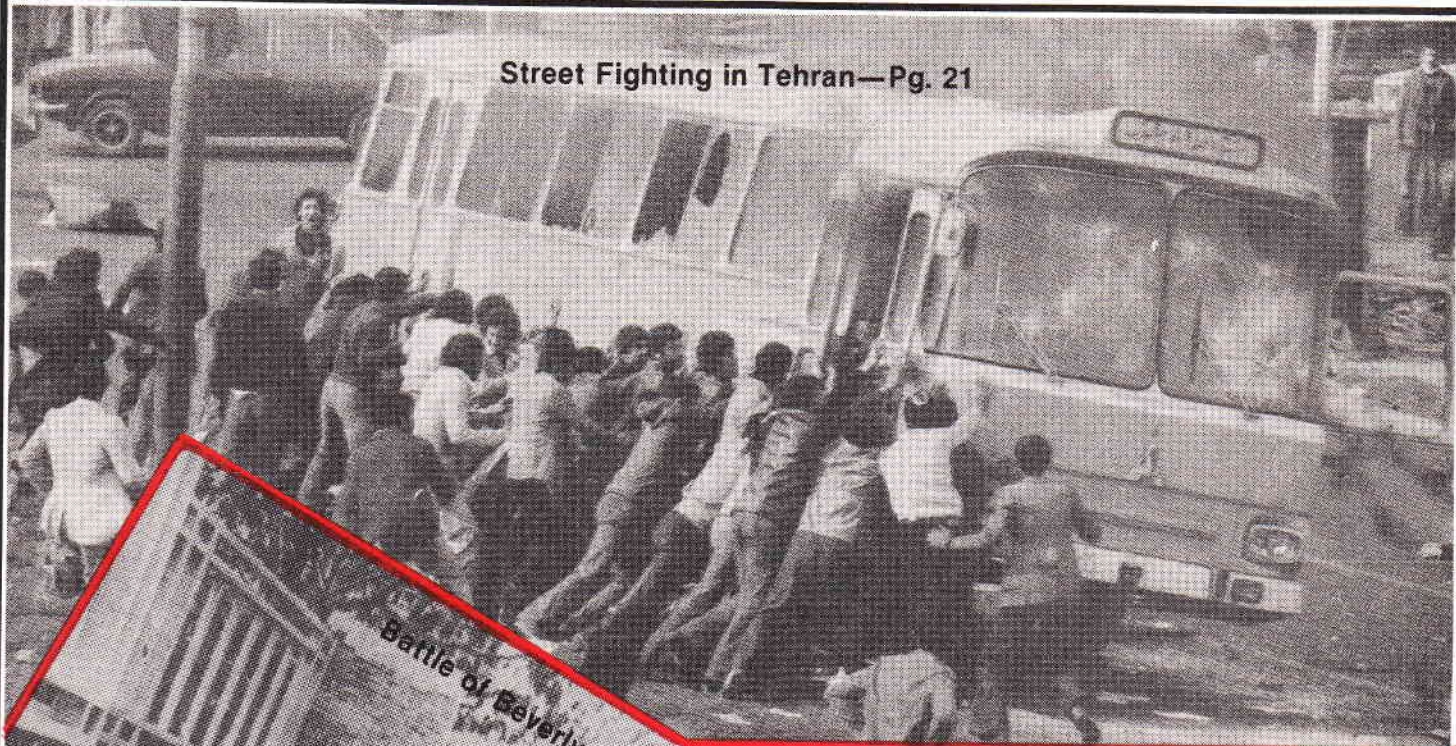
REVOLUTION

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

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Vol. 4, No. 1 January 1979

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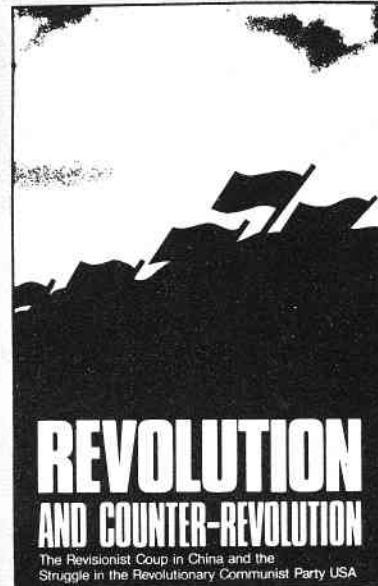


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All correspondence to the Party should be sent to RCP,USA; P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart; Chicago, IL 60654. Overseas cable Address: RCPUSA, Chicago.

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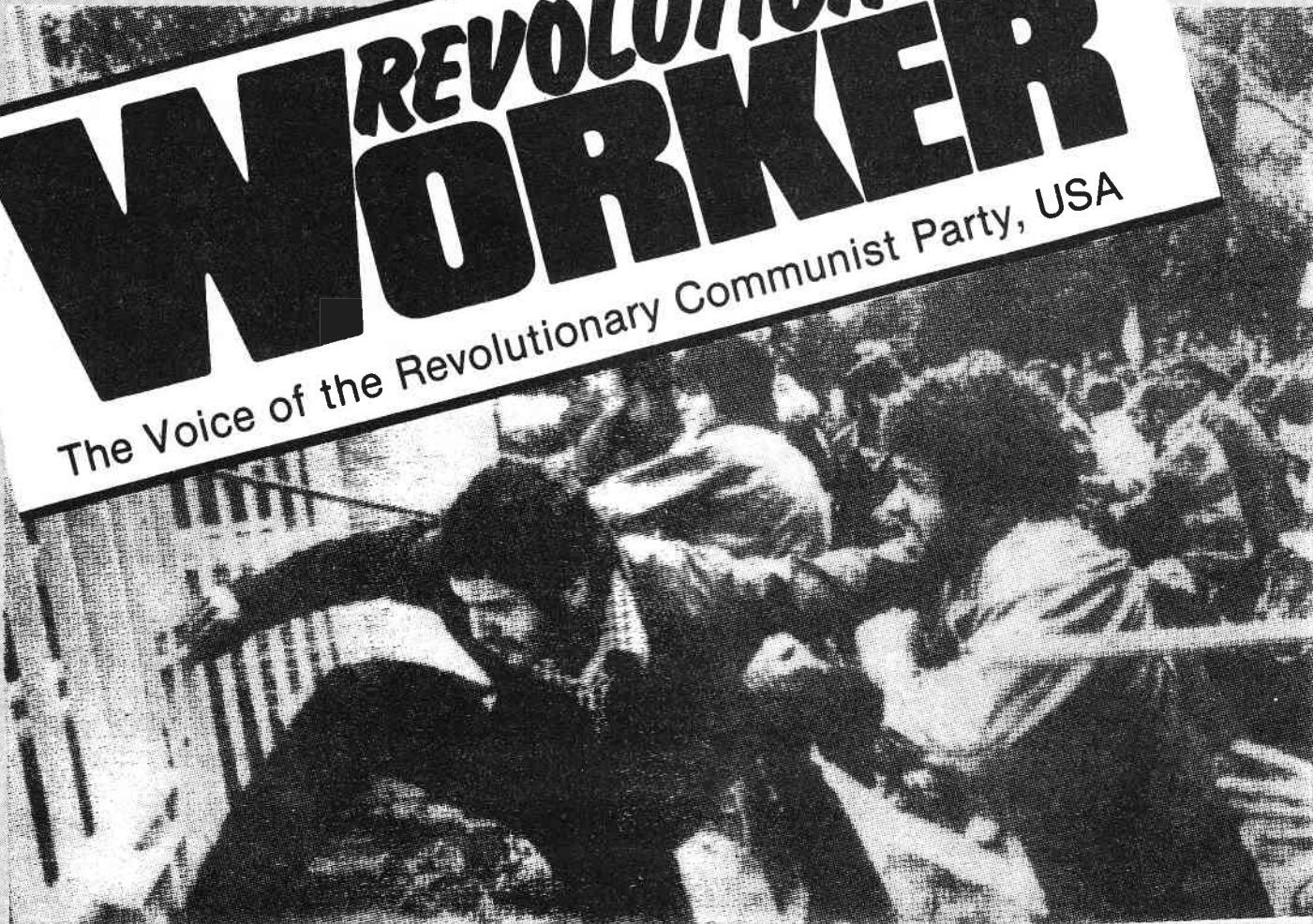
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New *Revolution* Magazine!

Party Press Moves Forward

With this issue, *Revolution* has begun publishing in a magazine format. Since its inception in 1973 as the organ of the Revolutionary Union (the organization that played the central role in forming the Revolutionary Communist Party) and continuing since October 1975 when *Revolution* became the organ of the Central Committee of the newly formed RCP, it has been published monthly in a newspaper format. The decision to switch to a magazine format is part of important, broad-reaching steps the Party is taking to strengthen and expand the revolutionary role of its press. Chief among these is to give even further emphasis to the Party's mass newspaper directed at the broad section of workers in this country who are awakening to political life. This paper, published in 19 local editions and linked together by a central news service, is being published more frequently and renamed the *Revolutionary Worker*.

Revolution has played and will continue to play a crucial role in the development of the revolutionary movement in this country. As the organ of the Revolutionary Union, *Revolution* was a key instrument in raising the political level of the new communist forces and helping to lay the basis for the formation of the RCP. In addition to containing Marxist-Leninist analysis of the major political events of the day, the pages of *Revolution* addressed the major questions that came forward within the ranks of revolutionaries. Its polemics slashed away at various opportunist lines and their organizational expressions that developed in that period. Many articles examined the effect of various political lines on the development of the mass struggle and popularized the advances made in correctly linking communism with the struggles of the masses.

With the formation of the RCP, *Revolution* played an even more critical role as the organ of the Party's Central Committee. Sought avidly by revolutionary-minded people, *Revolution* has provided incisive analysis of domestic and international events, given timely guidance to the work of Party members and other revolutionaries, and has waged an uncompromising war on revisionism and opportunism in all its forms.

Revolution played a crucial role in the struggle with the Menshevik headquarters within the Party. Prior to the split with these revisionists, *Revolution* upheld and elaborated the revolutionary line of the Party in opposition to the tide of revisionism being fomented by the opportunists. When the Menshevik headquarters leapt out and provoked a split, *Revolution* defended the Party and its Central Committee and dealt heavy blows to the splitters, dissecting and repudiating their counter-revolutionary line and using it as a teacher by negative example

to raise the level of Marxism-Leninism among Party members and revolutionary-minded people. It has been mainly through the pages of the organ of the Central Committee that important Party statements have been released to the revolutionary movement and key aspects of the Party's line elaborated. The series on "The Immortal Contributions of Mao Tsetung" (which concludes with this issue) is one outstanding example of this.

For all these reasons *Revolution* has come to be held dearly by those who fight to overthrow the rule of the capitalist class and march forward to socialism and communism. And, conversely, it has become hated and feared by all manner of opportunists who seek to clothe counter-revolution in a "Marxist" garb.

Revolution, while published in a new format, will continue in its fine tradition. We are confident that it will continue to advance and remain an indispensable weapon in the hands of revolutionary fighters in this country. At the same time, further developments in the work of the Party, as well as a deepened grasp of the role of the Party press in general, have required that certain changes be made to make further advances in carrying out the Party's revolutionary work.

Forward with the *Revolutionary Worker*

The most important among these changes involve the Party's mass newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker*—known up till now as the *Worker*.

For some years the revolutionary leadership of the Party has been stressing the importance of these papers, which are and must be distributed on a broader basis than *Revolution*, especially in the ranks of the proletariat. However, it has only been with the defeat of the Menshevik headquarters a year ago that real progress has begun to be made on this front. Already nine of these papers have begun publishing biweekly as opposed to monthly, and several others are planning to take this step quickly. Advances have been made in improving the revolutionary content of the papers, linking them together and guiding them through the Workers Press Service published under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee. The writing style and layout of many of the papers have also improved. In addition, distribution has begun to climb.

All this, however, is only a beginning. The *Revolutionary Worker* must better fulfill its role as the face and voice of the Party to the tens of thousands of workers and others among the masses awakening to political life. Adding the word *Revolutionary* to the name *Worker*, as well as putting "Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA" on the masthead, will help these papers fulfill

their revolutionary role. These papers must follow close on the heels of events in society, using Marxism-Leninism to produce concise, vivid and sharper exposures of the abuses of capitalism and lay bare the overall reactionary and moribund nature of capitalism. The *Revolutionary Worker* must further develop its ability to hound the bourgeoisie mercilessly. Through its agitational articles, that seize upon and lay bare a particular contradiction (which is the main content of these papers), as well as its propaganda and theoretical articles, it must instill in its readers a picture of the society they suffer in and the desire to rise up in revolution against it.

For the *Revolutionary Worker* to fully carry out this task it must make still further advances in its content and form, and the whole Party must strive to utilize this weapon among ever broader ranks of the proletariat. The papers must come out more frequently still, and efforts are underway to publish the *Revolutionary Worker* weekly in the not-too-distant future.

Having *Revolution* published monthly in a magazine format will assist in making the *Revolutionary Worker* seen as the principal voice of the Party to the broadest section of workers. As for *Revolution*, the new magazine format is quite in keeping with the role *Revolution* has played in the past and will continue to play as the organ of the Party's Central Committee.

Revolution has and will continue to consist mainly of *propaganda*—that is, articles and essays that take up several ideas, discuss a particular question (contradiction) in relation to other contradictions and events and thus provide a fuller, deeper and more all-rounded picture than an agitational article can, no matter how well done. By its nature, propaganda has a somewhat more limited audience than agitation. *Revolution* assumes a relatively high degree of political knowledge and is aimed first and foremost at those who are consciously striving for proletarian revolution. It is also not necessary, at the present time at least, for *Revolution* to be published more than monthly.

While *Revolution*, as a propaganda vehicle, will tend to have a somewhat more restricted audience than a mainly agitational newspaper, publishing in a magazine format will help to clarify its political role in the class struggle and help it reach out more broadly to revolutionary-minded people thirsting for the kind of in-depth analysis it provides.

For these reasons, as well as certain aesthetic and practical considerations (one being that the new format will hold up better and readers will be better able to save issues and refer to them) the new format has been adopted.

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Enver Hoxha Exposes Opportunism—His Own

The impending release of Enver Hoxha's book *Imperialism and the Revolution* (announced in the December 20 issue of the Albanian Telegraphic Agency) can only come as a great disappointment for all those who hoped that the Party of Labor of Albania would continue to play a positive role in the struggle against revisionism. According to the release from the Albanian Telegraphic Agency, the book includes as one of its major components a full scale attack on Mao Tsetung and Mao Tsetung Thought.

Although we have not had an opportunity to study the book, the summary provided makes it painfully clear that far from being a contribution to the understanding of Marxist-Leninists worldwide it is in fact a giant step backwards for the Albanian Party, that it promotes and defends an erroneous and counter-revolutionary assessment of Mao Tsetung. The press release states that Enver Hoxha, "emphasizes that 'Mao Tsetung Thought' is a variant of revisionism, which had begun to take its form before the World War 2, and especially following the year 1935 when Mao Tsetung came to power." It goes on to say " 'Mao Tsetung Thought', writes . . . Enver Hoxha, is an amalgam of viewpoints, where ideas and theses borrowed from Marxism are mixed with the other philosophical, idealist, pragmatist and revisionist principles. It has its roots in the ancient Chinese philosophy and in the political and ideological past of China, in its state and militarist practice.

"This can be noticed in all the 'theoretical works' of Mao, which, though camouflaged with 'revolutionary' phraseology and slogans cannot conceal the fact that 'Mao Tsetung Thought' has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism."

From the above quotations alone, it is crystal clear that the Party of Labor of Albania has gone from being a fighter against revisionism to itself championing a new revisionist, opportunist current directed at Mao Tsetung and in fact challenging the entire science of Marxism-Leninism, which Mao upheld, defended and enriched. Indeed, Mao Tsetung is the greatest Marxist of our time.

The press release gives no hint as to why in the past Hoxha and the Albanian Party made repeated statements referring to Mao's contributions to Marxism-Leninism. In 1973 Hoxha himself said in a message to Mao on his 80th birthday, "you further developed and creatively enriched Marxist-Leninist science in the field of philosophy, the development of the proletarian party, the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle and the struggle against imperialism, and the problems of the construction of the socialist society. Your precepts on continuing the revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, so as to carry socialist construction to final victory and bar the way to the danger of the restoration of capitalism, whatever form it takes and wherever it comes from, constitute a valuable contribution, of great international value, to the theory and practice of scientific socialism. Your works are a real revolutionary education for all Marxist-Leninist and working people."

And as recently as the 7th Congress of the PLA in November 1976, whose line the Albanian Party leaders claim to uphold, says, "The historic victories which the Chinese

people have attained in their glorious revolution and the construction of socialism, the creation of the new People's China and the high prestige it enjoys in the world, are directly linked with the name, teachings, and guidance of the great revolutionary, comrade Mao Tsetung. The work of this outstanding Marxist-Leninist represents a contribution to the enrichment of the revolutionary theory and practice of the proletariat. The Albanian communists and people will always honor the memory of comrade Mao Tsetung, who was a great friend of our Party and people."

We will be most interested to hear the Albanians' "explanation" for their change of line on this crucial question. By Hoxha's own logic, either the Albanians themselves were so hopelessly confused by this "anti-Marxist" theory that they adopted large portions of it or, worse still, they recognized it all along but were willing to help promote this "revisionist" line on revolutionaries around the world in return for a few factories and some military equipment. In either case it hardly inspires confidence in the Albanian Party's claim to be the most consistent and thorough fighter against revisionism.

However, we would like to offer our own explanation for the Albanian Party's acrobatics on the question of Mao Tsetung—that *two lines* have existed in the Albanian Party, as they do in all Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations. And, unfortunately, an incorrect, indeed counterrevolutionary line, seems to have won out in the Albanian Party. Of course, this is considered heresy by Hoxha and the Albanian Party, which has denounced the theory of two lines in the Party as an opportunist concession to liberalism. But we will not grant Hoxha his claim of the "monolithic unity of the Party of Labor of Albania": we have more confidence in the Albanian communists than that.

The Albanian Party in the past took a basically correct line toward Mao Tsetung and his enrichment and development of Marxism-Leninism and they correctly saw the attitude toward Mao and his line as a critical dividing line in the international communist movement. We are certain that there are many within the Albanian Party who will fight Enver Hoxha's attempts to drag them on the wrong side of this dividing line, to undo the real contributions the Albanian Party has made in the struggle against revisionism, and to further compound the loss suffered with the revisionist coup in China, by landing in objective unity with Teng Hsiao-ping, the Soviet social imperialists and other revisionists in heaping abuse on the revolutionary line of Mao Tsetung and the achievements of the Chinese revolution. Despite their much vaunted opposition to Chinese revisionism and its international line, it seems that for Hoxha and others in the Albanian Party who share his views, their conflict with revisionist China stems from conflicting bourgeois nationalist interests—for in essence and in many important features they share the same revisionist line.

At a time when the international communist movement is at a crossroads, Enver Hoxha had the opportunity and responsibility to play the role of a giant. He chose instead to be a pipsqueak. ■

Normalization: China Joins U.S. War Bloc

Capitulation Goes Better with Coke

The normalization of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and China on January 1 put the official seal on the capitulation of China's revisionist rulers to U.S. imperialism. It marked the formal hitching of China to the U.S. war chariot.

The bending and scraping before the U.S. imperialists by China's New Mandarins was strikingly revealed in the terms of the agreement over Taiwan. These terms represent a major concession to the U.S. when compared to the terms China had insisted on for many years. This is obviously true in spite of the fact that most of the formal language of China's position in the Joint Communiqué issued by the U.S. and China at the end of Nixon's visit in 1972 was kept in the normalization agreement—U.S. recognition that Taiwan is a province of China, that the Taiwan question is "entirely China's internal affair," and U.S. agreement to sever diplomatic and military ties (after one year!) with the Chiang regime.

China had in the past demanded that the U.S. cancel all of the 59 treaties which it has with Taiwan. But now this position has been "moderated," allowing Carter to make it very clear in his announcement that "special attention had been paid" to insuring that normalization "will not jeopardize the people of Taiwan" and that the U.S. will continue to "maintain current commercial, cultural and other relations with Taiwan through non-governmental means."

In particular, Carter asserted that the U.S. would continue selling arms to Taiwan. And while Hua Kuo-feng stated that China "absolutely could not agree with this," the Chinese also made it plain that they will in fact tolerate such sales. Indeed, part of the deal was that China promised to demonstrate its "peaceful intentions" toward Taiwan—which it soon did, halting the bombardment of Taiwan-held offshore islands, and assuring a U.S. congressional delegation that China intends to reunify peaceably. In fact "reunification" has now replaced the words "liberate Taiwan" in official Chinese documents. Teng Hsiao-ping then announced that as far as the new Chinese leadership was concerned, Taiwan would retain its own capitalist economic and social system after reunification with the mainland—including its own armed forces!

There is nothing wrong with a socialist state establishing diplomatic and economic relations with capitalist or imperialist countries. The question is, on what basis are such relations to be established? Mao himself said that "As for the imperialist countries, we should unite with their people and strive to coexist peacefully with these countries, do business with them and prevent any possible

war, but under no circumstances should we harbor any unrealistic notions about them." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) And as Lenin pointed out, "World hegemony is the content of imperialist policy."

In the early '70s Mao and other revolutionaries in China obviously made an assessment of the overall international situation and in particular the growing Soviet threat to China's security. Based on these assessments, they agreed to certain initiatives toward developing ties with the U.S. and other Western imperialist countries as a counterweight to the Soviets. At the same time, these analyses and decisions intensified the sharp struggle within the Chinese Communist Party leadership, since there were those who wanted to take advantage of this "opening to the West" to drive through a truck of capitulation to the U.S. imperialists.

If diplomatic ties had been established in Mao's time it would have meant continued struggle against all imperialism and it would have been something that should have been supported by the international proletariat. But there is no way that the normalization engineered by Carter and the Hua-Teng clique can be seen as a continuation or a culmination of the policies initiated under Mao's leadership. The conditions and terms of normalization now reflect the fact that counter-revolutionaries hell-bent on capitalist restoration won out in the class struggle in China and have seized power. These are the same people who have argued all along that China's only military security and only possible source of economic development lay in aid from one or another "great power."

Under these new conditions, the establishment of diplomatic ties can only be for the mutual benefit of the U.S. imperialists and the traitors now ruling China. And despite all their great-nation ambitions and posturing swagger, the relation between the U.S. imperialists and the new Chinese bourgeoisie will by no means be one of equality, but of dependency and subservience, the relationship between an imperialist master and a comprador bourgeoisie.

Comprador Bourgeoisie

An article in *Peking Review* in 1976, written when the "Gang of Four" was still in leadership and battling against Teng and his scheme to prostitute China to the highest bidder, hit the nail on the head:

Chairman Mao has pointed out that under China's historical conditions, those who stubbornly choose to take the capitalist road are in fact 'ready to capitulate to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-

capitalism.' This was the case with Teng Hsiao-ping. In his eyes, the Chinese people were no good at carrying out economic construction or bringing about the modernizations of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology, nor, for that matter, was the socialist system of any help. The only feasible way to 'speed up the technical transformation of industry and raise labor productivity' is to 'import foreign techniques and equipment.'

Teng himself, after he and his renegades took over, put it in his own manner, characteristically contemptuous of the masses: "If you have an ugly face," he said, speaking of China, "there is no use pretending you are handsome. You cannot hide it so you might just as well admit it."

This capitulationist line also has strong implications for military affairs. It holds that the only possible defense against Soviet attack, and the only way to "buy time" for modernization, is the "defense" offered by enlistment in the Western war bloc and by getting modern weaponry from the imperialists. Relying on the Chinese masses and people's war be damned! This same logic, of course, could also lead to capitulating to the Soviets.

What were the historical conditions of China which, Mao pointed out, promoted capitulation? The fact that China still carried the scars of colonial and imperialist ravaging of the country: underdevelopment and backwardness. The peasantry composed 80% of the population, and industrial development was at a very low level relative to the imperialist nations. In these circumstances, the choice was not between staying socialist or becoming an imperialist superpower. The question was whether China would keep to the socialist road, and on that basis transform its society, or whether it would once again become a dependent country, under the sway of imperialism. *This* is what it meant for China to be dragged down the capitalist road.

Self-reliance was not just some sort of "pull yourself up by your bootstraps" nostrum or idealistic moralism devised by Mao. Nor was it an isolationist xenophobia, as the Western bourgeois commentators are so fond of saying. It reflected the concrete realities of China's conditions and the goals of the revolution.

Self-reliance was *essential* to China's socialist construction as well as her defense. The question was never *whether* to develop the economy, as Teng & Co. pretend, but whether to develop it on the basis of socialist or capitalist relations of production. Technology and production processes are not

neutral, and to think that they can simply be imported and will automatically serve socialism is fundamentally incorrect and revisionist. In an article in 1976, the revolutionaries in China pointed out, "Foreign technology must be divided into two. Technical designs of capitalist countries serve the pursuit of the highest profit by the monopoly bourgeoisie and bear a clear-cut class coat of arms. How can we use them without distinguishing the 'white cat and black cat'?"

The doctrine of the neutrality of techniques and production processes, which is explicitly affirmed by the new rulers of China, reaches its logical conclusion in their holding up of the "science of management" (that is, the management of workers) as one of these "neutral" bodies of knowledge that they are going to import from the capitalists and put to use!

Leads to Dependency

Furthermore—and the "Gang of Four" struggled to expose this—the massive imports of foreign technology upon which China is now basing its modernization do not come free, either economically or, in the final analysis, politically. "Modernizing" in this way can only place China in a position of dependency.

The two-line struggle on modernization and self-reliance in the Chinese Communist Party goes back many years. One part of this struggle has been over where "modernization" fits in as a task. The so-called "four modernizations" have now, according to Hua and Teng, become the highest goal and the "historic mission" of the Chinese people—thus replacing communism. This in itself is a revisionist line.

It was in opposition to this that Mao emphatically pointed out, "Class struggle is the key link." This did not mean Mao lost sight of the fact that the ultimate goal of communist revolution is to liberate the productive forces, but that he recognized that it was the line of the bourgeoisie to constantly place immediate results in production above the class struggle. Such a line is, in fact, a weapon in the arsenal of the bourgeoisie in waging class struggle against the proletariat. Only by waging struggle against the bourgeoisie is it possible to continue on the socialist road and, ultimately, to really unleash production.

In the 1950s Liu Shao-chi, Teng, Peng Teh-huai and other bourgeois democrats and capitalist roaders in the Party argued that "mechanization must precede collectivization." China, they said, could only move forward if agriculture were developed, but agriculture could only be developed through massive mechanization, and the prerequisite for this was the development of China's heavy industry. This, they argued, had to be imported, either from the Soviet Union or the Western imperialists.

Mao trashed this as revisionist rot. China should learn from both the positive and negative aspects of the industrialized capitalist countries. But fundamentally, China could only be developed by politically mobilizing and relying on the masses. "Only socialism,"



he said, "can save China." Mao's line took expression in the Great Leap Forward, a massive campaign to mobilize the Chinese people in their millions to shatter convention, take matters into their own hands, develop the socialist economy, and wage political and ideological struggle against those who said China had to prostrate itself before foreign imperialists.

It was in this political context that Mao put forward that agriculture was the foundation of China's economic development and industry was the key link. Heavy industry was to be the priority, he had said, but this depended on the development of agriculture and light industry.

Similarly, Mao and the revolutionaries in the Party fought for self-reliance in national defense, in opposition to Liu Shao-chi and Peng Teh-huai, who pushed for dependence on the Soviet military, or those like Chou En-lai who leaned more towards reliance on Western imperialism.

It is interesting to note that Peng Teh-huai, a bitter opponent of the Great Leap Forward who was exposed and knocked from his post as Minister of Defense in 1959 for, among other things, arguing for capitulation to the Soviet revisionists, has now been posthumously rehabilitated to a position of "honor" by that traitors' conclave of the Chinese Central Committee—at a time when Teng & Co. are making opposition to Soviet social imperialism the cornerstone of their capitulation to U.S. imperialism.

Unquestionably this rehabilitation represents, at least in part, the fact that the essence of the matter for the Chinese revisionists is not which imperialist power they bow before, but that the only road to "development" and "defense" is a line that leads to capitulation to one or another imperialist power. (It probably also represents a certain hedging of their bets among the "pragmatists" running China, and an indication that they could and may well, given the right conditions, switch alliances to the social imperialists in the Soviet Union.)

Distortion and Stagnation

Once their counter-revolutionary coup placed them in the saddle in October of 1976, these capitalist roaders wasted no time in reversing the revolutionary policy of self-reliance and began pinning China to the U.S.

imperialists. Despite all their great and pompous claims and promises that China will, as a result of their policies, become an advanced industrialized country by the year 2000, the course they have charted can only lead to economic distortion and stagnation, and political as well as economic dependence.

The so-called "four modernizations" will require a tremendous expenditure for foreign technology and equipment. Where is the capital for such expenditures going to come from? Foreign banks, credits from suppliers, and, they hope, from China's new "magic weapon": export of domestically produced oil (and possibly from a few other potential "big exports" like cotton textiles).

It does not take a crystal ball to see where the massive borrowing China's New Mandarins are planning will leave the country. It will leave it in hock for generations to come to foreign capitalists. The fruits of the productive labor of China's people, like the sugar of Cuba and Egypt's cotton, will be mortgaged to creditors. Economic priorities will be determined not by the needs of the masses, but by the demands of capital accumulation to pay off interest and principal on foreign loans and credits.

Similarly, the foreign exchange China hopes to gain from its oil production means that increasing resources and transport will have to be allocated to the development of oil production—at the expense of the needs of the people and the development of other sectors of the economy, specifically agriculture and light industry. The RCP gave an example of this in its polemics on China last year. "One account that appeared in the *Economic and Political Weekly* told of how in 1976 transport systems were being used to move oil for export at the expense of the movement of grains and foodstuffs to the cities and machinery and fertilizers to the countryside. The Four called for a reduction in oil export and are now hounded for their interference." (*Revolution and Counter-revolution*, pp. 309-10.) Hua and Teng's buddy, the Shah of Iran, also had grand schemes for "modernizing and mechanizing agriculture" by relying on oil exports to import industry. These revisionists will bring similar misery and chaos to the agricultural areas.

The crash program to develop oil production itself means massive borrowing to build the necessary drilling and refining capabilities, and the reallocation of scarce resources. And it means that less profitable enterprises or undertakings that require investment from the state but do not make an immediate return will tend to get short shrift or be eliminated altogether. For example, it is reported that in the far west region of Sinkiang, enormous efforts were made in the past to reclaim the Gobi Desert, to import settlers and establish industry. This has required significant subsidies, quite in line with the policy of socialist China to put resources to the development of some of the more underdeveloped regions of the country, including in regions of China's national minorities. But Hua, stopping off in Sinkiang after scraping before Yugoslavia's Tito, announced that the subsidies to the local state farms should be phased out. He also call-

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Give a Fitting Welcome to Teng!



◀ **Down with the reactionary treachery of Teng Hsiao-ping & Co.—Firmly uphold the Revolutionary Banner of Mao Tsetung**

◀ **Down with NATO & its newest member, China!**

◀ **Down with U.S. & Soviet war preparations!**

For millions of people around the world revolutionary China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung was a source of inspiration. One quarter of humanity rose up, a mighty force, shattered the chains of slavery and ripped the claws of the foreign overlords from their backs. But they did not stop there. They dared to cast their eyes and boldly chart a course to the farthest horizons of mankind's aspirations: the complete transformation of all the relations of society, the complete elimination of exploitation and oppression, to a society where labor serves the common good and there are no privileged few. Millions around the world saw in China humanity's future in the making. We saw in the Chinese people's spirit a source of militant determination and revolutionary joy; a spirit of self-reliance, the creation of new social relations and the ideology of putting the common good above personal gain.

In the last two years we have seen, with growing anger and outrage, that posturing bootlicker Teng Hsiao-ping and his partners in crime viciously launch a coup and seize power from

the working class, execute thousands of revolutionaries, and line up with hated reactionaries worldwide. These traitors openly attack and are hellbent to eradicate all the tremendous advances made by the Chinese people led by Mao and other revolutionaries. Commanding the masses to shut their mouths, cast their eyes down and work like mules for "modernization," they are pushing feverishly to once again enslave the Chinese people and sell China back to the highest bidder. Right now, in the name of "normalization" and obtaining modern weapons to fight the Soviets on their own terms, these New Mandarins are hitching China to the war chariot of the U.S. imperialists. They are calling on oppressed people worldwide to abandon their struggle and link up with the U.S. in the war shaping up between the two superpowers. The most disgusting current example of this is the Chinese support for the Shah of Iran as the revolutionary upsurge of the people there sent him fleeing and has shaken the hold of the U.S. over Iran. No wonder the glint from Carter's leering teeth was even more glittering than usual as he announced "normalization" and Teng's visit to the U.S.

To all who are disgusted and enraged by Teng & Co.'s visions of a "modern China" with its old misery and their attempts to fulfill Chiang Kai-shek's dream of unifying China under reactionary and imperialist rule;

To all those opposed to the efforts of our own rulers to strengthen their bloc and line us up for the war with their capitalist counterparts in the Soviet Union;

To all those who are appalled by the reactionary events in China and are stirred by them to act:

We urge you to join with us to give this half pint pimp Teng Hsiao-ping and all the schemes of the U.S. and Chinese reactionaries the welcome they deserve when Teng comes to the U.S.

DEMONSTRATE: Monday, Jan. 29 Washington, D.C. & San Francisco

Washington, D.C.
Mobilize 10 a.m.
All Souls Church
16th and Harvard N.W.

San Francisco
3:30 p.m.—Mobilize
Portsmouth Square

Teng will also be given a fitting welcome when he visits Atlanta, Houston and Seattle.

Sponsored by the REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, USA and THE COMMITTEE TO GIVE A FITTING WELCOME. For more information, contact (212) 924-4387 in New York or (415) 781-4989 in San Francisco; or write the RCP, Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654.

Calls for Unity with RCP

Former Member Denounces WVO

The following article was submitted to us by a former member of the Workers Viewpoint Organization who recently quit on the basis of struggling against WVO's opportunism.

In the latest twist to WVO's idealist flip from "left" dogmatism to reformism, they have hit the bottom of the kool-aid barrel. In an article titled, "People's Temple—Why?" they say "Jim Jones himself stands out as a victim... Jones himself was part Cherokee, and no doubt differed from the groups that are real cults that are anti-communist, racist, discriminating; he understood the need to fight national oppression and had stood for multinational unity very early on." (*Workers Viewpoint*, December 1978, p. 7.) And about the 900 people who were murdered by this representative of the bourgeoisie, they say, "It's a wrong thing to do but still done with a lot of guts in condemning a lot of gutless people in a gutless society, with most people nowadays living without any principles except to keep themselves alive and comfortable." (P. 27.)

So the People's Temple deaths were gutsy! Jim Jones: the victim of national and capitalist oppression!

Where in the *hell* does this supposed "communist" analysis come from!? To find the answer we need to look into a little history of *this* sect, the Workers Viewpoint Organization.

The organization became early on one of the members of the so-called Revolutionary Wing, a group of wooden idealists who opposed the formation of the RCP over the question of the role of theory. "They attacked the RCP as pragmatists, claiming that it was incorrect and opportunist to form a Party on the basis of applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought to the practice of building the struggle of the working class and other sections of masses and from the knowledge gained in this practice formulating a programme for revolution in the U.S." (From *The Communist*, Vol. 1, #2, May 1977, p. 89, "WVO's Opportunism in Theory and Practice.")

At that time, the WVO said that genuine communists had accumulated *enough practice* in the struggles of the 60s and early 70s, and that this practice could be taken into study commissions and polemical forums to hammer out the "correct line." They criticized RCP's formulation as "practice, practice, practice." The only trouble with their "logical" little mechanical formulation is that you can *never* separate theory from

practice, and that theory flows from practice. In fact, the RCP correctly saw the need to develop a correct political line in the thick of struggle, *in the process of* "building the struggle, class consciousness, and revolutionary unity of the working class and developing its leadership of a broad united front against the U.S. imperialists, in the context of the worldwide united front against imperialism, aimed at the rulers of the two superpowers." (RCP *Programme*, p. 102.)

Once the WVO's perfect little version of the "correct line" was hammered out in these forums, commissions, etc.—then came the hard part. Then they had to take these wonderful ideas and *present* them to the working class and oppressed nationalities. They called it a period of "biting into the immediate struggles." You know, like Chairman Mao said, "In order to taste the pear, you have to bite into it"? Get it? This is their idea of combining theory and practice!

That's when the flip to reformism and ultra-rightism began to happen. Because when "perfect ideas" come in contact with reality, they have to be changed to "something the masses can grasp," so that it will appear, at least, to get over. Otherwise, they'd get very tired of talking dogma to themselves. Now they're talking reformism to the "masses." They used to have a perfect little theory about the "dual tactics of the bourgeoisie"—that the tactics of "reform and repression" were merely two sides of the same coin of bourgeois democracy. But because their version of exposing bourgeois democracy was so wooden, when they came up against the *real* illusions of bourgeois democracy that are deep in the working class; then it became too hard to explain.

Today, the WVO was to be seen out at the voting booths in the STOP RIZZO! campaign in Philly. Were they out there exposing illusions of bourgeois democracy? Were they out there showing that Rizzo is only a tool of capitalism, and that the battle ground is far bigger than Stop Rizzo!? And that the Stop Rizzo campaign was in fact a diversion, a scapegoat to turn the masses' potential revolutionary sentiments down the well-travelled rut of bourgeois elections? NO, THEY WERE OUT THERE SIGNING PEOPLE UP TO VOTE! (This from their November paper): "But this time we can make use of the vote *tactically* (their emphasis) as a way to organize ourselves and get a fighting chance to get rid of the racist-dog mayor. Our success will be judged not as much by the election as by how well we use

the Charter change campaign to help build the mass resistance of the working class and national minority people, and by how well we educate our people to continue the fight against capitalist oppression past November 7!" In other words, once "our people" get a few victories under their belt, then WVO can "educate" them to tackle the heavier problems of revolution.

What this boils down to is complete disdain for the masses—that they can't really "grasp" revolution. This is classical economism, that says the "vanguard" has to take the poor stupid through stages, step by step of "fighting chances" before they can grasp their revolutionary potential to turn the world upside down, "past November 7th!"

In the philosophical realm, WVO doesn't understand the process of quantitative changes, making the "leap" to qualitative changes in a person's understanding. They think that a certain number of "fighting chances" will one day add up to revolutionary understanding. Rather than seeing that consistent Marxist analysis—propaganda and agitation in the thick of struggle—are the quantitative kernels that, as a revolutionary situation develops, will lead to qualitative leaps in the masses' consciousness. *That* is the power of the subjective factor that WVO doesn't understand. That is what Marx meant when he said: theory becomes a material force when it grips the masses.

WVO Drinks Its Own Poison—Calls Jim Jones a "Victim Gone Wrong"

WVO's line on China is a most blatant example of this rightism, too. They will not come out publicly and denounce the revisionist leadership and uphold the four comrades, the "Gang of Four." Publicly, they uphold China as "still a socialist country." And that's it. But even more sinister is the fact that to particular lucky individuals classified by them as "advanced and active," they *will* say that Hua and Teng are revisionists, they do think there was a *coup d'etat*, the Four were correct, even that Chou En-lai was the revisionists' back-up man. Why is this? Because, at this time, the "advanced" are the only ones who can grasp this "demoralizing" situation without falling into cynicism and losing faith in the possibility of socialism working. Public exposure of revisionism, they say, will only fuel the bourgeoisie's propaganda, attacking the viability of socialism.

The logic of this quickly falls between your fingers like so much sand (more like quicksand). Because bourgeois propaganda is using the situation in China to tell us that socialism will never work, it must turn back to "pragmatism, down-to-earth capitalism," then our *duty* as communists is to cut through that with the knife of scientific analysis. Which is exactly what the RCP has

done, spreading the truth of the class struggle under socialism, how setbacks happen, how to arm ourselves against them, how to fight even harder for genuine Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and against revisionism, the "easy road," pragmatism, etc. WVO would have the masses in the U.S. think that China is socialist (ignorance is bliss?). According to WVO, the masses won't be able to figure it out unless WVO tells them, so they're going to keep it under their hats for the right moment.

This shocking depth of disdain for the masses brings us back to the People's Temple and WVO's characterization of Jim Jones. Actually, Jones' disdain and manipulation of the People's Temple members and WVO's disdain for the working class and oppressed nationalities are very similar. The RCP's

analysis of WVO in 1977 summed up, "The Religious Disorder of the Worker's Viewpoint Organization." And that's exactly what it is. About Jones, WVO says, "Jones' brand of mysticism was misleading but not nearly as sinister as the Moonies or other crazy religions. These sects preach and openly support racism and fascism. For all its reformist practices, (my emphasis) the People's Temple at least fights racists and fascists and attracts the support of the black and poor people. Many join because they see the group doing progressive things." (*Workers Viewpoint*, December 1978, p. 7.)

About the WVO, you could say the same thing: "For all its reformist practices, at least they're communists and they're fighting capitalism, and they attract the support of oppressed nationalities and students." BUT

THAT'S EXACTLY WHY THESE "CULTS," RELIGIOUS AND REVISIONIST ALIKE, ARE SO SICKENING AND SINISTER. They *do* attract, for a time, honest people who want to fight the system—then they lead them down a dead-end street.

WVO's following is not going to commit suicide, but the organization *is* swallowing its own dogmatic poison, more and more quickly in their flip to the right. The honest forces within, and there are many, if they really desire to struggle all their lives for *living* socialism and the final aim of communism, if they really strive to be *ruthlessly scientific* to fight the bourgeoisie, will gradually be won to the genuine party of the U.S. working class—the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. ■

Can You Really Swallow All This?

Reversal in China More Blatant

It was just a year ago that the historic struggle with the Menshevik-splitters in the Revolutionary Communist Party came to a head. That struggle was posed in large part in terms of the question of China. Now, scarcely a year later, who can be fooled? The revisionism of these capitalist-roaders is so blatant that it strikes any revolutionary-minded person in the face. What was before apparent upon a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the *line* of the new rulers of China has now become obvious even on a perceptual level.

"Never before has capitalism been so nakedly advertised." These words attributed by the present leadership to Yao Wen-yuan, one of the so-called "gang of four," ring loud and true. At the time Yao was supposed to have said this, it was the line of documents by Hua and Teng that fit the description. Now it's reached the level of Coke and western-designed military uniforms. Deals are being concluded with foreign capitalists who are invited to reap profit from China's resources and labor.

In the face of the developments of the past year, the *defense* which the Mensheviks who split from our Party tried to make of their position one year ago now stands as an *indictment* of China. The "gang of four" and Teng Hsiao-ping are "opposite poles of the same stupidity," they warbled. Teng's *General Program* "sacrific[es] the interests of the masses" and contains "revisionist errors," while Teng himself in 1975-76 "stirred up a right deviationist wind, which posed a danger of capitalist restoration." (See their document in *Revolution and Counter-Revolution* [RCP Publications, 1978], pp. 163, 221, and 222.)

Where is that song today? Teng is openly running the show and the recent session of the Central Committee officially proclaimed

that "the gang arbitrarily described the political line and the achievements of 1975 as a 'Right-deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts.' This reversal of history must be reversed again." (*Peking Review* #52, 1978, p. 13.) The Tien An Men incident involved counter-revolutionaries "taking advantage of the situation" and attacking Mao, they bravely proclaimed less than a year ago (*Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, p. 224). What do they say now when this same Central Committee meeting holds that "the Tien An Men events of April 5, 1976 were *entirely revolutionary actions*" (*Peking Review* #52—our emphasis)?

Our Mensheviks may huddle in embarrassed silence, but their more experienced cousins in the CPML skillfully slide in the news of these absolutely blatant attacks on the line of Mao Tsetung as incidental examples of following "the call to freely criticize past errors" (*The Call*, 1/8/79, p. 13)!

Comrade Peng Teh-huai?

The CPML also notes that "The Central Committee also decided to rehabilitate several veteran party comrades who, they agreed, had been unjustly criticized in the past." Very innocuous-sounding. But who are these "veteran comrades"? *The Call* slyly omits their names, but if we take the trouble to turn to the *Peking Review* we find, leading the list, one *Peng Teh-huai*.

Yes—the same Peng Teh-huai, the one-time Defense Minister, who led the assault on Mao Tsetung and the Great Leap Forward at the famous 1959 Central Committee meeting in Lushan, the one who attacked the Great Leap and the new-formed People's Communes as petty-bourgeois and adventurist, in exactly the same terms as Khrushchev was then attacking these socialist new things. The

same Peng Teh-huai who, moreover, met with Khrushchev and conspired with him to try to take the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party out of the hands of Mao and his revolutionary line—and, finally, the same person who served as the real subject of the play, *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, whose criticism by Yao Wen-yuan launched the Cultural Revolution. There could be very few more direct attacks on Mao's whole line than the rehabilitation of Peng. What will be next? "*Comrade*" Liu Shao-chi?

The leaders of the CPML and of the Mensheviks certainly know all this. They know that Mao's line is being spit upon in a myriad of ways in today's China. These leaders have their own reasons for going along with what happens in China—they have a little niche carved out for themselves, and they will do anything to preserve their own petty careers. Besides, they welcome revisionism. Now it's clearer what Menshevik leader M. Jarvis meant when, still in the RCP, he huffed "I've always been consistent on Teng. He's a revisionist." He just forgot to say aloud in his last sentence: "and that's why I like him." Perhaps these Mensheviks will soon do us all the favor of becoming the first openly self-proclaimed revisionists in history.

As for the membership of these organizations, the leadership banks on keeping them in ignorance of developments in China—or on the fact that they have become too cynical to care.

But if any of these members have even the slightest spark of revolution still smoldering in them, it is high time now to fan it back to life and quit these counter-revolutionary organizations and rejoin the revolutionary ranks before that spark is totally extinguished. ■

Turkey: Bloody Reaction Aimed at Turkish Peoples Movement

Turkey has suddenly and unexpectedly added itself to the list of Western imperialism's major problems.

Faced with the revolutionary upsurge in neighboring Iran and the gathering strength of the people's movement in Turkey, on December 26 the Turkish government used the excuse of a massacre it helped carry out to impose martial law in 13 of the country's provinces, including Istanbul, Ankara and other major cities. In the following week President Carter and other Western imperialist leaders meeting in Guadeloupe were forced to add Turkey to their agenda at the last minute, saying that the "instability" of the Turkish government was a matter of serious concern. On January 10, U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher was dispatched to Turkey to discuss more American loans and arms for the Turkish government.

Over 1200 people were killed in the Turkish city of Kahraman Maras in a three-day bloodbath by civilian fascist gangs with the help of the army and police. Although the government of Prime Minister Ecevit tried to disassociate itself from this attack, the martial law it proclaimed to counter what it called "anarchy" is now allowing the army to move more freely and directly to carry out the repression against the people's movement that the fascist gangs have helped spearhead.

These gangs are headed by the Nationalist Action Party, which has been recruiting broken and demoralized youth to be trained, armed and employed in the NAP's paramilitary units, often under the leadership of regular army officers. The NAP's claims to represent Turkish nationalism have boiled



The Turkish city of Kahraman Maras saw armed fighting in December as progressive forces defended themselves against attack by government-backed fascist gangs. Here, a street scene after such a battle.

down to attacks on Turkey's religious and ethnic minorities and the people's movement on the one hand, and on complete subservience to U.S. and other foreign imperialist domination of Turkey on the other.

Massacre in Maras

On December 22 whole busloads of these fascist commandos from all over Turkey poured into Kahraman Maras, a city of about 120,000 people, including many members of the Shiite religious minority. Carrying banners

that read "Wage war for Allah—death to communism," they began by assaulting the funeral of two teachers known as progressive opponents of the government. The mourners were hit with machine gun fire and bombs, and finally attacked with long knives. Then, accompanied by middle and high level army officers and members of both the regular and secret police, the gangs began a house-to-house search and destroy mission. Homes were shot up or burned and whole families were murdered.

Meanwhile regular Turkish army units completely surrounded the city so that the civilian paramilitary gangs could operate without interference. People attempting to drive into Kahraman Maras to come to the aid of the people's resistance were stopped by the army at highway checkpoints and murdered. Nevertheless many in the city were able to take up arms and defend themselves. The fighting lasted three days.

Only those who painted the symbol of Turkey's fascist movement on their houses were safe. While the attack contained indiscriminate slaughter designed to terrorize the population as a whole and whip up religious rivalries, its target included most especially revolutionaries and all those suspected of sympathizing with the movement against the domination of Turkey by the imperialists and the big landowners and capitalists who are their right hand. This movement has drawn in vast numbers of workers, peasants, small shopkeepers, students and others. During the last year, as this movement has gathered strength, attacks against it have also been stepped up, both by



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Inflation and Crisis: Chickens Coming Home to Roost

A dollar will buy only half as much as it did 11 years ago. This was the latest word from the government, coupled with figures showing a surge in food prices in November and an annual rate of inflation approaching 10%. This comes on the heels of the Carter administration's recent anti-inflation program involving wage-price guidelines, cuts in federal spending and actions to tighten the money and credit supply. Along with provisions to mobilize various foreign currencies to prop up the dollar, these measures clearly indicate that the bourgeoisie has united around a program that places the defense and stabilization of the dollar and the dampening of inflationary pressures at the center of the capitalists' economic policy for the time being. The significance of all this lies not so much in the fine points of these measures as it does in what it says about the political imperatives of the U.S. imperialists with respect to other lesser imperialists, the fact that the ruling class is prepared to "tolerate" higher levels of unemployment in order to curb inflation and, of crucial importance, the more limited room for maneuver that the U.S. imperialists have to deal with the overall crisis.

The problem of inflation poses serious difficulties for the bourgeoisie. And the recognition on its part that, whether inflation increases or decreases, the possibility of a deep contraction is at the end of the tunnel illustrates just how deep the crisis is. Actually, the bourgeoisie has all but given up on trying to coherently explain the causes of inflation and Carter's own rationale for his anti-inflation program was: maybe this won't work, but something is better than nothing.

There is a vicious circle involved here. On the one hand, inflationary finance had much to do with the development of this crisis—in particular the Vietnam War expenditures—undercutting profits and wreaking havoc in the international money markets. Inflationary finance and stimulants intensified contradictions at the financial level in the form of higher interest rates, waves of speculation, liquidity problems (which refers to the ability of corporations to pay off short-term debts based on their cash and securities on hand) and increasing shakiness of banks and other financial institutions.

On the other hand, it has been recourse to inflationary mechanisms (to be analyzed later) which has played a major part in the admittedly weak and fragile recovery of the past two years. But the continuation of more government spending and easier money and credit has resulted in even greater instability in the international currency markets and has tended to undermine the base of any substan-

tial recovery. The inflationary drug has once again become a poison.

Imperialism and Inflation

How are we to understand the phenomenon of inflation? A mild inflation averaging an annual rate of increase of 1-2% between 1951-65 accelerated in the late '60s and posted rates of 12-14% in 1974 and 1975. In the era of imperialism, inflation can be traced to the growing weight of government expenditures and, connected with this, the increasing parasitism and decay of the whole structure of the economy. State budgets have mushroomed as have fiscal deficits (the difference between what the government takes in through taxes and what it spends) chiefly on account of soaring military expenditures and the expansion of the bureaucratic apparatus which employs an increasing portion of the labor force. The inflation of the post-war period has assumed more serious proportions due to the international position of the U.S. and with it the role of the dollar as an international reserve and transaction currency.

Following World War II, the U.S. imperialists financed the reorganization and consolidation of the international capitalist order under their baton. A large outflow of dollars served to finance reconstruction in Europe and Japan as well as to grab up foreign capital and resources. These dollars also paid for overseas military bases and wars of aggression.

The early post-war period had witnessed an actual dollar shortage; that is, there was a great demand for U.S. finance and goods based on the strength of the U.S. economy and the needs of the war-ravaged economies of Europe and Japan. But during the '60s the dollar became overvalued. Very simply, this meant that the U.S. imperialists forced an expanding supply of dollars on others. (These dollars were really nothing more than IOUs that had to be accepted given the economic and political arrangements imposed on these and other countries by the U.S.) By the mid-60s this supply of dollars exceeded the gold which backed it up at the official exchange rates. And this was a dollar which weakened as the productivity of U.S. capital declined relative to its competitors. At the same time, within the U.S. itself the '60s saw a phenomenal growth of corporate debt facilitated by the Federal Reserve Bank.

The price explosion that occurred between 1965 and 1975 was brought on principally by the huge expenses incurred by the government to pay for the war in Vietnam. Through 1975 the official cost of the war has been put

in the range of \$150 billion. This war and its resulting economic strains were not the product of political blunder or financial miscalculation. It was not as though a more desirable mix of deficit financing—which was how it was financed for the most part—spending cuts and tax increases would have somehow made it a "fiscally sound" undertaking. And it was not as though this was a war that could have been avoided had the politicians somehow "understood" things better. In fact, the rise of national liberation struggles is a major feature of the imperialist era. Monopoly capital must of necessity penetrate and control the oppressed nations and colonies and, with all the suffering and aggression this entails, spark resistance. That the U.S. imperialists would be fighting in Vietnam was not inevitable though it would have been very difficult to avoid. But the fact that they would be waging such wars was inevitable. It was the necessary outcome of the imperialist division of the world following World War II. The U.S. occupied the pre-eminent position within the world imperialist system having built up a neo-colonial empire on the ruins of the old colonial empires. The U.S. ruling class became at once the guardian of the imperialist order and the principal target of the peoples' struggles.

Deficit Financing and Parasitism

From 1965 on budget deficits had risen steadily. How were they paid for? What the government did—and does—is to borrow from banks and give interest-paying bonds as security. It is a sophisticated and complicated mechanism that basically comes down to printing up money. What happens is that the Treasury sells new bonds to Federal Reserve Banks. The Fed pays for these bonds by increasing the Treasury's deposit account. These deposits which are nothing more than check money can now be drawn on government account. When the government pays its bills with this money it will eventually wind up in the commercial banks as new deposits, as reserves against which new loans can be made or old ones renewed. In this way the money supply has been directly increased. It is this checkbook money (or what is sometimes called demand deposits) and not coins and paper currency which is the major form of money in the U.S.

In what way does deficit financing ignite inflation? Inflation occurs when there is a rise in the general price level without a corresponding rise in the general value level. It occurs when the amount of money, or banknotes, put into circulation exceeds what

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Menachim Begin and Anwar Sadat

Nobel Prize Rewards 2 Lackeys

U.S. Mideast Plans Bog Down

As Menachim Begin and a stand-in for Anwar Sadat accepted their joint Nobel Peace Prize in Norway last month, 2000 police had to be deployed in the city of Oslo to try to contain the more than 4000 demonstrators protesting the award to these two reactionary enemies of the Palestinian liberation struggle. The demonstrators targeted Oslo University's Festival Hall, where the presentation ceremony had always been held. But because of this strong opposition, ceremonies had to be transferred to a medieval castle, and Begin himself had to be transferred to the castle by means of helicopter and bullet-proof limousine, all heavily guarded by soldiers. Meanwhile another 2000 demonstrated against the award in Norway's second largest city of Bergen.

It is in fact quite fitting that Begin and Sadat should be this year's recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize, since it is usually given precisely to those who have best served the interests of Western imperialism under the cloak of humanitarian peace-seeking. And it was equally fitting that the committee was forced to bestow this award (including the \$165,000 cash pay-off) in the 14th-century Akershus castle. For this had been the headquarters for the regime of Nazi collaborator Vidkun Quisling, and it was appropriate that prizes and pay-offs for the fascist Begin and the traitor Sadat should be bestowed in the old home of one who was a fascist, a traitor, and an anti-semitic boot.

Treaty in Jeopardy

However, on another level the awarding of the prize to these two henchmen of U.S. imperialism turned out to be a little inept, for they were having difficulty consummating the deal they had worked out with the U.S. at Camp David (see "U.S. Imperialism's House

of Cards: Camp David Sellout," *Revolution*, October 1978), difficulty which continues to the present.

The problem is that Israel wants a separate peace with Egypt—a peace which will legitimize the Zionist state, split the ranks of the Arab states still technically at war with Israel, make it impossible for Syria to mount an attack, and prepare the way for more Zionist expansionism in the future. The Zionists will agree to a vague promise of a meaningless "autonomy" for the Palestinians, but they have no intention of following through on even the most meaningless of autonomies if they can help it. Sadat, on the other hand, under pressure from the Arab masses and from the other Arab states who correctly accuse him of being a sell-out, tries to maintain some semblance of quasi-militance by sniveling that the Israelis are backing out of the deals they made at Camp David. The U.S. is backing up Sadat, for a totally despised and discredited puppet—which Sadat is becoming—is not what is needed, and U.S. imperialism shares Sadat's need to pull as many other Arab governments as possible into its scheme.

And Sadat is also very worried by what he sees in Iran. According to a reporter who interviewed him in November, Sadat recalled the fact that he and the Shah were born in the same year, graduated from military school in the same year, and were friends. "He was so sharp," Sadat kept saying. "How could it happen to him?" This underscores his need to make a slight show of standing up to the Zionists.

New Israeli Aggression

Israel, though, summing up that Sadat has compromised himself to such an extent that he has nowhere else to go but further down

on his knees, figures that now is the time to put the heat on Egypt and thumb its nose at its imperialist master, the U.S. Besides the expansion of Zionist settlements in the occupied territories of the Golan Heights, Gaza and the West Bank, Israel has recently been stepping up its fascist attacks on the Palestinians.

For a while after the Camp David agreements, the Zionists made a show of allowing political activity for the first time among the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza, in hopes that a certain number could be sucked into support of the "autonomy" scheme. But when the Palestinians used the opportunity to organize against the Camp David accords, Israeli occupation forces reverted to their normal procedures of arrests, "administrative detention" and torture, cracking down particularly on Bir Zeit University, the only Arab university in the area, and even arresting members of a Greek Orthodox Church-affiliated organization which dared to oppose the U.S.-sponsored agreement.

A few weeks after beginning its terror campaign against the Palestinians of the West Bank, Israel broadened it to include those in southern Lebanon—launching another in its long series of strafing and bombing raids against the camps of refugees who were driven from their homeland by the Zionists.

But such terror will not now, any more than in the past, silence the Palestinian people. At present it also serves to further endanger the house of cards which U.S. imperialism is attempting to erect with the Camp David scheme, which is why the U.S. responded to this case of Zionist aggression with a little slap on the wrist. In general, the U.S. is afraid that Zionist intransigence might upset its Mid-east plans, and has given several signs of displeasure with its client state (while at the same time our ruling class makes clear its total support for Zionism, including mourning the death of Golda Meir as one of its own).

The Camp David agreements represent the Israeli-Egyptian accommodation that the U.S. has been pushing for over a span of many years, but today it is being sought with special urgency. For if the U.S. imperialists can pull this off, it would be a significant gain in their efforts to form a tight bloc of countries in opposition to the USSR as a preparation for the developing world war between the imperialist superpowers. In this connection it is interesting to note that, according to *Newsweek* (10/23/78), a key element of the Camp David agreement was a secret clause involving an expansion of Egyptian-Israeli intelligence cooperation aimed at Soviet-backed governments in northern Africa, and a restructuring of the Egyptian military to make it an effective force against inroads by the "USSR and its surrogates, such as Libya" in the region.

The real contradictions in the Middle East, most especially the struggle of the Palestinian people, still stand as obstacles to imperialist maneuvers. While today the grandly engineered "peace process" has ground to a halt, the U.S. may still be able to pull off its Egypt-Israel treaty. But the future does not belong to such imperialist designs. ■

United Farm Workers Union: From Reformism to Naked Knee-Bending

At the end of December union contracts covering 5000 lettuce, broccoli, celery, and strawberry workers in the Salinas and Imperial Valleys of California expired. The United Farmworkers Union agreed to extensions on most of these until June 15. The battle which is shaping up around this contract has much significance for farmworkers and the long struggle they have been waging.

The growers, hit hard by overproduction, fierce competition, and generally declining profits, have in recent years wrestled back many of the concessions won by farmworkers in the '60s and early '70s. The growers are viewing this contract as a way of grabbing back even more, while strengthening their control over hiring and firing and working conditions.

The growers have been given tremendous help in this by the leadership of the United Farmworkers Union. Once regarded as the militant leaders of the farmworkers, and often portrayed as great heroes and saviors, Chavez and his associates have in fact bound and disarmed farmworkers in a net of legal procedures, no-strike deals, and with a line of "cooperation" with the growers and alliance with the Democratic Party. For the sake of their own immediate interests, these hacks have shamelessly bargained away gains won literally through blood. They have openly boasted this year that they are ready to give up the union's hiring hall—one of the key demands of the farmworker struggle down through the years—if "the growers don't want it"!

These betrayals have enraged farmworkers and stiffened their resolve to fight further sellouts around the contract. As the rank and file has gradually begun to realize the need to organize against the attacks by both the growers and union leadership, it has spurred the development of the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) in the fields. While pointing out the common ties of farmworkers with the whole working class and all oppressed people against capital, the NUWO sees the contract as a key battle in this period in the fields.

This, along with work done by members of the Revolutionary Communist Party to sum up the lessons of the reformist and traitorous line of the UFW leadership and point the way forward to revolution, has caused a real onslaught of anti-communist frenzy by UFW leaders.

These developments have raised a fury of controversy and debate among farmworkers in key agricultural centers in California over how to sum up the past period of mass struggle, and how and with what outlook to move

forward. These are important question not only for farmworkers, but for the entire working class and the masses of people, millions of whom over the years became direct supporters of farmworkers and still wonder what has become of the farmworkers' movement. As word of betrayal in the fields becomes more widespread, both within and outside the union the bourgeoisie does what it can to spread the "lesson" that all such movements and struggles of the masses are bound to end up bad, to become corrupted and sold out. But the real lesson of the farmworkers movement, and the sellout dead-end Chavez & Co. have led it into, is the bankruptcy of all schemes to reform capitalism and of all reformist illusions, no matter how genuine or hard sought. It is only by breaking with reformism, and casting away all illusions about winning a decent life in a system that survives off the sweat and blood of the masses of people, that farmworkers and all other working people can advance forward to win their freedom.

Reformist Roots of the UFW Leadership

The period of relative prosperity of U.S. imperialism in the '50s and early '60s was a period of increased impoverishment for farmworkers. Under the Bracero program whereby Mexican citizens were contracted to work in the fields (especially California) for specific periods of time, wages remained frozen, working and living conditions outrageously bad, for both Bracero and non-Bracero workers. Though struggles against these conditions erupted time and again, they never reached the breadth and intensity that was to mark the late '60s and early '70s.

The conditions that led to this upsurge were developing in this period. The position of U.S. imperialism, atop the dung heap of imperialist powers, was making it a target of increasing resistance and rebellion worldwide. The plunder of Mexico was forcing impoverished peasants and urban unemployed north in search of work. The expansion and intensification of capitalist agriculture in California and other areas was leading to great concentration and socialization of farmworkers on monopoly agribusiness ranches.

In 1962 when Cesar Chavez and others began working in Delano to organize what was to become the United Farmworkers Union, the period of relative peace was giving way to a new period of mass struggle. The Civil Rights movement in the South had given impetus to an awakening of national struggle among Chicano and Mexican people. The Bracero program was the target of

increased opposition by farmworkers, Chicano people and other progressive forces.

A number of groups were active among farmworkers in this period in addition to the National Farmworkers Association led by Chavez. They included several priests who were sponsored by church organizations. One of them, Father McCullough, had founded a group called the Agricultural Workers Association. In 1959 the AFL-CIO had set up the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) which participated in a number of strikes in that period, including a lettuce strike in the Imperial Valley in 1961. Though there were important differences among these groups (AWOC, for example, had been set up consciously to control any outbreak of struggle and lead it in a direction least harmful to the bourgeoisie), they all shared the view that the goal of farmworkers was to achieve a better life under capitalism.

Chavez was more of a social reformer than a strict "trade unionist." He was not, as is often portrayed, simply an ex-farmworker who wanted to do something for his people, nor did his social reform views arise from his own head. Chavez' outlook had been influenced by a "radical" reformist by the name of Saul Alinsky. Alinsky was formerly an organizer with the Lewis wing of the CIO in the 1930s. In the late 1940s, Alinsky founded the Industrial Areas Foundation which was bankrolled by such big-time capitalists as Chicago's Marshall Field. Alinsky took the reformist illusions of the postwar era and fashioned them into a strategy for social action. Alinsky specifically rejected the theory of class struggle of what he called "orthodox Marxism." According to Alinsky, the contradiction between the working class and the capitalists was not irreconcilable. Capitalism would work well so long as the "haves" as he called them could be pressured and educated to understand that their own interest lay in sharing some of their wealth with the "have nots." In order to bring this about, the "have nots" have to organize.

As a pragmatist, Alinsky rejected the idea that it is possible to know the laws that govern society and thereby act in accordance with them. Instead truth is whatever works, whatever brings about the best immediate results. In this view the masses have no long-range interests of their own. Poor and rich, worker and capitalist, all are motivated by bourgeois self-interest which is "human nature."

By the time Chavez undertook to organize the National Farmworkers Association in

Delano in 1962, he had done nearly 10 years of organizing work in the Community Services Organization (CSO) initiated by associates of Alinsky. The CSO aim was to develop political power in the Chicano community primarily through the ballot. It became known as the NAACP of Chicanos.

In 1958 Chavez was sent to Oxnard, California to organize a CSO project to support a packinghouse workers' union drive in the sheds. There he discovered that the main issue in the Chicano community was over jobs. Local residents were excluded from field work because the growers preferred Bracero workers. Chavez' group organized a struggle to force the growers to hire locals in place of Braceros. As Chavez said later, "The fact that Braceros were farmworkers didn't bother me, it was a question of justice." Since Chavez was organizing local residents, "justice" was fighting for them, even if it was against the Braceros.

The Upsurge Begins

In 1964 Public Law 78—the Bracero Program—was allowed to lapse. Passed in 1951 under the pretext of a wartime shortage of labor, Public Law 78 allowed growers to contract workers from Mexico at a set wage established by the U.S. and Mexican governments. The Bracero Program continued long after the end of the Korean War. In the early '60s changing conditions were making it increasingly difficult to maintain it. The migration of workers from Mexico was rising. Stagnation in the U.S. economy, smoothed over somewhat by the spending for the new war in Vietnam, created more unemployment. The bourgeoisie found it difficult to defend the Bracero program in the face of rising opposition.

With the end of the program in '64 the growers had no intention of allowing an improvement in the conditions in the fields. In

fact, they tried to lower wages even further in order to keep resident workers out of the fields and have an excuse to bring the Bracero Program back. In the spring of '65, Filipino grape workers, long organized in their own association and for several years affiliated with the AWOC of the AFL-CIO, struck in the Coachella, Arvin and Delano areas of California to raise wages from \$1.25 to the \$1.40 an hour guaranteed to Braceros. On the 16th of September shortly after the grape strike had begun in Delano, 1,500 Mexican grape workers came to a meeting called by the National Farmworkers Association where they voted overwhelmingly to join the Filipino workers on strike. Chavez, whose master plan for building the union was to spend years establishing a membership base around co-ops, clinics and collective gas stations, did not want to get involved in the strike because the NFA was "too weak." Chavez and the NFA leaders were propelled reluctantly into the battle by the masses—something that was to recur again in the future.

On the surface the Delano strike was not much different from dozens of other strikes that erupted during the '50s and early '60s. These were mainly walkouts hitting back at particularly sharp abuses. But the Delano strike, coming soon after the ending of the Bracero Program which had kept wages and conditions down, and at a period of general upsurge throughout society, was bound to and did have a far greater impact. The strike aroused and unleashed the anger of the masses of farmworkers held down by the Bracero program and suffering under the dual yoke of exploitation and national oppression. Because it was a blow at that national oppression, it influenced and was influenced by the broader struggle of the Chicano people. The strike aroused farmworkers in other areas who paid close attention to it as it developed. As a clear example of oppression of the "system" and the struggle against it inside the U.S., it became a rallying point for forces rising in opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Ex-SNCC organizers and student activists came to Delano to help in the strike and spread support for it back to the campuses. Chavez, an activist with a vision of social reform, with a base among Mexican workers—by far the majority of workers in the fields—forged into the leadership of the strike, while the AWOC leaders, aside from several Filipino strike leaders, fell into the background. The AFL-CIO, seeing which way the wind was blowing, threw their support behind Chavez, which led to the merging of the NFA and AWOC under Chavez' leadership.

Though there were differences between the UFW leadership and the leadership of the AFL-CIO (mainly because the future careers of Chavez & Co. depended on establishing the union), on fundamental issues there was no disagreement. Chavez did not oppose capital nor did he see any future for farmworkers other than as slaves to capital. But slaves deserve to be treated well, at least better than farmworkers had been. As he said a number of times in this period, "What farm-

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USSR Behind Occupation of Kampuchea

Vietnamese Treachery Reaches New Depths

On Jan. 8, following a 6-day offensive by 100,000 Vietnamese troops ending in the capture of Phnom Penh, a puppet Cambodian group claimed "complete control" of Kampuchea (Cambodia), although, in fact, they only had the cities. The government of Kampuchea headed by Premier Pol Pot has taken to the jungles to wage guerrilla warfare against the invaders.

It was less than four years ago that the peoples of Indochina (including the countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea) kicked out the U.S. after long years of fierce, heroic struggle against the savage onslaught of U.S. imperialism. Today Vietnam's conquest of its neighbor and one-time ally against imperialism nakedly shows the betrayal by the leaders of Vietnam of everything which the peoples of Indochina fought for. It is backstabbing treachery not only of the people of these countries, but also of millions of people the world over who supported the Indochinese peoples' struggle as if it were their own.

Fighting has been going on sporadically between the two countries ever since 1975 over the refusal of Vietnam to recognize previously agreed-upon boundary lines between the two countries (see "Indochina Armed Clashes," *Revolution*, Dec. 1978). In July 1977 Kampuchea decided to respond to any new Vietnamese attack by quick assaults across the border. Vietnam responded in December 1977 with such intensity that full-scale war erupted between the two countries.

Within a few months Vietnamese leaders were openly calling for the overthrow of the Kampuchean government, and on Dec. 3, 1978, the formation of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation (KNUFNS) was announced. This is a patchwork of renegades from Kampuchea and is a creation of Vietnam's. The idea is to create a Kampuchean puppet to mask Vietnam's aggression against its neighbor. But it is all too apparent who is pulling the strings. The KNUFNS parrots Vietnam's favorite phrases word-for-word and carries out the policies of its master, and Vietnamese troops do virtually all the fighting.

The Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia is a shameless exposure of something which has been increasingly clear for some time—that the so-called "Socialist Republic" of Vietnam is not a socialist society and that its rulers are revisionists who have betrayed their heroic people's revolutionary struggle and the country into the grip of Soviet social imperialism.

These traitors now openly attack Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Cultural Revolution. This is very much linked with their attacks on Kampuchea, as shown by a 7/15/78 editorial in the Communist Party of Vietnam's daily paper, *Nhan Dan*: "In the 1960's Pol Pot found his way to Peking to meet with the Chinese leaders at a time when the 'Cultural Revolution' was raging in China. And since 'birds of a feather flock together,' collusion and betrayal began then."

The Vietnamese revisionists spit in the face of the masses of Vietnamese people, declaring recently that "We will win because we have the sympathy and the broad and great international support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries." But it is the people of Vietnam who have brought their country its tremendous victories against imperialism in the past, not Soviet aid, and it is these same people of Vietnam who will eventually throw these parasites off their backs.

Along with their betrayal of Marxism and the Vietnamese revolution, these same traitors have sold out their country to Soviet social imperialism. Vietnam is now a member of COMECON, the economic association which serves the imperialist interests of the USSR, and last November the two countries signed a "treaty of friendship and cooperation" which is actually a military alliance.

China No Friend of Kampuchea

With Vietnam falling into the claws of Soviet social imperialism, China's new revisionist rulers have hastened to the pretended aid of Kampuchea. But it is an aid which is *only* pretended. Over the past year, as things became very serious for Kampuchea, China's main efforts have been to pressure the Kampuchean regime to become more "moderate"—in other words revisionist—just like them. In fact this Chinese program for Kampuchea is very similar to Vietnam's calls and promises of "moderation"—it's just to serve an opposing set of "great nation" interests.

China's line is that Kampuchea's only salvation is not to rely on the Kampuchean people, who defeated the U.S., but only on "acting nice" so as to please and get the support of reactionaries the world over, especially the U.S. government. Further, China's rulers have opportunistically used Vietnam's aggression against Kampuchea to try to increase their own influence with the Southeast Asian countries and to help tie these countries even more tightly into the war bloc led by the U.S. imperialists.

In particular, China has been trying to woo the 5-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the 11-year-old U.S.-dominated grouping of reactionary states in the area. In November, speaking to a group of Thai journalists, Teng Hsiao-ping made the following revealing remark on this subject: "If my expectation is correct Cambodia then will be completely overrun, and it will prove to the world what kind of regime the Vietnamese have. Then will be the time for ASEAN to play an important role in solving the problem." (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 11/24/78.) In other words, the only reason China's rulers support Kampuchea is to use it against Vietnam, and thus against the USSR, and here Teng almost openly welcomes the defeat of Kampuchea—because that will serve as a weapon against Vietnam—and invites these U.S.-dominated reactionaries to come in and "solve" the problem.

It is also very clear that the "solution" the Chinese rulers want is not resolute support for the Kampuchean people, but rather something that could be sponsored by the Western bloc and would involve the return to power of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who is openly hostile to the Pol Pot government and the Communist Party of Kampuchea, and who is now pleading the case of Kampuchea in the U.N., with the backing of China and the U.S.

And the U.S., of course, is playing the role that is to be expected. It is condemning Vietnam's aggression, seeing the chance to thus score a point on its superpower rival.

In addition, the U.S. has been shouting its condemnation of Kampuchea for the past several years. In fact the capitalist media in this country have become hysterical, comparing Democratic Kampuchea with Nazi Germany.

Behind Cambodia's Policies

The Kampuchean government is condemned for evacuating the cities. But it had sound reasons for doing so. The cities were swollen with refugees who fled the countryside to escape U.S. bombing, which was some of the most concentrated anywhere in Indochina. By the time of its liberation in April 1976, five out of every six people in Phnom Penh were refugees from their homes in the countryside. Over half the population of Kampuchea was forced to become refugees. There was no food in the cities for these people.

In the months preceding the liberation of Phnom Penh, more than 8,000 people were starving to death in the imperialist-controlled cities every month, and tens of thousands more were getting almost nothing to eat. These people had to be evacuated to the countryside where the liberated peasants were producing a surplus of rice.

Besides being a city on the verge of starvation, the medical system in Phnom Penh had totally broken down by the time it was liberated. The electricity and water purification plants had been sabotaged by the retreating imperialists. There was a great danger that plagues would break out.

It is the grossest hypocrisy for the U.S. imperialists to raise a hue and cry about a sup-

posedly brutal evacuation of the cities after they themselves had driven millions of peasants into those same cities by terror bombing and had then left them there to starve—after they themselves had deliberately sabotaged the medical system and other vital services.

Besides feeding people, the new revolutionary government in Kampuchea needed to smash the organization of the puppets of imperialism who had been ruling. They needed to break up the covert counter-revolutionary gangs created by the CIA before the U.S. was kicked out. They had to deal with Russian KGB and Vietnamese agents plotting against the infant revolutionary government. Moving many people to the country was a good way of breaking up these organizations. And if any further proof of the necessity of these measures is needed, Vietnam's naked aggression provides it. The Kampuchean government wasn't imagining these threats.

The Kampuchean government is also accused of "brutal massacres," etc. In general it is always necessary for the people making a revolution to execute notorious enemies of the people, and this has certainly happened in Kampuchea. But in addition the imperialists in this case have gone to great pains to fabricate wholesale lies and half-truths based on

stories by ex-landlords, petty capitalists and former officers of the puppet government who have every reason to hate the revolution.

In particular, a set of photographs supposedly showing brutal executions and forced labor, which has been published again and again by the Western press as evidence of Kampuchean atrocities, has been shown to be a fake, consisting of pictures posed in Thailand. It is revealing in another direction that these same photos and stories have been cited by the USSR and Vietnam as "evidence" to justify aggression against Kampuchea. Thus the 7/15/78 issue of the Vietnamese daily *Nhan Dan* published these same photos, and Vietnamese government broadcasts have cited Robert Dole, Ford's 1976 running mate, and *Reader's Digest* author Anthony Paul as authorities on the internal situation in Kampuchea. (Paul's book, *Murder of a Gentle Land*, is based on totally unsubstantiated third-hand stories.)

But Vietnam's second-hand use of U.S.-tested reactionary weapons does not stop here. It is also using captured U.S. weapons in its invasion of Kampuchea, including the barbarous anti-personnel cluster bombs which the U.S. imperialists used against the Vietnamese people. And Vietnam is even shamelessly using the old "hot pur-

suit" and "strike the sanctuaries" arguments which the U.S. used for its invasions of Cambodia. Thus an official Vietnamese publication, *Kampuchea Dossier*, says: "One may surmise that [Vietnam] will not confine herself to a purely defensive attitude, for in all matters there are limits to human patience and the right of pursuit is recognized by international law. In face of an enemy who is as perfidious as he is obdurate, she cannot do otherwise than crush the forces of aggression and destroy their starting bases."

Although the Soviets and the Vietnamese are gloating over the "quick victory" the unequal military contest has achieved, they would have done well to consider the history of the liberation struggle in their own country, as well as Kampuchea, before embarking on such a precipitous course. The Kampuchean people will not tolerate an occupation force acting on behalf of an imperialist power. The Communist Party and government of Kampuchea made plans in advance for waging a protracted people's war against the impending Vietnamese occupation, and already resistance to the Vietnamese army is underway in the countryside. Vietnam and the Soviet Union would do well to remember the previous history of imperialist aggression and resistance in Indochina. ■

Weber Case

Patriotic Punk Used to Hit Minorities

(WPS)—If Brian Weber didn't exist, the capitalist money-bag rulers of America surely would have invented him. Weber, a white chemical analyst at the Kaiser Aluminum plant in Gramercy, Louisiana, is the latest penny ante patriot punk, complete with an American flag on his white hard hat, to come down the pike in the service of reaction. Weber is suing to stop an affirmative action program at Kaiser which sets a minimum quota for Black workers in a company skilled crafts apprenticeship program. He claims this "discriminates" against him.

"It's not desegregation anymore," says Weber, "they've crossed over into taking our jobs." And for this outrageous attack on Black people Weber has been rewarded, plastered all over the TV, magazines and newspapers and billed in a national column as the voice of the many "million nameless, faceless white workers who must ride in the back of the bus for the rest of their lives... this is the price they must pay for our social progress." But Brian Weber's fat mouth is yapping not for the benefit of any worker, but on behalf of the capitalist class.

Take a look at the so-called "social progress" they're talking about. The Kaiser plant in Gramercy, an area which is 40%

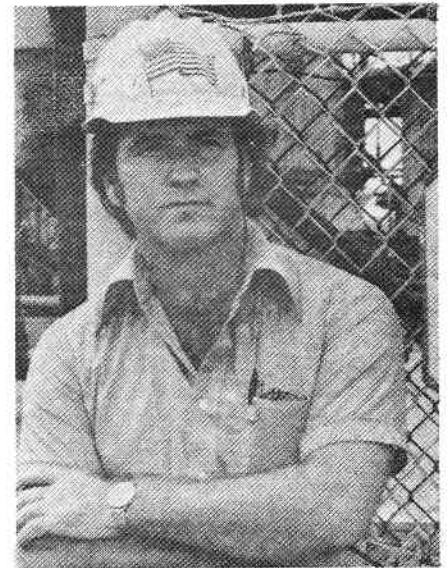
Black, has been infamous for its open discrimination. It's only been a few years since they stopped issuing separate badge numbers for white and Black workers so it would be easier to keep track of the Black workers and make sure they couldn't transfer out of the dirtiest and most dangerous departments they were hired into.

In 1974, when the company's affirmative action program was set up, the plant was only 20% Black and out of 279 skilled craftsmen only six were Black. Through the apprenticeship program seven Black workers are training for these jobs, alongside six white workers.

A Matter of Principle

Weber didn't even want the apprenticeship job he was turned down for. "I was just testing them," he admits. What Weber was fighting for is a *principle*—the reactionary principle that Blacks and other minorities have to be kept in their place—down—to enforce the national oppression which profits the capitalists so handsomely.

So far, two lower federal courts have already agreed with this principle. The Supreme Court, which has already torn the guts out of affirmative action in education



Brian Weber poses at the gate of the Kaiser Plant in Gramercy, La.

with its Bakke Decision, agreed in December to hear the Weber Case. How could they pass up an opportunity to put an end to affirmative action in hiring as well? And, Weber's legal expense, including his lawyer, have been paid for by the U.S. government—courtesy of the Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Weber's suit is based on the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which forbids discrimination in hiring and promotion except to remedy past discrimination, and on the 1974 Consent Decree. The Consent Decree is a legal agreement engineered by the government, the steel companies and the company men that run the United Steelworkers Union which specifically

Cleveland: Default of Capitalism

(WPS)—It was like a made-for-TV special drama. The final hour was approaching, the tension was mounting and reporters darted around. Would Cleveland's Mayor Dennis Kucinich and City Council President George Forbes put aside their differences and would the city pull together to avoid default? The only problem with this soap-opera was that it was just that: a carefully contrived stage show. Beneath all the trappings of concern and political intrigue lay the real issue: how to financially reorganize the city to more effectively serve the interests of the capitalist class of bank and corporation owners. And, most fundamentally, how were the attacks on the working class that such reorganization required going to be put over.

Cleveland has been set on a financial disaster course for several years and whoever was mayor, the die had already been cast. The Federal Reserve Bank had warned the local banks against making unsafe loans and the city's bond rating had been repeatedly lowered during the summer and fall. The \$15.5 million in notes due on December 15th were only the tip of the iceberg. But the deadline served to bring to a head the task of how to make the *people* cough up the price of "rescuing" the city.

City Council President Forbes and Mayor Kucinich each played their part in this phoney drama. Forbes, the voice of

"reason" and "moderation," Kucinich the flashy populist standing up to the robber barons. But for all their bluster and bickering, what stands out most is what they have in common, that each of their "save the city" programs comes at the working class' expense. They both agree: there's got to be a tax increase, cuts in services (including layoffs), all manner of belt-tightening.

Kucinich campaigned for election as the "people's" mayor. Did he turn to the people for his plan to "save the city?" Hell no! He went crawling to the First Boston Bank Corporation and the Salomon Brothers investment house! Kucinich likes to talk about blackmail by the banks. Well, there's truth to that. It's just that Kucinich is an indispensable part of this blackmail strategy. It's Mayor Kucinich who announced that unless the people of Cleveland vote themselves a tax increase, laid-off sanitation workers and firefighters will not be put back on the job.

The Depths of the Crisis

Default. It means failure to pay back a loan or to obtain a renewal of that loan. The media never stops harping about the \$15.5 million debt. But they never say what the debt was for. And it's no wonder. The bulk of the money went for a new police and court building and new police cars—money for police whose murder of our youth is becoming a

pawn in their game like Brian Weber.

A very "learned" university professor who wrote the new book *The Declining Significance of Race* is interviewed over and over again on CBS radio, saying that racial discrimination is a thing of the past. Well, we must be dreaming that Black workers have half the income and twice the unemployment of whites if there's no discrimination. We must be dreaming that minority people get the worst jobs, the worst housing, education, health care and so on. No way, baby, it's for real. It's the American dream—a nightmare of grinding exploitation, national oppression and dog-eat-dog for the vast majority of people in this country.

Behind all their fancy talk about "the troubling concept of quotas" and "discrimination is a thing of the past" is the same old racist garbage that Black people and minorities get the worst because they're "inferior" and that's all they deserve. It's a prop to hide the naked truth, that their capitalist system thrives on inequality. They have to keep on driving minority people down and keep the working class competing in its own ranks for crumbs. That's why the ruling class has created this Weber case and made it a dividing line. ■

common occurrence, and courts that railroad working people off to jail.

The media made a big deal of Kucinich's refusal to sell Muni Light—the city-owned electric company—to Cleveland Electric Illuminating (CEI), the giant privately-owned electric company. Muni Light is a losing proposition, but selling it would hardly make a dent in the city's financial condition. It is neither the cause nor the salvation of the city's financial woes. It is incredible that Kucinich expects people to rally behind this aging utility plant which is nothing more than a conduit for power purchased from CEI. City property has been none too sacred for Kucinich who has made sale of other properties a keystone of his financial program. To suggest that Muni somehow keeps CEI rates down is absurd. You could just as well say that CEI's higher rates permit Muni to raise its own. And Kucinich, who described Muni Light as the soul of the city, has now consented to a vote on its sale—a plan which has been eagerly embraced by his "arch-enemy" George Forbes. The truth is, the Muni issue is a puny issue.

The problems of Cleveland's default go much deeper and are not unique to Cleveland. The major cities of the country—particularly those of the industrial Midwest and Northeast—are in decline and decay. It is the outcome of the unceasing pursuit of profit and the international crisis the capitalist system is caught in. The tax base of the city—its main source of revenues—has shrunk. Industry has fled the city in search of higher profits or shut down on account of their profit crisis. The federal government through various revenue-sharing programs, CETA money, public works programs and so on has stepped in to fill the breach and has basically been the difference between default a few years ago and today. But as the economic crisis deepens, even these band-aids become too much of a strain—and all these programs are being cut as the capitalists marshal tax monies towards only the most profitable undertakings and war expenditures.

What It All Means?

The \$15.5 million default was nothing more than the straw that broke the camel's back. The deepening economic crisis dictates that city government be reorganized, that the financial institutions play a more day-to-day role in running things. Whatever the fine points of a "rescue plan," what lies in store for the people is further hardships. Sanitation workers will be laid off, even where waste collection is insufficient. Firemen will be furloughed when at this moment abandoned houses are torched for profit. 15% of the families in Cleveland earn less than \$2000 a year and meanwhile the "people's" mayor proudly broadcasts his 50% tax rise. Urban decay is a concentration of the chaos and suffering this system produces. Like the crumbling houses and pot-holes in the streets, the whole system must be cleared away—through revolution. Nothing short of the complete destruction of the rule of these capitalists and their lying and demagogic flunkies is going to change things. That will be the real power of the people. ■

exempts the steel companies from all charges of discrimination, past, present and future. In exchange for a handful of slots in apprenticeship programs, the Consent Decree placed real obstacles in the way of the struggle for plantwide seniority which would help minority workers transfer out of departments they've been locked into by deliberate company policy.

The Civil Rights Act, an attempt to derail the anger of Black people against national oppression, never brought more than a few crumbs to minorities. Now even the few advances, which were won after a decade of earth-shaking rebellion in the '60s and early '70s, are to be ripped away in the name of "equality."

Scholarly Trash

At the same time that they spread Weber's blunt racist trash, the ruling class takes care to find other more "polite" and "scholarly" ways to say the same thing. *Newsweek* magazine says that the idea of quotas for minorities goes against the idea that "all men are created equal" and declares that instead of affirmative action people should be "judged on individual merits." What they mean by individual merit is whether or not one can be



HOUSTON: January 13,



**ABOVE—The Moody Park 3:
Top—Tom Hirschl,
Lower—Travis Morales, Mara Youngdahl**



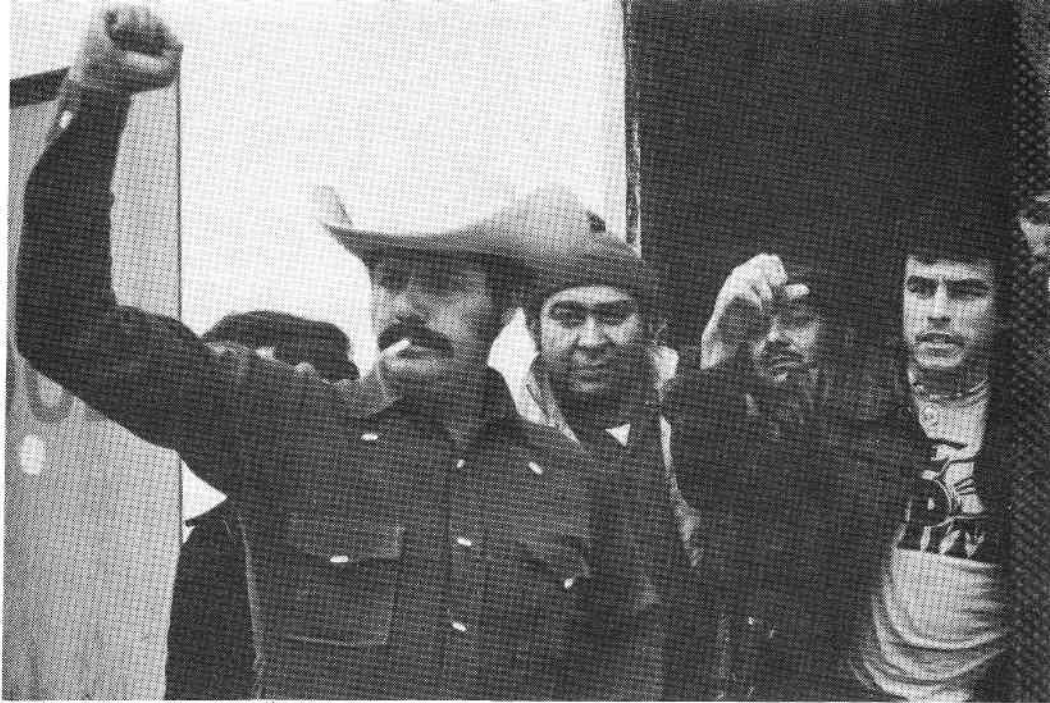
BELOW—The RCYB contingent, Edward Gallegos (center-front)



Saturday, January 13, Houston—As we go to press another major stride has been taken in the struggle to Defend the Houston Rebellion and Free the Moody Park 3. Houston had been the scene of a week-long campaign of arrests, red-baiting bluster and threats by the Houston Police Department. Defying all this, 450 people from around the country carried the spirit of the Houston rebellion from Moody Park right up to the barricaded entrance of the police station, where hundreds of cops, the Mayor and Police Chief were huddled. The demonstration demanded: Free the Moody Park 3! Drop the Charges Against All Arrested! Stop Police Terror—Justice for Joe Torres! Down With National Oppression!

Having traveled for days to reach Houston, workers, youth, students and other fighters gathered in Moody Park. They were joined by people from the largely Chicano Northside community, who widely and enthusiastically welcomed the march and its very revolutionary and militant stand. The marchers assembled in contingents: People United to Fight Police Brutality; Committees to Defend the Houston Rebellion; National United Workers Organization; Iranian Students Association; Revolutionary Com-

1979



Free the Moody Park 3

munist Youth Brigade. The Revolutionary Communist Party, targeted by the Police Chief in a special press conference the day before, carried its banner: Moody Park Rebellion—Seed of the Future—From Rebellion to Mass, Armed Revolution.

In cowardly retaliation after the demonstration, the police once again arrested Travis Morales, one of the Moody Park 3, this time on felony charges for spray painting a slogan. Meanwhile, trotting out their "Chicano leaders" and blaring in their press how "isolated" the demonstration and the Moody Park 3 are from the Northside community, they have kept a conscious lid of silence on their outrageous frameup of a Northside youth. Edward Gallegos, a 17-year-old member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, was charged six months after the rebellion with the attempted murder of a reporter on the scene. His trial begins Monday, January 22, and he faces a life term.

Having been postponed from January 15 after the prosecution made further changes in the charges, the trial of the Moody Park 3 is set for March 12. The next issue of *Revolution* will carry more on this struggle, including the January 13 march and all the trials. ■



Iran in the Throes of Revolution

Shah Goes Down, Decisive Battles Ahead

Iran is in the throes of revolution! In the last year and a half the Iranian people have risen up in their mighty millions, at first with bare fists and now more and more with molotov cocktails and captured guns, to overthrow the reactionary regime of the Shah and break the grip of imperialism, with U.S. imperialism at the head. And today the Iranian people have achieved a great victory—the downfall of the Shah—for decades a key link in the worldwide chain of U.S. puppets.

The fall of the Shah is a testament to the power of the people's revolutionary struggle; still, it is but a first though magnificent step in the Iranian revolution. In fact, new and more decisive battles lie ahead for the masses of the people to complete the first, new-democratic stage of the revolution—the overthrow of the imperialists, landlords, and reactionary bourgeoisie in Iran, and the establishment of the political power of the Iranian masses, led by the proletariat and its communist party.

Though the Iranian ruling class and U.S. imperialism are being battered from all sides, they still control the state machinery, especially the armed forces, which are the main bastion of reactionary rule in Iran today. As the masses' revolutionary struggle presses forward and digs deeper at the roots of imperialism and reaction in Iran, the imperialist rulers of the U.S. and their reactionary allies in Iran will fight bitterly to stomp out the revolution and reassert their

power, using both deception and armed force, until they are finally swept away by force of arms.

People's Struggle Escalates in December

During the month of December, especially in the week before New Year's, dozens of cities and towns went up in flames, with the institutions of the hated regime and U.S. imperialism targeted for destruction. Grumman Aircraft's 4-story building in Isfahan was burned to the ground. U.S. consulates in Tabriz, Shiraz, Mashad and several other cities were attacked and partially destroyed.

The Iranian proletariat, with the class conscious oil workers in the forefront, pressed ahead with their political strikes aimed squarely at the Shah's regime and its U.S. masters. Particularly after the revolutionary execution of Paul Grimm, the Western oil companies' #2 man in Iran (who was the head of a 22-man team in charge of breaking the oil workers' strike) on December 23 in the oil production center of Ahvaz, thousands of U.S. and Western European technicians and managers decided that the Iranian revolution was for real and lined up at the airports for the next flight out.

The people's struggle hit new highs of intensity during the last few days of 1978. Nearly the whole populations of Tabriz and Mashad rose up and took over large sections of the cities for several days. Several hundred

army soldiers in both cities mutinied and deserted, handing their weapons over to the people. And in a clear indication of the growing internationalist solidarity between the revolutionary struggles of the Iranian and Turkish peoples, the Turkish Consulate in Tabriz (which is located close to the border with Turkey in northwest Iran) was completely sacked.

The fighting that took place in Mashad on Dec. 30-31 was even more ferocious. Several thousand people, many of them armed, succeeded in freeing a number of political prisoners from two prisons in Mashad, half a dozen banks were put to the torch, and with sections of the army garrison in open rebellion, the people's forces captured three military commanders and executed them on the spot. After a bold attack on the Mashad headquarters of the hated SAVAK, four SAVAK agents were captured, put before a people's tribunal, and hung for their crimes against the people. In retaliation, the army command launched an all-out attack on the home of a local religious leader, where many deserting soldiers had taken refuge, and massacred several hundred people, actually running them over with tanks. In several days of intense fighting, the death toll in Mashad was estimated at 2,000.

Bakhtiar Government

As of the end of December, the economy was totally shut down; Iran, formerly the world's second largest oil producer, was even beginning to import oil. With no letup in sight, the Shah, under pressure from his imperialist masters in Washington, D.C., appointed Shapour Bakhtiar, a former official of the National Front, Prime Minister, giving him the job of forming a new government and a regency council to pave the way for the Shah's departure, though not his abdication, from the country.

This step represented a new and more desperate attempt by the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary Iranian bourgeoisie to preserve their power by offering up a whole string of reforms and concessions while continuing to violently suppress the people's struggle.

Bakhtiar himself was until recently head of the Iranian People's Party, one of a dozen or so reformist organizations representing the interests of the national bourgeoisie in Iran which make up the National Front. Though Bakhtiar has taken every available opportunity to recount his years as a junior minister in the Mossadegh government in the early '50s and being arrested several times in

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Shah's reign goes up in smoke.



Heat from Iranian Revolution Felt in U.S.

The Battle of Beverly Hills

On January 2, a decisive victory was won by the people in the biggest battle between demonstrators and police witnessed in Los Angeles in many years. A strong contingent of Americans joined the Iranian Students Association as 2500 in all marched through Beverly Hills to the home of the sister of the Shah of Iran and got close, although unfortunately not close enough, to tearing it and its residents apart. When the fight was over flames had approached the mansion, cops with guns drawn were sent scurrying, and no less than 14 sheriff's cars were wasted by the fury of the people. As one worker commented after watching the evening news, "It looked like Iran out there."

The Battle of Beverly Hills

Plans for the demonstration were laid when word came of the arrival of the Shah's mother and sister in L.A. on Friday, December 29. Iranian students poured into town from all over the country and the Revolutionary Communist Party in the L.A. area called for a contingent of Americans to join them.

The atmosphere was tense when, on the second day of the new year, people massed at a park in West Los Angeles. Chants of "Death to the Shah!" and "U.S. Out of Iran!" thundered through the streets.

The march wound up Calle Vista Road past electrified fences and Rolls-Royces. The unity of the demonstrators grew as they approached the estate. Furious with anger and blazing with the memory of comrades and relatives killed by the regime in Iran, a group

of Iranian students smashed through the iron gates. A wave of rocks and bottles sent the cops running for cover. Right in the long winding driveway, a U.S. State Department car was overturned and burned.

Regrouped now, only yards away from the mansion and its occupants, the police fired tear gas and began their counterassault from the top of the hill.

Demonstrators began to move up the ivy covered hill undaunted by the tear gas barrage. Bricks and rocks, anything people could get their hands on, shattered the windows of their target. A number of shots were fired by the cops though no one was hit. Then, an incident yet to be reported by the media in Los Angeles, a bright red banner carried by members and supporters of the RCP was planted on the hillside, proclaiming the interests of the U.S. working class and people: "U.S. Imperialists—Get Your Bloody Hands Off Iran!"

The pigs were backed into a corner when the fire department showed up to douse the flames on top of the hill. An actual fight broke out between the cops and firemen to see who would use the hoses. The cops won, and the demonstrators were forced back down the hill with high-pressure water. Cops from all over southern California, six different agencies in all, began to arrive in the battle zone.

Officers of the hated L.A. County Sheriffs' department raced fifty miles an hour up Calle Vista Road which was filled with people. They were intentionally trying to mow down the demonstrators. A few Ira-

nians were seriously injured. But then the roads were turned into a people's gauntlet. As sheriffs' cars sped up the course, their windows were smashed and their doors and hoods were pounded and dented. At one point a dumpster was rolled out as a pig wheeled around a corner. Massive cheers went up when he smashed into the garbage bin, totaling the front end of his car.

The demonstration moved down the hill, returning to the point where it began. Riot-equipped tactical squad police surrounded the march as the cops announced over the media that "they had hundreds of arson suspects down there," and that as many as possible were going to be arrested. They intended to "show these people that they can't get away with this." But then orders came from higher-ups not to move in on a bust.

Evidently the authorities had had enough for one day, but more importantly, and the likely reason for their sudden change of tactics, were the political considerations.

The Battle of Beverly Hills had brought the whole question of Iran sharply to the American people. Millions watched the police right here in the U.S.A. fighting to protect the lives and property of the reactionary regime in Iran. In the midst of efforts to conceal the role of the U.S. imperialists as the culprits behind the scene in Iran, the last thing our rulers needed was the issue being brought up even more sharply by the bigger fight they knew they'd have on their hands by attempting a mass arrest. Besides, they thought, they could single out those they most wanted to bust later on.

Bourgeoisie Hurting, Threatens Deportations

Around the country, and in particular in southern California, the Beverly Hills demonstration invoked the venom of all shades of reactionary snakes. The demonstration had hit them where it hurt. For days following the battle, headlines in the L.A. papers screamed about these "foreign students who rioted in our city." Enraged politicians outdid each other condemning "mob violence." Most of all they have tried to whip up national chauvinism by saying that "these Iranian students have gone too far, taking advantage of their guest privileges here in the U.S.A."

Along with such reactionary rantings, the bourgeoisie started issuing threats to deport foreign students who engage in "violent protests." Only days after the demonstration, President Carter was on the hot line with the Justice and Immigration Departments ordering a "federal crackdown" on Iranian students and calling for immediate deportations. "We're not going to put up with this kind of conduct by visitors to this country," huffed Attorney General Bell. "All participants in such violence will be deported to the extent that the law permits or requires."

The shrillness of these attacks pointed to the fact that the demonstration was not only a powerful blow against the Shah, but a sharp exposure of the U.S. bourgeoisie's support for this fascist butcher and of U.S. im-

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Iran

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the following years, he has done quite well for himself under the Shah's regime as a lawyer and chief of the Bakhtiari tribe. Bakhtiar represents a stratum of the Iranian bourgeoisie and landlord class that has been pushed aside for years by the clique of comprador agents of U.S. imperialism centered around the Shah. With the development of the people's movement in the last year, they have tried to paint themselves as respectable "opposition" figures and to moderate the struggle and maneuver into a position of capitulating on the most advantageous terms to the imperialists and their long-standing internal allies.

Bakhtiar's government is a collection of political unknowns and bourgeois elements not popularly associated with the Shah's regime, selected to give the impression of "cleaning house" while in fact fronting for the forces of reaction, sugarcoating the very real bullets being fired by the armed forces. For example, the new Minister of Finance is Rostam Pirasteh, a former Chase Manhattan vice president. And in the key post of Minister of War, Bakhtiar chose a former Deputy Chief of Staff, Gen. Jaafar Shafaquat, with the Shah retaining his power as overall commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Within days of these appointments, employees in scores of government buildings refused to recognize the authority of the new ministers.

In the first two weeks of January, Bakhtiar produced a long list of democratic-sounding "reforms" in a desperate attempt to defuse the revolutionary struggle. These included: gradually eliminating martial law and press censorship; scheduling elections; putting corrupt officials on trial and "disbanding" (in reality, reorganizing) SAVAK; releasing all political prisoners; and pursuing a more "independent foreign policy" that would include cutting off oil exports to Israel and South Africa, "supporting" the Palestinian people, and reviewing the contracts signed by the Shah's regime for massive amounts of U.S. military equipment.

However, the actual content of Bakhtiar's program has been amply demonstrated by his orders to suppress street demonstrations and, in a rare moment of honesty, by his promise that "After the return of calm, I will do my best to bring back foreigners who are indispensable and to pick out those who are useful."

Furthermore, the Iranian people have accumulated valuable experience in their struggle against the succession of civilian and military governments installed by the Shah and his U.S. masters over the past year. They know that the "reforms" promised by these bourgeois windbags are mainly hot air and that any actual concessions have been taken back as quickly as they were "granted" because the question of power—of what class holds state power—has not been decisively changed. And this is exactly the key question that the Iranian people's revolutionary strug-

gle is centering around today.

The Iranian people have given their answer to this new reactionary government in the widespread slogan: "Death to Bakhtiar—henchman of the American imperialists!" The masses are taking matters into their own hands, freeing political prisoners themselves and "disbanding" SAVAK in many cities in a revolutionary manner—by storming police headquarters, seizing the hated officials and administering revolutionary justice in the streets. In cities such as Shiraz, Tabriz, and sections of Tehran, the people's struggle has intensified since the Bakhtiar government took power.

All over Iran, people are arming themselves with captured guns and other weapons and are beginning to inflict substantial casualties on the Imperial Army and the police forces. A large and growing section of the Iranian masses is ready to settle accounts with the reactionary dogs who have ridden on their backs for years, and they are in no mood to compromise and stop short of the total destruction of the Shah's reactionary regime and driving the U.S. and other imperialist powers out of Iran.

The Marxist-Leninist forces in Iran have united firmly with these sentiments among the people to push the revolution forward. They are openly organizing the masses for armed struggle to overthrow the rule of the imperialists and the Iranian ruling class, and demanding a democratic republic—the rule of the popular classes, first and foremost the working class in close alliance with the masses of peasants. And as just one indication of the growing strength of genuine communists in the people's struggle, the devastating attack on the Shiraz headquarters of SAVAK in the second week of January (which was bitterly attacked by Bakhtiar himself) was organized and led by Marxist-Leninists.

National Front

However, as the question of what kind of government will replace the Shah has come to the fore in recent weeks (and few give the Bakhtiar government much chance of survival), the chief representatives of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois class forces within the people's movement have taken vacillating stands and even positions which, to one extent or another, are placing them in opposition to the forward march of the Iranian revolution and the completion of its revolutionary democratic, anti-imperialist tasks.

The National Front, led by Karim Sanjabi, has played a reformist conciliatory role, typical of the national bourgeoisie, throughout the last year and a half of revolutionary struggle. No more than six months ago, the National Front leaders were calling for a constitutional monarchy and were begging for a chance to enter a civilian government headed by the Shah. But the masses' militancy has shoved these forces along, making it increasingly difficult for them to strike up a deal with the U.S. and the comprador bourgeois clique centered around the Shah, since they would inevitably become the

target of the people's struggle themselves if they did so.

Today, their program calls for the Shah's abdication, and this appears to be one of the main, if not the main, differences between them and Bakhtiar (who was just recently expelled from the National Front for agreeing to form a government under the Shah). In fact, the National Front program contains similarly vague promises of democratic freedoms for the people and development of a more independent foreign policy, while pointedly evading the question of breaking the grip of U.S. imperialism and its reactionary allies—the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlords—on Iran.

And in recent months, especially after Bakhtiar was trotted out as Prime Minister, the National Front leaders have consciously worked from within the people's movement to keep it from "going too far." Their line has been to oppose meeting the army's reactionary violence with revolutionary violence; instead they have insisted that the people restrict the struggle to demonstrations and strikes to serve as a mass pressure tactic to bring themselves to power. Sanjabi, for months built up as the chief spokesman of the "respectable" bourgeois opposition to the Shah, is now openly offering to head up a new government once the Shah leaves the country and the Bakhtiar government goes down.

In the southern oilfields, the treacherous role played by the National Front leaders was demonstrated by their efforts, spearheaded by a prominent National Front leader, Mehdi Bazargan, to get the oil workers to go back to work to meet Iran's domestic needs for refined petroleum products. From all indications, the oil workers imposed a number of their own conditions for doing so, including the lifting of martial law in the oilfields, freeing all arrested strikers, and guaranteeing no export of the oil or use of it by the military. However, pushing for actions such as this—at a time when U.S. front men such as Bakhtiar are trying to cool out and take the initiative away from the people's movement—can only give the reactionary forces time to regroup and prepare to launch even more vicious counterattacks.

Khomeini

Over the last year, the radical Moslem leadership, which has a large following among the Iranian urban petty bourgeoisie—with the exiled Ayatollah Khomeini serving as its chief spokesman—has played an overall progressive role. They have generally stood behind the masses' revolutionary actions and have particularly been uncompromising in their demand for the destruction of the Pahlavi dynasty. Khomeini has also stated recently that he is in favor of some anti-imperialist measures such as closing down all U.S. military bases in Iran.

However, Khomeini and the forces grouped around him have shown strong tendencies towards vacillation, and they are fundamentally unable to provide the revolutionary leadership needed to advance the people's struggle to victory, even in the na-

tional democratic stage of the revolution in Iran today. This is apparent in their political program as well as in their tactical maneuvers in recent weeks as the question of who will take power when the Shah leaves the country has come to the fore.

The opposition of Khomeini and his advisers to U.S. domination of Iran is not based on a thoroughgoing analysis of breaking off Iran's dependence on imperialism and charting a self-reliant path of development, but instead is rooted in a pragmatic view of opposition to the U.S. because it has supported the Shah's regime and now the Bakhtiar government. With the proper change in attitude on the part of the U.S. government, Khomeini and his advisers have made it clear that a new, non-antagonistic relationship could be worked out with the U.S. and other Western powers.

Just as important, Khomeini's program for dealing with the domestic forces of reaction in Iran (beyond the downfall of the Shah) has been left purposely vague up to now. Khomeini has had nothing to say about expropriating the reactionary bourgeoisie tied to the imperialists or about attacking the power of the landlord class in the countryside and distributing their land to the peasantry. And as people have increasingly armed themselves to strike back at the army—the bedrock of reactionary rule in Iran today—Khomeini has continued to promote giving flowers to the soldiers. He has refused to target the army as a whole as an enemy of the Iranian people. In recent months, Khomeini (and his advisers even more so) have repeatedly disassociated their tactics and political program from those of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces and have at times come into sharp conflict with them.

Instead, the forces around Khomeini have increasingly aligned themselves with the bourgeois forces in the National Front, collaborating with them in attempting to restore domestic oil production. In addition, the Khomeini forces are now openly saying that revolutionary executions of SAVAK agents and so forth can only harm the people's struggle by provoking a military coup.

And now, as the Shah is about to leave the country, the Khomeini forces are making a bid for power. Khomeini himself is preparing to return to Iran soon after the Shah leaves, and he has already selected a nine-man "revolutionary council" that he is setting up as a provisional government to replace the shaky Bakhtiar government. This so-called "revolutionary council" is apparently not very revolutionary at all, composed of people to the right of Khomeini politically, including at least one representative of the National Front and Khomeini's official spokesman, Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi, a rabid anti-communist dating back to his days in the backward Moslem section of the Iranian students in the U.S. several years ago.

The actual programmatic content of the Khomeini forces' "Islamic Republic" should become clear in the weeks to come as they make a bid for power. While there may be some aspects of Khomeini's program that can be united with, it must be emphasized at this

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ISA Nat'l Convention

Iranian Students Rally as Shah Falls

(WPS)—On December 24 the Iranian Students Association of the United States (ISA) held its 26th convention as flames of revolution burn in Iran. 2700 Iranians met in Oakland, Ca. and enthusiastically and militantly declared their intention to continue and intensify their work in the U.S. to support their comrades fighting in Iran.

On December 28, the convention took to the streets for a massive showing of solidarity with the revolutionary struggle in Iran. 3000 Iranians were joined by 1000 Americans marching through the streets of downtown San Francisco. Chants of "Death to the Shah!" and "U.S. Imperialism Get Your Bloody Hands Off Iran!" echoed through the caverns of Wall Street West. When the demonstration reached the building that housed the Iranian consulate it was met by hundreds of very nervous members of the tactical squad.

The demonstrators left the Iranian consulate and then headed—at a full run—for the federal building where thousands denounced U.S. imperialism. A delegation of Americans went to the offices of the State Department to demand an end to U.S. support for the Shah. At first they were refused entrance, but as four thousand demonstrators loudly and angrily demanded their admittance the representatives of the U.S. ruling class were forced to yield and allow the delegation to file its protest.

Solidarity Night

The evening following the demonstration a "Solidarity Night" was held for Americans to support the struggle in Iran and learn more about the recent upsurge. At the meeting a national leader of the ISA gave an important and informative speech. In it the speaker denounced the U.S. imperialists which presently dominate Iran. At the same time he

pointed out that "since our revolution is aimed not only at overthrowing the Shah's regime but also at achieving genuine independence from all imperialists it also threatens the Soviet expansionist future aims..."

The ISA speech also had some bitter words for the present leadership in China that has stabbed the Iranian people in the back: "Our people will never forget that at a time when they were being gunned down by the thousands, the head of the Chinese Communist Party and government arrived in Tehran to wish the Shah good health... Our people will not heed Hua Kuo-feng's call for unity with the Shah. We will instead listen to Mao Tsetung and wage revolution."

He described the heroic revolutionary activities of the people and summed up that "truly Iran today is a festival of the masses." His speech also pointed out that the Iranian people had come to learn that only through picking up the gun and waging armed struggle will they be able to win their liberation.

On December 29, Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, addressed the ISA convention. He expressed the full support of the Party for the Iranian revolution and spoke of the great inspiration the struggle in Iran gives revolutionaries in this country and around the world, and the lessons that the RCP has learned from this mighty upsurge. In his speech, Comrade Avakian gave the RCP's full support for the efforts of Iranian communists to forge a genuine communist party to lead the revolution to victory.

The convention ended the following day, December 30, as the Shah's regime teetered on the brink of collapse. The thousands of delegates returned to cities throughout the U.S. determined to step up their activities and fight together with their brothers and sisters in Iran for total liberation of their country. ■



Dec. 28—In San Francisco 4,000 hit Shah, U.S. imperialism.

Beverly Hills

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perialism's reactionary role in Iran.

All the reactionary junk being stirred up about "ungrateful guests in our country" is just another hypocritical cover-up of the real question—what is the U.S. doing in Iran? And for all those in this country who are oppressed by and want to fight U.S. imperialism, the presence of militant Iranian students in this country is a fine and welcome thing indeed, for they have done much to advance the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The ruling class is clearly attempting to whip up hysteria against revolutionary Iranian students in the U.S. only because they have consistently opposed every new reactionary move the American imperialists have made to protect their interests in Iran, and have tirelessly sought to teach the American people about the true situation in Iran and the people's struggle there.

Now that the Iranian revolution has brought down the U.S. puppet Shah and is setting its sights on sweeping every last vestige of imperialism and reactionary rule out of Iran for good, the U.S. rulers are all the more outraged at the stiff opposition they are meeting from these Iranian students, as well as from growing numbers of Americans. The presence and growing influence among Americans of these students is a very troublesome problem for our rulers, a road block in the path of further reactionary moves they are plotting to keep their grip on Iran.

The militant and extremely political character of the Beverly Hills demonstration had a very positive effect in raising the political consciousness of the American people about Iran. A great deal of debate and controversy in all quarters raged during the following weeks covering a wide spectrum of questions, ranging from the U.S. role in Iran and the nature of the struggle there to the general question of revolution and the use of revolutionary violence against the capitalist state.

In the face of millions of words of reactionary print spewed out by the bourgeoisie, Party members and supporters, especially in the L.A. area where controversy was very hot, made good use of the *Worker* and the article in it defending the demonstration. They noted that many workers who previously had shown little interest in Iran one way or the other were now actively soliciting the opinion of people they knew to be communists and were asking for copies of the *Worker* to read the Party's views of the demonstration.

The Battle of Beverly Hills turned up the heat of the Iranian revolution right inside the belly of U.S. imperialism. In the coming months it is the responsibility of communists and all revolutionary forces to step up support for the Iranian revolution and, building off this victory, land ever more powerful blows against the imperialist rulers of the U.S., the common enemy of the American and Iranian people. ■



Iran

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At this juncture that his program not only does not call for completing the national democratic revolution in Iran, but that the rightist line of cooling out the people's revolutionary struggle in hopes of forming a government is extremely dangerous. For whether or not the "revolutionary council" comes to power, this line can only foster illusions about the imperialists and their blood-stained reactionary allies peacefully relinquishing their all-around grip on the country, and give them time to regroup and prepare for their inevitable counter-attack against the revolution.

As is the case in the midst of any revolutionary process, political power will eventually be consolidated by one class or another. In a country like Iran this can only mean the masses of people led by the working class will be able to seize power, or the imperialists and the domestic forces of reaction will be able to weather even the fiercest revolutionary storm and be able to crush the revolution and reimpose reactionary "order."

With the question of state power brought right to the forefront by the fall of the Shah, the importance of forming a genuine Marxist-Leninist party becomes all the more critical. For only a proletarian party can guide the popular masses through the coming twists and turns of struggle to revolutionary victory. Without such a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party, the Iranian working class will be unable to build and exercise leadership over a revolutionary united front, uniting all who can be united, that will be able to completely break the power of imperialism, feudalism and the reactionary bourgeoisie in Iran, and from there move on to the socialist revolution. And though today the genuine communist forces in Iran are not yet playing

the leading role in the struggle, their influence is growing rapidly, and the conditions overall are extremely favorable for making significant advances, both organizationally and in further extending open communist influence among the masses of people.

Of course, the key question is not simply forming an organization that can call itself a "party," nor even simply uniting the broadest number of forces espousing Marxism-Leninism. The crucial question, as always, is ideological and political line, uniting the genuine Marxist-Leninists in Iran around a correct line, with regard to both the immediate situation as well as the longer-term goals of the struggle and its relation to the worldwide revolutionary movement.

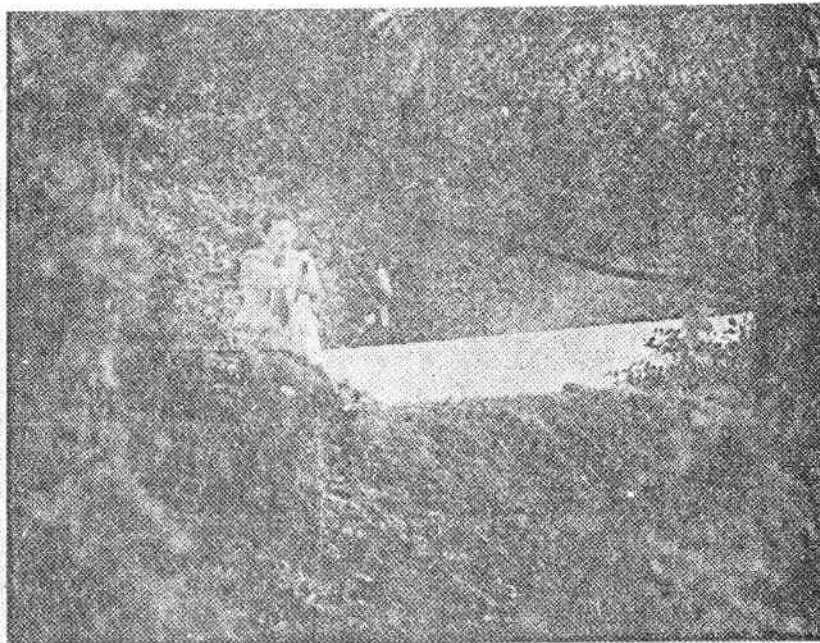
Such questions are not less important at this decisive hour but in fact more so. Establishing clear lines of demarcation and the firmest basis of principled unity around ideological and political line as the basis for uniting genuine Marxist-Leninists and founding the Party will both strengthen its ability to play its vanguard role, to act as the advanced detachment of the proletariat, and will also strengthen the ability of that Party to unite broadly with all possible allies and to carry the anti-imperialist national democratic struggle, through its inevitably complex course, to victory, and advance to the struggle for socialism.

U.S. Girds For All-Out Fight

In the face of the revolutionary storm raging in Iran, the U.S. imperialists have had to make some major adjustments, including acquiescing in the downfall of their puppet for more than 25 years and finding it necessary to bring out a second string of comprador agents. While the U.S. imperialists undoubtedly have more deceptive tactics to run



March of 2,500 heads towards mansion of Shah's sister in Beverly Hills.



Security pig levels gun at demonstrators who have stormed through gate.

out (particularly after the Shah leaves the country) and are desperately throwing out bait to vacillating elements in the people's movement, still they recognize that their domination of Iran rests fundamentally on the armed suppression of the masses. In fact, Robert Huyser, a U.S. four-star general and Deputy Commander of U.S. forces in Europe, recently flew to Tehran to check up on the state of the Iranian army and hold talks with Iranian generals over tactics and strategy to defeat the revolution. While the U.S. imperialists still bank heavily on the army to protect their "vital interests" in Iran, they are stepping up their plans for military intervention if the Iranian armed forces can no longer do the job.

This is based on the fundamental fact that the U.S. and the imperialist bloc it leads absolutely cannot afford to lose hegemony over Iran and the oil-rich Persian Gulf region. And this is all the more true as the deadly contention between the imperialist blocs headed up by the U.S. and USSR heats up and moves step by step closer towards world war. When it comes to running a war machine, the question of oil—getting it for yourself and keeping it from your rival—is of key importance in the world today.

The U.S. imperialists have made a number of significant military moves in recent weeks, aimed not only at the Iranian people's revolution but at the Soviet social-imperialists as well. On December 30, the giant aircraft carrier *USS Constellation*, accompanied by a cruiser, two destroyers and a frigate, was ordered out of Subic Bay in the Philippines and to head south toward the approaches of the Indian Ocean, with the originally announced destination of Iran. Only a few days later, a dozen sophisticated F-15 jet fighters, with their support crew of

300 American military personnel, were flown to Saudi Arabia to calm the nerves of the reactionary Saudi regime, and four more U.S. destroyers were sent into the Indian Ocean, nearly doubling the number of U.S. warships now stationed there within striking distance of Iran.

As the flames of the Iranian revolution draw nearer and threaten to set U.S. imperialism's ass totally on fire, the bourgeoisie is paying more attention than ever to building up public opinion for its latest political maneuvers within Iran, as well as to prepare the way for the growing possibility of direct U.S. military intervention. While hammering away at the themes of "protecting our oil" and "defending our national interests in Iran and the Persian Gulf from the Soviet Union," the bourgeoisie has thrown a couple of new wrinkles into its line recently.

First, in the wake of the 14.5% OPEC oil price hike, government officials made a point of blaming the revolutionary struggle and oil workers in Iran for raising the pump price of gas in the U.S. and also issuing dire warnings of the possibility of mandatory gas rationing in the U.S. within several months if Iranian oil exports remained cut off. Second, the bourgeoisie has begun to talk all but explicitly about a "domino theory" for the Middle East—pointing in numerous articles and commentaries to the inroads the Soviets have recently made in Afghanistan, South Yemen, and Ethiopia, and to the "unstable" political situation in neighboring Turkey, as well as to the revolution in Iran.

In response, we must unite firmly with the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people and the peoples of this whole area in opposing domination by any imperialist slavemasters, including the New Czars of the USSR, but we must give special attention to

supporting any struggle aimed at our own imperialist bourgeoisie. As for the revolutionary turmoil in Iran spreading to any of the other neo-colonies of U.S. imperialism in this strategic region of the world, our stand should be, "Let the dominos fall!"

Revolution Develops in Great Leaps

Just one year ago on New Year's Eve, President Carter, dining at the royal palace in Tehran, proposed a toast to the Shah: "Iran, because of the great leadership of the Shah, is an island of stability in one of the more troubled parts of the world. This is a great tribute to you, your Majesty, and to the respect, admiration and love which your people give you." Though Mr. Human Rights and the whole U.S. imperialist ruling class were clearly trying to whitewash the Shah's many crimes, they were also engaging in wishful thinking and typical bourgeois blindness. Never in their wildest dreams would they have believed that this "all-powerful" ruler, the "Shadow of God" as he calls himself, could have been driven out of Iran just one year later.

This is proof that oppression breeds resistance and that revolution develops in great qualitative leaps. Just as a volcano on the surface looks quiet, underneath all the elements for a powerful eruption are building up. And the volcano of revolution erupting in Iran today is bound to break out in every country where oppression reigns, including right here in the U.S.A. ■

Normalization

(Continued from page 6)

ed on the local people to learn from Yugoslavia's agriculture.

Another potential source of foreign exchange that is being highly touted these days is cotton textiles. Again, there are already indications that decisions on the allocation of acreage for growing certain crops are being made not on the basis of the overall needs of the economy and the people, but to grow cotton for textile export.

Exploitation

In addition to the effects of such distortions of the economy on the masses, there is also the direct exploitation they will suffer at the hands of their own bourgeoisie and the foreign capitalists who are being invited to set up shop in China. At this point this includes various types of "joint ventures" although direct investment by foreign capitalists cannot be ruled out. Recently a group of Hong Kong capitalists contracted with China for the construction materials and raw materials for a number of factories, and whatever machinery and technical know-how is necessary. Although the government will supply and pay the workers, the Hong Kong entrepreneurs can specify the number, age, sex and skills of the workers as well as choose the location of the plants.

And what is the effect of the import of large amounts of sophisticated foreign technology? Good-bye not only to the principle of self-reliance but also the development of the economy on the basis of independence. Such technology can only increase dependency on the supplying countries for parts and repairs.

Furthermore, such sophisticated technology is not being developed out of the base of the Chinese economy, but is being imposed on it. This technology cannot be introduced widely throughout the country and it will, of necessity, require reliance on experts and specially trained technicians for operation. This will accelerate the creation of a new privileged class, the social base for the top revisionists, and rob the masses of initiative in developing the economy, just as the new regime seeks to rob them of any political initiative.

Finally, in addition to economic distortion and dependency, the comprador bourgeoisie in China will inevitably drive the economy into stagnation. Not surprisingly, with all the talk of "modernization" and the touting of the great potentials of mortgaging China's resources and future to the imperialists, there is no talk of the fact that these schemes are dragging China into the shaky network of international credit and the fluctuations of the increasingly crisis-ridden international capitalist economy. What will happen when there is a relative glut in oil on the international market because of a contraction of the economies of the industrialized capitalist states, or for other reasons?

This "modernization" of China's revisionist rulers is a charade. China's economy was developing just fine before they began their wrecking. But it wasn't fine for them. Like any comprador bourgeoisie their dreams were not of the overall development of the country and the revolutionary struggle to liberate mankind—they were for feathering their own nests, feeling big and powerful by lording it over the masses while sniveling and scraping at the feet of foreign imperialists.

Strategic Interests of Imperialism

The economic dependency on imperialism that Teng & Co. are engineering is only part of the overall political and military capitulation. And it would be wrong to think that the U.S. imperialists are licking their chops with such anticipation merely or mainly because of an economic bonanza they expect to score from entry into China. For the overriding value they expect to reap is from China's political capitulation to and enlistment in the U.S. war bloc.

In many ways China's deal with Coke to set up distribution and bottling in China has to be seen as more of a political statement than an economic move—unless you want to believe, with the CPML (see *The Call*, Jan. 8, 1979), that the backward nature of the Chinese soda pop industry posed a big problem for China that can be resolved by the unquestioned superiority of Coca Cola. Coke comes right behind the American flag and the dollar bill as a symbol of U.S. imperialist domination throughout the world. The Teng-Hua capitulationists could hardly find a more telling gesture of where they stand.

The substance of Chinese capitulation to the U.S. imperialists, however, is much more despicable and disgusting than flashing Coca Cola signs in Peking. China has, for all intents and purposes, become the newest member of NATO. China's "military experts" are perusing the catalogues of Western arms manufacturers with undisguised delight, laying plans to outfit China's army with millions of dollars worth of imported military equipment—everything from fighter planes to military uniforms.

For a quarter century the U.S. imperialists have dug their claws ever deeper into the flesh of the Iranian people, supplying their puppet the Shah with all his weapons of oppression and terror. As the anger of the Iranian people exploded into a fury of resistance and revolutionary struggle, ripping the Shah and his U.S.-built regime to shreds, Hua Kuo-feng tripped to Tehran to toast his great accomplishments. And as the U.S. imperialists gear up for armed intervention if necessary to salvage their stake in Iran, *Peking Review* reported on December 22 that "it is of strategic significance for the United States and the West as a whole to maintain friendly relations with a strong and independent (!) Iran, a major oil producer in the Persian Gulf area." The U.S. State Department couldn't have put it better.

By "independent" the Chinese revisionists mean independent from the Soviet Union. Opposition to the social-imperialists is the basis on which these traitors try to justify their capitulation to U.S. imperialism and

slandrously claim that they are following Mao's policies. But Mao never argued that China should—or could—fight the Soviets, or the U.S. imperialists, on their own terms. In fact, on the question of relying on advanced military technology imported from the imperialists, Mao made just the opposite point: "We will adopt advanced technology, but this cannot gainsay the necessity and the inevitability of backward technology for a period of time. Since history began, revolutionary wars have always been won by those whose weapons were deficient, lost by those with the advantage in weapons. . . . If one cannot fight unless one has the most modern weapons, that is the same as disarming oneself." (*A Critique of Soviet Economics*)

While Mao advocated diplomatic relations with the West and using these against the Soviets, he never meant this should be done at the price of selling out and surrendering to U.S. imperialism. Yet supporting the interests of U.S. imperialism and bucking up the so-called "appeasers" in the U.S. ruling class is now defined by these renegades as "proletarian internationalism."

War—Not "Peace and Stability"

After all, as the CPML parrots the Chinese revisionists' line, "it represents a roadblock to the steamrolling military machine of the Soviet Union, which is the most aggressive superpower and the main source of a new world war. . . . All this in turn means a delay in the war preparations of the superpowers and more time for the people of the world to get prepared." Prepared for what? More treachery? More capitulation to U.S. imperialism? More time for the Chinese and their supporters in the industrialized countries of the West to try to convince the proletariat that they should unite with their own bourgeoisie to oppose the "main danger" coming from the Soviet imperialists?

To claim, as the Chinese revisionists do, that their capitulation to U.S. imperialism will advance "peace and stability" in the world is the rankest kind of chicanery.

The laws of capitalism and imperialist contention between the U.S. and the USSR are leading straight in the direction of an inter-imperialist war. As part of this movement, the two superpowers are tightening up the groups of countries linked with them into full-fledged war blocs. The U.S. imperialists are only too happy to add China to their rolls. And whether the New Mandarins stay tied to the U.S. bloc or see a better deal for themselves by trying to flip over and sell out to Soviet social imperialism, their capitulationism—the inevitable result of their revisionist line and headlong rush to restore capitalism—only shows that China has become a reactionary force in the world and that its rulers can only pursue reactionary interests in the preparation for and carrying out of a world war. ■

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Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions

Conclusion: Mao Tsetung, The Greatest Revolutionary of Our Time

Introduction

This series of articles* has examined Mao Tsetung's contributions in a number of specific fields, including his greatest contribution—the application of materialist dialectics to socialist society and the development on that basis of the understanding that classes and class struggle exist all during the period of socialism and the theory of continuing the

*See *Revolution* April/May, June, July, August, November and December 1978.

revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout this long transition period, in unity with the international working class and the oppressed people in every country, until the final victory of communism world-wide. It has been shown how Mao enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism in this most important area, as well as in other spheres, in dialectical unity with leading the revolutionary struggle of hundreds of millions in China to unprecedented heights, and provided in this way inspiration

and illumination to revolutionary people in the millions on every part of the globe.

From this it can be seen that Mao Tsetung's contributions are indeed immortal. In concluding this series, however, it is important and necessary to look at Mao's role as a revolutionary leader in a concentrated and at the same time sweeping way, in order to more thoroughly comprehend why and how it is that he was the greatest revolutionary of our time—and in fact since the time of Lenin.

Mao: A Great Helmsman in Uncharted Waters

That Mao led the struggle in China which finally resulted in the founding of the People's Republic and that this radically altered China and the whole world are facts which are widely known and which few would (dare) deny. It is also a fact that throughout the course of that protracted struggle, through its different stages and many twists and turns, Mao had to wage a fierce battle against opportunists within the Chinese Communist Party who, from the right and the "left," opposed and attacked the correct line of advance which he led in forging. But beyond that, and as a decisive part of forging the correct line and providing that leadership, Mao also had to challenge and break with the force of convention within the international communist movement. Specifically, he had to fight against the mechanical approach which insisted that the revolution in China must proceed in exactly the same way as that in Russia—that the bourgeoisie must be treated as an enemy rather than as a possible ally, that the cities must be seized first, not the countryside, etc. Had Mao not done so, and instead gone along with those who demanded that the Chinese revolution be a clone of the Soviet revolution, and who invoked the Soviet experience and the Soviet Union itself as a holy icon and treated their association with it as capital, then it can be safely said that there would have been no Chinese revolution and no People's Republic of China.

It can be further said that it is even a law of revolution, and especially of proletarian revolution, that in order for it to succeed in any particular country, the struggle in that country and those leading it will have to

depart from and even oppose certain particular conceptions or previous practices which have come to be invested with the stature of "established norms" in the revolutionary movement. This is an expression of materialist dialectics, because every revolution arises out of the concrete conditions (contradictions) in the country (and the world) at the time it is occurring, and every new revolution inevitably involves new questions, new contradictions to be resolved. It is the basic principles and the method of Marxism-Leninism that must be applied as a universal guide for revolution—but these, too, are constantly being developed and enriched, just because scientific knowledge is constantly being deepened, including the Marxist-Leninist comprehension of reality in the fullest sense, and because reality is constantly undergoing change, which requires and calls forth the continuous deepening of this knowledge.

Stalin spoke to this question, specifically in reference to the Russian revolution and Lenin's leadership of it. He pointed out that prior to the experience of the Russian revolution, Marxists generally held the view that a parliamentary democratic republic would be the form in which the working class would rule—a view strengthened by Engels' statements to that effect. Further, Stalin noted, Engels and Marx had concluded that socialism could not be built in one country—and this too was the accepted rule and had acquired the force of dogma among many Marxists. What would have happened, Stalin asks, if Lenin had been bound by the letter of Marxism at that time rather than basing himself on the spirit, applying the method, of Marxism? The Soviets would not have been developed as the form through which the working class actually exercised its

rule in that country—in fact there would have been no Soviet Union and no socialism built in that country. It goes without saying what a loss that would have been to the international proletariat. (For Stalin's discussion of this see "Conclusion," *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [HCPSU]*, especially pp. 356-59.)

And so it was in China. Mao consistently argued that the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism must be applied and that the basic lessons of the October Revolution in Russia must be upheld—especially the need for the seizure of power through the armed struggle of the masses and for the leadership of the revolutionary party of the proletariat—but that these had to find different application in China's concrete conditions than they had in Russia. It was on this basis that, as a part of leading the struggle for the seizure of nationwide political power in China, Mao made some of his important contributions which enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism—especially in the formulation of the strategy of new-democratic revolution leading to socialism, in military line and thought, and in laying the basic groundwork of his development of Marxist philosophy.

If it was true that Mao could not have led the Chinese revolution in its first stage to victory, to the founding of the People's Republic, without challenging and breaking with powerful conventions in the international communist movement, this was still more the case with regard to leading the continuing advance in the socialist stage, after the People's Republic was founded. This was so in such fields as political economy and culture and it was most definitely the case with the greatest of Mao's immortal contributions—the basic line and theory of con-

tinuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Most of all, is it conceivable that there would have been a Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, an unprecedented event in the whole history of the communist movement and the socialist countries, if Mao had been unwilling to “go against the tide” (to use his own phrase)—not only to fly into the face of bitter opposition within the Chinese Communist Party itself, most especially from powerful (and, among many, popular) leaders of the Party, but also to depart from, even “violate” certain “norms” which some have come to regard as sacred, in such basic areas as the functioning of the Party and its relation to the masses? Of course, this is inconceivable. And it is also inconceivable that without such “violations”—that is to say, developments—of Marxism-Leninism, the Chinese revolution would have scaled the heights it did, not only making new breakthroughs on the path to communism but inspiring, teaching and impelling revolutionaries all over the world toward the same goal.

Cultural Revolution: A Burst of Light Through the Clouds

After the treachery of Khrushchev & Co. in the Soviet Union and the terrible loss for the proletariat there, it was above all revolutionary China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung that ever more brilliantly shone as a beacon light for revolutionary people on every continent. This was a time when, reaching its high point in the 1960s and early 1970s, there was a tremendous storm of revolutionary struggle in nearly every country in the world, and most especially in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. But, with the reversal in the Soviet Union and Khrushchev’s blatant repudiation of revolution and revision of Marxism-Leninism, there

and denunciations of the Soviet revisionists? Because they insisted that the basic lessons of the October Revolution and the banner of its leader, Lenin, were still valid and must be upheld? No, all of these are very important and part of the reason, but they were not the main thing. Mainly it was because Mao led the revolutionaries in China in summing up the positive experience and the shortcomings and mistakes of the building of socialism in the Soviet Union and the leadership of Stalin, as well as the positive and negative experience of China and other socialist countries in general, and on that basis made a further leap in carrying forward the struggle for communism. This found theoretical expression in the basic line of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. But most of all, it was the concrete practice of hundreds of millions of Chinese people under the guidance of this theory, particularly in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which once again (to use a phrase of Mao’s) spread the salvos of Marxism-Leninism and the basic truth that it is right to rebel against reaction and that the future of communism will be brought about by the proletariat and masses of people, spread this to every corner of the world.

But, with the revisionist coup in China itself in October 1976, Mao’s great contributions and his overall leadership in the Chinese revolution have come under new attacks. First of all, the revisionists in power in China now are intensifying their offensive against Mao’s line, concentrating their fire especially on the Cultural Revolution and its achievements, which represent not just the greatest advance of the Chinese people’s revolutionary struggle but also the highest pinnacle yet reached by the international proletariat. While these renegades and impostors still must make some pretense to uphold Mao—at least as a national symbol—they are

“Mao could not have led the Chinese revolution . . . to victory . . . without challenging and breaking with powerful conventions in the international communist movement.”

was also a great deal of confusion and even demoralization, including within the ranks of revolutionaries. Piercing through the clouds that Khrushchev’s betrayal had cast, the experience in China and the Thought of Mao Tsetung not only gave heart to millions of revolutionaries outside China but also kindled their determination to take up and wield the science of Marxism-Leninism.

Was this only or mainly because the Chinese Communist Party defended the revolutionary experience and the achievements of the Soviet people in building socialism before Khrushchev & Co.’s coup? Because they defended Stalin and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union against the completely unprincipled slanders

more and more openly trampling on the basic things he stood for and fought for—and indeed they must do so in order to carry out their suppression of the revolutionary masses and the restoration of capitalism.

Reversal in China and New Attacks on Mao

At the same time others, on the basis of the triumph of the counter-revolution in China, have launched assaults on Mao and Mao Tsetung Thought. Some of these even include attacks on Mao’s line and leadership in the new-democratic revolution, as well as in the socialist revolution.

But, again, the most concentrated offensive has been against Mao’s basic line on classes and class struggle under socialism and

“The Cultural Revolution . . . represents . . . the highest pinnacle yet reached by the international proletariat.”

the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat—the most important of his immortal contributions. All this has led to a great deal of turmoil in the international communist movement. Some out of opportunism, and others out of ignorance, have taken the position that since there has been a reversal in China, since the revisionists have after all seized power and are rapidly taking China down the capitalist road, then Mao’s basic line on classes and class struggle under socialism and the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as the practice of the Chinese people under the guidance of that basic line and theory, especially in the Cultural Revolution, must have been wrong. Or else, it is said, Mao and the other revolutionary leaders in China must have made serious mistakes, even if their overall line was correct.

As for the first point, what was said in an earlier part of this series (Part IV, on philosophy) speaks directly to that:

This kind of thinking is nothing but empiricism and relativism. The correctness of this theory does not depend on the immediate results in any particular situation; it has been verified in practice, in the mass struggle of hundreds of millions of Chinese people, and will be further verified in the future in the revolutionary struggle not only in China but in every country. (See *Revolution*, August 1978, Section 2, page 10.)

And as for the question of mistakes by the revolutionaries, certainly they must have made some—no one can avoid that—but that is not the main thing to focus on in analyzing the setback in China. While it is correct to investigate and sum up what errors they may have made, an all-sided analysis of the reversal, applying the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism, makes clear that any such mistakes were not the cause of this setback (for more on this see *Revolution and Counter-Revolution: The Revisionist Coup in China and the Struggle in the Revolutionary Communist Party USA and The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung*, both published by RCP Publications, 1978.)

In this regard, as a general and basic point, it is important to really grasp that the class struggle under socialism is exactly that—and

that the bourgeoisie in a socialist country may, especially at certain times, have a more favorable situation than the proletariat, owing to the development of the internal contradictions in that country at that point as well as the international situation and the interrelationship between these two at the time. Here a statement by Mao himself is most relevant:

In social struggle, the forces representing the advanced class sometimes suffer defeat not because their ideas are incorrect but because, in the balance of forces engaged in struggle, they are not as powerful for the time being as the forces of reaction; they are therefore temporarily defeated, but they are bound to triumph sooner or later. (Mao, "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From," *Selected Readings*, single volume, p. 503.)

The point here is not to analyze the struggle in China leading up to the revisionist coup of October 1976 and the causes and lessons of this reversal (as suggested above, a beginning and basic analysis of that has been made elsewhere, while there remains the task of building on and deepening that analysis—by applying *Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought*). Rather, what is involved here is the analysis—and criticism—of the approach which says that since the revolution was reversed then the revolutionaries must be at fault—or must at least have made serious errors. As indicated earlier, this method is pragmatic—and therefore opposed to Marxism. But, beyond that, such an approach also fails to understand the actual process of the Chinese revolution and the development of the contradictions which characterized it, especially after the founding of the People's Republic, and therefore fails to correctly evaluate the tremendous achievements of the Chinese revolution as well as tremendous obstacles it was up against as it advanced into the socialist stage.

Magnificent Achievements of the Chinese Revolution, Contributions of Mao Tsetung

As pointed out many times in this series, the Chinese revolution first proceeded—and could not but proceed—through the stage of new democracy, before it was possible to advance to socialism. In this respect it was in some important ways not that much different from many other anti-imperialist liberation movements that have swept the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America since World War 2. And the experience of such struggles has clearly demonstrated that, while it is an arduous task to win victory in the struggle to end colonial (including neo-colonial) domination, it is far more difficult to carry forward the struggle to establish socialism and then continue to advance in the socialist stage—and this has proven true even where the struggle has been led by a communist party. The greatest number of these movements, even where led by organizations declaring themselves Marxist-Leninist, have not gone forward to socialism and therefore have, in fact, failed to even win complete liberation from imperialism, falling instead under the

sway of one or another imperialist power—generally one or the other superpower in this period.

Viewed in this light, it was indeed a tremendous achievement of the Chinese revolution even to make the initial transition from new democracy to socialism. And this was not accomplished without monumental struggle—including within the Chinese Communist Party.

Many in the Party, including a number of top leaders, did not really want to carry forward the revolution, after the country had been liberated. As Mao said many times, they were keen on overthrowing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism but not so keen on carrying out the struggle against the bourgeoisie to bring about the victory of socialism over capitalism and the continued advance toward communism. And the further the revolution progressed in the socialist stage, the more that many of these leading people came into opposition to it—not all of them, but not only a few either. What is involved here is the phenomenon of bourgeois-democrats turning into capitalist-roaders in the socialist stage, which was dealt with several times in this series.

To really grasp this it is necessary to understand that in a country like old China only the proletariat and the Communist Party could lead the democratic, anti-imperialist struggle in a thoroughgoing way, and therefore many, many people joined the Communist Party—and even became leaders of it—who genuinely desired to carry out the democratic anti-imperialist struggle but were not yet communists in their outlook. Is it not a widespread phenomenon in many countries today which have not yet been liberated from imperialism, and have not completed the democratic revolution, that there are many people who claim to be socialists, even communists, who are in fact nothing of the kind and are (at most) bourgeois revolutionaries? And such was also a widespread phenomenon in old China, including within the Chinese Communist Party, which proved to be the only force capable of leading the struggle to victory, even in its first stage. Now many of these people did keep pace with the advance of the revolution and did develop ideologically into communists. But many did not. As noted, the deeper the revolution went in the socialist stage, the more that these latter types came into opposition to it and the more desperate they became in their attempts to turn it around. And for those who became high officials this pull was even greater.

The article in last month's *Revolution* (December 1978) on Chou En-lai, who may be considered the premier model of such people, explained this phenomenon:

For these bourgeois democrats the goal of the revolution was to overcome China's backwardness and the near total strangulation of China by the imperialist powers. Therefore they turned to "socialism"—public ownership—as the most efficient and rapid means of turning China into a highly industrialized, modern country. As the socialist revolution ad-

vanced, they fought for this development to take place along increasingly bourgeois lines—which under China's conditions would not only restore capitalism but would also lead to bringing China back under the domination of one imperialist power or another. (P. 16.)

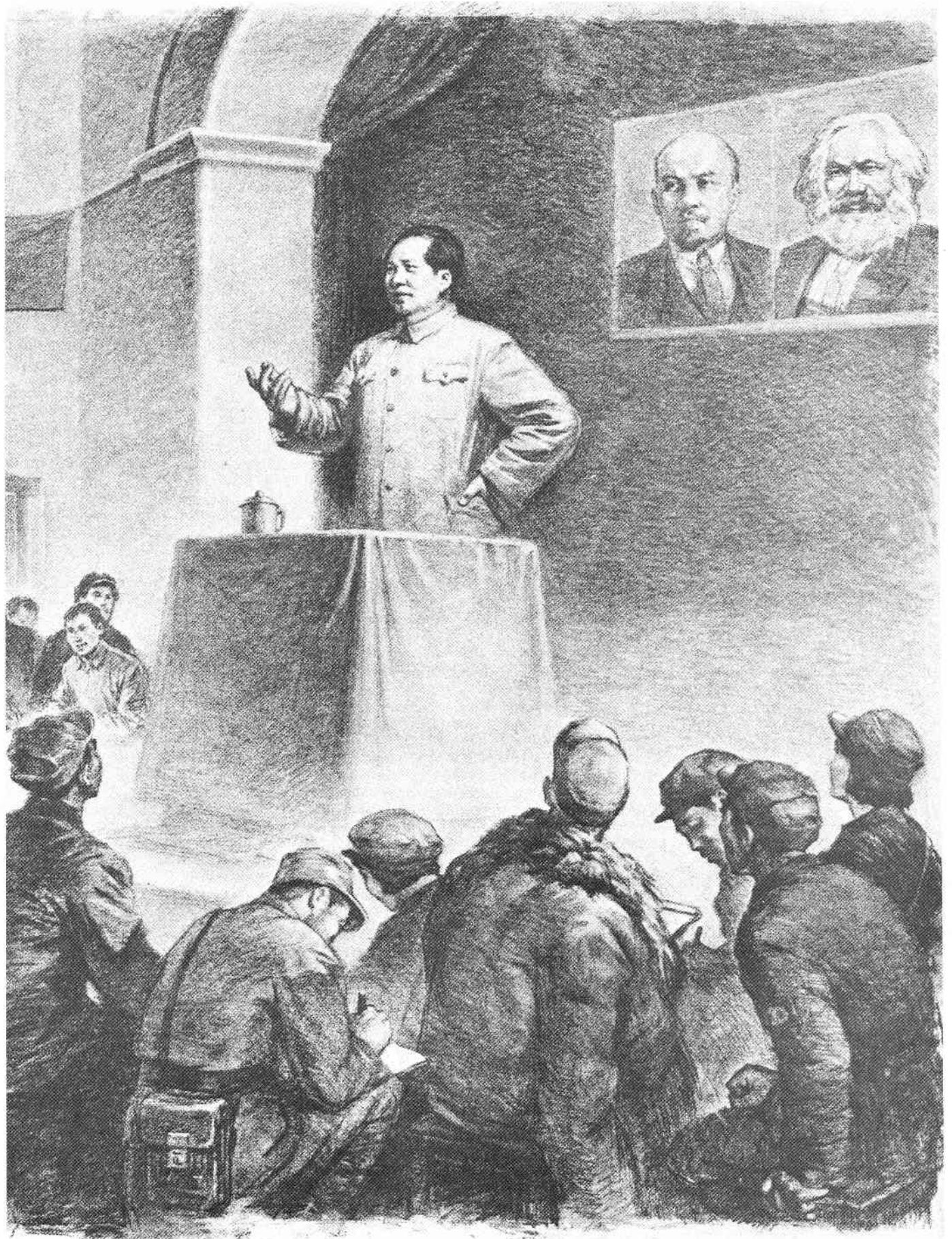
Further, as also noted several times in this series, such people and the revisionists in general had a social base which, under certain conditions, could be mobilized as a powerful force for the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship—as indeed happened in 1976.

Again, in light of all this, it can be seen what a remarkable accomplishment it was of the Chinese masses and their revolutionary leadership, headed by Mao Tsetung, that they not only forged their way through tremendous struggle to take China on the socialist road, not only broke new ground in building socialism, as for example in the Great Leap Forward, but continued the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, carried out an unprecedented mass revolutionary movement under socialism, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and through it beat back attempts at capitalist restoration for a whole decade—advancing the struggle of the international proletariat to new heights! All this is not to say that the reversal in China was inevitable, that the proletariat in China was bound to lose power or any other such metaphysical and fatalistic nonsense. But it does provide the correct framework for understanding the actual struggle—the continuing class struggle—that went on in China and both the unprecedented achievements of the Chinese revolution as well as the causes and lessons of its setback. And it provides the correct framework for appreciating the magnificent contributions of Mao Tsetung.

Mao's Role, the Role of Leaders

In discussing, and defending, the contributions of Mao Tsetung and the role of people like Mao, and Lenin, in the revolutionary movement, the point is not to say that great leaders never make mistakes or that history is made by heroes and not by the masses. The greatest revolutionary leaders put on their shoes one at a time like the rest of us, and they eat and empty their bowels in the same way as us.

And it is indeed the masses who make history. In a fundamental way it is the masses who "make" great revolutionary leaders. It is the revolutionary struggle of the masses which brings forward its leaders. Leaders do, in turn, play a very significant role in the revolutionary struggle of the masses. But they can only play a positive role, and in the final analysis can only be of any real significance, if they continue to stand with, and in a fundamental sense in the midst of, the struggle of the masses and on that basis lead it forward. In this era, in the most thoroughgoing and radical revolution in history, the proletarian revolution, that means they play their role by applying the science of Marxism-Leninism to both learn from and guide the struggle. In this way they can and do exert a tremendous influence on the movement of



“The ceaseless emergence and resolution of contradictions—this Mao grasped as the driving force in the development of all things. . .”

the masses and can actually accelerate the inevitable revolutionary process (just as they can retard it through errors and deviations from Marxism-Leninism).

Further, just as great leaders carry on the normal functions of life in the same way as the rest of us, they also carry out their role as revolutionary leaders in the same basic way as all class conscious fighters make their contributions to the revolutionary movement. That is, they do it precisely by mastering and applying, in a living way, the science of Marxism-Leninism in light of the concrete conditions in their country and the whole world. The point, then, in focusing on the role and great contributions of such leaders is precisely to learn from them and to strengthen the resolve, and ability, of all in the revolutionary movement to master and apply the science of Marxism-Leninism and to make in this way *their* greatest contribution to the historic mission of the proletariat.

As part of this, it must be understood that no one, no matter how great his or her contribution, can be free of mistakes. This, of course, applies to great leaders as well, including Mao. And, while upholding and learning from their tremendous contributions, and defending these, as well as the overall role of such leaders, from attacks, it is also necessary to determine and learn from their errors.

Specifically with regard to Mao, there seems to have been a tendency to project too much of the experience of the Chinese revolution onto a world scale. In particular, this took the form of giving a national character or aspect to the struggle in (at least some) capitalist, even imperialist, countries in the conditions where such could not play a progressive role. This is an extremely complicated question, and no thorough analysis of it can be made, or even seriously attempted, here. Rather, a few points will be very briefly touched on in relation to this.

All this is closely linked to the question of how to handle the contradiction between defending a socialist country on the one hand and on the other hand carrying forward the revolutionary struggle in other countries where the proletariat is not yet in power, especially capitalist and imperialist countries which do not pose the main danger to the socialist country at a particular time (or are not part of the bloc of countries headed by that imperialist state which does then pose such a danger). This becomes especially complex and acute in the situation where war between imperialist states is approaching and the likelihood of an attack on a socialist state, particularly by one imperialist bloc, is seriously increasing.

Specifically, in the last few years of Mao's life it became clear that the Soviet Union pos-

ed the main danger to China and, especially in the context of sharpening developments toward inter-imperialist war with the U.S., the Soviet Union was very likely to launch a large-scale attack, perhaps even an all-out invasion, against China. In these circumstances, it was quite correct for China to make certain diplomatic and other moves to keep the Soviet Union off balance and to make use of contradictions between the imperialist blocs to put China in the strongest position to deal with a Soviet attack on it. But this has to be done in a way which, overall, contributes to the development of the revolutionary struggle worldwide and does not call on revolutionaries in the countries of the U.S. bloc to give up the struggle for revolution, or reduce “revolution” to the struggle against the Soviet Union.

On the whole, Mao and the proletarian headquarters he led in the Chinese Communist Party) with the so-called “gang of four” (its active leading core) dealt with this contradiction in a revolutionary way. They fought for the line of supporting genuine revolutionary struggles in other countries, including those in the U.S. bloc, while at the same time warning the revolutionaries not to allow the Soviet Union to infiltrate and use these struggles and convert them into their own appendage in the name of “support.” Further, they fought vigorously against the line of depending on—in fact capitulating to—U.S. imperialism and selling out the revolution in China itself in the name of “modernizing” the country and “strengthening its defense” against the Soviet Union. But, on the other hand, they did adopt the analysis that the Soviet Union was the most dangerous source of war, on a basis similar to that on which Stalin declared the fascist imperialist states the main enemy in the late 1930s. And, as with Stalin, this included, at least to some degree, the promotion of the line of “national struggle” against the Soviet Union in the capitalist and imperialist states that, together with the U.S., make up its imperialist bloc. As our Party stated at its 1978 memorial meetings for Mao Tsetung:

This error to a certain extent strengthened the revisionists in China, who were—and are—arguing that the Soviet danger to China justifies and requires writing off revolution at home and abroad. This sort of error by revolutionaries has, as pointed out, existed in the international communist movement, going back to the 1930s, and there is a real need to more thoroughly sum it up and criticize it in order to avoid it in the future. (*The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung*, RCP Publications, Chicago 1978, p. 114.)

At the same time our Party has consistently, and correctly, drawn a clear line of demarcation between the line and policies of Mao and his revolutionary comrades on the one hand and on the other hand those revisionist traitors who have usurped power through smashing the proletarian headquarters in the Chinese Communist Party after Mao's death and are rapidly restoring capitalism and capitulating to imperialism. And it should be pointed out that Mao and his comrades in China learned from and corrected some of the mistakes of Stalin in regard to the contradiction between a socialist country and carrying forward the world struggle. They did not take the stand of subordinating everything to the defense of China. Most especially, they recognized the importance of leading the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in China and continuing the revolution under socialism, and the dialectical relationship of this to a correct line for defending China. But, more than that, they also continued, as stated, to fight for support for genuine revolutionary struggles in other countries, even those within the U.S. bloc. (For more on this see, in addition to the material cited above, “‘Three Worlds’ Strategy, Apology for Capitulation,” *Revolution*, November 1978, p. 3.)

Thus, despite certain disagreements our Party has with Mao and his comrades over certain questions relating to the international situation, the character of the revolutionary struggle in certain imperialist countries and the relation of this to the defense of China, overall we recognize their fundamentally revolutionary role in this regard and the need to learn from both their contributions to internationalism and certain errors they made in this sphere. Most fundamental, however, as stated, is the need to more thoroughly sum up not merely the line and actions of Mao and the other revolutionaries in China, but the history of the international communist movement, around this question, its positive and negative lessons, going back 40 years and more. This is especially crucial in light of the present international situation, which is marked not only by the reversal in China and a great deal of turmoil in the international communist movement, but by the deepening crisis of imperialism and the growing developments toward both world war and revolution.

Learn from Mao Tsetung, Carry Forward the Cause of Communism

Throughout this series, as well as in this conclusion in particular, an analysis has been made of some of Mao Tsetung's most important contributions, including the greatest of these, the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. These contributions not only tower over any mistakes Mao made but also mark him as the greatest revolutionary of our time. But the point has also been made that the purpose in examining the contributions of a great revolutionary leader like Mao is precisely to learn from them and carry forward more powerfully the revolutionary cause for which such people have provided such tremendous inspiration and guidance.

Looking, then, at Mao's role and contributions overall and in a sweeping way, what stands out most, what in fact underlies all of these contributions, what is most basic to learn from, is the thoroughness with which Mao applied the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism, and in particular his application of dialectics in opposition to metaphysics. The ceaseless emergence and resolution of contradictions, as against all notions of absoluteness and stagnation—this Mao grasped as the driving force in the development of all things, in nature, society and thought, and this understanding runs like a crimson path through Mao's writings and actions. Can anyone even conceive of Mao as a stodgy bureaucrat or "comfortable veteran" resting on his laurels!

More specifically, Mao's application of dialectics in understanding and explaining the relationship between matter and consciousness, and the constant transformation of the one into the other, led him to correctly place tremendous emphasis on the role of the superstructure, on politics and consciousness, in guiding revolutionary practice to transform the world, including the people. This is a fundamental point which has great

"Can anyone even conceive of Mao as a stodgy bureaucrat or 'comfortable veteran' resting on his laurels!"

Turkey

(Continued from page 10)

regular government armed forces and by the reactionary paramilitary gangs.

Prime Minister Ecevit's statements that it was necessary to declare martial law to end "anarchy" in the country amount to a cynical cover-up of a precisely controlled military operation that could not have taken place without official approval. Now, under martial law, all political activities, demonstrations and strikes are banned and there is strict censorship. Army troops regularly patrol the streets, along with police, stopping and searching people everywhere and arresting many. Obviously the "anarchy" worrying the government is the people's resistance. The NAP party, far from being hurt by martial law, proclaimed its welcome for it and demanded that martial law be extended throughout Turkey.

Dominated by the U.S.

Turkey's feudal landlords and big capitalists who are middlemen for the foreign imperialists have gone into debt for \$10 billion to U.S. and other Western banks. Meanwhile, millions of peasants are without land and near starvation, while millions of workers are unemployed. This situation has allowed the Western imperialists to reap big

importance both in preparing for and carrying out the seizure of power and in continuing the revolution after political power has been gained. It is a point which Lenin also gave great emphasis to in leading the revolutionary movement, as expressed in his monumental work, *What Is To Be Done?* as well as elsewhere. But it is also a point which, in a real sense, Mao revived and further developed in leading the Chinese people and the international proletariat to their highest ascent yet. Whether in class struggle, including warfare, in production or scientific experiment, Mao stressed reliance on the conscious activism of the masses, not on technology and technique; on people, not on things.

For this, of course, the bourgeoisie, the revisionists and opportunists of all stripes, inside and outside China, have labelled Mao an "idealist." But Mao was a thoroughgoing materialist. He based himself on the real world, *in its process of constant motion and change, from the lower to the higher, on the inevitable supersession of the old by the new.* Because of this he never lost sight of but continually grasped the link between the present and the future, the existence of elements of the future within the present, and the fact that the struggle of the proletariat world-wide against the bourgeoisie and all reaction would eventually and inexorably, despite twists and turns and temporary reversals and setbacks, advance mankind to the historic goal of communism, which itself would be propelled forward by contradiction and struggle.

It is this which infuses all of Mao's work and his truly immortal contributions. And it is this, most of all, which all those who are determined to make revolution and aspire to the lofty goal of communism can and must learn from Mao Tsetung. ■

profits from these loans and other investments. It has also led to devastating economic crisis.

Turkey's membership in NATO and its huge army and strategic location on the borders of the USSR make it a key component of the U.S.'s ability to wage war against the Soviet Union. Dozens of U.S. missile and naval bases and thousands of U.S. armed forces personnel have turned Turkey into a sharp knife pointed at the southern flank of the USSR.

No wonder the U.S. press has been so filled with articles underlining the ruling class' "concern" that the mass uprisings rocking Iran would spread to neighboring Turkey, where the people face a similar situation and are also oppressed by Western imperialism led by the U.S. The Soviets, for their part, have also issued statements supporting Ecevit and his martial law, as part of their own efforts to draw Turkey's ruling reactionaries into their own camp.

But Turkey's people don't want to be dominated by anyone. The imposition of martial law and Ecevit's frantic maneuvers, and all the scurrying and worrying of the U.S. capitalists, point to the fact that they all fear that they can't contain for very long the righteous anger of the people in Turkey. ■

The Loss in China and
The Revolutionary Legacy
Of Mao Tsetung



Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman
of the Central Committee of the
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
at the MAO TSETUNG
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Turkish Protests Overseas

(WPS)—Outrage at the imposition of martial law in Turkey and the Kahraman Maras massacre that preceded it have led to powerful protests by Turks forced to leave their country and live in Western Europe and the U.S. because of the economic ruin and oppression imperialism has brought to Turkey.

Shortly after martial law was declared, the West German industrial city of Duisburg saw an angry demonstration by 3,500 Turkish workers employed as "guestworkers" in the hellholes of West German factories, as well as Turkish students. This action was sponsored by ATOF, the association of Turkish workers in Germany, and ATIF, the association of Turkish students. In New York City, members of the Turkish Students Association went on a hunger strike against the repression in Turkey. There is no doubt that the anger of these Turks living abroad have shown the true sentiments of Turkey's people. ■

Farm Workers

(Continued from page 14)

workers want, is what industrial workers have enjoyed for years"—a union and a better standard of living. To achieve this meant fighting the growers. The bourgeoisie would have to be pressured and at the same time assured that the struggle was not aimed at them. Chavez courted the union's "allies," the Kennedys and other liberal politicians, church leaders and big-time union hacks, while he worked to keep the mass struggle under tight control. This meant that farmworkers' deep-seated hatred for their exploiters had to be blunted and diverted away from the bourgeoisie as a whole, and of course, from capitalism.

At one point in the Delano strike, after a fight broke out on a picket line between strikers and scabs, Chavez told union organizers, "How can we be opposed to the violence in Vietnam and allow violence in our own strike?" He then began a fast which he said would not end until everyone involved in the strike (except the growers, cops, etc.) had "pledged themselves to non-violence." Use of priests, masses and prayer meetings became a frequently used method to calm down the workers and direct their anger away from the source of oppression. The Virgin of Guadalupe (a brown Mary) became a frequently-used symbol in the union which was meant to steer national sentiments in a religious direction.

Chavez promoted the view that farmworkers were a special "class" of people (*campesinos* which can mean "peasants" as well as agricultural workers as opposed to "*obreros*" or workers) who had little in common with the "middle class" industrial workers, who were portrayed as "conservative" and "racist." Farmworkers, on the other hand, were supposedly fear-ridden, beaten-down people whose own weakness put them at the mercy of powerful supporters. As the farmworker struggle became part of the overall progressive social movement of the '60s—something the UFW leaders were happy to take advantage of—Chavez promoted the most backward ideas current at the time. The UFW leaders worked especially hard to insulate farmworkers from the more militant and revolutionary developments of the movement, axing anyone in the union's staff who tried to relate the farmworker struggle with the broader struggles against imperialism.

The Grape Boycott

The grape boycott grew out of the Delano strike and formed a powerful second front against the growers. The first boycott activity began in October of 1965 when strikers from Delano set up a picket line near the docks in San Francisco where scab grapes were being loaded. The support they received from Teamsters and Longshoremens was a great boost to the idea of a broader boycott. In the winter of '65 a group of strikers and student volunteers went to New York to begin what rapidly became a nationwide grape boycott.

Through the boycott hundreds of

thousands of people of many strata were brought into direct involvement in the farmworker struggle. The boycott became a link between struggles in the fields and those on the campuses and in the workplaces in the cities, bringing farmworkers and urban workers and students together. As powerful and significant as the boycott was, it was still secondary to the strike and the struggle in the fields where the strength of the masses of farmworkers could be brought most directly to bear, where their organized strength could be forged.

Without the strike and other forms of mass struggle the boycotts were useless. Chavez tried to turn this relationship around. He saw the boycott as, in his words, "the perfect non-violent weapon." It put pressure on the growers without the danger inherent in arousing the masses in struggle. It was put forward in such a way as to reinforce in workers the view that they were weak and at the mercy of outside support (as opposed to presenting the true lesson of the success of the grape boycott—that farmworkers had powerful allies among the millions of working people across the country). At a number of key junctures when mass struggle threatened to break out too powerfully, Chavez would switch emphasis to the boycott to cool things out.

The Delano strike and boycott aroused farmworkers and sparked off other struggles. The most significant of these was the general strike which erupted in the predominantly vegetable growing areas of Salinas and Santa Maria in 1970. The strike erupted soon after grape growers had capitulated and signed UFW contracts. It was the most massive and powerful agricultural strike since the '30s, with over 7,000 workers on strike.

Chavez had tried to avoid a strike in Salinas, hoping instead to use the anger of the workers there and the threat of a boycott to force growers to sign contracts. When the growers refused and instead signed contracts with the Teamsters union, workers began wildcatting. Still Chavez hoped that an agreement could be worked out and asked the workers to hold off striking for a week while he negotiated with the Teamsters and growers. When this yielded no results, the strike began.

It was indeed powerful. In one blow it swept away many of the most hated abuses, like arbitrary firing, favoritism in hiring, cheating on paychecks. It pushed up wages, held down during the Bracero years, substantially. Four of the larger growers including Interharvest and Freshpak, two of the largest, were forced to sign despite attempts of the growers' association to hold fast. Workers in the vegetable industry, as opposed to the grapeworkers, work in more socialized conditions. Harvesting, though migratory, is year round and the work force more stable. Because of this, lettuce workers became the most solid and consolidated base of the union.

The militancy and anger the strike brought into the open scared the bourgeoisie. These workers were far from the meek and downtrodden image of farmworkers Chavez was giving the world. After the strike was over, wildcats and other job actions by the hundreds

continued. The most hated foremen and supervisors were forced out by these struggles, and attempts by the growers under contract to push workers back down were often met head on by mass struggle. As one official for Interharvest, the largest grower in Salinas, moaned after the strike, "They'll (the workers) sit down at the least little thing. They are feeling their power too much, and you have to go and talk them back to work, you have to point out the contract calls for grievance procedure, not sit-downs."

Growers were not the only ones alarmed by the '70 strike and its aftermath. Chavez too was concerned—that the masses had gone too far. UFW leaders set about to cool things down and channel worker grievances into legal channels. They promoted a defeatist sum-up of the strike, claiming it had been broken by the workers themselves, emphasizing all the weakness of the strike and encouraging union members to view workers on non-union ranches as "scabs" (something that alienated many workers from the union). The UFW insisted that the threat of the boycott, and not the strike, had forced the growers to sign.

The powerful strike and its aftermath aroused a desire for pushing the movement forward even further. Of course, Chavez and his associates would not and could not bring through this a broader understanding of capitalist exploitation and oppression, or the road forward out of it. What they promoted instead were utopian schemes of cooperative stores and farms where farmworkers would establish their own "economic power." These visions appealed especially to workers who dreamed of escaping the working class, of getting their own land either here or in Mexico. The overall effect of these utopian fantasies was to misdirect people's understanding of the source of their oppression and of course took the heat off the capitalists.

Counter-Offensive by the Bourgeoisie

While Chavez was spinning out his dreams of dividing up the land, the bourgeoisie was concerned with a farmworker upsurge which had become far too dangerous. The struggles and victories of Delano and Salinas were giving rise to other struggles in the fields of California, Washington, Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Texas, and other states as well. The farmworkers movement was encouraging the awakening of the millions of Chicano people of the Southwest. For example, 3000 mostly Chicano workers at the Farah Manufacturing Co. in Texas rose up in struggle to organize a union, launching a strike and boycott in the early '70s.

While the bourgeoisie was firmly united on the need to put an end to the farmworkers' struggle, they were divided on tactics. In December of '70 when Chavez was jailed in Salinas for violating a court injunction against the lettuce boycott, the *New York Times* published an editorial calling for federal laws to grant farmworkers collective bargaining rights. If such a law were passed it stated, "Mr. Chavez would have the law as an ally, not as an obstacle in his drive for economic justice." However, the bourgeoisie

generally was not convinced that such a concession was necessary or desirable. Particularly those capitalists tied into agriculture whose profits were directly affected by unionization (who wield tremendous power in California, especially) were against it. The bourgeoisie set out to smash the UFW.

Their first step was to push for "election laws" in a number of states most vulnerable to unionization in the fields. These were thinly disguised measures to outlaw strikes and boycotts. In California a major battle took place over the election bill called Proposition 22 in 1972. Chavez portrayed Proposition 22 as a conspiracy of the Republican Party ("The Republican Party Hates Farmworkers" was the main slogan). At the same time they cozied up to the Democratic Party, throwing the union's support behind McGovern. And while farmworkers and union supporters were mobilized to go door-to-door for McGovern, McGovern and the Democratic Party did virtually nothing—aside from issuing a half-hearted statement against Prop. 22, which nonetheless was soundly defeated.

The following spring, as the grape harvest time approached in Coachella and UFW contracts signed with Coachella growers in 1970 expired, the Teamsters Union was brought in to replace the UFW. This was a direct union-busting blow—Coachella was chosen as the first and what they hoped would be the decisive blow. Coachella growers had signed in '70 due to the boycott, and very little strike activity had taken place there. Because of this the union's base was relatively weak among the workers. The plan was to use courts and police to smash whatever strike erupted in Coachella, to crush the morale of the workers so that as the crop moved north into Arvin, Lamont and Delano where the union base was stronger, the union could be busted out up there as well.

The bourgeoisie was keeping a watchful eye on the events in Coachella. The direct confrontation with farmworkers presented certain risks and they were prepared to change tactics if the situation called for it. Meany and the AFL-CIO leadership, for example, said nothing when the Teamsters first moved in and began signing up workers in Coachella. But when the contract expired, and a strike erupted, Meany was suddenly "outraged" by the "despicable strike breaking, union-busting activity" of the Teamsters. Meany sent several dozen AFL-CIO local officials to help "organize" the strike. In fact, they were put in charge of it. The AFL-CIO gave \$1.6 million for the strike fund. George Meany was heralded throughout the grape areas as a new hero for farmworkers.

The capitalists' efforts to smash the Coachella strike failed. Workers, including other farmworkers from around the state, stood up to mass arrests. The repression served only to increase the strikers' determination and bring more support to the strike.

As the harvest moved north, the strike moved with it, gaining momentum. The courts and cops stepped up their efforts. They busted over 4000 workers who filled the jails to overflowing, yet the picket lines remained solid. Public opinion was heavily in

favor of the farmworkers, and a call for another boycott of grapes met with widespread support. The court injunctions against picketing were ignored.

In August, as the harvest moved into the Delano area, the growers stepped up their repression. Two farmworkers were killed, one by a cop, the other by a scab. These killings were out of desperation. And they enraged workers, who were more determined than ever to hit strong blows at the growers.

The bourgeoisie however had had enough. Fearing the strike would break out of control, they wanted it ended. Despite previous promises, AFL-CIO strike fund money "ran out" and there was no more coming. Shortly after the massive funerals held for the murdered workers, the union leadership announced the calling off of the strike, allegedly to concentrate on the boycott. Strikers were enraged with this decision. When the union officials tried to explain that the benefits had run out and that was why the strike was off, many strikers volunteered to turn back their strike benefit checks.

Chavez announced publicly that the strikes had been cancelled because of the violence and the fear that the strike would lead to more. Later the same summer at the UFW convention Chavez claimed that the strikes had actually been broken by the courts and police. At the same time, Chavez and UFW leaders were also spreading the idea that the strikes had been "broken" by "illegals." All these seemingly contradictory sum-ups, beside being an excellent example of pragmatism at its best, each in its own way aimed at robbing the masses of the real fruits of their struggle—their developing unity and strength, and the fact they had carried the struggle in the fields to a level unsurpassed in decades—and minimizing the damage they had done to the bourgeoisie.

For Chavez, the '73 strikes were a necessary evil. It was obvious that without this uprising of the masses the union would have been wiped out of the grape fields and no boycott would have been possible. For Chavez the strikes had accomplished all that was necessary—they had shown the growers that peace could not be established in the fields so long as the UFW was not recognized—only Chavez and the UFW could restore peace.

Down the Sellout Road

The '73 strike had shown that a direct assault could not smash the farmworkers union. Indeed, it was the capitulation of Chavez that led to the immediate defeat. Despite the loss of contracts, the support for the union, the determination to defend it and the gains of the struggle were deep and widespread. The struggle enjoyed strong support in the cities among workers, oppressed minorities and a large section of the petty bourgeoisie.

For the UFW leadership, the '73 struggle marked the casting away of some illusions. A deepening economic crisis was besetting the bourgeoisie, and attacks on the livelihood of the working people were becoming the order of the day. The bourgeoisie had no patience for a lot of talk of reforms it was in no position to grant. The AFL-CIO top hacks put

pressure on the UFW leaders to settle down as a "respectable trade union," and the UFW leaders made steps to bureaucratize the administration of the union. Chavez' talk of "cooperatives," establishing "economic power," and of a "social movement" was all dropped.

Discipline and adherence to union rules became much more the order of the day. Purges, which were to become more sweeping a few years later, were conducted against union staff members who had gotten stuck believing the union existed to fight for better conditions for farmworkers. In the late summer of '73 an edition of the union's newspaper, *El Malcriado*, which carried an article on wildcat strikes at Chrysler plants in Detroit, and which was mildly critical of the UAW hacks who tried to smash them, was ordered recalled and burned. In Salinas, *The Worker* newspaper, published under the leadership of the Revolutionary Union since 1971, was banned from the union hall and came under open attack from the union leaders for its criticism of the Democratic Party and Meany and other labor sellouts, and its line of uniting working people against capital.

In September '73 the UFW held its first constitutional convention to ratify its 100 pages of rules and regulations and procedures called a constitution. Like all "respectable" unions it featured honored representatives of the bourgeoisie, such as the guest of honor, Ted Kennedy. The line of the convention was very clearly stated. The whole ugly period of mass struggle must now be put to rest, the UFW must join the "great family of labor."

Though this is certainly what the UFW officials wanted, it could not just be proclaimed at the convention. The Union was down to 14 contracts, and the growers were not going to just give up the rest. The convention echoed the call that Chavez himself had put out after the first week of the Coachella strike, for a law establishing union election procedures in the fields in exchange for peace.

As the '74 harvest season began, new strikes broke out in Watsonville (apples), Stockton (tomatoes), Oxnard (strawberries) and San Luis, Arizona in the citrus fields, and in other areas as well. Many of these were wildcats which were joined by the union—at least several were initiated by the union itself. What they all shared in common was that they were all seen by the UFW leadership as pressure tactics to convince the growers they could never enjoy peace so long as the Teamsters held most contracts.

The strike in Watsonville was a clear example of this. The growers in the apples held Teamster contracts which meant absolutely nothing besides a dues checkoff. The pickers lived in cardboard shacks near the orchards which they themselves had built, paying \$14 a week rent to live in them. This and other conditions led to the walkout, which was sparked by strawberry workers striking under the UFW. For the UFW officials the main importance of the strike was the bad publicity it generated for the Teamsters whose "own workers" had struck them. Beyond that they paid little attention to the strike or the

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strikers. The Stockton strike which erupted into a general strike in the tomato fields was ordered ended by Chavez when workers began taking matters into their own hands and began chasing scabs out of the fields and smashing tomato-picking machines.

Attacks on "Illegal" Workers

In San Luis, Arizona, a wildcat over piece rate wage cuts spread into a general walkout in the citrus orchards. The UFW leaders turned the spearhead of the struggle away from the growers and onto "illegals" who were portrayed as all strikebreakers. The UFW even set up its own border patrol which engaged in acts of brutality against workers crossing illegally into the U.S.

Throughout '74 the UFW raised its campaign against "illegals," even setting up centers to gather information on suspected "illegals" to be passed on to the immigration officials. These efforts were largely boycotted by the workers, and raised protest from many of the law students who were recruited to run them. Chavez tried to paint the "illegals" as the chief enemy facing the union, and the vicious attacks on them included a disgusting public statement by a UFW clinic doctor in Calexico, claiming that illegals were bringing venereal disease into the U.S. Aside from its viciousness, the whole campaign was a lie. Though workers without papers were certainly recruited as strikebreakers in a number of strikes, they were also among the strikers everywhere. The strikers in Watsonville, for example, were 95% undocumented workers and stood up in the face of attempts by immigration officials to bust up the strike.

The campaign was not just some sort of distorted fantasy that somehow the immigration service could be pressured into carting off strikebreakers. The period of '74-'75 was a sharp recession accompanied by large scale layoffs. The UFW's anti-illegal campaign coincided with the bourgeoisie's attempt to blame increased unemployment on "illegal aliens."

Despite the shackles placed on them, the '74 strike wave had thrust thousands of farmworkers into motion. The growers with Teamster contracts continued to have problems, as agitation and struggle against the "sweetheart" contracts never ceased. The Teamsters attempted to overcome this by insisting on paying slightly more than whatever the current UFW contracts called for. The boycott of both grapes and lettuce that continued throughout the period added to the growers' difficulties. The California growers finally came to the conclusion that their best interests for the time lay in conceding the election law to farmworkers under the promise of "peace" being reestablished in the fields.

"Peace in the Fields"

At a rally of 15,000 farmworkers and supporters in Modesto in the late summer of '74, Chavez stated that the growers "believe their own propaganda" when they think the union

is out to hurt them. Under the union, Chavez claimed, the growers would "prosper more." The UFW leaders were prepared to suppress the struggle and help create conditions more favorable to the growers' drive for profit in exchange for recognizing the UFW. This was Chavez' reformist line playing itself out under new conditions—conditions of deepening crisis of capital.

After the passage of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act, Chavez set out to make good his promise. "The race is won" it was declared; the passage of the law had fulfilled everything farmworkers had striven for. Struggle was suppressed—everything was channeled through the legal procedures set up by the law and the board it established to administer it.

The first contract to be negotiated after the election campaign in the summer of '75 (the majority of elections throughout California were won by the UFW) was the master contract for the vegetable industry. It placed new restrictions on wildcats and slowdowns, gave growers complete control over mechanization, kept wages well below the rate of inflation (the original wage agreement which had to be renegotiated under pressure from the rank and file allowed for wage increases of 1% a year for the 2nd and 3rd years of the contract in piece rate lettuce) and undermined an already inadequate medical plan.

The union leadership openly crushed work stoppages and set about to remove shop stewards and ranch committees which did not adhere to their program of collaboration with the growers. Grievances were directed, where they were most often buried, into a bureaucratized grievance procedure. The union hiring hall, a key demand throughout the period of farmworker struggle, was undermined and control over hiring returned to the growers. This has given the growers considerable freedom to reassert their control, and increase harassment, speed-up and so forth.

The dizzying pace with which all of this has happened, and along with it the discontent and resistance the rank and file has begun to develop, are due to the worsening economic difficulties of the capitalists. The growers have been hit by the stagnation and inflation that has affected the whole economy. Prices for petroleum-based fertilizers and pesticides have risen sharply. Speculation in land has pushed land prices and therefore ground rent up rapidly.

A relatively high rate of profit in the lettuce industry in the early '60s attracted large investments of capital from giant corporations like United Fruit, Purex and others. This has led to increased intensification of land use, has caused production to rise, and has led to overproduction and sharpened competition. This has fueled both the drive for mechanization and more exploitation of the workers. This was stated fairly clearly by Chavez himself last May when he told Interharvest lettuce workers that they would have to do a better job, because the company was not making enough profit! "After all," he said, "what would we do if the company went broke?"

New Battles Taking Shape

The anger and discontent among the rank and file boiled to the surface this past summer in a battle over the UFW's political fund. Since 1972 the union leaders have relied on voluntary contributions of a special paid holiday called Citizens Participation Day (CPD), to fill their coffers for purposes of lobbying and donating to the campaigns of bourgeois politicians. Within the past three years resistance to paying into the fund has increased greatly. At the Union's convention in 1977, the Board of Directors rammed through a resolution calling for CPD to be "mandatory." They tried to bully the membership into paying into the fund with all sorts of threats. When that failed, the UFW leaders set up a "court system" and began fining and expelling selected union members in order to intimidate the membership.

This blew up in their face. Far from being cowed into submission by these moves, the workers were enraged. Union meetings—well attended for the first time in years—became arenas of struggle where the UFW leaders' betrayals were openly denounced by the rank and file. The UFW leaders defended the political fund as essential to defending the union, while they repeated again and again that without Governor Brown and other high-placed friends, the union would have been wiped out, something that workers who'd been through 10 or 12 years of struggle found hard to swallow. "How can the leadership claim to be defending us in Sacramento when it is selling us out here?" was the way many workers put it.

The CPD struggle raised a lot of important questions and stimulated controversy and debate over both the significance of past struggles and how to move things forward. *The Worker* newspaper, local paper of the RCP, played a role in drawing the lines of debate more sharply. It pointed out the two roads: reform—sellout and reliance on a section of the bourgeoisie—versus reliance on the masses of people and building the farmworkers' movement as part of the overall revolutionary struggle of the working class. It was pointed out that the betrayal of the farmworkers' immediate needs in the fields was tied in with the betrayal of larger interests of the working class and oppressed people worldwide. As a *Worker* leaflet on CPD states, "In 1972 Chavez publicly backed Israel's war against the Arab peoples... Last year at the Union's convention Chavez introduced as the 'honored guest' the Secretary of Labor of the Marcos government of the Philippines... this support of the Marcos regime is very convenient for U.S. imperialism which is trying to prop up Marcos against the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people."

This and other work by RCP members active in the fields brought on an outburst of red-baiting from union officials. At one point, Chavez himself prepared a taped statement calling on farmworkers to reject "Marxists and socialists" who "have no place in our union." When his tape was played at a union meeting in Salinas, it was bitterly criticized by a number of workers

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who saw it as an attempt to silence criticism within the union.

The debate over the way forward continues to rage. The understanding that the rank and file must develop its own program and rely primarily on its own strength and initiative is just beginning to take hold, assisted by a newly formed chapter of the NUWO. But this is not happening without considerable resistance. Not only the UFW, but the growers have stepped up their attempt to divert the struggle down a dead-end course and disarm the rank and file for the upcoming contract. As an answer to the disillusionment with the UFW, the growers have backed an "independent union" movement which has gained a foothold in some areas.

Whether or not this contract becomes the actual setting for a new outbreak of struggle in the fields, the handwriting is on the wall. The deepening crisis of capital is sharpening the contradiction between farmworkers and the growers. With the UFW leadership firmly tied to the capitalists, ready to ride into hell with them, the necessity and the basis for the rank and file to cast away the reformist illusions that dominated the past period of struggle and broaden their vision becomes clear. The struggle must be firmly based on reliance on the masses and not on any saviors or bigshot allies. The movement in the fields must be linked consciously with the struggles of the whole working class and all oppressed people, aimed at the common enemy—the capitalist system. ■

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would be required by the amount of commodities in circulation. (The speed with which they circulate can be taken as a given in this context.) The value of all commodities is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor time required to produce them. The state is free, of course, to print as much money as it pleases. But it is not free to violate the laws of the circulation of commodities. No matter how much money is thrown into circulation to serve as means of exchange and payment, it will represent the same total value. So if money increases out of proportion to the total amount of value, it will be worthless.

Money serves as a means of exchange and payment—this is its concrete function. But it also serves as a measure of value—comparing labor times embodied in different commodities. The growth of deficit financing has required greater amounts of money in its concrete form, but this has adversely affected its ability to function as a measure of value, which is its abstract or "ideal" form, as Marx described it. When the quantity of money in circulation exceeds that required by the amount of goods in circulation, its value will decline and prices will rise. The dollar will represent less purchasing power. Inflation has been ascribed at times to the pricing

behavior of monopoly. It is possible for monopolies under certain conditions to raise the prices of their commodities above their values. But were the mere existence of monopoly the cause of inflation then the question to be asked is why hasn't inflation been as pronounced throughout this century as it has been in the post-war period. What monopoly pricing does do is to redistribute value away from other sectors. But monopolies are not free to arbitrarily set prices at any level they choose—the law of value sets limits to this—and this does not, in and of itself, explain a rise in the overall price level.

The \$64 question (or \$32 question in 1967 dollars!) is this: why has the government been compelled to resort to inflationary finance instead of simply raising taxes, and why has the extension of credit through the banking system not resulted in increases in productivity and an increase in the mass of values corresponding to the advance of credit and the growth of money stock? The answer is in the parasitism referred to earlier. An important manifestation of this parasitism is the growth of unproductive labor. This labor does not produce surplus value. It is labor exchanged against revenue such as takes place in the government sector which does not result in the enrichment of any capitalist. Unproductive labor can also be labor exchanged against commercial capital which produces no new value but which makes it possible for these capitalists to appropriate a share of existing surplus value. The state is already unproductively consuming surplus value in the form of taxes to finance its enormous operations which do not generally add to the surplus value produced in society. So there is a limit to how much the state can tax productive capital.

On the other hand, the very process of the extension of credit has necessitated the expansion of the financial and commercial sectors. The increasing decay of capitalism is manifested in greater costs associated with selling and marketing. These, too, are unproductive segments of the economy. Moreover, much of the capital formation in the post-war period has been in office buildings; business credits have gone into speculation in the commodities and currency markets, in real estate and gambling with inventories for quick profits.

As for the military goods sector, while it is a source of profits to the contractors, it does not in the main produce commodities which serve as means of production or means of consumption. Increases in productivity there do not enhance the profitability of capital in general. For instance, by introducing new machinery and increasing the exploitation of the workers, a capitalist manufacturing machine tools or another manufacturing clothing will reduce the value (socially necessary labor time) of their commodities, hence contributing to reducing the cost of constant capital (in the case of the machine tool builder) and labor power (in the case of the clothing manufacturer, since clothes are part of the cost of maintaining the worker) to other capitalists. The same relation does not hold in military goods industries producing,

for example, rockets and submarines—although surplus value is produced in these industries.

In looking at the economy, it becomes apparent then, that the moribund and parasitic quality of imperialism (which is reflected in the growth of the state and financial sectors) means that capital as a whole relates to a relatively smaller productive base from which surplus value can be extracted.

Prices have risen across the board, but they have not gone up uniformly. The prices of necessities have outpaced the overall inflation rate (the average family spends a bigger share of its income on food, housing and medical care), and what is called discretionary income—spendable income after taxes—has declined since 1972. So the effect of this inflation is to rob workers of real income. It is not, as the bourgeois economists assert, that workers have too much money to spend for a limited supply of goods. Nor is it that workers' wages have pushed costs—and thereby prices—up. Rather, the money incomes of workers are worth less, and it has been the higher cost of living that has compelled them to fight for higher wages.

The persistence of inflation through the downturn of '74-'75 involves in part what has already been said about the state pumping up the reserves of the commercial banking system. The state has made it possible for capitals to make overdrafts on their accounts or, in other words, to expand production through credit extended by the commercial banking system. This credit is essentially the check money referred to earlier. It, like paper currency, is not real money in the sense of being an actual store of value like gold. It is a paper asset which is acceptable between capitalists during a time of economic expansion. But once profits start falling, production declines and crisis sets in, there is on the one hand an increase in the supply of this credit as the state tries to bail out the Penn Centrals and Lockheeds, for instance. On the other hand, there is a rush to convert these paper assets—this checkbook money and currency as well—into something which has real value. And this credit-money further depreciates in value as capitals try desperately to get out from under it, willing to accept what they can get for it and preserve their idle capital in the form of real estate, gold or something else which will not lose its value and which can function as an equivalent for other commodities. Thus the very efforts of the capitalists to compensate for and take precautions against the decline in value of money—inflation—in fact only exacerbates it.

To sum up. The increased productivity of labor—take that of an auto worker, for example—has not shown up in lower prices during most of the 20th century. This is the result of the parasitism of imperialism—of the growth of the state and the unproductive and speculative activity of finance capital. These are trends which have been magnified by the international operation—and manipulation—of the dollar and the increasing militarization of the economy, both of which arose out of the objective position of U.S.

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imperialism in the wake of World War II.

Elements of a Weak Recovery

The downturn of 1974-75 was the most serious of the post-war period and qualitatively different. Unemployment and declines in industrial output reached levels that had not been seen since the contraction of 1937-38. What stamped this as the first major crisis of the post-war period was both its severity and its simultaneous appearance throughout the U.S.-led bloc. By mid-1975 recovery began in the industrialized countries, but two things must be noted. First, only in the U.S. did growth attain its post-war average; in fact, elsewhere it was very much below average. And, second, the recovery in the U.S., given its weakness in levels of capital investment that are still below the 1973 levels and below *average rates of capacity utilization*, has not been the engine of any durable recovery throughout the U.S. bloc.

From what did the recovery in the U.S. derive its strength? There were certain elements arising out of the previous contraction phase that gave a certain momentum to growth. There occurred the working down of inventories, a large number of mergers and takeovers which had the effect of centralizing capital (the volume of mergers in 1977 was the highest since 1969), and in the steel industry, for instance, profitability in 1978 was improved as a result of some of the violent adjustments of the past two years involving the shutting down of unprofitable facilities, the phasing out of unprofitable product lines, merger, and, in general, the lopping off of inefficient capacity. Yet, there has been no full recovery to speak of, no massive restructuring of capital towards greater profitability, and the whole thing, weak as it is, shows every sign of petering out; more to the point, the direction is towards a major deepening of the crisis.

At the same time, this recovery has been pushed forward by monetary and fiscal policies pursued by the ruling class. There is no way, of course, that capitalist relations of production can be brought under conscious control—the private production and appropriation of surplus value makes this impossible. But policies originating in the superstructure—whether they be expansive or restrictive—can have an influence on the economy, though only within certain narrow boundaries. For the most part this involves the underlying trends in the accumulation process, that is, the actual conditions of profitability and the international situation. The current downward spiral of the capitalist order sets the stage for the actions of the ruling class and sets definite limits to the effectiveness of these actions. There is no way that the economy can be “managed.” Money credit and government spending do not exert an independent influence but relate to real factors favoring or not favoring investment, for example.

The U.S. was unique among the countries within its bloc in pursuing an inflationary

strategy of monetary growth and large fiscal deficits in recent years. (Other countries like Britain went in for austerity policies to improve their balance of payments difficulties.) What dictated this was that the U.S. economy, being the largest and most highly integrated with others in its bloc, had to pull others along. From 1974 to 1977 the U.S. pumped up international credit, enabling the Europeans to borrow money with which to cover their deficits, largely brought on by the oil price rise. It was also the case that U.S. recovery, in so far as it stimulated purchases from abroad, relieved recessionary pressures in these countries. Here, again, monetary policies which promoted growth had, for a time, a positive effect abroad although they did not, as indicated, fuel any real recovery.

These policies—which saw the monetary base, which is the raw material out of which commercial banks create money, increase at twice the rate of previous post-war expansions, and government deficits remain at extremely high levels—interacted with the cyclical upturn. The expansion of dollar reserves made it possible for the U.S. to continue to import large quantities of oil. Easy money and credit assisted the process of paying off debts and financing takeovers; it facilitated increasing injections of consumer credit, and it is consumer spending which has been the mainspring of this recovery. This is no honeymoon considering that debt payments as a share of disposable income are at record highs. More and more consumers are taking on new debts to pay for old ones, going deeper into the hole and becoming much more at the mercy of lending institutions.

These expansive policies also contributed to a reduction in unemployment, a question the ruling class pays attention to in light of its politically explosive character. Not that the ruling class can or wants to eliminate unemployment—its dimensions are determined by the rate and needs of accumulation. But through state intervention, the bourgeoisie can influence these levels. Between June 1977 and June 1978 the rate of unemployment decreased from about 7 to 6%, where it has remained since. The partial upturn of the last two years, in conjunction with public works programs employing some 750,000 people, accounted for this decline. But there is no fine tuning of monetary policies and government employment projects of last resort that can up-end the cycle of capitalist production—although there has been sharp debate within the ruling class over what kind of twisting and wriggling for recovery ought to be pursued. This became somewhat more focused in the presidential election of 1976 when Ford campaigned on a basically anti-inflation program, and Carter advocated federal jobs creation. It was the inflationary strategy that was essentially adopted, and this has not only played itself out but has led to grave consequences—as, by the way, the alternate approach would have.

By late 1977 and early 1978 the nature of this recovery became clearer. First, the underlying forces were extremely weak and were not propelling forward capital investment or any real turn-around, and second, inflation was reaching dangerously high

levels again and becoming increasingly disruptive of stability within the international financial system. Financial uncertainties grew in the U.S. as the dollar's slide abroad set off new disturbances and dislocations. \$500 billion sloshed about in foreign central banks. In the last two years the flight from dollars to marks, francs and yen has led to these currencies fluctuating separately in response to this overproduction of dollars. It has led to problems in the flow of trade as the dollar reserves of these countries have declined in value. What the U.S. may have gained in competitiveness with a cheaper dollar, what growth and employment gains may have been spurred by expansive policies, were now outweighed by the need to stabilize the dollar and to buoy up the U.S. camp as a whole. Of course, only a short time before it had been exactly these expansive policies that had helped relieve strains abroad. But now, as the *Wall Street Journal* reported, the world was on the verge of a “19th-century financial panic.”

Latest Turnabout

In a sense, this move to stabilize the dollar represents a concession to the European capitalists; but it is also a continuation in the financial realm of moves over the past few years by the U.S. to tighten up its bloc. The fear of pushing Europe towards greater economic and political instability constrains the U.S. from pursuing its immediate economic interests in such a way as to fracture the bloc. Last year, the NATO countries agreed at U.S. prodding to make substantial increases in military spending, to standardize arms, share out contractors and improve the military command structure. While the Europeans look to the U.S. for military support against the Soviets, the U.S. uses this Soviet threat to knock them into line. The U.S. has pushed for forms of economic integration with decidedly political overtones—International Monetary Fund loans to Britain, mergers and acquisitions involving European and American capital, the rapid growth of U.S.-based branches of European banks. And, needless to say, it is U.S. investments abroad, particularly those in Europe, which the bourgeoisie wants to protect and expand without interference.

Overall, the U.S. wants to strengthen its influence over these countries, to reduce instability within them and to solidify its bloc in order to carry out its rivalry with the Soviet Union and intensify preparations towards war. This also requires that the U.S. and the Europeans coordinate their policies toward the “Third World” countries, both because the Europeans and Japanese also must have access to them for raw materials and, again, so that the U.S. can maximize its influence to deal with the Soviet Union. In a word, there will be sharp monetary and trade disputes, but they will be carried out within certain bounds within which each will bargain for the best terms.

The bourgeoisie seems more unified around an anti-inflationary as opposed to stimulus approach to recovery. But two things must be said about this. First, such policies, as has been underscored, can never

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be the decisive lever. Far from representing any success of fine tuning, what we are witnessing, in point of fact, are the limits against which these policies are pressing and the contradictions they give rise to.

Second, the cyclical movements within which these policies operate are themselves occurring within an overall downward movement—which is why this expansion has been so unimpressive. Nevertheless, the bourgeoisie is desperately casting about. The money supply, which grew at record levels, will now be tightened, and budget outlays will be pared down. They are willing to risk a potentially large growth in unemployment. Social services and government employment will be cut under the signboard of reducing waste, and the absolute and relative share of the budget going toward military expenditures will grow.

Crisis and War

Previous attempts to halt the slide of the dollar and restore some measure of stability to the international currency markets have not proven very successful over the years. Beyond this, there is looming another, more precipitous downturn than occurred in 1974—in which case the need to turn to inflationary expedients might present itself again. It is truer than ever that the U.S. economy and its cycle remain key within its bloc, and a major contraction will have far more catastrophic effects than the most recent disturbances in the currency markets. At this writing, negotiations to reduce tariff barriers between the U.S., the Europeans and Japan have dragged on and have not produced any major changes in trade relations—nor will this happen given the enormity of the current crisis. Within Europe, plans for a new monetary union to stabilize currencies there against the dollar highlight not only the weakness of the dollar but the underlying turbulence of these economies as well, since they have not been able to reach any accord.

The significance of the existing and potential difficulties within the U.S. camp is not the haggling and maneuvering going on within it as such. It is, rather, the fact that the crisis cannot be resolved in the framework of this camp. What is pointed up by this latest inflationary episode and the most recent policy somersault of the U.S. imperialists is that while it has been possible to bounce back and forth and bear down heavier within its bloc, this shifting of burdens onto its partners and dependencies, or the alternative of pulling in its horns, can only go so far and for so long.

For U.S. imperialism the fundamental problem is not how to hold on to what it has—which still for the most part represents its booty from the last world war—and to make the most of and reassert its dominance over it. What is absolutely demanded is nothing less than a whole new division of the world to expand its sphere of operation and on this basis to exploit it more thoroughly. The form that this contention assumes at this

stage is that of the U.S. trying to protect the status-quo and defend the current division of the world while the Soviet Union seeks to expand and muscle into the turf of the U.S. bloc. But the U.S. imperialists are under the same compulsion to re-divide the world. And what urgently calls forth such a re-division—indeed, what makes a war for re-division inevitable—is the fact that there exists another imperialist bloc headed by the Soviet Union which just as desperately requires a re-division of the world. Each of these blocs is the barrier to the expansion of the other. The contention with the Soviet Union has grown more intense and, dialectically, pressed political and strategic considerations into the handling of the economic crisis just as this contention, itself, which is mainly political and military, arises out of the same economic laws giving rise to crisis. The logic of capital—expand or die—explains, at once, the pathetic quality of this “recovery” and the necessary means by which the imperialists must seek a way out. ■

Revolution

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Different Periodicals for Different Purposes

This decision should also help to clarify the relationship between *Revolution* and the *Revolutionary Worker*. On many occasions we have been asked why we publish two different newspapers, and some opportunists have tried to seize upon this to charge that the Party was committing an error in principle by having these two types of publications.

The basic reason for the need for these two types of publications comes back to the difference between agitation and propaganda and, coupled with this, the existence of two different audiences with different needs.

There is a clear need for a newspaper which is published frequently and distributed broadly among tens of thousands of workers, whose number will multiply many fold as the developments in society and the deepening crisis propel ever-broader sections into political life. At the same time, these workers are not yet, in the main, consciously striving for socialism nor consistently seeking to learn the science and method of revolution. While the *Revolutionary Worker* must strive to win them to this stand, it cannot take such a stand as an assumption.

Such a paper is not only critical in reaching out to the broad masses of workers, but also plays a key role among communists, class conscious workers and other revolutionary fighters. It keeps them abreast of the developments in the class struggle and society, helps them to carry out the various campaigns of the Party, and, most importantly, enables them to play their role as “tribunes of the people.” But can it be said that the *Revolutionary Worker* can meet all the needs of the most conscious revolutionary fighters? Don't they have additional questions that must be addressed, don't they demand a fuller picture of events than a broad-reaching paper can provide? We believe the answer is obvious.

The RCP's policy of publishing two basic periodicals—one concentrating on agitation and aimed at a broader section of the masses, the other concentrating on propaganda and aimed at the relatively advanced—is not the model that some say is the one which must be used by Marxist-Leninists worldwide. It is, however, in keeping with the principles that must guide Marxist-Leninists in building the revolutionary press (the Bolsheviks, for example, published different types of papers during certain periods), and we believe this is required by the conditions in the U.S. today.

The point Mao made concerning literature and art is also applicable to this question:

The cadres are the advanced elements of the masses and generally have received more education; literature and art of a higher level are entirely necessary for them. To ignore this would be a mistake. (“Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art,” *SW*, Vol. 3, p. 83.)

Does this mean, then, that *Revolution* will become, in effect, a theoretical journal? No, it does not. Of course *Revolution* has in the past made important contributions to the theoretical struggle and will continue to do so by running articles on important theoretical questions, as will the *Revolutionary Worker* also. However, *Revolution* will continue to be mainly a propaganda vehicle that is closely linked to analyzing the current developments in the class struggle domestically and internationally. At the same time, *Revolution* will publish some articles from the Workers Press Service (WPS) that have a more agitational character, which will help round out the magazine's overall news coverage and political content.

The Party presently publishes a theoretical journal, *The Communist*, which will continue to be published two or three times a year in book form. Unlike *Revolution*, *The Communist* consists of only a few articles which deal in considerable depth and length with key questions of Marxist theory, and/or their application to a major question. While these questions, too, have their origin in the struggle between classes, theory is a separate sphere and has its own particularities. Thus, unlike *Revolution*, *The Communist* does not mainly address questions from the point of their immediate political ramifications, but rather from the overall vantage point of Marxist theory. Of course, there is no “Great Wall” between agitation, propaganda and theory—all have in common that they seek to prepare public opinion for revolution and train and arm the forces which must carry out the proletarian revolution. Most importantly, all forms of this public opinion work, and all the publications put out by the Party, must be guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and the line of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

The changes called for in the Party's press demand that further strides be taken in sharpening and wielding this powerful weapon of the proletariat. The Party is confident that these advances can be accomplished and further victories achieved. ■