



REVOLUTION

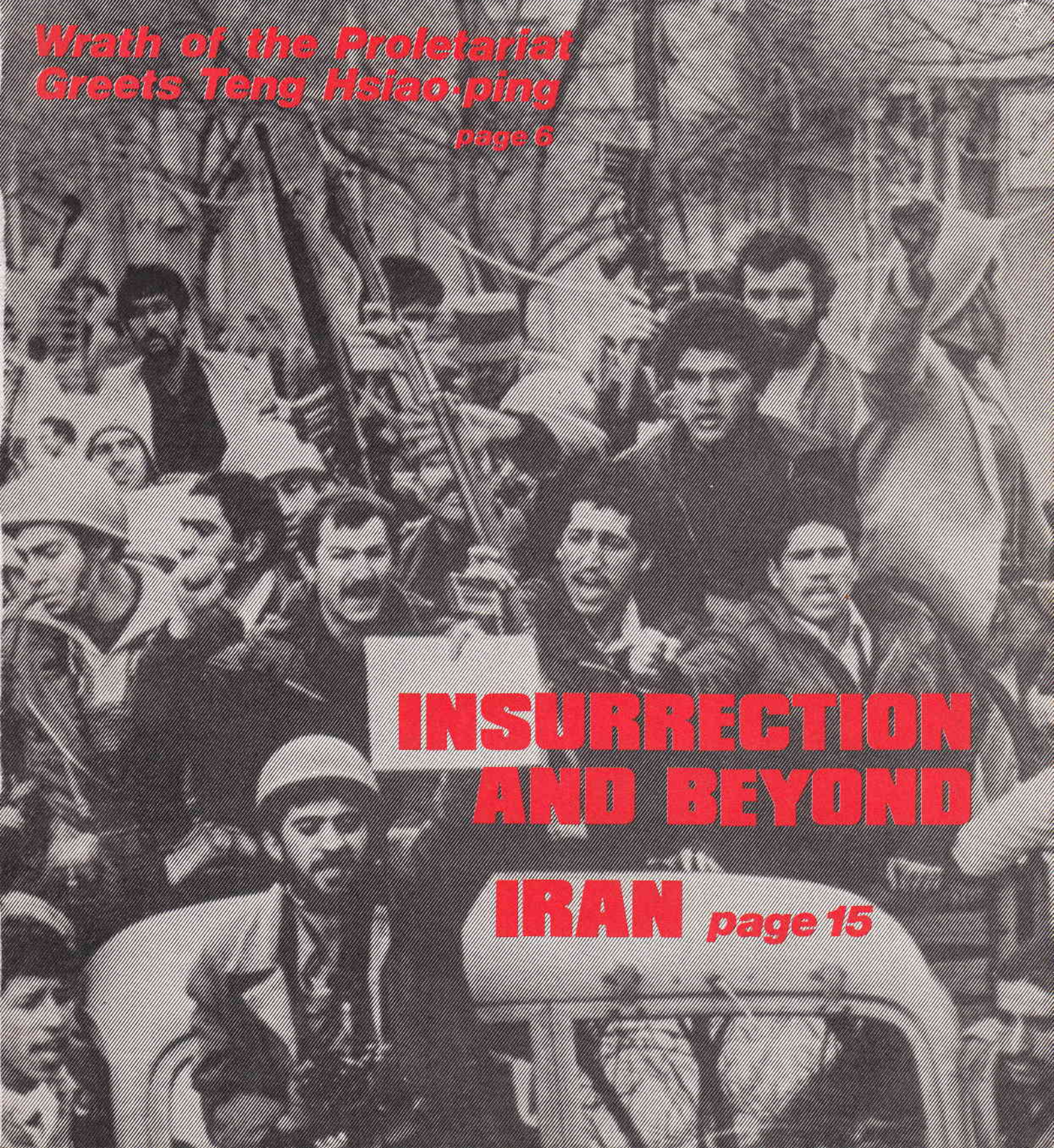
Organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

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Vol. 4, No. 2-3 February/March 1979

**Wrath of the Proletariat
Greet's Teng Hsiao-ping**

page 6



**INSURRECTION
AND BEYOND**

IRAN *page 15*

BREAK THE CHAINS!

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

MARCH 8

Houston
January 13, 1979

**UNLEASH THE FURY
OF WOMEN
AS A MIGHTY FORCE
FOR REVOLUTION**





500 demonstrators and the banner of Mao Tsetung confront Teng and Chinese revisionism as this traitor went down on his knees before the U.S. imperialists in Washington D.C. and enrolled China in the U.S. war bloc. Police attack leaves scores wounded and 78 arrested on felonies. Wherever Teng went in the U.S. the Revolutionary Communist Party flew the flag of revolution in the face of him and the monopoly capitalists he worships.



One of the most important political trials in the last several years in the U.S. is shaping up as the ruling class authorities in Houston grease the railroad they are preparing for the Moody Park 3. Travis Morales is locked up on \$40,000 ransom on yet another absurd charge. Meanwhile the work of revolutionaries to spread the lessons and the example of the Houston Rebellion from coast to coast steps up.

REVOLUTION

Vol. 4, No. 2-3

February/March 1979

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China—Vietnam: Superpowers Accelerate Moves to World War III

On Feb. 17, about 150,000 Chinese troops swept across the Vietnamese border. Within two days they had penetrated as much as 15 miles into Vietnam, capturing many villages and two provincial capitals. This move, coming shortly after Teng Hsiao-ping's visit to the U.S., was a stark illustration of what it means for China to have joined the U.S. imperialist war bloc. While part of China's ambition to serve as a big power in Southeast Asia—which has come into conflict with Vietnam's similar ambition—even more importantly, the invasion and the events surrounding it point to the heightening contention between the two superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union. They show that at an ever more rapid pace, these two are preparing for world war, and that as part of this preparation the bourgeoisie in every country is feeling, to varying degrees, increasing pressure to fall into the orbit of one or the other.

The Chinese action had the stated purpose of "punishing Vietnam"—as Teng had promised would be done—for its flimsily-disguised takeover of Kampuchea (Cambodia) last month (see *Revolution*, Jan. 1979). But what did China do after Vietnam seized Cambodia during the first week of January? Punish Vietnam? No. First, Teng made a trip to the United States to confer with Carter. Then he went to Japan. Then China acted against Vietnam.

In reality the Chinese are acting on behalf of the U.S. imperialists, allowing the latter to deal a proxy blow to Soviet political and military positions in the area, yet officially disclaim any responsibility and pose as the only legitimate arbiter of the conflict. The U.S. plays gentle lamb while "communist" powers fight it out. This appearance, built up by Carter and the press, obscures the *essence* of the situation—the rivalry of imperialist blocs—in which the U.S. is hardly a disinterested observer.

Speaking at Georgia Tech on Feb. 20, Carter put out the stand that the Vietnamese must withdraw from Cambodia, the Chinese must withdraw from Vietnam, and the Soviet Union must not intervene. By linking China's invasion of Vietnam with the latter's invasion of Cambodia, the U.S. "disapproval" amounted in fact to an endorsement of the Chinese position. Carter emphasized that the U.S. was the *only* great power in a position to talk to all countries concerned, and thus not only could play a central role in keeping the conflict from escalating, but was implicitly in a favorable position to pursue its interests through negotiations. Undoubtedly the U.S. was taking advantage of the greater maneuverability it enjoys as a result of hav-

ing a client state of 900 million people in Asia.

But at the same time as he piously denied that the U.S. would "get involved in a conflict between Asian communist states," Carter emphasized that the U.S. must give more assistance to its allies (in this context, principally China) and cited the whole state of affairs as confirmation of a need for the increased military budget which he had requested a few weeks earlier. In fact, his whole speech was a rather flagrant appeal for the people to get behind the ruling class' war chariot.

For their part, the Soviets, who had entered into a military pact with Vietnam last December, sternly warned the Chinese to withdraw. While their official statement suggested that they would, for the time being, confine themselves to sending aid to Vietnam, the Soviet army was reportedly put on alert, and the possibility of a Soviet attack on China, particularly in Sinkiang, could not be ruled out.

Reflecting the view of powerful sections of the U.S. imperialists, who recognize this possibility, Senator Jacob Javits, an influential member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, bluntly remarked on national TV that there was a "... great danger of a great war" and warned that "... the United States... should make it clear that we cannot stand still for an attack on the People's Republic of China." All these moves and counter-moves, this testing of military preparedness and diplomatic clout, show that the Chinese invasion, though it may have limited military objectives, is a portent of the time when much greater political and military objectives will be fought out.

Though the Vietnamese revisionists' takeover of Kampuchea was despicable, there is nothing honorable in China's so-called "punitive action" either. China is not acting out of any proletarian internationalist solidarity with the people of Kampuchea or any concern for the fate of the former revolutionary government there, in contrast to when China came to the defense of Korea against U.S. imperialism in 1950. The Chinese government, while continuing to give aid to the rural guerrillas in Kampuchea who are resisting Vietnamese domination, is doing this not to support revolution but to tie down the 100,000 Vietnamese occupation forces there and cause difficulties for the Soviet Union and its allies. In fact, in recent months the Chinese revisionists have made it clear that they prefer the bourgeois Sihanouk to the revolutionary Pol Pot, through numerous private references to the "divisive" and "ultra-left" policies of the latter and in other

ways.

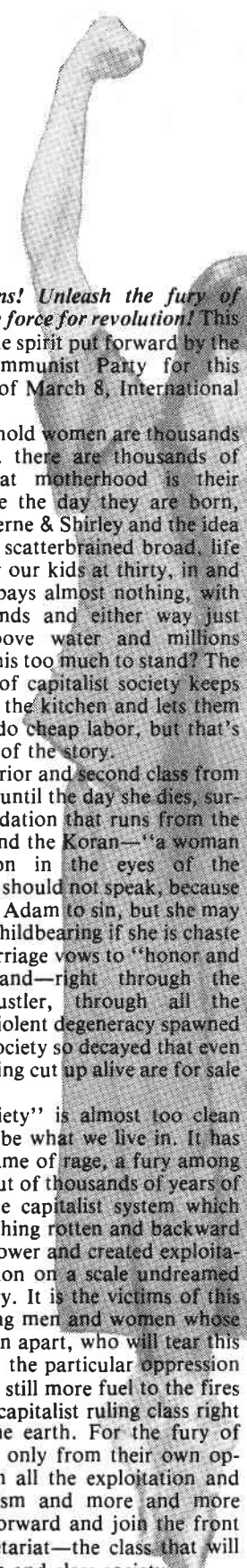
All this attests to the truth of Mao's statement that "the rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie." And with the bourgeoisie comes imperialist war blocs and wars of aggression. For those like the *Guardian* muddleheads who refuse to recognize this and like to confine themselves to nestling between "peacefully competing revisionisms," the outbreak of armed struggle between rival *state bourgeoisies* is an embarrassing and fundamentally incomprehensible puzzle. To hedge on this question, to suggest that either China or Vietnam or both are ruled by the working class, is not only to make a senseless mess of the current conflict but to give support to the Trotskyites and more importantly to the bourgeoisie with its slanders about "Red imperialism."

It is also essential not to be swayed by the fact that at this time the fighting is going on in Vietnamese territory. Yesterday Vietnam was the invader, today it is the invaded. This is no grounds for supporting, or muting criticism of, the treacherous revisionists in Hanoi. In addition, the point is not that a socialist country can never send troops beyond its own borders. And in fact, when China was a socialist country, it did send its troops into Korea, as pointed out above, and into India to settle a border dispute in 1962. What gave these actions a fundamentally different character from the current incursion into Vietnam may be reduced to one fact: since the revisionist coup of October 1976, the working class no longer holds power in China, and as a result China's moves in the international sphere are no longer the extension of socialist politics, but its own bourgeois politics, and in particular, those of imperialism.

China has moved into the U.S. imperialists' war bloc, while Vietnam and its creation in Phnom Penh have come completely under the Soviet heel. The firming up of these alliances, the more frequent occurrence of "dress rehearsals" of the type we are now witnessing, all point to the bigger and more earthshaking confrontations of the not too distant future, in which all subservient bourgeoisies, no matter how grand their ambitions, must pursue their own interests in the context and as part of the global designs of "their" superpower. Those who fail to grasp these trends will be hopelessly confused by the unstable and rapid developments in international politics which are exemplified by the China-Vietnam conflict or end up apologizing for one or another set of imperialist bandits. They will be in no position to play a progressive role—much less a revolutionary one—when greater conflicts erupt. ■

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

MARCH 8



Break the chains! Unleash the fury of women as a mighty force for revolution! This is the slogan and the spirit put forward by the Revolutionary Communist Party for this year's celebration of March 8, International Women's Day.

The chains that hold women are thousands of years old, and there are thousands of them. Taught that motherhood is their ultimate goal since the day they are born, growing up to Laverne & Shirley and the idea that female means scatterbrained broad, life over and living for our kids at thirty, in and out of work that pays almost nothing, with or without husbands and either way just barely staying above water and millions drowning— isn't this too much to stand? The very organization of capitalist society keeps women chained to the kitchen and lets them out on a leash to do cheap labor, but that's just the beginning of the story.

A woman is inferior and second class from the day she's born until the day she dies, surrounded by a degradation that runs from the Torah, the Bible and the Koran—"a woman is an abomination in the eyes of the lord"—"a woman should not speak, because it was Eve who led Adam to sin, but she may be saved through childbearing if she is chaste and obedient" marriage vows to "honor and obey" her husband—right through the Playboy and Hustler, through all the unspeakable and violent degeneracy spawned by an imperialist society so decayed that even films of women being cut up alive are for sale as entertainment.

The word "society" is almost too clean and clear to describe what we live in. It has given birth to a flame of rage, a fury among women rising up out of thousands of years of oppression and the capitalist system which has brought everything rotten and backward to its full putrid flower and created exploitation and degradation on a scale undreamed of before in history. It is the victims of this system, the working men and women whose lives have been torn apart, who will tear this system down. And the particular oppression of women will add still more fuel to the fires that will burn the capitalist ruling class right off the face of the earth. For the fury of women comes not only from their own oppression, but from all the exploitation and misery of capitalism and more and more women will step forward and join the front ranks of the proletariat—the class that will wipe out capitalism and class society.

The bourgeoisie recognizes the terrible power of women's rage and has worked hard

to turn it every which way but towards themselves. They have sent in their own women, their own First Ladies, to try to put themselves at the head of marching women, to steer it into dead-end reforms. This movement has made the main target of their demands an Equal Rights Amendment to "outlaw" discrimination. Such an amendment wouldn't do a single thing to change the underlying inequality built into women's place in bourgeois society and was never meant to. Instead it serves as a weakening diversion and a political football for the bourgeoisie, as they push the illusion of reformism on the one side and open reaction on the other—each to "answer" the other.

For they field the Phyllis Schlafly types and their two-bit holy hypocrisy. They demand that women stay in the home and obey God, Country and Husband. Women must give up all thought of independence, equality or the big issues of the day. In her own way Schlafly is as sickening as the Larry Flynt and all the rest who've struck it rich degrading women.

Of course the bourgeoisie and its paid angels sing to us night and day of the holiness and sanctity of the family. They tell us that there is nothing higher, nothing in this world more important. But this "lovely" image has no reality. For the bourgeoisie, reality is an endless orgy of degeneracy. For the capitalist a wife is a piece of property whose function is to produce heirs, and the rest of the women in the world are meat to be captured or bought. Tell us about the family you capitalist bastards as you throw us out of work, grind us into the dirt, scatter fathers and mothers and children in every direction as they scramble just to stay alive.

This idea that the family is the highest and most important thing is a dangerous fraud. No matter how people struggle, sometimes defying incredible hardship to keep their families afloat, the forces in society are far more powerful and fling them around and break them like tiny rafts in a storm. The family is not and never can be a bulwark against the outside world—it is part of society and both the position of women and the future of our children are questions that can be dealt with only by socialist revolution.

Revolution means that there is a way forward out of this darkness, and a bright future—socialism. It means the men and women of the working class leading the masses of people, free and proud and guns in hand, to topple the capitalists and turn the world upside down. With the working class running and working to transform all of society, with the means of production and distribution in the hands of this proletarian dictatorship, the economic chains that bind

women to men and children to their parents by the sheer threat of starvation will disappear, and the perverted relations between people that arose on the basis of the old property relations will also begin to disappear as well. When the means of production and state power are in the hands of the working class, then no woman will be the property or the slave of anyone. Housework and child-rearing will become more and more the business of society as a whole, so that no one need be isolated and crushed by this burden. Children will not be raised to face a dog-eat-dog world. This was the path taken by the working class in socialist China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung—and the achievements on that road disprove forever the bourgeoisie's claims that the way things are is the way they have to be and that women's fate was decreed by biology rather than the capitalist system and its masters.

We live in such a hell hole that it's easy to forget this lesson. The perverse view of women pushed by the bourgeoisie pervades every sphere, every level of existence. But just think about *The White Haired Girl*, or the *Red Detachment of Women*, the proletarian ballets produced under the leadership of Chiang Ching, one of the four communist revolutionaries who stood with Mao and his line and made tremendous contributions to the worldwide proletarian struggle even as they fought and went down in fighting against the resurgent bourgeoisie in China. Comrade Chiang Ching helped bring about new heights in the culture of the working class by leading in consciously criticizing and breaking with all the backward ideas and traditions of the exploiting classes that pervade culture and concentrating and elevating the point of view of the proletariat which has nothing to lose and aims to end all class distinctions. In a way which the exploiters and their mouthpieces can never understand, these works of art draw on—make conscious and concentrate—the strength and determination and the fury that burns in the hearts of the masses of women against everything rotten and reactionary in this world.

The high school girls with nothing in front of them but a blank wall, the young women being mangled in the factories and offices; the women with or without husbands, trying to raise children amidst the hardship and putridness of capitalism; all the women who are sick and tired of it and who yearn for a way out, another way—this is a tremendous force for proletarian revolution. This fury must be fanned, concentrated, made more conscious and sharply aimed so that together men and women of the working class and the oppressed masses can rise up, throw off their chains and transform the world. ■

New Upsurge in Lettuce Fields

A cold-blooded murder in the lettuce fields has starkly brought out the fierceness of the strike of farmworkers that has been going on there since Jan. 19. Rufino Contreras, a 27-year-old lechuguero (lettuce worker) was riddled 80 times by a foreman and two scabs who blasted him as Contreras entered the fields to pull out scabs. This murder sent shockwaves through the 3500 strikers and other workers in the area as well.

There was very widespread and strong sentiment that the only way to meet with this attack was for the strikers to go into the fields and deal with the growers head on. Even United Farmworkers head Cesar Chavez did not dare to show up with his usual hymns of praise to nonviolence. ("If we meet their violence with violence, we're as bad as they are and we'll go to hell too.") This time he played a more militant tune, vowing to go into the fields to pull out scabs himself. Of course he did no such thing. He did what he could to lead the workers around in day after day of candlelight processions, Catholic masses and so on. Two area-wide one day strikes in the lettuce fields—one the day after Contreras was murdered and another on the day he was buried—were both used as excuses to drop picketing rather than to step up the confrontation with the growers. And the UFW leadership has resisted the widespread demand of the rank and file to call out all farmworkers, union and nonunion alike, and shut down the lettuce industry tight. Chavez has not wanted the strike to spread in anyway that would be "disorderly" or impossible for him to control. But finally he was forced to call a general strike in the fields throughout the Imperial Valley.

Workers Tired of "Constructive Channels"

A week after Contreras' death, on Feb. 21, masses of farmworkers went into the fields to pull out scabs in the Valley. The lettuce workers chased about 150 scabs out of the fields at Abatti Farms near Hultville, then, at Joe Maggio, Inc. fought a pitched battle with a hundred highway patrolmen. They ran out the scabs anyway, overturned a harvesting machine and tore the hell out of the fields. The next day pigs arrived by the boxcar from all over the region, but the general strike in the lettuce fields continued and strikers clashed with police and chased scabs at three or four ranches.

In the days after the Contreras murder, the growers accused the UFW of "using" his death. The response of a UFW official, quoted in the *Los Angeles Times*, was very revealing: "This is what we had to do to turn the people's outrage into constructive channels. If we hadn't done these actions there's no telling what would have happened."

He was right. The strike has been the most militant and effective in the fields in recent years, no thanks to the UFW "leadership." In fact, a spirit has been developing among the workers in opposition to the UFW leader-

ship and the shackles they've tried to impose on the workers' struggle and on their outlook. Symbolic of this was the banner put up by Contreras' family and friends near a union dispatching area. The banner read: "Rufino Contreras Died for the Cause of Flores Magon" (a Mexican revolutionary murdered by the U.S. imperialists). At the end of the banner, in the little space left, some union hack had scribbled in "And Cesar Chavez."

The Imperial Valley east of San Diego where the strike is centered produces nearly all of the country's iceberg lettuce during the winter months. With eight ranches struck—40% of the crop—thousands of acres of lettuce have been left to rot. Irrigation workers, tractor drivers and thinning workers have stood firm with the harvesting workers, so that growers have been unable to plant or prepare crops in other areas like Arizona or Salinas. The growers have had little success in their attempts to recruit scabs, and militant strikers have heavily discouraged the few that have been recruited.

The current strike has the makings of a new upsurge of farmworkers compared to the past few years when the UFW has tried to cool out the mass struggle and institute a labor peace agreement in its fields. (See *Revolution*, Jan. 1979.) Workers remember the last contract in 1975, under the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board whose establishment Chavez hailed saying "The race has been won." The "peace in the fields" Chavez promised and the bourgeoisie so devoutly wished for meant a royal screwing for the workers since then, a step back from previous gains won through years of fierce struggle. Farmworkers were determined to gain ground this time. Also during the last few years the capitalists have created better conditions for unity between farmworkers and the mainly white produce cooler workers, historically kept divided by the capitalists along national and trade lines. In fact, cooler workers, fighting to defend their jobs in the face of mechanization, have stood with the strike since the first week, refusing to handle and at times dumping the small amounts of scab lettuce that have been harvested. Teamster truck drivers have agreed not to cross picket lines.

Due in large part to the work of communists, many workers are beginning to sharply question the promises of Chavez that the way forward he promotes is somehow leading to a better life. Chavez's word, billed as second only to God, isn't worth as much as it used to be in the fields. This has forced Chavez to modify his routine some, in order to catch up with the workers a little, to recoup his losses as their "savior" so that he can better save the bourgeoisie, and also to launch more open and bitter attacks on the Revolutionary Communist Party, which has been active among farmworkers for many years.

In this strike farmworkers have gone up

directly against the "nonviolent" nonsense promoted by the UFW leadership. At one high point during the second week of the strike, several thousand farmworkers massed near a field where growers had concentrated their scabs—several hundred local high school students and foremen. When scab buses and trucks left the fields under guard by sheriffs, the strikers smashed windows, and forced a bus, a truck and a pickup off the road. The bus turned out to be empty—having been used to give the appearance of more strikebreakers. They burned the truck. When a deputy sheriff tried to bust one striker, he was surrounded by 200 workers who freed the brother. At other times, strikers have defied the cops mobilized to protect the growers and gone straight into the fields to pull out scabs. The local capitalist press fumed, calling for sterner measures to "end the violence." (No doubt the murder of Contreras was their idea of "ending violence.") The UFW took steps to cool things out, to keep the workers separated in their own ranches and to prevent the mass militant mobilizations that characterized the first weeks of the strike.

At the beginning of the third week of the strike, Chavez was brought into the Valley and went from field to field along with an entourage of reporters to shake workers' hands—aping the campaigning style of his beloved politicians. At a rally the same night of about 2000 strikers, Chavez told the workers that the strike was his "dream come true," the end result of his 30 years of struggle and sacrifice for them. He did not make his usual extravagant pitch for nonviolence. But his social role hadn't changed at all, despite changing circumstances. He was very insistent that the struggle be aimed only at the growers, and only for better wages and working conditions. He tried to smooth over the previous years of his own class collaboration by admitting, "We've made certain errors." Then he made veiled references to people who "want to disorganize farmworkers"—meaning communists and other advanced workers within the union.

Attacks on the Revolutionary Worker

This was not just all talk. In Salinas, UFW hacks tried to keep the *Revolutionary Worker* from being sold on picket lines, and when they failed in that, they tried to keep those who'd bought the paper from reading it there. The workers responded to this by saying that they would not be treated like sheep. "These people (the communists) are trying to open our eyes and you are trying to shut them!" was the response of several workers.

Union officials told farmworkers that some people at the border crossing in Calexico in the Imperial Valley were handing out literature tearing down Chavez and farmworkers. When the workers got there, they saw it was the *Revolutionary Worker* being sold—by the hundreds in fact—and they saw

RCYB poster from U.C. Berkeley, after administration expelled the Brigade from campus. The RCYB is under attack for its communist politics throughout the country: chapters at the U. of Hawaii, U. of Washington, Western Michigan, Kent State, and Ohio State have all been "expelled" or "put on probation" in the past three months. But the administrations have only succeeded in raising on the campuses even sharper questions about revolution and communism, which the RCYB has seized on to draw broad support from students for its political line and its present battle against campus authorities.

a number of workers who came up to buy it in defiance of any attempt to stop it. The workers sent by the UFW official apologized and said they'd been misled.

Of course what bothers Chavez & Co. is that communist agitation is touching a deep chord, that despite all the efforts to keep farmworkers' eyes on their own fields the workers are reading and discussing and debating, at times right on the picket line, not only the immediate struggle—including various tactics, nonviolence, the UFW's line on courts, politicians, etc.—but also many other major questions, from Iran to Teng's visit, crisis and moves towards war, the prospects for revolution in the U.S. and Mexico and so on. The RCP's enrollment call has also been brought out. At one meeting on the picket line, workers heatedly criticized other workers who in the past opposed any criticism of top union officials, especially Chavez.

After Contreras was murdered, Chavez declared "I'm going to walk out into the fields and get the scabs out, I don't care if I get shot—we're going to continue the fight." He continued the fight all right—the fight to keep the workers in chains. He managed to get picketing suspended or almost so for days. When people wanted to get some justice because the men who murdered Contreras were let out on bail with vague charges, Chavez convened a blue-ribbon panel of various bourgeois bigshots to "investigate" the case (as though there was anything unclear about this outrage).

On February 13, UFW hacks spotted an open RCP member from out of town in the company of a known comrade in the UFW in Calexico. A goon squad of eight men followed them around town. At a picketline at the border, UFW executive board member Frank Ortiz staged a sneak attack on the comrade from out of town, taking advantage of the fact that few workers knew who he was or why he was there. Later, as the two comrades were returning to their car, they were attacked by seven goons led by UFW heavy Robert Garcia.

This attack has become the subject of a great deal of controversy in the strike. A large number of workers have condemned it, saying "those guys have a right to speak," and many have added, "and they're right, too!" ■

~WANTED~

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST YOUTH BRIGADE

For:

(1) Bringing revolutionary politics to the campus when students should only be concerned with their classes and getting a degree. Has persistently called on students to take up *irrelevant* world issues like the Bakke Decision, the Revolution in Iran and the revisionist coup in China.

(2) Disrupting classes. Says there are more important things students must be concerned with than these Ivory Towers of learning—Things they say we can't ignore, like the growing US/USSR contention leading to World War III, the major economic crisis of the capitalist system and the growing revolutionary struggles of people around the world against U.S. imperialism.

(3) Adheres to the teachings of the most dangerous man of this century—Mao Tsetung, whose ideas threaten the very existence of the capitalist system.

F.B.I. REPORT

This group is led by the notorious REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY which marred the historic occasion of Teng Hsiao-ping's visit, resulting in an international political embarrassment for the United States and our newest military ally, China. The RCP has its roots in the most dangerous of traditions of fighting against our great system—such as People's Park, the Anti-Vietnam War Movement, the fight for Ethnic Studies and the Black Liberation struggle. They have openly supported, encouraged and promoted uprisings of the oppressed nationalities against police justice such as the Houston Rebellion. Here on campus they aroused students to take over U.C. buildings in support of the African people's struggle against apartheid in 1977.

FOR THESE SERIOUS OFFENSES: the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade will be officially DEREGISTERED from campus— effective Wed. Feb. 14, 1979. RCYB members will face EXPULSION.

The University Administration finds it necessary to revoke this group's *Freedom of Speech*. Their actions threaten the very purpose of this University: to provide the free flow of OUR ideas into students' heads. They challenge our *responsible* spokesmen like:

PROFESSOR LENCZOWSKI who has provided invaluable service supporting the Shah of Iran.

PROFESSOR ARTHUR JENSEN who developed a theory supporting the oppression of minorities, saying Blacks are genetically inferior.

THE ADMINISTRATION

RCYB REPLY

YES! We are **OUTLAWS** in the eyes of the University and this capitalist system.

We stand for overturning all the bullshit in this society, where our minds and imagination and dreams are ground down into a mad scramble to try and make it in a system that's falling apart. Students know deep down there's gotta be a better way.

We have no intention of leaving. If the University thought the 60's were a nightmare for them—wait 'till the 80's!!!

Wrath of Proletariat Greets Teng Hsiao-ping

The south lawn of the White House was crowded with dignitaries, politicians, hundreds of newsmen, and a swarm of Secret Service agents on the morning of January 29. Jimmy Carter and wife Rosalyn arrived. Then Teng Hsiao-ping glided up in a chauffeured Cadillac limousine. He stepped onto the platform next to Carter and the official welcoming ceremonies began. Carter had barely begun his speech when suddenly, a woman stood up in the press gallery, not 20 feet away, waved a Red Book at Teng and shouted: "The Revolutionary Communist Party says Down with Teng Hsiao-ping." She stared Carter directly in the eye. He flushed, stumbled, tried to talk louder. She yelled, "The Revolutionary Communist Party says Long Live Mao Tsetung!" As the Secret Service and White House guards grabbed her and began to drag her off, she again faced Teng and Carter: "Teng, you murderer! You may have killed tens of thousands of revolutionaries, you may be kissing the boots of U.S. imperialism, but you will never stop revolution. The Chinese people will overthrow you once again."

Then someone else stood up in the press gallery, another reporter for the *Revolutionary Worker*, newspaper of the RCP. He waved the "Traitor Teng Beware" leaflets

Washington D.C. January 29, 1979

that a few days before had fluttered through the broken windows of the Chinese Embassy, left there by revolutionaries who had smeared white paint on the walls of these phony reds—a foretaste of the welcome Teng would be given. "You may be able to drag the Revolutionary Communist Party out of your garden party, but you can't stop the demonstration today. And you can't stop the revolution." He was eye level with Carter. The president's jaw went slack. He forgot Teng's name and title. Teng blanched, visibly shaken. Rosalyn Carter admitted afterwards: "I wondered how many more of them there were."

There were many more. For meanwhile 500 people were gathering in a Washington, D.C. church, determined to make a powerful political statement, to give this traitor a fitting welcome.

By this time the bourgeoisie, and Carter in particular, were sputtering with rage. As the revolutionaries strode out of the church and began to form the ranks for the march to the White House, they were met by almost 200 cops, on motorcycles, in squad cars, paddy wagons and on foot—with lead-filled batons, flack jackets and combat masks. "The permit to march in the street has been revoked," they oinked. People pushed ahead on the sidewalk,

led by a militant contingent of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade whose blazing red jackets echoed the colors of the revolutionary battalions of the Red Guards who had knocked Teng and his fellow rats from their high positions during the Cultural Revolution. Thunderous chants filled the air: "Mao Tsetung Did Not Fail! Revolution Will Prevail!" "Teng and Carter Talk Peace—Gear for War—Turn the Guns Around!"

As the demonstrators moved through the streets of the Black ghetto of D.C., streets that had been illuminated by the flames of revolt when a powerful rebellion against national oppression broke out in 1968, people came out, raised fists and shouted support. Some asked for Red Books, indicating that they remembered in the '60s when Mao and the Red Book stood for revolution and support for the struggle of Black people. Others picked up the chant: "Mao, Mao, Mao Tsetung! Revolution's Gonna Come!" The closer the march got to the White House, the more cops. Now there must have been 500 of them. Suddenly they announced that the permit to demonstrate in Lafayette Park across from the White House had been revoked. Mounted pigs and motorcycles charged the crowd. TV camera lights cast an eerie glare on the tumultuous scene, blaring in the eyes of the cops who cursed as they grabbed, beat and clubbed people. The cry reverberated down Pennsylvania Avenue, "Death, Death, to Teng Hsiao-ping!" Hundreds stood their ground against the vicious assault and unleashed the righteous fury of the proletariat at Teng's betrayal of the cause of revolution and communism.

The welcome given Teng Hsiao-ping by revolutionaries in Washington, D.C. was just the beginning. Everywhere that backstabbing revisionist and his entourage went in the U.S., they were confronted by the name and the legacy of Mao Tsetung.

The U.S. bourgeoisie was stung by these bold actions, outraged that in the face of police attack the Washington, D.C. demonstration had accomplished its political objective of exposing these revisionists and their imperialist patrons. They immediately began trying to take vengeance. Seventy-eight people, including Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, were arrested by the cops that night. After high-level political consultation, all had their charges raised the next day from misdemeanors to felonious assault on a police officer.

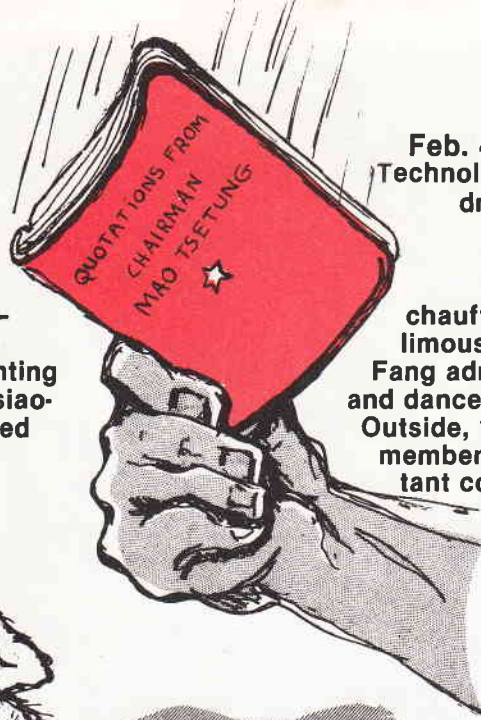
A Challenge and an Opportunity

The U.S. bourgeoisie had prepared a big show for Teng's visit to this country. Much



Atlanta

Feb. 2—As his limousine pulled out of Atlanta's luxurious Peachtree Plaza hotel, Teng hoped he had seen his last Maoist, at least until he got back to China. But he had barely pulled out into the streets when he was greeted with a scene which undoubtedly conjured up in his mind the nightmare of the Cultural Revolution. Loud militant chanting filled the air. "Death, Death to Teng Hsiao-ping!" Demonstrators waved Mao's "Red Book" and held aloft bright red flags emblazoned with Mao's image.



Los Angeles

Feb. 4—China's minister of Science and Technology, Fang Yi, fulfilled Khrushchev's dreams of touring Disneyland. A militant demonstration the day before caused panicky Disney officials to close the facility to the public and chauffer Fang from ride to ride in a black limousine. Inside the walls of Disneyland, Fang admired his new Mickey Mouse watch and danced with two giant Disney characters. Outside, 150 Revolutionary Communist Party members and supporters, along with a militant contingent of Iranians, raised the red banner of Mao Tsetung. Chants of "Death to Teng Hsiao-ping! Uphold Mao Tsetung!" echoed off the walls of the Disneyland hotel.

Houston

Feb. 3—Realizing that Teng's visit would not go unopposed, and that the best they could hope to do was keep the revolutionary opposition out of the public eye, Houston authorities mobilized a force of several hundred riot-equipped police to prevent any embarrassment. As 2 dozen people gathered for a march to the Hyatt Regency hotel where they planned to "welcome" Teng in person. The pigs surrounded the demonstrators shoving and hitting people to the ground. All 21 demonstrators were arrested. The charge: carrying "prohibited weapons" (picket sticks mounted with pictures of Mao Tsetung). Clearly it was Mao and all he stands for that was the real weapon, the genuine threat to the rulers of this country.



Seattle

Feb. 4—200 angry revolutionaries bombarded Teng's Washington Plaza hotel hideaway with the mighty revolutionary message: Mao Tsetung did not fail—Revolution will prevail! The Fitting End to Teng's Fitting Welcome came about 3:30 that afternoon, as he left his hotel and walked toward his limousine for a visit to Boeing's Everett plant. A Boeing worker and another revolutionary fighter followed the entourage. Just as Teng got to the car, they rushed up to him, Red Books in hand. "Death to Teng! Long Live Mao! Long Live Revolution!" First in Chinese, then in English, Teng could not escape this revolutionary message, courtesy of the RCP. Hundreds of Secret Service agents reinforced by Seattle's "finest"—in riot gear, on horseback, on motorcycles, in cars and scuba-gear—all had flopped again in the face of this determined stand. His "protectors" rushed to the scene. Grabbing Teng, they hurled him into the car and slammed the door. He was shaken. All the advanced technology of the U.S. imperialism, the subject of Teng's dreams and the object of all his grovelling, could not protect him.

of it was broadcast from their TV satellites for the whole world to see. They had tried to set the stage. But onto it marched defiant Maoists led by the RCP. They didn't creep around the edges of the stage, skulk behind the curtains and wave an impotent finger. They confronted these dogs head on. These actions became the center of a swirl of controversy and millions of people in the U.S. and around the world heard of the Maoist opposition to Teng Hsiao-ping.

Teng's visit threw down the gauntlet to revolutionaries. He personified the claim that the bourgeoisie is so gleefully making that Mao and revolution had failed. This man most symbolized the reversal in China. His very presence in the U.S. raised the question that was already objectively out there for millions: had the revolutionary struggle of

the Chinese people under Mao, the struggle to transform and rebuild society on a completely new basis, been a fruitless waste, a debacle? Had the beacon of revolution that shined so brightly from socialist China, illuminating mankind's path to the future, been an illusion? It was a challenge—and a chance—for revolutionaries to step forward, to proclaim "Hell no!" to raise the revolutionary banner of Mao Tsetung and cram these lies back in their faces. That demonstration in Washington, D.C. with hundreds of pictures of Mao and the heroic "Gang of Four" held high, and the other actions directed at Teng, bold actions, even outrageous from the point of view of bourgeois society, took up that challenge. To the millions who saw the action on TV or read about it in the newspapers, it made clear

that here were revolutionaries going up against those in China who were undoing everything Mao stood for.

But the further significance of the bold actions led by the Party to raise the red flag of revolution and the banner of Mao Tsetung in the face of Teng Hsiao-ping—as well as the significance of the attack on the Party and its leadership—must be seen in opposition to what, overall, the U.S. bourgeoisie and the Chinese revisionists were trying to accomplish with Teng's visit.

According to the U.S. bourgeoisie Teng was here to personally formalize and dramatize the new relationship between the two countries. And there was no doubt about that. Just what the new relationship is was

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3000 farmers and supporters demonstrate at Capitol Building in Washington D.C.

Militant Farmers Storm Washington

"We've raised enough corn, but not enough hell!" This was the battle cry of thousands of small and middle level farmers, part of the American Agricultural Movement (AAM), who drove their tractor rigs into downtown Washington on February 5 to protest the soaring costs of running a small farm and their own impending bankruptcy. The protestors used 2000 tractors to snarl traffic, blocking bridges and virtually paralyzing the city during the morning rush hour. Angry farmers rammed police vehicles that attempted to block them from moving on the capitol. Six cops were injured and 20 farmers arrested in a number of violent confrontations with the police. One young farmer was taken away in an ambulance after police fired a tear gas cannister into the cab of his tractor which exploded right in his face.

Police finally managed to contain most of the tractors in the capitol mall by surrounding them with a ring of garbage trucks and police vehicles. But in the following days the protests continued. Police cars were pelted with rocks and their tires slashed. A tractor was set ablaze in a symbolic protest in front of the Agriculture Department and another was driven right into the capitol's reflecting pool. Numerous attempts were made to break out of the police barricades and official tractor caravans escorted by police suddenly developed "engine trouble" stalling traffic for hours at a time. It was clear that this year's "tractorcade" was far more militant than similar protests held last winter in 30

state capitals and Washington, D.C. This militancy reflects the growing plight of tens of thousands of small farmers who are being driven under each year by the workings of the capitalist system.

Ground Down by the Workings of Capitalism

The desperate situation of the small farmer arises out of a fundamental law of capitalist production—expand or die. Increasingly, the small farmer has had to fight for survival as farming requires a greater and greater concentration of capital. Today fewer than one tenth of U.S. farms produce well over half of the country's agricultural output. With the increasing use of labor-saving mechanization and chemicals in farming, the actual value of farm products has been falling—and it is only the big farm owners with their large scale, efficient operations who are able to cheaply produce a large volume and reap substantial profits.

In order to compete with these farming giants, the small farmer is forced to plow more and more of his meagre earnings into new land and expensive machinery to produce enough in order to survive. Although food prices are sky high, the farmer sees very little of what is paid at the supermarket. Most of the cost goes to the grain speculators and other middle men, the monopoly food processing companies, the shippers, etc., who prey on the farmer and consumer alike. The family farmer is caught in a vise from which

he cannot escape—on the one side, the skyrocketing costs for machinery, land and debt payments, and on the other, low prices for what he produces. As one farmer said in Washington, he is spending \$4 to produce a bushel of wheat that can only be sold for \$3 or less, and this even while the price of a loaf of bread soars.

The much-touted government aid programs do little to help since they are geared to the needs of big agriculture. The effect of these programs is only to cushion the large-scale farms against the anarchy inherent in farm production, propping up their profits against the endless seesaw between surplus and artificially created shortages. Government loans and subsidies are paid by the bushel produced. For the big farmers a huge amount of the taxpayers' money is available, but for the small farmer whose production costs are relatively higher compared to his limited productive capacity, this "aid" is not enough to stave off the inevitable. Since the gains from these programs are tied to output, the result is that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer or are forced out of farming altogether, many into the ranks of the proletariat. (See *Revolution*, January 1978 for more on the workings of capitalism in agriculture.)

Contradictory Position of Farmers

This disastrous situation has led to an upsurge among small farmers, who are an important part of the petty bourgeoisie. The

working class supports this progressive fight of the farmers who are being drawn into struggle against the monopolies who are driving them deeper and deeper into the ground. But stemming from the nature of the farmers' class position, there are contradictory aspects within this struggle and different directions in which it can be aimed. On the one hand small farmers are hard-working people being crushed by the system who must struggle just to get by, and many can't even do that. But at the same time they are small businessmen who must make a profit or go under, and this is accompanied by the outlook among many farmers that if "their" government would just work for them as it does for the monopoly capitalists, the "little guy" would be able to prosper.

This kind of thinking flies in the face of the laws of capitalism which are ruining the farmers at every step. It is fed by the John Birch Society and other reactionary forces which have wormed their way into the leadership of the agricultural movement. This attitude flows from the outlook of the small producer who is desperately trying to preserve his independent position above that of the working class. It represents the nostalgia of the petty bourgeoisie, hoping to roll back the wheels of history to an earlier period of "free enterprise" when the small producer had more of a fighting chance of prospering and growing.

This outlook among farmers was seen clearly in the Populist Movement which flowered during the depression of the early 1890s when farmers rebelled against the tightening grip of monopoly interests like the railroads which controlled the outlets for their products and the manufacturers of farm equipment who were bleeding farmers dry. Populism sought to overthrow the "invisible rule" by monopoly and finance capital and to "recapture" for the masses—workers, farmers, small businessmen and producers—the control of the government, a control they never really had in the first place. But while Populism was largely progressive at that time, uniting farmers and workers, Black and white, against the domination of concentrated capital, it assumed the basic validity of the institutions of capitalism and clung to the notions of "fair competition" and free-enterprise capitalism which were rapidly becoming a thing of the past. While the Populist movement collapsed with the consolidation of monopoly capitalism, its influence has remained and the outlook which characterized it continues to mark the movements of the small farmers.

This "free-enterprise" thinking is reflected in the political stand being taken by the AAM in Washington. Their main demand is for 100% parity—that is, for bigger government loans to farmers based on pegging a higher price level for farm products, which would supposedly give farmers the purchasing power they had in "relatively good times" like the period from 1909 to 1914. But this is no more than a call to "turn back the clock," as if history could be shifted into reverse gear. It follows from the line of the John Birchers that has sown the illusion that the system can be

made to "work" and all that is needed is "a return to the past." The result has been to direct the political thrust of the farmers' movement away from the very source of their misery—the inexorable workings of the capitalist system. This line focuses the farmers' attention on their illusory short-term interests and steers them away from their real future interests in joining with the workers to destroy capitalism.

Parity is nothing but a pipe dream—it assumes that the government can somehow rearrange the very laws of capitalism that are operating in agriculture. But even if they wanted to, the capitalists could not alter the law of value which ultimately determines the prices at which goods are sold. If they artificially doubled the price of wheat as the farmers are asking, capital investment would flow into farming, creating mammoth over-production which would send prices plunging back down to the bottom of the barrel. Though farmers would realize some temporary gains at first, the laws of capitalism would only reassert themselves like chickens coming home to roost. The final result could only be that the small farmer would be squeezed that much harder.

Beyond this, the demand for parity ignores that the basic interests of monopoly capital are opposed to those of the small producer. Presently, the capitalists want to hold prices low enough to expand farm exports to cover their balance of payments deficit in the face of stiff foreign competition—a policy that will benefit the big farmers who will profit from the volume of these huge sales. In addition, there is no way the capitalists can or will insure the "little guy" against the wild fluctuations of the marketplace controlled by the

big speculators in commodity futures who rig the whole set-up so they can buy cheap and sell dear at the expense of small farmers and the working masses.

The dual aspects of the position of small farmers are locked in struggle in the movement of today. On the one hand there is the farmers' militance, their anger at being crushed and their willingness to take on the authorities in order to make their protests felt. In Washington, many farmers have fought the cops (whose job it is to contain these protests for the capitalists) in the face of clubbings, tear gas and mace. They have also vented their rage at the representatives of the rich farmers like the American Farm Bureau Federation—150 farmers invaded their offices tossing potted plants through the windows and plastering the walls with AAM bumper stickers. Spontaneously, this militance has often broken through the bounds set by their "leadership." In one instance, when some leaders went into the editorial room of the *Washington Post* to beg for better news coverage, rank and file farmers outside were smashing open newsstands and burning copies of the *Post* in a huge bonfire on the sidewalk.

But at the same time many farmers have fallen for the line pushed by Birchers and others that the problem lies in "the conspiracy of monopolists who are wrecking capitalism" and that the solution is to "unite to make this great system work as it was conceived by the founding fathers." These forces have diverted the struggle into massive lobbying as farmers shuttle from one congressional office to another in the mistaken belief that support is forthcoming from "concerned" senators and that the govern-



Tractor burns in front of Agriculture Department as members of American Agricultural Movement Battle cops, who used clubs and tear gas to break up their demonstration. American flag, and the fact that it's not burning, illustrates the backward aspect of the farmer's movement.

ment can be convinced to "see things their way." Meanwhile, various politicians have tried to drum up votes and, ironically, utilize revisionist China to spread anti-communism, piously declaring "Carter welcomed that commie Teng. Why doesn't he welcome the hard-working family farmer?"

But more and more, small farmers are beginning to see that while the bourgeoisie does everything it possibly can to ensure the survival of the monopoly capitalists, they could give a damn about the masses of people, including the marginal farmers who, as one banker put it, "will just have to bite the dust." As their struggle is more directed at the real source of their miserable economic conditions, the small farmers remaining can deal powerful blows against the capitalists who are sucking the blood of the masses of workers and small farmers alike. By uniting with the overall thrust of the farmers' struggle which is objectively opposed to the capitalists, the working class must fight for increasing unity against the common exploiters to more powerfully build its revolutionary struggle. And likewise, the farmers must seek to unite with the ranks of the proletariat—the only thoroughly revolutionary class in society today that is capable of eliminating these capitalist parasites and their moribund system.

An important advance in this respect was made last year during the coal miners' strike. On several occasions farmers brought truckloads of meat and other foods desperately needed by striking miners. Farmers from South Dakota brought a sizeable donation from their branch of the American Agricultural Movement and gave it to the Miners Right to Strike Committee, with the knowledge that the committee contained members who were revolutionary communists, members of the RCP. In return, part of this donation was used to send a contingent of miners to Nebraska to support a demonstration called by striking farmers in support of meatpackers on strike at Iowa Beef.

Coming off that significant development, this year a delegation of coal miners from the MRTSC of the National United Workers Organization, including a member of the RCP, went to Washington to express the support of class conscious miners for the farmers' struggle and to engage in comradely struggle with the farmers about the correct way forward for their movement. In lively discussions with farmers from South Dakota and other parts of the country, they pointed out that it is correct and necessary to fight for concessions from the government, but that the spearhead should be directed against the capitalists—such as demanding cancellation of debts and fighting foreclosures in an organized way like farmers who banded together in the '30s. But more importantly, they struggled with the farmers to see that the only real solution to their problems lies in helping to build a powerful movement to overthrow the capitalist system and end the source of their misery once and for all.

Some of the miners made no bones about the fact that they stood for violent, armed revolution—and this created a lot of controversy. For the first time in a long time farmers were hearing something other than

the Bircher analysis. They were hearing a straight-out presentation of communist ideas. While no one was immediately won over to a communist program, it was clear that there are many honest farmers who are open to struggle. One woman said, "I'm not afraid of communism. I used to be but what we've got here now is a disaster." Many others expressed appreciation for the workers' support and said they felt that as a result farmers and workers were coming closer together. One man said, "Five years ago I used to see strikers on TV and curse 'em 'cause I thought they were driving prices up. But now I see we got a lot to learn from the working people, that we're not enemies, we're friends!"

The following week on invitation from the farmers, the miners and the Party representative returned to Washington along with a representative from the Baltimore NUWO. They went to meet with farmers at the Skyline Hotel where the AAM has its temporary offices, and seized the opportunity to conduct militant revolutionary agitation in the lobby for over an hour and sell the *Revolutionary Worker*. Over a hundred farmers came up to struggle over the question of revolution, vigorously debating the way forward out of this mess. That evening a coal miner, O.V. Hirsch, sang revolutionary songs at a rally of five hundred farmers. By way of introduction he said, "We're here because we got more in common than just digging in the dirt. We're here to support the struggle of farmers against our common enemy." After hearing a song about the struggle in Houston and the Moody Park 3, one farmer from Texas came up and said, "We've been following that thing and we thought what the cops did was really bad. The Mexican people are gonna keep on fighting."

Many farmers were enthusiastic about the kind of support they were receiving from the working class. But much further struggle and discussion needs to go on to win increasing numbers of farmers to a correct line and tap the potential for unity that can strike real blows at the monopoly capitalists. The comment of one older farmer from South Dakota indicated both the possibility of unity and at the same time the necessity of struggling over the farmers' line. He said, "We agree we've got a common enemy and that there's got to be a revolution. We just don't agree on what to replace it with. And after this revolution is over we're gonna be right back here talking and debating about this same thing."

For the vast majority of small farmers capitalism has sown only bitter hardship and the threat of ruin. The only future for them lies in joining in overthrowing the rule of the monopoly capitalists and helping to plow their system into the ground. The farmers can be won to see that their future lies with socialism and their transformation over time from individual producers producing for a market to part of a collective army of labor, consciously and voluntarily working to meet the needs of society and transform it. ■



This book, more than anything else now available, provides the theoretical basis for understanding how, 20 years after the revolution was betrayed in the Soviet Union, revisionists were able to seize power in China. The book was born in the throes of bitter struggle in the RCP against those who sought to drag the Party down the road to hell in the footsteps of the traitors Teng and Hua in China.

The revolutionaries in the RCP ruthlessly exposed exactly how the revisionists in China were reversing the socialist revolution, restoring capitalism and moving inevitably towards capitulation to imperialism. On the basis of its Marxist-Leninist line, the Party analyzed exactly what the developments in China would be—an analysis confirmed a thousand times over in the last year and more. But more, this book provides a continuing basis for going yet more deeply into the course of capitalist restoration in China and its international implications.

It doesn't just provide the theoretical basis to understand what *happened*. Using Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought it provides a basis to advance off this defeat in China to greater victories in the future. For it is precisely in the struggle against opportunism and bourgeois ideology that the international working class movement has strengthened and consolidated its unity and marched forward to deal new defeats to the bourgeoisie and reactionaries everywhere.

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Defend the Right to Abortion

Capitalists Use Anti-Abortionists To Whip Up Reaction

January 22 saw a large anti-abortion march on the Capitol in Washington, D.C. National Park Service police estimated the crowd at 60,000 in the "March for Life" on the sixth anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision legalizing abortion.

First, it should be clear that the movement against abortion is a totally reactionary one. The fact that it is aimed at making abortion illegal is itself reactionary, an attempt to reverse this right won through the mass struggles of the women's movement. But even besides this, the anti-abortionists push the idea that women are essentially child-bearers and housekeepers, thus propping up and justifying the continued oppression of women. As the *Programme* of the Revolutionary Communist Party points out,

Women are victims of discrimination and inequality in almost every aspect of society—employment, education, and in legal, financial, and other spheres. And, *central to their oppression*, women are bound to the household and its drudgery by tradition and the organization of society itself. The majority of women bear the responsibility for cooking, cleaning, and raising children, the cost of which is, included in the wages paid to the husbands. (p. 138, emphasis added.)

Along with Phyllis Schlafly and the anti-ERA movement, the "right-to-lifers" push exactly the line that women *should* be bound to the household—that "a woman's place is in the home," having and raising kids and doing household tasks.

The "pro-life" movement, as the anti-abortionists like to call themselves, is closely associated, both institutionally and ideologically, with the Catholic, the Mormon and various fundamentalist churches, and is encouraged by the ruling class. By far its biggest organized and organizing force is the Catholic Church. The church has always been opposed not only to abortion, of course, but to contraception as well, but it was in 1975 that the Catholic hierarchy in the U.S. decided to make an organized effort against the legalization of abortion. This decision was put forward in the "Pastoral Plan for Pro-Life Activities" issued by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in that year, which urges "an educational/public information effort," and calls on priests to speak out against abortion and for church-sponsored organizations to whip up opposition to it. Since then, the Catholic Church has put many hundreds of thousands of

dollars into the movement, as well as manpower and institutional connections.

The membership of the Catholic and other churches involved, organized and led by the church hierarchy, forms the bulk of the mass base of the "pro-life" movement. The movement's main focus is on the outlawing of abortion, but it also tends to be—often very explicitly—anti-contraception, anti-sex-education, and anti-equality as well. The movement's strength is such that in some states (Utah is a notable example) it is almost impossible to open an abortion clinic. The same is true in various parts, especially nonurban areas, of most other states.

Although this movement is not something planned and initiated by the bourgeoisie (although some individual capitalists are definitely in it), they welcome it. Mainly they welcome it because they love to see a reactionary movement stirred up—both because it spreads reactionary ideology and because it creates divisions among the people. It creates a situation in which they can play both sides of the street, presenting the only alternatives as being straight-out reaction on the one hand, and bourgeois liberalism on the other.

Fanning the flames of the anti-abortion-movement, the ruling class often "gives in" to it under the guise of moral scruples. Thus in 1977 Congress passed a bill that cut off payment for abortions for women on Medicaid except when the woman's health is severely endangered or when the pregnancy results from rape or incest. Congress has also passed less major bills and amendments which allow, for instance, employers to exclude abortion in their health insurance programs, which prohibit Peace Corps volunteers from receiving abortions under their health care coverage, etc.

At a time when the economic crisis is putting increasing strains on the budget, cutting out abortion funding will save the government some money. But there is much more involved here than simply cutting back social services. In fact, some bourgeois population control advocates point out that funding abortions is cheaper for the ruling class than "having to feed the children of welfare mothers."

And the bourgeoisie does generally push a neo-Malthusian program of population control these days, as a way of keeping down the classes that threaten them, both in the U.S. and world-wide, and promoting the reactionary and ridiculous thesis that the problems in the world, especially the underdeveloped countries, stem from "too many people." They have updated the ideas of Thomas

Malthus, whom Marx discredited long ago, showing that his population theory was not only incorrect, but "a shameless plagiarism" as well, put forward purely to serve the interests of the ruling classes, whom Malthus "adored...like a true priest" (see *Capital*, International Publishers, Vol. 1, pp. 507, 529, 616). Today the bourgeoisie's neo-Malthusianism amounts to a vain policy of trying to avoid crisis in their system by controlling the population. One of their prime means for this is sterilization.

Massive Sterilization Program

Sterilization has become the second biggest form of birth control in the U.S. today, and government funded programs have played a major role in this. Although statistics on sterilization are tightly guarded, Carl Schultz, head of the Office of Population Affairs for Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) admitted that HEW had financed 100,000-200,000 sterilizations in 1973 alone.

Minority women are singled out for the government's population control schemes. Puerto Rico is a sharp example—between 1955-1965 HEW sterilized 34% of all women of childbearing age. In a 1973 study of the population, 23% of all married Black women had been sterilized (as compared to 12% of whites). In the case of Chicanos, 21.7% of all women under 35 who've ever been married have been sterilized, as have 25% of all Native American women.

In many cases of sterilization, women have been tricked into it or downright coerced. In 1973 a Black man in Montgomery, Alabama sued the federal government and a Montgomery clinic which had sterilized his two daughters, aged 12 and 14, without them (or him) even knowing what was being done to them. In the uproar that followed, it came out that this is a widespread practice. In hospitals and clinics across the country, women, especially from national minorities, are subjected to sterilization. Women are pressured to agree to sterilization while in labor. Spanish-speaking women are tricked into signing consent forms in English.

Other schemes are being floated to make welfare women accept sterilization as a prerequisite for obtaining the meager funds they get to live on. In Delaware a Senate Committee recommended that welfare mothers with 2 or more illegitimate children be sterilized. Notorious racist William Shockley has been lobbying for his bonus sterilization plan whereby women on welfare who rate low on IQ tests will be given a cash bonus to be sterilized (the lower the IQ, the higher the

bonus). This is his plan to cut back the Black population, whom he sees as genetically inferior.

All these sterilization programs serve one purpose—to eliminate people whom the capitalists can't profitably put to use. And they are not the hare-brained schemes of some individual capitalists, but conscious policy on the part of the ruling class. Those that are put into effect are mainly funded through the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The non-availability of legal abortions means that large numbers of women are forced into very dangerous illegal abortions. As one nurse observed, "The only difference between abortions being legal and being illegal is the number of women brought into the Emergency Room bleeding to death." While this isn't the whole picture, it highlights the fact that the illegality of abortions forces great numbers of women to run a good danger of death. But then, on the other hand, the ruling class in its great mercy, in order to save them from such dangers, forcibly sterilizes many of these same women!

Communists oppose both forced sterilization schemes as well as restrictions on abortion—and forced abortion, too. The point is that communists fight all the features of capitalist compulsion—economic, social and legal—that dictate whether women can or cannot have children.

"right-to-life" movement, and of the fact that it is actually a movement *for* the oppression of women, is that they have never manifested the slightest concern with this massive sterilization program. But then their whole pretense to a reverent "respect for life" is totally bogus. Many of the same bible-toting priests and preachers who are so concerned about "killing babies" were out blessing the napalm bombs during the Vietnam war, and are generally warm supporters of all the projects, policies and institutions whereby capitalists put down and murder people—babies and adults alike—around the world.

The Bourgeois Defense of Abortion

It is clear that the anti-abortion movement is reactionary and must be opposed. But at the same time it is necessary to draw a distinction between communists' opposition to the anti-abortion movement, and the opposition of the bourgeois liberals.

The American Civil Liberties Union, for example, opposes laws against abortion because it says that such laws are "an invasion of privacy." The proletariat, however, does not see "personal privacy" or the "privacy of the marital relationship" as some absolute right which everyone has, as the ACLU seems to be saying.

This is very closely related to the stand that "my body is my own and I can do what I want with it." Exactly because many kinds of

women's oppression comes down in an individual form—being treated like a piece of meat, for one thing—women often rebel against oppression in their kind of individual way. And such resistance is progressive. But as a developed ideology to guide a movement, such individualism does not point the way forward.

In fact, this stand can even take very reactionary forms, as in this commonly-heard argument to justify a person's "freedom" to take drugs, to sell one's body as a prostitute, or even to commit suicide. This is a bourgeois point of view, in the first place, because it sees a person's own body as a piece of property—and then it applies the classic standpoint of the bourgeoisie to this and says that a person has a more-or-less absolute right to do whatever he wants to with his own property—improve it, sell it, destroy it, or whatever. In fact one of the first bourgeois ideologists, John Locke, writing in the 17th century, uses as a crucial part of his argument for the capitalist organization of society the thesis that "every man has a property in his own person."

Communists, of course, do not believe in any such absolute rights to private property. Even though the working class does not abolish all private personal property under socialism (it doesn't communize your toothbrush), it certainly does not organize campaigns around the theme that everyone has the right to do what they want with their

Erratum

Revolution Vol. 4, No. 2-3
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Page 12, column 3, top should read:

women's oppression comes down in an individual form—being treated like a piece of meat, for one thing—women often rebel against oppression in this kind of individual way. And such resistance is progressive. But as a developed ideology to guide a movement, such individualism does not point the way forward.

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private property.

In the second place, your body is not your property, and to look at it that way is both degrading and idealist. It is obviously degrading to view one's own body (or anyone else's) as a "piece of meat," as a commodity, as a piece of property, to be bought, sold, disposed of, or whatever. And it is idealist as well, for this viewpoint supposes that the "real you" is not your body, but something else—presumably your "soul." The real person is the soul, which owns this piece of meat, the body.

All of this shows how the common feminist defense of the right to abortion in terms of the right of women to "have control over their own bodies" is a defense based upon bourgeois ideology.

As long as the women's movement is led by some form of bourgeois ideology, it will ultimately go nowhere but into the ground. This is illustrated by the remarks of a leading member of the National Abortion Rights Action League, the main lobbying group for the retention of legal abortion: "It's the most basic right a woman has. If a woman can't control her body, she has no control over the rest of her life." This seems to propose a strategy for women: first get control over your body, then get control of other aspects of your life. But rejecting such a "solution" starting from each individual, Marxists see that women's oppression is social in nature, and that its solution must also be social—the solution must not only be sought through mass social struggle, but it can only be achieved through a change in society as a whole. Women's oppression has its source in class society, and it can only be overcome through the struggle to end class society. Further, neither different phases of the struggle against women's oppression, nor this struggle and the overall revolutionary struggle, can be metaphysically separated from each other. It is not that women can first "gain control of their bodies" and then go on to other aspects of their oppression, nor is it that women can first get themselves liberated and then worry about the rest of society, for in fact all of these struggles are dialectically related.

The fight for the right to safe and legal abortions is part of the struggle of women against their oppression. For, as noted above, central to the oppression of women is their being tied to the role of child-raiser and housekeeper. An essential part of getting free from this role is for women to have the ability to prevent themselves from having children, both through contraception and abortion. The inability to get an abortion is another link on the chain binding women, and the fight for the right to get abortions is part of the struggle to break this chain.

Thus the Revolutionary Communist Party supports the demand for safe and legal abortions. That the word "safe" here is not synonymous with "legal" was illustrated by the recent scandal involving Michigan Avenue abortion clinics in Chicago. Many of these clinics were found to be high-priced fast-buck butcher shops, unclean and unsafe in many ways. A good illustration of the fact that anything will be done for a profit under capitalism and that the struggle against this,

or any other, aspect of women's oppression cannot be reduced to passing a law.

The "Morality" of Abortion

The argument of the bourgeois feminists about women's "right" to control their own body is countered by an even more reactionary "right"—the so-called right of a fetus to live. The fetus becomes a baby, and has a right to live which supersedes the mother's right to abortion—so the argument goes. But what is the point at which a certain amalgam of cells becomes a "person"? Historically, many societies have put birth as the beginning of the life of an actual human being. The ancient Greeks and most medieval theologians (the Scholastics, as they were called) chose a certain stage in the development of the fetus as the point at which the fetus becomes a person. The Scholastics thought that the fetus became a human being when it was infused by god with a soul, and this was identified with the moment at which it became animated—that is, the moment at which it was given an *anima*, or soul.

During the Middle Ages the Catholic Church held that god infused a soul in males 40 days after conception, but not until 80 days after conception in the case of females! However, since the time of the first Vatican Council in 1869-70, Catholic theologians have tended to hold that "ensoulment" takes place at conception. Although this has never been officially promulgated as a dogma, the Catholic position in practice is clearly that "Every unborn child must be regarded as a human person, with all the rights of a human person, from the moment of conception" (*Ethical and Religious Directives for Catholic Hospitals*, p. 4).

But some people who reject—or think they reject—the religious concept of "soul," still oppose abortion on moral grounds or get caught up in trying to determine at what point a fetus becomes a person, thus making abortion unjustified.

Some people have held that human life can't be said to have begun before the brain becomes active. Others have thought that self-consciousness is necessary to becoming a person, which places the beginning of "personhood" sometime after birth. And since from a biological point of view the genetic makeup of a person is determined at conception, some endow a fertilized egg with "personhood."

It is clear, though, that the question here isn't "When is there life?" For the ovum by itself is a living cell—it's alive—as is the sperm cell. So are most of the cells in anybody's body.

But even coming up with a definition of what a person is, and then coming to a conclusion as to when the qualitative leap to becoming a person occurs, would by no means settle the question of abortion. For in the first place, all definitions are provisional and relative. As Engels points out in *Anti-Duhring*, "From a scientific standpoint all definitions are of little value." This is because they cannot fully encompass what they are attempting to define. (Engels goes on to say that they are nonetheless useful.)

But, more than this, a definition would not

of itself solve anything because the question is primarily a social question. Whether abortion is justified or not can only be looked at in its social context.

As Engels remarks, in talking about the great scarcity of eternal truths in the field of morality: "The conceptions of good and evil have varied so much from nation to nation and from age to age that they have often been in direct contradiction to one another." (*Anti-Duhring*: chapter on "Morality and Law. Eternal Truths.") But this does not mean, contrary to bourgeois theorists, that everything is up for grabs. For morality is relative, as Engels points out, to the stage of economic development of society. For instance, there was nothing immoral about the fact that many primitive societies have practiced infanticide. Some babies were deliberately left to die. This corresponded to the level of productive forces, and was not wrong. But the same thing is definitely wrong today, when the level of society makes infanticide unnecessary.

Further, since the beginning of class society, all morality has been class morality, expressing the interest of one or another class. As communists, we have no doubt about which class' interests we base our morality upon. As Lenin said,

Is there such a thing as communist morality? Of course, there is. It is often suggested that we have no ethics of our own; very often the bourgeoisie accuses us Communists of rejecting all morality. This is a method of confusing the issue, of throwing dust in the eyes of the workers and peasants.

In what sense do we reject ethics, reject morality?

In the sense given to it by the bourgeoisie, who based ethics on God's commandments. . .

We reject any morality based on extra-human and extra-class concepts. We say that this is deception, dupery, stultification of the workers and peasants in the interests of the landowners and capitalists.

We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the proletariat's class struggle. Our morality stems from the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. ("The Tasks of the Youth Leagues," *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 291.)

Thus, the question for communists is, how to evaluate abortion in terms of the revolutionary interests of the proletariat. And the answer here is clear. The denial of women's right to abortion is part and parcel of the general oppression of women. It is part of the attempt to keep women "in their place"—namely, as the old saying has it, "barefoot, pregnant and chained to the stove." Consequently, the right to safe and legal abortion must be upheld by communists and revolutionaries, and attacks upon this right must be vigorously opposed. ■

IT ALL DEPENDS ON WHETHER YOU REALLY WANT REVOLUTION IN THIS COUNTRY OR NOT.

The answer to that question is the same as the answer to the question of whether or not you should support and assist the Revolutionary Communist Party to hit the ruling class tit for tat and fan the flames of revolution.

**The Revolutionary Communist Party is here announcing a call to raise ONE MILLION DOLLARS!
A million dollars by the end of this summer!**

To meet the outrageous and mounting attacks of the ruling class and its legal apparatus on RCP members and supporters from Houston, Texas to Washington, D.C.—to build political support and legal defense, including ransom (bail) payments.

To make possible bold new plans for taking the offensive politically in the face of these attacks and of the more and more world-shaking developments toward world war and revolution throughout the world—to publish the *Revolutionary Worker* as a national weekly

newspaper (with local supplements) by May Day this year and strengthen the Party's ability to respond in this way and others to the rapid acceleration of events and the growing need to quicken the pace of revolutionary work in this country.

To enable the Party to spread and deepen its influence in every part of the country and to develop its contacts and political ties with revolutionary forces all over the world in this situation of growing upheaval and great turmoil.

Events more and more make clear that only the Revolutionary Communist Party can actually lead the proletarian revolution in this country, and that indeed the RCP is the only party really and seriously working for this, and that the ruling class is deadly serious in its attacks on the RCP exactly for this reason.

When the revisionists stole power in China, threw down and trampled on the red banner of revolution and enlisted in the camp of reaction, particularly with U.S. imperialism at this time, the RCP had its chance, like others, to play along, make its peace with these murderers and tormentors of the people and wave the American flag in the face of the millions here and around the world who burn with the desire to be free of everything that bloody rag stands for. The RCP had its opportunity, like others, to be another bullet shot in the back of the proletariat and oppressed people, in exchange for "peaceful coexistence" with and perhaps a dose of support from the rulers of this country and the cover of filthy "credentials" from Peking. Through fierce struggle and the cutting out of a capitulation-minded cancer in its own ranks the RCP determined to boldly and defiantly hold high the banner of revolution, of Mao Tsetung, of unrelenting struggle against imperialism, revisionism and everything reactionary—until their doom. And the RCP refused to join the chorus of retrograde turncoats who have attacked Mao's line and the achievements of the Chinese revolution since that line and those achievements have been overturned in China, and perhaps, to them, Mao's prestige doesn't seem so great.

When the masses of people in Iran erupted in a volcano of revolution, the RCP could have joined with others to find miserable excuses for cowardly and chauvinist betrayal. The RCP stood fast in its internationalist duties and continues today to challenge the lies and slanders of the U.S. imperialists and their agents and to rally masses in this country in support of the Iranian people's revolutionary struggle—until complete victory.

When the Chicano people in Houston arose in revenge against years of discrimination and police terror, the RCP could have stood on the sidelines with others, trembling and criticizing; it could have thrown in with the vipers and pimps who see the suffering and resistance of the people as their hustle to high position. The RCP stood in the midst of the masses of Chicanos rising in revolt and raised high the banner that **"IT IS RIGHT TO REBEL."** And more the RCP pointed to the future—**"FROM REBELLION TO MASS, ARMED REVOLUTION."**

In the face of the daily sharpening developments toward world war, the RCP could scramble to beat out others in scurrying for cover, in

pledging allegiance to our own bourgeoisie and helping politically prepare the masses to slaughter and be slaughtered for the sake of the American empire. The RCP declares instead that it will continue and intensify its revolutionary work, in preparing itself and ever-broader ranks of the masses for the time when, with the ripening of the objective situation, as the towering crimes of the imperialists and the death rattle of their system are more sharply exposed, it will lead the masses in using weapons of destruction to destroy the rule of the imperialists, bring about the emancipation of the working class and people here and strike a great blow for the liberation of the proletariat and oppressed people the world over.

From Houston to Beverly Hills to Washington, D.C., the RCP has stood in the thick of struggle and raised the banner of revolution. Everywhere, from one end of the country to the other, it has stepped up its work, to hound and expose the bloody hand of the ruling class, rally the advanced and awaken new forces to political life and struggle. Still, these are only the first steps of a true long march that must be undertaken.

Yet, because of the Party's political line and revolutionary dedication, the ruling class has already launched and intensified vicious attacks against the RCP. This, these reactionaries do according to their nature, to "teach a lesson" to those who would dare stand up and fight and to rob the proletariat and the masses of people of the one force, the Revolutionary Communist Party, that is capable of and determined to lead them, through the earth-pounding storms ahead, to put an end to the misery, madness and carnage caused by this system.

The response of the RCP, consistent with its revolutionary line and its responsibility to actually lead the proletariat in carrying out the unprecedented task history has presented it, is and can only be to step up its work, to meet these attacks with counter-attacks and to take the offensive politically. This requires not only the more determined efforts of all Party members and the rallying into the Party of fresh, vigorous forces from among the masses, it also requires the support of all those who indeed really want to see revolution actually be brought about in this country. It requires every kind of support, not the least of that financial support—

FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO ASSIST THE PARTY IN MAKING A BOLD NEW LEAP.

Therefore, in the same spirit in which the Revolutionary Communist Party has called on revolutionary fighters to step forward and enlist in the Mao Tsetung Enrollment into the Party, it calls on all those who really want revolution in this country to make their greatest possible contribution to the financial resources of the Party, and to help the Party win a great victory on this front—

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Iran—Revolution and Beyond

In the first part of February, the Iranian people launched a powerful armed insurrection that swept away the reactionary Bakhtiar regime and the Shah's monarchy as well and delivered a mighty blow to U.S. imperialism and its decades-old stranglehold on Iran. In several days of intense fighting, starting on February 9, the armed Iranian masses, joined by rebel soldiers and airmen, routed the Imperial Guards and other "elite" army units and captured key government buildings, police stations and army bases, liberating city after city, province after province. On February 12, after high-ranking generals agreed to pull back to the barracks and throw their "support" behind the new government, Ayatollah Khomeini proclaimed the "Islamic Republic of Iran."

A great victory has been won by the Iranian people's revolutionary struggle, not only for themselves but for the workers and oppressed peoples of the whole world. But in many ways even more important than the victorious popular insurrection and the *coup de grace* delivered to the Shah's U.S.-backed regime has been the rapid growth of the revolutionary consciousness of the Iranian masses—their increased determination to carry through the revolution to the complete destruction of imperialism and Iran's reactionary classes—and linked closely to this the growing influence of Iran's Marxist-Leninist forces. This was sharply illustrated by the rally of more than 100,000 people organized by the revolutionary Left on Feb. 23 at Tehran University.

These developments are all the more important today because the class forces that have taken power—chiefly the Iranian national bourgeoisie, in alliance with religious leaders such as Khomeini, have recoiled at the task of completely destroying the old state apparatus and have turned more and more of their attention to restraining the masses' revolutionary struggle and countering the growing influence of Marxist-Leninist forces.

Still, due to the tremendous pressure building up among the masses for revolutionary change and because of these class forces' own interest in removing certain obstacles to their development, the Bazargan government and Khomeini's parallel "Islamic revolutionary committee" have taken some democratic, anti-imperialist measures—including arresting scores of the Shah's top generals and political figures and executing some of them, expropriating the royal family's vast industrial and land holdings, and cutting all ties with Israel and



pledging support to the Palestinian people and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

After suffering defeat on defeat in recent months, the U.S. bourgeoisie is desperately trying to minimize its losses, and is worried chiefly about the continuation of the revolutionary struggle. In addition, they are wary of the possible gains the Soviet Union might make in the midst of this volatile situation. The U.S. is clearly trying to reach an accommodation with the new government, holding out generous offers of "aid" if the revolution can be brought under control—and doing everything possible to see that the U.S.-trained and equipped army will survive in some form.

Since Iran is a country that has been stunted and ravaged by imperialism and still has pronounced semi-feudal features, especially in the countryside, the task at hand is to complete the first, new-democratic stage of the revolution—the armed overthrow and thorough uprooting of the imperialists, landlords and reactionary bourgeoisie, and the establishment of the political power of the Iranian masses, led by the proletariat and its communist party. Particularly at this juncture it is evident that leadership of the Iranian proletariat is the only way the new-democratic revolution can advance toward final victory.

The New Regime

On the other hand, the Iranian national bourgeoisie, represented by the Bazargan

government, is fundamentally incapable and unwilling to lead the masses and the revolution forward to complete its anti-imperialist, democratic tasks. The national bourgeoisie's class interests call for it to try to consolidate an independent, capitalist Iran—a pipedream in the era of imperialism. Instead the national bourgeoisie in power has proved repeatedly (Chile under Allende, Sukarno in Indonesia, Egypt under Nasser, South Yemen, etc.) that it will eventually either capitulate to the imperialists and their reactionary allies or be crushed by these same forces.

The Khomeini forces—whose main political base has been the sizable urban petty bourgeoisie (small merchants, shopkeepers, professionals) who have been driven into ruin by the imperialists and big bourgeoisie—were the most influential political force in the struggle to overthrow the Shah's regime. Khomeini himself had been uncompromising in his opposition to the Pahlavi dynasty and the U.S. imperialist backing of it. But with power now in their hands, together with the national bourgeoisie, the Khomeini forces have also revealed their inability to lead the national democratic revolution forward, reflecting the vacillation of the petty bourgeoisie, as opposed to the firm revolutionary stand taken by the proletariat.

This underlines the crucial role at this juncture of the Marxist-Leninists and other forces of the revolutionary Left, who are mobilizing the masses, especially the proletariat, to defend and extend the gains of the revolution and are refusing to lay their arms down as the Bazargan government and Khomeini have demanded.

Build-Up Towards Insurrection

The ground work for this powerful nationwide insurrection had been laid during the last year and a half's rising crescendo of revolutionary struggle. After the Shah was forced into exile and the Bakhtiar government was trotted out to front for U.S. imperialism, in January, the revolutionary struggle took another great leap forward.

Over the last three days in January, heavy fighting broke out in many cities and towns, in many cases when the reactionary forces tried to stage pro-Shah demonstrations in some areas and unleashed the army on marches and demonstrations elsewhere. From the Kurdish city of Sanandj to the streets near Tehran University in the capital city, tens of thousands of people took up arms on the most massive scale yet and took the *offensive* against the army in the streets.

A highly explosive ingredient in all this was

the Bakhtiar government's refusal to allow Ayatollah Khomeini to return to Iran after 15 years in exile, which had become a mass demand of the people—and which directly threatened the Bakhtiar government (in reality the Shah's regime without the Shah) since Khomeini was openly calling for its destruction. Particularly after these large-scale street battles in which the masses fought toe-to-toe against the Imperial Army, opening up new cracks inside the armed forces, the Bakhtiar government was forced to retreat and permit Khomeini's return.

With the triumphant return of Khomeini, the Bakhtiar government's days were clearly numbered. Government ministers began resigning in droves, and, very significantly, the armed forces split even further. Mass desertions, mutinies and outbreaks of fighting within and between units snowballed.

Throughout this period, Khomeini and the forces around him increasingly wavered between relying on the mass struggle and trying to work out a deal with the army generals and their U.S. masters that would enable an "Islamic Republic" to be established without an all-out struggle for power. While continuing to call for the masses to take to the streets against the Bakhtiar regime, the Khomeini forces started placing limits on the revolutionary struggle in several important ways.

Khomeini continued to spread illusions about the totally reactionary nature of the Iranian army and repeatedly stopped short of calling for armed struggle to overthrow the government and crush the army. Instead, in his speech at the Behesht Zahra cemetery in Tehran on the day he returned to the country, Khomeini emphasized appealing to the military, including the top officer corps, to "join the people": "We want you to be independent. You, generals, don't you want that? I advise you to come and be with the people and say the same things as the people."

As the question of taking power was becoming an immediate question, Khomeini consolidated his political alignment with Iran's weak but ambitious national bourgeoisie. This was demonstrated most clearly by his choice of Mehdi Bazargan as shadow Prime Minister.

Bazargan

After serving briefly as director of the National Iranian Oil Company during the short-lived, reformist Mossadegh regime in the early 1950s, Bazargan became a leading National Front spokesman for reforming the Shah's regime. As the revolutionary movement developed in the late '60s and early '70s, Bazargan vehemently opposed it, building up a career as a respectable "opposition" leader with both Islamic and thoroughly bourgeois credentials. With the people's revolutionary explosion reaching new heights in recent months, Bazargan cleverly hitched himself onto the Khomeini bandwagon, becoming a leading wheeler dealer, trying to cook up compromises between the Khomeini forces and his "old friend" Bakhtiar, the army and the U.S. government—which said it had been in constant contact with Bazargan for several weeks

before the insurrection. As an indication of what the U.S. bourgeoisie thinks about Bazargan, the *Christian Science Monitor* recently observed that after "measuring the force of the revolution," Bazargan decided to "join the revolution and try to moderate its course from within."

Just days before the despised Bakhtiar government's downfall, Bazargan commented that "Our only criticism of Bakhtiar is that he is working under the Shah's authority." And in an even more revealing act, Bazargan promised to start providing the Iranian army with all the oil it needed, just days before the people launched their all-out attack on this bloodthirsty force of reaction. This also placed him in direct opposition to the striking oil workers who for months refused to produce oil for the Western oil consortium and the reactionary army. Just one month earlier, the striking oil workers, with communists playing a leading role, repulsed the joint efforts of Bazargan and Khomeini to take over their strike.

Insurrection Erupts

In the days following Khomeini's return, in Isfahan, Qum, Shiraz and several other cities, the masses started taking over municipal governments in the name of the new "Islamic Republic," while the army and police forces retreated, leaving the cities in the people's hands.

But it was on Friday night, Feb. 9 that the all-out popular insurrection was triggered at the Doshan Tappeh air training base in southeast Tehran, when units of the 30,000 strong Imperial Guard (who called themselves "The Immortals") drove onto the base, machine guns blazing at Air Force cadets and technicians demonstrating in support of Khomeini. The Air Force men armed themselves and fought back, soon joined by thousands of armed civilians who together drove the Imperial Guard out of the base. By Saturday morning, fighting had spread throughout Tehran. One by one all of the city's 23 police stations fell to the people's forces, as did the army's and riot police's major arms depots—placing upwards of 600,000 captured guns in the hands of the people in Tehran alone!

Throughout the city, Marxist-Leninist organizations and other revolutionaries led tens of thousands more among the masses in attacking army units, knocking out tanks, capturing key government buildings such as the radio and TV headquarters, and helping to organize armed revolutionary committees, which started springing up all over the city in the neighborhoods. Tehran University was the main center of the revolutionary Left in the city, serving as a command post for the revolutionary groups and a distribution and training center for thousands of people eager to set their hands on the recently captured guns—with many of these groups openly calling for the formation of a people's army to destroy the reactionary army. Radio Iran, which fell into the hands of the revolutionary Left for several days, was renamed Voice of Revolution and helped direct the armed struggle.

The people's forces broke through the

gates of Tehran's Evin Prison, notorious for its torture and murder of revolutionaries, freeing 11,000 prisoners. Tehran's military governor, numerous top generals, the ex-head of SAVAK, and many other butchers from the Shah's regime were captured, and many were executed within days for their crimes against the people. With government troops losing the battle for Tehran, Bakhtiar resigned and disappeared (as it turns out, he was given safe refuge by Bazargan) just before his offices were taken over by the people.

The same scene was repeated in cities, towns and villages throughout Iran over the weekend and the next week. Though news reports from the provinces are still sketchy, there were large-scale peasant revolts in Khorasan Province surrounding Mashad in northeast Iran, where there has been a history of peasants taking over the land from big landholders in the last five months and redistributing it among themselves. And in the western Kurdish areas, where there has been a long history of resistance to national oppression and a rich tradition of armed struggle against the Shah's regime, the Kurdish masses rose up to seize power in cities such as Sanandj.

During these two days of intense fighting, right-wing mullahs were seen frantically trying to tell the masses to put down their arms and that the "time wasn't right" etc., naturally to no avail. Khomeini actually never did call for the masses to arm themselves and launch this decisive assault on the old regime, but the masses rose up in a powerful insurrection largely in his name just the same. According to numerous reports, Bazargan's central preoccupation was how to get the army to admit defeat and pull back before the people's armed struggle "got out of hand." And by late Sunday night, as the armed forces began to disintegrate under the heavy blows of the insurrection, Bazargan announced that the Army Chief of Staff and other generals had thrown their support to the new "Islamic Republic" and were ordering their units to return to their bases.

On the part of the U.S. imperialists and the old guard Iranian reactionaries centered in the army this was a conscious decision to avoid a long-drawn out civil war which they had rapidly diminishing odds of winning and which could only favor the growth of the revolutionary forces. As high White House and State Department officials acknowledged, the army was pulled out of the fighting so it could remain "a potent force and thus could be expected to assert power in the event of a leftist takeover bid." The U.S. desperately wanted to keep the U.S.-trained and equipped army as intact as possible both as a means of leverage over the newly formed Islamic government and as a counterweight to the revolutionary Left, and strategically as its main base for making a comeback in the future.

One only has to look at the example of Chile to see the danger in permitting the continued existence of an imperialist-dominated reactionary army. In 1970 the "socialist" Allende government, backed to the hilt by the revisionist pro-Soviet Communist Party

of Chile, was elected and made a number of reforms, including nationalizing major U.S. holdings, but left the Chilean army intact and restrained the masses of people from uprooting the reactionary classes, their U.S. imperialist backers and their base of power in the army. Only three years later in 1973, the CIA engineered a right-wing military coup that temporarily drowned the Chilean revolution in a sea of blood.

However, in the short term, the U.S. imperialists have been forced to try to strike up an accommodation with the Bazargan-Khomeini government. This was clearly indicated at Carter's Feb. 12 press conference, immediately after the insurrection, when he said that the U.S. was already in close contact with the new government and expressed "hope for a very productive and peaceful cooperation." The view having the most currency in Washington, D.C., given the collapse and present paralysis of the armed forces, is that the Bazargan government must be encouraged to clamp down on the revolutionary forces; and furthermore that the new pragmatic-minded government will sooner or later be forced to resume a "businesslike" relationship with the U.S. to finance economic recovery on a capitalist basis.

Bazargan has already given them something to cheer about by saying his government expects to resume oil exports to the Western imperialists in the near future and is already saying that foreign engineers and technicians will be needed in the oilfields once more to restore oil production. On top of this, the new Army Chief of Staff recently said the Iranian military will ask U.S. military advisers to stay on in order to be able to handle the more than \$10 billion worth of sophisticated U.S. arms bought by the Iranian armed forces. However, the Iranian masses will make their views known on these and other questions in the weeks to come.

Revolutionaries Keep Guns

In the wake of the successful mass insurrection, the contradictions between the new provisional government and the Marxist-Leninist and other revolutionary forces sharpened and came out into the open. As one of his first directives after the insurrection, Khomeini went on radio on February 12 to order that all captured guns be turned in to the mosques. Clearly worried about the growing influence of the Marxist-Leninist forces among the masses, Khomeini warned that the people "should not commit themselves to non-believers in Islam" and should beware of "opportunists and traitors wearing revolutionary masks."

Nevertheless only small amounts of the massive quantities of arms seized during the insurrection were turned in. The revolutionary Left forces straight up refused to give up their arms and several mosques were even raided to seize back weapons that had been turned in. This revolutionary position was strengthened when pro-Shah army units and SAVAK agents put up a last-ditch stand in Tabriz just one day after Khomeini had made his announcement that the army had "joined the revolution" and that the "general duty of the nation" was now to "protect them as

brothers."

On Feb. 14, a 100-man strong unit of revolutionary fighters mounted an assault against the U.S. Embassy compound in Tehran, with the stated goal of cleaning out any fleeing government officials, including SAVAK agents rumored to be holed up there, and to get hold of important files. After capturing the Iranian employees of the Embassy and holding the U.S. personnel, including Ambassador William Sullivan for two hours, a large force of armed Khomeini supporters, headed by Dr. Yazdi, the Deputy Prime Minister for Revolutionary Affairs, was dispatched to end the occupation. Though this bold raid was actually one of several on different embassies (such as the Moroccan and Israeli embassies), it showed clearly how the new government is shying away from a complete rupture with the hated U.S. imperialist, and it helped keep the initiative in the masses' hands. It also helped force a new exodus of U.S. advisers, leaving a hard core of 1000-2000 military advisers and CIA agents behind.

The importance of the Marxist-Leninist forces sticking to their own political program and taking the initiative in mobilizing the masses to advance the revolution further was underlined when Bazargan announced his new Cabinet and his choices for top military commanders. From the appointment of Karim Sanjabi as Foreign Minister, and Daryoush Farouhar as Minister of Labor (both of whom had been leading National Front members) to the choice of Amir Entezam as a Deputy Prime Minister (who ran a company importing engineering equipment into Iran from the U.S.), the whole Cabinet was stacked with members of the national bourgeoisie—reformers who had been calling for the Shah to "reign not rule" as recently as 6 months ago. In the military, the Bazargan government was trying to retain the old officer corps and command structure and the newly appointed commanders were generally just a few notches below the most hated top-ranking generals who have been arrested and held for trial.

These moves were met by widespread resistance. Since the insurrection the armed forces have been effectively split and paralyzed. As much as 80% of the 400,000-man army had not returned to their bases, in large part due to the rank and file soldiers' resistance to placing themselves under the command of the old officers. In mid-February, several thousand airmen marched to Khomeini's headquarters to appeal for the removal of the new commander of the Air Force, one of the Shah's top generals previously. In another significant action, over 5000 soldiers attended a rally at Tehran University organized by the Marxist-Leninist forces and publicly encouraged the revolutionaries *not* to give up their arms and expressed their support for disbanding the old Imperial Army and its reactionary officer corps and building a new people's army with revolutionary leadership.

Similar resistance to Bazargan's appointments has gone on in a number of government ministries and offices. There was a see-saw test of strength at the National Radio

and TV after a notorious anti-communist, a Khomeini lieutenant, was sent in with an armed escort to take it over from the revolutionary forces who, together with the workers' strike committee, had initially taken control of the radio station. The new director immediately set out to impose censorship against the revolutionary Left. In the oilfields, a stronghold of communist organization, the workers in 11 different sections expelled the old bureaucrats retained by the Bazargan government and elected representatives from their strike committees to take their place. And with recent statements by both Bazargan and the new director of the National Iranian Oil Company that foreign technicians will be needed to get the oilfields running again, there is bound to be more sharp conflict here.

Communist Forces

The current situation in which the national bourgeoisie and the Khomeini forces have not been able to fully consolidate their power, either politically or militarily, has created favorable conditions for the Iranian communists to extend their influence among the masses of the people. A leading organization among the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces is the Union of Iranian Communists, which has played a crucial role in building towards the formation of a new genuine communist party in Iran and which has a strong base in the southern oilfields as well as in other parts of the country. In addition, the Organization of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Iranian Working Class (a Marxist-Leninist group that developed out of the revolutionary Moslem Mojahadeen), the Group of Heydar Amoghli Comrades (named after the founder of Iran's first Communist Party nearly 70 years ago), and a number of other organizations have played an important role in the Iranian communist movement.

Another major part of the revolutionary Left is the Fedayeen-e-Khalq (People's Warriors), a sizable urban guerrilla group with its main base among students and the intelligentsia. The Fedayeen has received a great deal of publicity recently due to its active role in the armed insurrection in Tehran. While playing a generally positive role so far in calling for continuing the revolution and refusing to turn in their weapons, the Fedayeen has for many years held incorrect positions on important questions—including the Soviet Union. While criticizing some of the USSR's actions in Iran and elsewhere, the Fedayeen has not condemned it as an imperialist superpower. It is also raising the demand for 20 seats in the new government, a position that, interestingly, is supported by the bourgeois National Front. This demand is being criticized by most of the other groups of the revolutionary Left.

Some of the most important common features of the Iranian Marxist-Leninists' political programs are the total expulsion of imperialism from Iran (including all military and economic advisers, the expropriation and nationalization of all imperialist corporations and banks, abrogating all imperialist treaties, and cancelling Iran's huge

foreign debt); internationalist support for genuine liberation and revolutionary struggles, including opposition to Soviet social-imperialism and to the capitulationist "three worlds theory" of the Chinese revisionist rulers; nationalizing key sections of industry and large landholdings and strengthening the role of armed workers and peasants' revolutionary committees within them; the complete dismantling of the old Imperial Army and its replacement by a revolutionary people's army; fighting for the full equality of women; and the establishment of a people's democratic republic under the leadership of the proletariat, as the first step towards a socialist Iran.

Over the last year, the progressive Moslem forces under the leadership of Khomeini rallied around the demand for an "Islamic Republic." While in a practical (as opposed to ideological) sense this slogan united large sections of the masses against the Shah's regime and its U.S. imperialist backers, it has increasingly been used to oppose the idea of class struggle among "Moslem brothers" and is now fundamentally providing a religious cover for the national bourgeoisie's reformist policies and as a means to attack the revolutionary Left. As questions such as the composition of the army, nationalizing imperialist holdings, the nature of the new government, etc. are coming before the masses, the revolutionary Left is explicitly differentiating the people's democratic republic from Khomeini's proposed "Islamic Republic," and even more so from the national bourgeoisie's dreams of a resurgent capitalist Iran.

While taking a principled position of not giving up their arms, the communist forces are paying primary attention to politically mobilizing and educating the masses around continuing the national democratic revolution, resisting and exposing the new government's moves to compromise with the imperialists and the reactionary ruling classes, particularly the armed forces' officers' corps.

The important and growing role of the revolutionary Left was demonstrated sharply on February 23 when over 100,000 people, including large numbers of class conscious workers and revolutionary soldiers, attended a mass rally at Tehran University. The rally was jointly sponsored by the principal groups of the revolutionary Left. The pro-Soviet Tudeh Party and Iran's pro-China "three worlders," "The Revolutionary Organization of the Tudeh Party," both of which have shamelessly tailed the Khomeini-Bazargan regime, were excluded.

In this great political turmoil, there are great opportunities for the Marxist-Leninist forces to extend their influence widely among

the masses, who can already see the new regime trying to put the brakes on the revolution. There are also some heavy strains and perhaps even splits developing between the Khomeini forces and the Bazargan-led national bourgeois forces and within the broad Khomeini camp itself that contribute to the communists' ability to win over broader sections of the masses, more fully unleash their revolutionary initiative and unite with all possible forces in the forward march of the revolution.

This situation further underlines the crucial importance of the moves under way to establish Iran's new genuine Communist Party at the earliest possible time, based on a correct line and program. The party is a key instrument and weapon urgently needed by the proletariat in its struggle to win hegemony in the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people. It is only with this proletarian leadership that the masses can carry through the new democratic revolution to victory. And this victory can only be achieved by completing the task begun by the February insurrection—the armed onslaught against and total destruction of the armed power of the reactionaries. This task must be organized and led by the Marxist-Leninist party.

U.S. Scrambles to Hang On

The Iranian revolution has dealt blow after powerful blow to the U.S. imperialists, forcing them to abandon first their prized puppet the Shah, then the stand-in Bakhtiar government, and now they are scrambling about desperately to hold onto their remaining, though shaky, positions in Iran and prepare a counter-revolutionary comeback in one form or another. As stated earlier, the present U.S. strategy now centers around attempting to strike up an accommodation with and moderate the new Bazargan-Khomeini government, while at the same time making every possible effort to piece back together the old reactionary army—the main pillar of state power—which though badly splintered has still not been smashed.

Most of all what the U.S. imperialists fear is the continuation of the Iranian revolution and will do everything possible to prevent a revolutionary Iran from emerging in the strategic, oil-rich Middle East. At this point, isolating the revolutionary Left, splitting the people's movement, cultivating new friends and gaining some breathing space for the old reactionary classes are a prerequisite for more direct U.S. activity—including the possibility of military intervention at some point.

While insurrection swept Iran, Defense Secretary Harold Brown started a 10 day trip to the Middle East, with stops in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Israel and Jordan. Brown public-

ly pledged stepped-up U.S. support to these various lackey regimes, both in terms of arming and encouraging them (especially Saudi Arabia) to take over the Shah's previous role as regional gendarmes for the U.S. imperialist bloc, as well as to assure them of U.S. "resolve" to take future direct military action against "external threats" (pointing to the Soviet social-imperialists but clearly referring as well to the prospect of the development of genuine revolutionary movements within these countries themselves).

Brown came back with massive orders for U.S. military hardware and indicated the U.S. was preparing a greatly stepped up naval presence in the region—including the expansion of the U.S. base at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean and the possibility of establishing U.S. naval bases in several countries. The U.S. is also beefing up its "quick reaction" military forces for use in the Middle East.

Full Support for the Iranian Revolution!

These great victories achieved in Iran and the new situation there place a number of crucial tasks in front of the communists and other progressive forces in the U.S. The workers must come to ridicule and scorn statements such as Carter's recent pledge to protect Iran's "independence" and that the U.S. government won't "go into the internal affairs of another people or country and try to determine who should be their leaders." We must expose and struggle against all the U.S. ruling class' intrigues and attacks against the Iranian people's struggle against imperialist domination, including any measures taken by the U.S. against the current regime. We must lay bare the goal the imperialists share with the forces of Iranian reaction of crushing the revolution in a sea of blood, if not today then tomorrow.

The efforts of the bourgeoisie to whip up narrow self-interest and national chauvinism by raising the spectre of a bogus "energy crisis" and blaming higher gasoline prices on the Iranian revolution must be countered with proletarian internationalism. Another weapon in the bourgeoisie's arsenal that must be combated is their line that a country which escapes U.S. plunder can only fall prey to the Soviet bandits, a lie which the Iranian people's revolutionary struggle is powerfully refuting.

Furthermore, we must explain to the workers and other sections of the people the goals and tasks of the Iranian revolution, the role of the various class forces in Iran, and uphold the struggle of the Iranian masses as a powerful and inspiring force for revolution in the world today. Above all, we must continue to give our full support to the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people, who, like workers and the oppressed the world over, yearn for a world free from oppression and exploitation. ■

Massive Strike Wave In Britain

“How Rude” Says Labor Party

In recent weeks broad sections of the British working class have risen up and waged fierce strikes, dealing powerful blows to the British capitalists, their beleaguered economic system, and their political representatives—especially of the social-democratic “Labor” Party variety—and have sparked a heightened rebelliousness among the British people.

The recent wave of strikes may be said to have begun last fall when 57,000 workers at Ford Motor Company walked off their jobs a month before expiration of their contract and without the approval of their union “leaders.” Defying Prime Minister James Callaghan’s 5% “anti-inflation guideline” and the Labor Party’s whole “social contract” for class collaboration, under which the British working class had suffered a 9% cut in real wages in 1977, the Ford strikers held out for nine weeks and finally settled for a 17% wage increase in November.

With the Labor government stunned by this blow, which seemed sure to upset its whole plan in postponing general elections last fall in hopes of proving to its capitalist masters that it was better able to “handle the unions” than its Conservative Party counterpart, other workers moved into motion. In the second week of January, 80,000 lorry (truck) drivers, members of the Road Haulage Association, went on strike. Winning over thousands of non-union truckers and making effective use of secondary boycotts which they applied at key ports, warehouses and so on, the truckers were able to shut down most commerce within Britain. As they were joined by railway workers, highway maintenance workers and oil tanker drivers, they were able to temporarily sever some of the vital arteries in the British economy. With supplies of fuel diminishing, filling stations were closed, bus service was limited to peak weekday hours, and Britain was thrown into turmoil. Imported goods piled up on the docks. Shops ran out of bread, milk and other necessities.

The widespread and profound dislocations which resulted encouraged other workers to join in. Half a million health workers struck, reducing nearly all the country’s hospitals to the providing of emergency services. The bourgeoisie responded to the dwindling fuel and other supplies and the absence of transport by laying off nearly 200,000 workers in auto, steel and other industries.

Then, on January 22, 1.5 million generally low-paid municipal government employees, members of the National Union of Public Employees, went on strike for one day, shutting down airports and schools and bringing garbage collection and local administrative

functions to a halt. This was the biggest work stoppage in Britain since the 1926 general strike and sent a real shiver up the spine of the British ruling class. Not far behind were hundreds of thousands of other workers, demanding pay increases of up to 40% or more and all threatening to strike. Among these were the coal miners, whose strike in 1974 had been key in the round of struggles which forced Heath’s Conservative government out of power.

Callaghan has received all manner of criticism from the bourgeoisie, especially from the Conservatives, whose leader Margaret Thatcher called on him to resign. Capitalizing on the collapse of his wage guideline scheme and his unwillingness to declare a state of emergency or use troops to run transport facilities (other than briefly in northern Ireland), the Conservatives promised the bourgeoisie more realistic, “hard-minded” methods for dealing with the explosion of worker insurgency.

Callaghan—“The Workers Are Too Rude”

Despite their differences on what tactics to use to contain the workers’ struggle and to keep the British economy balanced on the edge of another downturn, however, the whole bourgeoisie was united in condemning the recklessness of the working class which was “biting the hand of the welfare state which feeds it.” Much of their outrage centered on the so-called interference with “essential services”—emergency care in hospitals, transport of foodstuffs, and so on.

This, of course, was complete hypocrisy. The British bourgeoisie, which had in recent years overseen the erosion of the general living standard of the British people to one of the lowest in Western Europe, the climb in unemployment to levels unsurpassed since 1939, and the wholesale slashing of budgets for hospitals and other social services, had no real concern for suffering patients, housewives who could not fill their grocery baskets, or anything of the sort. Its sole purpose, of course, was to try to create public opinion and turn the majority of the British people against the strikers.

Beyond that, the capitalists were in fact deeply concerned about the changing attitudes of many British workers which were reflected in the various “excesses” involved in winning the support of non-unionized workers and waging secondary boycotts. These developments threatened the “gentlemanly,” class-collaborationist mentality, the polite reformist stand which the Labor Party, union bureaucrats and others of the social-democratic ilk (and we may lump here also the revisionists of the “Communist” Party of



Government workers march in Britain’s biggest work stoppage since 1926 general strike.

Great Britain, whose main political activity has been to ride on the coattails of the Labor Party) have worked so carefully to cultivate among the British workers over the decades, and showed that growing numbers of workers are casting off the fetters of bourgeois “respectability.”

As the strikes spread to social workers and other professional strata, the bourgeoisie heated up its efforts to appeal to the petit-bourgeois prejudices of these groups and to bourgeois ideology among the masses generally. “How can social workers, who are supposed to show a professional dedication to the welfare of others, disrupt vital services and pursue selfish material gains?” moaned the bourgeoisie. “Is nothing sacred? Even the dead cannot rest in peace.” (Grave diggers had gone on strike.)

Attacking the “rude treatment” of strike breakers, Callaghan addressed the House of Commons, saying that “everyone has the right to work and everyone has the right to cross a picket line.” On Feb. 14, he met with heads of the 12-million-member Trade Union Congress (TUC, in which most British unions are organized) and got these hacks to accept a sweeping “concordat.” This thorough sellout calls on the unions to make “joint efforts” with government and industry to reduce inflation, to limit secondary boycotts, refrain from calling strikes during negotiations, loosen enforcement of the closed shop, and reach no-strike agreements in sectors supplying “essential services”! This attack on the British working class is a further attempt by Callaghan to show that the Labor Party can indeed “handle the unions” and is another sharp exposure of the servile nature of the top TUC bloodhounds. It is bound to meet sharp

resistance from the British workers.

The growing struggle of the British workers is taking place in the context of a very feeble recovery from the sharp recession of 1974-75. The Labor Party, assuming power in the midst of that crisis which saw inflation soar to over 25% and unemployment to post-World War II highs, pursued a policy of wage guidelines, tight budgets and nationalizations which, it promised, while requiring sacrifices from the workers in the short run, would result in an improvement of their living standard in the future. Pointing to the decrease in inflation to about 8% in 1978, the stabilization of the pound, the elimination of Britain's trade deficit and the fact that production showed a higher percentage increase in 1978 than in any other Common Market country except Ireland, the Labor government has tried to say that it has put the country's economy in order, quelled the labor unrest which rocked it in 1974, and made the UK a more attractive place for investment.

In the context of the temporary stabilization and upswing that has affected the U.S. bloc generally since the recession of 1974-75, the British recovery has received a special impetus from the discovery and exploitation of the North Sea oil fields. This oil production has expanded rapidly and is expected to add \$8.5 billion to the national income yearly by 1980, and \$10.5 billion to exports. The reversal of Britain's trade deficit through the export of oil has resulted in a revaluation of the pound, which had sunk to an all-time low in early 1977. (As long as Britain's imports exceeded her exports, pressures were created to devalue the pound so as to make Britain's products cheaper in the international market and also make foreign goods more expensive expressed in pounds, thus counteracting the trade deficit. With the huge exports of North Sea oil, the trade deficit was wiped out and this factor, which formerly produced devaluation, turned into its opposite.) With this shoring up of the pound, growth in money supply was kept within narrower limits. Along with budget cuts and the wage-control guidelines these were the main factors resulting in the recent decline in inflation.

However, this temporary and brittle financial recovery has not been matched by any overall economic recovery. The rate of return on capital, which had sunk from 12-13% in the mid-60s to only 4-5% in 1977, has remained and is expected to remain very poor. There has been and will continue to be only very sluggish capital investment, owing to this poor rate of profit. And this means that the key element in the poor productivity of British industry—its outmoded machinery—will continue to operate. In fact, industrial output in 1978 was at a rate only slightly above that of the first quarter of 1974, during part of which the country had been put on a 3-day work week because of the miners' strike.

Even the vaunted oil transfusion has had contradictory effects in this situation, since the stabilization of the pound, coming at a time when Britain's inflation rate is still higher than that of most of its main industrial rivals, has meant that the country's manufactured goods have remained uncompetitive in

the international market. In sum, the North Sea oil has been used, not principally to finance capital investment in retooling or to stimulate the production of manufactured goods or capital for export, but to allow an expansion of consumer-goods imports—for instance, nearly 50% of the cars sold in Britain today are imported, as compared to 7% ten years ago. So the oil-fueled "hiccup" (as the British bourgeois economists describe a temporary upturn) represents no fundamental recovery of British industry.

Nationalizations were first undertaken in a big way by the British imperialists in the late 1940s, at a time when Britain had been decisively knocked out of its position as #1 imperialist power by the U.S. as a result of World War I and especially World War II. The British bourgeoisie had to rebuild its war-torn economy. It was forced to accept encroachments of U.S. capital under the Marshall Plan and to lose the superprofits from its colonies to this younger, more vigorous imperialist power. In 1950 the pound was devalued 30%. Nationalization was turned to as a means of increasing the integration of the British economy, being able to generate greater amounts of capital, and putting together a kind of economic plan which would more efficiently serve the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole. At the same time, it was held out as a sop to the British working class' socialist aspirations, as it was demagogically claimed that the takeover by the *bourgeois* state of private capitalist firms constituted their conversion into common property, that is, their *socialization*. Such nationalizations have proceeded rather rapidly under Labor Party governments to the point where today over 30% of British workers are employed by the government. 90% of the steel industry, the main auto and truck manufacturers, most air transport and airports, aerospace and shipbuilding are all owned and administered by the state and run in the interests of the capitalist class.

The low productivity prevailing in British manufacturing, which has declined sharply relative to that in other industrial powers since World War II, has forced the British capitalists to strive ever harder to squeeze out profits by holding down wages. They were especially incensed by the Ford settlement, as they saw in the contract a dangerous pacesetter for other industries which would blow the lid off the wages policy—as it indeed has.

Acting even before the Ford strike had come to an end, the Callaghan government announced its plan to resort to tighter fiscal and monetary measures and instituted an increase in the minimum lending rate. This was a plain indication that the bourgeoisie in Britain, much like that in the U.S., presently considers inflation a greater danger than unemployment. In fact, unemployment has remained quite steady in the range of 1.3 to 1.4 million throughout 1978, and the "prestigious" National Institute for Economic and Social Research has predicted that it will increase to 2 million within five years.

In case anyone missed the point that the Labor Party would not reduce unemployment, Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis

Healey stated bluntly: "The fiscal and monetary policies to which we are committed are bound to slow down the growth of output and raise unemployment"—in other words, as the *Manchester Guardian* put it (10/29/78), "the Government had no intention of trying to rescue workers who price themselves out of a job." With unemployment remaining very high, with real wage cuts under their belts, and with no realistic prospects of a decline either in unemployment or inflation being offered—on the contrary, every indication that both will increase—the great majority of British workers have felt none of the increased living standards which the bourgeoisie claims have come from the North Sea oil. The capitalists' "hiccup" is rapidly turning into something more foul, and growing numbers of workers are in no mood to go along with the call for further sacrifices in the interests of the "national economy."

Of course, it is not to be expected that wage controls, nationalizations, oil exports, hiccups or any other strategy adopted by the British bourgeoisie can effect any real dent in the underlying general crisis of the economy. Britain's policymakers and investors, like capitalists everywhere, are subject to the laws of the capitalist system, and even more, the operation of these laws in an imperialist country which has reached the most advanced stages of decay seen anywhere on the globe and which, despite any temporary upturns, has nowhere to go but down.

Through two imperialist redivisions in world wars, Britain has effectively lost the bulk of its empire and has sunk from being the "workshop of the world" to being a third-rate economic power whose creaky old bones cannot move fast enough to keep pace with its more dynamic rivals in the USA, Germany or Japan. Britain continues to feel the burden of revolutionary struggle throughout the world. In southern Africa, billions of pounds in investments are endangered. And the British ruling class has been openly panicked by the events in Iran, where investments and huge orders for British military equipment are threatened.

Hemmed in through the loss of its empire, unable to fundamentally revitalize the economy, the British bourgeoisie has exhausted its state-capitalist options to a great degree. This means that with the deepening of its economic crisis, the means by which past crises have been weathered have been seriously undercut or eliminated entirely.

Opportunity for Advances

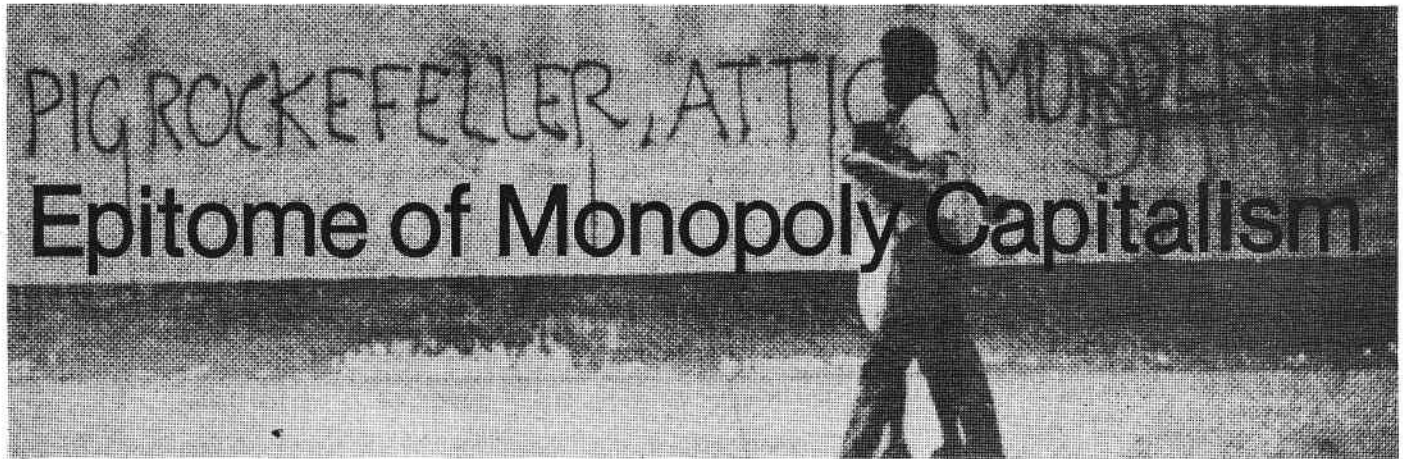
The present economic crisis exacerbates political crisis. With a growing understanding of the emptiness of the Labor Party's socialist phrases and the viciousness of its state capitalism, more British workers are coming to the realization that none of the bourgeois parties, no matter what they call themselves, have anything to offer but increased exploitation and oppression. Even in the essentially economic struggles of the current strike wave, growing numbers of workers are compelled to ask political questions and seek a way out of the cesspool which is British capitalist society today.

However, it is by no means automatic that these questions will be answered in a revolutionary way. New groups of "socialist" parliamentarians and other opportunists have stepped forward, trying to take advantage of the heightened popular discontent. Blaming everything on the policies of the Labor party "misleaders," they claim to of-

fer the British masses a way out without overthrowing the bourgeois state.

But with the rotting state of British imperialism evident everywhere, the basis exists for great numbers of the British people to make big leaps toward the understanding that this rottenness is an inevitable result of capitalism itself and can only be wiped away

through proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is up to the communists and other revolutionaries to take advantage of the turmoil and ferment which is sweeping Britain today to make real gains in developing the movement of the British workers and masses of people in a revolutionary direction. ■



On January 27 Nelson Rockefeller died. At his funeral his long-time crony and hired brain Henry Kissinger claimed that "Nelson Rockefeller was quintessentially American." In fact, he was the quintessence of the U.S. bourgeoisie. He was not only a leading member of one of the very biggest of the monopoly capitalist family groups which rule this country, but he was also one of the foremost spokesmen and organizers for the interests and policies of this ruling class.

The bourgeoisie and its hired press, of course, mourned and praised him in death. The bourgeoisie remembered his "political skill" and "problem-solving ability" as Governor of New York. But the people will remember the prison rebellion at Attica and how Rockefeller had 43 people murdered to put it down, and they will identify his name with all the crimes committed by the U.S. ruling class, here and around the world.

The Rockefeller family is the very embodiment of the big imperialist bourgeoisie, whose capital is precisely a merger of bank and industrial capital, whose vast holdings penetrate virtually every sphere of economic life, and whose members, associates and influence interpenetrate on every side with the state apparatus and indeed the whole of the superstructure of imperialism. Their activities help to illustrate the rule, the dictatorship, of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The third generation of bourgeois Rockefellers arranged a very neat division of labor among its members: John D. III handled the family philanthropies and foundations (about which more later); David, President of Chase Manhattan Bank, led in coordinating the finance capital group headed by this family; Laurance became a "venture capitalist," moving their capital into new and promising areas of investment; and Nelson went into the state apparatus. (Poor Winthrop couldn't quite make it in the big time of finance capital, and wandered off to the

hinterlands of Arkansas, where he consoled himself with the state governorship and his vast private pornography collection.)

International Bandit

The capitalists and their politicians call Nelson "a statesman of the highest caliber." But the people of Latin America, where the Rockefellers have vast holdings, knew him for what he was. When he tried to tour the area in 1969, it took bullets and tens of thousands of troops to keep millions of oppressed people from tearing him apart. His visit provoked one of the most massive displays of protest against U.S. imperialism in this hemisphere's history.

In the late 1930s Nelson busied himself with the affairs of Standard Oil (of New Jersey—now Exxon) in Venezuela, where the company owned 49% of the newly discovered oil fields. This befitted him to work in the State Department from 1940-45 coordinating Latin American affairs. His work during these years before and during U.S. participation in the world war was concentrated on strengthening U.S. imperialism in the area through pushing out British economic and political influence, strengthening the hand of U.S. companies, and disseminating propaganda. In the immediate postwar period he helped map out a "mutual defense" treaty between the U.S. and the Latin American countries, then went on to lend a hand in setting up a CIA-funded mechanism, ostensibly run by the American Federation of Labor under George Meany's leadership, to try to control the labor movement in Latin America. He then spent 5 years getting going the International Basic Economy Corporation, a new type of instrument for imperialist exploitation, foreshadowing the multinational corporation—but under cover of being almost a philanthropic organization for "developing the economy" of South America.

So the people of Latin America had good reason to hate Nelson Rockefeller personally for his crimes against them. But more, he was attacked not just for himself, but because he was a symbol and foremost representative of Yankee imperialism and the U.S. ruling class. And this is also how the people of the U.S. should remember him.

Rockefeller As Policy Maker

First, of course, this particular Rockefeller was a good example of a member of the monopoly bourgeoisie who steps in personally to take a hand in the day-to-day ruling of society—and his career is a vivid refutation of the bourgeois academic scholars who try to cover for the capitalists by pretending that there is no ruling class in our "pluralistic" society.

Truman's inaugural address in 1949 picked up on a line Rockefeller had been pushing for several years—that the U.S. needed to provide technical aid to the underdeveloped world. This "Point Four" of the inaugural served as the takeoff point for the whole postwar program of "foreign aid" which represented a new and more sophisticated imperialist instrument, and in 1950 Rockefeller was appointed chairman of a committee to map out the shape of this program. After finishing this job, he moved through various posts in the federal government over the first half of the 1950s, finishing up with a stint as Special Assistant to the President for Cold War Strategy, in which one of his main functions was to oversee the activities of the CIA.

In 1956 Nelson returned to the family home in New York and organized his brothers to assemble a "Rockefeller Panel Studies" group which, 3 years later, published a massive report called *Prospect for America*. Incorporating the efforts of a wide array of bourgeois luminaries, including such famous names as Dean Rusk, Henry Kiss-

inger, John Gardner (creator of "Common Cause"), Arthur Burns (later chairman of the Federal Reserve Board), and a host of others, the reports of the various panels outlined many policies later incorporated in both the Democratic and Republican 1960 platforms and then put into practice, such as developing the capacity to fight limited wars and develop counter-insurgency programs.

Rockefeller went on to run for Governor of New York in 1958, a post he held until he resigned in 1973, then becoming Ford's appointed Vice-President in 1974, and retiring from politics in 1976. In between, he made several unsuccessful attempts to win the Presidency.

Throughout his career, Rockefeller's thinking and policies represented the mainstream line of the U.S. bourgeoisie as they struggled to maintain their dominance in the changing historical circumstances of the postwar world. It is not that Rockefeller had certain ideas that he managed to impose on the rest of the bourgeoisie—although this is how it appears to many of the middle bourgeoisie whose views are expressed by right-wing organizations like the John Birch Society.

In the first place, "Rockefeller's ideas" were not particularly his—they were thought up and formulated by his bought-and-paid-for intellectuals (Kissinger being a good example). But more fundamentally, the ideas and policies which Rockefeller articulated, or had articulated for him, simply mapped out (in the main) the course which developments in world events forced on the U.S. monopoly capitalists over three decades or so. A good example is Rockefeller's pushing for a "foreign aid" program.

Strengthening Neo-Colonialism

Being no longer able to use the old colonial structure (because of world-wide struggle against it), U.S. imperialism was forced to come up with new and more covert means of domination, and "foreign aid" was central to these neo-colonial schemes. It has meant, on the one hand, mechanisms of control through military aid (which have always constituted the bulk of the programs), and on the other, the fostering of a "favorable climate" for U.S. business through economic aid.

Even at its most apparently-benevolent, U.S. economic aid means building an infrastructure of roads, ports, power facilities, etc. so that the country can profitably (for the capitalist) absorb foreign capital. The necessity of something like this was widely realized in Washington in the late '40s and early '50s. That Rockefeller pushed for such a program and worked on planning it is a good illustration of his role as spokesman and organizer for his class.

Two wrong analyses of this role are embodied in two recent books on the Rockefellers. Peter Collier and David Horowitz in *The Rockefellers: An American Dynasty* say, of the *Prospect for America* reports mentioned above:

... the recommendations would be incorporated into both party platforms in the 1960 presidential elections and would ex-

ert a profound influence on the course of America's military policies and domestic affairs over the next troubled decade. (P. 326.)

On the other hand Ferdinand Lundberg, in *The Rockefeller Syndrome*, says of the same reports: "None of the 'studies,' for all the hullabaloo accompanying them, was anything but routine" (p. 360). Both of these are right, but both are also wrong. Many of the ideas and policies in the reports were incorporated in the 1960 bourgeois party platforms; but these ideas were "in the air" at the time, which is apparently what Lundberg means in saying that the studies were routine. Rockefeller's role as one of the bourgeoisie's spokesmen and organizers—one of their political leaders—was to get the most "advanced" ideas of his class articulated and organize public opinion around them.

Of course Rockefeller's leadership was never undisputed—and in fact the bourgeoisie, whose existence is based on devil-take-the-hindmost competition, never has just one center and one leader. But the Rockefellers (not just Nelson) have occupied a special place within the capitalist class in the U.S.

On the one hand, during the early years of this century, John D. Rockefeller, founder of the Standard Oil Trust, was known as the "high priest of capitalism"—and was the object of deep and bitter mass hatred. On the other hand, in the latter part of his life the elder Rockefeller, under the guidance of members of the new profession of public relations expert, tried to turn this hatred around by a systematic program of philanthropy

Philanthropy and Liberalism

The Rockefellers have continued to be a symbol of capitalism. And in close dialectical relation to this, they have also been closely identified with bourgeois liberalism and philanthropy. This began under the original John D., but became firm under his son, John D. II, who scurried about setting up national parks and fostering liberalism in Protestant Christianity in its battle against fundamentalism (through such institutions as the Union Theological Seminary and what was to become the National Council of Churches). In the sphere of the class struggle, "Junior," as he was called, expressed himself thus:

... all my life I have sought to stand between labor and capital, trying to sympathize with and understand the view of each, and seeking to modify the extreme attitude of each and bring them into cooperation.

This from the perpetrator of the Ludlow massacre! Could anything better express the fact that bourgeois liberalism has in the era of imperialism become nothing but a cloak to hide the utter rapaciousness of the imperialists than this sanctimonious statement by one of the biggest capitalists of all time?

But for the most part this second Rockefeller tried not to even talk about capital and business, claiming remoteness from such vulgar concerns:

What do I want with more money, or what does Father want with more? Nearly all my time and nearly all the time that my father gives to financial affairs is devoted to studying how best and wisely to distribute the money accumulated.

This reply to a N.Y. *Tribune* reporter was a disingenuous lie, for "Junior" was involved in the Rockefeller companies and was definitely interested, like any good capitalist, in making money. But at the same time he, and the Rockefellers in general, have been heavily and systematically engaged in "philanthropy." There is, though, no incompatibility between these activities.

What is meant by "philanthropy" on the part of big capitalists is the setting up of foundations and funds, like the Rockefeller Foundation and many others which the Rockefellers have established. Before 1900 there were a total of less than 20 foundations. Now there are over 26,000 of them, 90% of which have been established since 1940. The reason is very simple—they are a method of avoiding income and estate (inheritance) taxes. By endowing a foundation with shares of his company or companies, a capitalist can avoid taxes on the dividends, while at the same time maintaining control of the company—thus keeping the family fortune intact from generation to generation.

Moreover, the foundations are used by the capitalists to gain an even tighter hold over the cultural and educational institutions of society, through the grants and endowments they give. This is one way they spread and foster bourgeois ideology throughout U.S. society and around the world. And probably of no monopoly capitalist family is this truer than the Rockefellers, with their intricate network of connections to cultural institutions—from religious organizations to higher education, from the Urban League to the Museum of Modern Art, from the American Conservation Association to Rockefeller University, from the Population Council to Common Cause, from the Asia Society to the Urban Coalition, and on and on.

"Social responsibility," Nelson called it. Or, more to the point, he said that if capitalists weren't more socially responsible, those they rule "will take away our ownership." And then, of course, they turn around and use this "philanthropy" to paint an image of themselves as public benefactors.

After Nelson's death, the media played up the philanthropist angle and went on to stress the theme that he had "sacrificed" himself to the common good in pursuing his political career—where he had revealed himself to have the "common touch," with his back-slapping style and cries of "Hiya fella" to one and all. Oh yes, the common touch—this multi-billionaire who had to ask an aide what was meant by "take-home pay," who confessed that he never carried any cash or credit cards whatsoever, and who once protested at a political meeting about a tax increase: "Look, this is going to hurt the middle-income guy. For instance, you take a guy who earns \$100,000..."—and this was when a dollar was worth over twice what it is today!

Decadence on a Grand and Petty Scale

Moreover, amid all the trappings of magnificence that huge wealth and power can bring, Nelson Rockefeller and his family have often revealed themselves, like virtually any member of a thoroughly reactionary ruling class, to be living lives of decadent and sordid meanness. Amidst all their "philanthropies," these vultures are always searching out every petty way they can to cheat, steal

and generally make a buck. Nelson's well-publicized "love of art" is a good example. When he headed the trustees of the Museum of Modern Art he would push certain artists whose works he owned in order to increase their value. When he retired from active political life, Nelson became preoccupied with huckstering expensive reproductions of items in his art collection—many of the originals representing the imperialist plunder from abroad he had gathered in a lifetime of

"collecting."

Thus Nelson Rockefeller moved into retirement toward the end of his life—a life filled with monstrous crimes. For just as below the genteel surface of his famous collection of "primitive" art lies the reality of imperialist plunder, so beneath the facade of his political "public service" lies the reality of grinding people around the world under the heel of imperialism, a reality which continues every day of the year, but bursts out in sharp relief when the oppressed stand up against their oppression—as at Attica, where Governor Rockefeller ordered the prisoners shot down when they dared to revolt, or as in Chile, where the CIA moved in to install the fascist junta as Nelson oversaw their actions on the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, or as in Vietnam, when the Rockefeller brothers supported the imperialist war to the hilt. A life filled with decadence and reaction in every way.

And in death, as the bourgeoisie pulled all stops to laud him, even the circumstances of the death began to smell a little putrid. After a multitude of conflicting reports and revised stories from Rockefeller spokesmen, it came out that he had died alone in one of his Manhattan townhouses with a young woman "research assistant," whose \$45,000 condominium was given to her by Rockefeller.

But however fittingly sordid his end may have been, it was not really a fitting end. That would have only come about through his execution at the hands of the working class.

At his funeral Henry Kissinger said, with trembling voice: "That Nelson Rockefeller is dead is both shattering and inconceivable. One thought him indestructible..." However, as Dr. Kissinger or his heirs will in the future find, not only are individual capitalist dogs like "Rocky" quite destructible, so is their whole class. ■



John D. Rockefeller I used to pass out dimes to children, saying "God bless you and God bless Standard Oil." Although grown much more sophisticated, Rockefeller philanthropies are still a vain cover for world-wide exploitation and brutal attacks on rebellions against capitalist rule, as in the Attica prison revolt, whose bloody aftermath is shown here.



WVO, CPML, Mensheviks

Teng's Visit Touchstone For Opportunism

Teng Hsiao-ping's holy pilgrimage to the West elicited predictable responses from his disciples in the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) and the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters. It was also accompanied by a new round of wriggling, doubletalk and embarrassed apologies from the Workers Viewpoint Organization. Both the CPML and the Mensheviks described Teng's sniveling act of capitulation as a great victory for "socialism" and dutifully explained how the treacherous and cowardly line of building a united front against "hegemonism" (i.e. the Soviet Union) under the leadership of U.S. imperialism is an example of "making use of contradictions between the two super-powers" to forestall a third world war.

The *Call* found it necessary to embellish Teng's visit, inventing imaginary discussions between Teng and "rank and file workers" whom he "sought out" during his trip (possibly a reference to his get-together with Leonard Woodcock and Doug Fraser in Atlanta). And, of course, there was the obligatory weekly denunciation of the RCP's "white chauvinism," this time in the context of criticizing our Fitting Welcome for Teng and our refusal to cower in fear in the face of a vicious police attack. In the space of a few short paragraphs, they rise to the defense of the Washington, D.C. police, attack us as "terrorists," "fascists," fanatics and provocateurs (among other things), and then maintain that we are a "puny," insignificant and isolated "sect" (which should lead one to wonder why they bothered to mention us in the first place). By the time they finished, it was difficult to tell if they despise us more because we uphold Mao or because we are not a bunch of pacifists. (*Call*, Feb. 12.)

For their part, the Mensheviks expect everyone to forget that they are the same ones who, little over a year ago, were desperate to distinguish themselves from both the RCP and the CPML by putting forward their ludicrous "third line": upholding China under Hua and denouncing Teng as a revisionist! In the latest issue of their paper they bubble forth such insipid stuff as: "Teng wore a smile and a white ten gallon hat as he checked out the most advanced technology the U.S. has to offer," and "Now because the Soviet Union is so openly on the prowl, China is even encouraging the U.S. to openly line up against Russian expansionism." (!) You remember the U.S.—until now a staunch defender of Soviet expansionism? Well, now the U.S. is the main target of Teng's "present efforts to line up

forces against the marauding polar bear." (See the 25¢ *Workers Voice*, Feb., 1979.)

This is standard fare for the CPML and their Menshevik cousins, who cling tightly to the cart of capitalist restoration in China and class collaboration at home, like so many buzzards on a shitwagon.

But what about those valiant souls who have weathered the storm of opportunism, who have avoided the tentacles of China's new compradors and have taken a firm and uncompromising stand for revolution and Mao Tsetung Thought? We refer, of course, to the Workers Viewpoint Organization. What have they had to say about Teng's visit? Even more to the point, what did they *do* when that traitor came here? When the most important question facing the international communist movement today—Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought vs. revisionism—was focused and concentrated in the presence of this arch-revisionist in the U.S., and the occasion cried out for a revolutionary response, where was the WVO?

They were not in Washington, D.C. Indeed, they were nowhere in sight. Nor, as of this writing, have they said a word about Teng's visit in their press.

It seems that the leadership of WVO is in a quandry. The revisionism of the current leadership in China and the wholesale reversals of the tremendous gains of the Cultural Revolution have become so blatant that their entire membership is aware of it. They know that many of their cadre want to uphold Mao Tsetung and his four comrades-in-arms, and realize that Teng, Hua & Co. are capitalist-roaders who staged a right-wing coup in 1976. They have even been forced to admit it themselves, within their own ranks and among close supporters. But they are afraid to put it out publicly. Their reason? The masses would be "demoralized" and lose faith in the possibility of socialism ever working! (See "Former Member Denounces WVO" *Revolution*, Jan., 1979.)

This is, in the first place, a disgusting insult to the masses of people, whose ability to observe reality has always been a source of consternation to the WVO, and whose ability to go beyond the appearance and grasp the essence of things outstrips that of the WVO leadership by a thousand miles. Secondly, it is a telling exposure of the line of these hacks who are trying to project their own backwardness onto the masses. It is *they themselves* who are demoralized. It is *they themselves* who have no faith in the masses, no understanding of the inevitability of pro-

letarian revolution, socialism and the advance to communism. How can they put forward Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought when *they themselves* think it is a failure? So they set out to deceive the masses. And of course their own rightism is really in harmony with the political and ideological line of the Chinese revisionists.

In the January 15 edition of their newspaper, *Workers Viewpoint*, they describe normalization of relations between the U.S. and China as some sort of victory for "Mao's policy of self-reliance." In the face of Teng's breakneck drive to sell China to the U.S. bloc and turn it into a giant Taiwan, to buy "modernization" from the West, one would think that even the most muddle-headed idiot would avoid making analogies to Mao's revolutionary line on self-reliance.

They go on to make reference to Teng as a traitor who was justly exposed and cast down during the Cultural Revolution, and at the same time they talk about China's current foreign policy as a Leninist policy. They denounce the "new bourgeoisie right in the Communist Party of China" and in the same breath compare normalization under Teng with the treaty of Brest-Litovsk and Stalin's non-aggression pact with Germany! Sheer sophistry!

WVO's line on China—both public and private—is that it is still a socialist country, and must be upheld as such, because capitalism has not been fully restored. And, besides, as one of their spokespersons put it recently in New York, "they still oppose the Soviet Union." It could be pointed out (and is, by the likes of the CPML) that this last statement is equally true of the U.S. imperialists.

As for China being "socialist," does the WVO wish to deny that Teng Hsiao-ping is a revisionist, a thoroughly unrepentant *capitalist roader*, and that he and his clique are *in power*? Do they deny that, one by one, systematically and without apologies, the revolutionary socialist new things created while Mao was alive and his line was in command are now being *reversed*? At what point does one begin to combat revisionism? When capitalism has been "fully restored?" "Mostly restored?" Or when the capitalists seize power and begin leading the country down the capitalist road?! For communists, the answer is clear—for the WVO the answer is *never*.

Teng Hsiao-ping's visit to the U.S. was something that could not go unchallenged by genuine revolutionaries. Where was the WVO when the RCP was upholding the banner of Mao and attacking and exposing Teng and the Chinese revisionists? No doubt many in the WVO were disgusted by Teng's very presence here and what it stood for. But equally disgusting was the fact that, because of the bankrupt line, the cowardice and sophistry of the WVO leadership, they were not only unable to expose this revisionist punk, but they have been forced to serve as apologists for his criminal regime. For any of their cadre who still have the desire to fight revisionism, now is the time to break free of this line before the final sparks of revolutionary sentiment are extinguished. ■

Letelier Bomb Killing

Murder Trial Covers CIA Role Behind Chile Fascists

On February 14 a Washington, D.C. court convicted two men of the 1976 murder of Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier, who had represented the overthrown government of Salvador Allende. With this the U.S. government moved both to carry out further maneuvers in Chile and to cover the tracks of its past crimes.

The two convicted men, both Cuban exiles resident in the U.S., had found themselves in the shadows even during their own trial. They have never even been accused of being more than pawns. The spotlight at their trial was on Michael Townley, an American who says he is a member of the Chilean secret police (DINA) and who admits placing the bomb in Letelier's car. In return for his testimony, the federal government allowed Townley to plead guilty to a lesser charge with the promise of at most two and a half years in prison. The two Cubans who were convicted on the basis of Townley's testimony of helping him make the bomb that killed Letelier and research assistant Ronni Moffit face life in prison.

Also named in the indictments in this case are several other Cuban exiles who are listed as "fugitives," and Chilean General Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, until recently head of DINA, along with two other DINA officers who are accused of masterminding the plot. The Chilean Supreme Court is now considering whether to honor the U.S.'s request for the extradition of these three men. According to the Chilean government, the head of that country's Supreme Court "is not expected back in his office until the end of the month" and thus no decision will come before then.

The most peculiar feature of this case is the way that evidence has suddenly appeared to support accusations against certain people and to close the door quickly on other accusations. The whole case reeks of careful orchestration from behind the scenes.

When Letelier and Moffit were murdered in September 1976, the federal government was very reluctant to look into it at all, despite the fact that Letelier's car had been blown sky-high right in the middle of Washington's Embassy Row. The U.S. government was more than a little cozy with the Chilean fascist junta headed by General Augusto Pinochet which had overthrown Allende with U.S. backing, and Letelier was embarrassing the U.S. by appealing to the powerful ruling class "Socialist" parties of Western Europe to impose economic sanctions on Pinochet's Chile. At that time, the official word in Washington was that Letelier's murder was the result of some kind of "inter-left" squabble.

Then, a year later, a young Washington prosecutor who'd looked into the case under pressure from the well-connected Institute

for Policy Studies where Letelier and Moffit had worked, suddenly came up with a break that blew the case wide open. A senior U.S. career diplomat, George Landau, who had been the U.S. ambassador to Paraguay when Letelier was killed and later became ambassador to Chile, suggested to the Washington prosecutor that Townley be brought to the U.S. for questioning. *The New York Times* presented this development as simply the result of the prosecutor's persistence and the "sudden luck" that his pleas for cooperation, up to this point ignored by federal agencies, had somehow fallen into the hands of the conscientious ambassador.

Plot Thickens

The plot was to thicken. Townley readily admitted that he'd planted the bomb. He even had dated bridge, tunnel and gas receipts to prove that he'd driven to Washington that day. But when he named the two Cubans as assistants and they were brought to trial, they defended themselves by saying that Townley was a member of the CIA and that they were being used as patsies. And who was to testify in Townley's behalf, to convince the jury that Townley was not a CIA man? Why none other than Ambassador Landau himself. How did he know? Well, he said, the CIA had told him.

This view of the whole Letelier case as the result of the dogged work of one determined prosecutor has fooled many, including some who didn't know any better and a few who should, such as the *Guardian* newspaper whose naivete about the depths of imperialist depravity stands in stark contrast (and in dialectical unity with) their usual jaded cynicism regarding proletarian revolution.

Someone could believe, if they really wanted to, that Landau was just acting according to his conscience and not in cahoots with the CIA himself. You could, if you tried hard enough, make yourself believe that Townley, the son of the head of Ford operations in Chile, had just joined up with the Chilean secret police out of love for the country he had mostly grown up in. You could just wonder at his admitted membership in the Chilean CIA-funded organization Patria y Libertad which spearheaded Allende's overthrow. You could even make yourself believe that he kept the receipts proving that he was involved in the murder just out of bureaucratic stupidity.

But when Townley was questioned in court about exactly what were the connections between his actions and DINA—testimony that would probably have brought in the name of Pinochet—why the court just allowed Townley to refuse to answer on the grounds that he would be violating his oath of allegiance to the DINA! That's hard to

believe, unless you think that the whole court room affair was no more than a stage-managed farce in the first place.

What is going on, of course, is that the U.S. imperialists have been very embarrassed about having been caught with blood on their hands in Chile, and the Pinochet dictatorship has been weakened and become increasingly isolated in the face of a growing revolutionary resistance movement and widespread international opposition. So the U.S. has pressured Pinochet to put on some more "democratic makeup," and even maneuvered to bring forward a possible civilian replacement for Pinochet, the Christian Democrat and long-time U.S. stooge Eduardo Frei. The whole Letelier affair has served as a very convenient way to put some public distance between itself and the Pinochet dictatorship, and to jam Pinochet into doing as he's told.

Pinochet, a simple gorilla, has responded with such farces as convening a commission to draw up a new constitution—which outlaws the very *mention* of class struggle as "an attack against the common good," and while prominently underlining the rights of workers to *not* join unions, conveniently leaves out any mention of the right to strike. If Pinochet can get away with this "return to constitutional rule," the U.S. may let him stay. If the mass movement continues to grow and threatens to bring about a whole new kind of rule in Chile, then the U.S. may return to its good old friend Frei. So far, although Frei's stock has been rising on the international imperialist puppet exchange, the U.S. has kept its options open.

In a very related development, on February 8, in the midst of the Townley trial, the federal government announced that it was going to drop charges against a former IT&T executive who'd been accused of lying to Congress when he testified that IT&T had nothing to do with any attempts to overthrow Allende. When Robert Berrellez had testified before the Senate committee in charge of covering up U.S. intervention in Chile, the good gentlemen accepted his statements at face value even though it was common knowledge in Chile and Washington that IT&T had been up to its neck in trying to save its property in Chile by hook or by crook. Later, when some company memos came to light describing IT&T's then ongoing efforts to provoke a coup in Chile, Berrellez' personal signature just happened to be on them and he was brought up on charges of embarrassing Congress. Why were the charges dropped? "To avoid the disclosure of information about American intelligence activity in Latin America." ■

Mao Tsetung Thought Vs. Hoxha's Hollow Hatchetry

In Enver Hoxha's recently published counter-revolutionary book, Imperialism and the Revolution, he uses the method of superficial characterization and shoddy distortion to launch a barrage of slanderous attacks on the Marxist-Leninist line of Mao Tsetung. Hoxha tries to characterize Mao as a common liberal whose line defended and favored the bourgeoisie and capitalism and kept China from achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat and proceeding on the road of construction of socialism. In the January issue of Revolution we put forward our basic stand on Hoxha's book, based on the Albanian press release announcing its publication and summarizing its contents. Now we have seen the book itself, and although it offers no more profound analysis than did the eclectic and slipshod press release, we intend to analyze it and answer it more thoroughly in the future.

For now, however, to help refute Hoxha's slander we are simply printing some Chinese writings from the revolutionary Left which upheld and fought for Mao's line. They shed some light on what, in fact, Mao's line was—as it was forged and developed in the heat of intense class struggle against revisionism and the bourgeoisie inside China.

The first document, "On the Bourgeoisie in the Socialist Period" appeared on July 14, 1976 in the Shanghai journal Study and Criticism (now banned as a "mouthpiece of the 'gang of four'.") It deals with the development of the class struggle in China through various stages of the revolution, first in the transition period from the new democratic to the socialist revolution. It shows how, especially with the socialist transformation of ownership, the main focus of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie shifts from the old bourgeoisie to the new,

engendered bourgeoisie and particularly to the capitalist roaders inside the Communist Party itself.

The second piece is excerpted from the Chinese pamphlet Three Major Struggles on China's Philosophical Front (1949-64), published in 1973. These excerpts come from the article, "The Theory of 'Synthesized Economic Base' Must Be Thoroughly Criticized." It deals with the struggle led by Mao against those in China who wanted to establish the domination of capitalism and the bourgeoisie under the banner of prolonging and consolidating the stage of new democracy. This bourgeois line, which Hoxha shamelessly tries to pin on Mao Tsetung, is exactly the line which Mao opposed and fought tooth and nail and made major practical and theoretical contributions to Marxism-Leninism in doing so.

On the Bourgeoisie in the Socialist Period

by Kang Li, Reprinted from *Study and Criticism*, No. 7, July 14, 1976

During the democratic revolution period there was the distinction between the comprador big bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. With changes in class relations under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist period came new changes within the ranks of the bourgeoisie. In the present stage in China there are both old and new bourgeoisie while those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road are political representatives of the bourgeoisie, both old and new, inside the Party. To clearly recognize the nature, target, tasks and future of the socialist revolution, we must probe into the bourgeoisie's present condition.

First, take a look at the changes the old bourgeoisie has undergone. After the whole country was liberated, the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie suffered annihilating blows. However, the national bourgeoisie and its parties still maintained definite positions and strength both politically and economically. They stubbornly resisted the Party policy of using, restricting and remolding them, vainly trying to develop capitalism with "freedom." With the basic completion of socialist transformation of private industry and commerce in 1956, the bourgeoisie lost heart. In order to regain their lost paradise, the Rightist elements among them, such as Chang po-chun and Lo Lung-chi, openly became bourgeois oppositionists

with the coordination and support of the capitalist roaders in the Party to engage in a direct trial of strength with the proletariat. The great anti-Rightist struggle struck a heavy blow at this handful of reactionaries, making it difficult for this section of people among the bourgeoisie to openly gather together again to reenact the farce of "Chang-Lo alliance." Despite their odious character and continuous attempts to poison people with decadent bourgeois notions and way of life, they could be easily recognized by the brand of old vampire stamped on their bottoms. As regards the bourgeois intellectuals, a section of them achieved varying degrees of progress after having gone through successive political movements since liberation. However, quite a number of them continued to cling to the reactionary bourgeois stand and world outlook and make capital of their knowledge of culture, science and technology, vainly trying to resist the socialist revolution and use various ways to bring up their own successors for a continuing trial of strength with the proletariat.

Then, let us look at the new bourgeoisie, a group of newborn bourgeois elements in the socialist period. Long before cooperativization, there were new property holders and new rich peasants thriving on speculation and exploitation. They were engendered not only from a section of workers and government

functionaries, but were also engendered constantly and in large numbers from small producers. Responding to and colluding with landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad people and Rightists, they engaged in corruption and stealing, speculation and manipulation, and perpetrated every misdeed. It is quite easy to discern this category of newly born bourgeois elements. Another category of new bourgeois elements are of good family origin, matured under the red flag and joined the Party; having received university education, they become so-called Red experts and leading cadres. However, they have turned bourgeois from thinking to living. They regard as their creed and maxim such bourgeois notions as "science is supreme," "knowledge is private property," "go to school to become an official," "join the Party to become an official" and "proficiency in mathematics, physics and chemistry will fill one in any niche." When the bourgeois Rightists launched attacks on the Party in 1957, Liu Shao-tang, a Rightist element who vowed "to fight for 10,000 yuan in writing fee," was a typical example. A number of people in the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, such as Lin Li-ko and his little "fleet," also belonged to this category of newly engendered bourgeois and counter-revolutionary elements. Politically, they were as rapacious as the double-dealers and

upstarts when seeking to seize the means of production they did not have before and were particularly anxious to swallow up all the wealth belonging to the state or the collective. The ruthlessness with which they resorted to whatever means at their disposal was beyond the reach of even the old generation of capitalists.

As regards the bourgeoisie inside the Party, some of them are secret agents, renegades and alien class elements who sneaked into the Party and some are former bourgeois democrats who joined the revolutionary ranks of the proletariat. However, most of them are newly engendered bourgeois elements. As political representatives of the bourgeoisie, old and new, the Party persons in power taking the capitalist road are as fanatical as the old bourgeoisie who vainly tried to regain its lost paradise and as adventurous as the new bourgeois elements, thus combining the former's craftiness with the latter's insatiable greed. This reflects in a concentrated way the class characteristics of the bourgeoisie in the socialist period.

The principal contradiction in the socialist period is that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Because the bourgeoisie outside the Party is in the position of the ruled and as a result of the changes in the balance of class forces with the deepening of the socialist revolution, it has become rather difficult for them to push out their front men to engage the proletariat in an open trial of strength. In these circumstances the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie finds increasing expression in the Party. The bourgeoisie inside the Party and the Party persons in power taking the capitalist road thus become the force at the core of the bourgeoisie as a whole, being commanders of all social forces and groups opposed to the socialist revolution and engaged in a trial of strength with the proletariat. The bourgeois headquarters is located inside the Party, not outside, it. Our struggles against opportunist chieftains such as Kao Kan, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping are all struggles waged against the bourgeoisie inside the Party.

In old China the comprador big bourgeoisie represented the most backward and reactionary relations of production which seriously hampered the development of productive forces in the country. This position has today been taken over by the bourgeoisie inside the Party. The capitalist roaders are the representatives of decadent capitalist relations of production. Those "high officials" who practice revisionism like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping hold a very large portion of the Party and state power and are in a position to formulate and push a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the name of the "state," the "Party," the "higher-ups" and the "leadership," in a determined bid to turn the instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat into those of the bourgeois dictatorship and to carry out oppression of and impose a white terror on the workers, peasants, soldiers, students and minor officials. Therefore, as early as the socialist education movement Chairman Mao sharply pointed out: "Those leading cadres who are taking

the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking blood of the workers."

Why is it that in socialist society the bourgeoisie is engendered inside the Party? What makes it possible for the bourgeoisie to continue to exist and to arise? Economically speaking, it is due to the existence of bourgeois rights, which in terms of ownership in the socialist period have not been completely abolished. They still persist in a considerable degree in respect of men's interrelations and dominate the area of distribution. Thus bourgeois rights protect the old bourgeoisie as well as conceiving and nurturing the new.

Bourgeois rights mainly embrace the commodity system, exchange through money, distribution according to work, the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. In view of the existence in socialist society of two types of socialist ownership, ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, it is still necessary to enforce the commodity system. With the exception of those capital goods and social products that are placed under state unified planning and allocation and certain items distributed according to need, exchange of commodities and exchange through money that are not much different from those of the old society are still practiced between and within the systems of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, between the state, the collective and the individual, and practically in every segment of socio-economic life. Of course, with changes in the ownership systems, China's commodity system is restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, not aimed at obtaining surplus value. Nevertheless, it is still the economic basis for generating capitalism. Lenin pointed out: "The bourgeoisie is engendered from commodity production." ("The Seventh Congress of All-Russia Soviets") As long as the commodity system still exists in socialist society and the principle of commodity exchange continues to operate the possibility of capitalist restoration inevitably exists. Prior to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the old bourgeois elements continued to draw fixed interest, enjoyed higher wages, and had more commodities and money. Pinning their hopes on those bourgeois rights that had not been abolished, they strongly demanded and extended bourgeois rights. New bourgeois elements were hatched in large numbers from the commodity system. They either turned public property into private, engaged in corruption and stealing, and took into their own possession money and commodities that belonged to the people or engaged in speculation and manipulation to obtain excessive profits, or turned commodities and money into capital, treated labor power as commodity and directly carried out capitalist exploitation. This inevitably led to polarization. If it is said that the first generation of the bourgeoisie was born of commodity production several hundred years ago, then at the present stage the last generation of the bourgeoisie will also be begotten from commodities.

The most dangerous enemies are the Party persons in power taking the capitalist road.

Pushing the revisionist line is the most basic political characteristic of capitalist roaders. They extend and strengthen bourgeois rights and strive to apply the principle of commodity exchange to all spheres. Preaching "profit in command" and "production value first," they use the capitalist law of value to abolish planned economy and replace socialist production goals with capitalist production goals. This in essence alters the nature of socialist ownership. When it comes to enterprise management, they twist Chairman Mao's instruction "management itself is a matter of socialist education." They have never referred to the workers as masters of factories and enterprises, avoid mentioning such questions as the need for cadres to practice "three-togetherness" with the workers and to learn from them, let alone the sharp antagonism between the working class and the bourgeoisie inside the Party. They impose "control, check and repression" on the workers and turn the relationships between the leadership and the masses and between the higher and lower levels into relationships between the cat and the mouse and between the ruler and the ruled in a vain attempt to restore the capitalist system of wage labor. They practice "material incentives" and the "bonus system" not only to enable the few privileged people to swallow up conveniently large amounts of social wealth but to corrupt the broad laboring masses and turn the relations between men into commodity and cash relations between the buyer and the seller. In the political and ideological spheres, they also attend to all things according to the principle of commodity exchange. They regard themselves as commodities and look upon participation in the revolution as "stock-purchase" and ask for their "share of dividend" on the basis of "merit," "sweat labor" and "fatigue" in a bid to upgrade themselves as commodities to be sold to the proletariat at a higher price. They promise high official posts and offer rewards on the basis of merit, substituting the principle of commodity exchange for the Party's organizational principle. In short, they personify commodities and capital in the same way the past capitalists did, everything existing for the sake of commodities. When their economic and political strength develops to a certain stage, they will demand the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, and restore the capitalist system openly and in an all-round manner.

Whether to restrict or extend and strengthen bourgeois rights is a vital aspect of the struggle between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the revisionist line. If the proletariat fails to adopt effective measures to restrict bourgeois rights during the socialist period, these rights will undermine and disintegrate the socialist economic base and alter the nature of the socialist system of ownership. At the present stage, however, we can only restrict but not abolish bourgeois rights. As long as social class divisions and the three major differences still exist, as long as labor has not become people's "prime need of life" and as long as productive forces have not developed to the extent of providing an abundance of social products,

it will still be necessary to continue to practice or even protect bourgeois rights that embrace the commodity system, exchange through money and distribution according to work. Since we have built such a bourgeois state without capitalists, restricting the commodity system in no way means not to develop commodity production. In our country commodities are not plentiful; we don't have a great abundance of them. However, we now develop commodity production for the purpose of eventually abolishing it, and the defects that arise in the course of developing commodity production must be restricted with appropriate measures so as to prevent the principle of commodity exchange from eroding the socialist economic base, the political life and even Party life. We must therefore pay full attention to questions related to interrelations and the superstructure, particularly work of carrying out education in the ideological and political line. This means at the moment we must criticize Teng. Practice proves that in those units or departments where bourgeois rights are not sufficiently taken to task the bourgeois wind prevails to hamper the criticism of Teng and stall the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship.

Lenin pointed out: **"Between capitalism and communism is a transition period and in theory this is beyond any doubt. This transition period cannot but embody the characteristics or traits of these two types of socio-economic structure. It cannot but be a period of struggle between moribund capitalism and nascent communism, in other words, a period of struggle between defeated**

but not yet eliminated capitalism and the already born but still very fragile communism." (*Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*) Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, bourgeois rights reflect moribund capitalism while socialist new things represent growing communism. Direct participation of worker-peasant masses in management and formation of revolutionary committees combining the old, the middle-aged and the young; "May 7" cadre schools and cadre participation in collective productive labor to give impetus to the reform of state organs; sending tens of millions of educated youths to mountainous and rural areas to integrate with worker-peasant masses; the appearance of large numbers of barefoot doctors and the widespread introduction of the cooperative medical service—these communist shoots restrict bourgeois rights from various aspects, sweeping away the traces of capitalism left over from the old society and promoting the vigorous development of socialist revolution and construction on all fronts. Even now the issue of two kinds of future and fate, that is, whether socialist society, which is in the process of motion of contradictions, should advance toward communism or retreat back to capitalism, has not been finally decided. Here, the key question is whether or not there is a correct ideological and political line. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line reflects the objective law of socialism passing over to communism, and provides the fundamental guarantee for eventually realizing com-

munist. On the other hand, the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and Teng Hsiao-ping represents the decaying capitalist relations of production and embodies the desire of the bourgeoisie as a whole to restore capitalism. The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie. It is imperative for us to adhere to the Party's basic line, study the theory of proletarian dictatorship well, wholeheartedly support socialist new things, continuously criticize and restrict bourgeois rights, and fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in every factory, village, government office and school.

In analyzing and comparing the various wings of the bourgeoisie, we can clearly see that the object of the socialist revolution is the bourgeoisie, with those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road as the main target. In making socialist revolution, we should not only be aware of the existence of the old bourgeoisie and its intellectuals in society at large, but also should pay attention to the birth of new bourgeois elements. We should in particular recognize the capitalist roaders inside the Party as the main danger for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, we must always bear firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: **"You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road."** ■

The Theory of "Synthesized Economic Base" Must Be Thoroughly Criticized

Reprinted from "Three Major Struggles on China's Philosophical Front (1949-64)"

Shortly after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Liu Shao-chi instigated Yang Hsien-chen, his agent in the philosophical circles, to put out a theory of "synthesized economic base," starting a major struggle on China's philosophical front. It was a struggle of principle concerning the road China was to take, the socialist or the capitalist, whether China was to have a dictatorship of the proletariat or a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie...

Product of the Counter-Revolutionary Revisionist Line

The founding of the People's Republic heralded a new era in China, that of the socialist revolution and the proletarian dictatorship.

In his Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in March 1949, Chairman Mao Tsetung made a penetrating analysis of the class relations and economic conditions prevailing in China at that time, clearly pointing out that following the coun-

trywide seizure of power by the proletariat the principal internal contradiction was **"the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie."** The focus of the struggle remained the question of state power. Chairman Mao called upon the whole Party to continue the revolution, rely on and strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the proletarian dictatorship, develop the socialist state economy and carry out step by step the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce and socialist industrialization so as to **"build China into a great socialist state."**

At this turning point of the revolution, Liu Shao-chi waved the tattered banner of the reactionary "theory of productive forces" in hysterically opposing the socialist revolution. To counteract the resolution of the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, he flaunted his counter-revolutionary programme calling for "cooperation among the five sectors of the economy to consolidate the new-democratic system." Liu Shao-chi and other such

swindlers went about drumming up trade for the development of capitalism, babbling, "Our country's production is undeveloped and backward. Today it is not that there are too many factories run by private capital, but too few. Now, not only must private capitalism be allowed to exist, but it needs to be developed, needs to be expanded." "Socialism in China is a matter for two or three decades later." They advocated preserving the rich-peasant economy for a long time and developing it energetically, called for "consolidating the peasants' private property" and attacked agricultural cooperation as "a kind of wrong, dangerous and utopian agrarian socialism."

Chairman Mao waged a sharp, tit-for-tat struggle against Liu Shao-chi and his gang who mulishly plotted to take the capitalist road. In 1953, in a talk on the Party's general line for the period of transition, Chairman Mao thoroughly discredited their counter-revolutionary programme of "consolidating the new-democratic system." He pointed out: **"After the success of the democratic revolution, some people stand still. Failing to**

realize the change in the character of the revolution, they continue with their 'new democracy' instead of undertaking socialist transformation. Hence their Rightist errors."

"After the success of the democratic revolution, some people stand still. . . they continue with their 'new democracy' instead of undertaking socialist transformation. . ." Mao Tsetung, 1953

As for the so-called formulation of "consolidating the new-democratic system," Chairman Mao said that it was "harmful" and was "at variance with the realities of the struggle and hinders the development of the socialist cause."

Still these renegades did not give up. At a time when the whole Party was studying and applying the Party's general line for the transition period, Yang Hsien-chen, given his cue by swindler Liu Shao-chi *et al.*, refurbished the sinister programme of "consolidating the new-democratic system" and came up with the theory of "synthesized economic base." This variety of the reactionary "theory of productive forces" he spread everywhere in his feverish effort to oppose the Party's general line.

However, guided by the Party's general line, the poor and lower-middle peasants' socialist initiative mounted as never before so that the movement for agricultural co-operation flourished; likewise, the socialist transformation of the capitalist industry and commerce accelerated. In their futile attempt to brake the wheel of history, Liu Shao-chi and his like drew up, in 1955, their vicious scheme of "opposing rashness" and set forth their counter-revolutionary policy of "holding up," "contraction" and "checking up" which drastically slashed the number of co-operatives. . .

At a critical point in the grave struggle between the two lines, Chairman Mao made his report *On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation*, shattering in theory and practice the revisionist "theory of productive forces" and the counter-revolutionary plot of Liu Shao-chi & Co. An immediate upsurge in the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce swept the country, characterized by: **Opportunism is falling, socialism is on the rise.** China's socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production won a great victory, while the reactionary theory of "synthesized economic base" met with total bankruptcy.

Reactionary Fallacy for Overthrowing Proletarian Dictatorship

What, after all, was the theory of "syn-

thesized economic base" made of?

Yang Hsien-chen asserted: "In the period of transition the economic base of the state power of the socialist type" was of a "synthesized nature," "embracing both the socialist sector and the capitalist sector, and the sector of individual peasant economy as well"; they "can develop in a balanced and co-ordinated way"; the socialist superstructure should "serve the entire economic base," including the capitalist economy, and "also serve the bourgeoisie." This was an altogether reactionary and fallacious theory for overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

According to Marxism-Leninism, "state power of the socialist type" can only be the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the concentrated expression of the fundamental interests of the working class and other labouring people, and its economic base can only be **"the socialist economic base, that is, . . . socialist relations of production"** (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*). The capitalist economy is a paradise where the bourgeois amass fortunes, while for the proletariat and other labouring people it is a hell on earth. It is the economic base of the bourgeois dictatorship. Capitalist economy and proletarian dictatorship are as incompatible with each other as fire with water. How is it conceivable that the proletarian dictatorship can rest on any so-called "synthesized economic base" which includes the capitalist economy?

Yang Hsien-chen's fallacy becomes even more preposterous when viewed against the historical mission of the proletarian dictatorship, which aims at abolishing capitalism and all other systems of exploitation, at ending private ownership. Referring to the economy in the transition period, Lenin pointed out: **"As long as private ownership of the means of production . . . and freedom to trade remain, so does the economic basis of capitalism. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the only means of successfully fighting for the demolition of that basis, the only way to abolish classes. . ."** (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31). In China, it is precisely by using this means of proletarian dictatorship that the struggle against capitalism is waged. We took a series of measures to confiscate bureaucrat-monopoly capital, carry out socialist transformation of medium-sized and small capitalist industry and commerce, and set up agricultural and handicraft co-operatives in order gradually to abolish capitalism and private ownership and establish a socialist economic base. Only thus can the victory of the revolution be consolidated, can we have the proletarian dictatorship. How can our proletarian state power take as its economic base the so-called "synthesized economic base" embracing the capitalist economy?

In fact, any so-called "synthesized economic base" simply doesn't exist, but is a mere fabrication by Yang Hsien-chen and his like. For historical reasons, China's proletariat did face five sectors of the economy after seizing state power, and these boiled down to the socialist and the capitalist sectors. Diametrically opposed to each other,

the socialist and the capitalist sectors do not and cannot exist peacefully side by side, as Yang Hsien-chen claimed, or combine to form any so-called "synthesized economic base," still less can they "develop in a balanced and co-ordinated way." Lenin said: **"This transition period has to be a period of struggle between dying capitalism and nascent communism—or, in other words, between capitalism which has been defeated but not destroyed and communism which has been born but is still very feeble"** (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30). And Chairman Mao pointed out: **"The period of transition is full of contradiction and struggle. Our present revolutionary struggle is even more profound than the armed revolutionary struggles of the past. It is a revolution that will forever bury the capitalist system and all other systems of exploitation."**

Precisely so. Events in China's transition period testify to an intense, life-and-death struggle between the two sectors of the economy, socialist and capitalist. One swallows up the other. Either progress towards socialism or retrogress to capitalism: There is absolutely no room for compromise in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Yang Hsien-chen's "synthesization" was a clear case of attempting to "combine two into one," to deny the contradiction and struggle between socialism and capitalism, and allow the latter to swallow up the former. So-called "balanced development" was, in essence, development of capitalism and reversion to semi-feudal, semi-colonial society. Did not Liu Shao-chi & Co., taking as the point of departure their reactionary "theory of productive

One swallows up the other. Either progress toward socialism or retrogress to capitalism. There is absolutely no room for compromise in the struggle.

forces," openly declare that they would work along with the capitalists for several decades and then go in for socialism "when China's industrial production shows a surplus"?. . .

Yang Hsien-chen said shamelessly that the socialist superstructure should "serve the entire economic base," including the capitalist economy; that it should "also serve the bourgeoisie." What a statement—"it should also serve the bourgeoisie"!

Marxism tells us that superstructure has class character; that state power which is at the very centre of the superstructure is an instrument of class struggle, an apparatus with which one class oppresses another. Every state power is a dictatorship by a certain class: either a proletarian dictatorship with which the proletariat and other labouring people oppress the bourgeoisie and other ex-

plotting classes, or a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes with which these class oppress the proletariat and other labouring people. Yang Hsien-chen went to the length of trying to make the socialist superstructure "serve the entire economic base," including the capitalist economy, and make our state of proletarian dictatorship "serve the bourgeoisie." What is this if not meeting the counter-revolutionary needs of overthrowing the proletarian dictatorship?

Of course, Liu Shao-chi, Yang Hsien-chen *et al.*, did not stop just at words. Hell-bent on "serving the bourgeoisie," they enforced nothing less than a reactionary, fascist dictatorship in the departments where they had usurped power. Politically, they plotted to usurp the Party, military and government power in a vain attempt to reduce China to a colony of imperialism and social-imperialism. Economically, they tried to restore capitalism by large-scale practice of the "four freedoms,"¹ *san zi yi bao*,² profit in command, material incentives, technique first, and exclusive reliance on specialists in running factories. Ideologically and culturally, they did their best to peddle the vicious feudal, capitalist and revisionist wares and glorify feudal emperors and princes, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties so as to mould public opinion in favour of their counter-revolutionary activities. Organizationally, they formed an underground bourgeois headquarters by recruiting deserters and renegades, protecting one another and working hand in glove...

"Fitting The Character of China's Productive Forces" Refuted

The principal argument fabricated by Yang Hsien-chen to justify his theory of "synthesized economic base" was that the five kinds of production relations in the transition period "fit the character of China's productive forces." This was a gross exposure of Yang Hsien-chen and his sort as peddlers of the reactionary "theory of productive forces."

The five kinds of production relations in question covered socialist economy and capitalist economy, and also individual economy. Was it possible that all these "fit the character of China's productive forces"? As early as 1940 Chairman Mao pointed out that the Great October Socialist Revolution changed the whole course of world history, and ushered in a new era. The ideological and social system of capitalism throughout the world resembled "a dying person who is sinking fast, like the sun setting beyond the western hills, and will soon be relegated to the museum" (*On New Democracy*). In the 1950s, especially when China had established the proletarian dictatorship and entered the stage of socialist revolution, how could it still be said that capitalist relations of production

¹ Freedom of land sale, of hiring labour, of usury, and of trading.

² This means the extension of free markets, the extension of plots for private use, the promotion of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas on a household basis.

"fit the character of China's productive forces"? After seizing state power, we proceeded at once to confiscate bureaucrat-capital—the principal part of China's capitalism—and change it into state owned. Towards the industry and commerce of the national bourgeoisie, we adopted the policy of using, restricting and transforming them, but this never implied that capitalism "fit the character of China's productive forces." On the contrary, it showed that capitalism did not suit the character of the productive forces and that it was necessary to transform it step by step into socialist ownership by the state. In fact, it was inevitable that the bourgeoisie's reactionary profit seeking nature and the growing contradictions between capitalism and socialism seriously hamstrung the expansion of social productive forces. People still remember the frantic attack the bourgeoisie, aided and abetted by Liu Shao-chi & Co., made shortly after the founding of the People's Republic against the proletariat by spreading the five evils of bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information from government sources for private speculation, seriously undermining China's industrial and agricultural production. With all this, how could one say that capitalist relations of production "fit the character of China's productive forces"?

As to the individual economy, it was, as Chairman Mao described, scattered and backward, not much different from that of ancient times. It is true that our land reform had broken the bonds of the feudal system of exploitation and liberated the productive forces in Chinese agriculture, but individual economy afforded very little room for their expansion. In fact, the marketable grain and raw materials supplied by peasants farming individually had, to an ever increasing

degree, fallen short of the growing needs of the people and of socialist industrialization. Moreover, individual economy is unstable but engenders capitalism daily and hourly. Such being the case, could individual economy "fit the character of China's productive forces"?

Yang Hsien-chen's argument, "fitting the character of China's productive forces," boiled down to this: Because of its backward productive forces, China was destined to develop only capitalism and build a capitalist economic base; it should not, nor could it, carry out socialist revolution and build a socialist economic base. It must then set up a bourgeois dictatorship to serve a capitalist economic base; it should not, and could not, institute proletarian dictatorship. This is the thoroughly revisionist "theory of productive forces."

The "theory of productive forces" is an international revisionist trend that makes a fetish of spontaneity. It absurdly exaggerates the decisive role of productive forces, which it reduces to means of production plus techniques. It completely negates the factor of man and denies the effect of revolution on the development of production, of production relations on productive forces and of the superstructure on the economic base. Such a fallacy would make it appear as if social development were merely the natural outcome of the development of productive forces, that when the productive forces are highly developed a new society would naturally appear, that if the productive forces are not yet highly developed it would be futile for the proletariat consciously to carry out socialist revolution. This fallacy, substituting vulgar evolutionism for revolutionary dialectics, and class conciliation for class struggle, opposes the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. It is historical idealism unalloyed...

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Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile
Red Flag Party of Venezuela

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

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Houston Rebellion on Trial

Moody Park 3: Dividing Line in Struggle Against National Oppression

Free the Moody Park 3! This cry which has been raised across the country is a clarion call to all those who hate oppression. For the trial of the Moody Park 3 in Houston, Texas, scheduled to begin this month, is one of the most significant political trials in this country in recent years. With the outrageous frame-up of the Moody Park 3 on felony riot charges, the bourgeoisie is directly attacking three revolutionary leaders in the Houston Rebellion of Cinco de Mayo, May 1978, and the struggle against national oppression of Chicano people. As Mara Youngdahl, one of the 3, said, "Our trial is a trial of the rebellion. We are to be an example of what happens if you dare to challenge the right of the slavemaster to enslave. . . I consider it a compliment to be one of the 3—singled out by the enemy in the vain hope of stopping this struggle. When your enemy *likes* you, that's when you need to worry."

And the ruling class in Houston has shown over and over again that they will stoop to *any* low life attempt to stop this struggle, to put out the fires of the rebellion that still burn in the hearts of the Chicano people of Houston, and to keep the Moody Park 3, the Revolutionary Communist Party and all revolutionary fighters away from the masses of people. As the trial of the Moody Park 3 approaches, the rulers have lashed out like cornered rattlers and intensified their vicious assault on the forces who uphold the Houston rebellion.

Morales Held on \$40,000 Ransom

"\$40,000 bond." The judge slammed his gavel as Travis Morales, one of the Moody Park 3, was dragged before the bench by several Houston cops. It was *ransom* straight up.

Feb. 3—the scene is the trial of Edward Gallegos, a youth framed for attempted murder in the rebellion. The jury is sequestered and people mill around waiting for the verdict. An undercover pig, H.G. Torres who poses as an arson investigator and was a key witness in the Gallegos trial, saunters up to Morales and starts harassing him. Morales tells him to "go tend to your *fires*." Morales is jumped by the pigs and jailed on charges of felony "tampering with a witness"—this pig H.G. Torres. Morales is incarcerated on the outrageous bail of 40 grand. He is held captive in maximum security—a political prisoner in the Houston jail.

This is the fourth time Morales has been busted in the last two months. He now has three felonies, including the original rebellion charge of "felony riot." The charges against him? "Interfering with a police officer" who

was hassling Morales as he collected donations for the struggle after a church service; "impeding traffic" while he was leafleting on Houston's Chicano Northside and then supposedly "resisting arrest"; "felony spray painting" because a slogan for the January 13th march was sprayed on a Houston overpass. When Travis was arrested just before the Jan. 13th march, the pigs beat him in jail, kicking him in the head while he was handcuffed. They will stop at nothing to keep this brother off the streets.

"Motion denied." These were the only two words uttered by the honorable mummy Judge Jo Keegans as she presided over a hearing demanded by Travis' lawyer to lower the bail. But the court makes it clear—well, he's made bail *every other time* says the prosecution. Extortion plain and simple, but most of all they want this guy in jail.

Meanwhile the bail bondsman who held bond for the two previous felonies, \$25,000 and \$10,000 each, surrenders these bonds to the pigs claiming that he can't be responsible. He uses the excuse that one of the previous lawyers in the case, a co-signer on the bonds, was no longer on the case. (This lawyer had arrogantly demanded political control of the activities on the sidewalks around the court during trial at the last minute knowing full well all along that the case would be fought with mass action in the streets.) And while he surrenders bond, the bondsman also indicates that if people would only come up with a \$6,000 bond for the latest felony charge, which he can pocket along with the rest, everything will be cool. Leeches could take lessons from these guys on how to suck blood.

Gallegos Trial

"Guilty," was the verdict delivered by the jury in the frame-up of Edward Gallegos on charges of attempted murder for the stabbing of T.V. reporter and close companion of the Houston police department, Jack Cato. The bourgeoisie needed this guilty verdict and they got it. The stabbing of Jack Cato is listed along with every other charge stemming from the Houston rebellion in the felony-riot indictment of the Moody Park 3. They wanted this conviction on the record. Several weeks before the trial they had "adjusted" the original indictment, adding Gallegos' name to the specific charge of stabbing Cato.

At the trial, Cato, the star witness for the prosecution, couldn't even get it straight whether or not he saw a knife pierce his backside. His testimony was so obviously flaky that reporters in the courtroom were

unable to keep from laughing. Cato, whose job puts him on the same floor as the homicide department every day, had supposedly waited months before looking through any police pictures and had finally identified Edward Gallegos, a known member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, as his assailant *six months after* the rebellion. Cato was obviously lying through his teeth.

While it was clear that the frame-up of Gallegos was a blatant attempt to set up this 17-year-old from the Houston Northside Community as an example to others of what the bourgeoisie has in store for those who come forward in struggle, much of the time you couldn't tell who was on trial, Gallegos or the Moody Park 3. The judge repeatedly allowed the names of the 3 to be brought up in court. He allowed testimony in which they were named as the cause of the rebellion.

This is the fourth time Morales has been busted in the last two months.

Each of the 3 were asked to stand before the jury for identification. Testimony by the cops about the rebellion tried to paint the picture that the rebellion was aimed at innocent citizens, small shop keepers in the Northside, and not at them and their godfathers of finance and industry.

It took the jury two days to reach a verdict. But it took them only about an hour to agree on a sentence—five years probation. It was clear that it had been a compromise verdict. It was an obvious frame. The court had gotten a conviction based on red-baiting and hysteria. It was exactly what they wanted to step up their attempted railroad of the Moody Park 3.

Irvington Courts

On the weekend of February 12 three people including Tom Hirschi, one of the Moody Park 3, are busted by the Houston cops in the Irvington Courts, a run down federal housing project on the Northside near Moody Park. The three are busted for selling the *Revolutionary Worker* without a license and rough-

Continued on Page 35



Picture story excerpted from the REVOLUTIONARY WORKER.

Revolutionary March in Houston

Houston, Texas. January 13. The Chief and the Mayor paced and telephoned in the plush office which gave them a view of the street. Behind them loomed steel and glass towers. Gulf Oil. Pennzoil. Tenneco. Bank of the Southwest. Shell. A daily reminder of who they served... the castles of their capitalist masters.

It was a cold day in Houston—39 degrees. Why were they sweating? They watched from their fortress which stands between the barrio and the headquarters of Houston's rulers, like the overseers guarding the slavemaster's house watched the shacks of the slaves. Afraid.

It was noon. The time had arrived. All week long it had been attacked, threatened—anxiously, eagerly awaited. Now the demonstration was forming up as contingents rolled up in the trucks. Chants filled the air. "Abajo, Abajo con la represión! Arriba, Arriba la Rebelión! Defend the Houston Rebellion! Free the Moody Park 3!"

The people of the Northside would never forget. Even if it had been for only two days. The sight of the enemy running away, wounded and afraid, had been burned into their hearts. Nothing could take that away. . .



Cars from the neighborhood pulled in behind the march, honking their horns. Some drove their cars around and around the block stopping up the side streets so that the march could pass. A man drove his pickup truck along following the march route. His rifle was above the seat. "I have two sons in that march," he said. "If anyone tries to mess with the march I'll defend it." The people were deadly serious about this march.

The Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade contingent, all in red jackets, marched past in step. A group of kids on bicycles rode in formation in front of the RCYB contingent. Organized in teams of three, they had planned this bike contingent themselves to stand with the march and protect it from attack!



The lines were drawn as the march began. At the Friday press conference Chief Caldwell had warned of the "communist threat," saying that he just wanted "people who participated to do so with their eyes wide open." Maybe he thought that by telling people that communists were leading the fight against oppression that the people would just want to stay oppressed. He was wrong.

As the marchers moved down the street, red flags and banners flying, the people of the Northside poured out of the shops and houses. Dozens joined in. Thousands reached out for leaflets. Some pointed with grins to the picture of the Moody Park rebellion. Yes Chief, their eyes were wide open. They knew the point of this revolutionary march, and these people dug what they saw.

An old man stood on the corner, the lines in his face telling a story of a lifetime working in the fields. The rebellion? He smiled. Buena. Good. Por la gente. For the people. Would there be a revolution in this country? He stood looking at the march and nodded. His eyes, too, were wide open.



Near the front of the march a huge red banner proclaimed: *Moody Park—Seed of the Future—From Rebellion to Mass, Armed Revolution!* It was this message carried into the streets by the Revolutionary Communist Party that the rulers feared the most.

The revolutionary message of this march had reached deep into the hearts of the Chicano people of the Northside. The march was like a magnet drawing people out, out of the house, onto the porch, into discussion, reading papers, into the streets. There is a powerful revolutionary force seething among the Chicano people, and today the red banner of the Party of the working class was calling it into the streets. And more, this Party was bold in saying that only by overthrowing the oppressors by violent revolution could the Chicano people, together with the whole working class, win their freedom.

The vendidos cringed. The Chief shuddered. They had felt the force of the Chicano people in Moody Park, and here today in the streets of the Northside another powerful scene was unfolding. People were taking up this revolutionary march as their own. Their attempts to isolate the march from the people of the Northside by screaming "communists" and "outsiders" had backfired. They had picked up a rock only to drop it on their own feet.



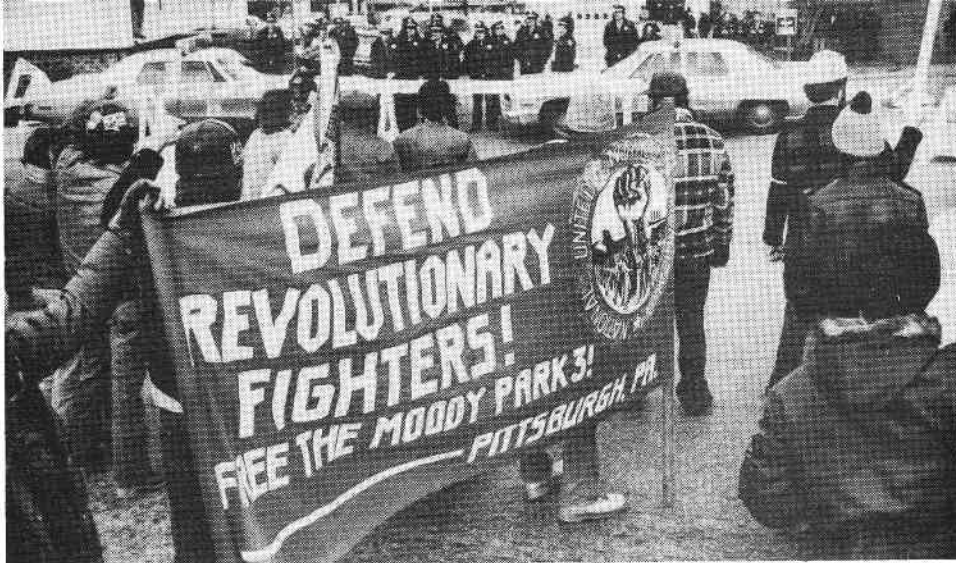
“Moody Park—Seed of the Future— From Rebellion to Mass, Armed Revolution”



The march rounded the corner and headed toward the bridge on the freeway. The steel and glass towers of the super rich rose in the distance.

Ahead was the police station. Hundreds of cops stared out from behind the barbed wire, the barricades, the glass doors. "Asesinos, assassins!" the cry went up from the march.

Many had come more than a thousand miles to Houston just for this march. From Detroit, Los Angeles, Seattle, Atlanta, Chicago, they had come to stand with the rebellion against the oppression of the Chicano people, against all oppression. These were the people the Chief of Police had blasted at a press conference as "outsiders." "Outsiders," hell! They were a credit to their class—working class fighters who hated oppression so much that they would come all this way to stand with people they had never known. They were not just fighting for their children, for their own livelihood. They were fighting for all, knowing that the defense of the rebellion and the Moody Park 3 was a blow to the common enemy—the imperialist bloodsuckers who rule this country.



Fists flew into the air as the anger of the people aimed at the hired killers of the slavemasters. The march stopped. The cops didn't move. They were stuck there in their pen, up against the wall. They were the ones that stood isolated and exposed today, and they twitched nervously.

The march had defied them. It had challenged the right of the oppressor to oppress the people. And it had pointed to the day when a storm would rise, not just for one day, but a mighty storm which would sweep the slavemasters from the face of the earth.

The march turned. In the window on top of the police station the people could see the Mayor and the Chief looking down. Two "brave" generals hiding in their plush office. Caldwell tried to slip behind the curtain, but thought better of it and came back out again. The bicycle brigade did "wheelies" right up in the cops' faces. "Pigs!" The kids flipped 'em the bird!



Houston

(Continued from Page 31)

ed up by the pigs right in the Courts. At the pig station one cop tells one woman arrested, "Commie, I'd like to see a bullet between your eyes."

The people living in Irvington Courts, who have been threatened with eviction for buying a copy of the *Revolutionary Worker* or even talking to a member of the RCP, are enraged. Immediately a petition is circulated in the Courts by tenants and Party members, denouncing the police attack and defending the newspaper. Thirty-five people sign right away, despite the threats of eviction and the fact that the SWAT team has made a recent foray into the Courts, and that the pigs are constantly spying there trying to intimidate people.

A few days later, at the Houston City Council a contingent including members of the RCP, RCYB, People United to Fight Police Brutality and tenants from Irvington

the bourgeoisie and the determination of the masses of people and the Revolutionary Communist Party and all those defending the Houston rebellion to stand firm in the face of the reactionary onslaught points very sharply to the tremendous significance of the Houston rebellion and the trial of the 3. This trial is the focal point of the fierce battle which has been raging since the rebellion last Cinco de Mayo.

Houston Rebellion— A Revolutionary Struggle

On May 6-7, 1978, when hundreds of Chicanos as well as people of other nationalities rose in rebellion against the police who invaded the Cinco de Mayo celebration in Moody Park on Houston's Northside, a tremendous thing happened. This uprising was the sharpest battle of the Chicano people in years against the vicious national oppression they face under capitalism. And the Houston rebellion was the most powerful rebellion in this country in five or more years, since the explosions of the oppressed nationalities in the

power when the conditions for revolution are ripe. Otherwise, when the conditions for revolution are ripe, the proletarian party will simply throw away the opportunity of seizing victory.

In the face of an onslaught by the bourgeoisie, screaming in their press that the rebellion was a "drunken brawl," a "senseless act of violence," denunciations by the so-called community leaders and threatened arrests which soon became a reality, the Revolutionary Communist Party and revolutionary fighters including those who were soon to be singled out for a political bust—the Moody Park 3—stepped forward to defend the rebellion. They upheld the revolutionary actions of the masses, saying: It's right to rebel against oppression; we need more of this; we don't apologize for the rebellion for one second. They drew the line on the rebellion, exposing the vendidos who whined, "This is terrible." They distinguished themselves from the stand of other reformists, even including so-called communists—actually snivelling opportunists—who tried to cut the revolutionary heart out of the rebellion, basically apologizing for it as an unfortunate, if "understandable," excess on the part of the masses.

Standing with the rebellion meant—and means right now—standing with the future. Not only did the Party and the revolutionary fighters in People United to Fight Police Brutality, including the 3, uphold the rebellion, but the RCP pointed out that the rebellion had pointed the way to the future. This rebellion was a living example of the need for revolutionary struggle against national oppression and all the misery which comes from the rule of the capitalist class. The rebellion flew in the face of and put the lie to the reformist notions pushed by the likes of CPML and others that what the masses need is a new "civil rights movement," a repeat of the dead-end reformism which had been exposed and rejected in the '60s. In the face of this garbage, the RCP stood up and said, not only is the rebellion fine, but it is a seed of the future, the necessity to build a revolutionary struggle led by the working class which will overthrow the bourgeoisie through mass armed revolution. With the rebellion, the struggle against national oppression in Houston took a leap and the sharp struggle between two lines that had been going on before the rebellion came to a head.

Joe Torres Case

For a year a political battle had been raging which focused on the death of Joe Campos Torres, the 26-year-old Chicano beaten and drowned by six Houston cops in the Buffalo Bayou—a filthy sewage creek which runs from the downtown out to the ship channel where the oil tankers carry the black gold of Houston's super-rich out to the Gulf. A year-long struggle which saw the courts hand down a \$1 fine to their murdering pigs. A Chicano's life was worth one dollar!

Throughout this struggle for Justice for Joe Torres, a two-line struggle was waged by the Revolutionary Communist Party against voices of the bourgeoisie in their various

"Here's something that tells us why all these things are happening to us and you're trying to take it away from us. We need this paper and we need these people. This is our paper and you'd better keep your hands off."

Courts confront the Mayor and his boys. A Chicano woman from the Courts gets up to speak in Spanish. A Chicano man who is an observer in the council meeting jumps up and says that her words must be translated. A member of the RCYB goes to translate for her and the Mayor butts in, "Are you saying what she's saying or are you saying what *you* think?" The woman understands and shoots back, "he's saying what I'm saying and I'm talking to you and you better listen." She runs down the conditions in the Irvington Courts, how she's now paying \$200 a month for a rat hole and the landlords are trying to raise the rent, and the kind of oppression that comes down daily on Chicano people. Waving a copy of the *Revolutionary Worker* in the Mayor's face, she says, "Here's something that tells us why all these things are happening to us and you're trying to take it away from us. We need this paper and we need these people. This is our paper and you'd better keep your hands off it."

A Black man from the Courts gets up to speak and denounces the police, saying that the cops supposedly protect the people but in reality all they do is serve the high and mighty. The Mayor interrupts, trying to confuse this brother, "The last woman who spoke didn't want the police around, are you saying that you want *more* police?" The brother answers, "Listen, McConn, I'm talking to you. Keep your cops out of Irvington Courts."

The intense struggle going down to the trial of the Moody Park 3, the vicious attacks of

late '60s and early '70s when the flames of rebellion erupted in dozens of major U.S. cities.

The rebellion in Houston was, in fact, a *revolutionary* struggle. It was a glimpse of the future, a revolutionary struggle within the non-revolutionary situation of today. It was a political act that went up against the whole system, where the masses of people took matters into their own hands in a mass and militant way. It directly challenged the "way things are" with mass revolutionary violence aimed against the hated enforcers of law and order.

For the Revolutionary Communist Party and all revolutionary minded people it was crucial to uphold this struggle, to cherish it and learn from it as an embryo of the revolutionary storm that is to come when there is a qualitative leap from a non-revolutionary situation to a revolutionary situation in this country. It was essential to grasp firmly the principle set down by the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Mao Tsetung in the *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement in 1963*:

Even in ordinary times when it is leading the masses in the day-to-day struggle, the proletarian party should ideologically, politically and organizationally prepare it and the masses for revolution and promote revolutionary struggles so that it will not miss the opportunity to overthrow the reactionary regime and establish a new state

forms, including the so-called community leaders and so-called communist organizations like the CPML. The Chicano poverty pimps who headed up such organizations in Houston as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and La Raza Unida Party and the so-called communists who tailed them preached the road of begging for justice with hat in hand, attempting to channel the struggle into acceptable means of seeking reforms. It was the tired road of relying on the bourgeois politicians and seeking "justice" from the kangaroo courts which had let the murderers of Joe Torres off with a \$1 fine.

In the face of this the RCP led People United to Fight Police Brutality, an organization initiated by the Party after the death of Torres, to persevere in the struggle to raise the sights of the people to the fact that there is no justice under capitalism for the working class and the masses of oppressed nationalities. The Party consistently seized the opportunity to target the capitalist system as the source of national oppression, including police terror against minorities, and showed how the courts and politicians were not about to deliver any real justice since their only function is to serve the capitalists. And this meant further directing the action of the masses right at the source of the system that has kept Chicano people super-exploited and oppressed as part and parcel of the overall dictatorship of capital over labor.

In Moody Park on Cinco de Mayo the people drew the line. All the lies and treachery of the so-called community leaders, the vendidos, those who practice the politics of delivering people up to the slavemasters, all their preaching about relying on the courts, going through legal channels, keeping cool and *staying down* stood raggedy in the light of the burning cop cars. Hundreds armed themselves with rocks and bottles and drove the heavily armed cops out of the park. Several times the pigs were driven back and they were finally forced out of the Northside community. One brother said, "It was like a festival out there. It felt good to be free just for a while." This fiesta, a festival of the oppressed, continued into the next evening as cops attempting to enter the community were lured into traps and ambushed by dozens of youth throwing bricks, fighting more consciously and carefully than the night before. The police had to throw up road blocks to keep people from coming in to join the fighting.

On the day of the Cinco de Mayo celebration, People United to Fight Police Brutality sold copies of the *Worker* and passed out thousands of leaflets calling on people to fight for justice for Joe Torres in the revolutionary spirit of their proud history of struggle against national oppression. Later, when the rebellion broke out, People United marched boldly into the heart of the battle carrying banners with slogans directly targeting the class enemy. Hundreds took up the chants, "Cops are the tool of the rich man's rule," and "Joe Torres dead, cops go free, that's what the rich call democracy." These slogans were spray painted all over the area that night. The masses took hold of the Peo-

ple United banner and carried it into the streets in the midst of the rebellion.

But even as the name Joe Campos Torres rang out, the rebellion was far more than a militant action for "Justice for Joe Torres." It was a rejection of a dead-end reformist road, the throwing off of chains of oppression in a violent act, shattering the lie that oppressed people will live forever on their knees begging at the feet of the slavemasters. The rebellion was a revolutionary act against a lifetime of oppression. In Moody Park the people got more justice in two days than they had seen in a lifetime. They got a taste of the revolutionary storm of the future when the working class and the masses of people led by their Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, will break the chains of oppression once and for all.

Revolutionary Work in a Non-Revolutionary Situation

This rebellion was an embryo. It teaches us about revolutionary work in a non-revolutionary situation and preparation for the armed overthrow of the bourgeoisie. As the '76 Central Committee Report of the RCP pointed out, while the masses will mainly be drawn into struggle by the objective situation, the subjective (revolutionary) forces are capable of significantly influencing the direction of events. This is particularly true during extraordinary outbreaks of revolutionary struggle which are more the exception in ordinary times. The extent to which the masses in Houston were conscious of the class enemy was largely due to the activity of the revolutionary forces in the struggle over a long period of time.

To correctly carry out revolutionary work, the present non-revolutionary situation must be understood in relation to its opposite, the revolutionary storm which will surely develop. Ordinary times will turn into extraordinary times, and even in ordinary times there are extraordinary moments. For how else can a revolutionary situation arise if not from the seeds which are contained in the struggles of today? The Houston Rebellion is precisely one of those seeds. It represents a significant leap in the masses' understanding of who the enemy is and how to fight it. And it is absolutely crucial for the masses, in the course of struggle, to make such genuine leaps in their understanding of the necessity of revolution and the means to accomplish it. Otherwise they will not be able to make the big qualitative leap to actually making revolution and overthrowing the bourgeoisie when the opportunity presents itself.

The Houston Rebellion was the kind of "minor" crisis which, as Lenin said, "discloses to us in miniature the elements, the rudiments, of the battles that will inevitably take place on a large scale during a big crisis." The rebellion was a living example of how in these revolutionary struggles the masses learn more in a few days than they can in years of ordinary times. The role of the state as enforcers of the rich, the hysterical red-baiting of the news media, the dead-end solutions posed by various petty bourgeois forces and so-called communists who tremble before the revolutionary violence of the

masses—all the rudiments that will assume much larger dimensions in a revolutionary situation were present in the rebellion. But perhaps the most significant elements revealed were the openness of the masses themselves to making a radical rupture with the boundaries imposed on the struggle by the bourgeoisie, and the necessity for communists to lead the struggle politically, pointing the direction forward through its twists and turns.

The Houston rebellion vividly demonstrated, if only for a day or two, that the police were a poor match for the fury of the masses united and politically aroused. At the same time the cops' actions in putting it down once again demonstrated nakedly that their state power ultimately comes from the barrel of a gun. And the actions of the revolutionary forces underlined the fact that for communists and advanced fighters, the very purpose of education and struggle when there is not yet a revolutionary situation is exactly to prepare for the armed struggle, for the seizure of power by armed force whenever such a situation does develop.

Free the Moody Park 3!

For the bourgeoisie, the rebellion and struggle since then has been an unbelievable nightmare. "This can't be happening," they shriek, "We left all this behind in the sixties." They had shot at revolution. Their pimps and vendidos had stabbed it in the back. But since they keep on oppressing people, the people fight back and the seeds of revolution never die. Moody Park brought that point home with a terrible force they felt in their guts. And in the months that have followed, the bourgeoisie has been unable to bury the rebellion, unable to put out the fires, largely because conscious revolutionaries have kept those flames alive in the hearts of many people in Houston and begun to spread them nationwide. Conscious revolutionaries have struggled in the streets and battled in the realm of public opinion, not only upholding the rebellion, but fanning the sparks, spreading them and pointing to the future, the hurricane storm of the 1980s. It is this terrible glimpse of the future that the rulers have put on trial in Houston, Texas.

The bourgeoisie must try to make an example of the Moody Park 3 to convince the masses that if you stand up and fight you will be crushed, and to rob the people of three revolutionary leaders. And for exactly this reason all class conscious fighters must make the Moody Park 3 an example to the bourgeoisie—that when people come forward to lead the struggle in a revolutionary direction, they will be cherished, they will be defended and that every time the capitalists attack that leadership, many more will come forward to take up the fight. The attempt to railroad these three revolutionaries in Houston must be stopped. ■

Free the Moody Park 3!

Teng

(Continued from page 7)

also made abundantly clear: Teng had led China to capitulate to the U.S. imperialists. He had come here to lick the boots of the U.S. imperialists. The simplest way to see why Teng came is to look at what he *did* while he was here and then to view that in the context of the overall world situation. He used his visit as a podium and the U.S. press that paddled behind him, recording his every reactionary utterance, as an amplifier to attack the Soviet Union, the U.S. imperialists' arch rival. And he paid worshipful homage at the shrines of U.S. capital, indicating that Mao's revolutionary line on developing China didn't work. Now it was necessary to resort to "practical" means.

Teng's plane had hardly touched down in Washington when he started his denunciations of the Soviet Union and warning of the danger of war and the threat to "world peace" posed by the "Polar Bear." Of course, Teng wasn't saying anything the U.S. imperialists aren't figuring out for themselves. An all-out military showdown between the U.S. and the Soviet Union looms larger with every passing week. Why this is true is no mystery. Mao Tsetung and Lenin before him explained the essence of it. It is imperialism itself, the very nature of the capitalist system that drives these countries to war. The capitalist law of "expand or die" operates as much for capitalist countries as it does for individual capitalist enterprises.

Teng Hsiao-ping in Houston—assumes prayerful posture in Space Center as he continued his worshipful pilgrimage to shrines of U.S. capital.



There is no area of the world where these two imperialist powers are not locked in bitter and vicious competition for hegemony.

But what does Teng Hsiao-ping, masquerading as a follower of Lenin and a tongue-in-cheek upholder of Mao, have to say about the causes that are leading the world to a new imperialist war? It's not imperialism, and certainly not the U.S. imperialists, all they want to do is "maintain the status quo"—to stabilize the world. Nope! It's just those dirty Soviets. "At present," he said in an interview in *Time* magazine just before leaving for the U.S., "the U.S. has no reason and no need to want to launch a war." "We consider that the true hotbed of war is the Soviet Union, not the U.S." So let's all line up behind the U.S. and take on those Russians, he repeated from Washington, D.C. to Seattle. No wonder the U.S. ruling class gets such a kick out of this "blunt speaking" revisionist. No wonder they had John ("I'm sorry for the way things are in China") Denver serenade him at their gala party at the Kennedy Center on the night of January 29. They sure aren't sorry now!

While Teng was in the U.S., some of the press tried to play up the idea that it was really China who was trying to drag the U.S. into its conflict with the USSR. That would be confusing appearances with the essence. The tail doesn't wag the dog. It's the other way around. Teng came to offer the Chinese people as pawns in the U.S. imperialists' global conflict with the Soviet Union, and as cannon fodder in the impending war. Of course from the view of the Chinese bourgeoisie, they have their own interest to protect—to defend against the Soviets. But since these revisionists despise the masses of people, and since like all comprador capitalists they see defending their interests from one imperialist foreign power as a matter of jumping into the pocket of another, Teng & Co. are racing to wrap themselves in the Stars and Stripes and proclaim the identity of interest and common destiny of China and U.S. imperialism. "We are an insignificant, poor country," he stated to *Time* magazine, "but if we unite, well, it will carry weight."

Teng Helps Imperialists Prepare for War

The U.S. imperialists face very necessary tasks as they prepare for war with the Soviets. If they are going to be able to wage successful battle with the Soviets to protect and expand their empire, to knock the Soviet social-imperialists off their perch and grab even more for themselves, the U.S. has to line up and firm up every country they can pull together to go against the Soviets: they've got to strengthen their own war bloc. And at the same time they've got to make effective moves against the Soviets to weaken their position tactically and strategically.

In this context, corraling China into their camp was a major coup for the U.S. imperialists. That's one important reason why they took such delight in parading Teng around the country. It was a direct slap at the Soviets, and every time Carter proclaimed that his visit wasn't aimed at them he only underscored the fact that it was. In addition, it provides the U.S. with a whole range of op-

tions and intermediate moves against the Soviets, as was demonstrated by China's invasion of Vietnam. (See article on page 2.)

But the Chinese revisionists also have another important role to play in the war preparation plans of their new imperialist bosses, which Teng also demonstrated during his visit. He is going to try to serve as a conductor, waving everyone aboard the U.S. troop train. Hence, he not only called for a united front between the U.S., Japan, Western Europe and China, he called on the countries of the "third world" to get on board. He not only calls on the working class of the western industrial nations to unite with their own bourgeoisies, he calls on masses of the underdeveloped and neo-colonial countries to unite with their imperialist masters.

What a shameless admission of their charlatanism and pragmatism. Teng's adjustment of the theory of the "three worlds" revealed even further the reactionary purpose of that "theory" all along. "In this concept of our thinking of three worlds," says Teng, "we proceed from the establishment of a united front against hegemonism and for the defense of world peace, security and stability, and this united front includes the U.S." This is nothing more than an admission that they came up with this so-called theory out of pragmatism in the first place and will toss it out or again "readjust" it as quickly as it suits their pragmatism. And it is this overriding pragmatism, exemplified here, that is the basis for a possible flip over into the Soviet camp.

The U.S. bourgeoisie has another important task in their war preparations—right here at home. They have to create sentiment and support among the masses of people for their confrontation with the Soviets. And they have to snuff out any opposition. In particular as they try to rally the masses around their blood-soaked imperialist flag they have to try to tear down and trample on the red flag of revolution. They have to try to discredit and silence the revolutionary organization and leadership of the masses.

As comrade Bob Avakian put it in a recent speech: "There are storms gathering. There are going to be upheavals. And they (the imperialists) know it, and they want to strike down and wipe out the banner of revolution, because they want to go into this situation with nobody able to lead the masses in opposing them. Because they know the hatred of the people for this system, the hatred that already burns in the hearts of millions, is going to spread and deepen in the hearts of tens of millions of people in this country."

And, once again Teng Hsiao-ping is right in there pitching for the imperialists. He marched around the country beating their imperialist war drum, upbraiding people for not taking a staunch stand against the "Soviet aggressors." But what Teng was here to do was even more despicable than this heinous crime. He was here to sing a requiem for revolution, with the full orchestra of the U.S. bourgeoisie in accompaniment.

As he toured the Ford plant in Atlanta, hand-in-hand with Henry Ford and Leonard Woodcock, as he stood in worshipful awe in front of U.S. space technology in Houston,



as he drooled enviously over the 747s at the Boeing plant in Everett, Washington, he made abundantly clear what the new "historical mission" that he has set for China means. He made his message to the American working class clear: Look, Mao was an idealist with all this talk about revolution. All we really want in China is what you've already got right here in the U.S. We just want to be a modern, powerful country like you are. Of course because of our "superior system" we'll avoid some of your pitfalls. Like "labor unrest," ecological damage and traffic jams. But the American working class should be proud and happy with what they've got—the tremendous advances in the South and the area you call the "sunbelt," Disneyland—and they should be ready to go to war to defend it.

The veteran worker at Ford in Atlanta who defiantly stood in front of Teng, Ford and Woodcock with his shirt sporting Mao's picture on it and wearing the buttons from the Mao Memorial, the worker from the Everett Boeing plant who waved a Red Book in Teng's face as he tried to get in his limousine in front of a Seattle hotel—both let him know what he could do with stinking praise for U.S. capitalism.

Mao Tsetung Did Not Fail, Revolution Will Prevail!

It is in this context that the tremendous political significance of what the Party did must be seen, together with other revolutionary forces it rallied around the banner of Mao Tsetung during Teng's visit. It was in the tradition of what Lenin and the Bolsheviks did in the face of the treasonous capitulation to imperialism of Kautsky and the Social Democrats before World War I; what the Russian revolutionaries led by Lenin did in the face of the efforts of the bourgeoisie and their "socialist" flunkies to call for unity behind the flag of the "motherland." They exposed these traitors to the working class, spit on the imperialist flag and raised the red flag of revolution.

The Party stood up and said: "To hell with you imperialists, your revisionist lackies and your reactionary war." In the face of their efforts to rally the masses around the stars and stripes it called on the masses to rally around the flag—and in today's world the red flag is synonymous with the banner of Mao Tsetung. It exposed the crime the revisionists are trying to perpetrate. It stood with Mao, whose very name is synonymous with revolution in today's world.

So it's not surprising that after the blow the Party dealt to the plans of the U.S. imperialists for Teng's visit that they counter-attacked. For, again as Comrade Avakian put it, "what they hate and what they fear, and what they want to crush is the banner of revolution, the banner of the Revolutionary Communist Party and its revolutionary line, the banner of Mao Tsetung. It's the banner of working every day for revolution, of seeing beyond the superficial and down to the essence of what this hellish society, and its mad-dog prisonhouse that they call democracy, is all about."

It's not surprising that the ruling class



counter-attacked and is determined to try to deal a blow to the Party with the arrest and the upcoming trials of the 78 revolutionaries on January 29. It's not surprising that Comrade Avakian was singled out in court by the chief Washington District Attorney and by the judge because he leads and symbolizes the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Party which openly declares its intention to lead the working class and masses of people in this country in making revolution. Comrade Avakian was held on \$10,000 ransom, which was not reduced because, in the words of the judge, "he is a revolutionary leader."

But these attacks on Comrade Avakian and the Party have only further increased the determination of the Party and its supporters to defend the Chairman of the Central Committee and the others arrested and to redouble the Party's revolutionary work among the exploited and oppressed people in the U.S. What they don't realize, and what the bourgeoisie can never sum up is that the more they make attacks on the masses and their revolutionary leadership, the more they fan the flames of resistance. If the ruling class is under the illusion that they can just slam these 78 righteous brothers and sisters in jail, rip off the leader of the Party—and somehow

intimidate people into silent submission—they will find out how wrong they are. These trials and the defense of the 78 will be the occasion and an opportunity to continue to spread and deepen the message that was delivered during Teng's visit.

The march to the White House and the other actions during Teng's visit not only went up against the U.S. bourgeoisie with their war plans and efforts to bury revolution. It helped to create some new conditions for revolutionary struggle in the U.S. Some people saw clearly what was going down and hailed it. Others saw it and generally dug it, but weren't sure of its significance, maybe thought it was just opposing what is going on in China and didn't see its link to the struggle in this country. Others, maybe for the first time in a long while saw revolution put out front. The task now is to move out boldly and broadly to take advantage of these new conditions. To agitate and expose ever more sharply what the imperialists and their flunkies are up to. To defend the revolutionary fighters arrested. To explain why "Mao Tsetung did not fail," why revolution can and will prevail. To rally people to the flag of revolution that was hoisted so boldly in Washington, D.C. ■



Fight to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

The U.S. bourgeoisie was stung. The Chinese revisionists were exposed. They were furious. Revolutionaries led by the RCP had made a powerful political statement and had created an international incident in the face of their plans to parade Teng Hsiao-ping through the U.S.

As the demonstration reached the White House on January 29 they unleashed their counter-attack. Pigs viciously attacked the march. Clubs slashing, they charged with motorcycles and on horses, trying to corner and beat people to the ground. They rounded up and busted as many as they could. In all 78 people were arrested and taken off in paddy wagons to D.C. jails, including Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP.

The comrades were initially charged with misdemeanors, a \$300 bail. But the bourgeoisie was not about to leave it at that. After high-level consultation the charges were raised to "felonious assault on a police officer," and all 78 were held for \$10,000 ransom. The chief District Attorney for D.C. was brought in to personally handle the attempted railroad they were gearing up.

In an open attack on the RCP, high bond and special bail conditions were slapped on Comrade Avakian, because as the judge put it, "he is a revolutionary

leader." In an unsuccessful attempt to stop the Party from giving other fitting welcomes to Teng, the judge restricted Avakian's travel to D.C., which Teng had already left, and another city, where he was not going.

But they only picked up a rock to drop it on their feet. The D.C. jail was turned upside down, its halls ringing with shouts of "Long Live Mao! Long Live Revolution!" The brothers and sisters already locked away in this hell hole of capitalism rallied to their support. When the comrades got out on bail one inmate said "I'm glad you are getting out, but I hate to see you go."

Their kangaroo courtroom was turned into an arena of struggle and denunciation of their reactionary "justice." When the demonstrators were hauled back a week later, made to pay the cost of travel from hundreds and thousands of miles away, the courtroom was filled by the red jackets worn by the RCYB in the march as an echo of the Red Guards of the Cultural Revolution—a powerful show of solidarity.

When one of the defendants arrived in D.C. for his preliminary hearing on February 8 he hailed a cab at the airport. He asked the driver, "Did you hear about the demonstration against Teng Hsiao-ping last week?" That was all it took. The cab driver laid it all out. How Teng and his

cronies were destroying the revolutionary China of Mao Tsetung. Turning China into a capitalist country. He had seen the demonstrators marching and he knew something heavy was coming down. Everybody was talking about it, he said. Lots of people dug it—what the RCP did. And though many of the people were not now ready to join in themselves, he thought many would when things really hit the fan.

Millions will come forward to make revolution. And the Party will use these attempts by the bourgeoisie to tie up and jail people to expose their rotten system further, to take a step closer to the day when the masses of people will dish out revolutionary justice to the capitalist class and its lackies.

Even this battle will not be confined to their straight-jacket courts. The Party is going out broadly and boldly to build support for those who stood to defend Mao and raise the banner of revolution. The RCP is determined to—and will—use these trials to strengthen and increase its ranks for the battles ahead.

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Defend Comrade Avakian!
Defend the RCP!

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