



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the
Revolutionary Communist
Party, U.S.A.

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New Stage in Bob Avakian Case

Gov't. Forced To Retreat, Maneuver



On Wednesday, November 14, Judge Carlisle Pratt, presiding in the case of Bob Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tse-tung Defendants, signed an order which dismissed the 25 felony/misdemeanor count indictment against all 17 of these defendants. Before the ink he used to sign his name was even dry (in fact, before the order was even filed with the court), Judge Pratt was extending all the cooperation he could to the U.S. Attorney's office in their plan to file an immediate appeal to this order before the District of Columbia Court of Appeals.

The legal grounds for this series of moves was the judge's ruling on the question of "prosecutorial vindictiveness." The defense had charged months ago that the piling up of charges to 25 felonies and one misdemeanor was "vindictive," and illegal. The judge had ordered the prosecution to cut some indictments to sharpen and focus its case and remove some of the blatant

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IRANIAN PEOPLE STANDING FIRM AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Amidst the twists and turns of the U.S. crisis over Iran two facts stand out. The first is that the U.S. is still number one when it comes to dirty deeds and treachery. The second is that the Iranian people's desire for independence and democracy will never be satisfied until U.S. imperialism is driven completely from Iran.

All week the U.S. press kept up the din about "saving American Hostages."

Only liars like our government and the press, or very naive people believe that.

One hostage, a twenty-year-old Marine who is apparently naive himself, brought this to light in a tape: "I don't think it is up to Carter to decide what's more important—American people who are here or the Shah... I think that he should put us first." But that's the whole point. The U.S. concern is not "American lives"—that's

just good for public consumption. All along the U.S.' single aim has been to advance its imperialist interests in Iran and worldwide—and that means the Shah comes first.

Of course, when the Shah was in power in Iran, they didn't hesitate to whip up American chauvinism by blaming him for "going against the U.S." and raising oil prices. The current contradictory behaviour shows that they

were liars then, too, the Shah was a loyal U.S. servant. The *only* thing consistent between then and now is the constant effort to build up public opinion in support of U.S. imperialism.

Last week the U.S. was still pretending that their invitation to the Shah to come to the U.S. was purely humanitarian. That was before the Iranian students occupying the U.S. Embassy

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Central Committee Report Conclusion, p.9

"Official Guns" Turned on Greensboro Struggle

Greensboro, North Carolina. On November 15, another of the murdering Klansmen responsible for the massacre of 5 anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina turned himself in. He had obviously gotten the message which the capitalist class and their prostitute press has been working overtime to relay as they attempt to twist the truth of what happened in Greensboro, and who is responsible. Bail was set on Tuesday for all 14 Klansmen and Nazis jailed in the massacre, ranging from \$4,000 to \$15,000, and with every reactionary organization jumping on the bandwagon these dogs will soon be let loose. In the two weeks since the cold-blooded murder which exposed the collusion between the Nazi/Klan gang and the cops to millions who witnessed on national TV the "timely" arrival of police in full riot gear from around the corner moments after the fascists had done their dirty work, the bourgeoisie has been working to reverse the guilty verdict and protect their murdering puppets. Their press has been filled with "personal interest" stories, interviewing friends and family of these Klansmen about the plight of their "poor white families." Rumors from unidentified police sources claim the anti-Klan demonstrators fired the first shot and the fascists, who millions saw calmly unloading rifles from the trunk of their car like they were going after a six-pack, and take aim for murder, fired in self defense! It is a clear message to reactionaries that if they carry out the dirty work of the ruling class, they will be taken care of. At the same time, they are trying to promote their hired thugs in blue as the real keepers of the peace in what they describe as a war between "extremist" groups, while they give their fascist gangs the green light.

For a full week after the massacre in Greensboro, every flunkie that the ruling class could drag out of the closet was paraded on TV and the front pages of the paper telling the people not to march November 11 against the Klan/Cop murder of the anti-Klan demonstrators. They praised the police

at the scene of the massacre and the chief back at headquarters for "preventing further violence," and declared a moratorium on marches in Greensboro.

In the first part of the week they focused on the battle over a permit to hold a funeral march and the demand of the Communist Workers Party (formerly WVO) for honor guards to bear arms at the march. The state was forced to back down on one count and allow the march to go on, but the demonstrators were allowed to carry only guns without the ammunition. Even this widely publicized debate was geared to scare people away from the march.

By the middle of the week, the ruling circles launched a heavy campaign of intimidation. Boasting that 1000 law enforcement officers would be there to prevent anyone from disrupting the march, the repressive apparatus of the state geared for battle, aiming an assault, particularly against the Black people in the area who were enraged at these murders and were looking at the march on Sunday as a place to take a stand. No one was allowed to buy handguns, and gun stores only sold ammunition to people they knew. By the end of the week a "state of emergency" was declared as 650 National Guardsmen began gathering in the town. The home base of the National Guard unit called to Greensboro was the very same area where the murdering Klansmen live. This infamous unit was used in Greensboro ten years ago in an armed battle to put down a Black student rebellion at A & T University here.

By Saturday, most cars with out-of-state plates and everyone else who looked "suspicious" were stopped and searched by the 175 city cops and 250 highway patrolmen roaming the streets. It was illegal for any gas station to sell gasoline to anyone who wasn't putting it directly into a vehicle tank. It was illegal for people to "cluster" in the neighborhoods. And as a last ditch effort to terrify people, the bourgeoisie spread the rumor that some crazy racist from Georgia had ripped off an Army base of hand grenades and automatic



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weapons and was driving an army wrecker towards Greensboro.

A raging debate boiled in the factories and neighborhoods, especially among Black people, about whether or not to go to the march. The cold threats of violence pulled many people away who were afraid there would be another massacre. There were also further reactionary attacks during the week—at University of North Carolina, Greensboro, three white students shouting "KKK lives" beat two Black students.

The stage was set for Sunday's demonstration. Against all this and in the spirit of one young Black woman who said, "When I left my mom was crying, but I've missed too many important things in my life not to come," people began heading for the demonstration.

Downtown Greensboro was a virtual armed camp, where people were frisked, once, twice, sometimes three times in several blocks walking from their cars to the rally site. Standing at attention on both sides of the hearses were rows of policemen with riot shotguns ready. Squads of National Guardsmen were blocking every intersection, with reserves in armored personnel carriers nearby. Undercover cops with walkie-talkies were swarming inside the gathering crowd. These combined cops outnumbered the demonstrators at least 2 to 1.

On top of this there were at least 200 reporters of all types, snooping around, taking pictures and taping impressions, waiting to be the one to get the big scoop.

It was pouring rain and freezing cold when the march began. Groups of people had come from Columbus, Ohio, Virginia, Birmingham and other places to take a stand against the Klan murders, as well as quite a few people from Greensboro who came out, including a number of Black people from the housing project where the murders took place as well as from a housing project where the RW has been selling and where there has been much struggle against police brutality in the past year.

Unfortunately, the CWP does not understand much about building a united front, and failed to unite all those who could have been united against the Klan and the hand of the capitalists behind them. The CWP contingents marched from a private indoor rally and lined up with the caskets of

their dead. These contingents marched past a group of at least 100 people from Greensboro who were not an organized group and left them standing there, outside the march. Most were left to find their way home. The march of 400 demonstrators, 1000 cops and 200 reporters hit the streets. Groups that had come to participate in the march were told to get rid of anything they had brought other than CWP slogans or get out of the march. The United League from Mississippi removed their buttons. A group from Ohio had to put down their picket signs, and many individuals had to take off their red arm bands with the slogans "Damn the Klan and the Capitalist Hand Behind Them! Never Forgive or Forget the Greensboro Massacre!"

Members and supporters of the RCP kept their red arm bands on, and the Black Military Resistance League from Norfolk, Virginia would not down their banner. Both groups continued to march alongside the demonstration.

During the march, 35 people in a CWP caravan from Durham were arrested on the outskirts of town for "carrying dangerous weapons during the state of emergency." Only one, a widow, was allowed to continue, while the others were detained. All this in stark contrast to the decision of the police the previous week to allow the caravan of murderers to continue into Greensboro, armed to the teeth, because, after all, "they weren't doing anything illegal."

The ruling class immediately jumped out to sum up the march and rally. "Tight Security Marks Greensboro March," "Funeral March Peaceful," the headlines screamed as they patted the police chief on the back. "From now on we're having a 'high profile' at political demonstrations," they sneered—to "prevent any violence." While they pose as the peace keepers, their real purpose is clear from their actions in the massacre and around the demonstration. When it comes to murdering anyone who stands up against their vicious Klan and Nazi puppets then the police are "keeping the peace" around the corner, but when the outraged masses want to fight this oppression, out come the troops to "keep the peace" in the streets—keep the peace for the ruling class that is, which means keeping the people down. ■

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Editorial

U.S. IMPERIALISM IS GOING TO HELL.

Where Are YOU Going?

Events of these past weeks in this country have twice underlined the fact that the times we are all headed into are not at all "normal times." The shots in Greensboro rang out that message. So did the whipped-up, stomach turning show of reactionary American flag waving around Iran. "No more shit... America Number One" screeched crowds spearheaded by undercover police, Klan-types, and just plain ignorant chauvinists.

All this showed not only the fact that these are times of crisis, it showed as well that there are two roads opening up before the people of this country—the roads of reaction and of revolution. It showed that increasingly there will be two camps as well—the camp of those who cling viciously to the reactionary American dream and try to prop it up, and the camp—now smaller—of those who break with all this and say, "Tear this rotting corpse down, make revolution and build something new." The choices are shaping up.

In Greensboro a message was sent straight from the bourgeoisie. These gunmen were no local crazies; their bullets bore the seal of approval of the high authorities in this country. This massacre was like a declaration to reactionaries that hunting season was open—that they would get co-operation from on high in their murder. Greensboro was also a message intended for the masses of people—a message intended to strike fear into those who might "step out of line." And it was a package of deceit, intended to pretty up those who gave the gunmen their orders—the capitalist government—as the guardians of safety and reason.

And when they added their puffed up reactionary mobs around Iran into this picture—this was really a signal to their social base to go into action, and a show of force intended to demoralize and paralyze the advanced, conscious people who hate all this into thinking they could do nothing, that everybody was a flag-waving, anti-Iranian idiot.

To see the real meaning of all this—and especially to see not only the reactionary show but the opportunities that are opening up to the revolutionary forces—we have to look deeper. For years, especially since World War 2, the U.S. rulers have been top dogs in the world. And based on this top dog position, the ruling class bribed some people in this country and lulled many more to sleep by tossing them a few crumbs, even while it exploited and oppressed them. But today, crisis and a rush towards war is accelerating in this country.

Many people sense that this system is in crisis, that it is being challenged all around the world and here at home, too. But in the face of this realization, a choice is shaping up, a choice whose two antagonistic answers will now each muster growing forces. We are faced with a system that is headed downward. The question is are you going to fight to break through all this crap, scrap this system and make revolution, or are you going to fight to prop it up—to further fasten the chains of this system, all in the hope of getting a piece of the deal.

Reactionary and Impossible

This is exactly what is happening when reactionary mobs chant "No more shit... U.S. Number One." There are two things we can say about this so called "vision." First, it is a monstrous and reactionary one—one based on preserving the world-wide criminal oppression and exploitation of our rulers along with their reign over us at home. Second, it won't happen.

The U.S. imperialist system is headed down. You can fight to try to keep it on top and many will—but in fact there is less chance of achieving this stinking goal than there is of overthrowing this capitalist system and making revolution.

The rulers of this country recognize their crisis—and its only "solution", world war, which they hope to win against their equally reactionary Soviet rivals. Oh sure, they make use of a few starry eyed flag wavers who think that the world is just like John Wayne movies—super-Americans go shoot up "inferior" foreigners and then come home to confetti and pretty girls.

But those movies wore out long ago. Our cowardly "masters of war" will try to sucker naive generations of youth into doing the fighting, but they know the true realities in store. Even their current "culture" reflects this—it's a brainwash to brace us for the hell they intend to put us through.

"The Horror"

We don't get World War 2 type movies much any more. This reflects the changed position of the U.S. Being top dog means you can't pull what they pulled in the last two world wars—sitting back while others did the main fighting and dying and then swooping in to grab the spoils. No, the U.S. is on the front lines all over the world today. That's clear from Vietnam to Iran to Western Europe. And they are facing a powerful rival—the equally reactionary and now capitalist Soviet Union, which also needs to expand or die. So today we see war movies like *The Deerhunter* and *Apocalypse Now*, movies that don't paint a picture of a "grand old war", but of war as hell—a hell we have to face and then fight through. As Kurtz puts it in *Apocalypse Now*, "Make a friend of horror and moral terror." This is what they are preparing us for.

In more sterile, academic terms they say the same thing. Old "Number One" is heading down—only war can save it. Paul Volcker, the new Chairman of the Federal Reserve, put it this way in a speech last year in London: "With the benefit of hindsight, it would seem that an erosion of the United States' competitive position was implicit in the post-war arrangements." And in the same speech he quoted a colleague, "A controlled disintegration in the world economy is a legitimate object in the 1980s." Though he did not explicitly say so, his answer is clear—"control the disintegration" and get prepared to fight.

Two Camps

Many people still do not see this underlying reality the capitalists see, as they try to get us to defend their system. And some—ignorant or slavish—will go for it as they desperately try to cling to their own decaying positions. There will be the conscious reactionaries—including the George Meany types who spread shame on the U.S. working class by claiming to speak for it as they hawk U.S. aggression. Some others today don't know what they are defending, it has to be exposed to them. They have their heads stuck so far in the sand they don't notice the rotten stench and the thieving, murdering hand that AMERICA represents to the world.

But there are still others who do see this: Veterans who know the "glories" of getting your balls shot off fighting for the capitalists' profits; oppressed nationalities who suffer doubly under this system; and many in the working class as a whole who have felt the back breaking weight of this system and see it for what

it is. It is among these people—along with all others who can't stomach this system—that the advanced are today and will be tomorrow stepping forward.

These are the forces that must deliver an answer to the opposing camp. When they screech about \$1 a gallon gas as a reason to send U.S. troops to the Middle East, the answer has to be straight:

"Yeah, dollar a gallon for gas is a crime, one of many. And not even the worst. But let's make revolution to stop it. Do you think that preserving the very system that has produced dollar-a-gallon gas will somehow reduce the price? Let's make revolution here and take the oil, the machinery, the ability to plunder the U.S. and the world out of the hands of the capitalists. Let's support the Iranian people in coming to power against the U.S. imperialists so that another step will be made in helping the proletariat worldwide create a new world—one in which the vast wealth of this planet can be put to rational use of the people of the whole world."

The capitalists of this country are pulling the masses of people into political life. They are doing so to serve their own reactionary cause, but, potentially, this is a great advance. After years of carefully built up crap about "campus apathy" all of a sudden campuses are seething. The stultifying atmosphere of philistine talk about bullshit in the factories is being shattered, too. And many cases already show that the initial puffed up reactionary performance can be challenged, even turned around.

But how? Not by *silence* on the part of those who see what's really going on and hate it. It can only be turned around if the still relatively small number of advanced forces step forward into the storm. The advanced section of the working class—still small but potentially very powerful, has to step forward and step up its activity.

Step Forward!

It is in this light that every action called for by the Party in the current period assumes its full significance. If the advanced section of our class does not step forward to take up, sell, and establish growing networks of distribution of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper, how will this crap be exposed and the people trained in a common outlook, a common view every week?

And in this light, too, revolutionary May Day 1980 looms all the more important. Against the "spokesman for the working class" mantle worn by the likes of George Meany, just think of the impact of a force of class conscious workers in the streets on International Workers Day—beginning to take independent historical action. What a blow to the capitalists, what a message to broader numbers of workers and all the oppressed of this system.

So, too, stands out the importance of all those actions called for to defend and build the Revolutionary Communist Party—the crucial revolutionary leadership absolutely necessary to seize the time in the period ahead. This means continued defense of the Party's Chairman, Bob Avakian, who is still threatened by the ruling class, and building the Party's Million Dollar Fund Drive so the Party's work can expand on every front.

The advanced class conscious workers must step forward now to challenge the ruling class crap. The future is going up for the taking. ■

Chinese Revisionists to Revise Verdict on Soviets?

"The Chinese Communist Party has circulated an important document to officials that concludes that the Soviet party should no longer be viewed as revisionist, according to knowledgeable Chinese sources."

Thus a November 10 article in the *New York Times*. If true, this development would mark another total reversal of and attack on Mao Tsetung. It would also mark a major preparatory step by the Chinese revisionists toward caving in to their Soviet revisionist counterparts. And this would be a major event

indeed in world strategic alignments for World War 3. The reason for these developments is clear. In an August 3 *RW* article "When Will China Play the China Card?" which predicted these changes, we quoted Mao speaking right to the heart of the matter: "Those who practice revisionism internally are bound to practice capitulation externally."

The likely truth behind the *Times* article is apparent from other, similar, recent developments in China. For some time, there has been little or no

criticism in the Chinese press of the *revisionism*, the total betrayal of revolutionary Marxism, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The USSR is blasted only for its "hegemonism," its military designs and aggressiveness. One good reason for the new Chinese rulers' silence on Soviet revisionism is ironically pointed to in the *Times* article: "Peking's willingness to drop the revisionist label also helps the Government avoid the problem of explaining to the people that the Chinese party has not also become revi-

sionist...."

In the major speech last month at the ceremonies marking the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, in recounting the new rulers' revisionist view of the history of China since liberation, there is no mention at all of the historic battle waged by the Chinese Communist Party under Mao's leadership against Soviet revisionism. Instead, there is only the strangely polite reference to "...the scrapping of con-

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Message from Ceylon Communist Party

Protest to U.S. Ambassador

The following letter from the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party and a copy of a protest to the U.S. Ambassador to Sri Lanka was received by the RCP, USA.

His Excellency,
The Ambassador for the U.S.A.
Colombo.

The Central Committee, The Revolutionary Communist Party of the U.S.A.
Dear Comrades,
Please find enclosed the letter of protest regarding the persecution of Comrade Avakian and other comrades, which has been sent to your Ambassador in Sri Lanka.

Dear Sir,
I have been requested by the Central Committee of our Party to ask you to convey to the President and the Government of the United States of America our very strong protest against the persecution being waged against Comrade Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the U.S.A. and sixteen of his colleagues for having demonstrated last January against the visit of Teng Hsiao-ping to the U.S.A.

Our Central Committee wishes me to express our solidarity for the campaign being run by your Party in defence of Comrade Avakian and his colleagues. We also wish it to be understood that we completely support your stand in opposing the revisionist traitor Teng and in upholding the principles of Mao Tsetung. We wish your campaign all success.

Not only is the right to demonstrate a fundamental right in any society that claims to be democratic, but the visit of Teng Hsiao-ping to the U.S.A. and its purpose was such a reversal of the revolutionary policies followed by China, under the late Chairman Mao Tsetung, and against the interests of the international revolutionary movement that the comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the U.S.A. had every right to express their protest by demonstrating against Teng Hsiao-ping.

Yours Fraternally,
N. Sanmugathan
General Secretary

We strongly protest against the persecution of these comrades who are facing charges which carry potential prison sentences of over 200 years for each defendant; and demand that you drop these charges against all these comrades.

Yours faithfully,
N. Sanmugathan
General Secretary.

Message from Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE!

MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY TO THE COMRADES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, ON THE OCCASION OF THE HEARINGS THEY ARE SUBJECT TO, FOLLOWING THEIR PROTEST AGAINST TENG HSIAO-PING'S VISIT TO THE U.S.A., IN JANUARY 1979.

November 1979

Dear Comrades:

First of all, allow us to extend our warm and fraternal greetings to all the comrades of the RCP, U.S.A.

We have witnessed the recent developments of the striking power of the U.S. imperialists against the communists and progressives in your country. U.S. imperialism has unleashed a wild attack against your Party: more than 200 arrests over the last year, particularly after the demonstrations against the visit of the Chinese revisionists. Twenty-five felony charges have been laid against 17 militants, including comrade Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP. These comrades face more than 200 years in jail.

This attack is launched at the time when the denunciation of the alliance between the Chinese revisionists and U.S. imperialism is intensifying. The plan of the U.S. bourgeoisie is clearly to kill two birds with one stone: to smash any ac-

tion opposing its reactionary policies, and to smash the Marxist-Leninist movement itself, once and for all.

In Canada, our Organization faces not only the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie, but also its allies, mainly U.S. imperialism. In fact, and in spite of their temporary divisions, these two friends work hand in hand to deteriorate the living and working conditions of the people, to intensify the attacks against the communist movement, which has increasing influence in the masses.

With the deepening world crisis of capitalism, repressive means have become the everyday response of the reactionaries to the masses' protest movements. In many countries, in Latin America, in Iran for example, the people have broken their chains. This indicates the need to show not only the defensive aspect of the struggle against repression, but also its offensive aspect. Indeed, the struggle against repression must not be limited to the organization of the defence of communists and progressives, it must also be a means of building the camp of the people, to unify the forces of proletarian revolution, those who will build the socialist society.

The Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada In Struggle! strongly denounces the general repression exerted on the working class at every level. In this spirit, we firmly support your struggle against the repression of the communist and progressive forces in the United States. We are deeply convinced that all these trials, hearings, are for the communists an important occasion to take the offensive, using this tribune to oppose and neutralize the bourgeois propaganda.

The demonstrations held in January 1979 against the Chinese revisionists were denunciations of their reactionary line and of the restoration of capitalism in China. We must push this work further and mobilize our forces. Our Organization will continue this work by denouncing the repression against you, and by calling for support around your struggle. Our international solidarity will not be limited to this. It is comprised concretely in the more general struggle to rebuild the political and organizational unity of the Marxist-Leninists worldwide. We are convinced that this is an essential condition for a consistent struggle against repression, even today; but above all, it is a condition to the development of the struggle for the communist society.

Our Organization will thus continue its support to the RCP and to all anti-revisionist revolutionary forces, and all those firmly engaged in the building of the camp of the proletariat in their country and internationally.

In struggle against political repression!
In struggle against all imperialists and all forms of revisionism!
Long live proletarian revolution!
Long live proletarian internationalism!

Communist and fraternal greetings,
The Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE!

P.S. Enclosed is the amount of \$250 as a modest contribution on our part for the defense of the comrades. Moreover, we will call upon our readers to give financial support and to send you their contributions directly.

This System Is Doomed Let's Finish It Off!

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

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

—A Black worker from Detroit

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Vietnam Vets Stand with Iranian People



Veterans Day, 1979. It was a beautiful moment, coming on the heels of an 8-day week of flag waving, anti-Iranian hysteria when 30 seconds of truth finally hit the evening news. Members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War and revolutionary youth seized the Washington Monument.

On Monday evening for over an hour this memorial to reaction became a beacon of international solidarity between working people of all nations as the Vets barricaded themselves in the observation area. From the windows, five hundred feet up, they unfurled a banner: "U.S. Keep Your Bloody Hands Off Iran! The Shah Must Face The Wrath Of The Iranian People!" In a defiant act of solidarity with the Iranian people, the U.S. rulers were called out for the criminals they are.

Park officials were desperate to silence this bold challenge to the U.S. ruling class' propaganda blitz. Dozens of cops came pouring into the vicinity. When the Vets unfurled their banner, officials cut the lights to be sure no one would be able to read its message. This was something that Jimmy Carter, sitting in his Oval Office with the monument in full view, could hardly have missed. When the Vets dropped leaflets from the monument's windows, police cordoned off the area, refusing to let the press or other spectators get near copies of the statement.

Police were forced to climb the thousands of steps to get to the top of the monument. Then huffing and puffing, they stormed the Vets' barricades, smacking heads into the granite walls on top. They arrested 12 people, members of VVAW and volunteers in the campaign to Stop the Railroad of

ABOVE: Vietnam vet in wheelchair, joining the march from the sidelines, passes out VVAW leaflets to troops.

RIGHT: Cops, in a frenzy of rage, break in on Vietnam vets and others who have taken over the Washington monument.



Bob Avakian.

But this was not enough. Stunned by this action, federal officials cooked up the charge of "destruction of federal property", a felony, and demanded \$7,000 ransom for the release of seven of the twelve arrested. The next day they were forced to release them on personal recognizance.

News of this action was broadcast on Iran Radio, making it clear to the Iranian people that they have a powerful ally in the class conscious workers in this country, especially those who have had to fight the imperialists' wars, and are working here to bring down their bloody rule.

In the San Francisco Bay Area the parades were not only marked by a feeble turnout, but the ceremonies themselves didn't turn out as the organizers had planned, either. In fact, most of the bourgeois press refused to even report on the Bay Area's official parade held in Albany, a small middle-class town across the Bay, where VVAW literally ran circles around the march. As in the past years, once again they allowed VVAW into the official march. And march they did, right up to the reviewing stand, where one VVAW activist ripped out the American flag,

threw it on the ground and stomped all over it. While the march commandants stood there tight-lipped and purple-faced, one brother wiped his shoes with the red, white and blue, and told spectators just what that bloody flag really stood for, and why people in Iran and around the world take delight in burning it.

Along the route, many people showed their support for the revolutionary veterans by raising their fists and applauding. They far outnumbered the handful of rabid reactionaries who were waving their little American flags at the vets and shouting "Go home! Go home! Go back to Russia!"

One young man in a wheelchair joined the VVAW contingent and went the length of the march, handing out VVAW leaflets to spectators. He said, "I was disabled before I was eligible for the draft. Otherwise, I'd have been drafted just like everyone else in 1968. My best friend was killed in Vietnam."

After VVAW had finished blowing the cover off the imperialists' pitiful chauvinist parade, they went back to the Revolutionary Workers Center to sum up the day. An older Black veteran who had marched with VVAW for the first time stood up to have his say. Yes,

he had some fears about going out there so boldly at first, but now he was damn glad he had been part of the VVAW contingent. "We really delivered a big blow. Those kids (all the youth in the parade as well as those watching), when they go home they're gonna ask their parents 'Who were those vets, and what were they saying about World War 3, and why were they out there quoting 'Frag the Flag'?' "

Cleveland

VVAW marched in with a banner reading, "In Iran and around the world the flames of revolution are spreading." Nothing like this had ever before happened at a Veterans' Day in Cleveland. The flag-waving patriots, members of the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars, pitched a fit. How dare these revolutionary vets disrupt their patriotic breastbeating services?!

Chicago

In Chicago, VVAW held a press conference on Veterans' Day demanding that the U.S. keep its bloody hands off Iran and that the imperialists send the Shah back to Iran to face a public trial and be executed.

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44 Arrested in Chester March

Chester, S.C.—The fourth march against the brutal lynching of Mickey McClinton Poag hit Chester on Sunday, November 11, and went straight up against the mayor's refusal to grant any more march permits. As 100 demonstrators braved a drenching rain and marched from the gravesite of Mickey Poag toward the city limits, every available local cop, backed up by four busloads of South Carolina highway patrolmen and a truckload of national guardsmen carrying rifles, began moving from town to the road. A confrontation was imminent.

After a shouting match, the cops began to sweep into the crowd, arresting 44. First they got the SCLC field organizer and then rounded up the others. Among those arrested were Mrs. Patricia Poag, the mother of the murdered youth, and her fourteen-year-

old daughter. These cops picked up people of all ages, even an eight-year-old child, also arresting the only two white people in the march.

Before the people were herded onto a waiting State Department of Corrections bus to be corralled at the local National Guard armory, the State Law Enforcement Division (SLED) and the local FBI photographed each one separately. Many of the outraged demonstrators refused to give the authorities their addresses in response to this blatant intimidation.

Groups of Blacks and whites began lining up on the streets to check out the arrests and the demonstrators started chanting against the cops—who stood side by side with their riot clubs ready. One woman on the march who was not arrested told the *RW*, "Those cops came over and rounded up people just

like they used to do the slaves. Then they took them out to the armory inside the fence in the rain, knee-deep in mud. Worse than they'd treat a dog. When it got dark they put the women inside a bus and let the men just stay out in the rain."

As the bus of arrested demonstrators pulled away, the other marchers continued on—only they changed their destination to the law enforcement center—in a firm statement that this battle will continue.

This new attack by the police has come on the heels of a two-week-long anti-communist barrage in the local papers. From editorials to articles to prominently displayed letters to the editor, the ruling class is screaming about how terrible it is that "outside agitators," especially the communists, are messing with their peaceful little

lynching town. The city council publicly shuddered that the demonstration might clash with their Veterans' Day service and "endanger life, liberty and property in the city."

It is clear that the city rulers and their higher-ups are alarmed at the determination of the people of Chester to carry forward their struggle, and they have pulled every tactic to try and crush the people. This latest anti-communist barrage is only one more way to try to cover up that it is *their* class which is responsible for such "liberties" as the lynching of a young Black man who defied their slave traditions and dared to date a white girl.

And when the people refuse to buckle under, or fall for their line, they bring out their armed pigs to further display their concern for "life and liberty" and the American way of life. ■

Bob Avakian

Continued from page 1

appearance of vindictiveness. The prosecution refused. With the judge's dismissal and the prosecution's appeal—the question has moved to a higher level of government. Behind all these moves lies nothing but *politics*.

The dismissal of the charges in this case represents a major tactical retreat on the part of the U.S. government. In the short run, they have been forced to let go of their tactic of pursuing non-stop this political railroad against Bob Avakian and the other defendants. On the other hand, this retreat is aimed at setting the stage for new attacks. It aims to take steam out of the defense, disarm people and cover the government's ass. The appeals court could re-instate the indictment at any time—like a sword hanging over the defendants' heads. And beyond this, the capitalists could move against Bob Avakian "out of court," in a way they might find less directly embarrassing than a political trial. Ten years ago, Black Panther leader, Fred Hampton, was shot down by the cops while a case of his was on appeal.

The government had some heavy political necessity on their minds when they made their retreat. The pre-trial hearings had not even begun, but already the political defense had had a major effect in the country—and even internationally. Months earlier the Party had determined that this case could only be fought by taking it in a massive way to the people, and a lot had been accomplished already:

* A nationwide speaking tour by Bob Avakian had drawn thousands, particularly among the workers and oppressed nationalities, who had responded deeply to the Chairman's revolutionary message.

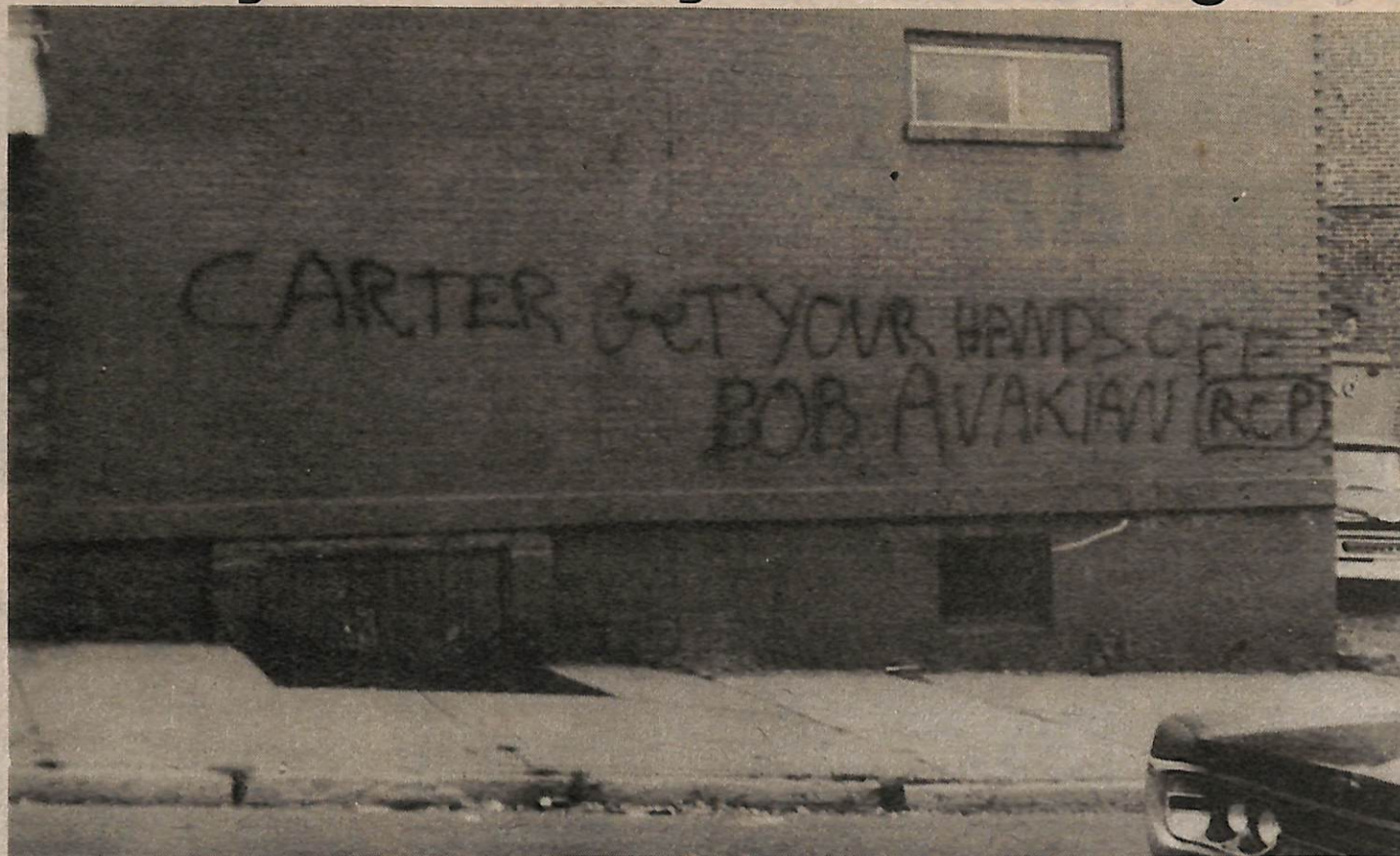
* The Party's call for volunteers to step forward to be picked as political troops for D.C. had been widely taken up. And the highly dedicated troops that came to D.C. included many "new faces"—people recently drawn forward from the ranks of the oppressed.

* The defense had not confined itself to a small circle. TV and radio appearances, right up to the Tomorrow Show, had shocked them. An article had recently appeared in the *Village Voice*, which, although not favorable right down the line, had shown and spoken to some broad interest in what the Party had to say.

* People like anti-war priest Philip Berrigan, and revolutionary musician and poet Gil Scott-Heron and many more, including groups of workers from huge factories, had all signed a statement of support to appear in the *Washington Post* at the opening of court.

* Messages of support had come in from revolutionary parties and organizations all over the world. Whether it was a statement in the *Revolutionary Worker* from communists in Iran, or protests to the U.S. Ambassador in Ceylon, they definitely

Why Did Jimmy Carter Cringe?



New Brunswick, N.J.—Jimmy Carter's visit to New Brunswick, New Jersey during the last week of October was to be a routine affair. Municipal workers had been given a half-day off to insure a large crowd as his motorcade drove through the streets of the city. The town's theatre marquee read "Welcome Jimmy Carter." There were no demonstrators. Everything was cool. What could possibly go wrong?

But at one point on the motorcade the president was sent scurrying for cover in an incident that bewildered and baffled the local police and press. The local newspaper *The News Tribune*, surprised by the incident, did a little investigation and solved the mystery. In an article in the Nov. 3 edition they write:

"Police, anxious to protect President Jimmy Carter from any security risks during his visit here one week ago, had

puzzled over a cryptic message spray-painted on a wall along the motorcade route.

"Standing out in clear relief against the red brick wall at the corner of Easton Avenue and Somerset Street, the message read, 'Carter, get your hands off Bob Avakian.'"

"As the president's limosine had rolled by the spot, Carter, who had been standing up and waving to the crowd, paused and ducked down into his seat for a few moments.

"The message, which apparently unnerved the president, was still a mystery to many residents here until a few days ago when Bob Avakian appeared on the Tom Snyder talk show program, 'Tomorrow.'"

The article goes on to talk about the show in which "Avakian presented a broad-based critique of Western capitalism," and then continues:

charged with keeping Avakian and the RCP under surveillance for more than 10 years. After the police attack on the march, when 78 had been arrested, including Bob Avakian, the machinery of the bourgeois state moved fast to strike what they hoped would be a death blow to this revolutionary organization and its leadership. Within hours of the arrest, charges were upped from a misdemeanor to a felony, and within months, they had mushroomed to 25 felonies against the 17 indicted—a possible 241 years in jail for Bob Avakian and 16 others.

The imperialists viewed the fact that they had Bob Avakian and dozens of other revolutionaries in the clutches of their legal octopus as a golden opportunity. They grabbed the chance to try to strike down the banner of revolution raised by the Revolutionary Communist Party on the night of January 29, at a time when they had declared that

"When asked about the security risk posed by Avakian and his upcoming trial, a spokesman in the Piscataway office of the FBI replied that he did not have any information on the man. He did, however, have a *vague recollection* (emphasis ours—*RW*) that Avakian had been involved in a protest outside the White House in connection with the visit last January to this country of Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping."

It would seem that in spite of their public unconcern about the battle to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants, both Jimmy Carter and the FBI have considerably more than a passing interest in this case. In fact, you might say they are quite literally freaked out by this battle going on in D.C. and across the country. Even a slogan on the wall is a dangerous bullet aimed at the heart of their rule.

got the message.

From the nature of the court battle up to now, the government also knew that their arena—the hallowed halls of the courtroom—would also become a political battleground. The hand of high government in the attack on the January 29 demonstration was bound to be exposed. Some of their agents and infiltrators were going to have to surface and this loss had to be weighed against the chances of getting a conviction. And finally the odor of political persecution in a U.S. court would have again been exposed around the country and the world.

Now they are searching for new ways to attack, to continue what they started early this year. Orders to attack the January 29 demonstration against Teng Hsiao-ping clearly came from on high—from the Oval Office on Pennsylvania Avenue itself in consultation with top FBI officials who have been

revolution was dead. They moved to try to strike down revolutionary leadership, even as many were just beginning to look to it and before millions even knew it existed.

Isolation Tactics Fail

They thought that by attacking revolutionaries who had unfurled the banner of Mao Tsetung in the streets of Washington, D.C., they could isolate Bob Avakian and the RCP from the broad masses of workers and other oppressed people in this country. These people, our rulers believed, never think of more than where their next meal is coming from, and the imperialists counted on the inability of this Party to rally many workers and others to stand with the RCP in the face of this attack, and to not only dream the dream of revolution, but to prepare now to make it a reality.

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Iranian Defendant's Internationalist Stand

Farhad is an Iranian student who was arrested last January after the police attack on a demonstration protesting the U.S. visit of Teng Hsiao-ping. He is now a Mao Tsetung Defendant and may well again face 241 years, when the government appeals the recent dismissal.

As the stakes in this battle have been raised, Farhad's response has been to see this attack on the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA as an integral part of the struggle of the international working class: "People say to me, why don't you leave. I tell them this battle is important, there's a lot at stake for a whole lot of people, the masses of people, their stake is in this battle too."

In fact he said that he is proud to have been singled out by the U.S. government as part of this attack: "Being Iranian and being a Mao Tsetung Defendant, I don't see it different than anyone else...in Iran, Nicaragua, El

Salvador, South Korea, the United States, it's the same...internationalism, going up against a system that has millions and millions of people under its chains kicking people to the ground."

This same stand of workers of all countries standing together is what brought Farhad and many other Iranian students to Washington, D.C. last January 29th. They joined with the RCP in making a powerful statement against Teng Hsiao-ping and company that was heard around the world.

What China's new rulers were doing in Iran—toasting and supporting the Shah as his secret police were adding the death of over 800 at the Abadan Theatre to their long list of crimes—this alone would be reason enough for many to denounce Teng. But this is not among the first reasons for joining the demonstration that Farhad gives:

"China was a socialist country. After Mao Tsetung's death, Teng Hsiao-ping and Hua Kuo-feng took over in a coup. They turned the whole thing around. During Mao's time, China was in the hands of the working class...a country with almost one billion people being freed from imperialism all of a sudden coming under the grip of the bourgeoisie. I thought I had to take a stand against this. Against Teng Hsiao-ping's coming to the U.S., meeting with Carter...being in U.S.'s war bloc. It was very important for me to take a stand against this, to show the people all over...that there are still people holding the banner of Mao Tsetung, that revolution hadn't died."

The U.S. ruling class is making every effort to paint Iranian revolutionaries as enemies of the American people. But the stand of Farhad is living proof of just the opposite. He is literally putting his life on the line, not only so that

the Iranian revolution can be carried forward, but for the revolutionary leadership so necessary for the people of the U.S. to rise up, win their liberation and defend it.

"Revolution in the U.S. will have a great effect around the world," he says, "There are so many countries under the domination and under the exploitation of the U.S. rulers...once the proletariat takes power (in the U.S.—*RW*) all those chains are broken. That will have a tremendous effect around the world. These reactionary governments under these fascist dictators will be overthrown."

The U.S. government is saying that Iranians like Farhad are "troublemakers" and should be deported or worse. But the working class of the U.S. and the world cherishes such people who stand for our highest interests.

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Since the ebbing of the revolutionary movements of the 1960s and before the storms of the 1980s had struck their system in full force, the imperialists believed that the Revolutionary Communist Party was in fact today the isolated "sect" they always tried to label it to the masses. They counted on the inability of the revolutionary leadership that openly declares its plan to lead millions to overthrow their imperialist rule, to unite many thousands now to oppose this government attack.

In a period in which millions are not yet actively involved in political struggle, thousands are still cynical, demoralized, or confused in the wake of the decade of the 70s, and the features of the decade before us are not yet clear to many—our rulers did not believe the RCP could unite broadly, both with those who have not forgotten the 1960s, and look with anticipation to the 1980s, and with the forces that the new upsurges of struggle developing today are bringing to the fore. They failed to take into account the flammable combustion that takes place when the science of Marxism is applied by a revolutionary Party in a living way to the real conditions that the masses face, conditions which today raise big questions for millions about the way that they are forced to live, and are drawing tens of thousands to seek a road out of this hell.

They sent out their spies to infiltrate meeting rooms around the country, to check out the nationwide speaking tour of Bob Avakian launched by the RCP in the face of the August 13th indictment of Avakian and the other defendants on the 25 felony counts. In horror and shock, these government agents recoiled at the sight of thousands across the country leaving their homes, drawn away from the din of the TV set by the revolutionary vision presented by Chairman Avakian. They watched as workers and many others left the tour armed with a growing scientific understanding of the nature of the world, based on the political line of the RCP. Their informants fled back to headquarters to report that hundreds had their very lives changed through Comrade Avakian's speaking tour, and were getting active in the battles to free Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants, but more, were stepping forward to fight for revolution. The enemy struck back—attempting to set up Chairman Avakian on phony charges. His speech in Los Angeles was misquoted by an *L.A. Times* reporter in a way that set him up for charges of threatening the President. They launched attacks on those building for the tour around the country, arresting 14 in North Carolina in the four days before the Chairman spoke there.

Picked Troops

But on the heels of all their attempts to step up the attack on Bob Avakian and sabotage the speaking tour, they faced something which filled their class with still more dread. At the end of September, they heard the call of the Central Committee of the RCP for hundreds of volunteers to march in the very frontlines of this battle, to drag the dirt of the government's "case" against Avakian into the light of day, to bring forward thousands in D.C. itself, to turn D.C. upside down, to spread this battle nationwide and shake this country to its foundations.

This announcement alone, and their knowledge that many were responding to it across the country, drove them to crank up their rumor machine in D.C., bringing pressure to bear on those people who were debating the issue of the volunteers when they arrived. They tried to get those offering housing, meeting rooms and other forms of support to back down. They tried to stop this advancing proletarian army before it could even set up camp in D.C. and begin to fight.

But they failed. Out of the hundreds who volunteered, 150 came and in their ranks were many new faces never before photographed for the well-worn surveillance files maintained on the RCP and its supporters over the years. With dismay, the imperialists watched as the troops arrived, found housing, and immediately took to the streets of



D.C. VOLUNTEERS: youth squad agitation at Cordozo High School.

D.C. to begin the work of uniting hundreds and touching many thousands with the message of this battle. Stepped up surveillance, provocateurs and arrests failed to split the ranks of the volunteers and when the masses of people of Washington began to respond to the call of 150 voices united as one, to take a stand on the decisive weekend of struggle—Nov. 18 and 19—the desperation of the enemy grew deeper.

They struck back against the growing movement around the 18th-19th of November. They told defense committee representatives that no permits were needed for the demonstration on the 19th—and then threatened arrests of anyone demonstrating in the area of the courthouse. They pulled the strings

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Revolutionary Worker

Who Are The VIPERS IN THE VESTRY?

With 150 volunteers in the battle to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian already in D.C. and with hundreds of people coming from out of town for the rally on the 18th and the demonstration on the 19th, getting housing for all these troops has become a sharp arena of class struggle. The ruling class and those who do its bidding have been very active trying to stop the wave of political struggle that will rock the city on that weekend. Through rumor mongering, arm twisting, and all kinds of political maneuvering, they have gotten a number of churches, which have played a progressive role in the past, to refuse to house people.

St. Stephens Church has been the central focus in all this. The church has a reputation based on past practice of taking the side of the oppressed and those fighting against injustice, and it is influential among progressive clergy in the D.C. area. When first contacted by the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants, church leaders were friendly and agreed to house a number of volunteers. Shortly afterwards, they backed down. Since then they have not only refused to house volunteers who have left their families, homes and jobs for months and traveled thousands of miles to fight on the front lines in D.C., but they have also refused to house people coming from all over the Midwest, South and East Coast for even one or two days on November 18th and 19th. Why has St. Stephens, which in the past housed the Black Panthers when they were a revolutionary organization under attack by the government, and the Iranian students when they demonstrated against the Shah during his visit here—why are they lining up with the U.S. government, the very

forces they have stood in opposition to in the past? Why have they ignored telegrams and phone calls from clergy all over the country, many of whom have had first-hand experience dealing with the RCP and who have urged them to provide housing?

A few facts shed light on the forces at work here. The most vocal force in opposition on the St. Stephens vestry, or governing board, is a gentleman named Bill McKay, a tweed-suited, pipe-smoking "liberal" who also happens to be assistant editor of the *Washington Post* magazine. McKay is a bigshot on the very same *Washington Post* which has consistently blacked out stories on Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, since just after the January 29th demonstration. McKay brought in a copy of the *Revolutionary Worker* to the decisive vestry meeting, and pointing to an article on Bob Avakian, he urged that the RCP is dangerous and deserves whatever it gets. He succeeded in uniting the rest of the vestry that if the RCP were allowed to use St. Stephens, violence might result. One woman who overheard part of the meeting described the atmosphere of fear and turmoil among the church leaders, some of whom grudgingly went along, afraid of government reprisals against the church.

Busy behind the scenes in all this was an ambitious career woman who, up to a year ago, was a member of the congregation at St. Stephens. This aspiring, hard-working, ex-cop was none other than Mary Ellen Abrecht, the prosecutor in the trial of Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants. With all the zeal Mary Ellen has shown in trying to railroad Bob Avakian to jail, she must have worked overtime spreading lies

about the RCP, so the St. Stephens vestry has caved in to the rumor mongering intimidation campaign of the ruling class, influencing a number of churches to go along with them.

While some church leaders openly sided with and fought for the government against the RCP and the masses of people, others, more out of fear, have failed to take a principled stand. They perceive the political climate in this country, including especially the masses of people, to be a sea of reaction which they can't stand up to, much as they might want to. Like many members of the middle classes who played a progressive role in the '60s, they are overawed by the apparent strength of the bourgeoisie and the lack of a mass revolutionary movement, saying, "We don't like this, but we can't do much about it anyway because no one else will do anything about it."

This flies in the face of the response of many in the St. Stephens congregation, who couldn't believe that their leadership wouldn't provide housing for people coming to D.C. to demonstrate against the vicious repression of the government in this case. It stands in opposition to the stand taken by progressive clergy all over the country and churches in the D.C. area who are coming forward to provide housing. And most importantly, it stands opposed to the people who live in neighborhoods surrounding St. Stephens and all over the city, poor and working people, mainly Black, who are opening their homes to people from out of town and who will be coming to the rally on Sunday and taking to the streets on Monday.

Opportunists' Response to Greensboro Massacre

Let the Murderers Investigate Their Crimes

In the wake of the murder of 5 members of the Communist Workers Party (formerly the Worker's Viewpoint Organization) and wounding of 9 others by the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis, working directly with police in Greensboro, North Carolina, once again a host of organizations claiming to be "communists" or "leftists" have shamelessly revealed their real nature. Two groups in particular, the so-called "Communist" Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML) and the *Guardian* newspaper, have openly joined the chorus of the bourgeoisie in their attempts to cover over this monstrous crime and lay the basis for further and more vicious attacks on revolutionaries and the masses of people.

The Nov. 12 issue of *The Call* (the CPML's newspaper) and the Nov. 14 issue of the *Guardian* run out the ruling class' line on the Greensboro massacre with just the thinnest possible "left" veneer. Beneath the numerous obligatory pious and empty condemnations of the KKK's "racist oppression" and the like (which the bourgeoisie itself makes sure to include in their press), the bottom line is: "This is just a case of some right-wing nuts attacking some left-wing nuts who basically had it coming to them due to their wild and foolish actions. The ruling class is not at fault here except for the fact that the police weren't doing their job, serving and protecting the masses of people. In fact, it is only the ruling class that can prevent such horrible things from happening."

In the very week that the bourgeois press is spewing out its line that what happened in Greensboro was a clash between "extremists of the left and the right," both *The Call* and the *Guardian* chime in, singling out the CWP as being responsible for the massacre because of its "ultra-left actions." Both newspapers devote considerable space to attacking the CWP and its actions in Greensboro. This is so much the case, that the *Guardian*, for example, feels compelled at the end of their editorial to make the following statement: "The principal target here is the Klan and the Nazis, not the CWP, of course."

The Call makes a point of counterposing the Greensboro massacre with the activities in Dallas on the same day, where 50 KKKers were escorted through the streets by an army of their riot equipped buddies in blue. The KKK was protected by the cops from 3,000 anti-Klan marchers. They were even escorted home after a stop at the police station to change out of their sheets. The Dallas action was fine. But the purpose of this comparison is to make the point that people in Dallas played by the rules and no one got hurt, whereas, in Greensboro, people were more or less just asking for trouble and provoked the Klan into opening fire on the crowd.

David Simpson, long associated with the CPML and a spokesman for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), which is practically synonymous with the CPML these days, joined with others at a press conference to criticize the police for not

stopping the perpetrators of the massacre. Of course, the police were part of the whole operation from the beginning.

The Call reports on Simpson's "linking Klan terror to the non-union status of North Carolina's textile industry and the owners' campaign against organized labor and Black-white unity," and the call of those at the press conference "for an open Congressional investigation of the police and the Klan activities around the shooting." This portrayal of the Klan as merely a group of paid goons of the textile mill owners used to smash union organizing drives and divide the workers is also repeated in their front-page editorial.

What is this but a deliberate attempt to cover over the real nature of the Klan and Nazis revealed in Greensboro, as direct paramilitary fascist agents working with the government authorities to attack "reds" and Black people in this time of crisis? CPML's point is that people should just keep cool, these are just quite normal times here and these "union busters" can be taken care of by the democratic laws of the bourgeoisie and Congressional investigations.

Right in line with all this, the *Guardian* too makes its appeal to listen to the voice of reason of the bourgeoisie. They write in their editorial: "Immediately, the left must demand a thorough investigation of the Greensboro murders. Where were the police when the shooting started?... Why, indeed, are these organizations of armed racist

killers permitted to exist at all?... 'By every law, they... had every right to be there,' commented the Greensboro police chief. Then the law must be changed in Greensboro and throughout the country." And they end their editorial thusly, "The entire left and all progressives should unite around Greensboro to form the kind of movement seriously capable of *cleansing our society* (emphasis ours—RW) of the racism the bourgeoisie tries so hard to encourage."

Here in the aftermath of a cold-blooded mass murder that was obviously well planned and coordinated by the capitalist's state, with the calculated purpose of declaring open season on revolutionaries and oppressed nationalities, the CPML and the *Guardian* are trying to throw water on the movement of the masses of people and sand in their eyes, calling on people to let the very government that planned this crime take care of things. They are directly aiding the ruling class in its plans to cover up their role in perpetrating the massacre and continued efforts in building and strengthening their reactionary terrorist organizations.

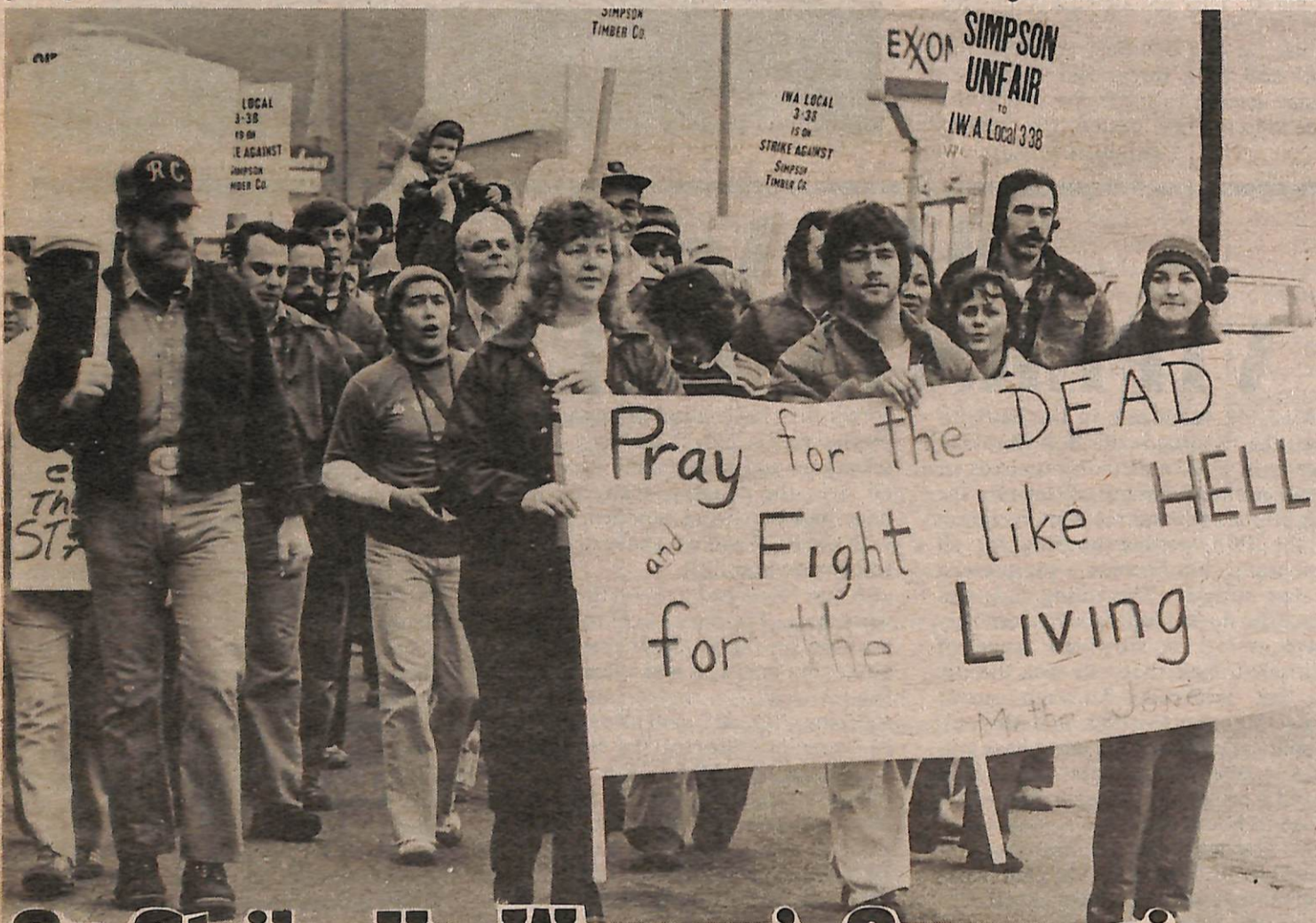
What is all this but the most straight-up social-pacifism? What is this but outright scurrying for cover in the face of the drawn sword of the bourgeoisie? None of this sheer opportunism is out of ignorance or naiveté on the part of the CPML or the *Guardian* about the nature of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the functioning of its state apparatus. No, they are all too aware of the situation and they are cringing and cowering in fear of the power of the enemy. Having only the utmost contempt and hatred for the masses of people, these opportunists are desperately trying to keep the masses from fighting the bourgeoisie head on in order to protect their own trembling and sniveling hides.

To these ends, both newspapers opposed the funeral march called for in Greensboro after the killings. The CPML does this by not mentioning a word about the march, preferring instead to make general calls "to forge a solid, united movement in defense of democratic rights and against Klan terror." *The Guardian* said, "CWP's plans for the funeral march have drawn criticism from a number of forces. Organizers of the Nov. 7 protest vigils, along with other North Carolina activists contacted by the *Guardian*, indicated they do not plan to take part."

The Guardian attempts to justify their straight-up cowardice and opportunism by saying, "Few outside the RCP have joined in previous CWP anti-Klan activities." As a matter of fact, the RCP hasn't joined in previous CWP activities and beyond that has serious disagreements with them, but this is not the point here. What they are trying to say here is: "Look, these guys that got murdered are just 'ultra-leftists' with no base. It's only crazies like the RCP, who would be so foolish as to march straight up in the face of the Klan, Nazis and their ruling class masters. It really doesn't matter if we play it safe and refuse to take a stand in direct opposition to the bourgeoisie here or not. Never mind the fact that the Greensboro massacre was a knife thrust into the belly of the struggle of the masses of people in this country."

Revolutionaries, including the RCP, and others who wanted to turn back this attack, however, marched in the funeral march in Greensboro. Why? Because a large section of the masses of Black people and others in Greensboro and across the country wanted to take this attack head on and because it was absolutely necessary to do so. The attendance at the march in the face of massive intimidation is testimony to this mass sentiment.

In their rush to hide under the skirts of the bourgeoisie, the CPML and the *Guardian* are following the well-worn path of the likes of the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) that made peace with the imperialists when things really hit the fan. But one question remains. At least the CPUSA had built up a large membership and following which they used as a bargaining chip in striking a deal with the enemy. What will these pitifully weak organizations use? Just what kind of deal do they expect to get?



On Strike Vs. Women's Oppression

Shelton, Wa.—"Welcome to Shelton, Christmastown, USA" reads the huge Santa Claus at the entrance of this working class community of 7,000. Neat rows of houses lead to the waterfront and the city center. The big store called Lumberman's and the plastic replica of Paul Bunyon that towers over the self-service gas station stand as a testament to the industry on which the town depends. One young man, born and raised in Shelton, calls it "Simpson town." The two big industries are Christmas trees and Simpson Timber.

Last summer Toni Gilbertson, a 26 year-old mother of one, applied for work at Simpson Timber. Her interview included questions like, "What would you be willing to do to get a job at Simpson?" Toni got a job, then filed a sex discrimination suit. After 26 days on the job, she was fired. Since then,

more women have stepped forward to expose other perverted comments by their Simpson employers. They have been asked to take off their blouses; one, if she wore a bra; others, if they would have sex with the supervisors; and they have endured comments by the supervisors about the measurement of their breasts.

After six grievance meetings, the company refused to rehire Toni. The union leadership fought the firing not on the basis of sex discrimination, but a technical violation of the job-bidding clause. On October 8, members of the local voted to strike, the second time in twenty-five years! After shutting down the Shelton plant, this International Woodworkers of America local of 1,400 (which includes only 50 women) sent roving pickets as far away as California. They shut down Simpson's

plywood plant in Albany, Oregon and the door plant in Vancouver, Washington for two days.

The union leaders continue to promote the issue as a contract violation. Many strikers look at it differently. As one said, "This is the first time ever for a union in the U.S. to go out for this. The whole thing started with sexual discrimination and the majority of us here think it's a tremendous issue and we're going to back it to the hilt."

On Saturday, Nov. 9, 500 strikers and their families marched through Shelton. Toni Gilbertson was among them. "Why should women make less than men? Why should women have to put up with that stuff. I didn't just do it for myself. I did it for all the women who have to work at Simpson." ■

The Prospects for Revolution and the Urgent Tasks in the Decade Ahead

Recently the leadership of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA held a very important meeting. The Third plenary session of the Second Central Committee took up key questions relating not only to the immediate period and the crucial tasks facing us now, but also to this whole period leading up to the very real possibility of a revolutionary crisis in the years ahead.

What was taken up at this meeting is vital to the revolutionary movement and its prospects for success in the coming period. For this reason we are publishing large parts of the documents from the Central

Committee meeting in the Revolutionary Worker. Revolution magazine is also carrying it. These sections have been excerpted and edited for publication. This is the last of three installments.

This issue includes more sections of a report ("Outline and Summary") submitted by the Chairman which was discussed and met with the strong approval of the whole Central Committee. The subheads are ours—RW.

(6) On the Historical Process of the Proletarian Revolution

Of necessity, only a general summary of some thinking on these questions can be presented here, but it should not only provide a useful basis for discussion of these points but also provide an important part of the overall framework for the discussion as a whole.

Having some sweep in our view of the process of proletarian revolution is important not only in general but also specifically in light of the recent major setbacks of the international proletariat—specifically the reversal in China. The Chinese revolutionaries certainly were a model in approaching it this way, and in arming the masses with this approach: while they fought heroically to continue the revolution, they at the same time stressed that, even if there was a reversal, this could not reverse the general course of history nor the ultimate inevitability of the triumph of communism (they drew analogy to and lessons from the struggle of the rising feudal class in China to replace the slave system and the struggle of the bourgeoisie to establish capitalism in other countries, pointing out that the process of abolishing all systems of exploitation through the proletarian revolution was bound to be even more complex and protracted, but was also bound to be crowned with victory in the end).

But, as we can learn from them, having this sweeping view is important *not merely* so as to be able to have a scientific basis for "plucking up our courage" in the face of difficulties (though that is important and necessary, so long as it is on a scientific basis), but more than that to be able to rise to the challenges—and opportunities—that lie more immediately before us. If it is correct to view the major spirals under imperialism as being basically defined from inter-imperialist war to inter-imperialist war, then this also suggests that not only for the bourgeoisie but for the proletariat as well, the outcome of the present spiral is far from determined. In other words, it has not yet been determined that the particular major spiral from (the conclusion of) WW2 through WW3 has resulted (even if only temporarily) in a setback for the international proletariat—it could turn out that the loss of China, on top of the loss of the Soviet Union, might be more than compensated for, if a major imperialist country were ripped away from the imperialists through proletarian revolution, establishing a socialist country in its place. (There is no guarantee of this, of course, and no immediate prospect of it, but as stressed earlier, it is not out of the question. But even if this doesn't happen, and even if overall this major spiral should result in setback rather than advance for the proletariat, not only would this not change the course of history in general, it would also not change the fact that through that particular spiral, the contradictions of the imperialist system, and the fundamental contradiction of the bourgeois epoch, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, have been intensified, and even the way the imperialists "resolved" things through that spiral only strengthened the basis for their own destruction in the future—if the imperialists manage to hang on for centuries, that will very probably mean that the whole world will by that time be highly developed capitalistically, and Marx and Engels' view on the proletarian revolution will be vindicated anyway.)

The Paris Commune, as we know, lasted only two months. But if it had lasted longer, then what? Would it have been able to last for long as a workers' state, as a socialist country? That is very unlikely. Undoubtedly it would have suffered a reversal and been transformed in content into a bourgeois state, a capitalist society. To say this now is not the same thing as saying it then—then to adopt such a "philosophical" view and to have sat by with arms folded rather than to have actively supported the Commune would have meant revisionism and betrayal, determinism and capitulation. But to look at it with this understanding now, from the standpoint of historical materialism—applying materialist dialectics to the process of proletarian revolution—is to arm ourselves to fight better now to hasten the victory of the proletarian revolution, not only in this country but world-wide. In this, too, Mao is a great teacher. Here is what he had to say about this process, specifically looking at the defeat of the Paris Commune and the reversal in the Soviet Union (in the

context of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China and specifically in arguing that the Paris Commune model was too advanced for the conditions in China at the time):

"If the Paris Commune had not failed, but had been successful, then in my opinion, it would have become by now a bourgeois commune. This is because it was impossible for the French bourgeoisie to allow France's working class to have so much political power. This is the case of the Paris Commune. In regard to the form of soviet political power, as soon as it materialized, Lenin was elated, deeming it a remarkable creation by workers, peasants and soldiers, as well as a new form of proletarian dictatorship. Nonetheless, Lenin had not anticipated then that although the workers, peasants and soldiers could use this form of political power, it could also be used by the bourgeoisie, and by Khrushchev. Thus, the present soviet has been transformed from Lenin's soviet to Khrushchev's soviet." (From the U.S. government collection, "Miscellany of Mao Tse-tung Thought, 1949-1968," Part II, p. 452.)

Historical Perspective

It is an important fact that socialist countries that have so far existed have existed so far as islands surrounded by a sea of imperialism and reaction (or the situation has been, except for the brief period of the socialist camp following WW2—which won't be addressed in this paper, but is an important subject for discussion—that there has been one major socialist country with a few others "hung up somewhere" between bourgeois democracy and socialism but ultimately being turned around and in any case not in themselves a major material force affecting world politics). In the "Communist Manifesto" Marx and Engels briefly trace the rise to power of the bourgeoisie over several hundred years—"An oppressed class under the sway of the feudal nobility, an armed and self-governing association in the medieval commune; here independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany), the taxable 'third estate' of the monarchy (as in France), afterwards, in the period of manufacture proper, serving either the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against the nobility, and in fact, cornerstone of the great monarchies in general, the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway" (and even this last assessment is correct only as regards a handful of advanced capitalist countries—see Peking FLP edition, 1970, p. 33).

I think there is a useful analogy here with the process of the proletarian revolution world-wide—though there are obviously differences as well, the most fundamental one being that the proletariat cannot develop the productive relations characteristic of its society until after it has seized political power; and it also cannot "share power" with the bourgeoisie in the same way that the bourgeoisie could with the feudal class, both being exploiters, though the proletariat does "share power" with the bourgeoisie under socialism (even within the socialist country) in the sense that the bourgeoisie not only still exists, not only is constantly engendered under socialism, but most importantly is engendered precisely within the proletarian state and its leading force, the proletarian party. With all this, looking at it in historical perspective, it can be seen that the rise to power of the proletariat, beginning only a little more than 100 years ago with the Paris Commune, is still in its early stages and has, so far, always occurred in the conditions where, on a world scale, the proletariat not only has to "share power" with the bourgeoisie (and other reactionary classes) but finds them still dominant.

Revolution and Defense of Socialist Countries

This has presented the proletariat and the masses of the socialist countries, and specifically the Marxist-Leninists leading them, with serious difficulties and powerful necessity. They are faced with the need to make use of contradictions within the enemy camp, among the imperialists and reactionaries, merely to survive as a socialist state which of course stands in contradiction to assisting and supporting the revolu-

tionary struggle internationally. And experience shows that this becomes particularly acute as the inter-imperialist contradictions heat up and inter-imperialist war rapidly approaches—which, with the existence of socialist countries, is no longer simply inter-imperialist war but now also involves the socialist countries themselves. This makes the handling of different basic contradictions and their interpenetration very difficult and complex.

The rub is this: it is precisely the bringing to a head of the contradictions on a world scale—the approach of the resolution of a major spiral, with the imminent prospect of world war—that at one and the same time creates the very great likelihood that the socialist country will face all-out attack by an imperialist power or powers sharpens, brings into being, or brings closer, the objective conditions necessary for revolution in many countries, perhaps even including the imperialist powers themselves. This raises the contradiction between defending the socialist country and assisting, supporting and accelerating the revolutionary struggle in the other countries to a much intensified level. How have the socialist countries and the international communist movement handled this so far?

Not too well. In general, as we know, the overwhelming tendency has been to subordinate everything to the defense of the socialist country—or even where this might be correct for a certain period, as for example in WW2, to almost completely liquidate the secondary aspect, the class (or national) struggle within the other countries. In short, everything has come to be staked on the defense of the socialist country.

But the problem is not so simple as this. It is not the case that the revolutionaries in the socialist countries, and the international communist movement, have simply forgotten about revolution in other countries or have not attempted to link the defense of the socialist countries with the advance toward socialism in the other countries. The problem is that, besides the outright national chauvinism and writing off of revolution at home and abroad by the revisionists in the socialist countries (the Chou En-lai, et al.), the revolutionaries have basically followed the method of combining the defense of the socialist country with the advance toward socialism in the other countries into a single world struggle. The enemy becomes the imperialist bloc that is the main danger to the socialist country, and forces are re-aligned on a world scale to array against it the socialist country in alliance with the other countries and peoples in the world who also, for conflicting reasons, oppose that "main danger" bloc (the "anti-fascist war" and the Chinese's, even the Chinese revolutionaries', approach of building the same model of struggle in the face of the impending World War 3).

The problem here is not that adjustments are called for in the class struggle within various countries, but that what has accompanied all this has been the line that in the countries of the bloc opposed to the bloc that is the "main danger" (to the socialist country), the struggle should become that of a national war against that "main danger" bloc. And this leads to the disorientation of the proletariat and its Party, in those countries and even internationally. Instead, it seems to me that, even if it is correct to temporarily subordinate the class struggle within some countries to the international struggle in a more limited and immediate sense (for in an overall and long-term sense the struggle within each country is generally subordinate to the world struggle, but here we are talking about subordinating it to the defense of a socialist country) then this should be understood and explained within the Party and to the masses on the basis precisely of defending the socialist country, and it should be done with the orientation of continuing to expose the reactionary nature of one's own ruling class and continuing to prepare to overthrow it whenever the opportunity actually does ripen.

Why, in such circumstances, can it not be explained to the masses in the following terms: Our ruling class, in pursuit of its own reactionary aims and interests (with concrete exposure of what those are and how it is pursuing them), is allying itself militarily with a socialist country, a homeland of our class, the international working class; but this ruling class has not for

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a moment or in any way changed its nature—not only does it continue to exploit and oppress the working class and people here, it is right now maneuvering to grab more areas to plunder in the world and will, if it sees the opportunity, stab its socialist ally in the back, in accordance with its vampire-like nature; and more than that, it is right now preparing to do all this at the war's end, or sooner, if and to the degree it can. We, on the other hand, must fight to defend the socialist country, but we must also never lose sight of our own class interests (for the ruling class will never lose sight of its, and if either side does so, it will *only* be ours); and just as they are exploiting and oppressing us and maneuvering and preparing to strengthen their position to carry out their bloodsucking, predatory interests, at the expense of the working class and people of this country and all others, so we must not only resist this exploitation and oppression but must also constantly prepare and maneuver to strengthen our position to fight for and achieve our class interests—to overthrow this reactionary ruling class, establish the rule of the working class and support and advance the international revolutionary struggle.

Why cannot this be the line that the Party arms itself, and the masses, with, in these circumstances? Of course, it will be only the more advanced, class-conscious workers who, at any time, will fully rally to and take up this line, but since when do communists alter (water down) their line on account of this? Obviously, this is a very complicated situation and actually carrying out such a line—and propagating it in popular terms—is very difficult. But, again, since when do difficulties constitute a valid reason for communists to abandon the correct line?

"Main Danger" Line

And more than this, such an approach is correct only if a scientific assessment of the world balance of forces actually demands that some adjustment be made, temporarily, in the class struggle at home. The maneuvering of the socialist country to avoid having to "fight on two fronts" against the imperialists, or even to sharpen up the inter-imperialist contradictions so that one bloc is forced to ally, however conditionally, with the socialist country in the war, really should not be made the line of the Marxist-Leninist parties in other countries. Our Party's approach to this during the time before the revisionist coup in China was basically correct, and insofar as even the revolutionaries in China promoted the line of "national struggle" in the advanced countries (this requires further investigation, but it seems that they did do so), then they were in error—not traitors, but in error.

It was both very necessary and correct for the revolutionaries in China to make a sober assessment of the situation in the imperialist countries and to conclude that the prospect of revolution there was not so immediate as to eliminate the need for China to make an "opening to the West" and even try to contribute to an alignment among the imperialists that forced the Soviets to face a danger "on two fronts." But it was not correct to therefore determine that the form of revolutionary struggle, should it develop, in the countries of the U.S. bloc, was "national struggle" against the Soviet "main danger to the people of the world." If the proletariat and its Party in the other countries must, under certain conditions, make temporary adjustments in order to defend the socialist country, it is no less true that the socialist country must also take into account not just the struggle in its own country and to defend itself, but must also make "adjustments"—that is, limit the moves it does make toward exploiting contradictions among the imperialists—in consideration of the struggle for revolution in the other countries. Again, this is extremely complex and very difficult to correctly handle, but simply attempting to combine everything into one *international struggle against the "main danger"* is not the answer.

This was Stalin's error, in a very developed form, and it also seems to have been the error of the revolutionaries, including Mao, in China. It does not need repeating again that this is difficult and complex, but it should be stressed that all this must be much more thoroughly discussed, debated and thrashed out, within our Party and among Marxist-Leninists internationally.

Stages in Revolution

Another, closely interrelated, element in this is the fact that the socialist countries that have so far existed have had a strong legacy of backwardness to overcome. And in China this was further compounded by the fact that the revolution proceeded, and could not but proceed, through a period—and a protracted period at that—of democratic struggle, before it could advance to the socialist stage (in Russia there was a bourgeois-democratic stage, but not in the same way as in China, not as fully or for as long a period). And along with this, the revolution in China matured and finally won victory during a time—the 1930s and '40s—when within the international communist movement the distinction between communism and bourgeois democracy was, to say the least, somewhat blurred. All this had its negative effects within the Chinese Communist Party and strengthened the bourgeois-democrats to capitalist-roads phenomenon. (Even Mao, truly great Marxist-Leninist that he was, was not unaffected by all this, in my opinion. He indeed stood out virtually alone—at least at the end—among the "venerable veterans" of the Chinese revolution, as a communist surrounded by bourgeois-democrats. More than that, he indeed stood

out as a towering figure within the communist movement historically and internationally, but nevertheless I believe that the national-democratic character of the Chinese revolution over a protracted period, as well as the still backward economy of socialist China and the threat of subjugation by imperialism, exerted some influence in Mao toward nationalism and bourgeois democracy, and, as stated in the concluding chapter of *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions*, toward seeing the revolution in other countries through the eyes of the Chinese revolution.)

This is not to say that, in a fundamental sense, Mao did not understand the difference between the revolution in a country like China and that in the advanced capitalist countries. He certainly did have a basic understanding of this, and explained it. In quoting Mao on this point in [a previous report], I inserted the comment that in a country like the U.S. (as opposed to one like China) it takes longer to get to the stage of armed struggle, but a shorter time to win victory once the armed struggle has begun. This is, of course, a reflection and result of the different kinds of conditions in the two types of countries and the different strengths and weaknesses of the revolutionary movement. And along with this, it should be noted that, having seized power in a country like this, there will be real strengths, including the size, both relatively and absolutely, of the proletariat as compared to other classes and strata, its high degree of concentration and socialization and, along with and as the basis for this, the high degree of development of the productive forces.

Struggle in Ideological Realm

The point here is not to say that, once we have seized power in this country, everything will be easy. It is rather to recognize the great leap that will be taken by the international proletariat when it does seize power in an advanced country, and the strengths that must be seized on and utilized for the struggle of the international proletariat—and to do this will itself require very intense struggle, especially in the ideological realm. Living within a country like this, with the political backwardness of the proletariat—which is the other aspect of its being an advanced, imperialist country—we can easily lose sight of this potential and its importance for the world struggle (this point was sharply urged on me by an Iranian comrade in discussion about the revolutionary struggle in our two countries). And what a correct understanding of this will lead to is an even deeper understanding on our part of the crucial importance of struggling against the backward tendencies among the masses, raising their consciousness through struggle and training them as Marxists, with particular emphasis on combatting patriotism, national chauvinism, etc., so as to strongly imbue them with proletarian internationalism—the fact that, in order to make revolution here, we have to go so directly and intensely against patriotism, bourgeois democracy, etc., will also be a great strength for the international proletariat, especially once political power is won here.

Mao made some important comments on this subject in his "Critique of the Soviet Textbook, *Political Economy*":

"Lenin said: 'The more backward the country, the more difficult its transition from capitalism to socialism.' Now it seems that this way of speaking is incorrect. As a matter of fact, the more backward the economy, the easier, not the more difficult, the transition from capitalism to socialism. The poorer they are, the more they want revolution. In Western capitalist countries, both the employment rate and the wage standard are relatively high, and bourgeois influence on the working people has been far-reaching. It looks as if it is not that easy to carry out socialist transformation in those countries (i.e., the seizure of power). The level of mechanization in those countries is very high, too. After the revolution has borne fruit, boosting mechanization further should present no serious problem. The most important question is the remodeling of the people." (Section XIV, "Is Revolution in Backward Countries More Difficult?")

Key Role of Superstructure

This leads us to the question of the forces and relations of production and the base and superstructure.* This is a monumental question, and further study and writing as well as discussion and struggle should be done around this. Here I will only attempt to sketch the outlines of a few basic points, to lay the basis for further discussion.

When we say that the production relations—or the economic system (base)—are ultimately determined by the level of development of the productive forces, this is correct and is further a basic principle of dialectical and historical materialism. But what does this mean, especially in today's conditions? Specifically, why is it that socialism could exist in China on the basis of relatively

backward productive forces, while in a country like the U.S. very highly developed level of productive forces exists, but socialism has not yet been achieved? Obviously, the correspondence between the forces and relations of production (and the base and superstructure) cannot be understood mechanically.

But, as stated, this is obvious—because of the Russian and Chinese revolutions and the theoretical as well as practical leadership of Lenin and Mao (before that it was, of course, not "obvious" at all). To get at this more deeply, the principle, or law, involved, can be stated roughly as follows: for socialism to be built, the productive forces must be developed enough that there exists in the country at least some large-scale means of production and a modern proletariat working in a socialized way on this basis. If this minimum condition is present, it will be possible for a party to be built, representing the proletariat and uniting its most class-conscious members, together with revolutionary intellectuals, etc., that can lead the struggle through the necessary stages to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat (in some form or another of class alliance). Further, how rapidly the ownership of the means of production can be socialized, and what intermediate and lower stages (besides state ownership) this must pass through, will be fundamentally determined by the level of development of the productive forces (how advanced the means of production are, how large and socialized the proletariat is, etc.).

Upon seizing power, the next advance along the socialist road must be to socialize ownership, to establish the dominance of socialist ownership. Without this, the dictatorship of the proletariat will have no economic (material) basis and can only degenerate into some form or another of reactionary dictatorship.

But then the crucial question arises: what is the decisive task at this point, to develop the productive forces, or to carry out the class struggle against the bourgeoisie? And, if the latter, what is the main focus of that class struggle?

Through the course of the Chinese revolution, especially in his forging of the basic line of the Chinese Communist Party for the socialist period, and most of all through the Cultural Revolution, Mao developed the understanding that the class struggle is the decisive question, and he further pointed to the struggle in the superstructure, over politics and ideology, as the main focus of this struggle. This, of course, was in direct opposition to the revisionist line that, upon achieving socialist—i.e., public—ownership, the key thing is to develop production, and that if there must be class struggle it can be reduced to the struggle for production—"socialist" production itself will defeat, or will be decisive in defeating, capitalism and reaction at home and abroad.

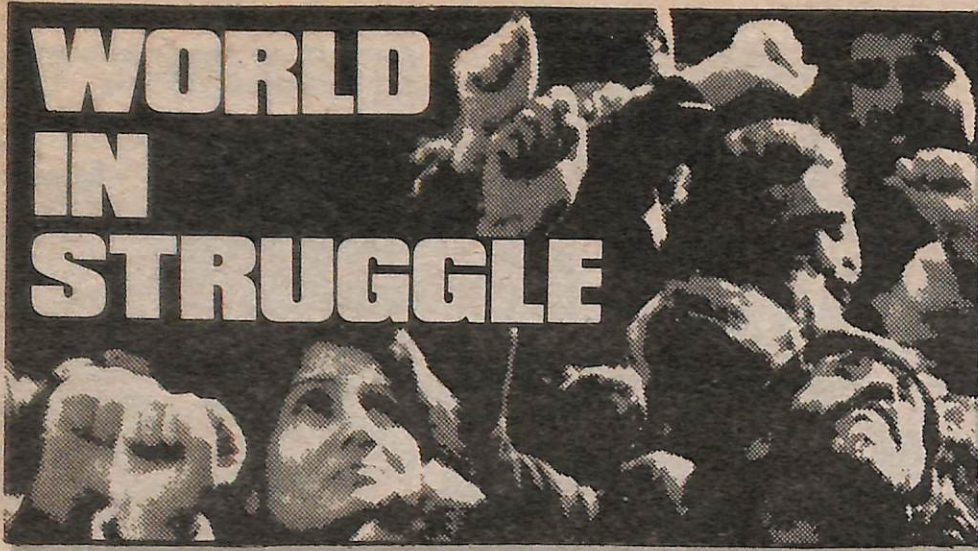
Mao, of course, recognized the importance of the struggle for production, and of its interpenetration with the class struggle. But he recognized and insisted that the class struggle is decisive, is the key link. It is decisive specifically in determining *what kind* of production will be carried out. For, to view it from one angle, once the workers are no longer allowed to question and struggle over *what the production is actually serving* and the dialectically related question of *how the production is carried out*, then revisionism is bound to prevail, capitalist relations are bound to take hold, and indeed capitalism is bound to be restored.

But more than that, Mao (and the Four) emphasized, especially through the course of the Cultural Revolution and the lessons learned and deepened in that process, that *in order* for the masses to take up and determine questions like that, in order for them to defend and develop the socialist economic base (not only defend and develop the socialist ownership system, but further socialize the other aspects of the relations of production) they must *first and foremost* pay attention to political and ideological questions, to "affairs of state" and the problems of world outlook and method. This understanding is the basis for the line, "grasp revolution, promote production." Mao (and his comrades) understood—in a dialectical materialist way—that the forces of production are the foundation for the relations of production and that they in turn (constituting the economic base) are the foundation for the superstructure; and they understood by the same token that the relations of production and the superstructure objectively lag behind the development of the productive forces, and *conscious struggle* is required to bring them more into correspondence and thereby further liberate the productive forces.

Even in those unusual circumstances where restoring production is the most pressing task of the proletariat (for example in Russia and China immediately after seizing power throughout the country), the question of *according to which line* and *serving which class interests* is still decisive (this is the meaning of Lenin's statement, in his struggle against Trotsky and Bukharin, that "without a correct political approach to the matter the given class will be unable to stay on top, and, consequently, will be incapable of solving its production problems either."—see *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 84, "Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin," emphasis Lenin's). And even where the immediate focus of the struggle involves a question of the economic base (socializing ownership, either initially or to a higher level, restricting bourgeois right, etc.), still this will find concentrated expression as

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* The productive forces of society encompass the tools and instruments developed by people in their interaction with nature to produce what they need and want and also, most importantly, the people themselves, with all their skills and abilities, who actually do the producing. The relations of production are the social relations into which people enter in the process of production. These production relations, which change in the course of history in accordance with the development of the productive forces, constitute the economic structure of society; they are thus often referred to as the economic base of society. And upon this base is erected the legal, political, ideological and cultural superstructure of society, which includes not only the legal and political institutions, but the art, philosophies, ways of thinking, etc., of a society.



WORLD IN STRUGGLE

Mexican Government Shuts Down Opposition Newspaper

Tijuana, Mexico. The government closing of a liberal opposition newspaper here has unleashed a storm of struggle in this city on the Mexico—U.S. border.

Adelante Baja California (ABC) was closed down recently by the Mexican government because of its consistent criticism of corruption and direct U.S. control of the regime of Governor Roberto de la Madrid. ABC, for example, exposed the fact that Baja, California officials under de la Madrid were cooperating with the U.S. immigration officials in brutalizing Mexican immigrants on their way from southern Mexico to the U.S., stealing their money and kicking back some of the proceeds to the governor. And the paper ripped into the governor's cooperation in what it called the "Americanization" of Baja, California—the ripoff of peasants' lands to build fancy U.S.-owned tourist hotels, and the spread of maquiladoras (U.S.-owned runaway sweatshops along the Mexican side of the border).

ABC's juiciest target was Governor de la Madrid, himself a ripe example of "Americanization." Born in the U.S., he attended high school in National City, a suburb of San Diego. He speaks English better than Spanish, and until he became governor he preferred to be called not Roberto, but Bob. The newspaper especially enraged de la Madrid by popularizing the custom of calling him, not the "Gobernador" (governor) but the "Bob-ernador." A photo run in the paper of de la Madrid jogging at Rosarito Beach near Tijuana carried the caption, "A flood of American tourists at Mexican beaches."

ABC was hated in high places also because it gave coverage to a broad range of peoples' struggles. For example, the paper publicized the recent speech of Chilean revolutionary Jorge Palacios across the border in San Diego; and it has given thorough coverage to factory strikes, peasant land takeovers, and a recent student strike. In its three years of existence, ABC had become the most widely read newspaper in Baja, California with a circulation of over 50,000.

ABC was shut down by the powerful, government controlled union federation, Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM). Playing the reactionary role for which it has become famous throughout Mexico, the CTM enticed a handful of ABC staff members to join the CTM printers union, then used these few fools as a pretext to call a phony "strike." At one o'clock a.m. on Nov. 2, over 250 CTM goons marched into the ABC office, accompanied by Federal Security Police (the Mexican equivalent of the FBI) and State Troopers, and

forced the editor and his staff to leave.

The shutdown of ABC has touched off a storm of protest in Baja, California and beyond. Over 1,000 people marched in the streets of Tijuana on Nov. 4, supporting the ABC newspaper staff. 1,500 turned out to an evening rally on Nov. 9, and on the 10th another march of over 800 burned an effigy of Governor de la Madrid.

The powerful response of the Mexican people has caused the struggle to spread beyond Baja, California. In San Diego, the American Society of Professional Journalists passed a resolution condemning the newspaper's shutdown. And a paid ad opposing the shutdown was placed in the Nov. 12 issue of *Excelsior of Mexico City* (the government controlled newspaper, and the country's largest daily), signed by 26 newspaper publishers from throughout Mexico, including even the publisher of *Excelsior* itself.

Even the San Diego Union, well known as a bastion of ultra-conservative Republican politics, has had to editorialize against the ABC shutdown as a violation of freedom of the press.

As the struggle against the ABC shutdown continues, there is widespread speculation in Mexico that Governor de la Madrid himself may be dumped, or at least kicked upstairs and out of the public eye, because his puppet strings to U.S. imperialism have been so clearly exposed.

Palestinians Protest Arrest on West Bank

No matter how much the U.S. imperialists, through their watchdog Israel, try to manipulate the Middle East into a "stable" (translate: U.S.-controlled, opposition crushed) situation, the Palestinian people's struggle always messes up their plans. Basam Shakka, mayor of Nablus in the West Bank, was recently arrested by the Israeli military authorities, jailed in a maximum security prison near Tel Aviv, and threatened with deportation. Nablus has been a center of fierce resistance since the military sent a right-wing religious group, Gush Emunim, to squat on Palestinian land. Shakka's "crime" was to tell General Dani Matt, West Bank occupation chief, that as long as the Israelis occupied Palestinian lands, they could expect terrorist attacks. But Shakka is not just an official expressing an opinion; he is a leader in the "virtually unanimous West Bank and Gaza opposition to the Camp David plan for Palestinian autonomy." (*Christian Science Monitor*) He is suspected of being a member of a group of prominent Palestinians connected to the PLO and leading many protests, including a general strike in the occupied areas, March 26, 1979, the day the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty was signed. Israeli authorities are desperate to smash this group and anyone opposing the "autonomy" plan.

Their attack on Shakka has blown up in their faces. "Rarely during 12 years of occupation have the West Bank and Gaza seemed so united, so angered by a single issue." Other Palestinian mayors decided to resign in protest. Merchants closed all shops. Classes were boycotted. Students and townspeople demonstrated. In addition, the Israeli Black Panthers, an organization of poor Middle Eastern Jews, demonstrated in front of the Gush Emunim settlement, against the government's continuing support of these squatters. Even the efforts of the PLO to cool down the situation were ignored. When students predicted violence in the weeks to come, they were asked just how unarmed Palestinians could go up against armed Israeli troops, "Just look at Iran," they replied. "The Shah had guns too."

HUA WAVES FLAG FOR U.S.—NATO BLOC

Prime Minister Hua Kuo-feng of China recently completed his three-week tour of Western Europe, stopping off in France, West Germany, Britain and Italy. But while the press made much of the fact that this is the first time a Chinese head of state has ever travelled to the west, the fanfare was decidedly low-key. In spite of his formal posts as Party Chairman and Prime Minister, it is well known that Hua is little more than an errand boy for Teng Hsiao-ping and the rest of the Chinese revisionist ruling class. And it didn't take long to figure out just what sort of drumbeating errand Hua was running. According to Hua, the purpose of his

grand tour was to reach "a better understanding of the realities of your advanced countries so as to inspire me in the modernization program I have in mind." But China's sagging plans for capitalist-style "modernization" have hardly been inspiring of late, scaled way down because of China's glaring lack of ability to pay. Despite the usual routine of inspecting factories, huddling with bankers and generally drooling over advanced technology, no concrete deals were signed and none were expected. It was quickly apparent that the real reason for Hua's trip was to do a little flagrant flag-waving for the U.S. imperialist war bloc and to reaffirm the Chinese rulers' support for a strong,

united NATO—armed to the teeth—aligned against the Soviet Union.

At every opportunity, Hua called for strengthened cooperation between the Western countries and China to oppose a "war of aggression" by the Soviets. In France, he urged resistance to Soviet "expansionism" and warned that "we cannot let Vietnam do in Indochina what Cuba did in Africa." In Italy he enthusiastically endorsed U.S. plans to deploy long-range nuclear missiles in Europe aimed directly at the Soviet Union. In Britain he railed that "Peace cannot be got by begging. War cannot be averted by yielding."

To emphasize that the war camp of the U.S. imperialists should toughen up, in Paris, Hua drove to the Arc de Triomphe and laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. This sickening gesture glorifying the French imperialists' wars of plunder (including in China itself!) was followed by Hua with a tribute to Charles de Gaulle as a man who "safeguarded France's national independence," a fitting illustration of the Chinese rulers' new brand of "proletarian internationalism."

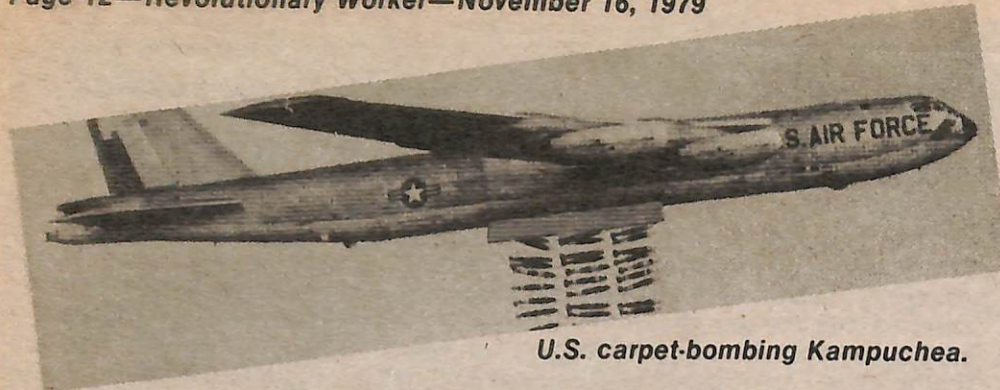
Hua even ran out his version of the line, by now hollow and monotonous, about "peace in our time," pushed by the U.S. imperialists. In Bonn, West Germany, he said, "it is entirely possible to delay the outbreak of war and achieve long-lasting world peace," provided, of course, that the forces of peace "block with all effective means the aggression and expansion of hegemonism." He has proved very capable of imitating the U.S. imperialists right down to covering blatant calls for arming to the teeth with pious promises of "peace through strength."

But in spite of his blatant war-mongering for NATO and his general

kowtowing to the interests of U.S. imperialism, there was nothing about Hua's trip to fundamentally contradict the very real likelihood that China will eventually be forced to capitulate to the Soviet social-imperialists who, after all, pose a more immediate danger to China than the U.S., with a million troops posed for attack along the 4500-mile border. In fact, recent developments in China (article page 3) have cast an interesting light on some of China's motives for currying favor with the West.

China's recent moves toward striking a deal with the Soviets have lent Hua's European diplomacy something of the character of a two-edged sword. While firming up their relationships with the U.S. bloc, at the same time the Chinese rulers stand to gain considerable bargaining leverage with the Soviets should they be forced to do an about-face. The U.S.-NATO connection will certainly "up the ante," politically and economically, for the Soviets if they want to pull China away from the U.S. And the fact that China is getting more and more hooked on economic injections from the West would certainly not preclude such a turnabout. Even the Soviet Union itself is a heavy importer of western investment and technology.

While the Chinese revisionists are presently polishing up the combat boots for the Western war machine, they are not putting all of their C-rations into a single basket. As Hua wine and dined at Buckingham Palace with such luminaries of Western reaction as Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh, it was clear that capitulation was definitely on the menu, despite appearances. But the ultimate question of capitulation to *whom*—the U.S. or the Soviets—has by no means been settled.



U.S. carpet-bombing Kampuchea.



Kampuchean people welcome liberation, 1975.

Interview with Kampuchean U.N. Ambassador Thiounn Prasith

As the Vietnamese invade, once again the countryside is filled with refugees.



The people rebuild their country, producing a surplus of food.



RW: First of all, we'd like a general statement from your government regarding the slanders which continue to fill the American and the world press, which blame the current devastation and starvation in Kampuchea largely on the Republic of Democratic Kampuchea and Pol Pot—a general statement on what you consider to be the causes of the current situation. There is also a big thing in the press right now, portraying countries like the United States in a humanitarian light. We'd like a statement as to how your government sees the controversy over aid going to the victims of war in Kampuchea. Then a third thing: recently there was a reactionary demonstration led by In Tam, the former Prime Minister of the Lon Nol regime, in front of the United Nations. In Tam portrayed himself as a leader of the "third force" movement opposed to both your government and the government of Heng Samrin, and seeking to forge an alliance with Prince Sihanouk. We'd like your comment on that as well as on the cable which Prince Sihanouk is supposed to have sent *Time* magazine which said that "the No. 1 danger and menace threatening the innocent Cambodian people is the genocidal regime of Pol Pot, and... Vietnamese colonialism is enemy No. 2. It is my opinion that it is necessary that the regime of Pol Pot must first be eliminated by the Vietnamese army."

Ambassador Thiounn Prasith: First of all, about the famine. Every writer who visited Kampuchea before the Vietnamese invasion has testified that there was no famine. On the contrary the conditions of the people were improving. During the three and a half years between 1975 and the Vietnamese invasion, we succeeded in solving the problems of food, housing, clothing and medicine.

But now, the Vietnamese kill our people and they shout about our government killing our people. We of course had no reason to kill our own people. On the contrary, we were well aware of the necessity to mobilize all of our people to defend the victory won in

1975, to improve the conditions of life in Kampuchea, and to defend our independence against any Vietnamese attempts to swallow our country.

If our government was slaughtering our own people, why are the people now supporting our government? Why are the Vietnamese aggressors, with 220,000 troops on Kampuchean soil, now bogged down in the people's war of national resistance led by our government? I do not say that we made no mistakes. It is difficult to avoid making any mistakes. But generally speaking, we succeeded in solving the fundamental problems of the people of Kampuchea, and any people who visited Kampuchea can testify to that. So now the Vietnamese have deliberately created famine. Why do they do this? Because they were defeated in their fundamental objective: winning a lightning victory and taking possession of all of Kampuchea.

The first large-scale Vietnamese aggression against our country was at the end of 1977. This aggression was defeated by our army in January 1978. And then after the Vietnamese signed a military treaty with the Soviet Union, and got a tremendous influx of Soviet military aid, they began their second aggression on December 5th, 1978. At the present time, without massive Soviet military assistance, the Vietnamese could not continue to wage the aggressive war.

But anyway, even with this aid, the Vietnamese cannot control, cannot take possession of the whole of Kampuchea. So, they have resorted to famine and to massacre. Have you heard of the massacre of the people of Lidice, in Czechoslovakia, by Hitler and the fascists during the Second World War? There have been hundreds of "Lidice" atrocities in Kampuchea. Up to last September, according to our own estimations, the Vietnamese had already massacred half a million of our people.

And along with massacre, they have deliberately created famine. They destroyed all dams and canals, any tool or means of agricultural production. And

they concentrated the people in the villages and forbade them to go out to carry out agricultural work because they fear that the people will try to contact the guerrillas. Up to now, they have already starved out hundreds of thousands of our people.

So in the ten months of Vietnamese occupation, even while they spread the charge that our government slaughtered three million of our own people, they have been pursuing a policy of all-out slaughter.

As for the problem of aid to the victims of famine, the Vietnamese have spread propaganda about the famine and asked for humanitarian aid for two reasons: one, to get the humanitarian aid and divert it to their own army; and also, to get recognition of the puppet regime.

But now, because the international organizations have insisted on distributing the aid directly to the people, the Vietnamese have refused to allow this, because they cannot divert this aid for their own ends, for their own army, and the humanitarian organizations do not recognize the puppet regime. The Vietnamese felt it wiser to block this aid because of that fear that this aid would in fact reach the Kampuchean people so the Kampuchean people can continue to fight against them. The Vietnamese wish to crush the struggle of our people by famine. For us, on the contrary, the position of the government is to appeal to all humanitarian organizations, all international organizations, all friendly countries, to give humanitarian aid, to make sure our people and our nation can survive. And we ask the UN to send UN forces in order to ensure the direct distribution of the humanitarian aid to the Kampuchean people.

RW: As I understand it, there is now a team of 15 UN personnel in Phnom Penh, assigned to direct the relief operation. Do you support that effort there?

Ambassador Thiounn Prasith: For us, the most important thing is to make sure that the aid can reach the people. We appeal to all the humanitarian

organizations to be very cautious to make sure that the Vietnamese cannot divert this aid for their army. If that were to happen, this "humanitarian aid" will contribute to killing more of our people.

RW: Do you have any indications that the Vietnamese have been attempting to divert aid from the people to support their own armed forces? There are even rumours I've heard of shipping rice back into Vietnam to feed the Vietnamese.

Ambassador: Sure! The Vietnamese are very perfidious. They destroy everything and they say that we destroy. They loot rice from our country and send it to feed Vietnam, but they say in their propaganda that they are giving rice to our people. In fact, they are sending rice to Kampuchea—but that is for their army. Take the Soviet Union—they say they have already sent in 200,000 tons. If 200,000 tons of rice had indeed reached the people of Kampuchea, as even the *New York Times* pointed out, there would be no question of famine for at least two months... In fact, that figure is a lie, and the tonnage that is sent is sent to feed the Vietnamese army.

RW: I understand that one of the main reasons the Heng Samrin government objects to aid going through truck routes from Thailand is that they fear that the trucks will be commandeered by the liberation forces.

Ambassador: Sure, and also that the relief workers will see for themselves that everywhere there are Vietnamese, and that there is nowhere a so-called "Heng Samrin army."

RW: Is the Heng Samrin regime still denying that there are any Vietnamese troops in Cambodia, attempting to maintain a fiction of...

Ambassador: No, that they can no longer deny, even the Vietnamese no longer try to deny that. Now they say their troops are in Kampuchea in accordance with the so-called treaty signed by the Heng Samrin regime two months after the occupation of Kampuchea.

RW: The Vietnamese are currently

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U.S. Schemes to Recapture Kampuchea

Looking for an opening amidst the chaotic political situation in Kampuchea (Cambodia), U.S. imperialism is trying to patch together some of the flotsam from its previous shipwrecked puppet government in that country to see if it will float.

It is clear that the U.S. is not going to let the pro-Soviet Heng Samrin regime, propped up by 220,000 Vietnamese troops, go unchallenged. The Vietnamese occupation is beset with serious difficulties. Apart from the serious guerrilla resistance to their bloody rule by the liberation forces under the leadership of Pol Pot and the government of Democratic Kampuchea, the Vietnamese face a severe economic crisis at home. The cost of occupying Kampuchea is proving to be prohibitive, even with massive Soviet aid. Vietnam faces a constant military threat from China and there is renewed speculation that Teng and Co. may be contemplating a new strike, this time through Vietnam's other fiefdom in Laos.

In this situation, the U.S. is increasingly promoting a "third force" movement, with Prince Sihanouk as its vacillating and symbolic head and retreated reactionaries from the U.S. Lon Nol regime as its main force. The chief political mover in the "Confederation of Khmer Nationalists," as this handful of flunkies call themselves, is In Tam, a former high official in the Lon Nol government.

In Tam has an interesting history full of CIA connections. During the early years of the Lon Nol regime, U.S. policy makers were very unhappy with the Marshal, who was utterly unable to put up even the feeblest pretense of "democratic rule" in order to provide some propaganda justification for the criminal war being waged by the U.S. to prop up his rule and prevent the liberation of the country by the Khmer Rouge.

In the spring of 1972, Kissinger ordered a National Security Council study of the situation in Cambodia. The study was sharply critical of Lon Nol, even citing a U.S. Army medical report that he was psychotic. The memorandum—NSSM 152—identified In Tam, the leader of the "Democratic Party" and part of the "loyal opposition" to the Lon Nol regime, as the most plausible candidate. Though Kissinger finally concluded that it would be too dangerous to try to dump Lon Nol, In Tam was given several key assignments, including heading up the effort to get Khmer Rouge supporters to defect.

After the fall of the puppet regime and the expulsion of the United States from Kampuchea, In Tam briefly hung around to try to organize a guerrilla war against the revolutionary government, utilizing remnants of the Lon Nol army, now organized as the Khmer Serei (Free Khmers). But the thoroughness with which the new government of Democratic Kampuchea rooted out the counter-revolutionaries and the CIA networks left behind by the U.S. left this task fruitless.

CIA agent Frank Snett, in his book *Decent Interval*, admitted that the decision to evacuate the towns broke all the CIA spy rings. And William Shawcross, in his book *Sideshow*, tells the story of the CIA agent in Thailand who "Listened in April 1975 as one of his

operatives in Kompong Spew screamed over the radio 'They are breaking down the door. What should I do with the radio?' He did not reply. 'What should I do?' she cried again. He still said nothing. Her last words were, 'You people are worse than the French.'"

"Third Force"

But now In Tam is active again; and his "third force" is opening offices in Washington, D.C. More importantly, the "third force" can now claim the support of Prince Sihanouk. For years, Sihanouk, the former head of state, has vacillated between opposing and cooperating with imperialism. In the past it has been necessary and possible for revolutionary forces to unite with him against imperialism. And even today, it is necessary to try to do so. But increasingly of late Sihanouk has been drawn toward the apparent strength of the imperialist forces.

Sihanouk, who has been in exile in Peking since 1970, met with In Tam and a number of other reactionaries last month to announce the formation of the Confederation of Khmer Nationalists. The communication from the meeting denounced both the Pol Pot forces and the Heng Samrin regime, and set as its goal the establishment of a provisional government that would exclude both. Recently the prince cabled to *Time* magazine that "the majority of the Cambodian people and me myself consider that the # 1 danger and menace threatening the innocent Cambodian people is the genocidal regime of Pol Pot, and that Vietnamese colonialism is enemy # 2. It is my opinion that it is necessary that the regime of Pol Pot must first be eliminated by the Vietnamese army."

Though the prince's cable is by far the most blatantly vicious statement of his "position," this has been his strategy almost since the beginning of the Vietnamese invasion. "I told my people not to fight, to save their strength," Sihanouk was quoted as saying in the October 13 *Washington Post*.

It also appears that Sihanouk hopes that once Pol Pot is wiped out, he will be able to strike a bargain with the Vietnamese. Even now, the Heng Samrin puppet regime apparently is riddled with former officials of both the Sihanouk regime and the Lon Nol government, which toppled Sihanouk in a U.S.-backed coup in 1970.

The following excerpt from a recent *New York Times* article makes clear what kind of worms are crawling around in Phnom Penh these days: "Two Foreign Ministry officials who interpreted for a group of American journalists spoke openly of their past jobs: one as a minor official in Marshal Lon Nol's Information Ministry, the other as assistant marketing manager of a British-American tobacco company affiliate here."

It is not surprising that the Vietnamese are employing reactionaries and traitors of all types in their attempts to erect a new colonial superstructure in Kampuchea. Only the worst scum of this society would even consider collaborating in the massacre and enslavement of their own people. But what is interesting is the light this sheds on the policy of the U.S. and the "third force" exiles operating under their wing. There

is a sinister form of "collusion and contention" at work, with the forces grouped around both superpowers colluding in the destruction of the Kampuchean revolution at the same time they contend in various ways—including, clearly, attempts on the part of the camp headed by the U.S. to subvert the Heng Samrin regime from within and lay a favorable ground for a later "compromise."

Aid is Very Political

Against this background, the political motivation behind U.S. and other Western "humanitarian" aid funneled through Phnom Penh is clearly revealed. While previously the Carter administration opposed the extension of aid to the Heng Samrin puppet government because, among other reasons, this would provide the pro-Soviet clique "de facto recognition," it is now felt to be both a means of weakening and stamping out the revolutionary resistance and a necessary means of gaining influence and establishing a foothold within Kampuchea itself. Despite all its humanitarian posturing, the U.S. aims to wipe out the only government—Pol Pot's—which actually produced surplus food for the country.

It is highly probable that Sihanouk's openly stated strategy is in basic unity with what has in fact been the long-standing policy of the Chinese revisionists. During the war years, the policy associated with Chou En-lai in Peking was strongly tilted toward an eventual post-war Sihanouk regime, rather than the revolutionary government that finally emerged. It is also interesting to recall that in the final hours before the fall of Phnom Penh to the revolutionary forces in April 1975, Kissinger masterminded a last-minute effort to prop up Sihanouk and head off the Khmer Rouge. Ex-CIA agent Snett recounts: "By morning of the 11th, Khmer Communist forces had entered three villages just north of Phnom Penh and had stepped up their shelling attacks against the air field... Soon after (U.S. Ambassador) Claude Dean cabled Kissinger, once again asking permission to evacuate his remaining staff. For the moment, Kissinger held him off, arguing that an evacuation still might not be necessary. An American representative in Peking, he said, was to open discussions with an official of Sihanouk's government in exile that very afternoon..."

"The meeting in question took place at 5:00 PM, Peking time. The American spokesman, State Department officer John Holdridge, informed Sihanouk's chief aide that the United States was now fully prepared to support the exiled leader in his efforts to work out a settlement, and would keep an American presence in Phnom Penh to help him do so. The Cambodian official indicated that Sihanouk would fly to Phnom Penh immediately.

"Within the next few hours, however, Communist shelling effectively closed the Phnom Penh airfield, and Ambassador Dean again pleaded with Kissinger to authorize a full evacuation. This time, the Secretary felt he had no choice but to agree. Consequently, just before dawn on the 12th, Holdridge passed word to Sihanouk that the military situation around Phnom Penh had so deteriorated, the Embassy would have to close..."

After the revolutionary victory in April 1975, Sihanouk apparently returned to Kampuchea only at the insistence of Chou En-lai. The Associated Press quoted him as saying at the time, "My return to Cambodia does not mean that I approve of the cruel policy of the Khmer Rouge, but I must sacrifice my own views out of consideration for China and his Excellency Chou En-lai, who have done so much for Cambodia and myself."

The new government, of course, allowed Sihanouk no room to interfere. By the middle of 1978, Peking's displeasure with the Phnom Penh government was obvious. In any event, China's new alliance with the U.S. imperialists required, in their view, that Phnom Penh should "clean up its act," and they once again are urging a greater role for the Prince. At the present time, Sihanouk's sudden energetic motion toward setting up a "third force" provisional government accords well with both Chinese and American objectives in Kampuchea.

Of course, the "third force" movement is not really independent at all, but a force under the domination of the United States and its Chinese ally. While Sihanouk expressed the policy of this bloc in naked terms, it is indeed the hope of both the U.S. and China that the upshot of the current conflict in Kampuchea is that neither the Vietnamese nor the Pol Pot forces will be able to emerge the victor, and that a so-called "neutralist" government headed by Sihanouk and In Tam may result.

China Wants to Dump

The diplomatic situation faced by the government of Democratic Kampuchea is, of course, extremely difficult. China is still formally supporting the government, though there are increasing signs that this may change soon. It is the present policy of the government of Democratic Kampuchea, as can be seen in the interview in this week's *RW*, to attempt to reunite all forces interested in defeating the Vietnamese, and to make use of the contradictions between the imperialist blocs in so doing. Despite Sihanouk's vicious slanders on the government of Democratic Kampuchea, and the great probability that his words represent unspoken Chinese policy, the government has been able to score certain successes through its careful stance—it has avoided a further worsening of its position of isolation, for example, and has thus far managed to keep its seat in the United Nations. This was a bitter blow to the Heng Samrin clique and their Vietnamese/Soviet sponsors.

While pursuing this difficult policy in the face of provocation, the government of Democratic Kampuchea is continuing to wage the armed struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors against conditions that are no less difficult, and is relying on its own efforts to mobilize the masses of Kampuchean people to fight for their liberation, braving not only brutal and genocidal occupation, but famine. It is this people's war, of course, which is the fundamental guarantee that the people of Kampuchea will one day emerge triumphant and independent, masters of their own country and free from the malevolent designs of either superpower—both of which have brought Kampuchea so much suffering and destruction in the past decade. ■

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

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

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

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

Iran

Continued from page 1

made public the secret memos they had found, which proved the U.S., knowing full well that admitting the Shah could lead to attacks on the U.S. Embassy, was planning and determined to bring him back at the right time.

During the week, the U.S. made some headway. Not, again, around getting back hostages, but in getting concessions from the Iranian government—a government whose opposition to U.S. imperialism is far from thorough. But all through the week the students in the embassy rejected one after another their government's sell-out attempts.

For the U.S. the stakes were high. As *Newsweek* commented, "Since the fall of Vietnam American stature has declined almost everywhere... the seige in Tehran may yet prove to be a turning point."

Right now, as at the beginning, their maximum aim is for a U.S. coup in Iran. All last week the U.S. had been working feverishly to gain back the advantage in Iran, after being rocked on its heels by the initial powerful outburst from Iran's people. While the ruling class kept up its barrage of anti-Iranian Keep-America-First filth flowing in this country, they were also busy attacking Iran in the arena of international public opinion. The Shah's doctors firmly insisted that the poor ailing butcher couldn't possibly be moved for up to six months—an indication to Khomeini that the U.S. was not about to give up its beloved Shah.

Meanwhile the U.S. ranted and raved that Khomeini's government was "a renegade" breaking all international laws. This self-righteous drivel, coming out of the mouths of those who put the Shah in power in the first place with a bloody coup in 1953, and who trained the Shah's SAVAK agents in sophisticated torture methods would be funny if their intentions behind it were not so deadly. Further, the U.S. pushed to get their western European allies and reactionary "client" states like Mexico and Saudi Arabia to denounce Iran. They also saw their arch rival the Soviet Union call for the hostages to be released. The Soviet Union of course was operating out of its own superpower interests, which dictate opposing any mass movement which they themselves don't control and use. The Pope did his part too for imperialism, sending his personal envoy to visit and bless the embassy personnel.

Even as Khomeini maintained a militant posture in going along with the outrage of the Iranian people, the signs were there that he was not out to really lead them to stand up against the U.S.

provocation. He refused to truly unleash the wrath of those millions of Iranian people, fearing that the revolutionary and progressive forces would gain too much political power. Day after day he restrained the political protests to demonstrations in front of the U.S. Embassy. The Iranian armed forces were also ordered to join these demonstrations as much to keep the lid on them as to show the U.S. that the military did support the Islamic government—though this might backfire by further radicalizing the troops.

In this situation the U.S. began stepping up its warfare, with Carter announcing that the U.S. would do without Iranian oil imports, and then announcing he was freezing the Iranian government's assets in this country. Of course this didn't mean the Shah's \$19 billion fortune—managed by David Rockefeller. At the same time Carter changed his public opinion on a food embargo on Iran from "never" to "quite possibly." Even if such moves were to scare other countries from keeping their assets in U.S. banks, which would hurt the U.S. financially, the ruling class was making it clear that they would take some self-inflicted economic damage in order to win their political aims of destroying the Iranian revolution.

Military Threat

Backing up their threat they began rattling the sabres even louder. A joint American-British naval fleet of nineteen warships began moving into the Indian Ocean just south of Iran. The Pentagon put 2700 paratroopers at Fort Hood on "quick reflex exercises." The U.S., seeing that the Khomeini government was showing weakness, then threw out the raggedy carrot, while they continued waving the big stick. All of a sudden the Shah's doctors reported a medical miracle—the Shah would be well enough to leave the United States in as little as one or two weeks.

This was in effect a sop that once the hostages were freed, the Shah would return not of course to Iran, but back to Mexico. But the well publicized attack on Khomeini's "support of terrorism" that Carter delivered at faithful servant George Meany's farewell wasn't just rhetoric intended for the toad's gratification. While Khomeini may well want to take the sop, he would have to sell it to the Iranian people who only want to see the Shah in one place—that is standing in front of the barrels of their guns. Further the U.S. does not want to send the Shah anywhere.

Keeping him in this country is important for the imperialists, not just as a symbol of how big and bad they are, but because the Shah has valuable political ties with reactionary elements in Iran that will be necessary to call on



Two students in captured U.S. embassy in Teheran use U.S. flag to haul garbage horrendous, and tried to use this photo to whip up chauvinist frenzy in the U.S. per use for the symbol of U.S. imperialism.

in the event of a counter-revolutionary coup.

When this dog of dogs was Iran's supreme commander he personally knew every single military officer above the rank of captain. Many of these reactionaries still hold powerful positions in the armed forces today. The U.S. wants

to be in constant touch with the Shah in order to coordinate their planned-for coup, which would be initiated by these reactionary types, who include Chamron, the present Defense Minister and a long-time U.S. supporter.

A good look at who's who in the Islamic "Revolutionary Council" also

"Ugly Americans" Challenge

This week's anti-Iranian activities by various stripes of lame-brained flag-waving reactionaries under the direction of the U.S. imperialists have demonstrated quite clearly why many people around the world look at Americans as the most crass and mindless chauvinists around. With actions like the mass recitations of the "Pledge of Allegiance" and the singing of "God Bless America" along with burning Iranian flags, the Nuke Iran signs and the beatings and even shootings of Iranians, it is no wonder why in other parts of the world, for example, some people "believe Americans have smaller brains than Europeans."

Many of the slogans uttered by these slobbering patriots give a good indication not only of their reactionary viciousness, but also their lack of even the most elementary ability to think beyond remembering the few jingoistic phrases drilled into their brains (on one campus some even forgot the words to the Star Spangled Banner as they began to sing it). Check out such classics as: "We Want Hostages!", "Ban Iran!", "Deport! Deport! Deport!", "Conserve Energy, Burn an Iranian!" and "We Love the Shah!", to name just a few. And of course the all time favorite

"Camel Jockies Go Home!"—the fact that there are no camels in Iran does not bother these numb-skulls in the slightest. As long as it is reactionary, chauvinist, and similar to something they saw in a John Wayne movie, it will be gladly parroted and swallowed whole.

It is these "ugly Americans" that are portrayed as *average* Americans venting their outrage at the Iranian people for the U.S. Embassy takeover. And the job wouldn't be complete without the interviews with hardly wet-behind-the-ears GIs who are "just rarin' to go," ready to invade Iran. One young greenhorn of the 82nd Airborne, fresh off the streets of Brooklyn, is quoted as saying, "I'd give 'em 24 hours to let the hostages go, and if they didn't, well, we'd just have to go in and get them." Another says, "And if we don't go in for the hostages, we'll just have to go in sometime for the oil. No point waiting." No doubt these kids dream they are John Wayne in the *Green Berets* when they go to sleep. But if they go to Iran they will be snapped awake real quick. The Iranian people will not lie down and allow themselves to be rolled over. It will be a whole different story when these "brave young men" experience the misery of fighting a reac-

tionary war for the U.S. imperialists.

In unleashing this wave of blood-thirsty hysteria the ruling class has particularly concentrated on the college campuses, realizing full well that students play a key role in influencing many more times their numbers. The Frat rats, the Young Americans for Freedom, and various ad hoc groups of reactionary students have been the shock troops carrying out the Iranian flag burnings, the beatings of Iranians, and attacks on rallies held in support of the Iranian people calling for the return of the Shah to Iran.

At a forum called jointly by the Iranian Student Association, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, and the *Revolutionary Worker* at Ohio State University in Columbus, 450 people packed into a student lounge and the debate was hot and heavy for hours. A Black Vietnam veteran cut right through the reactionaries' bull beginning his remarks by saying, "You people who want to go to war... you're ignorant of the history of what this country did in Iran. I know what war is really about, I saw it in Vietnam." Many left the forum saying, "I came here pro-American, now I'm not sure."

At a forum at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle Campus, a stu-

dent from the Dominican Republic responded to the reactionary calls of "If people don't like it—if Iranians don't like it here, they can get out! And if anyone else doesn't like it here they should get out." He said:

"You talk about what people belong here and why are we here. I'll tell you why I'm here. I'm from the Dominican Republic and I'll tell you what the U.S. did there. The leftists and the progressives, the people were getting together to free our country. On April 24, 1965, we were winning. On April 28, 1965, 22,000 American Marines invaded our country. They killed people in the streets—shot down hundreds of people. And if I go back there now, the U.S.-run government would kill me. So don't tell me about the Iranian students breaking international law. And don't tell me about who's got the right to be in who's country."

In many places the debates took place outdoors at rallies and counter-rallies of hundreds and a few of thousands. Punches as well as words were exchanged in many cases. The police, of course, were on hand to back up the right-wingers. The rallies of reactionaries were built with the complete cooperation of college authorities.

On Friday, November 10, an unsign-

'The Same Kind of Crap'

To the *Revolutionary Worker*

Something happened to my grandmother in California years ago during all the anti-Japanese hysteria the rulers of this country whipped up prior to World War 2, and I feel others must know about it.

My grandmother was alone with her kids late one night, when a carload of shotgun-toting white teenagers pulled up to the home next door, where another Japanese-American family lived. The teenagers piled out of the car, walked up to the house, busted in and opened fire, murdering the young couple right in front of their children!

I am writing the *RW* because I have been outraged by the anti-Iranian sentiment being promoted everyday by the media. But when I heard about an incident in Colorado recently, I could not remain silent.

Three teenagers viciously hurled rocks through the windows of an Iranian man's home in the middle of the night, after checking the names on mailboxes in the area to find an Iranian victim.

The man returned with shotgun fire, and one of the teenagers later died in the hospital. Now the authorities have filed murder charges against this man!

The media's intent is clear: "This cold-blooded, dirty Iranian has killed one of our children! There's no telling what these Iranians will do next!"

Just substitute "Jap" for Iranian and you've got the same kind of crap that was filling the newspapers, magazines, movie theatres, and airwaves prior to World War 2. The government and media blitzed the public with story after story of Japanese-Americans arrested or suspected of spying for Japan.

One front page story plastered all over the nation told how a Japanese-American farmer had been arrested and the nation "saved." His crime? His crops, the government claimed, had been planted in a way that formed a huge arrow that could be seen from a plane overhead, pointing in the direction of the U.S. military installment. "Every Jap is a spy" was their message.

From the "anti-Jap", "kill a nip" hysteria, to the government harassment, imprisonment, and mass deportations of Japanese-Americans accused of spying, to the 110,000 Japanese-Americans shipped off to the concentration camps in the middle of the U.S. desert, the "sentiment of the times" was systematically molded and unleashed by the rulers of this country. "What

happened to these Americans of Japanese ancestry was an unfortunate page in the history of this great country," our government has told us in shameless hypocrisy. "It was a dark spot in our past." And "We must do everything possible to make sure it will never happen again."

Their words ring ever more hollow and sickening as right now they are reenacting their whole vicious con game.

Two things were clear to me after hearing about the Colorado incident: first, the rulers of this country, the capitalists, don't give a damn about ANYBODY'S kids—they'll have young kids murdered in the streets or in their homes, or turn them into murdering racists and ship them off to fight and die in the next world war for their blood-soaked profits. And second, unlike the teenagers who hurled the rocks and fell for the crap the government is filling their heads with, the Iranian man in Colorado did a righteous thing—he fought back against his oppressors and shot *them* down. That's the only fitting response to any racist dogs who attack and *especially* the only response way overdue to their capitalist masters!

Signed,
a Japanese-American who will not stand by and watch it happen again



age. Our rulers thought this was S. But we think it's great—a pro-



On campuses across the country hot debate raged and heads got turned around as the RCYB and others challenged the reactionary onslaught stirred up by U.S. rulers around events in Iran. Pictured are scenes from such a confrontation at the University of Washington.



points to other elements the U.S. has been using to carry out its intrigues against Iran's people. *Newsweek* names Ayatollah Beheshti as the "revolutionary council strongman." Beheshti indeed has a long and ugly history of strong support for reaction, whether it

Continued on page 16

aged

ed leaflet advertised a "Free the U.S. Embassy, Death to the Ayatollah" rally at the student union building at the University of Washington in Seattle. When the reactionaries arrived to set up, revolutionary agitation had already begun and banners reading "U.S. Imperialism Keep Your Bloody Hands off Iran" were already in place. A crowd of close to 2,000 gathered. The reactionary rally never was held. The reactionaries were challenged to a debate, but refused, preferring instead to chant such intelligent slogans as "bullshit, bullshit" and "stop the bitch" (referring to the woman revolutionary who was agitating). They started up the Pledge of Allegiance which was followed up with the Star Spangled Banner and the Battle Hymn of the Republic. This response only helped sharpen up the mass debate which raged in spite of the wishes of the right-wingers. After considerable back and forth the reactionaries left as the crowd thinned out to around 1,000. As they split they held up a sign, Nuke Iran, and one chanted "Neutron Bomb, Neutron Bomb" in a fitting farewell.

On Nov. 15, at the University of California at Berkeley, a noon-time crowd swelled from 400 to 1100 in Sproul Plaza, scene of many an anti-

war rally during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The RCYB and student-formed Committee against the Harboring of Criminals called a rally demanding the U.S. send the Shah home to face the Iranian people. During the weeks, hundreds had signed a fifty-foot-long statement supporting the Iranian people and against the flag-waving reaction in the U.S.

The university administration refused to turn on the loudspeaker system, even though it had been reserved. But despite this the rally went ahead with several speakers including Bob Saibel, a revolu-

tionary writer and activist, who recently returned from a 2 1/2 month stay in Iran (see Saibel's series of articles in recent *RWs*). An ex-Marine member of VVAW, who lost a leg in combat, denounced the John Wayne patriotism being whipped up and demanded no intervention in Iran.

The burning of an American flag incensed a number of organized reactionaries, mainly Moonies, who chanted "Release the Hostages" and "No Blackmail." A large part of the crowd chanted back, "Send the Shah

Home." In response to the provocations of the reactionaries, the rally was turned into a teach-in as 1000 listened and debated for a solid three hours.

The day to day political apathy has been shattered as the children of the '70s awoken to political life with a jolt. And wherever the reactionary garbage has been called out by a revolutionary line, it has revealed fertile ground among the students to stand with the people of the world against U.S. imperialism. ■



BELOW: Exterior of Iranian student center in Chicago vandalized inside and out in chauvinist attack. LEFT: Reactionary tries to kick Iranian student knocked down in Beverly Hills.



IRANIAN STUDENTS TAKE ON ATTACK



Three self-proclaimed immigration officials who took the lead in whipping up anti-Iranian hysteria in Washington, D.C.

On November 10, President Carter announced he had told Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti to begin deportation hearings against Iranian students with visa violations. It was an old time-worn trick that the bourgeoisie pulled out of the closet—another in a reactionary series of attempts to whip up a storm of racist anti-Iranian hysteria. From so-called kidnapping attempts by four Iranians of the Governor of Minnesota, which played in the press for days until Nov. 10 they admit-

ted "it was all a mistake (!)", to the freezing of Iranian assets in the U.S., the media frothed at the mouth like it hadn't been in years.

We spoke with two Iranian students to get their reactions to this latest series of attacks. "They want to build up a lot of the anti-Iranian sentiment to cover up the Iranian peoples' cause and keep the American people from realizing why the Iranian people are demonstrating against the U.S. I think they're also trying to take the focus off what is really happening in Iran.

"We are being fingerprinted and photographed, because the immigration

has no photos of us...they want to show us they're tough. It sounds like we are going to a concentration camp, I feel like a Jew in Hitler's Germany, I'm scared the police will stop me, you know?... I know a guy who had to run out of his house in the middle of the night 'cause the immigration was after him."

The ruling class is trying to work from both sides of the fence with the harassment of the Iranians. On the one hand they whip a lot of hatred towards the foreign born and at the same time they reap the added bonus of bringing their files up to date on any potential "troublemakers." On top of this, they've done their best to paint a picture of "loyal American workers" in

much the same way as they did during the Vietnam war. High on the list on this score is the ILWU leadership, which dispelled any lingering association with its militant past by refusing to allow the longshoremen to handle Iranian cargo.

"This guy came into the office where I worked and was talking with this girl. I found out he was a marine and he was saying 'Oh this thing in Iran has been so good for us now, you don't know what it was like during Vietnam, when we got off the plane I got showered with eggs and tomatoes and they resented us. And now I really feel it's changing, that the American nationalism is building up, we're becoming a whole... the situation in Iran is so positive.'

This is the real story behind the attacks on the Iranian students. What a perfect opportunity to build public opinion for "Old Glory", to play on the frustration and anger the American people have to turn it against the "foreign enemy". What better way to train for World War III? The struggle to take this question out to the masses of people and expose the maneuverings of the United States is of critical importance right now.

The students we talked to said this: "The people ask us these things. What right does Iran have to take hostages, what right does Iran have to demand the Shah be sent home, they say if we do that all the countries in the world will make the U.S. bend to their requests. I try to explain to them that to Iran the Shah is Hitler No. 2, maybe even worse. How would you feel if you had seen your sister gunned down by the Shah, or if your brother had died under torture, you would want revenge...Carter makes a big deal about the hostages. He doesn't give a shit about them...I try to explain to them what the U.S. role has been not just in Iran but in other underdeveloped countries everywhere, like Africa and Chile and the Philippines and how this country has supported the worst fascists and when they're overthrown they've offered them to live here. We have a right to demand that the government has to send the Shah back!"

Iranian People

Continued from page 15

be the U.S. or the Shah. He once served as the Shah's religious advisor, advising him on how best to use religion to keep the Iranian people in chains. He has been one of the prime movers in the Khomeini government's attacks on the Kurdish people's struggle. And all indications point to Beheshti as having intrigued behind the students' embassy takeover to further his personal ambition to rule Iran with a totally feudal regime; more backwards than Khomeini's which has had to make some concessions to the people.

Beheshti favors U.S. investment and oppression of the Iranian people as long as they would allow him to carry out fascist rule as he would see fit. He has

been out to get Bazargan all along, because the ex-prime minister favored a more "modern" capitalist state to oppress the people, like that of Sadat's Egypt. This is in keeping with the forces that Bazargan represents, Iranians who have ties with western capital. When the situation arose to knife Bazargan, Beheshti took it.

Iranian Left

Imperialism and Iranian reactionaries, for all their intrigue, have not been able to compromise the revolutionary left. While direct news from these forces has been almost nil, it's known that the Union of Iranian Communists have been organizing and

leading mass demonstrations of the unemployed, including a brief takeover of the labor ministry, under the slogan, "Down with fascism, Down with reactionaries." In fact some of the photos released in U.S. papers as Moslem students demonstrating have actually been photos of these unemployed demonstrations.

The revolutionary left has all along backed the demand that the Shah face the wrath of the Iranian people and has praised their anti-imperialist sentiments. Yet they have refused to simply submerge themselves beneath the Islamic government. They haven't forgotten that the only force capable of routing imperialism and pushing the democratic revolution ahead is the masses of Iranian people themselves, politically conscious and fighting for their interests.

Latest information is that Khomeini has put himself in seclusion, which

would leave Beheshti and the Revolutionary Council in authority. The U.S. is no doubt encouraged by this news, hoping to see the Islamic government quickly throw in the towel. But this will not settle the imperialists' problem. They still face the serious problem of the Iranian people. They didn't believe the Iranian people would be capable of overthrowing the Shah, yet it happened. They didn't think their provocation to bring the Shah into the U.S. would touch off the powerful explosion and anti-imperialist sentiment which has forced them to take measures that they would have preferred not to take. Measures that have multiplied the Iranian people's hatred of American imperialism, as well as teaching them more on how their enemy operates. *Whatever the continued intriguing that the U.S. has in store for Iran, the Iranian people themselves are still the wild card.*

Sino-Soviet

Continued from page 3

tracts and withdrawal of specialists (in the early 1960s—RW) by the Government of the Soviet Union" (only bad policy by "the Government," perhaps, with no blame attaching to the Soviet Communist Party?).

At almost the same time, a Chinese delegation arrived in Moscow to begin talks with the USSR on a broad range of differences between the two. This is the first attempt at such talks in 16 years, and the delegation head Wang announced upon arrival that "the Chinese and Soviet people have built and developed a profound friendship over long years of common revolutionary struggle." Of course the reference is carefully made to the two peoples and not to their governments or the two parties, but even so, how can there have been "common revolutionary struggle" when the people of the Soviet Union were under the heel of the revisionists, the new class of

capitalists, ruling through a fascist state apparatus, while at the same time the Chinese people (before Mao's death) really were broadly mobilized in revolutionary struggle against a new bourgeoisie? It is clear that the Soviets have been putting on the pressure in these talks—and one price they might demand of China is openly repudiating Mao Tsetung—the implacable foe of Soviet revisionism and capitalism.

There have been some other little things as well. When Hua made his recent tour of Europe (see article, page 11), he made a point of meeting with Berlinguer, head of the revisionist Communist Party of Italy. Of course, this Italian party makes a point of its independence from the Soviet Union, but it is still definitely part of the network of revisionist parties that has its headquarters in Moscow. And the recent arrests of dissidents in Peking have all the flavor of similar events in Moscow—the same combination of unleashing bourgeois liberalism on the one hand, while repressing those who go too far in ad-

vocating it on the other.

Then there has been the whole series of rehabilitations of Chinese former high officials who were toppled by the struggles of the masses during the Cultural Revolution and earlier. Besides their revisionism, what most of these had in common was a strong affinity for the Soviet Union. Primary among these is Liu Shao-chi, branded as "China's Khrushchev" during the Cultural Revolution, an epithet which cut two ways, for not only was he the highest-ranking leader of the bourgeois headquarters in China, he was also closely tied to the Soviet Union in many ways. Now, although Liu has not been formally rehabilitated, this is clearly in the works, and his policies and programs (as well as he himself) have been publicly praised by the new Chinese rulers.

If all this is indeed in the works, then it's only a few short Chinese revisionist hops to abandoning the label of "hegemonism" attached to the Soviets as well. After all, if the Soviet Union is

still socialist, then "hegemonism" must be the result of the bad policies of a few leaders. And, after all, Brezhnev is quite old and reportedly very sick...

If all this is true, then the behavior of such loyal Chinese revisionist lackeys around the world (such as the CPML in this country) should be hilarious to follow. Not that we doubt for a minute that the leaders of such outfits will have any principles that keep them from tagging along after their Chinese mentors. They have clearly demonstrated that for years now. After all, if Yugoslavia has been labeled socialist, why not the Soviet Union?

But the real difficulty for these revisionist rubber men has nothing to do with changing their political positions. They've just staked their political careers on wrapping themselves in the patriotic flag of opposing the Soviet Union ahead of opposing the United States. And changing that should be an interesting flip to watch.

We'll have more to say as things unfold.

Bob Avakian

Continued from page 7

connected to their media-mouths, and the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants ran into one obstacle after another trying to get approval from the *Washington Post* for the printing of the statement of support as an ad on the day on which pre-trial hearings were scheduled to begin. As the list of names of those who signed the Statement grew, so did our rulers' fear. Here was the RCP and its Chairman, Bob Avakian, whom they had hoped to attack in isolation from the masses of people, uniting hundreds around the country to take a stand against them.

Even their plans to use their own media to strengthen their attack against Bob Avakian and the RCP worked against them, as millions in one way or another heard about the battle in D.C., listened to Bob Avakian give Tom Snyder a taste of tomorrow, and thousands had their thirst for revolutionary politics whetted.

As the imperialists saw the movement to stop the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants winning support and moving toward the key juncture of the weekend of struggle called for on the 18th and 19th—they pulled back at the edge.

The ruling class' necessity to wipe out the only revolutionary leadership that can arm the masses of people with a scientific understanding of the world situation and its development, and lead in finding a road out of this madness and misery, is sharper than ever. But the tactic of carrying on with this attack by couching it in common "criminal" proceedings has begun to backfire on them. Even as they claim that the RCP is isolated and insignificant, they are feeling the heat: this heat includes the Party's response coupled with the exploding struggles of the world's peoples on whom they have trampled with bloody boots for decades. By taking this battle to the broad masses of people, and arming them with the significance of this struggle and activating and mobilizing hundreds and now thousands, the RCP has begun to demonstrate the potential strength of the masses in this country to not only derail this railroad, but to move beyond that and to make revolution.

Still Deadly Serious

In the face of this new necessity, the U.S. government has made a significant tactical retreat—an important victory for the people—but their nature has not changed. From the beginning they have made it absolutely clear that they are deadly serious about burying Bob Avakian and crippling the Revolutionary Communist Party so that the masses of people will go into the 1980s without the only revolutionary leadership capable of leading them all the way through—through to make armed revolution should the opportunity arise.

In using this latest tactic of dismissing the charges, the U.S. government certainly aims to confuse those who have already or are just beginning to take a stand around this case. They intend that we should drop our guard, lose sight of the overall struggle for revolution which is most clearly concentrated in the battle to free Bob Avakian

at this time. They want people to think that they have never been serious about singling out Bob Avakian for attack, when in fact, they have never stopped targeting him right up to the present. They are still sharpening their swords—readying them to be used in the courts or straight-up as bloody repression against the RCP and against Bob Avakian in particular.

The battle, as it has developed up to this point, has made some things clear. First is the understanding that it is the masses of people who are really strong when they rise up. But second is the fact that the imperialists do strike out wildly exactly because of their basic and underlying weakness and inevitable doom. We must heighten our vigilance in preparation for the vicious counter attack which the government is certain to deliver, both directly and through all their reactionary agents. We must be warned that they will continue to direct the sharpest fire at Chairman Avakian. And we must intensify our work to continue to defend Bob Avakian and the RCP from any and all such attacks no matter what form they come in. ■

Riding in the May Day Taxi

Recently a Chicago cab driver, a middle-aged Iranian who has been in the U.S. for several years, did a little social investigation of his own with the tape of Bob Avakian's May Day speech. His wife heard the tape and brought it home for him. He liked the tape a lot and told the *Revolutionary Worker*, "I was curious how the American people would respond to this kind of ideology, this kind of talk." So he decided to take the tape out in his taxi and just play the tape as if it was a program on the radio and see what the response would be. He played it for a whole day like that and after that day he said, "I was very, very optimistic, really."

One Black woman got in the cab with her son, a boy of 10 or 12 years old. "They listened and listened. When it

came to the place where it says if you just stand around and eat ice cream, you can't go into the ring and fight Ali, the mother turned to her son and said, 'I told you you have to be prepared.' She liked it so much, she gave me a \$7 tip."

The tape drove its message home. But the driver was determined to play it all day. "If they don't like it, I tell them get out."

Many people who had been active in the 1960s had a very good response to the tape. "It reminded them when they were active." Summing up the day, this man thought it would be good to have some tapes with him to give to people. "If I could give it to that lady, she would take it home and play it for all the children, all her neighbors—she liked it so much." ■

KLAN ATTACKS RW CTRS.

Sunday, November 11, Oakland. As the campaign to rock D.C. picked up momentum in Oakland, the KKK once again attacked the Revolutionary Workers Center. This time they put up signs around the neighborhood, saying things like "RCP center will be burned down, from yours truly (sic), KKK" and "Fuck off revolution" KKK and "No more revolution shit" KKK.

The Klan altered their usual middle-of-the-night raiding tactics, by coming out in the evening, undoubtedly taking heart from the obvious backing given them in the past 2 weeks by the ruling class. The same night another threat was delivered by a reactionary who asked, "Have you ever heard of the Minutemen?" and said, "The Oakland P.D. know all about this."

In case there was any doubt about this last point, it was erased the next day. After a successful press conference was held exposing the Klan, the police swept into the neighborhood and busted 6 RCP supporters, citing phony, and well-orchestrated, "disturbing the peace" charges from a "citizen"—a white racist who has murdered 2 Blacks in "self-defense" over the past several years.

The cops were full of their usual threats and racist taunts as they hauled the people away, but one Black pig crystallized their ignorant reactionary stand when he proudly declared, "I love the Klan."

The same week in El Paso, Texas, some reactionaries threw some flammable oil on the front of the Revolutionary Workers Center, when no one was there. Some workers in the neighborhood rushed out to throw water on the building and wash away the reactionaries' plans. They will be keeping an eye on the Center to make sure this doesn't happen again. ■



Vietnam Vets

Continued from page 5

One TV station in particular couldn't let this stuff get out unchallenged, so they sent in a shill who went up to VVAW before the press conference began and said he was a vet and he had heard about the conference on the radio and he had to come, because he really agreed with them. That night, when the press conference was being reported on the news, this fool was shown being interviewed. He was saying how he thought the Shah should be allowed to stay in the U.S. and that he didn't believe VVAW were really veterans!

After the press conference, VVAW went downtown to agitate and hand out

leaflets, and the response they got was a far cry from the stage-managed chauvinism that the bourgeoisie is cranking out for public consumption. One response from a young sailor was typical of many. He said he didn't think the government gave any more of a shit about the embassy hostages in Iran than it did about the soldiers it sent to kill and die in Vietnam. Another GI bought a copy of *Turn the Guns Around* after listening to the VVAW for a few minutes and said, "I didn't agree with you before, but you make a lot of sense. I think you're right." ■

decisive action in class society—that the masses of people can transform the material world (as well as themselves) in their own interests.

Mao developed, fought for and applied this line in the conditions of China, where the pull toward putting emphasis on developing the productive forces above all else was undoubtedly very strong, even among honest revolutionaries, given the backward state of China's productive forces. But, of course, this line developed by Mao does not have any less relevance or application for building socialism in advanced countries. There, as Mao pointed out, "After the revolution has borne fruit, boosting mechanization further should present no serious problem. The important question is the remolding of the people." Certainly, in those conditions, the importance of the superstructure, and of ideological struggle in particular, will not be less than in a country like China.

And, as noted, a major focus of that struggle will be the question of proletarian internationalism vs. narrow, chauvinistic thinking. The material strengths that the proletariat will have won, upon seizing power in an advanced country like the U.S., can only be strengths

for the proletariat if they are utilized as strengths for the *international proletariat*; otherwise they will once again become a powerful weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie, against the proletariat—internally and internationally—with the restoration of capitalism.

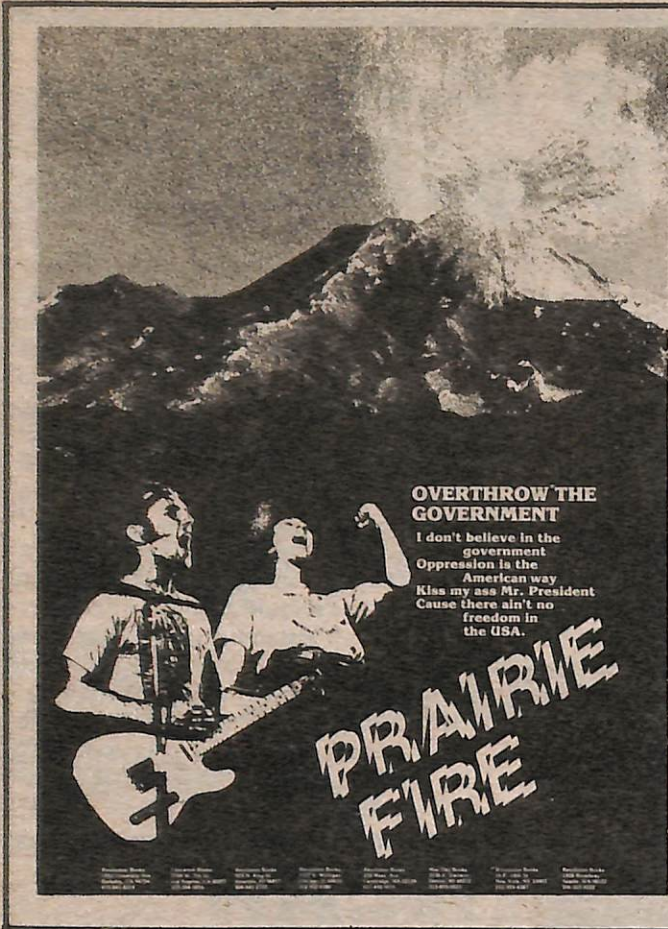
The strengths that will exist for socialism and the proletariat once power has been seized in this country should not arouse in us great power chauvinism, or disdain for the revolutionary struggle and the battle to build socialism in other, especially more economically backward, parts of the world. Quite the opposite—they should further arouse in us the determination to hasten the overthrow of imperialism here, in unity with the struggle of the proletariat and oppressed people of the world, with the vision clearly before us of what a tremendous leap it will be, not only or even mainly for the working class here, but for the international proletariat and the struggle for communism world-wide, when power is wrested from the imperialists here and a powerful bastion of reaction is transformed into a powerful base area of the international proletariat and the world revolution! ■

Central Committee Report

Continued from page 10

questions of line, of politics (and ideology)—this is a manifestation of the fact that politics is the concentrated expression of economics. Of course, these lines must be not only struggled over in the realm of ideas but must be concretely implemented; but again, in order for the working class and masses to grasp the correct line in opposition to the incorrect line and to defeat the latter with the former in practice, they must first and foremost pay attention to and struggle over the larger questions of politics and ideology and approach the practical struggle from the high plane of two-line struggle.

All this does not deny the ultimate and overall dependence of the mental on the material. Rather it grasps the dialectical relationship between them, that matter and consciousness can be and are constantly transformed into each other, and that it is only through conscious action—class struggle being the



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Ambassador Continued from page 12

engaged in a dry-season offensive. Can you give me a brief outline of what the current military situation is?

Ambassador: Yes. The dry season will be very crucial. The Vietnamese will try to wipe out the resistance of our people. But they cannot wipe it out. Why? Because there are four weak points. First, there is the army, the morale of the army. At the beginning of this year, when they invaded our country, the Vietnamese sent in 120,000 crack veteran troops. Now, there are 220,000 troops in our country. On the surface, it would appear that they should be even stronger. But in fact, they are weaker. Why? Because now more than half the Vietnamese army in Kampuchea are composed of young south Vietnamese, from seventeen to nineteen years old. Morale is very low. The second weak point is that, while at the time of the invasion (during the harvest season) the Vietnamese were able to loot the rice crops for food. Now they have to send all supplies from Vietnam, which is very hard pressed to deliver. The third thing is that at home the Vietnamese are facing more and more difficulty. The condition of living of the Vietnamese now is lower than before. And the fourth thing, the status of Vietnam in the international arena is getting lower and lower.

RW: They've just about lost all the prestige they gained as a result of the war against the U.S.

Ambassador: Yes, now everyone can see the nature of Vietnam expansionism and hegemonism.

For our part, at the beginning, we had to fight a frontal war. We cannot oppose the Vietnamese in frontal war because our army is weaker than the Vietnamese army. But now we have transformed our regular army into numerous guerrilla units. There are about 100,000 men under arms. These regular guerrilla units contain from ten to one hundred fighters—no more—and they are waging the guerrilla war everywhere in the country. And they kill many Vietnamese every day, dealing them severe losses in soldiers and materiel. And besides these regular guerrilla forces, we have three other forces. The regular guerrilla units go to the villages, organize the movement of struggle and resistance in the village, and organize an indigenous guerrilla unit that will defend the village.

Third is the people themselves. At first some people were not aware of the danger of the Vietnamese, of the annexation. Now they are very angry against the Vietnamese because they have seen that the Vietnamese came and massacred their family, raped their daughter and wife, and destroyed everything. Now, all the Kampuchean people are against them. The fourth thing: The Vietnamese had organized a so-called "Self-Defense Guard," composed of some Kampuchean people who had been misled by the Vietnamese in the

beginning. Now, the Kampuchians in the Guard are turning their weapons against the Vietnamese, killing the Vietnamese, and crossing over to our army.

We are sure that in this dry season indeed the Vietnamese will kill more of our people, destroy more of our country, but they cannot wipe out our regime. That is why they deliberately create famine, and they do not want food to reach the people. Look, the Vietnamese authorities in Hanoi are not worried about the fate of the Vietnamese, the boat people. Why should they be worried about the fate of the Kampuchean people? On the contrary, as they cannot control their country, they will exterminate the Kampuchean people in order to take possession of the land.

RW: The question that we raised in an article we ran last week, was that it was possible that the Vietnamese would use some of this aid to perhaps feed some of the Kampuchean people in areas under their control as a weapon to try to force people to leave areas that are contested or under the control of the Khmer Rouge forces—in other words, if they are able to offer food, then by coercion to force people to leave one area for another. Is that a real possibility, and how has the government of Democratic Kampuchea, in areas under your control, been able to deal with the famine question? Have you been able to establish any stable agricultural production?

Ambassador: It would be difficult if we could. And I agree with you that the Vietnamese use food as a weapon. But up to now we also get a small percentage of the humanitarian aid through the Thai border. But for us the most important thing is that the Kampuchean people can survive and not be extinguished. Because we are sure of one thing: the Kampuchean people do not want to be slaves of the Vietnamese, do not want to be subjugated.

RW: Most of the American press reports do admit that there are considerable areas that are still controlled by Pol Pot's forces. But does your government control specific relatively stable liberated zones aside from the areas close to the border with Thailand?

Ambassador: Generally speaking, the Vietnamese control the cities and the highways, and about two to three kilometers from the highways; in all, about one quarter of the territory. We control also about a quarter of the territory. And the remaining half are the guerrilla zone and the guerrilla bases. The Vietnamese can kill people, but they are unable to remain in the villages, because if they have to stay in every village they need one million, maybe more, in the army.

RW: I understand that in waging this war of liberation it is the policy of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to build the broadest possible united front, to mobilize every force

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that can be united against the main enemy, which is the Vietnamese aggressors and their Soviet backers. In recent months there has been a lot of back and forth among the various forces opposed, for one reason or another, to the Vietnamese. I referred earlier to the question of one, the exiled Kampuchians, some of whom are represented by In Tam. Prince Sihanouk has played, frankly, a contradictory role or a vacillating role in the whole situation. How does your government view the situation and the other forces involved in this whole situation?

Ambassador: I would like to ask you one question—have you ever seen an aggressor who accepts withdrawal when he has not been defeated on the battlefield? No aggressor will agree to withdraw at the negotiating table if they think they are still stronger, more powerful. It is the same for the Vietnamese. The most important thing is to wage the guerrilla war against them. Now, on the spot, the most important forces are the forces and leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. But we cooperate with any forces with one condition—that the forces fight against the Vietnamese. We have set up a great national front, a patriotic and democratic national front, gathering and mobilizing all national democratic forces, inside the country and outside, without consideration of their political tendency or their past. But only with one condition: that they fight against the Vietnamese. Some people outside are very subjective. They think that when our forces have been wiped out by the Vietnamese, that the Vietnamese will withdraw from Kampuchea. That is a very subjective and idealistic view. When the Vietnamese forces have been wiped out, then they will withdraw. But we are not worried about some people who do not yet understand that the most important thing is the survival of the Kampuchean people and nation. Some people say that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea should dissolve and that we should have another government. The most important thing is not for one or another leader to stay or not; the most important thing is for the effectiveness of the struggle, of the fighting. That is why our government has sent a letter to Prince Sihanouk asking him to be the Chairman of the front, and if he agrees, the government of Democratic Kampuchea can be reshuffled and Prince Sihanouk can be also the head of state

of Democratic Kampuchea. And after the Vietnamese have been forced to withdraw, we can hold free elections through the direct vote of the people under the supervision and control of the United Nations.

RW: But there are no forces in the field at the present time waging the armed struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors except the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the armed forces under their control. Is that correct?

Ambassador: There are about two or three thousand troops under the Khmer Serai (editor's note: the "Free Khmers," remnants of the Lon Nol army).

RW: I've read something about them...

Ambassador: Yes, they don't fight so much.

RW: Spend all their time listening to the radio, I've read.

Ambassador: But, even that, the most important thing is that they fight against the enemy.

RW: Would you like to make any specific comment on the reported remarks of Prince Sihanouk that appeared in *Time* magazine? He was reported to have said that the government led by Pol Pot was the No. 1 enemy of the Kampuchean people and that the Vietnamese were the No. 2 enemy. Would you consider that an emotional statement...

Ambassador: I think that we understand well there are some people of the Prince's family who have been killed by the Vietnamese, and he does not know that they were killed by the Vietnamese. I am sure that step by step he will come to learn the truth.

RW: Is Pol Pot in Kampuchea?

Ambassador: How can your leader in fighting stay out of Kampuchea? You have to be on the spot to share weal and woe with the people as a fighter. You cannot leave the fighting, the struggle.
RW: Thank you, Ambassador. For our own Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, we are proud to stand by the people of Kampuchea in this difficult hour. We are certain that your people will advance to final victory eventually, despite the difficulties of the road ahead.

Ambassador: Thank you very much. Your support is a great encouragement, and we will continue to let our people know of this support and distribute your articles so that people can see them.