



REVOLUTION

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

50¢

Vol.3, No. 15

December 1978

Iran: New High Tide Defies Military Gov't.

A revolutionary storm of worldwide significance is erupting in Iran. The most powerful uprisings of the Iranian people to date swept the country in early December, and along with a new strike wave that has virtually paralyzed all commerce and industry, the Shah's fascist regime and U.S. imperialist domination of Iran are being shaken at the roots.

As we go to press, large scale fighting and armed clashes have broken out in the streets of Tehran and dozens of other cities and towns, with more expected. All over Tehran, the slogans on the walls read, "Death to the Shah!", "U.S. Imperialism Out of Iran!" and "Armed Uprising—the Only Way to Freedom!"

In total defiance of the month-old military government's martial law edicts, upwards of one million people have poured out into the streets of the capital city, particularly at 9 p.m., when the curfew is supposed to go into effect. For several nights running, Tehran's power plant workers have been going out on strike at exactly 9 p.m., throwing the city into complete darkness for hours in order to aid the people in fighting the troops. This same scene is being repeated from one end of Iran to another—in Tabriz, Isfahan, Mashad, Shiraz—where massive demon-

strations and heavy fighting are taking place.

News reports coming out of Iran are still sketchy; however, foreign correspondents reported hearing four hours of continuous tank cannon and machine gun fire in the streets of Tehran, as thousands of people repeatedly attempted to storm the heavily defended U.S. embassy. The U.S. press has tried to play down the number of deaths, but according to phone calls and reports received by the Iranian Students Association (ISA) from Iran itself, at least 3-4,000 people have been killed in the fighting so far.

An indication of the vastness of this mass upsurge is that on one day alone at the end of November, 1,400,000 people demonstrated in the Moslem centers of Mashad and Qum, forcing the regime to temporarily pull its troops out of both cities. Jahrom, Isfahan and Mashad have all been declared liberated for several hours or days by popular forces, who have forced the Shah's police and army units to retreat into a few strongholds in these cities or have driven them out altogether.

This is not without precedent recently in Iran. For more than two weeks at the end of October and the beginning of November, the heroic people of Amol, a town of 40,000 on the Caspian Sea,



Shah's portrait goes up in flames in streets of Tehran.

rose up as one against the regime. While the local reactionaries were forced to hole up in the army barracks, police station and several other government buildings, the people, calling themselves the "Republic of Amol," ran the town. Armed revolutionary students guarded the city, a "people's curfew" was enforced against government officials, and a people's court was set up to try captured SAVAK agents until outside army units were sent in to retake Amol from the people.

A significant development is that in much of this fighting, thousands of people have taken up arms against the regime. Growing sections of the masses have rejected the bankrupt line of rely-

ing on appeals to their "Moslem brothers" in the military and are taking up arms as the only way to bring down the Shah's regime. In one example of this reported in the U.S. press, a group of students armed with automatic weapons and hand grenades attacked a Tehran police station on December 3, killing at least 3 gendarmes inside!

The bourgeois press has tried to paint this revolutionary upsurge as the activity of "fanatical Moslems" bent on suicide during the holy month of Muhurran, which also marks the end of the 40 days mourning period for the thousands gunned down by the Shah's

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Used to Attack Mao's Line Reactionary Mantle of Chou En-lai

With every passing day, the revisionist rulers of China are stepping up the tempo of their attacks on Mao Tsetung and the revolutionary line that Mao stood for and fought for all his life. Article after article in the press stresses that Mao must not be seen as a "god," that Mao Tsetung Thought must not be regarded as "dogma," and a flurry of officially tolerated wall posters claim that he made "mistakes," especially in the later years of his life. This is a necessity for them because Mao's line—especially as it developed through the Cultural Revolution—does in fact pose a mortal danger to their revisionist line and to the all-out drive they have launched to dismantle socialism and restore capitalism.

A crucial part of these attacks on Mao and the Chinese revolution is building up Chou En-lai as a great national hero, and in fact raising him above Mao in stature as a model "communist" to be emulated for the "new historical mission" of modernizing China by the year 2000. As *Peking Review* 47 recently gushed, "The people highly respected and loved him, and pinned their hopes on him for realizing the lofty ideal of the four modernizations and making their motherland strong and prosperous."

While the second anniversary of Mao's death in September 1978 rated less space in *Peking Review* than an article calling for achieving world levels in textile production, there has been a steady stream of articles heaping mountains of praise on Chou En-lai and insisting (correctly) on the close ties between him and the current rulers. A major 14-page article appeared in *Peking Review* in January, 1977 on the first anniversary of Chou's death, followed by



100 noxious weeds have sprouted in China as the capitalist roaders in power encourage open criticism of Mao, calling China under Mao a "feudal fascist dictatorship," and praising their reactionary mentor Chou En-lai to the skies.

articles throughout 1977 and 1978 on his great achievements during the Cultural Revolution, in foreign policy, and "his personification of the Party's style of work." The latest, and perhaps most revealing, of these articles is part of a speech given by Chou En-lai himself in 1949 to the First All-China Youth Conference titled, "Learn from Mao Tsetung." This is given front page billing in *PR* 43 of this year.

In this speech Chou warns the youth not to view Mao as a "godhead" and devotes considerable effort to explaining how Mao was superstitious and had many backward ideas when he was young, and that he of course made mistakes. Though no one can be free of making mistakes and Mao frequently pointed to his own, the current rulers are clearly using this speech to throw open the door for criticizing and attacking Mao's line as a whole.

Chou says that Mao did not accept the advice of a Comrade Yun Tai-ying to start doing work in the countryside in

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Mao's Immortal Contributions Part 6: Continuing Revolution Under Dictatorship of the Proletariat

the mid-1920s since he was "preoccupied with work in the cities"; under present conditions the effect of this is to throw in doubt the fact the Mao *did* lead the Chinese Communist Party in developing and carrying out the strategy of encircling the cities from the countryside and by implication to question Mao's role in the socialist stage of the revolution as well.

Furthermore, nowhere in this speech does Chou En-lai explain that he himself went along with the "left" lines in the late 1920s and early 1930s that caused serious losses to the Party and the Chinese revolution, and which Mao had to struggle against and defeat in order for a correct line to win out in the Party. Chou did not throw his support firmly behind Mao's line until the critical Tsunyi Party conference in January, 1935 during the beginning of the Long March.

This speech also fits in neatly with the revisionists' present approach of downgrading Mao to being an important leader, yes, but just one of the many veteran leaders of the Chinese revolution. (This is the none-too-subtle message of a 1955 picture reprinted with Chou En-lai's speech, which has obviously been cropped to place Chou in the center, with Mao on his right and Chu Teh on his left.)

According to the present rulers, Mao was all right before 1949 but became increasingly out of touch with the "new tasks" of the revolution—to the point of making the big "mistake" of launching and leading the Chinese people in waging the Cultural Revolution and

allowing himself to be "misled" by the "gang of four." Immediately after they pulled off their counter-revolutionary coup d'etat in 1976 the revisionists went to great lengths to place Mao in opposition to his four closest comrades, the so-called "gang of four," in order to sow confusion among the masses and consolidate their power. (This was especially true of the revisionist forces grouped around Hua Kuo-feng, whose positions and authority rest heavily on Mao's supposed "behests.") Now, they are saying all but openly that the "gang of four" was in fact a "Gang of Five."

Reversing Correct Verdict on Tien An Men Riot

Thus it is not surprising that the latest correct verdict to be reversed and the most open attack on Mao to date concerns the large-scale riot staged by counter-revolutionaries at Tien An Men Square in Peking on April 5, 1976. Claiming that lack of respect was being paid to Chou En-lai (who had died a few months earlier), they directly attacked Mao and those in Party leadership who stood with him and loudly declared their support for Teng Hsiao-ping's attempts to carry out Chou's revisionist program for "modernizing" China and reversing the Chinese revolution. Overturning and burning cars and physically attacking the people's militia units, they raised the cry: "We spill our blood in memory of the hero [Chou En-lai]; raising our brows we unsheathe our swords. China is no longer the China of

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Actions Support Houston Rebellion Momentum Builds As Trial of 3 Nears

In the past several weeks there have been a number of significant developments in the struggle to defend the Moody Park 3 and all those arrested in the Houston Rebellion against the police last May. The ruling class, desperate to crush the growing movement to defend the rebellion and those who stand up and dare to identify themselves with it, has resorted to further intimidation and repression. But this has only spurred on the struggle and increased the determination of growing numbers of people to spread the lessons of the rebellion and stand up to any new attacks by the capitalists.

The trial of the Moody Park 3 has been postponed to January 15, and plans are underway for a national demonstration in Houston, and local support actions are to be held on January 13, the Saturday preceding the trial opening. The trumped up charges of "attempted murder" are still pending against Edward Gallegos, the young activist and member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade who has been targeted by the Houston PD for his role in defending the Houston rebellion and building support for the "3." The authorities have scheduled this attempted railroad for early January, however the defense intends to demand a postponement.

Meanwhile, the kangaroo trials of more than 40 others arrested during the rebellion have continued. In the latest trial of seven Chicanos, one was acquitted, three ended in a hung jury (and the Houston authorities are planning to retry them in January) and three others were convicted on charges of felony assault on a police officer. Of the three convicted, two received probation and one man was sentenced to 5 years in jail.

Trial a Typical Farce

Despite the vicious 5-year sentence, these trials were definitely not the political victory Houston's ruling class was after. The three convictions they managed to get were based solely on the testimony of pigs. One, an arson investigator for the Houston PD who testified at the bail bond hearing for the Moody Park 3 that he saw Travis Morales (spokesman for People United to Fight Police Brutality and one of the 3) telling the crowd to "Burn, burn, burn" has himself been accused of setting a number of arson fires.

In the course of the testimony the close ties between the police and some of the poverty pimps promoted by the bourgeoisie accidentally slipped out. It turns out that Rachel Navarro, a notorious *vendido* (sellout) and chief flunky of Senator Ben Reyes in the Northside community around Moody Park who claimed she saw Morales during the uprising, has been a paid informant of this same pig arson "investigator" since



March in Defense of the Houston Rebellion and the Moody Park 3!

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

sponsored by:
People United to Fight Police Brutality
Committees to Defend the Houston Rebellion
Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade
National United Workers Organization
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Saturday, January 13, Houston
(Local demonstrations will also be held)

For further information write:
PUFPB, P.O. Box 87016, Houston, TX 77087
Or call: (713) 649-4159

well before the rebellion.

The very nature of these trials is a revealing show of exactly what a farce capitalist "justice" is. The recent trials had the longest jury list in the history of Houston's Harris County as the prosecutor rejected juror after juror until he could successfully stack the jury with well-to-do whites, including a district manager of the Social Security Administration. Jurors were shown films of flaming cars on the Sunday night of the rebellion in a blatant attempt to prejudice them, even though the 7 defendants were charged only with acts that allegedly occurred the following day. The judge, openly biased against the defendants, refused to allow any defense objections to this tactic which violates even the capitalists' version of "due process."

If there was any doubt about the cozy

little arrangement between the capitalists' cops, courts and press, it turns out that the foreman of the Grand Jury that indicted the Moody Park 3 is an assistant editor of the *Houston Chronicle*, the paper responsible for much of the hysterical red-baiting coverage of the rebellion and attacks on People United to Fight Police Brutality. He is a personal friend of the woman judge who will be trying them, and in the middle of a motion hearing for the 3 he could be heard asking her "honor" for a dinner date.

Ruling Class Violence and Repression Continues

As if to confirm the fact that the rebellion in Moody Park was a righteous and necessary uprising against national oppression enforced by the armed terror of the bourgeoisie, the Houston police have non-chalantly continued with murder as usual. On Nov. 1, a Houston pig named L. A. Baker who has already killed two people in the "line of duty" in the last two years gunned down Carlton Alexander, a 22 year old Black man, after stopping him on "suspicion of narcotics possession." Alexander was forced to strip down to his pants as the pigs searched for the non-existent narcotics. When he broke away and ran into a church yard, Baker, who had just arrived on the scene, shined a light on him and fired a fatal shot into the unarmed man, the father of two young children.

The Grand Jury, true to form, released Baker of any responsibility for this cold-blooded execution. As Police Chief Cauldwell said "This was all in the line of duty." True enough, the cops "duty" of maintaining the national oppression of Black and Chicano people through the barrel of a gun.

In another political attack on those

who have stood up for the rebellion, Baton Rouge police arrested four people at the home of a woman who brought a number of people to the Oct. 28 demonstration in Houston—indicating the growing support for the Houston rebellion and also how widespread the fear of the capitalists and their armed goons is that the lessons of this struggle are taking root across the country.

The woman and her three children have been actively spreading the word of the rebellion and the Baton Rouge Chief of Police was reported in the press as saying that "something was going to be done" about "outside instigators" and that police were going to bust anyone caught putting up the RCYB posters defending the rebellion which were appearing all over town.

The next night some people were over at the woman's house working on a program about Iran planned for the Louisiana State University campus. Suddenly 15 narcotics cops kicked down the door and burst in, trashing the house and busting her children on charges of criminal mischief and resisting arrest. Also included was a trumped up drug charge on one of the youths.

The mother was beaten so severely she required hospitalization. She was then promptly charged with assaulting an officer for resisting this gestapo-like attack and held along with her children on \$2000 bail. When they asked the cops "What about our rights?" the role of these armed enforcers for the ruling class was made abundantly clear. "You have no rights," the pigs retorted.

Struggle Continues in Seattle

In Seattle, where three are charged with felony assault after a police attack on the October 28 demonstration, the city council held a public meeting to confirm a new "liberal" police chief in an attempt to give the police department's tarnished image a badly needed facelift. Forces defending the Houston rebellion took advantage of this situation to turn what was supposed to be a well orchestrated demonstration of support by "community leaders" for the new police chief into a forum for denouncing police terror and defending the rebellion.

Forty people picketed outside chanting, "John Rodney Dead, Cops Go Free, That's What The Rich Call Democracy!" (Rodney was a Black man gunned down by Seattle cop Dennis Falk this year for being a "suspected prowler"). Then to the dismay of the city council, they marched into the meeting, unfurling banners that read, "Fight Police Terror From Houston To Seattle" and "Cops Are The Tool Of The Rich Man's Rule" to the applause of the majority of the crowd.

John Rodney's mother stood up and demanded justice for her murdered son. Speakers from the RCP and various mass organizations took the mike to address the audience. One speaker said, "We look to the righteous rebellion of 3000 people in Houston following the police murder of Joe Torres, a proud example of the road we should follow all over this country. You and your bosses, your masters, look at this rebellion with stark fear and horror and for good reason."

Workers Taking Up Fight

The National United Workers Organization has continued to take this struggle out into the plants and workers are stepping forward in increasing numbers to support the Moody Park 3 in various ways. In New Jersey, 60 workers at the Metuchen Ford plant (near Newark) started up a buck-a-week club to continue to contribute money to the defense. There are several other New Jersey plants where 60-100 workers have sent angry mailgrams to the Houston D.A. protesting these political trials. The NUWO also sponsored a march to downtown Newark from the Stella Wright Housing Project, scene of a historic four year rent strike in the early 70s. The theme "It's right to rebel" met with enthusiastic response from many along the march route.

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On the Role of Agitation and Propaganda

Communists often talk about the crucial importance of revolutionary agitation and propaganda. And with good reason. Together, agitation and propaganda, are a mighty and indispensable weapon in the Party's revolutionary arsenal. How else but with vivid, compelling agitation, as well as propaganda, can the hatred which is provoked by daily life under capitalism be further aroused and sharpened against the bourgeoisie? How else but by agitation and propaganda can the word, the sparks, and the lessons of struggles waged by now one, now another, section of the masses be spread nationwide? How else can class struggle be waged in the crucial arena of public opinion against the ruling class—whose ideas also are the ruling ideas in society and who spend millions and millions of dollars yearly to produce a deluge of their own agitation and propaganda spreading confusion, defeatism and reaction?

Is there any way other than communist agitation and propaganda to arm the masses themselves with the science of revolution and the Party's line so they can take it up and wage conscious struggle for revolution? And in what other way can the influence of the Party, its views, its presence be spread so openly, broadly, and consistently among the masses as by agitation and propaganda—in all its forms, spoken and written, but particularly in newspapers? As Stalin put it, "A whole generation of the revolutionary proletariat was reared by *Pravda* [a mass communist paper]." Or looking at this country in recent years, can we forget the influence of the tens of thousands of copies of the Black Panther paper sold each week in each of many major cities at a time when the Panthers stood for violent revolution in the minds of millions?

In fact it is impossible even to conceive of the Party itself—and the revolutionary stamp it aims to put on all its work—without the glue of agitation and propaganda unifying and giving all around revolutionary character to all its work. With all this in mind it is possible to see why Lenin described "systematic, all-around propaganda and agitation, consistent in principle" as "the chief and permanent task" of communists. ("Where to Begin," *CW*, Vol. 5)

And with this in mind today we must greatly step up and sharpen our revolutionary agitation and propaganda. And we must give special emphasis to agitation which overall plays a more central role in our ongoing work. While this includes making full use of the Party press and leaflets, it also means widely and boldly doing spoken agitation. For agitation lends itself especially to the spoken word. But what is agitation and just what role does it play?

What Is Agitation?

Agitation, whether spoken or written, generally focuses on one event, and one contradiction, and seeks to make a single idea powerfully clear to broad numbers of people. It is like a sharp knife seeking to expose and make raw a glaring contradiction and draw blood around it. An agitator, focusing, say, on the U.S. government's support for the Shah of Iran under the banner of bringing democracy to that country, would focus on the "democracy" the Shah is bringing to the people by shooting them down in the street, and would bring out the class content of this imperialist democracy. Or in an example cited by Lenin, pointing to the death by starvation of an unemployed worker's family, an agitator would seek to show "the senselessness of the contradiction between the increase of wealth and the increase of poverty [and] he will strive to rouse discontent and indignation among the masses against this crying injustice." (*What Is To Be Done?*, Section 3B) A fuller explanation of this contradiction, Lenin points out, will be left to the propagandist—who has to present many ideas and their interrelation, so propaganda will be understood in an all around way by a smaller number of people.

Why then is agitation such a particularly important weapon in the Party's hands? Is it just that we want to be "more mass" than propaganda allows us to be? While we certainly do seek to influence the broadest numbers of people, this is not the heart of the matter. First agitation is a necessary form of class struggle in order to go at it toe to toe with the bourgeoisie for public opinion. The bourgeoisie is constantly drumming its view of events along with its upside down world view through the course of a constant stream of particulars. If we abandon this field of battle to the enemy we will lose by default. Only timely, revolutionary agitation can clear up the smoke and point the finger at its source in each of these cases.

What Mao said about the process of gaining knowledge is relevant to the role of agitation in building class consciousness:

As regards the sequence in the movement of man's knowledge, there is always a gradual growth from the knowledge of individual and particular things to the knowledge of things in general. Only after man knows the particular essence of many different things can he proceed to generalization and know the common essence of things. When man attains the knowledge of

this common essence, he uses it as a guide and proceeds to study various concrete things which have not yet been studied, or studied thoroughly, and to discover the particular essence of each; only thus is he able to supplement, enrich and develop his knowledge of their common essence and prevent such knowledge from withering or petrifying. These are the two processes of cognition; one, from the particular to the general, and the other, from the general to the particular." ("On Contradiction," *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 320.)

Mao here, and throughout his works, is not advocating stages—which would translate into agitation first, then later propaganda—nor is he separating this whole process from the struggle to change the world. But he is summing up laws of the process of consciousness and what he says applies to the importance of wide ranging and sharp revolutionary agitation dealing with many different things.

What he says here also speaks to the *content* of agitation. It is exactly by focusing on the "particular essence" of the thing it is dealing with that agitation plays its part in painting the general picture of capitalist oppression and exploitation. Exactly because this general picture, this basic class contradiction, resides in an endless number of particular instances, agitation in this way can play its role in pointing toward this "common essence," as Mao puts it.

This kind of sharply focused agitation around a particular contradiction is not narrow and revisionist. It is quite the opposite of the revisionist line of making everything "palpable," to reduce the general down to one or a few particulars. This line, with which we have had recent and rich experience with the Mensheviks in our own Party's ranks, seeks to reduce all understanding to the most narrow and banal.

If someone should begin to get the idea that imperialism is the enemy in Africa, for example—how terrible, how hopelessly abstract. Quick, let's "put a face on the enemy," as they would say, and target some local bank—how much more concrete and how much easier for the masses to swallow. If someone begins to get an inkling that capitalism is behind unemployment—hurry and put out that "useless" spark of understanding and pin the blame on the President's policies.

This is dead against the correct understanding of the fact that the general resides in the particular. Its motion, its thrust, is headlong in the opposite direction. Real agitation, by dealing with the particularity of contradiction, seeks to point forward to the broader picture. Its aim is not to leave things at the level of the particular. As Lenin put it, "we must make it our concern to direct the thoughts of those who are dissatisfied only with conditions at the university, or in the *Zemstvo* [town council], etc., to the idea that the entire political system is worthless." (*What Is To Be Done?* Section 3E)

Still this does not negate, but in fact emphasizes, the importance of dealing with the particularity of contradiction. It is through repeatedly digging in to many different particulars, that agitation plays its important role in indicating the bigger picture. This is true, for example, of our Party's *Worker* newspapers—which combine local news with a central news service. Although they contain important propaganda articles, they consist mainly of agitation. Each issue should present an overall picture of our society and indicate the need for proletarian revolution to overthrow the present order and establish socialism. But this picture should emerge from a whole series of articles that concentrate powerfully on one central point and drive it home. This, in fact, will be far more effective in presenting this overall picture than if each article attempted to cover many points and make, in general, the overall points about capitalism and the need to overthrow it. Such a paper would contain many words, but say very little.

This point about the general and particular also speaks to the principle behind an important statement made by Lenin on exposures, which are mainly in the form of agitation. In *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin points out that in order to develop class consciousness workers must gain a "clear picture" of the nature of the system and the different classes in society, and this

...cannot be obtained from any book. It can be obtained only from living examples and from exposures that follow close upon what is going on about us at a given moment; upon what is being discussed, in whispers perhaps, by each one in his own way; upon what finds expression in such and such events, in such and such statistics, in such and such court sentences, etc., etc. These comprehensive political exposures are an essential and fundamental condition for training the masses in revolutionary activity. [And in this same section Lenin also says] In no way except by means of such exposures can the masses be trained in political consciousness and revolutionary activity. (*What Is To Be Done?* Section 3C)

These statements clearly speak to the central impor-

ance of timely and sharp agitation. It is not enough, to explain to the masses that they are oppressed or that their interests are antagonistic to the capitalists. As Lenin puts it "Agitation must be conducted with regard to every concrete example of this oppression." (*What Is to Be Done?* Section 3A) While propaganda plays a genuinely important role, such general explanations, especially when tagged on to basically reformist work and when done in a sterile stereotyped way, play an "important role" only in dulling our agitation and boring the readers or listeners.

If we carry out our work around capitalism, socialism and communism in this kind of bookish, stilted, simplistic way it will often seem to people that we talk too much about politics. And we will not really have broken with reformism. But if we carry out the kind of all-around political work and agitation Lenin calls for, and in this context also conduct scientific propaganda, then people will not be able to get enough of such politics.

If, for example, around the question of imperialist aggression and war we largely confine ourselves to repeating the same general statements about "imperialism and war and plunder" and "the superpowers are contending and preparing for war," we will fall way short of the mark. But if we shed our laziness and really dig into the heart of what imperialism means in a thousand specific instances to the people of the whole world, if we actually expose the real conditions, feelings and struggles of the masses subjected to imperialist enslavement, as well as the actual character of wars fought by the imperialists, then we will be making real strides in the crucial task of instilling among the American workers a hatred for the American flag and all it stands for.

Contradiction—the Heart of Agitation

All this speaks to the need to sharpen our agitation, to make it more revolutionary. And as already indicated in a number of ways, the key to this, the heart of agitation, is a grasp on the question of contradiction. When we speak of doing exposures, for example, what are we basically speaking of exposing? Contradiction and its class content. Exposure means revealing what is hidden and covered up. This, however, means more than radical muckraking, although bourgeois muck should indeed be raked for raw material that concretely exposes the class character of society.

Fundamentally what is hidden and covered up by capitalism are the basic laws and class character of the contradictions in society. Behind such murky mists as "equal exchange" (work for wages), "democracy," and "national interests" lie exploitation, capitalist dictatorship and worldwide reaction, all of which demand the sharp knife of exposure, especially agitation, to lay them bare and raw.

This task of laying bare contradiction has to be grasped consciously. In opposition to eclectic, reformist and boring stuff that meanders here and wanders there, communists must muster revolutionary spirit and science to develop agitation that dives right to the heart of the contradiction and rips the bourgeoisie and bourgeois society. A contradiction bared raises people's interest and also raises their fighting spirit. If we grasp contradiction, then our agitation will really hound and tear at the bourgeoisie. If we grasp contradiction, then our agitation can powerfully popularize and draw the lessons from the struggles of the people. And since humor, as even any good bourgeois comedian knows, is based on contradiction and contrast then we can even wield this weapon. And what would be so bad about that? It is not required that communists be dull and humorless. No law, nothing in Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought mandates it.

To grasp contradiction and to wield the weapon of revolutionary agitation, then, we have to discard what Mao refers to as the "formalist method, classifying things according to their external features instead of their internal relations." ("Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing", *SW*, Vol. 3, p. 61.) According to this method a war of liberation and an imperialist war of aggression could be lumped together since both involve bloodshed. Then he goes on to warn,

"If one takes a conglomeration of concepts that are not internally related and arranges them into an article, speech or report simply according to the external features of things, then one is juggling with concepts and may also lead others to indulge in the same sort of game, with the result that they do not use their brains to think over problems and probe into the essence of things, but are satisfied merely to list phenomena in ABCD order. What is a problem? A problem is the contradiction in a thing."

But is it enough to simply pose the problem, or state the contradiction? While this may suffice in some cases, generally, to fully play its role, agitation re-

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Agitation . . .

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quires more than this. Around a central contradiction, and a clear cut stand, facts and analysis must be mustered—all to strengthen and drive home the central point. Agitation does not exclude analysis, because analysis means probing, investigating and thus laying bare contradiction. It is not enough for an agitational article on a tax hike to leave it at "the little man gets screwed." For one thing this doesn't distinguish communists one whit from populists and common reformers. Not to mention that a constant barrage of such stuff will leave a reader with a very bored and empty feeling. It is necessary to go deeper, to analyze the forces involved in producing and profiting from such an attack and indicate the basic class relations and laws of society standing behind and underlying it. The revolutionary solution to this contradiction should be indicated too. Of course agitation cannot do this in the same all-around way as propaganda and develop the relation of this particular case to imperialism, crisis and the inevitability of socialist revolution. Mao spoke to this whole problem quite pointedly,

Some of our comrades love to write long articles with no substance, very much like the "foot-bindings of a slattern, long as well as smelly." Why must they write such long and empty articles? There can be only one explanation: they are determined the masses shall not read them. . . . If long and empty articles are no good, are short and empty ones any better? They are no good either. We should forbid all empty talk. . . . above all we need articles that have substance." ("Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing," *SW* Vol. 3, p. 56.)

When exposing the bourgeoisie, revolutionary agitation must above all be bloodthirsty. It must mercilessly lay bare the vicious oppression and disgusting hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie. The need for violent overthrow of this rotten system should pierce every issue of our newspapers. It must break clearly with all notions of bourgeois "respectability", reformism or trade-unionism and speak wholeheartedly for the proletariat—the class that truly has nothing to lose but its chains. How else is it possible to cut through the crusty layers of crud, including bourgeois ideology, that permeate bourgeois society and certainly penetrate into the working class.

We must firmly uphold the truth, and truth requires a clear-cut stand. We Communists have always disdained to conceal our views. Newspapers run by our Party and all the propaganda work of our Party should be vivid, clear-cut and sharp and should never mutter and mumble. That is the militant style proper to us, the revolutionary proletariat. Since we want to teach the people to know the truth and arouse them to fight for their own emancipation, we need this militant style. A blunt knife draws no blood. (Mao Tsetung, "Talk to Shansi-Suiyan Daily Editorial Staff," *SW*, Vol. 4, p. 245.)

If agitation (and propaganda for that matter) do not start from this "clear-cut stand" then they are worthless. When supposedly agitational articles wander about from point to point, qualifying themselves and equivocating, there is usually something wrong with the *line* as well as the style. And adding a few paragraphs about capitalism and socialism on to the end of an essentially trade-unionist (or reformist political) article won't save it from being nonrevolutionary. In fact this is often a tip-off that the agitation didn't draw a bit of blood in the first place.

Of course taking a clear-cut stand means more than militant posturing or just cursing the enemy. A pig can—and should—be called for the beast that he is. But as an overall approach this won't measure up. Mao also condemned writing that "strikes a pose in order to intimidate people. . . . Against the enemy this tactic of intimidation is utterly useless, and with our own comrades it can only do harm." ("Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing," *SW*, Vol. 3, pp. 57-58.)

By digging into a contradiction, by taking a clear cut stand, agitation seeks to unite with the basic class feelings of the masses and raise them to a new and higher level. In defining agitation, Lenin said it should "rouse discontent." He did not say it should squelch it under a dry pretense of a "scientific approach"—which is not at all the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. Our agitation must aim to hone, sharpen and intensify basic class anger, by raising it to a higher, class conscious level.

But to do this requires being selective. Agitation must focus not on petty, but really typical and glaring evils. Agitation, it is true, is mainly characterized by its broadness, its all-around character. (Here we are speaking of agitation as a category, not any one example of agitation.) As Lenin put it "communism springs from positively every sphere of public life." And the light of agitation must be brought to bear on all these spheres. In keeping with this our Party has formulated the policy of "concentrated struggles and broad exposures." But in a sense agitation must be "concentrated" too. There are some events that lend themselves much more than others to powerfully laying bare the contradictions of capitalism.

Take for example the Houston cops' murder of Chicano veteran Joe Torres and the resulting \$1 fine imposed on these pigs. Because it concentrated so starkly

the contradictions of national oppression and police terror, there was deep response among the masses to agitation around this. Many took up as their own the excellent agitational slogan "Joe Torres dead. Cops go free. That's what the rich call democracy." Other, less stark, events—such as the personal story of an immigrant worker, for example—may also powerfully typify and concentrate broadly felt and important contradictions. But many other events cannot and will not have the same effect.

Understanding this and carrying this through requires the mass line. The point Mao made about methods of leadership applies here, "take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own."

To realize its full power agitation must have a national scope. For agitation to play its full role, really sharp and typical cases must be selected and some must be spread nationwide. For this reason, as well as to provide for unity of political line, the *Worker* newspapers are linked together into a network by the Party centrally which provides these papers with exposure and propaganda on a national scale.

Agitation and Mass Action

Agitation that sharply exposes the bourgeoisie and puts forward the struggles of the people will clearly be a powerful force in relation to the task of mobilizing people for struggles against the enemy. But it is important to be clear on just how agitation does relate to this task. Lenin points out clearly in *What Is To Be Done?* that agitation is not a call to action. This was in direct opposition to a narrow economist line that tried to reduce the tasks of communists to promoting struggles for immediate, palpable results. In speaking about the Bolsheviks' revolutionary agitation and propaganda around a famine in Russia, Lenin sarcastically remarked, "Their articles contained—oh horror!—not a single, can you imagine it?—not a single 'concrete demand' 'promising palpable results'! Poor doctrinaires!" (*What Is to Be Done?* Section 3A) If agitation is seen basically as calls to action, then communists, far from being tribunes of the people, will become chickens with their heads cut off and petty reformers running after everything and accomplishing nothing.

Lenin, of course, while opposing this revisionist line was hardly against bringing the masses forward in action. The Bolsheviks constantly did so around major questions of all sorts. Neither did Lenin fail to see the connection between agitation and bringing the masses forward in action.

As for calling the masses to action, that will come of itself as soon as energetic political agitation, live and striking exposures come into play. To catch some criminal red-handed and immediately to brand him publicly in all places is of itself far more effective than any number of "calls" . . . [And Lenin also called for organizing] "wide, striking and rapid exposures of all the shameful outrages. When we do that (and we must and can do it), the most backward worker will understand, or will feel, that the students and religious sects, the peasants and the authors are being abused and outraged by those same dark forces that are oppressing and crushing him at every step of his life. Feeling that, he himself will be filled with an irresistible desire to react. . . ." (*What Is To Be Done?* 3C)

Of course this does not mean that there will or should be a struggle around everything that is the subject of agitation. There is not that kind of narrow, one-to-one relation between agitation and action. But the overall effect of agitation will be a powerful force in compelling people to action, often around a new question or outrage which is completely unrelated to the specific things exposed before. Of course the Party must seek to concentrate on promoting such major struggles, and its agitation must play a role in publicizing, popularizing and organizing them. There is a role for calls to actions, but they should not be confused with agitation which occupies an overall more important place than such calls to action.

Agitation (along with propaganda) and struggle are dialectically related. In fact, as with any unity of opposites, each aspect can be transformed into the other. Agitation can be transformed into struggle. This is the case in many examples which do not start out as a big struggle, but develop into one after being the subject of repeated sharp exposures. Also agitation itself can be a form of struggle. Lenin talk about how factory exposures—declarations of war of a sort—can greatly raise the morale of the workers, and even cause the owners to give in quickly to some demands, fearing worse consequences if they don't. And he speaks of how " . . . political exposures in themselves serve as a powerful instrument for *disintegrating* the system we oppose. . . ." (*What Is To Be Done?* 3E)

Struggle can also be transformed into agitation. Take the example of a picket line. Basically it is a form of struggle. But it contains agitation—including slogans on the picket signs. Of course the picket signs themselves can be transformed into a form of struggle—when appropriately used to knock some scab or cop upside the head. And this, in turn, is a form of "education"—for any fellow pigs and low-life scabs in the vicinity.

The current struggle in Houston against police and national oppression is a recent example of the relation

between agitation and struggle. Why did people erupt in the powerful rebellion around Cinco de Mayo? Fundamentally it was a result of a police attack and the underlying hatred for the daily oppression of the Chicano people at the hands of the system. To fail to see this, and that such rebellions will continue to take place independent of any conscious communist activity, would be to depart from the basic materialist understanding that oppression breeds resistance.

But, from the point of view of advancing the struggle, it would be an even more serious error to fail to see the relation between such resistance and the ongoing work of communists. Before the rebellion, there had been months of persistent agitation and action by the Party and other mass organizations, exposing and going straight up against the capitalists and cops around the murder of Joe Torres and combatting all sorts of reformist dead-end schemes advanced as a "solution" to police terror. This had a major effect, especially in focusing the anger of the masses against the class enemy. So it was no accident that when the people rebelled on the night of Cinco de Mayo many took up the slogan "Joe Torres dead, Cops go Free, That's what the rich call democracy" as a battle-cry against the murdering cops.

Linked to the Masses

To really play this kind of role in concentrating the deep feelings of the masses and raising their class consciousness, agitation must be revolutionary and powerful. And the masses must feel it truly speaks for them. This kind of agitation is impossible without applying the mass line and without knowing the masses—their experiences, their feelings, their language. In short, it is necessary to learn from the masses in order to educate them. Without this constant process agitation will become sterile and stereotyped, learned from a formula instead of concentrated from life.

But learning from the masses, knowing them and knowing them well as Mao puts it, is not a question of individual self-cultivation, "rubbing elbows" with the masses. Learning, too, involves agitation.

Lenin made this point, for example, when writing during an ebb period about what kind of investigation was needed to determine when a new rise of the revolutionary tide was at hand. While pointing to the need for detailed study and analysis of Russia's economic crisis, he stressed that this was not enough:

. . . if the general groundwork exists, that does not permit us to conclude whether the depression will for a time retard the mass struggle of the workers in general, or whether at a certain stage of events the same depression will not push new masses and fresh forces into the political struggle. To answer such a question there is only one way: to keep a careful finger on the pulse of the country's whole political life, and especially the state of the movement and of the mood of the mass of the proletariat.

And, in the same article, Lenin insisted that key to this was to "multiply tenfold our agitation among the mass of proletariat." His conclusion was,

Only agitation can reveal on a broad scale the real state of mind of the masses, only agitation can make for close co-operation between the Party and the whole working class, only making use for the purposes of political agitation of every strike, of every important event or issue in working-class life, of all conflicts within the ruling classes or between, one section of those classes or another and the autocracy, of every speech by a Social-Democrat [communist] in the Duma [parliament], of every new expression of the counter-revolutionary policy of the government, etc.—only work like this can once again close the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat, and provide accurate material for judging the speed with which conditions for new and more decisive battles are coming to a head. ("The Assessment of the Present Situation," *CW*, Vol. 15, pp. 278-279.)

Central Role of Agitation

All this underscores and gives broader dimension to the overall importance of agitation. In fact, for communists, agitation is key in giving revolutionary "political identity" to their work. Agitation should be the "glue" holding all their political work together. Does this mean the Party should be a propaganda sect—or an "agitation sect"? No it shouldn't be a sect of any kind. But the Party collectively and comrades individually should be (in Lenin's phrase) "tribunes of the people," and agitation is central to that.

This brings us back, from a different angle, to the statement by Lenin quoted earlier in the article that "In no way except by means of such exposures can the masses be trained in political consciousness and revolutionary activity." Even though in this same passage, Lenin was combatting the revisionist Martynov's theory of "raising the activity of the working masses," Lenin is not arguing against the principal and decisive role of struggle—including the fact that people can learn more in the course of struggle, especially broad and revolutionary struggle, than by "being told." But Lenin is arguing against a narrow conception of communists' tasks and a line of bowing to and tailing after spontaneous struggle. People need their own experience. But their own experience, and even the most correct summation of their own experience, will never reveal to them what they need to

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Vets Day Actions

VVAW Disrupts Patriotic Circuses

The official Veterans Day Ceremony was reaching its climax in Chicago on November 11. The aging hacks from patriotic veterans organizations were at stiff attention in all their rotting splendor. In a few brief moments they could pat themselves on the back for another job well done for the capitalist class. Their earlier fearful glances had turned to smug smiles as they saw the 200 angry demonstrators safely behind police lines. The nauseating strains of "The Star Spangled Banner" were almost drowning out chants of "Death to the Shah and U.S. Imperialism." Tears filled their eyes as TV cameras lapped up every chauvinistic second. Suddenly the well orchestrated scenario was shattered! A veteran, a member of VVAW, was in their midst waving a U.S. flag drenched in blood—"This is what this flag symbolizes around the world." "U.S. Imperialism Out of Iran—Death to the Shah!" "Veterans won't allow these patriotic lies, we learned the hard way what they mean." Pandemonium. "Get rid of that trouble maker." "You ruined our ceremony."

That's right, their ceremony was ruined by the combined effect of 200 demonstrators protesting U.S. imperialism's support for the Shah and the determined actions of members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. In several other cities around the country the best-laid plans of the bourgeoisie were also upset by angry veterans shouting "To Hell With Their National Honor, We Won't Be Used Again!" On Veterans Day, VVAW mounted a counter-attack to the imperialist war-mongering lies and red, white and blue hype, especially focusing in on support-

ting the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people. All of this took on particular importance because the bourgeoisie was attempting to get a lot of mileage out of this traditional patriotic day. They are acutely aware of their need to prepare the masses politically and ideologically for their next imperialist war, especially a world war with their equally imperialist Soviet rivals. (For more on this see the article in the November '78 Revolution on "Vets Struggle Against Imperialist War.")

In addition, recent events in Iran are making these questions even more immediate, as the extremely intense struggle of the Iranian masses continues to batter the Shah's regime and threaten the U.S. imperialists' bloody hooks on that country, and as the possibility of direct U.S. troop intervention increases.

"An Awkward Reminder"

The national Veterans Day ceremony in Washington, D.C. typified the message our rulers wanted to present. As last month's Revolution article indicated, the bourgeoisie would "be attempting to glorify and justify past imperialist wars and pave the way for future ones." Sure enough, with pious sanctity Jimmy Carter filled the bill admirably as he pushed the ever-

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The VVAW hit God-and-country ceremonies in cities across the country. Here the VVAW demonstrates in the S.F. Bay Area (above) while "official" vets in Chicago nervously eye the much larger contingent of anti-Shah demonstrators across the street.

Crown Heights, N.Y.

Thugs in Blue Kill Again

For the last six months, New York City's Crown Heights, a predominantly Black neighborhood in Brooklyn, has been the scene of intense struggle between the masses and the system of police murder and repression.

On last June 14 Arthur Miller, a Black businessman, was strangled in a melee that involved over 40 cops. At that point thousands took matters into their own hands, taking to the streets demanding justice for Miller, linking what happened to him with many other examples of police harassment, abuse and murder of Black people and making a demand for an end to police terror.

The bourgeoisie has tried in various ways to divert and disarm this struggle. One of their earlier and less slick maneuvers was to set up a Grand Jury investigation into Miller's "death." "Don't worry," they piously promised, "We'll see that there's justice." Despite the attempts by various opportunist, self-appointed Black "leaders" and phony socialists to push reliance on the rulers' court system, the struggle has continued.

The Grand Jury decision itself reveals what a farce reliance on capitalist justice is. The report, released in a very low-key way, completely exonerated the pigs, calling this cold-blooded murder "a tragic accident." This is flaunting the pigs' license to kill Black people. Only days after this ruling a 30-year-old Black woman was gunned down in the streets of Crown Heights.

Grand Jury Whitewash

This "tragic accident" is a glaring exposure of how little the lives of the oppressed are worth to the police and the system they are hired to protect.

Arthur Miller, the vicious criminal it took 48 cops to subdue, lost his life to a pile of garbage and a traffic ticket. (The cops were harassing Miller's brother about some garbage on the streets and they discovered that his driver's license

and registration were expired. Miller, a businessman famed for good relations with the police, objected to his brother's being arrested over this petty b.s. A fight broke out and Miller was strangled to death.)

Here's how the Grand Jury and the District Attorney come up with their innocent verdict. First, they lie and say that while Miller did various acts of damage to police and private property he was never savagely beaten. Second, they say the police used, "uniformly recommended police procedure"—since the police are taught to choke people, then choking Miller was fine. Their logic continues: the fact that Miller died of choking doesn't mean that he was murdered—he just happened to die while the police were doing their job. That's not their fault. This shows just how impartial and democratic these kangaroo courts are.

The day after this decision came down the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) was out in Crown Heights handing out leaflets condemning the Grand Jury decision. When they burned a life-sized effigy of a cop, they were thrown up against a police car and arrested. The police and their masters who were trying to keep this decision under wraps were very uptight about it being exposed to the masses of people.

When the RCYB people were taken off to the police station they were forced to leave a stack of their newspaper, *Revolutionary Communist Youth*, on the sidewalk. But youths who had been watching the whole thing picked up the papers and started distributing them to all who had gathered round.

Avenge the Murder of Marion Johnson

Then, on November 14, police shot a 30-year-old Black woman, Marion Johnson, in cold blood. They shot her twice at close range and while she was lying in the street shot her three more times. As one witness said, "Damn!

She was murdered worse than one would a dog." Press coverage around this event was revealing—there wasn't any, except for one short article in one of the three major papers that was pulled after one edition. The bourgeoisie feared that this murder would unleash the same kind of mass movement as when Arthur Miller was killed. But the tack the press took in the one article they did print shows how the rulers are going to play this one. "The cop had no choice but to kill that crazy woman with a knife." They say she was crazy so she had to die.

But let's look at the way the system dealt with one of their own "crazy" people, a cop named Robert Torsney, who killed a 15-year-old Black youth, Randy Evans, without even breaking stride. He was acquitted of murder due to psychiatric testimony and spent a year in a mental institution. Now that the heat is off him in that particular murder, they are letting him out and giving him a pension for life.

Whether or not Marion Johnson had mental problems is not the issue. And having the knife, which witnesses never saw, is also beside the point. She was murdered like so many other Black and minority people in the streets of the cities as part of the capitalist class' terror aimed at enforcing their national oppression.

The bourgeoisie is blowing up a wind that Marion Johnson was a nut, a nobody, that she deserved to die or that her death was of no importance.

They couldn't quite do this with Arthur Miller because he was a businessman and a community figure. But the people do not and will not draw that distinction. The death of Marion Johnson, the death of Arthur Miller, like the deaths of countless others, will not go unavenged. This is clearly the mood in Crown Heights as evidenced by the popular response to leaflets put out by the *Worker* for the New York/New Jersey Area and by the RCYB, exposing this latest vicious murder. ■

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High Stakes In NATO War Games

This fall more than 300,000 NATO personnel engaged in more than 30 maneuvers from Norway to Turkey. The Autumn Forge series, as the annual "war games" carried out in Western Europe are called, were initiated four years ago by General Alexander Haig, the Commander of U.S. and NATO forces in Europe, in order to get the NATO countries' armed forces working together as a "team" under a "common scenario."

These "war games" featured simulations of real life war actions as thousands of NATO troops staged an "invasion" of an island in the North Sea, which was supposed to simulate a NATO invasion of a Soviet-occupied Norway. During these "games" 12 GI's and 15 West German civilians were killed,

many of them crushed by military vehicles, and many more may be killed in the future because quantities of explosive munitions were lost throughout maneuver areas; and there was at least \$10 million in property damages in the "host" countries, including substantial destruction of roads and crops.

This year's Autumn Series involved the largest U.S. participation in such maneuvers since World War II. On top of the 210,000 man U.S. Seventh Army stationed in West Germany, more than 10,000 marines were airlifted from stateside bases to demonstrate the U.S. capacity to respond quickly to any potential war situation. It was also the first time that the Marine Corps deployed an entire reserve battalion on a NATO exercise.

With these fall maneuvers barely over, the U.S.-NATO command is gearing up for the first winter military exercises since 1973 (which will involve another massive airlift of U.S. troops across the Atlantic). The Soviet social-imperialists, for their part, have not been sitting idle. In recent months the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact forces have staged their own large-scale military maneuvers in Central Europe, further underscoring the seriousness of the growing contention between the two imperialist superpowers.

Since the end of the Vietnam war, U.S. military emphasis has shifted from Southeast Asia to Europe. The importance of Europe to the U.S. imperialists was expressed by Deputy Secretary Charles W. Duncan, Jr.: "In this day

and age, the defense of Europe and the defense of the United States has become one and the same thing..." Europe contains the single greatest concentration of industry in the world and is the biggest prize in the sharpening conflict between the U.S. and USSR for world hegemony. For these reasons, as well as its strategic geographical position, Europe will undoubtedly be the major focus of a third world war if and when it breaks out.

These maneuvers are vital to both the U.S. imperialists and their West European imperialist allies. Anger and popular opposition has been particularly widespread in West Germany, where there were organized protests, as well as many individual acts of resistance to the maneuvers, such as wagons and tractors parked across roadways and bridges.

There is growing sentiment among American GI's against the "war games," as well as general dissatisfaction with the idea of being used as cannon fodder for the ruling class. This has especially deepened since the Vietnam war and all that it, as well as the struggle waged against it, revealed about who such wars of aggression are really being fought for.

Despite all the talk of detente or arms limitations, the U.S. and the Soviet Union are being driven towards another world war by the contradictions inherent in their imperialist systems. These "war games" are essential to the U.S. imperialists in their preparations for World War III and are only the prelude to more intense preparations in the coming years as the U.S. and the USSR get ready for the real thing.

VVAW . . .

Continued from page 5

increasing theme of the Vietnam veteran whose "service to our country has not been adequately realized," and declared that ensuring peace means preparing for war. He then attempted to blame the American people for "not welcoming back" the Vietnam vet who was "an awkward reminder" of that war. But, in reality he was speaking only for his own class. The vast majority of the American people have no hatred for the Vietnam veteran, and it is only the bourgeoisie who fears and despises that "awkward reminder" of deserting troops, fringed officers, medals hurled at the White House, and continuing struggle against the imperialist system and its wars.

In fact, the presence of this so-called "awkward reminder" caused the bourgeoisie to go through not a few changes in their traditional Veterans Day hoopla. In some places this just involved lots of cops and tight security, but in other cities all public activities have given way to safer forms, like newspaper editorials, TV coverage of national proceedings, and so forth. As a prime example the Vets Day parade in San Francisco, which last November was a scene of horror for the bourgeoisie as VVAW militantly exposed their chauvinistic demagoguery to the cheers of thousands (see the December '77 *Revolution*, Vol. 3, No. 3), was conveniently cancelled for "lack of funds."

In the San Francisco Bay Area the VVAW chapter switched their battle ground to San Jose and turned the local parade and build-up into a real class fight. VVAW was everywhere in the city—shopping centers, intersections, unemployment offices, etc.—soon the media couldn't talk about Veterans Day without dealing with the "anti-war veterans planning to march." The parade itself was turned upside down as the majority of people along the parade route united with VVAW, taking leaflets, buying literature and donating money. Even the swarms of local cops felt it politically unwise to carry out any of the threatened repression.

In Detroit the presence and agitation by VVAW members so unnerved the speaker on the reviewing stand that he had to insist that people should help heal the wounds of the Vietnam conflict

and stop worrying about who profits from war. In these and other cities, everywhere VVAW went they became that "awkward reminder" that Carter and his whole class are so terrified of. As one VVAW member put it, "We're looking forward to the day when the capitalists won't be safe in any city on Veterans Day, or on any other day."

Revealing Action by Sham VVAW

The fact that VVAW was able to take a clear-cut and militant stand this Veterans Day is not unconnected with the struggle VVAW has waged against certain former officers (led by Menshevik splitters from the RCP) who have set up a sham "VVAW." In Chicago, a truly disgusting display showed exactly where the line of these opportunists has led them. While VVAW was militantly challenging the patriotic ceremony and joining with the larger demonstration demanding "U.S. Out of Iran" and "Death to the Shah," the sham "VVAW" conducted their own respectful junior league version of the American Legion ceremony in full dress uniform. Instead of confronting the bourgeoisie's political attacks on Veterans Day, these imposters simply whined "we've had enough" and begged for health care for Agent Orange victims. Of course, their literature didn't even mention the Vietnamese victims of this poison.

As they laid their orange (yes, orange!) wreath beside the eternal flame, these opportunists scurried about to the press declaring that "we wouldn't go in and disrupt the American Legion ceremony." Even more they sputtered, "We're the real VVAW and we have all the legal papers that prove we are recognized by the U.S. government." To which we can only add, "Amen!"

After this scurrying to disassociate themselves from revolutionary action, and confident they wouldn't be photographed, this crew briefly trailed behind the anti-imperialist demonstration unenthusiastically mouthing the slogans. Their lack of enthusiasm can be explained by a comment of the leading Menshevik, M. Jarvis—who mumbled to a member of VVAW shouting "Death to the Shah" and "Fight, Fight, Fight the Shah"—to "not worry, the Soviets are doing that for you." With a line like this they could easily end up on the podium of next year's officially sanctioned patriotic show. ■

Civil Defense Plan Farce

From the Workers Press Service

President Carter recently announced a "crisis relocation program" to evacuate the country's cities in the event of all-out nuclear war. Supposedly this \$5 billion "civil defense program" would save about 60 million people who might otherwise be killed without it. With the program "only" some 80 million people would perish.

It is ridiculous—as well as down right criminal—for the government to be talking about saving lives while they are preparing for nuclear war. Actually, this whole program is mainly a shuck anyway. Supposedly with two weeks warning every major city in the U.S. could be evacuated. One needn't wonder what either the U.S. or the Soviets would do if their opponent started emptying out all its population centers! Such a move wouldn't be seen as "defensive" at all, but rather as tantamount to a declaration of war.

The main purpose of launching this type of "evacuation program" is to prepare public opinion in the U.S. to go to war. After years of telling the people that nuclear war was "unthinkable" and would "destroy the world" now they are saying not only isn't it unthinkable but you better damn well get ready for it. And getting ready, of course, translates into "support our war preparations."

The ruling class like to talk about civil defense programs and defense spending—they even call their war-making apparatus the Department of Defense! They do this because they want the people to believe that their war plans are in the interest of the whole people, workers and capitalists alike. We may fight each other every day, they tell us, but when it comes to war, well then we're all in the same boat.

But the fact of the matter is the only defense they are interested in is the defense of their worldwide empire of profits and plunder—and if it takes a world war to protect it against the Soviets who need to expand their own empire—then so be it.

What would the workers in this country, or for that matter in the Soviet Union, have to defend if and when a world war breaks out? Certainly not the hides of their overlords who brought down such a monstrous event in the first place! The only thing the working class, in each of the warring countries, would have to defend is its own class in-

terests. These interests would demand that the workers increase their struggle ten fold against the exploiters and fight to turn the war between two bloodsoaked imperialist vultures into a different kind of war—revolutionary war against their own imperialists which would replace the rule of the capitalists with the rule of the workers.

A third world war is not a pretty thought, and most of us would like to put it completely out of our minds. But the real and growing probability of a world war in the next ten years or so is something that we cannot and should not hide from. Whether the war involves nuclear weapons or not there will be no "shelter" for the masses of people from this horror of capitalism. Our rulers are making their preparations and we must make our own. One thing is for certain, the only way out of the recurrence of a global holocaust every few decades will be when the working class succeeds in wiping out imperialism from the face of the globe. ■

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Jim Jones: In His Master's Image

Over 900 people, men, women and children, followers of Jim Jones and his Peoples Temple church, dead in Guyana. The events leading up to this, horrible in themselves, are even more a sickening exposure of the bourgeoisie and their system.

Even the way the bourgeoisie, through its media, purveys the news of these events provides its own exposure. Banner headlines shriek out the newest "sensation." Stories are adorned with all the most grotesque details, and illustrated with the most shocking photos obtainable. Rival cameramen scramble for the most gruesome pictures, and newsmen for the most morbid tidbit.

The 900 deaths in Guyana are focused on and the gruesome story is pushed and promoted in every way—while last September these same bourgeois media were refusing to report the deaths of over 10,000 people in righteous struggle against the Shah of Iran. Martyrs' deaths in the revolutionary struggle against the chains of imperialism—truly "weightier than Mount Tai"—are something the bourgeoisie wants to cover up, but senseless deaths like those in Guyana can be useful to these vultures.

Bourgeois "Explanations"

The story of these deaths is used to put out the line that such an event is bizarre and inexplicable, to promote a general sense of horror and the message that the world cannot be understood. "Too horrible to imagine—too weird to be true" is how a Hong Kong newspaper headlined the deaths, while *Newsweek* calls it "a tragedy that strained all comprehension," whose explanation "could be drawn only from the murky pathology of madness and mass indoctrination."

The ruling class of this country, of course, is very interested in promoting the idea that the world in general, and events like this in particular, are inexplicable because a real explanation and understanding would show their own general reactionary and parasitic nature and their responsibility for horrors like this as well. So insofar as they do attempt to give an explanation, they try to shift the blame away from themselves and their system, attempting to put the blame for such horror and madness on the people themselves.

The Peoples Temple members, the bourgeoisie say through their newspapers and other media, are "lonely, depressed, unattached," "not well socially integrated in the first place," and so forth. Because of such "psychological defects," these people blindly follow any crazy cult or leader that offers some sense of belonging, even thirsting to be subjugated and tormented.

At the same time, it is also insinuated that Jones was some kind of socialist. A former member is quoted as saying that Jones thought he was "the reincarnation of Lenin." Other newspaper articles describe Jones as a "Marxist" and his colony in Guyana as "socialist."

Or, as another alternative, attention is focused on Jones himself, his "magnetic personality," "charisma," and ability to dominate others—or on his control or "brainwashing" techniques. As one columnist put it, "We can go from an individual Patty Hearst to the 'group self' of a Jonestown to, until just recently, an entire country like China—yes, Virginia, there is mind control!"

Yes, the whole episode is one of madness. But the madness and horror of Peoples Temple is not a mysterious and inexplicable aberration, nor is it the result of psychological weaknesses of the masses or deep understanding of "mind control" techniques on the part of Jim Jones. It comes out of the decay of capitalism, which forces millions, especially the poor and the oppressed nationalities, into lives without hope and meaning, anxiously and angrily looking for a way out.

Rev. Jones tried to ride on this kind of anger and anxiety to make a career for himself. He was certainly no socialist, even of the utopian variety. What he sometimes called "socialism" was a

mish-mash of religious myth, personal cult and face-lift reformist programs. In his political activities he served the interests of the bourgeoisie, preaching "benevolence," "brotherhood" and dead-end solutions.

Jones and the Bourgeoisie

The bourgeoisie and their media, of course, like the by-now seasoned pimps that they are, like to work both sides of the street. On the one side they daintily hold their nose at the stench of Jones and his deeds—while on the other side they promote Jones and his like with both hands.

In fact Jones himself was promoted by them in the most unabashed way. The reason the bourgeoisie has been a bit hesitant about playing up the line that he was a "socialist" is that Jones had extensive ruling class connections. The recently deceased Mayor Moscone of San Francisco appointed Jones to the Housing Authority there, and then successfully pushed to have him made chairman. California Governor Jerry Brown was among the many prominent politicians who visited the church, coming away with praise for what Jones was doing. Jones' colony in Guyana was itself set up with the direct aid of the U.S. ruling class. After the mass deaths, the Guyanese government made public a list of prominent U.S. bourgeois representatives, including Rosalyn Carter, whose favorable comments on Jones and the Peoples Temple had been submitted as character references.

These included letters from the late Senator Hubert Humphrey, as well as other senators, congressmen and California officials. Secretary of HEW Califano wrote that "those who are most familiar with the works of Peoples Temple and your pastor, Mr. Jim Jones, speak glowingly of the numerous social programs your church has established in meeting every type of human need." And Vice-president Mondale said that "knowing of the congregation's deep involvement in the major social and constitutional issues of our country... is a great inspiration to me."

Jones and the Peoples Temple definitely were involved in "social programs," and an examination of the way in which he was involved will show that these ruling class politicians had good reason to praise him.

The Peoples Temple

The Peoples Temple originated in Indianapolis, Indiana in the mid-50s. It was affiliated from beginning to end with the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), a mainline Protestant denomination with a membership of over 1.3 million. In Indianapolis, the church was mainly noted for its interracial congregation, and in 1961 Jones was appointed executive director of the city's Human Rights Commission.

Later the same year Jones left to be a missionary in Brazil, returned to Indianapolis two years later, then moved his church, along with 145 followers, to Ukiah, California. From there he branched out to San Francisco and later to Los Angeles.

San Francisco became his base, with a church in the Fillmore district, a rundown, predominantly Black ghetto. Here the Peoples Temple appealed to people, both Black and white, as a haven from the disgusting and pervasive racism promoted by the bourgeoisie throughout society. The church also offered various services—"survival programs," providing food, clothing, legal and medical services, recreational and educational programs, drug counselling, etc. Some of these programs were modeled on some similar activities the Black Panther Party had sponsored in the Bay Area. This was another of Jones' cynical efforts to wrap himself in progressive garb while carrying out completely counter-revolutionary activities. Jones also offered more supernatural services, in the form of faith-healing, with "cures" of everything from arthritis to cancer—all the way up to raising from the dead. In return, church

members were required to provide Jones sexual favors, act as shock troops for bourgeois politicians Jones was hooked up to, and were pressured into turning over everything from social security checks to houses to this petty huckster.

Peoples Temple was involved in numerous political activities. Besides supporting bourgeois politicians like Moscone and Carter, Jones would tail and promote any organization or campaign that could offer a thin veneer of "socialism" on whatever was safely reformist, including ones openly led by revisionists. (It seems that Jones even thought of moving his colony from Guyana to the USSR.)

The church voiced support for liberation in southern Africa, the Wilmington 10, the Pendleton 14, the movement against the Bakke decision, etc. This was part of the reason why Jones was able to get a large following from the Fillmore District, and from others among the poor and oppressed nationalities in the San Francisco Bay Area. But while riding on the people's just hatred of the chains of oppression, Jones always promoted a totally bourgeois line with regard to these struggles. An anti-revolutionary, anti-people outlook and line is "the tie that binds" all his activities together. In the I-Hotel fight in San Francisco, for instance, he claimed support for the struggle of the tenants, at one time bringing 500 followers to a demonstration. But he always preached reliance on liberal politicians, pushing the Mayor's effort to sidetrack the struggle in the phony plan for the tenants to buy back the hotel. No wonder Mayor Moscone called him a "peacemaker." And no wonder that Jones' high wooden pulpit was flanked by a copy of the U.S. Constitution and a picture of Martin Luther King.

Bourgeois World Outlook and Christianity

Jones' line was one of picturing the masses as passive and stupid, in need of condescending saviors in the person of bourgeois politicians or himself. In this he was no different from a hundred other opportunists who betray and mislead the masses at every turn. It is thus no surprise that just such another opportunist, Jesse Jackson, should say of Jones after the revelation of the mass murders and suicides in Guyana, that "I would hope that all the good he did will not be discounted because of this tremendous tragedy."

Jones' political line and program have been proclaimed to be "Revolutionary Christian Socialism" by Peoples Temple lawyer Charles Garry and others. As should be clear by this point, it is neither revolutionary nor socialist. But it certainly is Christian. The line that the masses are essentially bad and must be redeemed by a savior, which runs all through Jones' preaching and practice—this is an integral part of the Christian ideology, and is one reason why the bourgeoisie finds it so useful. Other essential aspects of Christianity (as of religion in general) are self-abnegation and an essentially passive attitude toward the world (since the "real" world is not this one anyway, but a supposed spiritual one). Could these two attitudes have any clearer and more revealing expression than the mass suicides which were the culmination of Rev. Jones' line?

There was, of course, a process of development of Jones' line and within the Peoples Temple. Because his mixture of religion and reformist politics could not satisfy the real interests and aspirations of the people, disenchantment grew among the membership, and Jones had to resort more and more to beatings and coercion to maintain his grip. He also became more isolated from reality, an isolation which took a leap when he took off for the jungles of Guyana.

Here there was not even the pretence of social activism. The members that he had managed to convince to come to Guyana became increasingly dissatisfied with this so-called "paradise" on


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Peoples Temple Ministry

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Despite allegations that he was a "Marxist," this 1976 flyer shows Jones' real stock-in-trade: the same sort of religious garbage purveyed by thousands of petty hucksters who perpetuate this variety of bourgeois ideology.

earth. Jones became more crazy and fanatical, deteriorating both mentally and physically. The congressional investigating team was only the external condition that allowed the internal contradictions of the Peoples Temple to assert their horrible reality.

The Peoples Temple was itself merely an expression of the contradictions of capitalism, and the whole episode stands as a sickening exposure of the rotten core of bourgeois society. It was the contradictions of capitalist society that caused the senseless death of more than 900 people—as they do every day of the year. The Peoples Temple affair is certainly bizarre in its particularities. But not in its essence. Every year over 5,000 people between the ages of 15 and 25 commit suicide in the U.S.; the suicide rate in this country is higher than the homicide rate.

The bourgeoisie, through their mad pursuit of profit, through the structure which their rule inescapably imposes upon society, constantly cause thousands upon thousands of senseless deaths in the U.S. And this is besides the tens of millions who have been slaughtered in imperialist wars of aggression and inter-imperialist strife, wars in which the capitalists promote the senselessness of workers laying down their lives for the bourgeoisie as a virtue (for which they are to be rewarded in the here-after). It is these same capitalists who mutter pious phrases and throw up their hands in mock horror at the events in Guyana which their own social rule has spawned.

And more. How, the bourgeoisie asks, could they do it? How could all these people just lay down their lives? "Perhaps the greatest horror in the scene lay in the realization that more or less ordinary people had been so indoctrinated," says *Newsweek*.

Power of Ideology

Indeed, these deaths do show the power of ideology. Of course, not everyone committed suicide. There were armed guards, and many did not drink the poison voluntarily. But many did. And why should the bourgeois ideologues find it so strange that they did? Doesn't the ruling class "indoctrinate" people to act contrary to their own class interests every day of the year? Didn't the imperialists laud the "indoctrinated" soldier who would throw his life away at Vietnam's "Hamburger Hill" in an effort that was recognized by everyone at the time as senseless? In fact, hasn't the bourgeoisie itself been lauding and promoting the whole evangelist movement—from Jimmy "Born Again" Carter to "cults" not really different from the Peoples Temple?

In truth, ideology is a strong force. Human beings deliberately give up their lives all the time. It is not such a strange phenomenon. The question is not whether people should ever die voluntarily. The question is, what is worth dying for? For the bourgeoisie or one of

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Agitation . . .

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know to make revolution. These points were dealt with at length in the article "Sharpen Weapon of the Party's Press," (*Revolution*, June 1978) but it should be pointed out again that it is impossible to do revolutionary work in today's non-revolutionary situation, to strain at the limits of the objective situation, simply by building the struggles that are going on today or merely—even mainly—doing agitation and propaganda directly in relation to them. All-around revolutionary work is impossible without maximizing the role of revolutionary agitation and propaganda in relation to every sort of event in society.

All this becomes clearer still when we grasp that in today's situation, communist work is preparatory work—building up strength for the revolutionary showdown that lies ahead. (In the future, in a revolutionary situation, agitation will play a role on an even greater scale. It will be crucial in reaching broad sections of the masses, rousing their energy, heroism and enthusiasm and focusing their efforts on the most important tasks of the hour, as the situation develops through intense and rapid twists and turns. Today the work is preparatory in a different and more long-term sense.) In combatting narrow views of such "preparation," Lenin said:

We ask our Economists: What do they mean by "the gathering of working class strength for the struggle?" Is it not evident that this means the political training of the workers, so that all the aspects of our vile autocracy are revealed to them? (*What Is To Be Done?*, 3E)

This kind of all-around work is impossible without broad revolutionary agitation.

Propaganda

Grasping today's period as one of preparation also sheds light on the role and importance of propaganda today. Whether in the form of carrying out exposures, analyzing developments in the various movements or society as a whole, or of directly propagating Marxism, propaganda is at all times a crucial part of the struggle against the bourgeoisie and its grip on the masses. There are many questions and topical issues that demand the more thoroughgoing illumination that only propaganda can provide. Today, for example, such questions as "Buy America," immigration and "illegals," and inflation—just to name a few—are on the minds of many and are the constant subject of reactionary propaganda by the bourgeoisie. While each of these questions and many others must be the subject of agitation, such questions also clearly demand to be taken up in propaganda. In this way the reactionary theories and "explanations" of the bourgeoisie can be dissected, the root of these questions in capitalist society can be traced, and their links to the present imperialist crisis and the need for socialist revolution can be shown in an all-around way.

But today there is a more general reason for giving special attention to propaganda, though agitation now should play a more central role in the Party's work. Because this is a period of preparation and not a period in which giant forces are being drawn around and into the Party, it is a period in which special effort can and must be made in training the advanced forces—including training them in the science of Marxism-Leninism and the line of the Party. This requires a leap in understanding, and in this leap propaganda plays the key part. This does not mean that training the advanced can be isolated from mass struggle or from the tasks of doing all-around exposure of the system (mainly through agitation) and raising the general level of consciousness of the masses. It cannot. But exactly because propaganda (which includes spreading the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought) involves many ideas and more thoroughly goes into basic questions such as the inevitability of crisis and the laws of imperialism, it plays the decisive part in enabling people to get a clear grasp of the stand, outlook and method of Marxism.

This does not imply propaganda is only for the advanced and agitation for the broad masses. For one thing, even though propaganda will, as Lenin put it, "be understood as an integral whole only by a (comparatively) few persons" it will be understood in part by quite a few more. The questions dealt with by communist propaganda are not academic and esoteric, but are questions that deeply affect the lives of the broad masses. Propaganda and agitation must be closely linked, not falsely separated. Lenin argued against the view

... that a workers' newspaper should devote its pages exclusively to matters that immediately and directly concern the spontaneous working-class movement, and leave everything pertaining to theory of socialism, science, politics, questions of Party organization, etc., to a periodical for the intelligentsia. On the contrary, it is necessary to combine all the concrete facts and manifestations of the working-class movement with the indicated questions; the light of theory must be cast upon every separate fact; propaganda on questions of politics and Party organization must be carried on among the broad masses of the working class; and these questions must be dealt with in the work of agitation. ("Draft of a Declaration Of the Editorial Board of *Iskra* and *Zarya*," *CW*, Vol. 4, p. 326.)

Forever Uphold and Resolutely Defend The Great Banner of Chairman Mao

Editor's Note: Our Party received the following statement with the above title shortly after October 1. Of course it is not possible to absolutely verify its authenticity. While we cannot rule out the possibility that it is a forgery, written by forces opposed to the revolutionary line in China, nevertheless the actual line it puts forward is certainly consistent with the revolutionary line of Mao and the Four and with the sentiments of millions in China and worldwide who support their line. The translation from Chinese is ours.

The founder of the great Chinese Communist Party and the great People's Republic of China, the great leader and teacher, Chairman Mao Tsetung passed away two years ago. After Chairman Mao's death, renegades inside the proletarian headquarters collaborated with the counter-revolutionary revisionists and the counter-revolutionary capitalist-roaders to launch a counter-revolutionary *coup d'état*, smashing the proletarian headquarters that upheld Chairman Mao's red banner. As a result, the revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party has experienced the most serious setback in its history of revolution, facing a crisis that could send the Party and the country to its deathbed, killing millions. The situation facing the revolution concretely exhibits the following characteristics:

1. The unrepentant capitalist-roaders within the Party are carrying out a full-scale capitalist restoration, attacking the Cultural Revolution and reversing its verdicts.
2. The unrepentant capitalist-roaders within the Party are blatantly attacking Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line. Using "Oppose Individual Worship" and "Oppose Metaphysics" as a cover, they are trying to fundamentally negate Mao Tsetung Thought.
3. The unrepentant capitalist-roaders inside the Party are engaged in a full-scale grab for power. They have launched fascist, bloody suppression of comrades who uphold the red banner of Chairman Mao's revolutionary Thought. They have instigated white terror for class revenge.
4. In order to expand their counter-revolutionary forces, the unrepentant capitalist-roaders inside the Party are now taking in other traitors, even changing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on foreign policy, surrendering before imperialists and reactionaries in other countries. They are carrying out a line of selling out China, that betrays internationalism and betrays the Chinese people's revolution.
5. Within the counter-revolutionary clique that seized state power, they are divided—each of them are playing tricks, unsatisfied with the uneven division of power. Hence, the splitting and fighting among them grows more and more serious and intense.
6. Comrades who uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line have in every area and district engaged in toe-to-toe battle against those counter-revolutionary forces inside the Party, and have dealt heavy blows to these class enemies.

During this celebration of the 29th anniversary of the People's Republic of China, we must solemnly commemorate the immortal and historic contributions of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung, and firmly recognize that the banner of Chairman Mao is the banner of victory—if we follow the Thought and line of Chairman Mao, the revolution in our country will go on to victory, but if we don't the revolution in our country will suffer setback and defeat. Now, in the face of stepped-up suppression and attacks by the counter-revolutionary clique on the comrades who uphold Chairman Mao's line, in the face of the open betrayal of Chairman Mao's line and Thought by this counter-revolutionary clique, we have the necessity to issue the following urgent call and suggestions to the whole Party and the whole country:

- 1a. Resolutely defend the victories of the Cultural Revolution, which was led by Chairman Mao himself—don't allow those unrepentant capitalist-roaders to reverse the verdicts of the Cultural Revolution and attack the Cultural Revolution. We should apply the methods of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to unite over 95% of the revolutionary masses, to stop those renegades, hidden traitors and capitalist-roaders from seizing the power of our Party, our army and our state.
- 2a. Don't give recognition to any post or power in Party and state that has been seized by the hacks of the counter-revolutionary clique—Hua Kuo-feng, Teng Hsiao-ping, Yeh Chien-ying, Li Hsien-nien. Don't recognize all illegal documents that are published by them. Unite all comrades in the Party and all the people of our country to boycott them on a full scale and denounce them.
- 3a. Resolutely rescue those who were loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line but got condemned as the "Gang of Four" and were slandered and suppressed. Stop the class enemy's white terror. Use violence to suppress counter-revolutionary violence. Swear to avenge those comrades who fell while defending Chairman Mao's line.
- 4a. Resolutely stop all attempts by the counter-revolutionary clique to collaborate with imperialism, international revisionism, and reactionaries in other countries, to change the color of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China. Resolutely refuse recognition of any agreement between them and foreigners that betrays Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on foreign policy.
- 5a. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is an army of the sons and daughters of the Chinese people, and was founded personally by Chairman Mao. It's the cornerstone of the proletariat. We should not let the counter-revolutionary clique use rectification of the Army as an excuse to purge and persecute those People's Liberation Army comrades who are loyal to Chairman Mao's military line. We should firmly hold the gun in our hands, to carry on thoroughly the revolution of the proletariat, knock down those renegades, hidden traitors and unrepentant capitalist roaders, stomp on them and never let them rise up.

*The Overseas Headquarters of Comrades in the Chinese Communist Party
Who Defend Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line
October 1, 1978*

Of course Lenin did not mush everything together and made distinctions according to the needs of the struggle and of different sections (both in regards to class composition and political understanding) of the masses. The "declaration" quoted above was in fact introducing two publications one of which he said "should serve mainly for propaganda" and the other "mainly for agitation."

Today our Party also publishes various kinds of literature, including different periodicals. *Revolution*, the organ of our Party's Central Committee, contains chiefly propaganda. Its main audience is advanced workers, Party supporters and other revolutionary-minded people, as well as Party members, and it seeks especially to answer the questions most decisive for them and for organizing the Party's work. The *Worker* newspapers, on the other hand, reach a broader audience; their overall role is political exposure and they contain mainly agitational articles along with some important propaganda. This is not a matter of a division between talking down and high falutin' academics. It is aimed at moving struggle and consciousness forward. Mao also said,

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

By arming the masses with an understanding of the basis of events in society (and the Party's actions) and by arming them with a scientific outlook, propaganda plays an important role. The Party cannot adopt the view that revolution will be made by a "conscious" Party leading the "blind" masses in struggle against their oppression. This is nothing but the "heroes make history" line. Through the work of the Party, both learning and leading, and together with the development of the objective situation, larger and larger sections of the masses must become increasingly class conscious and armed with revolutionary science.

This is certainly important to stress in the U.S. today. This is so both because of the influence of revisionism-internationally and because of the strong pull of pragmatism historically in this country—"never mind the reasons; if it works, do it." This leads to a weakening of Marxist propaganda and a downplaying of theoretical work, which provides the underpinning and much material for both propaganda and agitation. There can be no revolutionary Party that does not

make a radical rupture in theory and practice with this whole approach.

One reflection of this thinking, which has found its way into our own ranks, especially with the right-idealism and economism of the departed Mensheviks, is the downplaying of the importance of propagandizing among the broad masses against the influence of opportunist lines. While it is true that no opportunist group exerts wide influence among the masses at this time, it would be a dumb joke to think that we live in a vacuum—which contains only the Party, the masses and the bourgeoisie. It would be even more foolish to think that in the minds of the masses the Revolutionary Communist Party is the first and only group they ever heard of that calls itself revolutionary. Especially those workers who are most awakening to political life are likely to be aware of or even influenced by several different groups, including opportunists. But, if correctly understood and acted on, this can be turned from a bad thing into a good thing. Marxism and an understanding of Marxism develops in struggle against bourgeois ideology, including phony Marxism and other opportunism. And the viewpoint and interests of the proletariat become clearer in contrast to the views and interests of other classes. When propaganda is developed that exposes opportunist lines and their class basis, this struggle between Marxism and opportunism can greatly raise the class consciousness of advanced workers and bring them closer to the Party.

Propaganda and agitation must today be closely linked together and expanded in their scope in order for the Party to truly meet its responsibilities to the struggle. And those responsibilities are great and expanding, both in uniting with and developing today's movement and in safeguarding the future, upholding the revolutionary interests of the working class.

Revolutionary agitation and propaganda are weapons of a special sort. They are weapons in smashing the chains of the pessimistic, revisionist view described by Lenin as: "That struggle is desirable which is possible, and the struggle which is possible is that which is going on at the present moment." (*What Is To Be Done?* 2C) They enable the Party to relate closely to today's key events of society and to the present level of struggle without being chained to this level, without revolving everything around it. They are key in enabling the Party to awaken, stimulate, and inspire the exploited and oppressed who are hungry for a way out of this torment of capitalism. Agitation and propaganda are vital in nourishing the seeds of the future in the movement of today. ■

Chicago Worker Conference

Mobilizing for Bi-Weekly Worker

What is the role of the Party press? What does it mean to make the *Worker* a social force? These questions and many more dealing with various aspects of the *Worker* newspaper were enthusiastically discussed at a recent local conference, sponsored by the Revolutionary Communist Party in Chicago.

The conference, called "The Role of the Party Press in the Struggle of the Working Class for Revolution," was held to launch a major advance for the *Worker* for the Chicago-Gary area—publishing every two weeks instead of monthly. The meeting was built for broadly among advanced workers and other Party supporters and readers of the *Worker*. Over 85 people turned out to participate and to join in the task of building the bi-weekly *Worker*—a task that successfully began in November with the first local bi-weekly issue.

The *Worker* is now published locally in 19 cities across the country with a central news service, broadly putting forward the Party's line to the masses of workers. Since the defeat of the Menshevik clique and after much struggle on the part of Party members to repudiate revisionism, including around the role of the Party press, a good situation is now developing where comrades are increasingly wielding the *Worker* as a weapon of the Party, carrying out revolutionary agitation among the broad masses and acting as tribunes of the people. For this work to continue to advance, the *Worker* has to come out more frequently and right now in Chicago this meant taking the step of going bi-weekly.

What was the key link to taking this step? This was a question of some struggle. One view was that the key link to going bi-weekly was that distribution must increase dramatically before the *Worker* could be put out bi-weekly. Distribution had increased and must increase still more. But this line reflected an incorrect grasp on the role of the *Worker*. It did not go from the starting point of the importance of carrying out broad exposures and the understanding that doing more timely exposures "hot on the heels" of the events in society was necessary to carry out this task better. And further, that being more timely, lively, topical and useful to the proletariat and masses would spark further advances in distribution.

Political Line Key

Grasping the political line on the role of the Party press was key. What had to be grasped was the understanding that developing the *Worker* as a real force in the city—the voice of the Party among the broad masses—was necessary to advancing the work of the Party overall. Without strengthening this important weapon of the Party itself as a tribune of the people and an aid to Party members in carrying out communist agitation—living exposures of the capitalist system—revolutionary work among the masses could not advance in any area.

Only by uniting Party ranks together with Party supporters and other *Worker* readers around this political line was it possible to unleash the enthusiasm and initiative to carry out the task of developing the *Worker* as a weapon in the class struggle and further develop its revolutionary content. This was putting into practice what Mao called "Grasp revolution, promote production." Not grasping this would mean mechanically grinding out the *Worker* every two weeks with no qualitative change made in our political work. This would not do.

The situation called for a conference to deepen people's understanding and to really involve and unite new forces around the Party's line. It could not be merely an organizational meeting, with

myriad committees and tasks parcelled out. The conference was planned to have the greatest amount of political discussion and struggle possible, and by drawing on everyone's collective experience and ideas, to reach a deeper understanding by everyone involved, including the *Worker's* editorial core and the Party as a whole.

The conference was also seen as crucial in winning people to come forward and join a broader staff for the local *Worker*—to work actively under the leadership of the Party, writing and reporting, organizing distribution, layout, graphics and photos, and developing *El Obrero*, the Spanish language section of the newspaper. Developing the staff was necessary not only to carry out the increased workload generated by more frequent publication, but also has an important role in helping to strengthen the links between the masses of people and the Party's paper, which in turn affects the content and influence of the paper. And working on the newspaper is certainly fertile ground for training the advanced workers and other revolutionary-minded people as communists.

Vision of Future

The conference hall was ringed with brightly colored posters—now appearing all over town—announcing the new bi-weekly *Worker* for the Chicago/Gary area. The main session opened with a slide show on the history of the communist and revolutionary press: the Russian workers in the years before the Revolution of 1917 gathered outside *Pravda's* offices in the early morning, risking arrest to distribute bundles of their paper before the Czar's police could confiscate it... *The Daily Worker* calling on workers to down tools on May 1st to denounce the imperialist wars... *The Black Panther* in the late 1960s which popularized the teachings of Mao Tsetung and called on the masses to take up the gun to defend their communities from the marauding pigs.

These and other vivid examples from the past inspired people with a vision of the future and the vital responsibility the *Worker* has to carry out to become a powerful and thoroughly revolutionary force—to be taken up by the masses as their own.

Following this, a major speech given by a local leading member of the Party set the framework for the rest of the day. Particular attention was paid to the relationship of consciousness to the struggle of the working class for revolution. She pointed out the paper's main role is in the realm of "consciousness"—that through agitation and other forms of exposure, the working class and the masses of people get a clearer all-around picture of the ugly features of the capitalist system, its reactionary nature and the need to overthrow it, and this understanding in turn advances the revolutionary struggle of the working class. "The Party press is essential to leading the masses to stay on the road to revolution, to take each twist and turn of the struggle and to continue to advance. The Party press, through showing the actual class relations, the truth of how this society operates and what's the road to the future, fuels the desires of the masses to fight back and make revolution."

Discussion in Workshops

By going deeply into the Party's line on the role of the press, the main presentation laid the basis for people to really take part in the discussion which followed and in the workshops. After a brief break for lunch, people headed for the workshops on written content, distribution, *El Obrero*, and graphics, layout and photography.

For many people this was a new experience—the first time they had discussed the political significance of these things and how they could be developed to strengthen the *Worker* as a communist paper. The workshops were hubs of intense political discussion and struggle, as people welcomed the opportunity to get deeper into the political questions sparked by the presentation and to "get to the bottom of things."

Discussion in the workshop on content centered mainly on the nature of agitation. What do we do agitation around? How do we do all-around exposure? And what is the relationship between the different articles in the paper and the *Worker* as a whole—how do we present a picture of the nature of capitalism and the need for revolution? Many people brought out examples from their experience in selling the *Worker* and how some of the sharpest agitation had sparked heated discussion and debate among the workers in their plants.

The layout workshop centered around the need to develop graphics and photographs with revolutionary content. People compared and discussed various examples of newspaper graphics from the bourgeois and revisionist press, and talked about how to more effectively use art in the *Worker* as a lively and powerful weapon in the hands of the proletariat. The distribution workshop concentrated on political struggle over what it means for the paper to become a social force and how would this be more achieved. And in the workshop on *El Obrero*, people

took up the question of strengthening the Spanish language section of the paper, developing its life and initiative guided by the Party's line and developing it as the face of the Party to the masses of Spanish speaking people.

People were still talking amongst themselves as the workshops ended and the conference reconvened for reports from the workshops and closing remarks. It was clear to all that the conference was a big success. People were politically armed and excited about the new bi-weekly *Worker* and taking up new questions with a higher level of understanding than before.

Off of the conference a number of advanced workers and other Party supporters came forward to work on the paper and it's clear that many more people are looking at the *Worker* as their paper—the paper of their Party. Increasingly, people are eagerly taking on distribution of the paper and developing the content as well—recommending articles, and joining in writing, translating and other aspects of production.

The conference was a big step forward for the *Worker* in the Chicago/Gary area, putting the bi-weekly on a firm political basis and setting people's sights high for further advances in the struggle to make the newspaper a powerful weapon in the Party's arsenal for making revolution. As one comrade said at the conference, "We won't be satisfied just with a bi-weekly *Worker*. We want a weekly *Worker*—and what a hell of a weapon a daily Party paper could be!"

Letter Responds to Mao Enrollment

In October the Revolutionary Communist Party called for a Mao Tsetung Enrollment, calling on class conscious workers and other revolutionary fighters "to come forward and apply for admission to the vanguard of the working class, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA—to commit themselves to systematically studying the Party's line and the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought on which this line is based, to working actively with the Party in carrying out this line in practice and to joining the Party in accordance with the principles and procedures set forth in the Party's Constitution."

The enrollment call stressed the need to respond to the great loss in China by redoubling our efforts to bring about the revolution in this country and the key importance of building the revolutionary vanguard Party, the RCP, USA, to carry out this historic mission.

Workers and others have responded to this call by contacting representatives of the Party in their local area or, where necessary, writing to the RCP/Box 3486/Chicago IL 60654. The following is excerpted from one such letter received.

November 3, 1978

Dear Comrades;

I am heeding your call for the Mao Tsetung enrollment into the party. Please send me full particulars.

I have been sickened deep inside over what has happened in China since Comrade Chairman Mao's death.

To me, China after the Cultural Revolution was like a shining beacon in the dark night that is today's capitalist-run world. I am fairly new to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought—around five years, more or less. I am a self-taught Marxist-Leninist. I bought all the books I could find, and also periodicals.

China was glorious to me. I have read Edgar Snow's "Red Star Over China," plus Chairman Mao's writings. Of course I started out on Marx, Engels, and Lenin's writings first.

I have read all about the beautiful work done at Tachai (Dazhai) and in all other spheres.

When you know what a filthy hell China was prior to World War II, the change under socialism is truly miraculous.

I probably can't be of too much use to you all, you see I am 62 years old, retired on a pension, but I am a 100% Marxist-Leninist, and I've seen and experienced capitalism for a long time, and my hatred for it is unquenchable. I probably won't live to see the revolution, and that saddens me. All I've seen all my life is capitalism and imperialism growing stronger, more arrogant, more blood-thirsty and murderous, and all of it headquartered in the U.S....

If the dirty traitor-rats in China hadn't re-instated capitalism and gone ass-kissing the imperialists, China would have been a powerful base for all revolutionaries. Now they (we included) are on our own. The Soviet Union went first, and now China...

We—in this country—will have to get our military equipment courtesy of Uncle Sam. That makes for a much longer struggle, but that's how China done it.

The not-so-distant future is going to supply us with two good revolutionary opportunities, i.e., the coming big depression, and the coming big war. The big war will be the usual cure for the depression—that's s.o.p. [standard operating procedure] for capitalism.

Comrades, I hope we will be ready with the organization to launch and carry on the revolution, the armed struggle, when that time comes.

As I said, I don't know whether I can be of much use, perhaps I can serve only a limited role due to my age and my poor physical conditions, but I'll do what I can, and that's all any man can do.

Thank you, for bearing with me, Comrades. Let us work for a Socialist America.

In response, the Revolutionary Communist Party would like to thank this comrade for this most encouraging letter. The working class treasures all of its class conscious fighters, old and young. We look forward to struggling together with all those responding to the enrollment call for unity, politically and organizationally, in the fight for revolution, socialism and communism.

Demands Have Dual Character Steelhaulers Strike

From the Workers Press Service:

Since Nov. 11, striking steel haulers, mainly independent owner operators, have been fighting to shut down all truck shipments of steel, particularly in the East and Midwest where truck shipments are concentrated. The struggle has been very sharp, with gunfire on the highways, tires slashed and windows smashed, and armed confrontations. About a third of the 30,000 steel drivers are members of the Teamster union and a large number are members of the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers (FASH), an organization of owner-operators, which called the strike.

The demands of the strike include exemption from anti-trust laws which prohibit independents from bargaining collectively with trucking firms, changes in government laws and regulations, and an improvement in freight rates that are driving them out of business. Another demand of FASH leaders, who are trying to split off from the Teamsters to set up their own union for owner-operators, is the right to choose their own representatives.

Owner-operators are paid according to contracts negotiated by Teamster leaders, who have repeatedly sold out the interests of independents and steel haulers generally. For example in the last contract they negotiated, they cut the

percentage drivers make from each load and took away the right of Teamster steel drivers to vote on the contract.

In this strike, the trucking and steel companies, along with Teamster union leaders, while trying to downplay the effectiveness of the strike, have been doing all they can to break it. In Pennsylvania and Ohio, they have gone to their courts for injunctions prohibiting picketing. Teamster officials have ordered their steel drivers to break the strike, which some have refused to do, and brought in goons to attack pickets. One Ohio company fired all of its Teamster drivers when they refused to work.

After two weeks, the strike was beginning to affect the production of steel, as the mills were increasingly unable to get steel to fabrication shops. Some smaller trucking companies had to shut down completely when no one showed up for work. Some smaller fabrication shops had begun laying off. The bigger steel mills, which were able to stockpile more and were shipping more by barge and rail, were beginning to slow down and were clearly worried about having to seriously cut production if the strike continued much longer.

The trucks that are moving are traveling in convoys and not without difficulty. For instance on Nov. 20, as one convoy tried to leave a truck terminal in Pennsylvania (after trucks had been



The Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers have unleashed a powerful strike as they battle for their livelihoods. Here FASH members stop a truck outside U.S. Steel plant at Fairless Hills, Pa.

holed up inside for several days), the lead driver came out shooting at about 100 pickets. As police stood by, the pickets refused to budge and the situation was stalemated for several hours. Finally they had to arrest the driver and were able to escort some of the trucks out. In Pennsylvania disabled trucks stand like monuments to the struggle here and there along the roads. One trucking company in Youngstown, Ohio reported that they were losing \$40,000 a day and that almost all of their 600 trucks had received some "remodeling."

The Independent Truckers' Demands

The strike mainly centers on the

demands of owner-operators. These are self-employed truckers who, as small businessmen, must show a profit from their labor and their rig. While they get paid for driving, the same as wage-workers, they also get paid rent for their rig—but out of this they must meet all costs and regulations themselves. With the huge payments they must make on loans for their trucks, they are continually up against repossession by the banks. Only 10% of independents make it in business for more than 10 years, and then only by hauling for 70 and 80 hours a week, plus a lot of luck. Their future as independents, in business for themselves, is dim at best, with rising costs for fuel, insurance, etc., fierce competition and the decline in freight rates.

Obviously the owner-operators by no means have an easy time of it, and they are driven down by the same social forces that press on the whole working class—the capitalists, along with their union-hack agents. But at the same time they are not wage-workers; they are self-employed small businessmen—they are part of the *petty bourgeoisie*. They have an intermediate social position between the working class and the capitalists. While they work, they are owners of capital—they own their own rigs—and their demands reflect this contradiction.

The strike expresses some of the common demands and grievances of all steel haulers, owner-operators, Teamsters, and wage workers alike, and one of the main accomplishments of the strike has been to bring to light these conditions and fight for some improvement. In fact some very sharp struggles against the capitalists have been sparked by and supported by independents and their organizations, including the fight against gas rations during the 1974 oil "shortage," and were partly responsible for some improvement in the rates and conditions of independents and other truck drivers.

But at the same time, in this and previous actions, leaders of FASH and other independents' organizations place primary emphasis on the needs of independents as *owners* which are sometimes in contradiction with the interests of wage workers. For example, in this strike FASH leaders are demanding to increase the maximum load to 80,000 lbs. in all states in order to avoid long detours around some states, or fines. This goes against the interests of workers which demand that safety laws be defended or tightened if possible. In addition, this can only lead to speed-up and less work for independents and other drivers alike.

For many drivers, becoming an independent is seen as a way out of the working class, a way to get ahead. But they will be continually squeezed out of business by the larger capitalists they must buy from and haul for. Owner-operators have no future or real interests apart from those of the working class against the capitalists. The working class stands with independents in their struggle against trucking and steel capitalists and against the treachery of Fitzsimmons & Co., but demands that pit owner-operators against other drivers, or split them off from the Teamsters, can only lead to disunity and weaken the ability of all working people to fight the capitalists. ■

Big March in Tupelo

From the Worker's Press Service:

Around 1500 people marched through the streets of Tupelo, Mississippi on November 25. They came there to support the struggle against the oppression of Black people in Mississippi, a struggle that has been going on for over a year in the face of constant intimidation by the police and the Ku Klux Klan.

The big majority of the demonstrators had come from out of state, to lend their voices to the growing cry for an end to racist discrimination and police terror. The hatred of oppression and the spirit of unity and determination to fight on the part of demonstrators from around the country was a positive thing and a source of encouragement to the Black people of Tupelo and northern Mississippi.

The Klan made a meagre showing during the march—about 25 of the robed vermin in all—but they kept their distance. Many of the demonstrators were in no mood to take any crap from the Klan, and they knew it.

The United League of Northern Mississippi, which had been building the recent struggle and had organized the march, had an armed security squad at the front of the demonstration. One United League speaker told the crowd that the people were determined to keep on fighting against their oppression, and while they would not seek out reactionaries like the KKK, neither would

they shy away from defending themselves, by whatever means necessary, against every attack.

In a serious development after the Tupelo march was over, a Black man was found murdered in a local motel. Many people in the area, including the United League, believe that it was the work of the Klan. Naturally the local police are saying that the Klan didn't have anything to do with it.

The fight against the oppression of minorities is being waged all across the country, and the struggle in Mississippi is an important part of it. But one of the big weaknesses of the demonstration in Tupelo was the fact that several groups which had brought people from around the country to Tupelo, on the basis of the people's genuine hatred of discrimination and national oppression of Black people, put out a line that the struggle in Mississippi is somehow separate and qualitatively different from the struggle in the rest of the country.

These groups, which claim to be "revolutionary" or "communist," raised the slogan "Justice in Mississippi" as if Mississippi is an island of injustice amidst the good old democratic U.S.A. Of course, the rural South does have its own particular features as a result of different historical and economic conditions going all the way back to slavery. But what characterizes the South is that the working people there share the same kind of exploitation and oppression, including

the same kind of discrimination and repression against Blacks, that is found throughout the country.

This emphasizes all the more the need to link the fight against the oppression of Black people in Mississippi with the struggle against all forms of oppression and to pinpoint the common source of them—the system of capitalism. For so-called "revolutionaries" to feed the idea that Mississippi is some isolated case of injustice is downright criminal.

A clear example of these groups' line came after the demonstration was over. Several people who were brought to the march by the "Communist" Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML)-led Southern Conference Educational Fund were attacked and beaten by Klan members. In response, the CPML leader condemned the FBI and the local police for not offering protection against the Klan! What a foolish notion! The FBI's complicity with the Klan in the South is well documented, and everybody in northern Mississippi knows for a fact that the KKK is active *right inside the police departments*. You don't have to be too clever to figure that out. As one cop put it, "if there's any Klan around here, I would know about it." You bet your ass he would!

The struggle in Tupelo is important, and consequently it is important to break away from the dead-end road that groups like the CPML are trying to lead it down. ■

Jones . . .

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its revolting afterbirths like Jim Jones? Or for the cause of liberation and revolution—like the masses of Iranians in recent months, whose deaths the bourgeoisie often tries to pretend did not even happen? The question is not whether people should "be indoctrinated" in an ideology but *what* ideology will guide one's life. Bourgeois ideology (including its variants like Jones' reactionary mish mash)? Or proletarian ideology?

The ruling class has a real interest in focusing on all the morbid details of the end of the career of its agent, Jim Jones. They see a good opportunity to drive home certain lessons: Beware of breaking with the norm! Beware of anything which promises an end to

some of the contradictions of bourgeois society! Any such attempt can only end in being "brainwashed" and manipulated into total horror and depravity. There are important, totally opposite lessons, which the proletariat has an interest in drawing from this episode. For it shows how people are hungry for something real, something that will explain and change this social world—and where this can go if they get nothing but fake "solutions" to this problem. Far from showing any need for a "return to old values," it shows the absolutely essential need for revolutionary ideology.

The death of over 900 people in Guyana is just one more monstrous crime which the bourgeoisie must add to its already far over-swollen total. For it was the contradictions of bourgeois society which caused these deaths, and

it was bourgeois ideology, as preached by Rev. Jim Jones, that led these people to this, the most dead-end of all "solutions." ■

Revolution

Revolution is the organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCP,USA). It is published monthly.

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

Bitter Fruit of Revisionism

Indochina Armed Clashes

Over three years after the U.S. imperialists and their war machine were driven out of Indochina, the area is still plagued by bloodshed and open warfare.

For over thirty years the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia (now Democratic Kampuchea) and Laos fought side by side against the French and then the U.S. imperialists. Their victories were not only a tremendous material blow against the imperialists, they were an inspiration to people everywhere struggling for their liberation. They showed that national liberation struggles of oppressed people in colonial or semi-colonial countries, through the political mobilization of the masses, self-reliance and armed struggle could paralyze and defeat the military might of one of the two imperialist superpowers.

But today former allies who stood shoulder to shoulder against imperialism and colonialism are hurling charges against each other and are locked in bitter and bloody war. The hostilities between Vietnam and Kampuchea have disheartened millions of people throughout the world who stood with the people of Indochina in their heroic and successful struggle for liberation. And the armed clashes between Vietnam and China which have intensified in recent months are a cause of disappointment and disgust to many.

The U.S. imperialists, of course, have reported these developments with great glee, seizing the opportunity to spread disillusionment and cynicism, claiming that it is not capitalism but human nature that leads to continual conflict and warfare and that socialism promotes this even more than capitalism.

Bourgeois Nationalism

In 1963, then revolutionary China laid out the principle that is key for understanding today's events in Indochina. "If communists slide down the path of opportunism, they will degenerate into bourgeois nationalists and become appendages of the imperialists and the reactionary bourgeoisie." (from the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in reply to the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement.")

What is going on in Indochina is not caused by socialism or human nature. The problem is still imperialism—and not just its distant legacy. The conflicts between Vietnam and China and between Cambodia and Vietnam are characterized by the bourgeois nationalism and ambitions of both China and Vietnam to be the "great power" in the region and occur in the context of superpower contention between the U.S. and the USSR. While both China and Vietnam strut around prattling Marxist words and preening their own revolutionary credentials, the fact is that both have slid down the well-worn path of opportunism and are operating not on the basis of proletarian internationalism, but reactionary nationalism and have, to one degree or another, become appendages of U.S. and Soviet imperialism respectively.

Vietnam has embarked on a course that has led it increasingly into the clutches of Soviet economic and political domination. In May Vietnam became a full member of COMECON (Council of Mutual Economic Aid), the Soviet tool for the economic domination of the so-called communist countries of Eastern Europe and Mongolia, to which Cuba was also recently added. Then on November 3, the Soviets and Vietnamese signed a 25 year treaty of "friendship and cooperation."

In return for a Vietnamese commitment to serve as the Soviet Union's pointman in Southeast Asia, the Soviets have promised economic and technical aid. The heart of the treaty is a mutual self-defense clause which states that "in case one of the parties becomes the object of attack or threats of attack, to

begin mutual consultation immediately for the purpose of removing that threat and taking appropriate effective measures to insure the peace and security of their countries."

The current Chinese leadership, for its part, is consciously downplaying or dismissing the aggressive and reactionary nature of the U.S. bloc and encouraging the masses of people to unite with their own exploiters—all in the name of aiming the "main blow" at the "main danger," the Soviet Union. For Vietnam an independent Kampuchea opposed to Soviet revisionism is an obstacle to their hopes of dominating Indochina and securing it for the Soviet bloc. China is seeking to use the Cambodia-Vietnam conflict to increase its influence in the region and damage Vietnam.

History of the Vietnam-Cambodia Conflict

The U.S. imperialists had barely pulled out their last troops when fighting erupted between Vietnam and Kampuchea in 1975 over islands in the Gulf of Thailand. Kampuchea demanded that Vietnam recognize the land and sea boundaries that were drawn between the two countries during the period of French colonial rule, boundaries which actually resulted in the loss of considerable traditionally Kampuchean territory.

Vietnam recognized these borders in 1967, but now says that, at least in part, they must be open to "negotiations." Relations continued to deteriorate until the summer of 1977 when open fighting again broke out along Kampuchea's eastern border and Vietnam invaded Kampuchean territory. Fighting flared again at the end of 1977 and again in the spring of 1978.

The inability of the better armed and larger Vietnamese forces to defeat the Kampucheans caused considerable recriminations and shake up in the Vietnamese military command. In September Vietnam massed larger forces and, operating on an even wider front, managed to temporarily grab sections of Kampuchean territory. On November 7 the government of Democratic Kampuchea issued an official statement denouncing the use of poisonous gas on the battlefield by Vietnam.

But the substance of the conflict goes far beyond the question of borders. Vietnam aims to topple the leadership of the government and the Communist Party of Kampuchea and remove them as an obstacle to its plans to dominate Indochina. Kampuchea has accused Vietnam of trying to resurrect the old idea of an Indochina Federation, which it would control. Vietnam has hotly denied this, but its actions have shown that in essence, if not in words, this is precisely what it is aiming for. If the Vietnamese military thrusts into Kampuchea, and even its very raising of the issue of borders, were not planned to drive to Phnom Penh and overthrow the Kampuchean government by force, they are clearly intended to destabilize the country and weaken the leadership of the Kampuchean Communist Party.

In response to a question by the *Guardian* newspaper whether Vietnam thought that "the border conflicts with Kampuchea... can be resolved without a change in the leadership in Phnom Penh," Xuan Thuy, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party piously responded: "in my opinion this question is related to Kampuchean internal affairs in which we do not intervene." The falseness of this statement is itself revealing as to what the Vietnamese leadership is up to. In fact, Vietnam has massed, organized, trained and armed deserters from the Khmer Rouge and other dissidents and opponents of the Kampuchean government and party who have fled into Vietnam. These people have been sent back into Kampuchea in an effort to foment a civil war. Mean-



while, Vietnam radio broadcasts openly call on the Khmer people to overthrow their government.

Vietnam has protested loudly that it wants to negotiate a settlement with Kampuchea. But this has the ring of a ruse, to which the Kampucheans have rightly asked, "what is there to negotiate about?" as long as Vietnam is intent on violating its borders and bringing down the leadership of their party and government. These are not negotiable issues.

Hysterical Charges

The Vietnamese have also joined the U.S. and the Soviets in a frenzied verbal attack on Kampuchea. They have all mouthed common charges of a massive bloodbath and concentration camp conditions in the country. And what are the source of these tales of mass executions and forced labor? Former officers of the Lon Nol regime, landlords, petty capitalists, and to some extent peasants who hope to get a good deal from the Vietnamese or the U.S. imperialists and their agents for saying the right things.

These "bloodbath" charges are common fare from the U.S. imperialists, they always raise them against revolutionary struggles, and did so against Vietnam, in fact. If it seems surprising to hear the same charges now coming from Vietnam (and the Soviets) against Kampuchea, it only underscores the fact that, though for different reasons, they all have a common interests in bringing down the government and party leadership of that country.

The Soviets and Vietnam certainly do not want an independent, anti-Soviet revisionist Kampuchea in Indochina. The U.S. imperialists would much prefer a "more moderate and reasonable" government, i.e. one that saw the benefits of strengthened U.S. presence in the area.

This is a view certainly shared by the Chinese revisionists, and lends credibility to the widely circulated reports that they are bringing considerable pressure

on the Kampucheans along the same lines. It is not surprising, of course, that Teng Hsiao-ping and company would be uptight at the suppression of counter-revolutionaries in Kampuchea, since they are busily at work rehabilitating counter-revolutionaries, capitalist roaders and reactionaries of all stripes in China itself.

The Revolutionary Communist Party believes that the line and policies of the leadership of Democratic Kampuchea must be studied further. Specifically, how are the stringent measures Kampuchea has adopted, such as the abolition of money, the rapid communalization of agriculture and various aspects of social life, etc., viewed by the Kampuchean leadership in relation to longer term reconstruction and the building of socialism? But these questions must be looked at not from the viewpoint of bourgeois hysteria, but from the basis of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

Further, communists have always upheld the right and necessity of suppressing and even executing counter-revolutionary elements who owe a blood debt to the masses. The same goes for stripping away the rights or jailing those reactionaries who have fought against the liberation of the masses or who try to sabotage the building of a socialist state—while trying to remould them through hard labor and re-education.

Vietnam's Repudiation of Marxism

Unfortunately, Vietnam cannot be expected to approach its relations with Kampuchea from the outlook of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and proletarian internationalism, since its embrace of Soviet revisionism is a reflection of its rejection of Marxism-Leninism. The Vietnamese have been especially clear in their denunciation of

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Indochina

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Mao Tsetung and his great contributions and enrichment of the science of Marxism-Leninism in regard to the class struggle in the transition period between capitalism and communism and the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In a report in the *Manchester Guardian* Hoang Tung, Central Committee member and editor of the Vietnamese party newspaper *Nhan Dan* stated: "After 1967-68 and the Cultural Revolution we no longer looked on the Chinese leaders who succeeded one another... as socialists... The Chinese Communist Party was destroyed along with the dictatorship of the proletariat. And 1966 marked the beginning of the decay of socialism... Those who fought against Mao after 1966 were in general the best of the lot." And in an interview with the *Guardian* newspaper referred to earlier, Xuan Thuy made the following statement: "Vietnam does not support China's 'great cultural revolution.' We don't consider it a revolution in the cultural field, but rather a camouflage which China uses to cover up the purge and mutual massacres carried on by various sects within the Chinese leadership."

The practical outgrowth of the Vietnamese Communist Party's slide into the swamp of revisionism and opportunism has shown itself in numerous ways besides its attack on Kampuchea. In September, for example, Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong took a swing through the five countries composing the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN): Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Indonesia. His goal was to get a Vietnamese shoe (and a Soviet foot) into the door of this alliance of U.S. dominated reactionary governments.

Up until recently Vietnam has been unsparing in its denunciations of ASEAN, but the Soviets seem to have got them straight that an important characteristic of superpower contention is the effort of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union to make advances into and weaken each others' bloc. To prove that closer alliance with Vietnam/USSR would have benefits for these reactionary regimes, Pham Van Dong shamelessly emphasized that Vietnam would not support the communist-led liberation struggles in these countries, and in Malaysia he even went so far as to lay a wreath on the national monument honoring "heroes" killed while fighting liberation forces.

In his efforts to woo ASEAN, however, Pham Van Dong is in stiff competition with Teng Hsiao-ping, who himself began a tour of several of these countries in November in an effort to cement closer ties with China and to keep them firmly in the U.S. bloc.

Teng and his revisionist cohorts in China certainly can find a great deal of unity and agreement with the Vietnamese leadership around their evaluation of Mao Tsetung and the Cultural Revolution—and with the Soviets, too,

for that matter. And their common revisionist and reactionary nationalist outlooks lead to other similarities as well. While the Vietnamese cuddle up to the Soviets, the Chinese capitalists argue that the people and nations of the world must subordinate themselves to one imperialist superpower, the U.S., in order to ward off the other.

The international line of the bourgeois nationalists, or more accurately the comprador bourgeoisie, in China is nothing but the logical extension of a general revisionist line and Teng Hsiao-ping's determination to modernize China by attracting foreign monopoly capitalists to contribute money and equipment while China in exchange will supply them natural resources and labor power—thus throwing the doors wide open for the imperialists to plunder China's natural resources and bleed its people. These capitulationist schemes are an open invitation to the imperialists to dump their surplus goods, export capital and carve up China.

For the U.S. imperialists the capitulationist international line of the Chinese revisionists is also a welcomed opportunity to re-establish a grip in Indochina and the rest of Southeast Asia that was weakened by its humiliating military defeat in the war.

But the bourgeois nationalist and capitulationist line of both China and Vietnam, and their different objective situations also give rise to rival and competing interests and some differences in policy. While Vietnam, for example, is quite willing to tell liberation forces in Southeast Asia to take a hike, China has been very careful not to publicly announce withdrawal of support for these liberation movements and has made a great deal of its support for Kampuchea. But China has demonstrated in Zaire, Iran and other places that to whom it gives or does not give its support has nothing to do with the class interests of the international proletariat. It has to do with protecting the interests of China's new comprador bourgeoisie, including for now at least, blocking Soviet moves.

Although the U.S. imperialists are rubbing their hands at the advantages in superpower contention offered by their new alliance with China (some are even referring to China as one of the most reliable, if unofficial, members of NATO), the USSR has by no means abandoned the possibility of forcing the Chinese into its camp. The pressure of a million Soviet troops on China's border and of Vietnam, now a base area and operative for the Soviets on China's southeastern flank are certainly calculated to have this effect. And with the revisionists and capitulationists now riding high in China, this possibility cannot by any means be ruled out.

The war that Vietnam has instigated against Kampuchea and the armed hostilities between Vietnam and China are proof once again that capitalism, imperialism, breeds war. They represent setbacks the proletariat has suffered in China and in Vietnam. They expose the reality that such wars of aggression to further reactionary nationalist aims will not be eradicated until imperialism itself is eliminated once and for all. ■

There has been much good work, but still more needs to be done in bringing the workers into the forefront of this battle and taking further steps in building the revolutionary alliance of the working class and the oppressed nationalities through this struggle. The fact that growing numbers of workers are taking up this fight reflects a hatred of oppression and a developing understanding on the part of those involved that the working class has a single class interest in ending all exploitation and oppression.

With this in mind and with the trials of the Moody Park 3 coming up on Jan. 15, it is important for class conscious workers to mobilize their ranks and rally strongly to the defense of these vanguard fighters who pointed to the road forward of resistance to the common enemy while the reformists and opportunists begged and trembled.

Revolutionary Literature for the New Year

Two Specials from RCP Publications

One-year subscription to <i>Revolution</i> plus The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung	The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung plus Revolution and Counter-Revolution
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Houston . . .

Continued from page 2

In the San Francisco Bay Area workers in a number of plants participated in "dollar days," wearing dollar bills pinned to their clothing to call attention to the system of capitalist "justice" that let Joe Torres' murderers off with a \$1 fine. (This action was modeled after that taken by the people in Houston when the outrageous verdict came down.) Over \$450 was collected at General Motors, Woolworth warehouse, U.S. Steel, the Post Office and other plants as well as door-to-door canvassing in San Jose and S.F. Chinatown. At the Woolworth warehouse in San Francisco, 35 workers held a rally to defend the rebellion, sparking considerable controversy inside the plant.

Support For Moody Park 3 Growing

As the trial date approaches, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade has stepped up its work in support of the Houston rebellion among the masses of youth. The Committees to Support the Houston Rebellion have been particularly active in spreading the fight and building support for the "3" among the Chicano people in several cities. In many places around the country, the agitation in support of the Houston rebellion has struck a deep and responsive chord and new forces have been drawn into the struggle.

Although the distances to Houston are long indeed from much of the country, many will be travelling to participate in the January 13 demonstration. Many others who cannot will be joining in the support actions scheduled

for cities around the country on the same day. A picket line will also be held on the day of the actual opening of the Moody Park trial, January 15.

Every blow struck, every victory won in the Houston struggle will be a victory not only for the Chicano people but for the whole working class in the overall battle against the capitalists. It will greatly strengthen the determination of the masses of people to continue to rise up against their oppressors.

This speaks to the great significance of this struggle. The Houston rebellion gave them a frightening glimpse of what they have in store in the future: when the working class, uniting with the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nationalities like this one, rise up in violent revolution to sweep away national oppression and class exploitation once and for all by ending their source—capitalist rule. ■

Harry Haywood

"My Life as a Bundist"

Black Bolshevik: Autobiography of an Afro-American Communist, Harry Haywood (Liberator Press, Chicago, 1978). 700 pp. \$15.00.

The last few years have seen several books of memoirs published by former members of the Communist Party, USA, such as those by Al Richmond (*A Long View From the Left*), former editor of the West-coast paper *People's World*, and Peggy Dennis (*The Autobiography of an American Communist*), widow of Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the CPUSA after Browder's expulsion. These were written by people who quit the CPUSA because it failed to go far enough in its bourgeois liberalism for their taste, and the fact that their books reek with the most blatant reformism and will appeal mainly to tired ex-radicals and anti-communists makes it not worthwhile to review such garbage in these pages.

Harry Haywood, on the other hand, bills himself as a consistent fighter against revisionism, as one who is still a communist. Thus his book is aimed at misleading revolutionary-minded people—mislead, because in fact Haywood has *not* remained a communist and is in fact an exponent, rather than a fighter, of opportunism. Connected with this is the fact that *Black Bolshevik* has been vigorously touted by the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML), of which Haywood is a member and with which "Liberator Press" is connected. This book is symptomatic of the way in which the CPML attempts to fool and mislead a certain number of revolutionary-minded people by putting an anti-revisionist and communist varnish on its thoroughly opportunist line and activities, and thus it bears examination.

Haywood, a member of the CPUSA from 1925 to 1960, has written a book which relies heavily on anecdotes, whose political analysis is very superficial when it is present at all, and which reveals its author as both a careerist and a dogmatist. When it comes to the Black national question, which has been Haywood's life-long stock in trade and of which he has the reputation of being a major theoretician, he has little to offer besides vague recollections and off-the-cuff remarks which are, if anything, even vaguer.

Indeed it is little short of incredible how little political content this book has, for an opus by one who bills himself as a "Bolshevik." However, running through the entire book is Haywood's (and the CPML's) *Bundism*, the adaptation of Marxism to nationalism. But before going further into what political content the book does possess, let us follow the lines of Haywood's own self-centered autobiography and give a sketch of his career.

Born with the surname Hall in 1898 in South Omaha, Nebraska, Haywood adopted the pseudonym which stayed with him when he was sent to the Soviet Union to study in 1926. While attending the Lenin School in Moscow, he participated in the drafting of the 1928 and 1930 Comintern (Communist International) resolutions on the Black national question, which for the first time analyzed the oppression of Black people in the U.S. as *national* rather than simply racial. Returning to the U.S. in 1930, Haywood worked for various Party organizations, including heading the National Negro Department from 1931-1934. He later for a brief time went to Spain during the Civil War there, served in the Merchant Marine during World War 2, and then continued working on ships for several years. In 1948 he published a book, *Negro Liberation*. During the final stages of the degeneration of the CPUSA in the

late 50s, he joined the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Party, but was expelled from it after a few months, after which he went to Mexico for several years, being apparently expelled from the CPUSA in 1960.

Throughout his career with the CPUSA, Haywood was dogged by charges of personal misconduct. Accused, among other things, of womanizing in the Soviet Union, of fleeing the front lines in Spain, and with mismanagement of Party funds in Baltimore, his position in the Party deteriorated to the point that William Z. Foster offers him the following greeting at the end of World War 2:

His frown deepened. "You had trouble in New York. You had trouble in Baltimore. You had trouble in California. Now I suppose you've come here to make some more trouble," he said accusingly. (Page 529.)

Haywood claims that none of these charges are true, and his analysis of them is that they were due to petty jealousies and personal animosity. Rather than fighting against the recurrent charges, however, he usually tries to run away from them, with explanations such as: "I felt it was impossible to work in this atmosphere. Thus I requested to be transferred to Chicago..." and "angered and fed up with those false charges, covert accusations and innuendos, I decided to get a job [at sea]" (pages 442 and 500).

Haywood offers descriptions of various political activities in which he was engaged. One notable feature of these is lists of names of Party people who attended the various meetings and rallies he describes. Another notable feature is the absence of any explanation of the developments which Haywood is describing. This is especially glaring with regard to Browderism. Haywood presents himself as a member of the "left" in the CPUSA, as part of the revolutionary forces fighting against the Party's degeneration. But his analysis and explanation of this degeneration, represented most notoriously by Earl Browder and his line, is superficial in the extreme.

Shallow Criticism of Browder

For instance, after the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 the rightist line embodied in the slogans "Everything for National Unity!" and "Everything for Victory!" is characterized as "the Party's correct position for consolidating the united front..." (Page 498). And although he devotes a whole chapter to "Browder's Treachery," his explanation of its causes is to be found in just one inadequate paragraph:

The ascendancy of Browder's revisionism was based upon both objective and subjective factors within the Party. Objectively, bourgeois ideology had long penetrated the working class movement in the United States, had been nurtured during the reformist years of the Roosevelt era and had thrived in an atmosphere of inadequate Marxist-Leninist training of Party members and leaders. (Page 536.)

What Haywood says here is all true, of course, but it explains nothing, and leaves unanswered more questions than it answers.

As the *Programme* of the RCP points out, "The decay of a fighting Party such as this must be studied to learn the causes, so they can be avoided" (page 66). Already the study of these causes

by our Party has contributed to the repulsion of the Jarvis-Bergman clique's attempt to seize the Party and make it another vehicle of revisionism.

The basis of the CP's degeneration was its failure to apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions in the U.S., and to implement the mass line. Further, during the 30s the Party worked on the erroneous premise that the U.S. was entering a revolutionary situation. When this revolutionary situation didn't materialize, the CP flipped over into reformist errors. (See the *RCP Programme*, pp. 66-67.) These failures were in turn connected with certain features of the development of capitalism in the U.S., such as widespread bourgeois democratic rights, an expanding frontier, relatively high wages and a very heterogeneous working class, which combined to hold down the political awareness and class consciousness of the U.S. proletariat. Further, this century has seen the growth of U.S. imperialism to a position of dominance in the imperialist world, and this has been the material basis and most important single objective factor in the relatively low level of class consciousness among U.S. workers. (See "Some Preliminary Thoughts on Bourgeois Democracy and the U.S. Working Class," *The Communist*, Vol. 1, No. 1.) Further, the rightist errors of the U.S. Party were linked with certain erroneous analyses and lines put forward by the Comintern during the 30s and 40s. (See the three-part series on the origins, nature and effects of World War 2 in *The Communist*, Vol. 1, No. 1, and Vol. 2, Nos. 1 and 2.)

In addition, it was not just any form of bourgeois ideology which penetrated the working class movement and the proletarian party, but a specific variety "Made in U.S.A." As the *RCP Programme* points out,

In this situation the Communist Party fell into pragmatism, an American ruling class philosophy which says, "It is not really possible to know the laws that govern nature and society; if something seems to work, never mind the reasons, do it." This leads straight to revisionism which proclaims, "The movement is everything, the final aim nothing." (Page 68. For a detailed analysis of this philosophy of U.S. imperialism, see "Against Pragmatism," *The Communist*, Vol. 2, No. 2.)

But Haywood, by contrast, does not have even an adequate understanding of what pragmatism is, characterizing it at one point as simply "empirical and superficial methods of evaluating conditions" (page 542).

In fact, rather than showing the causes of the degeneration of the U.S. party of the proletariat, what the book actually shows is Haywood's own degeneration—from revolutionary nationalist to dogmatic careerist and pseudo-communist nationalist. For it becomes apparent that Haywood never made the leap to communism, but instead clung to his first successes within the Party and came to make a career out of being a theoretician of the Black national question.

In fact he made a career of it in the most literal sense. In 1938, after the 10th Party Convention, which had seen him removed from the Central Committee and the Politburo (part of the effects of his "difficulties" in Spain), Haywood no longer has a job. He laments, "After twelve years of being on the Party payroll, I was suddenly faced with the need to find employment outside." (Page 493.)

Harry Haywood: Pioneer Bundist

Much more serious than this, though, is Haywood's tendency to become nothing but a nationalist with a veneer of communism. This is hinted in the title of the book, "Black Bolshevik," which seems to put Haywood's nationality on an equal level with his supposed communism. And it is revealed within the book in his way of evaluating almost everything that happens in terms exclusively of its impact and effects on the Black national question. After describing the dangerous rightist tendencies which manifested themselves at the 1936 Party Convention, for instance, he then says, "I was concerned

about a tendency to downgrade the importance of the right of self-determination [for the Black Belt nation]." (Page 465.) Or, speaking of the period when Browder had been expelled, but when Browderism was not really being eliminated, Haywood says: "To me, the one bright spot in all this was the struggle to reaffirm our revolutionary position on the Black national question, for the Party to once again take up the fight for the right of self-determination in the Black Belt." (Page 548.)

It is not, of course, that Haywood should not have been concerned about the Party's position on the Black people's struggle. But at times of crisis in the life of the Party, with clear dangers of revisionism, to have made this his almost exclusive concern betrays a lack of Marxism-Leninism, much as if a worker were to be concerned with the trade union question to the exclusion of the national question, the woman question, etc.—but most of all, to the exclusion of concern with the *general line of the Party*, which must be the *focus* of concern for a communist.

There are in our time only two fundamental world outlooks—the proletarian and the bourgeois. Insofar as anyone attempting to be a communist fails to fully take up the proletarian, the Marxist-Leninist, outlook in all its facets and ramifications, he will fall into some form of bourgeois ideology. And insofar as Haywood retreats to the national or view of "my nation"; first and foremost," he fails to be a communist and falls into the bourgeois world outlook. And, as Haywood himself gives lip service to, it is *only* the proletarian outlook and science of Marxism-Leninism which can lead the way to actual liberation for Black people.

For this reason, the more Haywood veers toward nationalism and away from Marxism, the less is he able to actually take a revolutionary position on the Black national question. By the present time he has come to substitute dead dogmatism for living socialism.

Dead Dogmatist

The Comintern 1930 Resolution correctly stated that the masses of Black people in the U.S.

live in compact masses in the South, most of them being peasants and agricultural laborers in a state of semi-serfdom, settled in the 'Black Belt' [the area which formed the heart of the old plantation system, given this name because of the color of its soil] and constituting the majority of the population, whereas the Negroes in the northern states are for the most part industrial workers of the lowest categories who have recently come to the various industrial centers from the South (having often fled from there).

On this basis, the Comintern held that Black people constituted an oppressed nation in the "Black Belt" South, while in the North they were a national minority whose conditions were bound up, though, with the struggle of the Negro Nation in the South for liberation. According to these Comintern resolutions, the struggle for self-determination, that is for the right of independence and secession, was the heart of the Black liberation struggle.

And the Comintern stated explicitly *why* it thought self-determination was the highest expression of the struggle for Black liberation at that time: "Owing to the peculiar situation in the Black Belt (the fact that the majority of the resident Negro population are farmers and agricultural laborers and that the capitalist economic as well as political class rule there is not only a special kind, but to a great extent still has pre-capitalist and semi-colonial features), the right of self-determination of the Negroes as the main slogan of the Communist party in the Black Belt is appropriate" (1930 resolution, emphasis added). In other words, the slogan was basically correct because the masses of Black people, constituting the majority in the Black Belt south, were still peasants suffering under the semi-feudal oppression of the share-cropping system. The Black national question was inextricably bound up with the peasant question, the agrarian question.

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Nationwide Actions Vs. U.S. in Iran

Tallahassee: Students Battle Cops

While the Iranian people deal increasingly powerful blows to the Shah's fascist regime, which is armed and backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism, the struggle in this country in support of the Iranian people's revolutionary struggle and aimed at our own imperialist rulers is growing.

● At Florida State University in Tallahassee, a demonstration called by the Iranian Student Association (ISA) and the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) targeted CIA recruiters who paid a visit to the campus on November 15. The demonstration became front page news and the subject of much controversy when 80 university, city and county cops were called in to attack the protestors. Despite warnings by the school administration that these organizations had better not give the recruiters any "trouble," 100 people showed up in the courtyard of the Student Union Building where the CIA was doing its dirty work of recruiting spies for imperialism.

Carrying signs and chanting, the demonstrators expressed their solidarity with the just struggle of the Iranian people and demanded, "CIA Off Campus and Out of Iran!" Fifteen minutes into the demonstration the school administration shut off the demonstrators' sound system. Then several frat rats accompanied by plainclothes cops ran by with signs reading "Up With The Shah!" and "ISA-RCYB Off Campus!" and yelling "Go to hell, Iranians." The demonstrators immediate-

ly lunged after these reactionaries and ripped up their disgusting signs.

But the cops had just begun to act. As the demonstrators prepared to burn effigies of the Shah and a CIA agent, a plainclothes cop ran up, knocked one of the effigies to the ground and threw a lighted match on it himself. This signaled a police riot. Uniformed cops rushed up and began to attack only the Iranian students, throwing them to the ground and then choking and beating them in the head. The chant rang out, "Cops Off Campus"—and 30-40 Americans ran to the defense of the Iranian students, kicking the cops away.

Eight Iranians and one Colombian woman (who they mistook for an Iranian) were arrested. Sixty more cops with riot sticks arrived and barricaded the students in the courtyard. For 4 hours the rally continued, becoming a sit-in demanding the release of those arrested. A crowd of 500 students gathered in front of the courtyard, joining in with the chants of the demonstrators and speaking over an open mike that had been set up. At one point 10 people broke through the police lines to join the 75 who were barricaded in.

After sending in a fire truck in an unsuccessful attempt to intimidate the protestors, the cops finally backed down and moved out. People then marched to the Administration Building to demand the release of those arrested, only to be met with more cops.

The next morning, 90 people demon-

strated in front of the county courthouse where those arrested were being brought up on charges of disorderly conduct, resisting arrest with violence, battery on a police officer, and aiding an escape. Within a week, students raised \$6,000 in bail money for the release of the arrested demonstrators, a committee with 40 active members was formed to support the Iranian people's struggle, and an educational assembly attended by 200 students was held at the student union. The question of Iran has been hotly discussed and debated throughout the campus, including in the pages of the student newspaper for several days running, and in the city of Tallahassee.

● Kent State University in Ohio. Two people have been arrested on felony charges and the administration is trying to throw the RCYB off campus following a demonstration that was held there in November. Fifty people had participated in a march across campus, several of them going into an office in the International House, where a picture of the Shah and a flag of the regime were hanging. They ripped these down in solidarity with the Iranian people who have torn down and burned likenesses of this fascist butcher all over Iran. Immediately campus police arrested one RCYB member and one ISA member for "breaking and entering." The next day 100 students demonstrated on campus to protest the arrests.

The school administration then sent the Brigade a letter announcing that they were being "decertified" as a cam-

pus organization. The letter included a statement by the Department of Defense, complaining about an incident with the RCYB in the student union. According to the DOD a man wearing a large mask of the Shah of Iran approached some marine recruiters and began thanking them for "recruiting more people to help him suppress the people of Iran... His counterpart, a young woman, was standing in the crowd of on-lookers which had gathered and she was shouting back at him... the shouting was so loud it prohibited Lt. Wilk from continuing his conversation with an applicant who was in the process of scheduling a physical exam... This conduct... was unacceptable and obtrusive." So now the Defense Department, tool of the U.S. imperialists in arming the Shah's troops for mass slaughter in Iran has become indignant about the "obtrusive" behavior of those who dare to take a fighting stand against this. To this we can only reply—You ain't seen nothing yet.

● Wilmington, North Carolina. Millions of dollars worth of arms destined for Iran pass through the port here. They are transported by the Wilmington Shipping Company, U.S. agent for the Shah's shipping company. On October 31, the State Port Authority, pressured by the American Friends Service Committee (a pacifist Quaker organization) held a hearing to decide if this company was "fit" to use the port for their bloody operations.

The RCYB and ISA took this opportunity to hold a demonstration of 30 people, mostly Iranians. Chanting "The Shah is a Fascist Butcher," "Stop all Arms to the Shah," and "Down with Imperialism," the demonstrators march-

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One Step Behind Bourgeoisie

CPML Discovers Struggle in Iran

For years the line of the October League/Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) on Iran has been one of the sharpest exposures of their Browderite line of apologizing for U.S. imperialism. They have made a principle, for example, out of opposing the demand for an end of U.S. arms shipments to the Shah's reactionary regime.

As the latest surge in the mass struggle began to shake the Iranian ruling class the CPML did their best to ignore what was going on. On August 19, for example, the Shah's secret police burned down the Rex theater in Abadan, murdering the 700 people they had trapped inside. (See *Revolution*, October 1978.) In response, huge outpourings of Iranians took to the streets demanding "Death to the Shah." Not a word of this atrocity and the outrage of the people in *The Call*, official newspaper of the CPML.

But as the mass uprising spread throughout Iran the CPML was forced to say *something*. After all, it was being reported every night on the 5 o'clock national news, and the CPML does have a lot invested in pretending they are revolutionaries. Their pretense of support for the Iranian people, however, has only served as a more vivid self-exposure of their line of collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. Their coverage of the struggle in Iran trails after the U.S. bourgeoisie more shamelessly than ever. They slime around with double talk and selective reportage, the essence of which is that the main enemy of the Iranian people today is not the Shah backed by the U.S. imperialists, but the Soviet imperialists.

According to the September 18 *Call*, what's going on in Iran is "a mass movement of gigantic proportions demanding political and religious freedom and calling for defense of that country's national independence." (Our emphasis.) "Its independence and security are of major importance in opposing super-power rivalry."

As if Iran were independent from the domination of imperialism! As if the people had to defend Iran's national independence instead of fighting to gain it. Not once does the CPML make a clear statement exposing and denouncing the fact that today the U.S. dominates Iran. Not once in all their

palaver about the two superpowers "behind the scenes maneuvering to protect their own interests in the country" has the CPML seen fit to hit the not-so-behind the scenes fact that the U.S. has armed the Shah to the teeth, providing him with all the weapons of repression that are now used so viciously against the masses.

Well, they whine, knowing full well they've got to try to cover their behinds, "the U.S. stake in Iran is quite well known." To the extent that this is true in the U.S., the CPML certainly can't be held responsible. But, they hasten to complain, "Soviet interests in Iran have been much less publicized." Come off it! You can't watch the news or read the daily papers without hearing about the threat to Iran from the Soviets and how much the social-imperialists would like to get their hands on Iran. But of course as far as the U.S. bourgeoisie and their mimics in the CPML are concerned, there can never be enough publicity about the Soviet interests in Iran—and there is always too much exposure of U.S. interests.

What you get from the CPML is cries that the "USSR is taking advantage of the present instability (sic) through its revisionist Tudeh Party and the thousands of KGB agents directed from its diplomatic mission in Tehran."

And while they generally trail behind the U.S. bourgeoisie in their coverage of the struggle in Iran, the dictates of their reactionary "three worlds theory" also requires their own peculiar brand of ostrich journalism. The U.S. imperialists at least admit that the main demand of the Iranian people has become the overthrow of the Shah. Not so the CPML. While thousands march in the streets of Iran daily demanding "Down with the Shah," you can search in vain through the pages of the *Call* for a clear statement that the main goal of the mass uprisings in Iran is to topple the Shah's regime and U.S. control.

"Demands have gone up from the masses," says the CPML, "for land for the peasants, higher wages and better working conditions for workers and a lifting of restrictions on political freedom and the ban on political parties." (The *Call*, Sept. 18). But what is the context in which these demands are being raised and what has become their thrust? It is the overthrow of the Shah,

but not a word of this from the CPML. Their line is right in keeping with that of the U.S. bourgeoisie, (or sections of it) which, faced with the growing failure of the Shah to put down the people, would like to see some kind of sham constitution and "democratic" liberalization while keeping Iran firmly under U.S. domination—perhaps, as a last resort, even without the Shah.

"The oil workers," says the *Call* in its issue, "have wrested major concessions from the government. These victories have often been overshadowed in the press by reports of the regime's counterattacks... in which thousands have lost their lives." In other words, don't talk so much about the massacres, further bloody proof that the Shah must be overthrown by armed force. Think instead about the "victories"—the crumbs thrown out by the Shah in a desperate attempt to turn the tide in his favor. These so-called revolutionaries slander the Iranian workers who have declared wage increases and other such concessions to be nothing but a filthy bribe and have taken to the streets in political strikes against the regime.

Of course, when the Shah does go down we can expect to see another display of the CPML's political acrobatics. Confronted by the power of the masses in struggle they, like bourgeois elements always do, will try to claim that they really supported them all along. Now that the Shah is tottering their opportunism may even coax them into murmuring "Down with the Shah."

But like their revisionist patrons in China the CPML sees great value in the Shah's regime. In the midst of the massive struggle, Hua Kuo-feng visited Iran, dodging demonstrations by helicopter and toasting it up with the Shah and his concubine. On September 11 the *Call* hailed this traitor's disgusting praise of the Shah: "Let our two countries strengthen our friendship and co-operation, learn from (l) and support each other and advance together triumphantly." And like the Chinese revisionists and the U.S. imperialists it is Iran's "instability" that the CPML finds most worrisome.

The CPML may be ready and willing to join hands with their "own" imperialists and spread confusion (and actually attack) the revolutionary struggles of the people. But they will never be able to drag the people of Iran or the United States down into the gutter with them.

High Tide

Continued from page 1

troops in early November. But the truth is that these religious observances have increasingly been used for revolutionary political activity—and this is exactly why the Shah's newly installed military government has banned all demonstrations and religious processions for the next month. Millions are defying this ban, seizing the opportunity to strike mighty blows against the hated regime.

Powerful Strike Wave

At the same time, a new strike wave has shut the country down tight, dealing still more powerful blows to the crisis-ridden regime. Workers in many industries went back to work for a period of time in November after the military government took power on the 6th. However in dozens upon dozens of plants and offices—in textiles, steel, the mines, the airlines, and many government ministries—the workers returned only to stage slowdowns, hold political meetings and prepare to go back out on strike, especially as the military government's "promises" to deal with their main demands proved to be naked lies. These demands have included the release of all political prisoners; an end to martial law, the expulsion of all foreign (especially U.S.) "advisors," managers and military personnel from Iran; and the prosecution of government officials and SAVAK agents known to have committed serious crimes against the people.

In some places, militant workers have taken such matters into their own hands. For example, on November 13 telecommunications workers forced 300 U.S. employees of Bell International out of their offices in Tehran to back up their demand for the dismissal of all foreign personnel. The day before, George Link, the American general manager of the Oil Services Company (which effectively runs Iran's "nationalized" oil industry), narrowly escaped being blown up with his car in Ahvaz. In numerous industries, U.S. "white collar mercenaries" were given until December 1 to pack up and leave Iran.

Throughout the month of November, the U.S. press reported that the Shah's military government had "broken the back" of the strikes in the oilfields, and that oil production already stood at

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50% and was rising steadily. But this is only one more in the long string of lies and half-truths about events in Iran. Iran's 40,000 plus oil workers, particularly in the oil refinery center of Abadan, persisted in their strike throughout November.

Due to the highly automated nature of the Iranian oilfields, the Western oil consortium (composed of Exxon, British Petroleum, Royal Dutch Shell, and eight other multi-nationals) and the National Iranian Oil Company have been able to produce a certain amount of crude (unrefined) oil with a skeleton scab crew of supervisory personnel and foreign workers. However, recent reports indicate an intensification of the strike and a further reduction in oil supplies. Even less natural gas is being brought out of the ground, completely halting the export by pipeline of more than 75% of Iran's gas production to the USSR, which is well known for selling large quantities of it to European countries, east and west, at a typically capitalist big markup and profit.

The oil workers are continuing their struggle in the face of heavy repression, including the arrest (and rumored execution) of many strike leaders and the stationing of reinforced army units in the key oil producing and refining centers. In Tehran, for example, troops ordered to take over the city's main refinery had to battle with crowds of demonstrators for hours just to get anywhere near it.

More than this, the oil workers' militant example and clear political demands have served as a revolutionary spark for the Iranian working class and the people's movement as a whole. Though the oil workers have traditionally been the most class-conscious section of the Iranian proletariat, the important role they are playing in the revolutionary struggle in Iran today is also a reflection of the rapidly increasing influence of Marxist-Leninist organizations in the oilfields and refinery complexes.

While the Iranian proletariat in recent months has increased its role in the people's struggle and has begun to organize under its own revolutionary class banner, growing numbers of peasants and semi-proletarians from the countryside have swelled the ranks of demonstrations in the major cities and towns, and further actions are stirring in the rural areas. This is a major threat indeed in a country where the majority of the people live in the countryside and semi-feudal relations still dominate there.

Regime Gripped in Crisis

In the face of this massive revolutionary upsurge of the Iranian people, the reactionary forces centered around the Shah and the U.S. imperialists are continuing to launch vicious attacks on the people on the one hand, while holding out a trick bag of sham "reforms" with the other. While the Shah and his new "liberal" Justice Minister are promising to release all 600 (!) remaining political prisoners by Dec. 10, the military government has thrown out a new dragnet, aimed at arresting large numbers of revolutionaries and communists, and has even re-arrested a number of recently released political prisoners.

In a nationwide broadcast in early November, the Shah tried to pose as a "born-again-tyrant": "I promise that the past mistakes and corruption will not be repeated... Your revolutionary message has been heard. I am aware of everything you have given your lives for." To show he meant it, the Shah had the former head of SAVAK, former prime minister Hoveyda and five former cabinet ministers arrested on charges of "corruption" and "opposing constitutional law and order"—when the whole country knows that each of these reactionary butchers was handpicked by the Shah himself to do his dirty work.

But grandstand plays such as these are only sugar-coating on the very real bullets the Shah's regime is using to shoot down tens of thousands of people. In the eyes of the overwhelming majority of the Iranian masses, each new set of promised "reforms" stands

Furious Demonstration Against the Shah



(WPS)—On November 25, 10,000 Iranian, Turkish and German students took to the streets of Frankfurt, the financial center of West Germany, in support of the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people and denouncing U.S. and West German support for the Shah. The demonstration went over into full scale rioting, as at least one thousand of the demonstrators attempted to storm the U.S. consulate. 500 cops with water cannons and night sticks managed to save that symbol of U.S. imperialism, but not without heavy casualties—180 cops were injured, 28 seriously.

The demonstrators were furiously proclaiming "Death to the Shah!" and "Down with U.S. and German Imperialism" as well as other slogans. Besides being a powerful show of support for the Iranian people, the demonstration was also an important development for the struggle in Germany. The West German press howled hysterically with headlines like: "The biggest street fight in 10 years," and "Police: We Feared for our Lives!"

Such a militant explosion of opposition to the Shah and his imperialist backers is a big encouragement for progressive people in this country to step up their efforts in support of the Iranian people's struggle. ■

as a new monument to the regime's political and economic bankruptcy.

According to the U.S. business press, the Iranian government has already suffered losses of more than \$10 billion—in lost oil production, reduced tax revenues, recently granted wage increases, and in private capital (\$3 billion worth) fleeing the country in recent weeks. Numerous arms purchases and development projects, including the \$7 billion U.S. AWACS airborne warning system, 20 nuclear reactor plants and a subway system for Tehran, have been scrapped.

The whole economy is in shambles. Industrial production and capital investment are taking a nose-dive, while inflation is soaring as the regime runs the printing presses non-stop to replace the billions of rials (Iranian currency) being sent abroad by the Iranian bourgeoisie.

This is not simply due to the blows of the present struggle, but more fundamentally to the underlying economic crisis in Iran. This crisis demonstrates the bankruptcy of Iran's neo-colonial "Third World economic miracle." It has been further intensified by the growing economic difficulties of the Western imperialists. All this has greatly eroded the regime's long range ability to stave off the full effects of the economic crisis, which will inevitably lead to further sharpening of the basic class contradictions in Iran. This is all the more evidence that the Shah's reactionary regime is not able to rule in the old way anymore.

The surging revolutionary struggle of the Iranian masses has also been reflected sharply in the deepening political crisis faced by the regime. The military government headed up by General Azhari, just like the previous "reform-minded" Sharif-Emami government, has not been able to crush or blunt the mass movement with its new recipe of carrot-and-stick tactics. The U.S. imperialists are acutely aware that the political base of the Shah's regime has to be significantly broadened among the comprador bourgeoisie and any part of the national bourgeoisie that may be willing to strike a deal with the U.S. (and who can influence sections of the masses in the same direction).

For the last several weeks, intense negotiations have been going on—the principal characters in which appear to be Sanjabi of the National Front and

also Amini, a former "liberal" prime minister who has been associated with the Shah on and off for years and is known as a firm U.S. supporter. This frenzied behind-the-scenes activity is apparently directed at putting together a "coalition government" that would start work on a new constitution (with, most likely, somewhat reduced powers for the Shah) and prepare for "free elections" in mid-1979. This, they hope, along with continued repression of the masses and conscious revolutionary forces, would take the wind out of the movement's sails, buy time and give the regime an opportunity to get the economy running again.

Though some such reactionary scheme is quite likely in the coming period, it fails to reckon on one "minor" fact—the continuing revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people. Sooner or later—and quite likely sooner—the inevitable result of such a scheme will be to totally isolate any partners in crime with the Shah and U.S. imperialism and make them a target of the people's revolutionary struggle themselves.

Stepped Up U.S. Intervention in Iran

While the U.S. is frantically exploring various options for maintaining a pro-imperialist regime in Iran (even without the Shah, if it becomes necessary), our imperialist rulers are giving the Shah 100% backing. They have much staked in the Shah's regime, and direct U.S. military intervention to save it is a real possibility.

The military government has received repeated assurances—both publicly and through recent U.S. envoys such as Senator Byrd and Treasury Secretary Blumenthal—that the U.S. will stand behind whatever actions are deemed necessary to "restore order" and protect the strategic interests of U.S. imperialism in Iran and the Persian Gulf. (As just one indication of how seriously the U.S. ruling class takes the Iranian people's revolutionary struggle, after Blumenthal was offered an armored personnel carrier and dozens of secret service agents for his trip to Tehran, he replied in complete seriousness, "How about a tank?")

The U.S. government has demonstrated its continuing support for the Shah's regime by shipping over large

quantities of "humane" riot control equipment and by sending thousands of new military and civilian "advisors" to Iran in order to shore up the regime economically as well as reinforce it militarily. Within several days at the beginning of November, more than 2000 new passports were issued in New York City for Americans going to Iran—and you can bet they weren't tourists. On top of this, government spokesmen are more openly than ever admitting that "contingency plans to protect both American lives and equipment" have been developed, and that the training and equipping of U.S. military units for deployment in Iran is being intensified.

At the same time, the U.S. bourgeoisie and its hired mouthpieces are not for one moment letting up on their campaign to build up public opinion in support of the Shah and continued U.S. domination in Iran. In recent weeks, countless editorials and commentaries have centered in on the theme of "defending our national interests in Iran." More explicitly than ever, dire warnings are going up that if the U.S. gets kicked out of Iran or stops supporting the regime, the Soviets will just walk in and take over.

Abundant fuel was added to this fire last month when the U.S. and the USSR issued a flurry of statements warning each other of making any moves towards military intervention in Iran while, naturally, denying that they themselves had any intention of doing such a thing. In an interview with *Pravda* on November 19, Soviet Chieftain Brezhnev stated that "Any interference, especially military interference in the affairs of Iran—a state which borders directly on the USSR—would be regarded by the USSR as affecting the interests of its security." In an unusual Sunday statement drawn up by President Carter and his top advisors, the U.S. imperialists fired back that "the United States does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of any country and reports to the contrary are totally without foundation," and called on the Soviet Union to abide by its promises to do the same.

It's nothing new that the U.S. imperialists are denying that they are interfering in the "internal affairs" of Iran, which is, after all, already their neo-colony, but this statement by Brezhnev represents a shift in the tactics of the Soviet social-imperialists on Iran. While still not moving to directly challenge the U.S. grip on Iran, the Soviets are upping their efforts to make trouble for their superpower rival.

With the Shah's regime and U.S. imperialism suffering blow upon blow from the people's struggle, the Soviet social-imperialists—like a wolf in sheep's clothing—are bending every effort to gain influence within the Iranian people's struggle as "opponents" of U.S. imperialism, especially working through their local branch representatives inside Iran, the revisionist Tudeh Party. The Soviets hate and oppose the revolutionary direction of the Iranian peoples movement, but that doesn't stop them from trying to divert it. Thus, the USSR has begun breaking its long-standing silence about events in Iran, beaming Radio Moscow broadcasts into Iran expressing "support" for the oil workers' strikes and warning of the danger of U.S. military intervention in Iran.

This deadly serious exchange between the two imperialist superpowers helps demonstrate just how crucial maintaining continued control over Iran is to the U.S.-led imperialist bloc, and conversely what a coup it would be for the Soviets to pry Iran loose; and further, as they move step-by-step closer towards world war, that they must go to any lengths to put out the flames of revolution within their "own" bloc while they attempt to make the maximum possible inroads in each other's territory.

And this also demonstrates exactly why the Iranian people's revolutionary struggle—which is delivering hammer blows to U.S. imperialism, one of the two biggest exploiters in the world today, and is not directed at exchanging one set of imperialist slavemasters for another—is today standing as a great beacon light to the working class and oppressed peoples the world over. ■

Chou . . .

Continued from page 1

more, and the people are no longer wrapped in sheer ignorance; gone for good is Chin Shih Huang's feudal society [meaning the rule of the working class under Mao's leadership]."

Though this reactionary riot was put down by the people's armed forces and Teng was dismissed from all his posts in the Party because of his role in instigating the riot, it did serve as a signal to the Rightist forces to step up their counter-revolutionary activities, and it also made clear who their overall leader had been and who remained their rallying point even in death—Chou En-lai.

In the middle of November, 1978, the Peking Party leadership described these reactionary riots as "completely revolutionary" (PR 47). Numerous articles in the papers and even a new film lauded "The Heroes of Tien An Men Square." At the same time, wall posters appeared in Peking, clearly with the approval of the Party leadership, attacking Mao directly. One 14-page poster, prominently displayed in the middle of Peking, stated: "Because Chairman Mao's thought was metaphysical in the last years of his life and for all sorts of other reasons he supported the four in getting rid of Teng Hsiao-ping." The poster went on to say, "After Tienanmen, the four made use of Chairman Mao's errors of judgment concerning the class struggle and capitalized from the situation to launch a general offensive against the cause of revolution in China."

In *Peking Review* 46, the revisionists emphasize that by the time of the Tien An Men incident, "the attitude towards Comrade Chou En-lai had become a touchstone for distinguishing revolution from counter-revolution and genuine Marxism from sham Marxism." And indeed it had, for by the beginning of the 1970s Chou En-lai had developed into the overall leader and main rallying point for the Right—especially the capitalist roaders headquartered in the Party—in direct opposition to the proletarian revolutionary headquarters led by Mao and with the Four as its active core.

Bourgeois Democrat to Capitalist-Roader

Chou En-lai was one of the chief representatives of an entire layer of veteran Party officials and leaders who had supported the democratic revolution but failed to advance and became counter-revolutionaries, capitalist roaders, in the socialist stage, especially the farther the socialist revolution advanced and the deeper it struck at the vestiges and inequalities left over from the old society. It was exactly about such people that Mao explained,

After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials.

As Mao stressed many times, the development of people, particularly leading Party members, from bourgeois democrats into capitalist-roaders was a big phenomenon in the Chinese revolution. Since in China the struggle passed through a long stage of bourgeois-democratic revolution, though of a new type, led by the proletariat and the Communist Party, many people hitched their wagon onto the Chinese Communist Party without making a radical rupture with bourgeois ideology and taking up the revolutionary outlook of the proletariat. For these bourgeois democrats, the goal of the revolution was to overcome China's backwardness and the near total strangulation of China by the imperialist powers. Therefore they turned to "socialism"—public ownership—as the most efficient and rapid means of turning China into a highly industrialized, modern country. As the socialist revolution advanced, they fought for this development to take place along increasingly bourgeois lines—which under China's conditions would not only restore capitalism but would also lead to bringing China back under the domination of one imperialist power or another.

As early as 1964, Mao said that the main target of the socialist revolution had become "those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road." In 1976 Mao laid great emphasis on a correct understanding of this question. He pointed out:

With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the co-operative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road.

To make it clear that this was a life-and-death struggle over which class would rule China, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, Mao concluded, "The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road."

This and many other statements by Mao were

Readings from Before and After the Death of Mao Tsetung

In order to bring the differences between the revolutionary line of Mao and the Four and the revisionist line of China's current leadership into sharper relief, we have compiled a series of readings from the Chinese press representing the two lines on several key issues of socialist revolution and construction.

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Education	\$1.00
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directed not only against Teng Hsiao-ping (about whom Mao also said "he represents the bourgeoisie" and that he made "no distinction between imperialism and Marxism") but against other capitalist-roaders, including Chou En-lai himself—who had served as the chief mentor of the Right. This was widely known inside China and amply demonstrated by his all-out campaign to rehabilitate unrepentant capitalist roaders such as Teng Hsiao-ping who had been knocked down in the Cultural Revolution and to promote both them and their revisionist program to the highest levels of government (for instance, Teng was groomed and handpicked by Chou to be acting premier when his health deteriorated during 1975).

Chou En-Lai's 1949 Speech

Besides being chosen to downgrade and attack Mao, Chou En-lai's 1949 speech "Learn from Mao Tsetung" reveals a great deal about Chou's political line and bourgeois-democratic world outlook at that time. The most striking feature of Chou's speech, delivered in May, 1949—when countrywide liberation was both certain and imminent—is that it does not deal with the upcoming socialist stage of the revolution at all. It makes but one token reference at the end to "make preparations for the shift to a socialist New China" as just one of the many questions confronting youth.

This is exactly the viewpoint of the bourgeois democrats in China who could not see beyond defeating the "three great mountains" of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and for whom the main task lying ahead was hard, practical work in building China into a great, modern country. As demonstrated repeatedly over the course of the next two decades and more, this kind of outlook would feed directly into the revisionist line that the role of the masses is to put their noses to the grindstone and leave politics and affairs of state to the veteran leaders and high officials.

On the question of pushing the revolution forward, Chou repeatedly emphasizes that it is necessary to "wait and do some persuading." His emphasis is *not* on mobilizing the masses and relying on their conscious activism to advance the revolution. Chou's message is to go slow—the democratic revolution will be a long period, and only when we have united "the great majority" will it be opportune to start talking about the socialist revolution. Using the demagogic line of a bourgeois democrat, Chou argues that "when the great majority do not agree, we must follow the majority organizationally."

Furthermore, just as Chou claims that, in terms of struggle within the ranks of the Party, "the War of Liberation has been plain sailing, more or less," he apparently expects smooth sailing in the future. Concerning the development of erroneous lines Chou states that "the possibility of such situations occurring in future work will be reduced." There isn't even the slightest glimmer of understanding here that class struggle continues under socialism.

On this question of how to view the new revolutionary tasks confronting the Chinese people in 1949, there is a world of difference between Mao's and Chou's political outlook—the difference between a proletarian revolutionary and a bourgeois democrat. Throughout the various stages of the new-democratic revolutionary struggle, Mao constantly stressed the need for the Party to keep its sights set on the socialist revolution and eventually communism lying ahead, exactly because of the overwhelming spontaneous tendency and great danger of identifying the ideology of the Party with the immediate democratic stage of the revolution. In early 1949, Mao explicitly pointed out that the principal internal contradiction after the liberation of China would become "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie."

Though Mao could not then predict the actual form that the class struggle would take in the future as the socialist revolution advanced and deepened, his whole

approach was based firmly on materialist dialectics and called on the masses and Party members to "cast away illusions, prepare for struggle."

At an important Party CC meeting held in March, 1949, at roughly the same time as Chou's speech, Mao warned that

After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us; we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit very grave mistakes.

Later in this same report, Mao made his famous statement that

There may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation. To win country-wide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li. (Mao, *Selected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 374.)

Two months later, Chou's speech referred only to the last part of Mao's statement "To win country-wide victory . . ." and explicitly tied it to more "difficult and arduous work," completely divorcing it from the continuing class struggle.

In this same report Mao blasted people, both inside and outside the Party, who were arguing for working out a deal with U.S. imperialism, even though it had armed Chiang Kai-shek to the teeth and was still intent on strangling and dominating China. According to them, on its own, and even with assistance from the Soviet Union, China could not develop its economy. Mao argued back that by relying on the masses of Chinese people and first and foremost the working class, and with the support of the working class of the countries of the world and chiefly the socialist USSR, "there is absolutely no ground for pessimism about China's economic resurgence."

As for accusations that the Party was leaning too heavily towards the Soviet Union, Mao replied, "all Chinese without exception must lean either to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism. Sitting on the fence will not do, nor is there a third road." Then as well as now this statement of Mao's exposes a consistent feature of the revisionists in China—their "leaning" and ultimately their falling completely over backward into the clutches of one or the other bloc of imperialist countries.

Such people, Mao pointed out, were like the bourgeois democrats of the turn of the century who always looked to the imperialist West and its model of capitalist modernization for China's salvation. In opposition to this Mao said that China would and must take the socialist road—"only socialism can save China," as he was to repeatedly insist. This was a direct rebuke to people like Chou, whose line not only would not lead the struggle forward to socialism but would not even succeed in accomplishing the democratic and anti-imperialist tasks of the revolution, just as the line of Chou and his counterrevolutionary successors is leading to China once again becoming a feasting ground for imperialist vultures.

It is significant to note here that the U.S. government recently released an alleged memorandum kept secret for almost 30 years that in June of 1949 Chou En-lai made a secret overture to the U.S. government through a third party, saying that he (Chou) represented a "liberal" faction within the Chinese Communist Party that wanted to be "independent" of the Soviet Union, and requesting U.S. aid to develop the economy, which Chou reportedly saw on the brink of collapse. This report needs to be investigated further, but such an overture is consistent with the policies of Chou's that showed up repeatedly in the following years—most graphically with his championing, in the early 1970s, together with Teng Hsiao-ping, of the strategic "Three Worlds" line of capitulating to and relying on the Western imperialist countries in order to obtain the technology and capital necessary to "modernize" China on a capitalist basis.

Chou's speech to this important Youth Conference in 1949 also literally reeks with a totally perverted conception of the relation between leaders and the masses. In the first paragraph of what is reprinted of this speech, Chou says: "We must have a leader *accepted by all of us*, for such a leader will lead us in our march forward" (PR 43, p. 7; emphasis added), and he later claims that the Party will not have as much two-line struggle in the future because "the overwhelming majority of our comrades accept him [Mao] as our leader and have real faith in him; moreover, he enjoys the support of the people." (p. 12) In other words, his conception is that the role of a leader is to get himself "accepted" by everyone, and now that we have a leader with such universal acceptance, we won't be bothered with these problems of two-line struggle like we used to be. This is indeed a good picture of how Chou functioned—trying to win universal acceptance and avoiding open two-line struggle like the plague—but it is thousands of miles removed from the way of functioning of a real communist leader like Mao Tsetung.

Very significant is the fact that, in exhorting the youth to "learn from Mao Tsetung," Chou chooses to stress two things: (1) that Mao applies Marxism-

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Chou . . .

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Leninism concretely, in the particular situation of China, and (2) that it is always necessary to "win over the great majority" before anything can be done. Why, in allegedly explaining Mao Tsetung Thought does Chou lay all his stress on these, and only these? Although he "modestly" notes that "what I have said is only a very small part of Mao Tsetung Thought" (p. 14), the effect of his speech is to reduce Mao Tsetung Thought to a pedestrian platitude of keeping your eyes on the concrete and patiently persuading the great majority before attempting to take any action. The vanguard role of communists is perverted into the role of condescending saviors or Confucian sages who patiently keep dispensing their pearls of wisdom until the backward masses finally wake up and pick them up. Throughout, Chou throws his whole emphasis on practice as opposed to theory, on the immediate over the long-range, on "facts" as against theoretical understanding of the essence, on the new-democratic and not the socialist, etc. His line is thoroughly rightist.

Chou constantly warns the youth against being superficial, arrogant and rash, but this is really the height of hypocrisy coming from Chou En-lai. "I too was rash in the past," admits Chou in a show of false modesty. He continues, "Of course, it is not easy for the younger generation to acquire these good qualities." (*Ibid.*, p. 14.)

In contrast, Mao directed his criticisms of arrogance chiefly at those veteran leaders who thought that since they had made contributions to the revolution they deserved special treatment and could rest on their laurels.

In 1939, Mao gave a well-known speech in Yanan on the 20th anniversary of the May 4th Movement titled, "The Orientation of the Youth Movement." He asked, "How should we judge whether a youth is revolutionary? How can we tell? There can be only one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice." (*SW*, Vol. 2, p. 246.) This is what Mao emphasized and this is what Chou "forgets" to mention. (And naturally this is one of the features of Chou's speech that the current revisionist rulers must find particularly appealing for realizing their plans of bringing up a new generation of "talented youth" that will spearhead the "four modernizations.")

While Mao recognized that youth lacked experience, he emphasized that "In a way they have played a vanguard role—a fact recognized by everybody except the die-hards." (*Ibid.*, p. 245.) From Chou's all-knowing lecture to these youth gathered in Peking in June, 1949, how could they ever "take the lead and march in the forefront of the revolutionary ranks"—as Mao called on China's youth to do in 1939. In later years, Mao extended his thinking on the role of youth to point out explicitly that unleashing the daring and rebelliousness of youth was crucial to continue transforming and revolutionizing society and deepening the socialist revolution. Chou's admonition to the youth is to emulate great individuals like Mao, work hard, and "be careful and conscientious and make as few mistakes as possible." (*PR* 43, p. 14.)

Throughout Chou En-lai's speech Mao Tsetung Thought is reduced in substance to "new-democratic thought" and is gutted of its revolutionary content and essence, and the Mao that Chou calls on the youth to "learn from" is presented as a common liberal and a "practical-minded" communist. Chou portrays Mao as Chou saw himself—that of a wise man who has gained possession of the "truth of Marxism-Leninism," and with this accomplished is solely concerned with the problems of implementation. As Chou himself repeatedly emphasizes, "the principles you have worked out must be put into concrete terms," "Chairman Mao does not engage in empty talk but truth," etc.

This is precisely the kind of pragmatic "communist" that Chou En-lai represented—and why he stands as a model to emulate for the new revisionist rulers of China. Mao in fact did stress practice and linking theory with practice, but what he stressed was linking revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice. Mao's whole philosophical outlook stressed dialectics, that contradiction, the unity and struggle of opposites, was the motive force in the universe; he applied materialist dialectics to studying society and on that basis transforming the world through struggle. Mao criticized the "vulgar practical men" who "respect experience but despise theory, and therefore cannot have a comprehensive view of an entire objective process, lack clear direction and long-range perspective, and are complacent over occasional successes and glimpses of the truth. If such people direct a revolution they will lead it up a blind alley." ("On Practice," *SW*, Vol. 1, p. 303.)

Chou's attempt to paint Mao as a "get things done" man is closely linked to picturing Mao as a democratic-minded liberal who was quite willing to let all viewpoints contend while he "waited and did some persuading" until the majority eventually came around to his viewpoint. But this again completely reverses Mao's role as a tireless and implacable foe of every kind of revisionism and opportunism. Throughout the course of the Chinese revolution, from the mountains

of Chinkang in the late 1920s to the Great Leap Forward in the late 1950s, and the Cultural Revolution in the '60s and '70s, Mao very often found himself in a minority among his old comrades, who were almost all veterans of the war of liberation. What characterized Mao was that he never stopped struggling against incorrect lines and that he had confidence, based on a deep understanding of the laws of society and the class struggle, that the masses of people were fully capable of grasping a revolutionary line and transforming the world.

Chou's liberalism also comes out in his claim that too many people were being executed—which was certainly not Mao's line when, in 1949, the PLA was liberating vast amounts of territory and the masses of workers and peasants were settling scores with the tyrants and oppressors who had ridden on their backs for so long. Mao pointed out that without suppressing counter-revolutionaries, and executing those of them who had committed serious crimes against the people, the masses of people would not fully stand up. This was a point Mao stressed repeatedly during the early '50s and the movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries.

The revisionist rulers obviously think that reprinting such a speech by Chou En-lai will build him up—and themselves, by association—in revolutionary stature. However, what it really does is provide a clearer picture of Chou's bourgeois-democratic outlook on the eve of liberation in 1949, which is all the more valuable since Chou did not write very much (a typical trait of many pragmatic "communists" whose "principles" must change rapidly as conditions require).

Chou En-lai's Speech on the Intellectuals in 1956—More Revisionist Trash

In a major article that lavishly praises Chou En-lai's contributions to the Chinese revolution, written by the State Council's theoretical group in early 1977, the revisionists claim that "Premier Chou always attached importance to uniting with, educating and remoulding the intellectuals." As evidence they explicitly refer to a special conference on the question of the intellectuals called by the Party Central Committee in 1956 where "Premier Chou made an important report which played a significant role in promoting the ideological remoulding of intellectuals and mobilizing their enthusiasm for socialism." (*PR* 3, 1977, p. 15.)

However, if we look at Chou's actual report (which was translated by the U.S. government after its release by New China News Agency in 1956), we find that its line is the exact opposite of this. While paying lip service to remoulding the intellectuals, it seriously downgrades the importance of this task and completely divorces it from the continuing class struggle under socialism, as well as from the intellectuals integrating themselves with and learning from the workers and peasants; it openly caters to the intellectuals' "ambition for advancement" and calls for providing them with more pay, privileges and "respect"; and it puts forward the revisionist view that science and technique, and the "highly trained intellectuals" necessary to wield them, occupy the central role in the construction of socialism.

There is good reason for the current Chinese rulers to promote this report of Chou En-lai's, for it puts forward fundamentally and in many specific aspects the same revisionist line on the question of intellectuals and science and technology which they are presently putting into practice with a vengeance. Mao's speeches on the same questions during 1956-57 and, even more pointedly in future years, stand in fundamental opposition to Chou's line.

Here it must be pointed out that the task of carrying out economic construction along the socialist road in China—an economically backward country with a legacy of imperialist domination and feudal stagnation—has been a crucial question for the Chinese Communist Party. Especially right after 1949 there was a need to rely on intellectuals, technical "experts," even industrial managers—all of whom had been trained in the old society and enjoyed a great deal of privilege over the masses of working people, who had been maintained in illiteracy and had been barred from this kind of knowledge under the division of labor in the old society. This necessity of relying to some degree on the intellectuals, whose outlook was still largely bourgeois, inevitably strengthened bourgeois influences and bourgeois forces in society and within the Party as well.

Mao recognized the necessity of uniting with and utilizing many intellectuals—especially in the mid-'50s, when China was coming into increasingly sharp conflict with the Soviet Union and the need to quickly train and utilize large numbers of Chinese intellectuals was becoming more urgent to decrease dependence on the Soviets. However, Mao insisted that the intellectuals must be remolded in their thinking and must take part in productive labor and political struggle together with the masses. Mao repeatedly emphasized at this very time that without such ideological remolding the intellectuals would turn into a dangerous force for reaction because of their strategic positions and influence in society.

This sweeping view of Mao's—that of a proletarian revolutionary—is completely absent from Chou's report. For Chou the fundamental question is that certain sectarian errors in dealing with the intellectuals, "the most valuable assets of the state," are preventing them from fully contributing to the task of socialist construction. Other than the task of "weeding out" the

few remaining counter-revolutionaries and bad elements, the class struggle is not a critical question anymore, according to Chou. Instead of warning Party members and intellectuals about the danger of the bourgeoisie's sugar-coated bullets, Chou calls for more of such bullets and for making them as sweet as possible.

Mao On Intellectuals

Mao, on the other hand, presented the question in a fundamentally different manner. In "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" in early 1957, Mao recognized that the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie would be "protracted and tortuous and at times even very sharp." Mao stated that

It will take a fairly long period of time to decide the issue in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country. The reason is that the influence of the bourgeoisie and of the intellectuals who come from the old society, the very influence which constitutes their class ideology, will persist in our country for a long time. If this is not understood at all or is insufficiently understood, the gravest of mistakes will be made and the necessity of waging struggle in the ideological field will be ignored. (*SW*, Vol. 5, pp. 409-10.)

In order to downplay the importance of waging just such ideological struggle, Chou claims that "The overwhelming majority of the intellectuals have become government workers in the service of Socialism and are already part of the working class." Among the "higher intellectuals," about whom Chou is particularly concerned, he quotes statistics that say that 45% "actively support Socialism," 40% support the government but are not "sufficiently progressive," while the remaining are backward elements and counter-revolutionaries. With this in mind, Chou called for recruiting 1/3 of the higher intellectuals into the Party by 1962.

Mao had something to say on this question as well. In early 1957 he said that only 10% of the country's five million intellectuals take "a firm stand—the stand of the proletariat." As for the great majority, Mao classified them as "wavering." They "still have a long way to go before they can completely replace their bourgeois world outlook with the proletarian world outlook." While Mao supported recruiting politically advanced intellectuals into the Party, he still noted that "even these Party intellectuals constantly waver and 'fear dragons ahead and tigers behind,'" and he continued to emphasize making advanced workers and peasants the backbone of the Party. ("Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work," *SW*, Vol. 5, pp. 424-25.)

And as for Chou's statement that the intellectuals have joined the working class, Mao clearly states that they are part of the petty bourgeoisie, whose remolding "has only just started." Not surprisingly, Chou's line here is quite similar to that of Teng Hsiao-ping, who gave the report on the Constitution at the Party's 8th National Congress in the fall of 1956. As part of his revisionist line that class struggle was dying out and rigid class distinctions no longer reflected China's new situation, Teng argued that "The vast majority of our intellectuals have now come over politically to the side of the working class, and there is a rapid change in their family background. The conditions in which the city poor and the professional people used to exist as independent social strata have been virtually eliminated."

As for Chou's policies for reeducating the intellectuals, he calls for organizing more visits to socialist construction projects, working in their professions, and general theoretical study, which he emphasizes should not conflict with their "professional duties," for which "at least five-sixths of the working day" must be reserved. Further, the cornerstone of Chou's program for the intellectuals calls for catering to their "ambition for advancement"—which can only "educate" the intellectuals in a fundamentally bourgeois direction.

Just one year later, Mao called attention to the fact that "Among students and intellectuals there has recently been a falling off in ideological and political work, and some unhealthy tendencies have appeared. Some people seem to think that there is no longer any need to concern themselves with politics. . . ." In his speech at the Party National Conference on Propaganda Work in March 1957, Mao referred to visiting an occasional factory or village as "looking at the flowers on horseback." While calling this better than doing nothing at all, Mao advised more intellectuals to "settle down" among the workers and peasants and thoroughly remold their world outlook. For as Mao stressed, "In order to have a real grasp of Marxism, one must learn it not only from books, but chiefly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants." (*SW*, Vol. 5, pp. 426-27.)

For Chou, the fundamental question is how to "stimulate" the intellectuals to help build China into a great modern country. In an eclectic formulation that the current revisionist rulers constantly use, Chou's solution is to combine political education with material rewards. Chou calls for giving them more pay and better living quarters, giving them the necessary

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Chou . . .

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assistants and "respect," restoring titles and promotion systems—in short, the bottom line is to cut out all this crap about "politics" and unleash the intellectuals' "ambition for advancement."

Showing his Confucian tender loving care for their privileged position over the great majority of the people, Chou says that "in order to enable the higher intellectuals to devote greater energy to their work, their treatment should be appropriately raised. Some higher intellectuals have to spend unnecessarily much time over trifling matters in their living and this must be considered a loss of the state's labour power."

The intellectuals', especially the "higher intellectuals'," confidence in Chou's concern for them is well rewarded:

First, we should tell the administrative personnel of all the departments concerned to regard the living conditions of the intellectuals as a matter of importance. Second, we should educate the trade union organizations in all the departments concerned and the consumers' cooperatives to strive to expand their services for the benefit of the intellectuals. Third, we should make suitable adjustment in the salaries of intellectuals on the principle of remuneration according to work, so that their earnings are commensurate with their contribution to the state. The tendency of equalitarianism in the systems of remuneration and other irrational features should be eliminated.

And Chou notes another "irrational" feature of the treatment of intellectuals:

This irrational system of promotion greatly obstructs the *ambition for advancement* on the part of the intellectuals, and obstructs especially the fostering of new forces and the selection of intellectuals generally for better positions. This system must be rapidly revised. In addition, an important measure for the encouragement of intellectuals' ambition for advancement and the stimulation of scientific and cultural progress is to be found in the conferment on intellectuals of degrees and titles. . . . (emphasis added)

When Chou turns to the workers and peasants, immediately after this naked call to heap new privileges on the intellectuals, the ugly side of his Confucian "concern" for the people is revealed quite starkly:

we must carry out education among the workers, and let them understand how to correctly deal with intellectuals, so that their proper sense of self-respect may not be unwittingly impaired, since all righteous laborers should have self-respect.

In other words, Chou's message to the workers is: "Learn your place and like it." Like all revisionists who preach the dying out of the class struggle, this is strictly a one-way street. While they call on the masses to put an end to their struggle against the bourgeoisie and its reactionary ideology, they implement new ways to control and suppress the workers.

Not surprisingly, Chou's program for the intellectuals, especially the highly trained intellectuals, reappears in all its revisionist splendor in the "Party CC Circular on Holding a National Science Conference," prepared by Teng, Hua & Co. in September, 1977:

We must see to it that those scientists and technicians who have made achievements or who have great talent must be assured proper working conditions and provided with necessary assistants. Titles for technical personnel should be restored, the system to assess technical proficiency should be established and technical posts must entail specific responsibility. Just as we ensure the time for the workers and peasants to engage in productive labour, so scientific research workers must be given no less than five-sixths of their work hours each week for professional work. (*Peking Review* 40, 1977, p. 10.)

Chou's line, echoed here by the current revisionist rulers, is exactly the Confucian doctrine of "restoring the rites" and completely in line with the Confucian—and generally the exploiting class— notion that those who work with their minds govern while those who work with their hands are governed. As Mao and other proletarian revolutionaries in the Chinese Communist Party were to point out repeatedly in the future, under socialism the question of how to deal with the inequalities and the bourgeois division of labor inherited from the old society, of whether to expand or restrict "bourgeois right," becomes a critical dividing line for continuing the revolution or opposing it.

For several years before his death, Mao emphasized that the new socialist society is in many ways not much different from the old society, especially as regards inequality among the people, the mental-manual contradiction, worker-peasant differences, differences in rank and pay, etc. He analysed how the bourgeoisie emerges and draws its very lifeblood from the contradictions of socialist society itself and how the main danger comes from bourgeois headquarters that will repeatedly form in the Party itself to defend and expand these differences and inequalities and to protect and unleash a social base of more privileged strata. Building socialism and going onto communism, Mao showed, depends on unceasing class struggle against the bourgeoisie, especially the capitalist-roaders within

the Party; and it requires mobilizing the masses politically and increasing their mastery over all aspects of society, thereby digging away at the soil from which the bourgeoisie and its reactionary ideology constantly reemerges under socialism.

On just this question, Chou En-lai was taking a fundamentally revisionist line as early as 1956. When faced with the new tasks of advancing the socialist revolution, the bourgeois democrat of the earlier stage of the revolution can now be seen turning into a "Party person in power taking the capitalist road"—who is in a strategic position to institute revisionist policies throughout society, gradually usurp portions of power from the working class, and serve as the overall commander of the bourgeoisie's social base for capitalist restoration, of whom the more privileged strata of intellectuals, government officials, and technical "experts" and so forth form a key part.

Chou's Development into Revisionist Traitor

This is exactly the overall role that Chou En-lai ended up playing in the 1970s, when the class struggle centered on what stand to take towards the Cultural Revolution and the question of what road China would take was being raised more sharply than ever. However, this clearly went through a process of development. During the mass movements of the 1950s and '60s, Mao was able to win Chou's support at key points—though this was often given begrudgingly since Chou never fundamentally united with the revolutionary thrust of these struggles.

This was primarily because Chou and other bourgeois democrats like him did support some of the transformations which cleared away China's economic and cultural backwardness, particularly if the victories could later—after the mass movements had subsided—be turned into capital to bolster their power and authority. In an important pamphlet released in 1975, *On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship over the Bourgeoisie*, Chang Chun-chiao touched directly on this subject. Referring to "some comrades among us who have joined the Communist Party organizationally but not ideologically," Chang wrote:

They do approve of the dictatorship of the proletariat at a certain stage and within a certain sphere and are pleased with certain victories of the proletariat, because they will bring them some gains; once they have secured these gains, they feel it's time to settle down and feather their cosy nests. (Page 18.)

Furthermore, when faced with the rising tide of mass struggle, especially at the beginning stages of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, Chou and others could sense which way the political winds were blowing and had enough sense to jump on for the ride in order to protect their positions. But by the early 1970s, Chou no longer saw this as necessary.

In fact a great opportunity presented itself to "get off the bus"—to make a decisive stand against the forward march of the revolution. The Lin Piao affair, the growing Soviet threat to China and the growing resistance among many Party leaders and cadre to the unprecedented breakthroughs and transformations of the Cultural Revolution all brought out Chou's long-standing revisionist tendencies and crystallized them into a fully counter-revolutionary line—placing Chou and other veteran Party leaders allied with him directly in opposition to Mao and the proletarian headquarters he led.

In his famous speech at Lushan in 1959, Mao said that Chou En-lai had "wavered" in 1956-57 during the beginning stirrings of the mass upheavals that broke out with full force in the Great Leap Forward in 1958-59. In ideological terms, Mao labelled this "the sad and dismal flatness and pessimism of the bourgeoisie." At the same time, Mao noted that Chou was an example of people who were conservative earlier but now "stand firm." (*Chairman Mao Talks to the People, Talks and Letters: 1956-1971*, edited by Stuart Schram, p. 138.)

However, only several years later—in the situation of the sudden pull-out of Soviet aid and a string of natural calamities—Chou "wavered" once more, joining forces with the revisionists centered around Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping to reverse many of the revolutionary transformations made during the Great Leap Forward. Chou apparently had a hand in formulating the infamous "70 points" for industry in the early 1960s (which among other things reinstated bonuses and piece-work, adopted rules and regulations putting profit and industrial "experts" in command, and cut back the time workers spent in political study and struggle).

Mao often pointed out that at the start of the Cultural Revolution the majority of the old guard on the Central Committee disagreed with him, calling his views "outdated." In fact, Mao later said, "I was the only one to agree with my opinion at times." While Mao struggled with and eventually won over Chou and many of the other crusty Party officials grouped around him to go along with the Cultural Revolution, he clearly felt it was necessary to pass over most of these people in forming a leading group to carry forward the revolution. Mao and the revolutionary Left—in which the four proletarian revolutionaries now vilified as the "gang of four" played a leading role—mobilized the masses to strike down the pro-Soviet revisionist headquarters centered around Liu Shao-chi and later the headquarters of Lin Piao and to assert their control and increase their mastery of every

sphere of society. But, at the same time, the veteran Party leaders centered around Chou En-lai tried to narrow the scope of the Cultural Revolution and at times attempted to outright put a stop to it (as they did in early 1967). To a large extent, Chou's role consisted of guarding against "excesses" and protecting and shielding many of these same conservative Party bureaucrats from mass criticism.

By this time Chou En-lai and other top Party leaders allied with him had concluded that China's defense and economic construction depended on accommodation and alliance with the Western imperialist countries—a consistent feature of Chou's thinking since perhaps as far back as 1949 or even further. Chou's policies—that of placing modernization above class struggle, putting bourgeois experts and "efficiency" in command, telling the workers and peasants to stay in their place, and like it, and throwing the door open to the exploitation of China by foreign capital in exchange for advanced technology—had much in common with the revisionist lines that came under fire during the first few years of the Cultural Revolution (with the main difference being that Liu Shao-chi, "China's Khrushchev," and Lin Piao after him, were advocating capitulation to the Soviet social-imperialists instead of to the imperialist West). Chou En-lai and others saw that their interests would be best served by the defeat of these Soviet-style revisionists; thus they joined forces with Mao and the revolutionary Left, who saw that Liu and later Lin Piao posed the most immediate danger of usurping power and dragging China back to capitalism.

By the end of 1971, a bourgeois headquarters which increasingly had Chou as its prime sponsor was in an extremely powerful position, due to both the internal and international factors. Lin Piao's treachery threw many of the achievements of the Cultural Revolution into question, the possibility of a Soviet attack on China had increased considerably, and there were many Party cadre and some sections of the masses who were tiring of the mass struggle.

In the name of opposing Lin Piao, the Right—led by Chou En-lai—argued for rehabilitating the overwhelming majority of cadre knocked down during the Cultural Revolution, including unrepentant capitalist roaders such as Teng Hsiao-ping, with little more than a token self-criticism. In the name of fending off a Soviet attack, the Right—again led by Chou—jumped on the necessity of making an "opening to the West" to advocate forming a strategic alliance with U.S. imperialism and its bloc and dropping support for revolutionary struggles around the world. (See "Three Worlds Strategy: Apology for Capitulation" in November 1978 *Revolution* for more on Chou En-lai's role in developing and implementing this reactionary international line.)

At this point in time, Mao saw the need to rehabilitate many cadre, but only on the basis of the Party maintaining a firm proletarian line, and certainly not on the basis of reversing the correct verdicts of the Cultural Revolution. Mao apparently agreed to bring back Teng Hsiao-ping because of the need to consolidate things after the Lin Piao affair, but Mao insisted Teng make a self-criticism and pledge to support the Cultural Revolution—which could be and later was used against him when he jumped out again. Mao also saw the need to make certain agreements and compromises with the West to deal with the growing Soviet threat to China. However, Mao was agreeing to some of Chou's policies with completely different objectives in mind, as was to become clear later.

According to the Right it was now time to restore order, cut out all these mass political movements, and get back down to what really counts—the task of building China into a great modern country. The Cultural Revolution not only had to be declared over, but the many revolutionary transformations that it brought about—including revolutionary committees in factories to replace one-man management, the settling of educated youth in the countryside, and open-door scientific research—had to be attacked and reversed. Though Teng Hsiao-ping served as the Right's open hatchet man, the current rulers give Chou full credit for spearheading a move to restore the old educational policies criticized during the Cultural Revolution, particularly calling for "raising standards" and for the enrollment of part of the college students directly from "talented" senior middle school graduates.

Mao undoubtedly struggled with Chou to reverse his reactionary line right up until Chou died in January 1976—particularly because Mao recognized that Chou had a powerful social base among Party cadres, intellectuals and sections of the masses, and Mao recognized the necessity of winning over as much of those as possible. However, Mao harbored no illusions about Chou and what he was up to.

Immediately after the Tenth Party Congress in late 1973, Mao, allied closely with the Four, opened up fire directly on the rightist headquarters led by Chou and most aggressively championed by Teng Hsiao-ping. This life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie intensified right up to October 1976, when the Right took advantage of Mao's death and mustered their forces to pull off a counter-revolutionary *coup d'etat*.

In each of the campaigns initiated by Mao—from Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in 1973, Study the Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Combat and Prevent Revisionism, Criticize *Water Margin*, to Criticize Teng and Beat Back the Right

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Haywood...

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Haywood says much the same thing in the opening paragraph of his 1948 book, *Negro Liberation*:

The Negro question in the United States is agrarian in origin. It involves the problem of a depressed peasantry living under a system of sharecropping, riding-boss supervision, debt slavery, chronic land hunger, and dependency—in short, the plantation system, a relic of chattel slavery.

Is the same thing true today? Obviously not. It was already changing when Haywood wrote this book. And today the great majority of Black people, in the South as well as the North, are part of the working class, not peasants, and in the South agriculture itself is now essentially capitalist, not semi-feudal. And this, together with the general dispersal of Black people from the "Black Belt," is what marks the Black national question as fundamentally different today than in the 1920s and 30s. Today the vast majority of Blacks in the U.S. are urban workers, not peasants in the Black Belt, although the continued oppression of Blacks still has, and shows, its roots in the history of national oppression in the Black Belt. Because of these historical changes, the aim of the Black liberation struggle today is not a bourgeois democratic revolution and the right of self-determination, of secession, for the Black nation. Today the Black national question is not in essence a peasant but a proletarian question, and can be linked immediately and directly with a single stage socialist revolution.

The Revolutionary Communist Party upholds the right of Black people to return to and reclaim their homeland, the Black Belt South. But at the same time, for the reasons indicated above, our Party does not hold self-determination for the Black Belt nation to be the heart of the Black liberation struggle, and the Party points out that to raise this demand as central is to push the Black liberation struggle away from the revolutionary direction it must take—of linking up with and merging with the overall struggle of the U.S. working class. This position is expounded in the *Programme* of the RCP (pages 119-125), and is explained in detail in "Living Socialism and Dead Dogmatism: The Proletarian Line and the Struggle Against Opportunism on the National Question in the U.S.," *The Communist*, Vol. 1, No. 2.

Haywood, however, continues to cling dogmatically to the old Comintern position, regardless of actual changes. The only defense he offers of the continued applicability of this analysis is to be found in the following paragraph:

Let's take a look at current conditions. Despite the imperialist offensive against the Black masses, which resulted in tremendous outmigrations from the Black Belt homeland, there remains a stable community of Black

people in the rural South and a growing Black population in the urban areas. The actual number of Blacks has steadily increased. In 1940, there were over nine million Black people in the South and by 1970 the number had increased to nearly twelve million. Over 70% of all Black people in the U.S. were born in the South and still have roots there. Within the Black Belt territory itself, despite fierce economic and political coercion, there has remained since 1930 a stable community of over five million. The "escape valve" into the northern cities is being closed by the crisis, and outmigration from the South has slowed considerably with reverse migration now becoming the dominant trend. (Page 641.)

Aside from its obvious skimpiness and extreme superficiality, what is most notable about this "defense" is its dishonesty, with Haywood shifting the terms of argument several times in the space of a few sentences, first talking about the Black Belt, then about the southern U.S. as a whole, then back to the Black Belt, then back to the South again. While rattling off figures he deliberately ignores many facts which disprove his argument. Not the least of these is that the Black Belt is majority white today, and the great majority of Blacks live outside it. This is connected with the fact that, even in the South, Black people are predominantly urban workers, not rural peasants. Haywood tries to pretend that these facts, and the generally changed economic and social conditions of which they are a part, do not exist.

As he has grown older, Haywood has sunk even deeper into this comfortable swamp of dogmatism and nationalism. The "Epilogue" of the book, covering the late 50s, the 60s and the early 70s, speaks only of the Black liberation struggle, with no mention of the student movement, the anti-war movement, and with only a passing reference to the development of a new communist movement!

Haywood/CPML Marriage of Convenience

This is all the more strange in that the CPML boasts in the pages of the *Call* that Haywood is on their Central Committee, and Haywood claims that "I am happy to be considered a founding member of the [CPML]." (*The Call*, 6/20/77.) Yet there is not one mention of the CPML in these pages (nor even in its acknowledgements). Is it not strange that a professed communist should somehow forget to mention his public membership in what is alleged to be a communist party?

But whatever the reasons for this may be, it is fitting that Haywood should have found a final rotting place in the CPML. This group has long made it a practice to wave around former Black communists, like Harry Haywood and Odis Hyde, as a way of trying to entice revolutionary-minded Blacks, or more often, liberal petty-bourgeois whites, into their foul embrace. This is coupled with a shameless tailing after narrow

nationalists and Black reformists, including lately even the notorious Ron Karenga. This not only shows the non-communist character of these opportunists, but equally reveals a particularly disgusting brand of white chauvinism.

The CPML is also notable for its particular mixture of dogmatism and reformism. Like Haywood, they cling dogmatically to the Comintern resolutions, defending them in the only way they can—dishonestly. (Their arguments [advanced in "The Struggle for Black Liberation and Socialist Revolution," a pamphlet published by their predecessor group, the October League] are the same, almost word for word, as those of several opportunist groups before them, and are fully answered in advance in the "Living Socialism and Dead Dogmatism" article referred to above, which was originally published in 1974.) But along with this supposed "leftism" in theory goes a rank reformism in practice, which might be illustrated most succin-

tly by this organization's relationship to Martin Luther King.

Although of course neither the CPML nor the OL was in existence when King was alive, they have had a history of tailing and lauding his ultra-reformist heirs like Jesse Jackson and Hosea Williams before it became completely impossible, and recently the CPML has taken to hailing King and trying to paint themselves as his true inheritors. During the Black liberation struggle of the past two decades, as the flames of rebellion of this struggle spread, King became the system's fireman, coming more and more to play a reactionary role. (See "King's Legacy: Reformism and Capitulation," *Revolution*, June 1978.) It is thus entirely fitting that the CPML should attempt to portray themselves as sort of "communist" Martin Luther Kings.

And the marriage of convenience of the old careerist Haywood with this young but experienced opportunist group is equally fitting. ■

Iran...

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ed into the hearing room, where speeches were made by a member of the RCYB and a reporter from the *Worker* newspaper. From there the demonstrators moved to the campus of N.C. State University in Raleigh to continue the demonstration. The State authorities decided not only that the Wilmington company was fit to use the port but that the port facilities should be expanded to better accommodate all this "good business." This small but significant demonstration, a first in the area, dragged the fact that the U.S. imperialists are arming the Shah to the teeth out into the light of day and took a firm stand in support of the Iranian people's struggle.

● Kalamazoo, Michigan. One hundred American and Iranian students marched in the first demonstration against U.S. imperialism to hit the campus in 5 years. The protest was aimed at CIA recruiters and forced them to cancel their visit to the school. When it was discovered that the recruiters had retreated to a hotel fifteen miles from campus, the spies found themselves in for a shock as fifteen demonstrators made their way to the fifth floor room where they were holed up. Several students and teaching assistants have since been threatened with suspensions and firing by the administration for "disrupting" classes with announcements of the demonstration and discussions of U.S. imperialism in Iran. The reaction of the students has been just the opposite. As one student put it, "This is the kind of disruption of our education that we need more of—where have you been these past years?"

● St. Louis, Mo. One hundred people held a march called by the RCYB, ISA and the RCP through downtown on November 27 while Jimmy Carter was speaking there at a convention of city officials from across the country. The demonstrators carried signs reading, "Death to the Shah" and

"U.S. Imperialism—Get Your Hands Off of Iran."

● Los Angeles. On Nov. 10, one thousand people attended a march from the Federal Building to the *L.A. Times* called by the ISA. 2,000 people, including a large section of the Iranians living in Southern California, attended an ISA-sponsored forum on Iran.

● When President Carter made an appearance in Salt Lake City, Utah at the end of November, he was met by a spirited demonstration of 250 Iranian students called by the ISA. After a vicious police attack on their picket line, arresting five ISA members and sending several students to the hospital, this demonstration attracted considerable publicity and stirred up controversy all over the city. Immediately afterwards, several TV cameramen offered to testify on behalf of the arrested students.

● Throughout the month of November, the Iranian Students Association held more than 100 demonstrations, marches and picket lines all across the country. All of its 70 U.S. chapters are initiating local actions during the week of Dec. 8-13. In addition, the ISA is holding its 26th National Convention from Dec. 24-30 in the San Francisco Bay Area and is planning a major demonstration there on the 28th.

● Several thousand copies of the new RCYB pamphlet "Iran Explodes" have been sold across the country and hundreds of people have attended campus forums on "Why Are We Fed A Diet of Lies About Iran."

● Right on the heels of the Shah's announcement of open military rule and the widely broadcast street battles in Tehran in early November, the RCP put out a nationwide leaflet titled, *Death to the Shah! U.S. Out of Iran!* It exposed the real reasons for the mass rebellions sweeping Iran, hit U.S. imperialism's stepped up intervention in Iran, and called on the workers and the vast majority of the American people to stand shoulder to shoulder—based on our common class interests—with the Iranian masses. ■

Chou...

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Deviationist Wind in 1976—Mao and the Four were in various forms attacking Chou's counter-revolutionary political line and all but explicitly attacked him in name. This was particularly true of the Lin Piao/Confucius and the *Water Margin* campaigns, which indirectly targeted Teng, and Chou behind him, as modern-day Confucianists and renegades who were intent on opposing the revolution, restoring capitalism and capitulating to imperialism. (See *The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung*, an important speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, pp. 61-93, for a more thorough analysis of this period.)

In these final years, Chou was acting behind the scenes, using his considerable bureaucratic powers to place leading Rightists in important Party and government posts, and unleashing a social base for capitalist restoration under the signboard of "modernization." Mao, just as typically, was initiating mass campaigns to criticize the capitalist roaders and get at the roots of revisionism; he threw his support squarely behind further socialist transformation, particularly the "socialist new things" brought about through the Cultural Revolution, and he used every possible means

to politically arm and mobilize the masses to guard against revisionism, take the road of revolution and keep their sights set on the lofty goal of communism.

Thus, Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai—and the proletarian and bourgeois headquarters they represented—ended up in fundamental and total opposition to each other. Even two decades earlier, as shown by an analysis of their differing speeches in 1949 and 1956, their world outlooks differed radically. As Mao pointed out in the last years of his life, with the advance and deepening of the socialist revolution, it was an objective law that "ghosts and demons"—especially top Party leaders such as Chou En-lai and his revisionist predecessors like Liu and Lin—would jump out every few years for a trial of strength with the proletariat.

RCP's Line on Chou

It is only within the last year that our Party has correctly summed up the actual role played by Chou En-lai in the Chinese revolution. In January 1976, just after Chou's death, *Revolution* carried an article calling Chou a revolutionary and a communist all his life. Though the Party followed the line struggle in China closely, and placed its support squarely behind the revolutionary line, we did not understand thoroughly the role that many individuals, including Chou En-lai, were playing at that time. This was also compounded

by the influence of the revisionist Jarvis/Bergman headquarters in the RCP, who shared the revisionist line of the current rulers and who all along looked to Chou as their idea of a "model communist."

Through the decisive defeat of these revisionists in our Party in late 1977, the RCP reached correct conclusions about the class nature of the current Chinese rulers, as well as about Chou's role—which has been revealed all the more clearly by the Chinese revisionists themselves in the last year, with more certainly to come.

Therefore we obviously have to repudiate the position we took on Chou En-lai in 1976. Instead of being "a communist all his life," Chou was in fact a bourgeois democrat all his life, who ended up commanding, and then in death became the rallying point for, the counter-revolutionary forces that have reimposed the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie on the Chinese people and are now dragging China back to the living hell of capitalism.

The full glory of Chou En-lai's line is now being displayed in China, enshrined in the "four modernizations" and the "three worlds" strategy of capitulating to imperialism. This is truly a fitting conclusion to Chou's life, for he will go down in history as a bitter enemy of the proletariat and a leading representative of the Chinese bourgeoisie who tried to turn back the forward march of the international working class towards communism. ■

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Note

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