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Postal Wildcats Deliver Blow To Sellout

The wildcat strikes by postal workers in Richmond, California, and New Jersey when the contract agreement was proclaimed have dealt a powerful blow to the capitalist class and mark a big advance for the struggle of workers in the post office. The moment word of the sellout was announced, workers at the New York Bulk and Foreign Center in New Jersey and at the San Francisco Bulk Mail Center (BMC) in Richmond took matters into their own hands and walked out, defying the threats and intimidation of the postal bosses and the government's no-strike law.

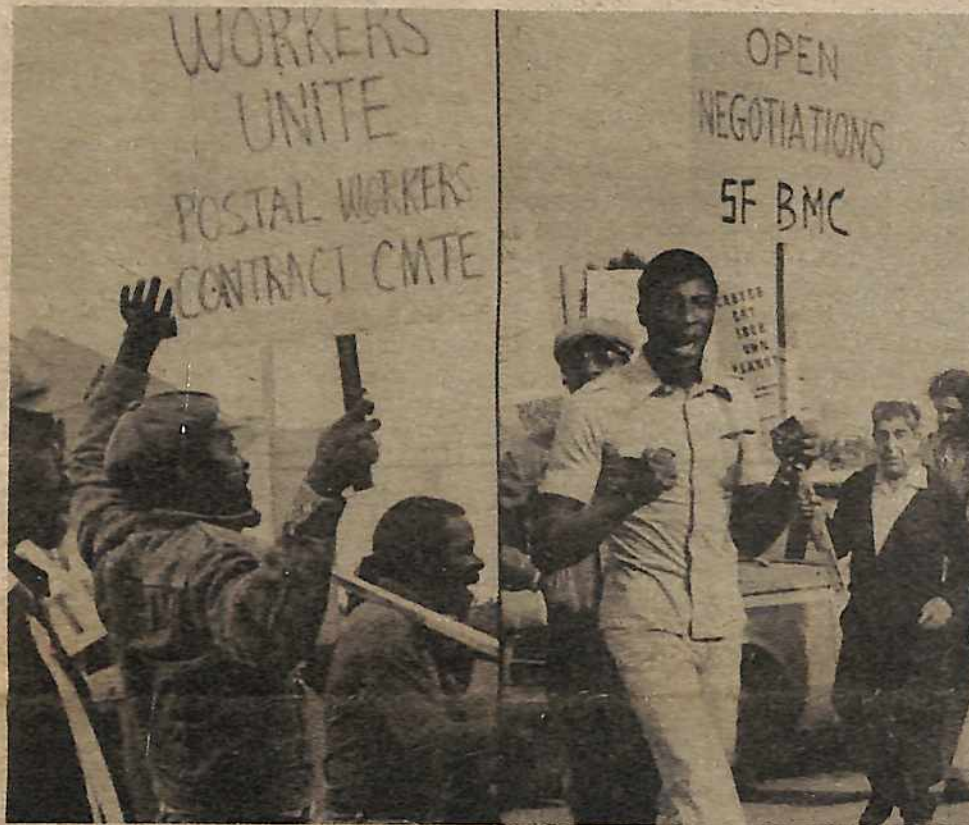
This was the longest walkout in Post Office history. In taking this bold action, the wildcatters followed in the historic tradition of the 1970 postal strike, breaking through the narrow boundaries the bourgeoisie and their agents in the postal unions had set for the contract battle (see July *Revolution*).

Workers at the N.Y. Bulk and Foreign Center in New Jersey began the strike right after the midnight contract deadline on July 20, refusing to report for work as hundreds set up picket lines in front of the plant. The facility's operations were cut more than 75%, and the mail was backed up for days. On Friday, July 21, outraged workers at the San Francisco BMC held a meeting and, deciding they too had had enough, called for a walkout the next day. At the gates that night workers struggled with fellow workers on the night shift to support them. The next morning picket lines went up. Within 48 hours the facility was virtually shut down tight and operations were crippled as only two dozen people showed up for work.

For days management tried to spread rumors in the press about how "most of the people are back to work, mail is normal, morale is great." But a week later they were forced to admit that hundreds had still refused to report for work. Admitting they were "desperate to end this thing," management tried to smash the San Francisco BMC picket line once and for all. They called out Richmond police, complete with paddy wagons, hoping to bust anyone who resisted being forced out of the driveway. But the strikers maneuvered out of the way as the TAC squad advanced and then returned to form the line again.

Unable to shake the determination of the strikers on both coasts, the bourgeoisie wasted no time in bringing the legal power of their state to bear. federal marshalls cruised the picket lines and barged into workers' homes like little Gestapo agents to serve federal court injunctions restraining them from any strike activity. When people ignored the injunctions and continued to picket, they were summoned to court and threatened with immediate six-month sentences on contempt charges if they said or did anything to encourage further strike action.

In San Francisco, Judge Orrick, the same judge who apologetically gave Patty Hearst a jail sentence, threatened 12 strikers with "hard labor" if they violated the injunction! Postal manage-



In face of "no strike" law, SF/Richmond Bulk Mail workers defy federal gag orders with militant walkout.

ment has also taken a hard line in desperation, resorting to massive firings in both New York and at the Richmond facility. At least 200 workers have been given dismissal notices as inspectors set up "crime labs" to photograph and identify anyone who dared to picket. Those fired include members of the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) who gave important leadership to the strike action on the West Coast.

Strikes Galvanize Resistance

As the court orders took their toll, strikers have been forced to abandon the picket lines for the time being. On July 28 a U.S. District Court judge issued an injunction barring the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) from conducting any strike votes—an injunction the hacks are most eager to respect as they had no intentions of supporting the wildcats.

But the strikes at the two bulk mail facilities have so far prevented the attempts of labor traitors to ram this rotten agreement down the workers' throats. While unsuccessful in sparking a nationwide walkout, the strikers' actions have galvanized the feelings of postal workers nationwide that this contract stinks and must be defeated.

Rank and file votes and polls in one local after another—San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Washington, New York—are calling for rejection of the contract. The vote at an APWU meeting in Oakland, California, was typical—102 to nothing against the offer. Suddenly, local union officials are changing their tune as the anger of the rank and file has forced them to make the "discovery" that this contract stinks like putrid trash.

On July 31, delegates at the Letter Carriers convention in Chicago turned the offer down in a voice vote. Even the

national bargaining advisory committee of the APWU voted two to one to reject it, against the recommendation of President Emmet "sellout" Andrews.

A rank and file movement is growing to defend the strikers and demand amnesty for those who have been fired. Many locals have passed resolutions pledging solidarity with the strikers. At

the Oakland Main Post Office, people came to work wearing yellow stickers that demanded: "Support the BMC Wildcat!" "Amnesty for Strikers!" and "Stop the Sellout!" Management freaked out, pulling workers into the office and suspending 16, telling the workers the stickers were "illegal." In the days that followed, many workers wore yellow colored clothing to work, continuing to stand with their brothers and sisters.

And although they have been forced off the picket lines, the strikers are still determined to fight. 50 of the most active strikers at the Richmond BMC rented a bus, drove to the APWU office in San Francisco and called out the regional hacks, demanding that they get out of management's bed and start standing with the workers' demands. Then, defying the federal gag orders, they drove to U.S. Postal Service headquarters and boldly held a militant demonstration on the front steps, denouncing the agreement and the firings.

Contract Worse Than 1975

While thousands of postal workers were waiting for the official word to strike that never came, their national union officials were busy inking an agreement reminiscent of the notorious "sellout of '75." Once again, these traitors were proclaiming it a victory that they managed to keep a no-layoff clause so full of holes it meant the loss of 70,000 jobs in the last few years. And once again they were trading away postal workers' standard of living and other elements of job security to achieve this hollow "victory."

The wage package is an insult to postal workers and their families—2% the first year, 3% the second and 5% the third, with inflation soaring at an annual rate of 10%. In a cheap trick to prevent postal workers from walking out, the national union officials announced that the wage increase was a

Continued on page 11

Demos Target Shah, U.S. Imperialism

Iran: 25 Years Of Bloody Rule

The Iranian Students Association in the U.S. (ISA) is calling for nationwide demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco on August 18-19, the 25th anniversary of the CIA-engineered coup that installed the fascist Shah of Iran in power. The targets of the D.C. demonstration include CIA headquarters, the Iranian Embassy, and the White House. This demonstration will be an opportunity to strike a powerful blow in support of the Iranian people's just struggle.

August 19 marks the 25th anniversary of a CIA-staged coup that made Iran a neo-colony of U.S. imperialism and established the most ruthless, blood-soaked rule that the Iranian people had ever known.

But the story of U.S. involvement in Iran began long before August 19, 1953. Before World War 2, the Persian Gulf had replaced the Gulf of Mexico as the center of world oil production. Iran itself had become the world's fourth largest producer of oil, and the U.S. imperialists were anxious to replace Britain as the controlling power in this strategic country.

The British came out of WW2 greatly

weakened, their grip on Iran shaky. They had to exile their puppet ruler in 1942 for trafficking with the Nazis. They gave the throne to his son (the current Shah, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi). What's more, widespread unemployment, famine, and disease had given rise to a powerful mass movement aimed at the British imperialists and the Shah. By 1951 the new Shah was forced to give up his throne and a new government headed by Mohammed Mossadegh was established by popular elections.

U.S. imperialism had come out of WW2 in a strong position to challenge

Continued on page 8

Crown Heights, N.Y.

Struggle Builds Against Police Terror

For the last month and a half the neighborhood of Crown Heights in Brooklyn (New York City) has been the scene of sharp struggle against national oppression and police terror.

The struggle was sparked on June 15 when Arthur Miller, a prominent Black businessman and civic leader, was brutally and deliberately strangled to death by New York City cops. Eighteen of the swine worked Miller over, while 30 more held a crowd of community residents at gunpoint, preventing them from saving his life.

Brooklyn exploded in rage as thousands of Blacks moved into motion against the killer cops.

Miller's murder outraged the community and sparked spontaneous demonstrations for several days after his death. Over a thousand Crown Heights residents showed up at his brother's arraignment, resulting in its postponement. Hoping to cool things out, New York City Mayor Koch announced an official investigation of the murder, saying there would be "no whitewash." But the investigation was put in the hands of the police department and, rather than cooling things out, further outraged the community.

The RCP got involved in the struggle and has been working ever since to unite all who can be united against the murderers and their imperialist masters. Despite attempts by the bourgeoisie to cool things out, the struggle has not died down.

It is in this light that the bourgeoisie has counter-attacked, both straight up through its press and more covertly through certain forces in the Black United Front (BUF), a coalition of church groups and Black political groups like the Urban League and CORE. Their counter-attack has taken the form of anti-semitism, reformism and narrow nationalism. They have tried to divert the struggle away from the real enemy and to direct the main fire at the Hasidic Jews, an orthodox sect that is concentrated in Crown Heights.

The Situation In Crown Heights

Thirty years ago, Crown Heights was a predominantly Jewish neighborhood. Now it is predominantly Black, with a sizeable Jewish population. Many of the Black residents have immigrated from Trinidad, Jamaica and Haiti. The entire neighborhood is heavily working class.

The Black residents of Crown Heights are victims of continual police harassment and attacks. The Black areas are heavily patrolled by the cops, and also by "Hasidic Crime Patrols" (especially in areas where Black and Jewish residences merge). The Hasidim are an Orthodox Jewish sect whose world headquarters is in Crown Heights. Their "crime patrols" are funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (a federal agency) and are given free rein by the police department to ride roughshod over the Black community.

This arrangement is in line with the desire of New York City's rulers not only to "keep the Blacks in their place," but to run Black people out of Crown Heights through intimidation and violence. The arrangement is also designed to keep the masses of people in Crown Heights divided along national lines by promoting racism and anti-semitism. It is a clear divide and conquer set-up.

Arthur Miller was murdered when he dared to intervene as two cops were harassing his brother about allegedly driving with a suspended license. Miller, the head of a Black businessmen's association, had been on good terms with the police.

He believed in the system, and wanted to make it "work" for Black people.

He had even been cited by the police department for his help in preventing looting in Crown Heights during last year's blackout. But this didn't keep them from killing him.

In another incident around the same time, a 15-year-old Black youth, Victor Rhodes, was severely beaten into a coma by one of the Hasidic crime patrols. The brutality of the crime patrols, and the fact that they are officially sanctioned and encouraged by the police and the powers that be in New York City, shows the clear connection between these two incidents and others like them.

The ruling class relies heavily on the police and crime patrols to enforce its national oppression of Black people in Crown Heights. It is the exploiting and oppressive system of imperialism itself that is the enemy of the masses of people in this country, including in Crown Heights, and the struggle against national oppression, against police terror (both at the hands of official police and the surrogate "crime patrol" police) must be aimed squarely at the ruling class.

This includes taking up the fight against the ruling class' divide and conquer schemes, and in Crown Heights this means particularly fighting the line that Jews are the source of Black people's problems (or, similarly, that Blacks are the source of problems in the community).

This line has been fostered daily by the ruling class, and in this particular struggle it has been taken up and promoted by a group of self-proclaimed "community leaders" (mostly Black businessmen, preachers, and aspiring politicians) in the "Black United Front."

Pointing to both Miller's murder and Rhodes' severe beating, the BUF leaders launched an immediate diatribe against the Hasidic Jews. (At a BUF-led march a month after Miller's murder, Rev. Herbert Daughtry, one of the main leaders of the BUF, told the crowd: "We are standing in the shadow of the Hasidim, a symbol of our oppression.")

They made no effort to distinguish between the vast majority of the 30,000 Jewish residents of Crown Heights on the one hand, and the reactionary vigilante patrols on the other. Nor did they begin to suggest that the capitalist

system itself was to blame for these murderous attacks—because they don't believe it!

The line of the BUF leaders, aside from anti-semitism (and anti-communism), has been one of narrow nationalism and reformism. They have pushed various reformist schemes such as kicking the 77th Precinct (the one that harbors Miller's murderers) out of the NYPD and hiring more Black cops. (They have conveniently failed to note that four of the pigs involved in Miller's death were Black, or that the Chief of the 77th is a Black cop!)

From the beginning the RCP put out a communist line on the question of the national oppression of Black people in order to lead the struggle against police attacks in Crown Heights.

Agitation by the RCP and the RCYB pointed directly to the source of national oppression and aimed at building the Crown Heights struggle in a revolutionary way. In doing so, it took on reformism as a dead-end solution. Miller's death itself was a blow to reformism. As a leaflet put out by *The Worker* for New York/New Jersey said: "Arthur Miller tried to make the system work. But the system showed Arthur Miller exactly how it works."

The Worker called a rally and open air forum at a neighborhood park in Crown Heights to discuss the question of police attacks and how to fight them. Over a hundred people came and there was lively discussion and struggle over what direction to take, who the real enemy is and why revolution is the only road to the elimination of national oppression. People came forward at the rally to help build the struggle, and have continued to do so during the course of the Party's work in Crown Heights and elsewhere.

A Committee for Justice for Arthur Miller (CJAM) was formed to continue and broaden the struggle. When the July 1 edition of *The Worker* hit the streets, over a thousand were sold throughout Brooklyn in three days, largely on the basis of its article "Only Communist Revolution Can Eliminate Police Terror and the Oppression of Black People." This aroused a great deal of interest, and more than a little controversy, both inside and outside the Crown Heights community. A lot of enthusiastic and serious discussion took place in the weeks that followed.

The Committee and the Interference of the BUF

The CJAM called for a march on July 15, and over a thousand posters went up in stores, in people's windows and in apartment building lobbies. Hundreds of buttons were sold on the streets of Crown Heights, demanding Justice For Arthur Miller/Stop Police Terror.

The National United Workers Organization (which was in the CJAM) took the struggle into area plants. They sold buttons in the plants, exposed the

forces behind Miller's murder and all national oppression, and in the course of their work brought several workers actively into the struggle. And youth from the RCYB did political work in the community daily.

The leaders of the BUF, who had done nothing but call for a federal investigation and announce the candidacy of one of their main men for N.Y. State Assemblyman, also called for a march, to take place on July 16.

Representatives of the CJAM met with representatives of the BUF and presented proposals for unity, including exchanging speakers at the two marches. At that point, the BUF flipped out.

They put out a leaflet entitled "Black Community Attacked Again," charging the NUWO, the RCYB and the Committee (though they refused to name it) with "holding a rally and march without consulting the existing organizing body of this community"! They gathered as many people as they could muster (less than 20) to physically block the march.

One of the BUF leaders, Igwe Kobie, made it clear why they wanted to stop the march. As he told a *New York Times* reporter, "These people come in from the outside and try to promote their Communist ideas. That's not what it's all about at all in this neighborhood."

Since the BUF seemed intent on provoking a confrontation with the CJAM in front of TV cameras and the press, and with a contingent of cops waiting around the corner looking for any excuse to attack the demonstration, the Committee decided to wait for the BUF to leave before beginning the demonstration. What followed was a very successful three-hour march and rally through Crown Heights.

"We may be small," a Black Crown Heights woman declared before the march began, "but you don't have to be a big organization to fight for your rights. What's different about us is that there are no big shot leaders here. We're doing it ourselves."

The march was met by clenched fists, honking horns and shouts of encouragement along the way. People all over the streets grabbed up leaflets and one man said, "Where have you been? I've been waiting for something like this!" The marchers got a good response in housing projects they stopped at, and people joined the march as it wound through the streets. When they got to the park for the rally, community residents went up to the microphone to denounce the brutality and terrorism of the police, and to testify about their own experiences.

Attacks From the Bourgeois Press (*The Call* and the *New York Times*)

The *New York Times* had sent a reporter to the demonstration, who witnessed the antics of the BUF, interviewed Igwe Kobie and then split before the march ever began. When a member of the Committee called to tell the *New York Times* about the demonstration, their response was, "We already got our story."

The next day the *New York Times* featured an article headlined "Crown Heights Residents Block Leftist Protestors," which couches Kobie's red-baiting remarks in a bundle of fabrications and half-truths. "Their story" is most revealing for what it does *not* say—that the CJAM held a successful march and rally through Crown Heights on July 15!

Not to be outdone by the *Times*, the CP(ML) came out with an article in the July 31 *Call* entitled "People run RCP racists out of Crown Heights."

Repeating their tired crap about how the RCP is a "gang of racists," they call on people to unite with Igwe Kobie! And in order to cover themselves, *twice* in the same short article they assert that Kobie and other BUF leaders who have attacked the RCP, the Committee and the masses of people in Crown Heights are *not anti-communists!*

One grows weary of repeatedly exposing the CP(ML)'s thorough-going opportunism, their tailing the most reactionary nationalist trends, their admiration of bourgeois politicians and their attacks on genuine communists and the masses of people. For all their talk about how "the RCP stands on the



July 15 march through Crown Heights, Brooklyn. The struggle against the police murder of Arthur Miller has raised the question sharply—what is the real source of national oppression?

Continued on page 13

MAO TSETUNG MEMORIAL MEETINGS

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Ahmed Evans: Fighter for Black Liberation

Cleveland March Commemorates '68 Rebellion

"They say Ahmed Evans is dead. But people like Ahmed and Malcom X don't die. They live on in the hearts of people struggling for their freedom." These words were met with thunderous applause from a crowd of 120 people who had come together to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Glenville rebellion in Cleveland, Ohio.

They had marched through a pouring rainstorm to carry forward the banner of rebellion that Evans and thousands of other Black people had raised ten years earlier, when they rose up against vicious police repression. The Glenville rebellion had struck a blow against national oppression and the whole oppressive system, and for the people of Cleveland the memory of that struggle has not dimmed.

The 10th anniversary march was called by a coalition which included Ahmed's family and neighbors, the RCP, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB), the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) and the National United Workers Organization (NUWO). It represented an advance in the struggle to build multinational unity and give proletarian leadership to the fight against national oppression.

Ahmed Evans and the '68 Rebellion

Ahmed Evans was a Black activist and organizer in Glenville in the '60s. His refusal to meekly accept the brutal oppression of Black people, and his determination to help people in Glenville unite and fight against police terror in the community, earned him the hatred of the police and the authorities in Cleveland.

Evans and his group were constantly staked out and harassed by the cops. On July 23, 1968, the pigs set up a trap and provoked an incident. An argument and then a fight broke out. Evans and others took cover from police gunfire and then righteously returned fire

in self-defense. Three cops were dead when the shooting stopped. This sparked a five-day rebellion, and resulted in Evans' imprisonment.

Ten years of struggle to free Ahmed Evans served to expose the stark criminality of capitalist "justice" and to strengthen the resolve of those involved to fight the system that had made him a political prisoner. But Evans was never released. On February 25, he died in prison, executed by U.S. imperialism just as surely as if he had been put up against a wall and shot.

As word of the 10th anniversary march got around, the people of Glenville responded enthusiastically. Large numbers of people recounted the

rebellion, recalling vividly how it went down, and there was a sense that the rebellion had not been a "tragedy" to be forgotten, but a brave act of resistance.

One after another people pointed to the housing still falling apart, the uncollected garbage, the unemployed youth on the streets, and the cops still harassing people. "Things are no better today," they said. "It's only a matter of time before people get down again."

The fact that workers and young people of all nationalities were joining with Evans' family and Glenville residents to build multi-national unity and direct the struggle against the capitalist system was seen as a very positive devel-

opment. Indeed, the Evans family insisted that the march not be a "Blacks only" affair. In taking this stand, they came up against some opposition, and as the work leading up to the march progressed, this struggle sharpened considerably.

The authorities in Cleveland tried to defeat the march from the very beginning. The press refused to carry news of the action in advance (though they were forced to cover the march once it began). The local Nazis threatened violence if the march took place, and they counted on the police to protect them. The police came to the demonstration in droves and "offered" to surround the marchers. When the cops were told to take a walk, the Nazis decided not to show up. Still the bourgeoisie had a card up its sleeve—the march did not go unopposed.

A group of reactionary nationalists (some of whom are notorious profiteers in the community who had long ago made peace with the system) came out of the woodwork specifically to oppose the planned anniversary march. Though they had been nowhere to be seen in taking up the struggle to rekin-

Continued on page 12



The 10th anniversary march in Glenville represented an advance in the struggle to build multinational unity and give proletarian leadership to the fight against national oppression.

Six Cities

Nationwide Actions Defend Houston Rebellion

On Saturday, July 29, car caravans and demonstrations were held in Chicano communities in five major cities to demand: "Defend the Houston Rebellion!" and "Free the Moody Park 3 and All Those Arrested!" The protests were called to respond to a court hearing for the Moody Park 3 that had been scheduled for July 31 and has since been postponed.

Houston

People United to Fight Police Brutality assembled with people at Moody Park—the area of the Chicano rebellion this May—and 20 cars drove to downtown Houston where people marched on the courthouse and the federal building. People on the street joined the march and came up to shake the hand of Travis Morales, one of the Moody Park 3. Marchers also raised the demand, "Justice for Santos Rodriguez!"—linking up with the outrage in Texas that the federal government just recently refused to prosecute Darrel Cain, the cop who played Russian roulette and murdered the 12-year-old youth back in 1973.

Los Angeles

One hundred people of all nationalities marched to Belvedere Park, the scene of the Chicano Moratorium eight years ago, as people driving by honked their horns in rhythm with the chants of "If You Hate Oppression, Join the Fight—People of All Races Must Unite!"

At the rally speakers pointed out that the righteous rebellion of Chicanos at Moody Park marked a continuation of the tradition of the Chicano Moratorium, when 25,000 marched in Los Angeles against the Vietnam War and national oppression, and fought a bloody battle with police who tried to stop them.

A speaker from the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) ran down how the NUWO has taken the struggle into the plants. Two days before the march, workers at the Ford plant drove a sound truck right onto the company property as hundreds came off the afternoon shift. Security guards stood by helpless as many workers flocked around to sign the 15-foot banner

in solidarity with the Houston rebellion.

Another rally was held at a place near the meatpacking plants where meatcutters go to cash their checks. NUWO members unfolded the banner right in front of a police car as many workers came up and signed it. At an electronics plant, a number of workers wore T-shirts into work which read "Free the Moody Park 3" on the front and "Justice for Joe Torres" on the back.

Austin, Texas

The Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) held a rally in a small park in the Mexican-American community as many in the neighborhood came out to hear a speech by Tom Hirschi, one of the Moody Park 3.

Oakland

A car caravan wound through four different neighborhoods as people went door-to-door to hand out leaflets. Many people responded by giving their phone numbers to be contacted to work on the Committee to Defend the Houston Rebellion and talked about their own bitter experiences with the police—like one woman whose father was shot down in cold blood.

Chicago

The last week in July, a car caravan went through the Pilsen district and the 26th Avenue community, passing out 3500 leaflets. Many residents had already heard of the Houston rebellion from family back in Texas. On July 29th, 60 people attended a forum sponsored by the Committee to Defend the Houston Rebellion.

San Jose

A car caravan of 50 people had a big impact on the Chicano community of East San Jose, where police have been conducting a campaign of harassment and intimidation against the youth. A few days before the caravan, a battle erupted between youth who are members of the "low rider" car clubs and cops who unleashed attack dogs to drive them out of a parking lot where they are forced to hang out, since there are no recreational facilities in the community.

Police also hassled the car caravan, pulling people over and arresting one person on a warrant check. But the response from the community to the caravan was enthusiastic—"low riders" joined in with their cars and residents came out to listen, especially in one neighborhood where a resident was murdered by police in 1975.

Important Fight Nationwide

The fight to defend those arrested in the Houston rebellion against the police is a struggle of nationwide significance. Committees to Defend the Houston Rebellion have formed in several cities. The rebellion and the Moody Park 3, whom the capitalists have singled out for political attack, have come to symbolize for many the spirit of resistance to oppression, particularly that faced by minority nationalities. The action taken by Chicanos, together with people of all nationalities, in Houston in rising up against their oppressors has been a spark that points the way forward—the way of fighting against the capitalists and their brand of "justice" enforced against the people by the violence and terror of the police. ■

Mensheviks Sow Confusion On Fusion

The Mensheviks—the rightist renegade clique headed by M. Jarvis and L. Bergman, who were booted out of the Revolutionary Communist Party by its Second Congress earlier this year—consider their line on the fusion of Marxism and the workers' movement a major weapon in their arsenal. They claim that the Party had, at first, reacted with "vacillation and doubt" in the face of this task and "failed to break through on fusion," and that with the further development of the Party's line (especially as embodied in the 1976 Central Committee Report), the Party "abandoned" the task and "retreated" from it as fast as possible. This accusation is coupled with a related charge against the Party for "failing to make a basic analysis of the specific stage of the struggle we're in."

The purpose of this article is to criticize and repudiate the Mensheviks' line on fusion, leaving the task of more fully presenting the Party's line on this question for a later date. In this context, it's also important to deal with the Mensheviks' concept of stages, which they use to defend their line on fusion, because in this way it becomes clear that what they propose is a recipe for "fusing" their own backwardness and rightism with whatever backward and rightist political trends exist at any given moment. This applies in movements of all sections of the people—not just the working class.

In other words, adapting yourself to whatever seems quick and easy at the time—this is what underlies the Mensheviks' confusion of Marxism and the tasks of communists with the spontaneous struggle and consciousness of the masses.

What Is Fusion?

The communist movement in this country in the past decade arose at first outside of the working class and the struggles it was waging, and therefore faced the task of fusing Marxism with the workers' movement.

Marxism cannot arise *directly* out of the day to day struggles of the workers. It was first developed by revolutionary intellectuals (such as Marx), as well as by class conscious workers, who took up the study of broad social, economic, historical, and philosophical questions in the context of the development of capitalism and the modern working class, and in close connection with the workers' movement of the time.

In this country, it was mainly immigrant workers who had learned Marxism in Europe who brought it to the U.S. working class in the mid-19th century, and who later helped bring the further development of Marxism by Lenin to this country after the First World War. But with the revisionist degeneration of the CPUSA and a generation of comparative ebb in the class struggle in the U.S. after World War 2, communism all but completely ceased to exist as a trend within the American working class.

The process of fusion began for the second time in this country in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the first groups of young communist intellectuals, joined by some veteran communists and class conscious workers, first began to take it up. This process took a qualitative leap with the formation of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the political party of the working class.

It is a task that continues today, as the Party bends every effort to bring to the workers the political consciousness and organization necessary to carry out their historic mission—and this task will not be completed until the working class liberates itself and all mankind and classes no longer exist, and Marxism becomes the common outlook of all humanity.

Fusion or Confusion?

The Menshevik conception of fusion has nothing at all to do with fusing Marxism with the workers' movement, because it leaves out Marxism.

In the early 1970s, communist forces waged several sharp and crucial battles in which the Revolutionary Union (which later played the key role in the formation of the RCP) upheld and deepened its understanding of the necessity for *proletarian* revolution, and of the working class' role as the revolutionary class. More

or less openly anti-working class lines enjoyed some popularity during this period because the working class was not a leading or even organized force in the big battles then shaking the country.

The Mensheviks hypocritically make a big deal about being the defenders and heirs of the RU. This is why, for instance, they call their "theoretical" publication *Red Papers 8*—as if it represented a continuation of the RU's *Red Papers* Nos. 1-7. They point out that the RU was insisting on the need to go to the workers, at a time when others were carrying on about how the workers had all sold out, were hopelessly backward, etc., and it was the youth/lumpen-proletariat or whatever who were going to make revolution in this country.

But these Mensheviks completely leave out what *line* the RU was taking to the working class. They completely leave out the fact that, from the first, the RU upheld as the strategy for revolution in this country the united front against imperialism under proletarian leadership, and that it was *this* strategic orientation that guided its work.

For the Mensheviks, what was good about the RU was that it sent most of its people into the plants and other workplaces. Of course, they don't quite say this in so many words. In their sumup of the RU's history, they speak of the RU "upholding and applying Marxism-Leninism and entering into the struggles of the working class and masses..."

Yes, the RU upheld Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and yes, the RU entered into these struggles, but what's not said even once is that it was *on the basis* of the RU's Marxist political line that it took part in and sought to lead these struggles, not just to build these struggles, and not just to become leaders, but in order to build the struggle, consciousness and revolutionary unity of the working class and its leadership in the united front against imperialism.

What the Mensheviks mean by this omission is made even clearer when they go on to discuss the Founding Congress of the RCP: "There was the opening sentence in the Workers Movement section of the *Programme* that blasted through all Trotskyite idealism and metaphysics: 'The working class learns through its day to day struggle.' There was the push in the MPR [Main Political Report given at the Founding Congress] to unite with the concrete battles of our class, and there was the call in the orientation section of the MPR to rely on, learn from and bring forward our class brothers and sisters, about which there is too little talk today. There was our determination not to be condescending saviors and lecturers, because we saw our class had far too many of those. *All these things marked our distinction from every political organization which has existed over the last 20 and more years.*" (emphasis added)

Here the Mensheviks have "forgotten" only one thing. The RU was not the only organization to take up the concrete battles of the workers, nor was it the only organization to recruit workers and promote them to leadership, nor was it the only organization which didn't lecture much, at least to the workers.

For instance, there was the Progressive Labor Party, which tried to beat the youth and Black struggles over the head in the name of the working class—in reality trying to reduce the revolutionary thrust of these movements to the level of the workers' economic struggles. In its earliest days the RU had to wage a very bitter struggle against *this* idea of going to the working class. And above all, there was the revisionist Communist Party, USA, which had been busily engaged burrowing among the workers long before the RU existed. The RU, which had originated outside of the working class, went to the working class on the basis of a revolutionary line, while the CPUSA, formerly the party of the working class, which had degenerated into an outfit in the service of the bourgeoisie, took up some struggles of the workers in order to carry out the CP's counter-revolutionary line.

What, according to the Mensheviks, distinguished the RU from the CPUSA? That when we sang those words from *The Internationale* about "no condescending saviors," we were sincere and they weren't? In fact, it was a question of line—the line that guided the RU's work in the working class and all its work, and not just some capricious decision to do work among the workers.

How could it be clearer that what these Mensheviks want is "a party just like the party of dear old mom and dad"?

"Vacillation and Doubt"

We would like these Mensheviks to explain what they mean when they say that the Party first reacted with "vacillation and doubt" in the face of the task of

fusion, and now is "retreating" because it supposedly finds it too "difficult." Is there some way in which we've failed to take up the major battles of the working class and the masses? Is there someone who'd like to claim that the main problem among RCP comrades in the shops is that they are ignoring the day to day struggles there? As we've said before, even if it's just a question of involvement in strikes, we've certainly done more than the Mensheviks.

What really bothers the Mensheviks is not our nonexistent failure to take up these battles, but rather our insistence on trying to raise the political level of the workers in the course of these battles, and most especially, on doing all-around political agitation and exposures. This includes agitation—heaven forbid—even on questions, such as U.S. imperialism's contention with the USSR, that have little to do directly with the battles the masses in this country are presently waging.

What they object to is our "failure" to submerge ourselves in these day to day struggles—our insistence on working to transform the present level of the struggle of the U.S. working class into a conscious struggle at the head of all the oppressed, for socialism and communism. This is what the Mensheviks are referring to when they say we are "separating" rather than fusing Marxism with the mass struggle and "preaching at the people from the sidelines."

The Mensheviks can't analyze history, since they lack Marxism. But that doesn't stop them from trying to bolster their argument with vulgar historical analogies. They try to make it seem as if the Party's alleged "running away" from taking up the "concrete battles" of the workers is a replay of similar tendencies in Russia at the turn of the century.

In their split documents they quote Lenin's "Urgent Tasks of Our Movement":

"In Russia, the necessity for combining socialism and the working-class movement was in theory long ago proclaimed, but it is only now being carried into practice. It is a very difficult process and there is, therefore, nothing surprising in the fact that it is accompanied by vacillations and doubts."

But why don't they give us the first part of this paragraph as well as the last?

"Social-Democracy is the combination of the working-class movement and socialism. Its task is not to serve the working-class movement passively at each of its separate stages, but to represent the interests of the movement as a whole, to point out to this movement its ultimate aim and its political tasks, and to safeguard its political and ideological independence. Isolated from Social-Democracy, the working-class movement becomes petty and inevitably becomes bourgeois..." (Collected Works, Vol. 4, p. 368)

And earlier in this essay, Lenin says:

"Russian Social-Democracy is passing through a period of vacillation and doubt bordering on self-negation. On the one hand, the working-class movement is being sundered from socialism, the workers are being helped to carry on the economic struggle, but nothing, or next to nothing, is done to explain to them the socialist aims and political tasks of the movement as a whole. On the other hand, socialism is being sundered from the labor movement; Russian socialists are again beginning to talk more and more about the struggle against the government having to be carried on entirely by the intelligentsia because the workers confine themselves to the economic struggle." (Collected Works, Vol. 4, pp. 366-367)

What Lenin was describing and condemning is not a tendency toward "vacillation and doubt" in the face of the economic struggle, not too much emphasis on "the struggle over ideas," as our Mensheviks say, but exactly "vacillation and doubt" on the task of bringing Marxism to the working class, on linking the economic struggle with the working class' overall struggle for revolution. He is polemicizing against those who were developing into the Mensheviks of his day—the original Mensheviks—who openly proclaimed themselves interested in promoting *only* the economic struggle of the workers, while reserving political questions for other, more "educated" people. Our Mensheviks, of course, have no vacillation or doubt at all in regard to this task—they have straight out abandoned the political tasks of communists.

It is extremely revealing that the Mensheviks explicitly separate out the question of "fusion" from the question of building the working class' political struggle. "Just like we [meaning the RCP when they were in it] did not break through the middle on the all oppression question, we did not break through on the fusion of Marxism with the workers movement." (Menshevik split documents)

The Mensheviks hated and opposed the slogan "Workers Unite to Lead the Fight Against All Oppression" as "an abstract call to fight all oppression divorce[d] from the actual struggles the workers are already waging." (Menshevik internal May Day bulletin, 1978) But here they are really putting their finger right on the question only to stick it up their own noses, because fusion separated from the task of developing the workers' movement into a class conscious fight against all oppression is impossible and means nothing.

Continued on page 15

Revolution

Revolution is the organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA (RCP, USA). It is published monthly. All correspondence to the Party should be sent to RCP, USA, PO Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654.

"Test Tube Baby" Ires Vatican

Damned If You Do, Damned If You Don't

Ed. Note: The following article is from the Workers Press Service (WPS) for July 27. The WPS is put out under the leadership of the RCP and serves to link up the many local editions of The Worker from coast to coast.

The birth of Louise Brown on July 25 in Lancashire, England, has given new hope to untold thousands of women who are unable to conceive and bear children because of defective Fallopian tubes. (It is in the Fallopian tubes, which carry egg cells from the ovaries to the uterus, that fertilization takes place.) It is estimated that between 20% and 45% of women who are unable to bear children are unable to do so because of blockage or other defects of the Fallopian tubes.

This was the case with Mrs. Lesley Brown. She and her husband had been told that they could never have children, but because of medical research and experimentation a process was devised which reversed this verdict for Mrs. Brown, and potentially for every woman with defective Fallopian tubes. The procedure involves extracting a mature egg from the woman's ovary, getting sperm from the male, and combining the two in a test tube to induce fertilization. The fertilized egg is then implanted in the woman's uterus and the natural development of the fetus continues.

Medical science has known about and attempted this procedure for more than a decade, but Mrs. Brown's is the first successful case on record. This does not mean that successful embryo implantations are just a rare oddity, but rather that new information has now made the prospects for success very great. Doctors Patrick Steptoe and Robert Edwards, who performed the procedure on Mrs. Brown, are confident that successful implantations of this

kind will be commonplace before long.

With the astronomical price of medical care under capitalism, it's a sure bet that if embryo implantation does become widely available, most people who want it and need it won't be able to afford it. (Indeed, normal childbirth—at approximately \$2000 a shot—forces many people deeply into debt.)

From the very beginning, experiments in embryo implantation have come under heavy attack from the ruling class in this country and throughout the capitalist world. In this country, research has been deliberately blocked. As the *NEW YORK TIMES* reported: "Although many scientists in the United States reportedly are eager to begin similar experiments, they have been blocked from doing so until the National Ethics Advisory Board, formed in January to rule on human experimentation, takes action."

"Ethics" Question

As the board's name suggests, interference is justified on the grounds that embryo research involves questions of "ethics"—is it "proper" to experiment with the creation of life? Won't this lead to some dictatorial effort to create a "super race"?

Of course, under capitalism, it is true that many of the greatest scientists and experimenters are more interested in Nobel Prizes and fat salaries than in the pursuit of worthwhile knowledge, and under these conditions there is no telling what direction embryo experimentation (or any other kind of scientific research) might take.

But stopping the advance of science is ultimately impossible—not to mention reactionary. With such arguments, you might as well have tried to stop the polio vaccine or the

gasoline engine. Remember the old saying, "If God wanted man to fly he would have given him wings."

The final answer to questions like these depends on who runs society. Only with the working class in power, striving for the elimination of all classes and exploitative relationships, will science be used entirely for the benefit of all the people.

Along with these questions come such curiosities as: Will embryo research lead to single women having children, thus threatening the role of the family? (This last gem came from Dr. C. E. Koop, chief surgeon at Children's Hospital in Philadelphia, who is a Presbyterian elder and author on "bioethics." Someone should break the news to him, gently if possible, that single women were able to have children long before the discovery of embryo implantation.)

Such questions are rendered even more absurd in light of the example of John and Lesley Brown, whose daughter could never have been conceived without this important scientific breakthrough. Nevertheless, the ruling class persists, and is aided in its efforts by the Church, especially the officials of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Vatican has always had plenty to say about s-e-x. In the first place, it's not a very nice thing to talk about. But somehow they manage to talk about it all the time. They constantly tell us, for example, there is a right way and a wrong way to make babies. Everybody knows what the right way is, and it does not include artificial insemination (for which you can, and probably will, be damned to hell).

The Catholic Church has decided that embryo implantation, like the one that resulted in the birth of Louise Brown, is artificial insemination. The Browns, we assume, are therefore damned.

It is quite interesting that the Catholic hierarchy has always con-

demned the use of birth control devices to prevent unwanted pregnancies. Now, when people like the Browns want not to *prevent* pregnancy, but to *induce* it, the Vatican condemns that too. It seems you're damned if you do, and damned if you don't.

This is the blatant stupidity of the so-called "moral" and "ethical" arguments against embryo implantation. And what should people like the Browns do? As Monsignor James McHugh put it: "It is not necessary to have a child. People can have a certain confidence and reliance on God's will. If God's creative act doesn't take place, it is not to be." So, Louise, it seems, while perhaps not illegitimate, is at best invalid!

Behind the Opposition

All this nonsense only serves to cover what is the real and very criminal intent of the ruling class in opposing embryo research, and that is to prevent people who want children from having them, at least right now. Their line is that there are too many people in the world already. They want to limit population, not let it expand.

Clear evidence of this can be seen in the fact that the Ford Foundation, which invests millions of dollars in population research, and which funded Dr. Edwards' embryo research, cut off his funds when they found out what he was up to.

The reason they gave, according to the *New York Times*, was that "his work did not seem to be contributing much to knowledge that could limit fertility"! This reasoning is consistent with activities of foundations like Ford and Rockefeller, and the U.S. government itself, in the area of birth control—particularly forced sterilization among minorities in this country and among the people of underdeveloped countries around the world.

The fact is that there are not too many people in the world, but too many capitalists, whose system of wage slavery is incapable of providing decent lives for the masses—no matter how many (or how few) of us there are.

As for embryo implantation, or any other research that may enable people to have children who otherwise could not, it should be seen as a tremendous advance and a welcome development that should be made widely available to all who need it. ■

Postscript: The Call: Voice of Petty Bourgeois Despair

Shortly after the article above was sent out to the Workers Press Service (WPS) subscribers, the August 7 edition of the *Call* was brought to our attention. In the event you missed it, we offer a few highlights from its banner headline article: "Test tube babies: creating a master race?"

"...this new technique [embryo implantation] must be seen as part of the fascist threat facing the masses of people today."

Dire warnings about fascism have always served as a substitute for scientific analysis of objective conditions in the pages of the *Call*, and now that they don't have Nixon to kick around anymore ("Dump Nixon—Stem the Fascist Tide!") they have decided to take on the field of scientific experimentation.

And what do they propose we do about this insidious threat? As they sum up at the end of their article: "We had better start worrying about these things right away."

"...some leading scientists contend that it is potentially a nightmarish weapon in the hands of the ruling class."

While it is true that science serves the interests of the dominant class, and thus can be and is used to further the subjugation of the masses under capitalism, it is equally true that scientific experimentation is one of the three sources of knowledge (along with class struggle and the struggle for production). To condemn science (as the *Call* does) and not just the nefarious ways it is used by the bourgeoisie, is hopelessly reactionary, and puts the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) in league with the Flat Earth Society.

"...test tube babies represent... a way to select certain kinds of individuals who will conform to capitalism's standards of behavior."

This brings up the whole question of selective breeding—the creation of a "master race" (as their headline suggests), and likewise a "slave race." The only possible conclusion to be drawn from their article is that the CP(ML) believes in the existence (or potential existence) of both. While professing to oppose the "genetic inferiority" theories of William Shockley and Arthur Jensen, in fact the CP(ML) stands shoulder to shoulder with these racist dogs. The article explains how Hitler mated SS agents with specially selected women in an attempt to breed a "super race," and according to the *Call* the only reason he failed was because he *lost the war!!!*

As far as their "slave race" theory is concerned, the *Call* envisions a made-to-order work force that has been genetically programmed to accept exploitation and oppression without protest. This is an interesting (if unoriginal) theory indeed. The only real problem with it is that it completely contradicts a most basic principle of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, namely that where there is oppression, there will be resistance. According to the CP(ML) the bourgeoisie will soon be using genetics to circumvent the laws of dialectics!

"Unless we check the scope and slow the pace of the new biology, it will destroy society and humankind as we know it, probably by the next generation." (Quote from one Dr. Allen Utke, presumably accepted at face value by the *Call*, since they quote it and make no at-

tempt to refute it.)

How many times have we heard this before? The same thing was said many years ago about atomic research, which has led to many scientific advances. At the same time, in the hands of the imperialists, this research led to the creation of the atom bomb. But what did Mao Tsetung have to say about even this product of atomic research?

"The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon." ("Talk with Anna Louise Strong," August 1946)

Genetic research (which, incidentally, is not the same thing as embryo implantation, though the *Call* tends to lump them together) in the hands of the bourgeoisie is surely no more of a real "tiger" than the atom bomb. Yet the CP(ML) would have us believe that a group of scientists in a laboratory are capable of something that U.S. imperialism, according to Mao, is incapable of doing—destroying "society and humankind as we know it!"

"Sound like 1984? It's already happening."

The beans are at last spilled. What more can be said? The CP(ML) has raised the time-worn, anguished outcry of the petty bourgeoisie in despair: 1984 IS UPON US!

The CP(ML) has delivered a diatribe against the advancement of science with such religious fervor that even the Vatican should be envious. Their arguments could be (and have been) used to oppose everything from airplanes and color TV to abortions and heart transplants. Indeed, the successful synthesis of insulin in China a few years ago, which was a tremendous scientific advance, and which was much more closely related to genetic research than is embryo implantation, could never have happened had the CP(ML)'s line been in command!

Here Klonsky & Co. might want to protest that these insulin experiments were done in a socialist country,

Continued on page 16

Decked Nazi with 2x4 Oregon Court Railroads Steelworker

On Friday, July 28, Brian Chambers, an Oregon steelworker and a member of the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) was convicted by a Yamhill County Court of assault with a dangerous weapon. His "crime"—taking a 2 x 4 up-side the head of David Mathias, one of a bunch of local Nazis who have been waging a campaign of terror against Chambers and other active fighters at Cascade Steel in McMinnville, Oregon.

The local millowners, court and press have gone all out to railroad Chambers. In so doing they have only given rise to growing struggle against them and further exposed themselves even more as the hand holding the leash of these dogs.

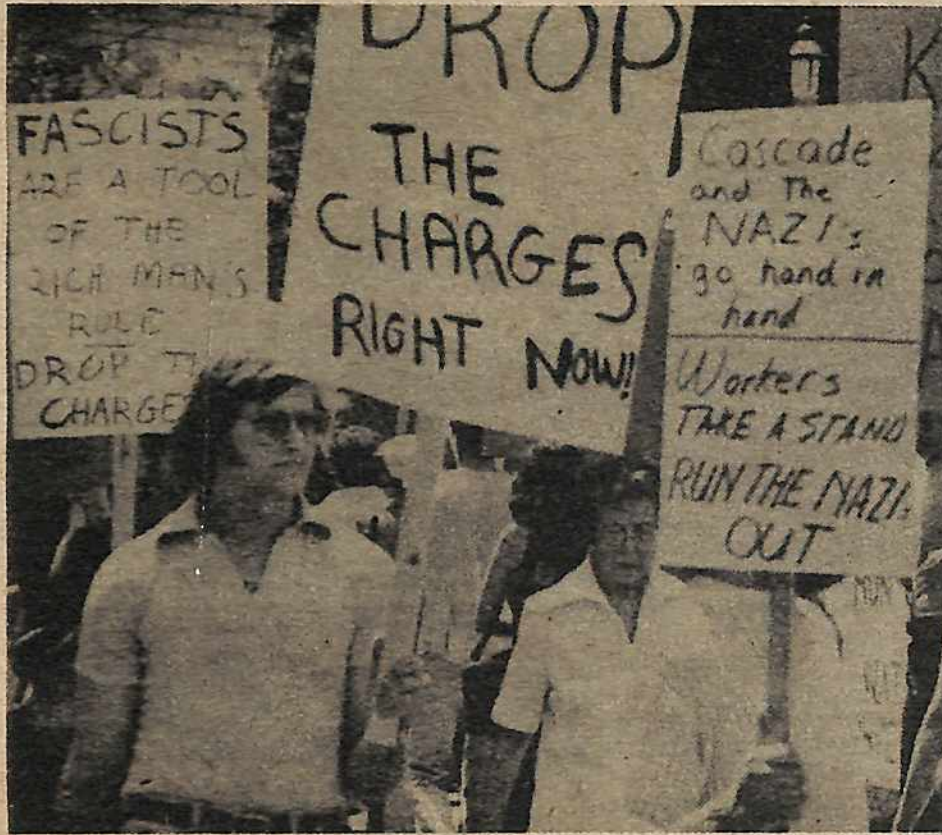
Chambers' trial was an outrage. The judge threw out the legal cases provided by the defense. Evidence of the Nazis' activities at Cascade Steel—breaking into workers' lockers, destroying clothes and equipment, and death threats—was ruled out of order.

Faced with the prospect of a hung jury, the judge basically ordered the jury to convict Chambers, saying that the only thing they could rule on was whether or not Brian hit the creep, something he never denied. Even then, two jurors held out for acquittal, but missed blocking conviction by one vote. (In Oregon, 3 votes are required for a hung jury according to a new court ruling last year.)

Chambers' girlfriend jumped up and said, "The real crime is that Brian was on trial in the first place." Four cops grabbed her and dragged her out of the courtroom. The judge fled into the

safety of his chambers. And people stormed out of the courtroom, outraged. The cops descended, arresting five in the fight that followed, but they were forced to release all of them, in a vain attempt to cool out further resistance.

Why have the courts worked so hard to railroad this brother? And where did



Justice For Brian Chambers! The capitalists have been promoting the hated scabs-turned-Nazis in McMinnville, Oregon—trying to railroad Chambers for decking a Nazi on the job.

these Nazis come from in the first place? Three years ago, workers at Cascade went out on strike, and waged a militant and hard-fought battle, taking on the scabs and the cops, until they were finally sold out by their union hacks. The scabs stayed on at the plant, many of them promoted to foremen; while others remained a reliable fifth column for the company in the workers' ranks.

Despite this treachery and the memory of the sellout the last time around, the Cascade workers were just a few votes shy of going out again this past winter. Members of the NUWO at Cascade were active in this contract fight, as well as building support for the miners' strike and other important battles of the working class.

Scabs-Turned-Nazis

A handful of scabs-turned-Nazis

served as a convenient weapon for the company to launch an assault on the workers' struggle and organization. Swastikas were spray painted all over the plant, along with racial slurs, sexual degeneracy and anti-union and anti-communist garbage. "Your Company—Love it or Leave it!" "Strike and Starve—with the NUWO!"

The Nazis threatened to pack guns to cross picket lines if there was another strike. They staged phony accidents, almost causing serious injuries to the workers. All of this with the full support of the owners of Cascade Steel Co. who, like all capitalists, will stoop to anything to shore up their sagging profits by increasing their exploitation of the workers.

Cascade is in big economic trouble. In 1976 alone the company lost \$800,000 and the profit picture for the future is even worse for them, with huge government loans to repay and increased dog-eat-dog competition from Big Steel and Japanese imports, as the capitalists' economic crisis intensifies.

On March 31, when Brian Chambers came to work and found his locker broken into *again*, and his clothes ruined, he had had enough. He waited for Mathias, one of the Nazi punks responsible, and levelled him with a 2 x 4. The company immediately fired Brian, the D.A. filed charges on behalf of the Nazis and their capitalist masters, and the Nazis continued to do their dirty work at Cascade.

The company refused to allow investigators in the plant. They painted over the Nazi slogans on the wall. They intimidated workers to keep them from testifying on behalf of Chambers. The city fathers of McMinnville followed suit trying to block the NUWO from having a march through downtown.

The local rag, the NEWS-REGISTER, owned and operated by Phillip Bladine, (on the board of directors at Cascade Steel) launched a red-baiting campaign. They called on the city to deny the parade permit for the "communist affiliated NUWO to demonstrate downtown," saying, "There's no justification for allowing the NUWO to march on the basis of freedom of speech!"

In light of the recent Supreme Court rulings upholding the Nazis' "freedom of speech" and unleashing them to run off at the mouth in Chicago and other cities, to say that this red-baiting of the city fathers of McMinnville *blatantly exposed their own naked class interests* would be the understatement of the year!

The red-baiting was further aimed at trying to make the struggle to defend Brian Chambers appear to the masses of workers like a fight between small, rival extremist groups. But their maneuver failed to stop the struggle. On July 22 in McMinnville 90 people marched and rallied with the NUWO, with considerable support from the townspeople.

"He should have killed that bastard," said one guy. "They [the Nazis] should be driven off the face of the earth," said another. Another worker and his wife joined the march and rally. He said, "I've been following this thing in the paper. Last night I watched 'Judgment at Nuremberg' on T.V. I was so sick of what those Nazis did and what they've been doing in that plant, I stayed up all night. That's why I'm here today." Members of the NUWO talked to other workers who were sitting in their cars, checking out the rally, and several workers took petitions back to their plants to build support for Chambers.

The capitalists have not given up on their efforts to put Brian Chambers in jail. They will try to sentence him in August to make an example out of him for the rest of the workers. They will try to whip up more Nazi activity aimed against the working class and oppressed minorities.

But as Brian Chambers said at the march, "Cascade could redecorate the whole damn steel mill, but a new paint job won't cover up what's happened there. It's Cascade, the courts and the Nazis that have something to hide, not me. What I did was right. And even if by their laws, I go to jail, they can't hide the truth, or stop the working class from rising up against them." ■

Ridiculous Attack on RCP

Communists "Discovered" In Alabama

A banner headline on the front page of the July 23 *Birmingham News* blared the astounding fact: "Communists in city? Yes, says ex-informer!"

The story which followed was an "exposé" by an un-named FBI informer who claimed to have infiltrated the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) in Birmingham, Alabama. He claimed that "the Communists trained him how to sabotage buildings, use sophisticated rifles and hand guns, find safe houses for military deserters, protect himself during a riot, use fake resumés and harass industry in the Birmingham area, particularly the Alabama Power Company."

The informer "revealed" that he had been trained to "bomb buildings and render them useless by pulling out the electrical wires and fuses," and had learned how to confuse the power company by overpaying his bill by a few cents.

These revelations were "news" to the RCP, as well as to the public generally.

Two days later, on July 25, the Revolutionary Communist Party called a press conference on the steps of the *Birmingham News* building to do an "exposé" of its own.

The Party's statement said, in part, "The article was an incredible pack of lies. The only grain of truth in the whole thing was that there *are* communists in Birmingham—a fact that comes as no surprise to tens of thousands of workers in plants around the city. Yes, we are proud to announce that the Revolutionary Communist Par-

ty is in Birmingham and in cities around the country. We're in the plants, the mines, the mills, the unions, and that's where we belong because we are the Party of the working class."

Besides attacking the RCP with blatant lies and accusations of "terrorism," the article's main purpose was revealed when the informer said his motive for telling his story publicly *now* is to "show that FBI informers are strictly monitored and not like former Birmingham FBI informer Gary Thomas Rowe, Jr., who infiltrated the Ku Klux Klan for the FBI in the '60s and who has been linked in news accounts to allegations that he had a hand in, or even provoked a number of violent incidents during Birmingham's period of racial turmoil."

The phantom informer said, "The agency does not operate like Rowe makes it seem. The FBI doesn't ask informers to provoke violence or sleep with anyone...and it double checks everything."

The problem for the ruling class—and for its gutter rags such as the *Birmingham News*, is that the FBI is becoming more and more exposed, and Gary Rowe is making their already tarnished image look worse.

What emerges from all the controversy around Rowe is a picture of knowledge and encouragement by the FBI of the vicious crimes of the KKK against Blacks and all those who participated in the struggle of Black people against their brutal oppression.

But while the *Birmingham News*'

principal purpose was to defend and exonerate the FBI, along the way the *News* found the RCP a convenient target for its red-baiting fables, an opportunity to once more tell the masses of people anything but the truth about communism and communists.

In an editorial three days later, the *News* claimed that the RCP was part of an "international communist terrorism," and then breathed an editorial sigh of relief that the "local Red Threat" had been so "incompetent" and "ineffective." After all, the RCP had completely failed to blow up any buildings or successfully "harass Birmingham industry."

The RCP is absolutely clear on the fact that the rulers of this country, who don't hesitate to sic their cops on a strike, will never give up their whole system of exploitation and oppression peacefully. They will have to be overthrown by the people of this country by armed revolution.

But as the Party said on July 25, the RCP does not view terrorism as the road forward. "We work towards revolution in this country, but this revolution will be made by the masses of people, not by a handful, no matter how dedicated.

"People will not put up forever with an endless series of economic crises, crime, unemployment, run-away inflation, and wars, which is what this capitalist system...produces despite what anyone wishes or tries to make out otherwise." ■

USSR Sponsors Coup in South

Yemen: Superpower Battleground

On June 26, well known pro-Soviet forces in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY or south Yemen) overthrew and executed President Salim Ali Robaye and other government officials. Mass fighting in the capital city of Aden protested this coup.

In recent years, the PDRY has been moving steadily under the domination of the USSR, and the recent coup further strengthened the Soviet social-imperialists' grip there. In fact, the coup was more like a *coup de grace*—a consolidation of existing Soviet dominance.

It also seems likely that the assassination just two days earlier of President Ghashmi of north Yemen (the Yemen Arab Republic, which is closely tied to the reactionary Saudi Arabian regime and U.S. imperialism) was part of the plot. The weapon was a bomb carried in the briefcase of a PDRY diplomat, and the turmoil following the assassination made the coup in the south—led by Ismail Abdel Fattah, secretary general of the ruling National Liberation Front, Minister of Defense Ali Antar, and others—that much easier to pull off. Within days, north Yemen broke off ties with the south, and their military forces clashed on the border in a number of places. At present, the threat of war still hangs in the air.

Superpower Rivalry Behind Events in Yemen

This rapid succession of assassinations and no-holds-barred power struggles in Yemen stems directly from the sharpening rivalry of two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, for world domination. Like the countries on the Horn of Africa, Yemen's strategic importance to the imperialists

lies mainly in its location on the southern heel of the Arabian Peninsula, alongside the Red Sea shipping lanes that handle Persian Gulf oil and other key raw materials bound for Western Europe.

Recognizing this area's importance, the USSR has been trying for several years to rig up a pro-Soviet regional grouping of Ethiopia, the PDRY, Somalia, and Djibouti. On its part, U.S. imperialism has been trying to maintain the upper hand by trying to set up a pro-U.S. grouping of countries in the region, working especially through Saudi Arabia.

In addition to its political/military value, the superpowers are clawing at Yemen because of its proximity to the world's largest and richest oilfields in Saudi Arabia. As one of U.S. imperialism's main watchdogs in the Middle East, the reactionary Saudi Arabian regime has consistently fought against the development of revolutionary movements and anti-imperialist regimes in the Middle East and Northern Africa.

The Saudis have especially concentrated on attacking the PDRY and building up their influence in north Yemen—whose population of 7 million (compared to the PDRY's 1½ million) is more than the rest of the Arabian Peninsula combined.

The Soviet social-imperialists, for their part, are now consolidating their domination of south Yemen, as well as aggressively trying to make inroads into north Yemen. The New Czars are especially gratified at this victory (as well as the recent pro-Soviet coup in Afghanistan) since recent years have seen a steady erosion of Soviet influence in the Middle East, beginning with the expulsion of Soviet "advisers"

from Egypt in 1972 and continuing up to the present with Syria and Iraq charting courses somewhat more independent of the Soviets.

Imperialist Domination of Yemen

Due to its strategic position along major trade routes, Yemen has been dominated by foreign powers, especially British imperialism, for much of its history. The British colonialists nested in the port of Aden, which served both commercial interests and as the British military command for the Middle East. Under a policy of "indirect rule," the British left the rest of Yemen to the oppressive rule of tribal chiefs, sultans and kings—effectively dividing Yemen into "south" and "north."

In fact, after 129 years of colonial rule, the British had trained just three Yemeni doctors and built 14 miles of road outside Aden! The only industry was a British petroleum refinery built in Aden in 1964. The grinding poverty, backwardness and oppression enforced by the British colonialists and by tribal and feudal reactionaries set the stage for the development of powerful nationalist movements throughout Yemen in the late 1950s and early '60s.

In September 1962, a group of nationalist army officers, who were closely linked with the Nasser regime in Egypt, overthrew the centuries-old theocratic monarchy, the Imamate, in northern Yemen. This ushered in an eight-year-long civil war in the north, with an Egyptian expeditionary corps intervening on the side of the republican forces and the U.S. and British-supported Saudis openly supporting the Imam and other reactionary elements. This war ended in a stalemate, with pro-Saudi forces

becoming dominant in recent years.

These same basic political forces in the YAR, reflected to a large degree in tribal and geographical divisions, continue to clash sharply over such questions as unifying north and south Yemen (a just national aspiration of the Yemeni people), economic policies, international alignment, etc. For instance, Ghashmi's immediate predecessor, President Hamdi, was assassinated in October 1977, the day before he was slated to leave for Aden, where a mutual defense pact and agreements on gradual unification of north and south Yemen, beginning with a common flag, were to be signed.

The assassination of Hamdi in 1977 brought north Yemen under heavier Saudi/U.S. domination. They were clearly unhappy with Hamdi's overtures to the PDRY at that time.

Today, Saudi Arabia bankrolls the YAR's armed forces and dominates its economy. Due to its underdevelopment and near total economic stagnation, the YAR's principal export is human labor—over one and a half million emigrants working abroad, including nearly a million in Saudi Arabia and tens of thousands in the U.S. North Yemen's income from wages earned abroad actually exceeds its GNP!

Struggle in the South

In southern Yemen, the National Liberation Front launched a war of national independence in 1963. Within four years, the NLF had liberated nearly the entire countryside from the British and the reactionary sultans and were surrounding and seizing the major towns and cities.

As liberation grew closer, Egypt felt the NLF was too independent, and in 1966 set up a rival organization, FLOSY, which was based almost entirely inside Aden. The Soviet social-imperialists, who at that time were cuddling up to the Nasser regime as a shining example of "the non-capitalist road of development" based on Soviet military and economic "aid," followed suit and cut off aid to the NLF. Nevertheless, the National Liberation Front guerrillas fought on to eventual victory, with the establishment of the People's

Continued on page 14

Iran...

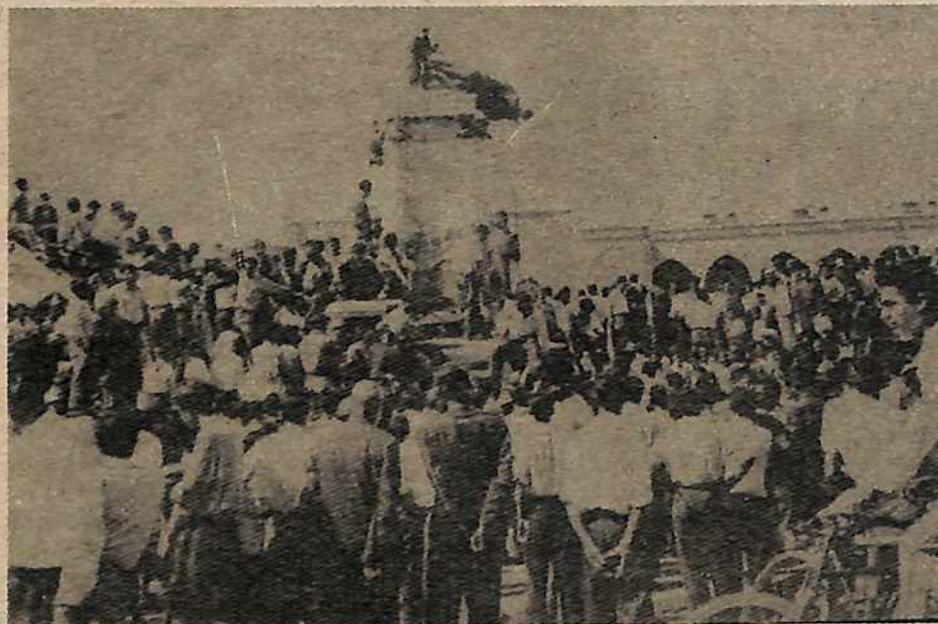
Continued from page 1

the British for control of Iran, and they also realized the necessity of stamping out the people's movement and installing a government that would be a loyal pawn of imperialism. The U.S. had invested great amounts of money and manpower, both during and after the war, to penetrate Iran—making use of anti-British sentiment and painting itself as "democratic" and "humanitarian."

In 1942 an American had become Iran's Administrator General of Finance. Soon Iran was deep in debt to the U.S. banks, and they demanded repayment of high-interest loans with Iran's most precious natural resource, oil.

American arms and military advisors began to flood the country; the former New Jersey State Police Chief was made head of the U.S. Military Mission and given the job of training Iranian officers (and, of course, training them to be loyal to the U.S.). In 1946 U.S.-trained forces put down a popular uprising in Azerbaijan province in northwest Iran, killing over 10,000 freedom fighters.

In 1949 the Shah met with President Truman and signed the "Education Program Agreement" that brought hundreds of American health, sanitation, agricultural and education advisors into the country. These "advisors" served two purposes: they increased U.S. political influence in the country, and they served as a front for the growing CIA spy network, headed by Kermit Roosevelt (grandson of Teddy). For example, the "Village Health Program" did little to stop the spread of malaria that was decimating the rural population, but it did establish an intricate spy apparatus to survey peasant activities.



August 16, 1953: Statue of Shah plunges to the ground in Tehran, just three days before U.S.-engineered coup.

Despite the deep inroads the U.S. imperialists had made, they did not find the going easy. Four attempts to put the Shah back on the throne between 1951 and 1953—all masterminded by the CIA—failed. After the fourth unsuccessful coup attempt, on August 10, 1953 (which was arranged at a secret meeting between the Shah, his "Queen of the Black Market" sister, and the director of the CIA, Allen Dulles, at a retreat in the Swiss Alps), tens of thousands of Iranians took to the streets to celebrate.

They toppled statues of the Shah, set fire to his portraits, and unfurled banners that read: "We are a conscious people. We don't want the Shah." The self-proclaimed "King of Kings, Shadow of the Almighty and Center of the Universe" fled in terror to a hotel in Rome.

Now the U.S. imperialists went all out. Ten million dollars was spent to hire a "crowd" of decadent thugs to

"welcome" the next coup. And on August 19, the Shah's troops stormed the Mossadegh government headquarters, gunned down the thousands of Iranians who took to the streets in resistance, and assassinated hundreds of progressive leaders.

"The guns they had in their hands, the trucks they rode in, the armored cars that they drove, and the radio-communications that permitted their control, were all furnished through the military defense assistance program [of the U.S.]... had it not been for this, a government unfriendly to the United States would now be in power." (General George C. Steward, director of the U.S. Office of Military Assistance.)

New Upsurge of Struggle

While U.S. military might has kept the puppet government of the Shah in power for 25 years, there is no way it

could erase the hatred of people for their oppressors or keep the people from rising up against them. In the past several years a new upsurge of mass struggle has shaken the Shah's rule to its foundation, becoming more widespread and revolutionary than ever before. Throughout the world, progressive and revolutionary forces without exception stand with the Iranian people in their struggle to overthrow the fascist regime of the Shah.

As August 19 approaches, the Shah's fear and hatred of the Iranian people has never been clearer. The fascist regime and the millions of Iranian workers, peasants and students are locked in battle as never before—squarely facing the vicious and bloody repression of the Shah and the U.S. military behind him.

The revolutionary spirit of the Iranian people was vividly demonstrated at a large Tabriz slaughterhouse when the workers went on strike during mid-July over low wages and unsanitary working conditions. When the secret police (SAVAK) arrived and started issuing threats, the workers replied, "We have slaughtered sheep for 20 to 39 years, and from today on we will cut off the heads of the regime and their SAVAK henchmen!"

The anniversary of the coup will be a time of major struggle in Iran. For 25 years the U.S. imperialists have backed the Shah's regime 100%. In fact, President Carter recently approved a small "25th anniversary present" for the Shah—\$600 million in weapons, including 31 Phantom fighter-bombers.

On August 19, however, the U.S. rulers will receive a "present" themselves, and at their own front door—powerful demonstrations to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the revolutionary struggle in Iran and to join the people there in demanding the overthrow of the Shah's fascist regime and that U.S. imperialism get out of Iran. ■

What's Behind Flap Over Soviet Dissident Trials?

Jimmy Carter's "human rights" campaign splashed onto the front pages of the nation's press with renewed vigor in early July as the show trials of three dissidents opened in the Soviet Union. On center stage was the trial of Anatoly Scharansky, a 29-year-old Ukrainian computer specialist charged with espionage and treason for working for the CIA.

In a small town 100 miles outside Moscow, Alexander Ginzburg, for several years a western *cause celebre* of the dissident movement, was dragged from jail to stand trial for "anti-Soviet" activities and "personal debauchery." And in Vilna, the capital of Soviet Lithuania, Victor Pektus was in the prisoners' dock for various morals charges and crimes against the Soviet state.

All three have been active in the Helsinki Watch Committee formed by Soviet dissidents to "monitor Soviet compliance with the human rights accords" negotiated between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and their allies at Helsinki, Finland, in 1975.

The U.S. and western press screeched over the trials. Carter officially denied that Scharansky was working for the CIA and deplored the suppression of the Soviet dissidents as a flagrant violation of human rights. He sent a special message to Brezhnev complaining about the trials.

The Soviets for their part denounced foreign intervention in the internal affairs of their country and were clearly delighted when U.S. United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young stated in an interview with the French daily *LE MATIN* that the U.S. itself has "hundreds, maybe thousands of political prisoners."

The Soviet dissident trials followed closely the arrest of two Russian embassy officials in Arlington, Virginia, for being spies, and an incident in Moscow, clearly a countermove, where a car full of KGB agents pounced on a car driven by an official of International Harvester Company and arrested him for "currency violations."

Imperialists' War Moves

Behind all the legal and verbal pushing and shoving are deadly serious efforts by each of the superpowers to strengthen their own position and undercut and weaken the other. These tactics, which include Carter's "human rights" campaign, must be seen as part of the larger picture of bitter contention between the two imperialist rivals that is pushing them step by step closer to world war.

In recent months, and right during these trials, there has been a noticeable increase in explicit war propaganda in the U.S. press. One major series which got nationwide circulation around the time of the trials was titled, "Are We Ready for the Next War?" and spoke of war with the Soviets in Europe. Now in the press it's no longer a "possible" war—it's the "next" war.

For years the USSR has made hay by denouncing U.S. support for reactionary dictatorships such as Chile, south Korea and the Thieu regime in south Vietnam. Now the U.S. is hitting the USSR in a weak point—parading U.S. bourgeois democracy against the fascist nature of the Soviet regime. The U.S. imperialists are also trying to make hay out of the resistance that Soviet occupation and plunder of Eastern Europe has sparked in those Soviet-bloc countries.

But there is more to Carter's crusade than just trying to regain the ground lost because of Vietnam, because of support for the racist rulers of South Africa and Rhodesia, and other crimes. It is an attempt to win public opinion for U.S. imperialism in its confrontations with the Soviets. The trials were used as an occasion to whip up more support for the "democratic" U.S. in

the eventual military showdown with the Soviets.

This mainly took the form of calls from various politicians and sections of the ruling class for a break-off in the SALT talks, specifically the cancellation of Secretary of State Vance's trip to Geneva to meet with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko on the eve of the dissident trials. While Vance did go to Geneva for SALT, he also met with Mrs. Scharansky—who just "happened" to be there—in a move making clearer than ever the purpose of the U.S. fuss over the dissidents.

But the more immediate goal of the U.S. hoopla over the trials and the dissident movement generally, is a calculated attempt to cause problems for the USSR within its own bloc, to "destabilize" Eastern European governments and stir up trouble within the USSR itself.

Careful Pick of Dissidents

It is interesting to note which dissidents Carter and the U.S. capitalists consider worthy of support. The Soviet people, especially the workers and minority nationalities oppressed by the new Czars, have rebelled in a million ways, including strikes, mass demonstrations, and every indication is that this trend is growing.

But the dissidents who have grabbed the headlines in the western media and have been promoted by the U.S. are professionals, scientists, artists, etc., with channels of communication to the West. Many of them, like Scharansky and Ginzburg, are Zionists who have been catapulted into the dissident role because of refusals of their requests to emigrate to Israel.

They are not people who desire to be part of a mass movement to throw off the tyranny of capitalist exploitation enforced by the Soviet rulers. They are a bunch of lovers of Western style capitalist exploitation, who the American capitalists would like to form into a pro-U.S. fifth column inside the USSR.

The outlook of most of these dissident intellectuals was vividly exposed by Andrei Sakharov, Soviet nuclear scientist who was awarded the Nobel Peace prize a few years back for his dissident role. In a tactic strikingly similar to those used by the Soviet rulers themselves, Sakharov and his wife denounced a group of workers who had organized to protest corruption and safety violations in their factories. The leader of the workers' struggle, who is now in prison, was denounced several times by the Sakharovs as "not entirely healthy psychologically" and "not reliable."

Scharansky himself made clear his total disdain and contempt for the struggles of the masses of Soviet peoples against oppression and exploitation shortly after he applied for his visa to emigrate to Israel. He promised that if he was allowed to go he would "dissolve" and no more would be heard from him.

The Soviets' on-again-off-again denial of emigration visas to some Zionists has little to do with a policy of opposition to allowing Russian Jews to populate the Arab lands occupied by the Zionist settler state. They have allowed thousands of Jews to emigrate to Israel—helping strengthen the Zionist state.

But it does reflect the anti-semitism the Soviet rulers are trying to whip up among the Russian people. This is only a part of the oppression of national minorities and the divide and rule tactics the Soviet capitalists use as consistently as their counterparts in the U.S.

These particular trials were aimed as much at their U.S. rivals as they were at the resistance movement in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. It was no accident that the Soviets announced them on the eve of Vance's departure for a new round of SALT talks in Geneva.

They were a warning to the U.S. to quit trying to use the human rights campaign as political capital against them.

And it was an equally sharp warning to the Soviet dissidents that they had better not take U.S. encouragement of their activities too seriously, because there is little the U.S. can actually do to keep them from being salted away in prison.

Also, Brezhnev and company see a definite advantage in making a big deal out of the likes of Scharansky, Ginzburg and Pektus. They would like to paint all opposition to their oppressive rule as coming only from this group, many of whom, like their mentor Alexander Solzhenitsyn, are open reactionaries who would like nothing better than a return to the good old days of Czarist monarchy.

It is not surprising that they are held in contempt by the masses of Soviet people. And the kingpins in the Kremlin try to play off of this. Above all the Russian ruling class wants to slander, isolate and beat back the development of resistance among the masses of workers and oppressed nationalities at home and in the Eastern European countries, where similar trials have been carried out.

Common Class Character

And here the common character of the U.S. and USSR ruling classes shines through, as does the shabby hypocrisy of the U.S. huffing and puffing about "human rights." The rule of both is firmly based on the chains of oppression and wage slavery coiled around the working class and the masses of people.

You don't hear Carter or any other U.S. government spokesmen say that the essence of the social system in the Soviet Union is the exploitation of the working class, for that is the essence of what exists in the U.S.—capitalism.

There are some differences in the form of political rule in the two countries. In the Soviet Union, where the revisionists launched a counter-revolution against the rule of the working class and then organized state monopoly capitalism, the tyranny of this capitalist minority over the vast majority of people takes the form of fascist rule under a shabby "socialist" cover. In the U.S. it still takes the form of bourgeois democracy. But in both cases it is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

In front of the millions of American workers, who are being driven down

Continued on page 10

JUST REPRINTED IS YUGOSLAVIA A SOCIALIST COUNTRY?

COMMENT ON THE OPEN LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU (III)

by the Editorial Departments of Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) and Hongqi (Red Flag) September 26, 1963

From the pamphlet:

"Is Yugoslavia a socialist country?

"This is not only a question of ascertaining the nature of the Yugoslav state, but it also involves the question of which road the socialist countries should follow: whether they should follow the road of the October Revolution and carry the socialist revolution through to the end or follow the road of Yugoslavia and restore capitalism. In addition, it involves the question of how to appraise the Tito clique: whether it is a fraternal Party and a force against imperialism or a renegade from the international communist movement and a lackey of imperialism..."

"All Marxist-Leninists hold that Yugoslavia is not a socialist country. The leading clique of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the Yugoslav people and consists of renegades from the international communist movement and lackeys of imperialism..."

"Recently Comrade Khrushchov paid a visit to Yugoslavia and in a number of speeches he revealed the real standpoint of the leaders of the CPSU still more clearly, and completely discarded the fig-leaf with which they had been covering themselves on this question."

"In Khrushchov's opinion, Yugoslavia is not only a socialist country but an 'advanced' socialist country. There, one finds not 'idle talk about revolution' but 'actual construction of socialism,' and the development of Yugoslavia is 'a concrete contribution to the general world revolutionary workers' movement,' which Khrushchov rather envies and wishes to emulate."

"In Khrushchov's opinion, the leaders of the CPSU and the Titoites are 'not only class brothers' but 'brothers tied together...by the singleness of aims confronting us.' The leadership of the CPSU is a 'reliable and faithful ally' of the Tito clique."

"Khrushchov believes he has discovered genuine Marxism-Leninism in the Tito clique..."

"The restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia provides a new historical lesson to the international communist movement. This lesson shows us that when the working class has seized power, struggle continues between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, struggle for victory continues between the two roads of capitalism and socialism, and there is a danger that capitalism may be restored. Yugoslavia presents a typical example of the restoration of capitalism."

"It shows us that not only is it possible for a working-class party to fall under the control of a labour aristocracy, degenerate into a bourgeois party and become a flunkey of imperialism before it seizes power, but even after it seizes power it is possible for a working-class party to fall under the control of new bourgeois elements, degenerate into a bourgeois party and become a flunkey of imperialism. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia typifies such degeneration..."

"The restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia will make all Marxist-Leninists see better and enable people to realize more keenly the necessity and urgency of combating modern revisionism..."

"The great Soviet people and the membership of the CPSU will never agree with Khrushchov's efforts to follow the example of the Yugoslav revisionists, change the nature of the Party and the state and pave the way for the restoration of capitalism."

"Khrushchov has caused dark clouds to overcast the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world. But this can only be an interlude in the history of the CPSU and of the Soviet Union. People who are deceived and hoodwinked for a time will gradually wake up in the end. History has confirmed, and will continue to confirm, that whoever wants to turn back the Soviet people in their advance is like the grasshopper in the fable which wanted to stop the chariot. He will never succeed in his aim."

2706 W. 7th Street
Los Angeles, CA 90057 \$1
(213) 384-3856

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Native Americans "Longest Walk" Hits Government

Two thousand Native Americans and supporters marched through the streets of Washington D.C. on July 15, greeted by hundreds of area residents. It was the culmination of the "Longest Walk" which had begun on the other side of the continent at San Francisco's Alcatraz Island last February.

The purpose of the "Longest Walk," organized by the Northern California American Indian Movement and the National Indian Coalition, was to dramatize Indian opposition to a new wave of bills in Congress that further strip Native Americans of their rights and ability to fight to keep or regain stolen land, fishing rights, water rights and the ability to conduct tribal affairs without outside interference.

The "Longest Walk" was named after the many long walks the American Indians have been forced to make in past generations by the U.S. rulers as they were driven off their land, pushed into reservations and then driven off again as the capitalists and the federal government grabbed for their land.

From the beginning the bourgeoisie has viewed the Indian population as a road block to their expansion. Indian tribes were the target of genocide by starvation, disease and military aggression. Their traditional cultures and customs were trampled on.

This systematic oppression continues today. Recent federal laws, for example, restrict the practice of traditional tribal medicine, yet when Native Americans go to "modern" hospitals and clinics, where they are available, what do they get? Over the years 40% of Indian women have been sterilized, often without their knowledge or consent.

Whenever the capitalists found something valuable



Recent "Longest Walk" of 2000 on Washington, D.C. has underscored the increased attacks on Native Americans.

on or under the tribal lands, they wasted no time ripping up old treaties and forcing the Indians onto even less favorable land. Left with the worst land, their cultures and livelihood disrupted, conditions on reservations are a source of anger and outrage for the Indian peoples. Unemployment is at epidemic proportions. As the many corporations, drawn like bears to honey, set up shop on the reservations, they take advantage of the high unemployment to pay Native Americans the minimum wage or less. It was in reaction to conditions of super-exploitation like this that Indians in Shiprock, New Mexico armed themselves and occupied the Fairchild Electronics plant on their reservation in 1974.

An important factor in the recent push to pass all these new laws against the Native Americans are the

big mineral deposits on the reservations. What is now recognized by the U.S. government as Indian land lies on top of between 60-85% of the remaining uranium and from 10-25% of the coal reserves in the U.S.

But even without the legislation they are proposing, the capitalists move in, gouge out the wealth of the land and the profits from the labor of the Indian people and leave them nothing. Indians in the Four Corners area (adjoining border area of Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico and Utah), for example, face the bitter irony of living in rural poverty and primitive conditions, while giant utility companies move in and build a massive power plant which bellows clouds of pollutants into the air. The electric power is sent to Los Angeles while the Native Americans must still live without running water.

The last decade and more has seen increasing struggles waged by the American Indian peoples. Numerous battles have been fought demanding control over the mineral rights of their reservations and royalties on the profits dug out by big corporations.

Native Americans have risen up to demand the return of stolen land and the enforcement of the terms of decades-old treaties. These treaties had just been ignored and now are flagrantly violated by the U.S. government, generation after generation. And the Indian peoples have received widespread support for their struggles and just demands from the masses of people in the U.S.

The capitalists, through their politicians and Congress, want to put a stop to this resistance right now. One of the most rotten pieces of legislation aimed against the Native Americans now in Congress is a section of Senator Edward Kennedy's Criminal Code Reform Act of 1977 that would eliminate "all previous treaties between Indian nations and the federal government."

Another bill, introduced by Rep. John Cunningham of Washington State would void all Indian treaties and take away hunting, fishing and water rights.

In the face of these attacks, the Longest Walk and the eight days of demonstrations and other activities that followed its arrival in Washington D.C. were an important victory for the American Indian peoples, even though there were certain political weaknesses and narrowness on the part of some leaders who tended to put the main focus of the activities in Washington on lobbying Congress and trying to make Jimmy "human rights" Carter listen to them.

The march broke down the wall of silence the capitalists and their media had erected around these reactionary bills, which would rob the Indian peoples of much of their remaining land and rights, and it brought the just struggle of the Native Americans once again to the attention of millions of people. ■

Trials...

Continued from page 9

deeper every day as the capitalists push to extract greater profits from their labor, the U.S. capitalists have no intention of attacking the USSR for exploitation of the Soviet workers. After all, this is the bedrock of the U.S. capitalists' rule, as well as that of their Soviet rivals.

It serves their purposes quite well to go along with the Soviet rulers' phony claim that the Soviet Union is a socialist country and to use this to tar socialism and to preach that "with all its imperfections, what you've got in the U.S. is the best political and social system possible."

But against all Carter's pious blasts at human rights violations in the Soviet Union stands the stark reality that "human rights" are handed out very selectively and begrudgingly by the bourgeoisie in the U.S. The day the NEW YORK TIMES ran its article announcing and lamenting the 13-year-prison sentence dished out to Scharansky in Moscow, a story two columns over told how the New York State legislature had just passed a law allowing life imprisonment for 13-year-olds.

Where do the U.S. imperialists get off bellowing about the brutality of KGB agents and the charade of the Soviet system of "justice" when cops in the U.S. have virtual license to beat and murder minorities, whether Black businessman Arthur Miller in New York or Chicano Vietnam veteran Jose Torres in Houston or revolutionary fighter Fred Hampton in Chicago?

Andy Young

In this light, the flap caused by Andy Young's comments about political prisoners in the U.S. and the vote of confidence (though not without criticism) he got from Carter afterwards stand out more clearly for what they were.

Despite the fact that his seemingly flippant lip outrages a lot of capitalist front men and grates against the na-

tional chauvinism and racism of a lot of these reactionaries who don't like to see an "uppity Black" mouth off, Young has played an extremely useful role for the Carter administration and the capitalists generally. And that is much more by design than accident.

Carter's big human rights campaign doesn't carry much weight for many people in the U.S.—including the hundreds of thousands of minorities and working people of all nationalities who get railroaded through the capitalists' kangaroo courts every year.

And for people who saw thousands of activists jailed during the civil rights, Black liberation and anti-war movements for the crime of opposition to actions of the government and a system of oppression, the capitalists' incensed jabbering about "political trials" in the Soviet Union is more than a little suspect.

So when Andy Young pipes up and points to a few things about the ugly reality of U.S. imperialism, it serves the purpose of making it seem like the administration is being all-sided and at least tolerates people in high positions in its own ranks who will "tell it like it is." How democratic!

But whatever it is that Andy is telling, it sure isn't much "like it is." This is evident even from his controversial LE MATIN interview. After his statement that *he himself* was arrested ten years ago, in a civil rights demonstration, he then touted the fact that only "three years later I was a Georgia representative."

Sure there is racial discrimination, he said, but it's not as bad as it used to be, things are getting better, the system works. "Our society has matured," he said.

The problem with the Soviets, he said, was they had not "matured" sufficiently, they had a lot of growing up to do. Presumably then they will put some more sophisticated trimming on their political repression like the U.S.

In a press conference called after his statements hit the news, Young emphasized his support for the Carter-Vance condemnation of the dissident trials and added: "I know of no in-

stance in the U.S. where persons have received penalties for monitoring our government's position on civil or human rights." "Nor have I ever equated the status of political freedom in the U.S. with that in the Soviet Union," he said.

Just like anywhere else, when the capitalists start flinging mud at each other they uncover a lot of garbage and shed some light on the ugly truth about each other. This is certainly true in the sparring between the Soviet and U.S. capitalists.

And as they are both unmasked and exposed more and more by their own antics and the struggle of the masses of people, they usually resort to "well, at least I'm better, at least I'm cleaner than he is."

Andy Young and his ilk only serve the role of sprinkling perfume on a garbage heap. Carter's human rights preaching is as phony as the Soviets' bragging about their "socialism." And it is all part of the warm-up exercises for the reactionary war both are preparing. ■

Contribute Generously To Build

The Mao Memorial meetings to be held in New York City on Saturday, September 9 and in the San Francisco Bay Area on September 10 (see ad p. 3) will be events of major significance—events at which crucial questions will be addressed. Work has gone ahead rapidly all over the country to build for these events, with people making great efforts. Even more contributions of many kinds, including financial contributions, are urgently needed to help these historic meetings achieve their full and necessary potential.

Mao Tsetung was the greatest revolutionary of our time. His name stands for revolution, for overthrowing everything reactionary. He led millions in a decades long, victorious struggle to overthrow the exploiting classes and the foreign imperialists who had dug their claws deep into the Chinese people. And more, he mobilized the masses in their millions to expose and defeat those who would drag China backwards to capitalism, while pretending to uphold socialism and revolution.

Because of this Mao was ceaselessly slandered and vilified by the capitalists throughout the world, by the revisionists in the USSR and by the capitalist roaders in China itself. Not surprising. He gave them no quarter. His revolutionary line was relentless.

But it was not just Mao the person they feared and hated. What threw the reactionaries into the greatest turmoil was that Mao knew that the masses with their communist leadership would liberate themselves, that no condescending savior could or would do it for them.

He worked constantly to arm the masses of people with the understanding of how thoroughgoing and deep the revolutionizing of society must be. He knew that the people had boundless enthusiasm for revolution, to dig out every last root of oppression and the exploitation of man by man in society. He unleashed the tremendous energy

and force of the imperialists of the world renegades in the Chi Shao-chi, Lin Piao, not so fast, don't let them work to sabotage.

For this, millions of world hold him in the all countries have b for revolution by Ma

Today, more than by those who outright an idle dreamer or w while they attack all

Today revolutionary liberation must stand tributions and the Cultural Revolution.

It is in this spirit th ty and the Mao Tse out boldly to build th thousands of poste sparked the interest from coast to coast-

the bourgeoisie and ble in S.J." said the newspaper. "Transl Posters" announced

But to build and c very large financial to contribute as ge cost of holding the your donations to th: Box 3486, Chicago,

Wildcats ...

Continued from page 1

total of 19½%. But the next day it turned out this figure included "projected" cost-of-living increases for three years added in. When the whole package is added up, it means postal workers stand to take a 10% wage cut over the life of the contract.

Although union officials have carefully hidden many of the sellout terms of the agreement, it is clear that it will be a big step backward for postal workers if they push it through. The puny wage agreement will have Carter and his capitalist masters smiling. It fits right in with their phony "anti-inflation" program designed to force the working class to sacrifice and bear the brunt of the capitalists' deteriorating economic situation.

Other attacks include downgrading pay of some jobs and tightening of disciplinary rules. Informal counseling, an initial step in the disciplinary procedure, has been eliminated so the supervisor can go directly to more severe disciplinary action.

Hacks' Treachery

The actions of the officials of the three major postal unions have truly lived up to what it says of their ilk in the RCP PROGRAMME: "Trade unions in the U.S. today are controlled at the very top by scabs and traitors... Today, in its daily battles the working class comes up against both the capitalists and their henchmen in the unions—a two-headed monster backed up by the various arms of the bourgeois state." (p. 103, 106)

The top officials of the postal unions make no bones about standing with the capitalists and openly call on postal workers to capitulate to the Postal Service's attacks. Ben Zemsky, Organization Director of the APWU, summed up where these national officers are at when he spoke to the rank and file in Chicago a few days before the contract deadline: "It's senseless to talk about a strike... Our demands are less than ever before and they're so easy to meet."

Then there are the up-and-coming local hacks, smaller frogs in the trade union pond, who aspire to become "bloated toads." A prime example of these traitors is Moe Biller, President of the New York Metro APWU, who has acquired a reputation in the press as a "militant," mainly because the rank and file of that local helped to spark the 1970 postal strike.

During the national demonstrations before the contract deadline, Biller talked "tough" to the press, declaring postal workers would not work without a decent contract. But at the same time he had the audacity to send out a union newsletter declaring that "his" local was tired of bearing the burden and it would be up to others to initiate a walkout. But when the Bulk strikers led the way, this low-life scab sat on his butt for days, knowing full well a walkout by his local could turn the tables and spark further walkouts around the country.

When workers demonstrated at his executive board meeting, he started talking "militant" again, recommending his local go on strike. But instead of calling the membership out, he scheduled a strike vote for Monday, July 31—a full 10 days after the initial walkouts. This gave the government time to get the injunction prohibiting a strike vote. Biller, of course, then agreed to respect the injunction, sabotaging the momentum of the strike, as many postal workers looked to a Metro walkout as key to spreading the rebellion.

At the San Francisco BMC, Mailhandler Union Officials spent their time during the walkout busting through the picket line to make speeches in the lunchroom about how "postal workers should honor the contract." Alvin Gant, President of Local 302, sent a letter to all mailhandlers begging them to "ignore the unsanctioned activities going on and report to work."

When he tried to read a statement declaring the strike was "illegal" on the steps of a court hearing in San Francisco, the workers shouted him down in front of the TV cameras. These and other instances of treachery too numerous to mention have opened many workers' eyes to the fact that their unions are run by scabs and that only the workers themselves can carry through this fight.

Two Lines on Continuing the Struggle

From the beginning, the Postal Section of the National United Workers Organization and members of the Revolutionary Communist Party pointed to the fact that the fight that postal workers face is a fight against the whole capitalist class, which will use every weapon at its disposal to crush or misdirect their struggle. They have struggled for the line that the only road forward is for the workers to rely on their own efforts, to take matters into their own hands and boldly act to defend their interests, which are directly opposed to the interests of the bourgeoisie.

But as the momentum of the wildcats has ebbed and the ruling class has unleashed the power of its state, particularly in the form of court injunctions, a number of forces in addition to the hacks are pushing the line of relying on these very courts and promoting legal action to continue the struggle. Not surprisingly, we find the very same Mensheviks who tried to wreck the RCP pushing this "practical" bourgeois line, using their positions as leaders in the New Jersey wildcat.

A leaflet put out by the Bulk Workers Legal Defense Committee (an arm of the Menshevik-founded "Good Contract Committee") reads like a Supreme Court brief: "... you must proceed in accordance with the grievance procedures... we can advise you on how to pursue your Step 1 grievance. THIS IS IMPORTANT... we are arguing that the injunction is unconstitutional... we are asking the court to rescind all firings... we are asking the court to stop the Postal Service from harassing and intimidating workers... use your 1st Amendment rights... we are suing for ONE MILLION DOLLARS," blah, blah, blah.

These legal beagle "revolutionaries" actually applauded Judge Lacey, who issued the federal injunction to smash the strike vote, for saying his ruling shouldn't be interpreted to "interfere with individuals expressing their views." Thanks to this "concession from the court," they sigh, we all have the right to express our opinions.

Plead your case, Mensheviks, if you will, but please don't claim to represent

I-Hotel: 1 Year Later

On the evening of August 4, in San Francisco Chinatown, banners hung from the boarded-up front of the International Hotel where one year ago, August 4, 1977, the infamous predawn police assault had thrown the elderly tenants out in the street. The slogans on the walls read:

"To Hell With Their Profits! Fight for Low Rent Housing! We Won't Live in the Streets While the Rich Live in Mansions," as 250 people rallied in militant defiance of the city and the millionaire owners of the hotel property.

While the owners, Four Seas Corporation, have torn up the inside of the building, they still haven't been able to

demolish the I-Hotel, and the people made it clear that attempts at demolition will be met by struggle. Called by the Workers Committee to Defend the I-Hotel and the International Hotel Tenants Association (IHTA), the rally demanded that the capitalists must either renovate the building or build new low rent housing on the site.

Speakers included the Revolutionary Communist Party, the IHTA, the Workers Committee, someone from the Victory Building (where tenants were also evicted by Four Seas), the I-Hotel Support Committee and a speaker from the Harbor Emergency Sit-In, a recent struggle to stop the closing of the Emergency Clinics in San Francisco. ■

the workers. This legal line is a deadly poison to the struggle of postal workers and an insult to the heroic actions of the strikers who smashed the chains of legality by defying the no-strike law. In contrast to such righteous actions is the saying put out by the Good Contract Committee, "It's no crime, no felony, to strike for what we need." Unfortunately, under bourgeois law it is a crime—just ask the judges. There are no legal shortcuts to victory.

One of the tasks of genuine revolutionaries is to arm the workers with the understanding that the courts and the law are nothing but a weapon of the bourgeoisie aimed directly against their struggle. This is crucial to the continued advance of this immediate battle as well. And not many are fool enough to believe that some judge will stop the Postal Service from harassing and intimidating workers, let alone give away one million dollars!

All this legal mumbo-jumbo fits right in with the Mensheviks' strategy for continuing the contract fight—all you have to do is "get a real VOTE NO movement off the ground." When they first put out voting NO as the central question, the wildcats were still going on and Biller was still stalling on a strike vote, waiting for the excuse of a court order. The key thing was not working for an eventual NO vote but "Spreading the Rebellion," as NUWO leaflets put it. Anything else meant taking the initiative out of the hands of the rank and file. (Their Good Contract Committee leaflet—at least in Chicago—raised the slogan in the headline, "Scrap the Sellout—Renegotiate Now!")

Even if this contract is voted down—as it is likely it can be, particularly if direct rank and file actions continue—the postal bosses still have a

powerful weapon. If they refuse to renegotiate, the contract goes by law to binding arbitration.

As the Postal Section of the NUWO has pointed out, such arbitration can only take matters further out of the hands of the workers. It can only benefit the capitalists who will have their bought and paid for "arbitrators" in their hip pocket. Building for a NO vote, while a correct tactic, must be put clearly and consistently in this context. It is impossible to point the way forward now without pointing this out.

The Way Forward

The NUWO has put out a national leaflet calling on postal workers to continue to "Spread the Rebellion!" The leaflet calls for informational picket lines and other actions to be taken nationwide and puts forward the slogans:

- Defeat the Sellout!
 - Amnesty for all Strikers!
 - Break the Chains of the No-Strike Law!
 - We are the Union—National Officers Are the Ones Who Are Scabbing!
- It says in part: "Fellow Workers, let's turn up the heat... This means jamming our local unions to come out against this offer, for amnesty and plans for striking."

The wildcat strikes have proved once again that it can be done, that postal workers have the potential to smash the handcuffs the bourgeoisie tries to put on their struggle. The rank and file must be prepared to keep the initiative they have built and take further strike action to smash this contract and back up any no-vote as well as defend those who have been fired. This is the only way forward—the road the wildcat strikers have charted. ■

Mao Memorials

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as well as the anger and reaction of
s agents. "Mao alive, causing trou-
headline of the San Jose, California
District Sees Red Over Mao Bench
a paper in Fullerton, California.

arry off these memorials requires a
penditure. The RCP calls on people
rously as they possibly can to the
e memorial meetings. Please send
Mao Memorial Committee, c/o P.O.
60654.



Militant wildcat at SF Bulk Mail facility.

Cops Protect Nazis in Chicago

Capitalists Promote Nazi Trash

On Sunday, July 9, the community of Marquette Park, on Chicago's South-west Side, was occupied, seized and surrounded by the armed forces of the state in the form of the Chicago police. On every corner within a square mile of the park were groups of cops stopping, checking and harassing people in the area.

Dozens of unmarked cars toured the area, stopping many cars with groups of people in them, searching the cars and arresting some people walking down the street. In a few strategic locations, groups of 50 to 100 cops were poised, waiting for a command. In the park itself, around 400 uniformed, riot-helmeted police were drawn up, augmented by an uncountable number of plainclothes pigs.

A half-mile to the east, a few hundred more cops were in formation, blocking access to the park from 71st street. Only a mile or two from the park the National Guard were holed up in an armory, waiting for further orders. On that Sunday Marquette Park was an armed camp.

The armed force of the state was brought to bear in defense of the Nazis and their so-called "right" to rally and spew anti-Black, anti-Jewish and anti-working class poison. The 20 or so Nazi scum that comprised the Nazi "detachment" were a pitiful sight. But it definitely wasn't out of pity that the capitalist class threw its armed might behind them. This whole extravaganza was produced, directed and promoted by the capitalist class themselves; they

were protecting their own show.

The Nazis had been blessed with a permit for their rally by a federal judge, on the grounds that a required \$60,000 bond for a gathering of more than 75 people denied the Nazis their right to "free speech." For one hour, local head Nazi Frank Collin and other vermin freely spouted their reactionary poison. "Do you want us to put you in the ovens? We will," shouted one of the Nazis. "I believe there was no holocaust," said Frank Collin, "but they deserve one and they will get it. Marquette Park is a battle ground. We'd rather see Marquette Park a battleground than a graveyard of reason. It will not be taken over by the Blacks."

More than a thousand people, mostly from the neighborhood, were in the park. Around the Nazis swarmed about 100-150 hard core Nazi supporters wearing "white power" T-shirts. Many other people from the area who came to the park said they didn't like the Nazis, but they had swallowed the reactionary poison spread by the Nazis that Blacks and Jews were responsible for crime, cities falling apart, unemployment, war and every other evil in society.

Some people who were against the Nazis and everything they stand for had managed to get into the area of the park. Hundreds of plainclothes cops went through the crowd, not only protecting the Nazis, but assisting them in surrounding and beating up people who voiced opposition to the little gang of brownshirts.

Before the Rally

Throughout the Chicago area, in the weeks leading up to the Nazi rally, and off of the events around their proposed Skokie March (see last issue of *Revolution*) the Nazis and the coming events in Marquette Park became a subject of struggle and debate throughout the working class.

While many were confused about the question of "free speech" for Nazis, more and more the anger and hatred of the masses toward these vermin has intensified. The bourgeoisie had been careful to pick up on this and try to divert and defuse it. In doing this it has promoted what had become the "official" opposition to the Nazi rally, in the form of a local group made up of Jesse Jackson, the Martin Luther King Movement and the Jewish Defense League (JDL).

After the Nazi Skokie march had been called off, and traded instead for a rally in Marquette Park, Jackson was one of the first to proclaim his "leadership" in a coalition to counter-demonstrate against the Nazis. The JDL and Martin Luther King Movement quickly joined in.

Days of pious and determined statements followed about the strong show that had to be made against the Nazis. But as the anger of the masses built up, this "official" opposition began making a steady and determined retreat. By the Wednesday before the rally, Jackson had called for a rally a couple of

miles away from the park instead of the counter-demonstration. By Friday night even that rally was off, with Jackson's office saying he would "be around the area as an observer." Friday night, the Martin Luther King Movement got on TV to proclaim that they too, had called off the march. Left holding the bag were dozens of other opportunist organizations and sects, many of which had been building nationally for this demonstration and had been spending the previous week tailing after Jackson and the MLK Movement.

The combination of Jackson's behavior, a media propaganda blitz and the flaky character of many of the groups left sponsoring the march all had their effect. By the eve of the demonstration, it was clear that only a relatively small number of the broad masses who wanted to stop the Nazis would be out for this particular counter-demonstration and that it would not pose much of a threat politically or otherwise to the Nazis (with their cop protection) and the bourgeoisie.

Work in Marquette Park

On Saturday, the day before the rally, members of the RCP, RCYB, the staff of *The Worker* for the Chicago/Gary area, and others went into the Marquette Park neighborhood to combat the reactionary filth of the Nazis and expose the hand of the capitalists pulling the strings of the Nazis.

Over the past period of time, many of the residents of Marquette Park were beginning to recognize that there was something much bigger going on behind the scenes. Many despised the Nazis but didn't understand how the situation got promoted nationwide by the capitalists. They didn't see its connection with the housing question in Chicago, the deteriorating conditions facing the working class, the accelerating crisis that the capitalists find themselves in, and how the Nazis fit into the divide and rule schemes of the capitalists. But the recent events that had unfolded began to call to mind a lot of big questions about what the hell was going on.

In just a couple of hours the forces around the Party had sold out of pamphlets that *The Worker* put out entitled *Why the Nazis Must Be Stopped and Behind the Incidents in Marquette Park*. Residents in the area approached those selling the pamphlets and wanted to discuss and struggle out these vital questions.

Though most people encountered on Saturday wanted no part of the Nazis, they were influenced by the bourgeoisie's call to stay in their houses on Sunday. Through the press, the local politicians and various community organizations, the bourgeoisie made a big appeal to the masses in the Marquette Park area to stay at home. This, they hoped, would give the Nazis and their reactionary supporters more of a clear field politically at the Sunday rally.

The bourgeoisie has been capitalizing on the Nazis and also the illusions, divisions and hostility of many whites in Marquette Park toward Black people. They have been whipping up and publicizing all this—trying to make a sick and twisted political model out of Marquette Park for many neighborhoods across the country.

In Chicago, one of the country's most segregated cities, when neighborhoods change they change from white to Black to Latino over a very short period of time. This has given the banks and real estate vultures a big opportuni-

ty to profit off this situation through redlining, mortgage killings, etc. All this promotes the rapid decline of the neighborhoods. This feeds the idea that "the Blacks move in and neighborhoods get worse"—the reactionary line of the bourgeoisie.

The reason the Nazis are the particular deformed variety of reactionaries spouting off in Marquette Park has something to do with particularities of the area. It was here after WW2 that many Nazi sympathizers came from Europe to settle. Many police (who must live inside the city limits of Chicago) also live in this area. A year ago, when part of a reactionary mob got busted attacking some Blacks, those busted—embarrassingly enough—included off-duty cops.

Though some of this is particular to Marquette Park, giving the Nazis a relatively small but active supportive base. But the contradictions faced there are similar to those in many other cities. Hence the big nationwide promotion of the Nazis by the capitalists in raising their reactionary—and phony—solution to these real contradictions.

Day of the Rally

Though Jackson and other servants of the bourgeoisie were successful in rendering the counter demonstration impotent, they were not so successful in keeping people away from the area on the day of the march. While the police kept this demonstration of a thousand in check, workers and others throughout the city who felt that they had to be there to oppose the Nazis began gathering spontaneously in an area between the counter-demonstration and the park.

Because the counter-demonstration had deteriorated into petty political hucksterism, these people for the most part wouldn't unite with it. And many said they had to be in the Marquette Park area, they just couldn't stay at home while the Nazis were getting this boost from the bourgeoisie.

Taking all this into account as part of the objective conditions, it was here—among the people who had spontaneously gathered in opposition to the Nazis—that the Party concentrated most of its forces. Propaganda teams fanned out, while other people were sent into the park itself and into the fairly limp counter-demonstration. The propaganda teams exposed the role of the bourgeoisie and pulled together groups of people to look for opportunities to make advances against Nazis and cops.

As more angry people gathered, the police began to get more nervous, stopping, and harassing residents who were just out on their porches, and asking for identification from those that were gathering. At one point the cops tried to stop a Black resident from crossing the street, demanding to see his identification. "What is this, South Africa?!" he said. "We have to have identity cards to walk in our neighborhood. You sure ain't asking the Nazis for theirs!"

As the cop moved toward him the crowd began to pick up on this vivid example of "democracy" capitalist style. The city of Chicago had spent \$175,000 to protect the Nazis, had armed goons surrounding and patrolling Marquette park, but as for Chicago's Black residents, they needed identity cards just to cross the street. The police were losing control, and the cop made a half-hearted threat and backed off.

But to many of the masses there, as well as to many more around the city, the capitalists had exposed more clearly what their "democratic rights" are about. They offer freedom and protection for the Nazis and their "right" to hold the reactionary rally while throwing broad masses and the counter-demonstration whose stated purpose was to go into the park and demonstrate in opposition.

After his rally, Nazi head cockroach Frank Collin, counting on further assistance from the capitalists, announced plans to hold rallies in other white neighborhoods around the city and declared that in the fall he would lead a Nazi march into a Black community.

Such actions are sure to arouse still further hatred for the Nazis and their bourgeois backers. ■

Evans...

Continued from page 4

dle the spirit of the rebellion, it seemed they had to be the leaders. They approached the Evans family and tried unsuccessfully to convince them that any activity should be limited to Blacks.

Failing that, they denounced the organizers of the march, red-baiting and denouncing the presence of whites in the community. Despite the attempts of this handful to intimidate people and spread confusion, the coalition was able to unite broadly with people in the community, including some representatives of nationalist organizations.

A number of these people acknowledged their ideological differences with some in the coalition, but agreed that the main thing was the spirit of resistance that the march represented and joined in on that basis. The line of struggle, of rebellion, and the enthusiasm it generated were a powerful force for unity.

Getting more desperate, the small handful of reactionaries threatened to disrupt the march. When the demonstration began, they tried to drown out speakers by honking horns. Growing desperate, they stood in front of the march and threatened bloodshed.

As the marchers blew past them, these reactionaries actually fired off some shots, hoping to cause people to scatter, but it didn't work. With broad support for the march among the people of Glenview, the reactionaries only succeeded in further exposing themselves and becoming even more isolated in the community.

Unity Growing

The 10th anniversary march was an inspiration to thousands who saw it in person or on TV. It embodied the spirit of struggle of past fighters against oppression, like Ahmed Evans, and it represented an advance in building the revolutionary unity of the working class and oppressed nationalities. ■

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Zimbabwean Liberation Forces Advance

U.S., Britain Prop Up 'Internal Settlement'

The national democratic revolution of the Zimbabwean people is steadily advancing. The liberation forces of the Patriotic Front are now operating in two-thirds of the country. Most of this territory is either liberated or semi-liberated, with the Rhodesian regime's state power broken and new popular administrative and military structures being established. The new victories being scored by the liberation forces are reflected in the number of white settlers fleeing abroad, which recently jumped to 1200 a month.

The Rhodesian "internal settlement" signed in March is nothing but a naked attempt to legitimize the white settlers' economic power and control of the armed forces by adding three black collaborators—Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau—to the reactionary regime. Since it was signed, it has steadily lost the limited base of support it had inside Zimbabwe, as well as internationally.

The reactionary Rhodesian regime has turned to increasingly desperate actions, especially as the deadline for implementing its "majority rule" hoax draws closer. (The white settlers are supposed to ratify the "internal settlement" in October, and general elections are scheduled for December 4-6.)

In recent months, the Rhodesian government has launched a systematic campaign of fascist terror against Zimbabwean civilians and white missionaries who have been supporting the liberation forces. Echoed by the Western press, the Smith regime has brazenly tried to blame most of these massacres on ZANU fighters—such as the well-publicized murder of eight British missionaries and four school children in late June. In reality, this action was carried out by the Selous Scouts, a notorious unit of the Rhodesian Army which poses as "guerillas" to do the regime's dirty work.

In addition, the Rhodesian Army is launching stepped-up raids into Mozambique to attack both ZANU bases and the burgeoning Zimbabwean refugee camps. After a major bombing raid in late July, Rhodesian Lt. General Walls openly admitted that, "We are going to do more of these, whenever necessary."

Imperialist Backing

There are several reasons why the Western imperialists have held back from openly supporting the Rhodesian transitional government and the phony "majority rule" plan. First, this would certainly alienate the vast majority of independent African states, jeopardizing overall Western imperialist interests in Africa. And second, it would leave a much bigger opening for the Soviet social-imperialists and their Cuban mercenaries to exploit in Zimbabwe—and in the rest of Africa.

Nevertheless, the U.S. and British imperialists' fundamental interests dictate that they give support (in mainly indirect forms at this point) to the "internal settlement," especially in order to prevent the regime's total collapse and defeat at the hands of the liberation forces. Their strategic goal remains one of trying to strengthen the reactionary pro-imperialist forces centered around Smith, Muzorewa & Co. and weaken the revolutionary forces led by ZANU, in order to increase the chances of success for a more lasting and stable neo-colonialist government in Zimbabwe.

While refraining from an open endorsement of the "internal settlement," the U.S. and Britain have increasingly sought to build public opinion for this sham "majority rule" scheme. They have faithfully repeated the Smith regime's racist lies about the massacres supposedly perpetrated by the liberation forces.

They have rolled out the red carpet for Muzorewa, the national traitor the

imperialists are still hoping will emerge as the "first president of Zimbabwe," and they are even testing the waters for a trip to the U.S. by Ian Smith himself. Most recently, the U.S. House of Representatives voted to lift economic sanctions against the Rhodesian government after the holding of "one-man, one-vote elections" in December. (These sanctions, of course, have basically been a sham, since U.S. oil companies have continued to trade with Rhodesia through their South African subsidiaries, and the U.S. stockpiled almost a year's supply of chrome before agreeing to the UN boycott.) Under pressure from the administration, the Senate added another condition for lifting sanctions, the new regime's willingness to talk with the Patriotic Front. All this amounts to more open support for Smith and the "three stooges" internal settlement.

The overall direction being taken by the U.S. imperialists is unmistakable: building public opinion and making preparations to recognize and build up a new reactionary regime with black front men in Zimbabwe. Even if the particular front men don't end up being Muzorewa & Co. by means of this "internal settlement," strengthening these particular reactionary forces is an important part of the Western imperialists' overall neo-colonial strategy for Zimbabwe.

"Anglo-American Peace Plan"

For the reasons mentioned previously, the U.S. and British imperialists are trying to maintain the pretense of an "even-handed" approach to the Smith regime and the Patriotic Front. For months, they've been singing a tired old song called the "Anglo-American Peace Plan."

This plan, in brief, calls for the liberation forces to end the armed struggle and be integrated into the Rhodesian Army, and for "free elections" to be held, supervised by a U.N. administrator and troops.

The counter-revolutionary nature of the U.S.-British "peace plan" speaks for itself, since the Rhodesian reactionaries' state apparatus would be left in place throughout this process.

As part of their overall strategy, the Western imperialists have openly admitted that they want to split the Patriotic Front alliance of ZANU and ZAPU, hoping to persuade Joshua

Nkomo of ZAPU to enter into separate negotiations with Smith, Muzorewa & Co.

Nkomo, it must be noted, has a long and well-known history of opportunism—of entering into negotiations with Smith and Vorster to end the armed struggle as recently as 1975, of relying heavily on support from the Western imperialists and, more recently, the Soviet social-imperialists. Large numbers of ZAPU troops have been sent to Angola for political and military training, and Nkomo has been threatening to call for large-scale Cuban military intervention "to bring down the Smith regime."

But in the face of stepped-up imperialist intrigues, the Patriotic Front has maintained its unity and has solidly rejected the Western imperialists' plans to stop the armed struggle and impose their neo-colonialist solution on the Zimbabwean people. The Front has exposed the U.S.-British "peace plan" as a deceitful attempt to buy time for the Rhodesian racists and other pro-imperialist forces.

In the Jan.-Feb. 1978 Zimbabwe

News, ZANU President Robert Mugabe stated that organization's position: "That total power must transfer to the people of Zimbabwe through their revolutionary leadership. Power transfer requires that both political and military instruments be jointly placed in our hands. Our army remains the bulwark of our political power. If the vote is the product of the gun, then the gun which has created it must continue to protect and secure it... Our war must thus remain hot. It must grow hotter, nay hottest... Our just cause will win if we continue to trust that power can only come from the barrel of the gun and not from Geneva or Malta."

The phoney imperialist "majority rule" plans are all destined for miserable failure, no matter how many hands Jimmy Carter shakes or how many times Andy Young calls African freedom fighters "brother." After years of sacrifice and courageous struggle, the Zimbabwean people are not about to fall for these reactionary maneuvers, and are intensifying their armed struggle for national liberation. ■

ZANU - ALSC Speaking Tour

During the months of August and September, the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) is sponsoring forums on the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe in cities across the country. The main speaker will be Edson Shirihuru, the Deputy Chief representative in the U.S. of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

The speaking tour has already visited Atlanta, Birmingham, and Raleigh, North Carolina in the South. In coming weeks, forums will be held in Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Louisville, West Virginia, Boston, New York City, Baltimore, Oakland, and Los Angeles.

Along with these forums, ALSC is calling for local demonstrations in the first part of August to support the revolutionary struggle in Zimbabwe under the slogans:

"Victory to the Zimbabwean People's Just Struggle!"

"U.S. Out of Zimbabwe—Superpowers, Hands Off!"

"Down with White Minority Rule!"

"Oppose Phony 'Majority Rule' Schemes in Zimbabwe!"

On August 5, chief Rhodesian reactionary Ian Smith was scheduled to arrive in Chicago at the invitation of the right-wing paramilitary Church of Christian Liberty to speak at a seminar on "Communist Terrorism." (This church is distinguishing itself by organizing a contingent of ex-Green Berets to fight on the side of the Rhodesian racists.)

The Chicago chapter of ALSC, the RCYB and others leafletted all over Chicago, especially in the Black community, to build for a militant demonstration if the racist dog Smith was granted a license to travel in the U.S. Earlier in the week, ALSC organized a picket line in front of the Federal Building to expose Smith's scheduled appearance and the U.S. imperialists' support for the reactionary Rhodesian regime.

When Smith didn't show, ALSC drew approximately 75 people to an afternoon forum at a Westside church, featuring a ZANU representative in the U.S. and a recently arrived member of ZANU from Zimbabwe, who reported on the current situation inside the country.

When it was reported at the forum that the reactionary Chicago church had announced a re-scheduled U.S. visit by Smith next month, together with several of his pro-imperialist black collaborators, the clear and overwhelming sentiment was to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the Zimbabwean people and step up the struggle in the months ahead. ■

Crown Hts. ...

Continued from page 2

sidelines and denounces the struggle," not a single *Call* has been glimpsed in Crown Heights, because they know their lies could never get over there. Their only hope is that people outside of New York City will be suckered in.

So on July 16, in the BUF march to the steps of the Hasidic Temple in Crown Heights, where Rev. Daughtry denounced the Hasidim as the "symbol" of Black people's oppression, the CP(ML) was there—taking their predictable stand of uncritical support for such leaders and their line.

The demonstration drew more than 2000 outraged residents of Crown Heights who wanted to see an end to the police terror in their community. People came because they wanted to fight back, and the role of communists should have been to unite with that sentiment and point the direction forward, exposing the reactionary line of the Daughtrys and the Kobies every step of the way.

This task is both difficult and absolutely necessary. There has always been sharp struggle for leadership within the national movements between revolutionary and reactionary lines. It has been a struggle which people like

Malcolm X and the Black Panthers took up willingly, and for which they shed their blood.

Communists must continue this fight, struggle constantly to develop proletarian leadership within the movements of the oppressed nationalities, and lead the entire working class in taking up the struggle against national oppression. The main leaders of the BUF carry the banner of the same forces that Malcolm and the Panthers fought, only now if anything they're more integrated into the ruling class state apparatus. For instance, the community self-defense group being formed by the BUF is being trained by a Black police sergeant!

At the same time as the BUF demonstration, the New York City cops held a demonstration of their own in Crown Heights. In direct opposition to the struggle of the Black community, these murdering pigs held a "memorial" for cops who had been killed in Crown Heights. Their "memorial" was a clear statement of support for Arthur Miller's murderers. The head of the Policemen's Benevolent Association cried: "We know you did no wrong!"

When he called for a moment of silence for the dead cops, a voice rang out, "How about a moment of silence for the people the cops killed!" The cops seethed at this outcry from a community resident.

Then, across the street, chants from the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade started up: "Justice for Arthur Miller! Jail the cops! Jail the killers!" An effigy of a pig was burned right before the cops' very eyes.

At the end of their "memorial" some cops broke away and began marching toward the site of the BUF rally, singing "We Shall Overcome" in a cynical slap in the face to the Black community. "We're number one!" they chanted, and people yelled back, "You're just shit!"

The Struggle In Crown Heights Continues

In the weeks since the July 15-16 demonstrations, the CJAM has continued its work, and advances are being made. The struggle in Crown Heights shows not only that where there is oppression there will be resistance, but the potential among the masses for communist leadership of that resistance.

The bourgeoisie and its various agents will never stop trying to prevent a merger of the working class' struggle with the struggle of the oppressed nationalities, and it will try constantly to lead both down dead-end roads. This places great responsibility on the communists and the advanced to chart a clear course in these struggles and build them in a revolutionary way. ■

1100 Strike Safeway's Killer Production Plan

Richmond, California—The 1100 teamsters at the Richmond Distribution Center of Safeway Stores are waging a militant and determined strike. Defying the International, which arbitrarily extended their contract, 600 rank and file warehousemen walked out on July 11 and told Safeway to "Go to Hell. No Contract, No Work!" By July 21 the entire distribution center was shut down.

The company has tried hard to bust the strike, with straight out scab herding and the usual slimy tricks of trying to get unemployed minority workers to cross the lines to take the jobs of strikers. They hired 90 off duty police to ride shotgun in cars escorting scab trucks to the stores, and Richmond police in squad cars and paddy wagons have been ordered to stay at the Center day and night. Strikers have been jumped and beaten, with the cops arresting strikers as the goons go scot-free. In spite of all this, the company has been able to get only about 20-30 truckloads of groceries a day out of the warehouse to the stores, whereas they usually send out 150 to 200 truckloads daily.

New "Production Program"

The central issue in this strike is a killer "Production Program" designed by Safeway that has had warehousemen lifting and palletizing 250 50-lb. sacks of sugar an hour, 300 cases of soda pop an hour, 4.8 minutes a day to go to the bathroom, and every worker lifting on an average of between 30,000 and 50,000 lbs. a day. At one center where the program was implemented, the average age of the workers dropped from 37 to 23 due to injuries and termination. At Richmond Safeway Grocery Warehouse, more than 80 workers have been disabled and over 50 suspended or fired for failing to keep up.

The International Union, not surprisingly, has been singing the praises of the company's productivity scheme. Last year these fat-bottomed bureaucrats who have a hard time heaving their bellies around the dinner table stated in the *Teamster* magazine that "workers have as much interest in these productivity programs as the company," and they have shamelessly tried to help Safeway implement the speedup program in distribution centers across the

country. This is what local officials call "pushing for a fair and reasonable" program in this contract.

In response to all this bull the strikers have made their key demand very plain: *No Production Program At All* and amnesty for everyone disciplined under the program in the past. When the union refused official sanction for the strike, the workers went out and picketed even more stores, forcing the union to reinstitute the sanction. And in the face of court injunctions, company goons and scabs, mass arrests and firings, and continued threats by the International to put the local in receivership, the strikers are holding firm.

Broader Unity Built

The news of the strike has spread to workers throughout the food industry in Northern California and the Safeway workers have linked up with their brothers and sisters in other industries.

The National United Workers Organization (NUWO) has united with the strikers, holding rallies and mass mobilizations. And the NUWO has led workers in hitting back at the company's efforts to send Black supervisors into the Black community to recruit unemployed youth to break the strike. In Richmond, where unemployment among Black youth is 50%, the NUWO led a mass mobilization in the Black community that slammed the capitalists and their lousy system as the cause of the rotten conditions and unemployment in the ghettos, and pointed to the need for the working class as a whole to unite and lead the struggle against all oppression. The strikers and NUWO members from

other industries united with the youths in their demand for jobs and convinced many of them to stand with the strike as a way to fight. Local community organizations are also calling on people to refuse to scab and to support the strike.

Safeway strikers also joined with postal workers at the Bulk Mail complex in Richmond during the recent postal walkouts. This has helped strengthen both struggles, and has made clearer the common cause and the common fight of all workers. The two-faced local officials tried to turn them back by saying that they should be devoting "100% to their own strike." At one rally the wife of a Safeway worker, speaking for the NUWO, refuted the hacks' baloney and spoke to the importance of such acts of solidarity: "What's going on here today with Safeway workers and Post Office workers uniting is scaring the hell out of the bosses. . . It's clear what both fights have in common, that we are trying to break loose from so many things that keep us down. . . The Texas garbage workers, the coal miners, the Chicano people's rebellion in Houston, the Safeway and postal workers. . . every blow that is struck against the forces that try to keep us down strengthens all our fights."

During the past year and a half since Safeway started this speedup, there has been a lot of discussion and struggle among the warehousemen on which way to go. And some workers are beginning to see this battle in a broader context. As one Safeway worker put it, "What we have to do is turn this whole thing around from our fight today to keep from being pushed down, into a powerful workers movement aimed at overturning their whole profit system. That's what's behind these attacks." ■

Yemen...

Continued from page 8

Democratic Republic of Yemen in November, 1967.

"Moderate" forces in the NLF held sway until 1969, when they were pushed out by the more progressive wing of the NLF (representing, in the main, the interests of the aspiring national bourgeoisie) who nationalized foreign enterprises, instituted a number of reforms, and proclaimed their intention of building "socialism."

At that time, due to the powerful blows being delivered by the working class and oppressed peoples of the world to U.S. imperialism (China, Korea, Vietnam, etc.), and due to Soviet social-imperialism's inability then to mount a full-scale challenge to U.S. imperialism's worldwide empire, national bourgeois forces in a number of countries had somewhat more freedom in charting a more independent path from the major imperialist powers, and often drew on Marxist (though distorted) ideology and in-

stituted a number of reforms under the signboard of "socialism."

In the early '70s, the PDRY provided a rear base of support for the liberation forces in Oman (who were fighting against British, Saudi and Omani puppet troops, as well as a large Iranian invading force), and actively supported both the Palestinian and Eritrean liberation struggles. Declaring the PDRY "a satanic citadel of subversion," the Saudi Arabian regime financed and organized attacks by mercenaries into the PDRY, as well as encouraging the north to take a hostile attitude towards the south. During this period, the PDRY took approximately equal amounts of aid from the Soviets (whose 2.5% loans were concentrated heavily in the armed forces) and from the People's Republic of China (whose interest-free loans were used chiefly in development projects).

Soviets Strengthen Position in PDRY

In recent years, the Soviet revisionists have steadily consolidated their political influence in the south, offering the PDRY leadership quick "shortcuts" to economic development and military defense. This shows the tendency of the national bourgeois forces, no matter how "revolutionary" they start out, to cave in to imperialism, and is yet another example of why—while they must be united with—they cannot be relied on to lead the struggle for national independence.

The East Germans were handed the job of organizing the police forces and security apparatus. More recently, nearly 500 Cuban advisers have arrived in the PDRY. They have paid particular attention to the "people's militia," commanded by NLF secretary-general Ismail. And the Soviet imperialists have the full use of Aden's port and air base, as well as facilities on the island of Socotra.

The PDRY leadership has openly supported the USSR's moves in Africa and, following the Soviet imperialists, they have thrown their previous support for the national liberation struggle of the Eritrean people out the window. Instead they have backed the social-fascist Mengistu regime in Ethiopia. To date, the PDRY has sent at least one battalion of troops to fight for the Ethiopian reactionaries. In late 1977, the Soviets used Aden as a key stopover point for its massive airlift of over \$1 billion in military supplies to the Mengistu regime.

However, some of these more blatant imperialist actions, such as the massive Soviet-Cuban intervention in the Horn of Africa, were beginning to meet opposition from forces in the PDRY leadership centered around President Ali Robaye. Ali Robaye was also pushing ahead with reunification plans with the north, again in opposition to the USSR's plans for turning the PDRY into a Cuba-style Soviet neo-colony.

The U.S., for its part, was anxious to take advantage of any splits in the PDRY leadership for its own ends. In fact, Ismail & Co. overthrew Robaye Ali only *one day* before a U.S. State Department official had been due to arrive in Aden to discuss the re-establishment of diplomatic ties between the PDRY and the U.S. (which were broken off in 1969).

Thus, Ali Robaye was leading forces that were trying, to some extent, to limit Soviet domination of south Yemen and to carry out somewhat more independent policies. While the PDRY was already heavily Soviet-dominated, Ali Robaye was nonetheless an obstacle to the plans of the USSR: thus the coup and his execution.

The recent events have essentially led to the tightening of Soviet domination in south Yemen and to the strengthening of U.S.-Saudi control in the north. But things, of course, are far from settled. For one thing, the imperialists and the local reactionary forces tied to them will no doubt continue trying to undermine each other's positions. Further, any rapid escalation in the fighting between north and south Yemen would inevitably lead to an even larger war, exactly because Yemen is so valuable and strategic to the two superpowers.

However, the main lesson that must be drawn from these developments in Yemen, especially the pro-Soviet coup in the south, is the great danger for the oppressed peoples of the world to rely on Soviet "aid" and advisers in order to break free of Western imperialist domination, just as the reverse is true.

The Soviet social-imperialists extend "aid" to countries only so they can deepen their dependence on their "socialist" big brother, more thoroughly exploit them through such mechanisms as the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, and use them as springboards (Cuba and Angola-style) for future social-imperialist expansion. The Soviet revisionists undoubtedly have such plans for south Yemen, which they have already taken to calling "the Cuba of the Middle East."

While the New Czars have scored a victory in south Yemen at this point, and the Yemeni people have suffered a setback, the price of this victory is high for the USSR. Its "socialist" cover has been further eroded and its true nature revealed to broader numbers of people the world over.

Detroit Arab Community

The effects of the superpowers' meddling and interference in Yemen have also been felt sharply in U.S. cities such as Detroit, whose Arab community (over half of which is from Yemen) is the largest in the U.S.

On July 1, only several days after the coup in south Yemen, THE WORKER for the Detroit area put out a leaflet in Arabic and English analyzing the events in Yemen and putting out the position of the Revolutionary Communist Party on them. The leaflet exposed the criminal hand of both superpowers in Yemen today, including the Soviet imperialists' responsibility for the coup in the south, and called on the Yemeni people to continue their proud tradition of self-reliantly fighting against all imperialist powers.

THE WORKER took the leaflet into the Arab community in southwest Detroit and Dearborn, going door-to-door, and passing it out on busy street corners and coffee houses. It was also distributed in several of the big auto plants where large numbers of Yemenis and other Arabs work on the assembly lines. Throughout the Arab community the leaflet provoked a tremendous amount of controversy—including widespread support for what the Party had to say—and it spurred a meeting of 75 south Yemenis that night to discuss the contents of the WORKER leaflet.

The next day, July 2, there was a meeting between several members of the Detroit WORKER staff and more than a dozen south Yemeni community leaders. Later that evening, one of the Yemenis, Saleh Ali Shaibi, was killed by a pack of pro-U.S. Yemeni reactionaries in a cowardly attack.

THE WORKER responded overnight with a second leaflet, pointing out sharply that both the U.S. and the USSR must be held responsible for stirring up incidents such as these, and that the only road forward to genuine liberation and national independence for the Yemeni people is to target *all* the imperialist powers as the enemy and to depend on their *own* revolutionary struggle. ■

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Fusion...

Continued from page 5

As the *Programme* of the RCP puts it:

"Fighting blow for blow on all fronts, and led by its Party, the working class will develop its movement of today into a revolutionary workers' movement that fights exploitation and all oppression in order to end wage-slavery. To do this the working class must take up and infuse its strength, discipline and revolutionary outlook into every major social movement." (pp. 102-103)

This is exactly what it means to fuse Marxism with the workers' movement.

Lenin might as well have been speaking to Jarvis and Bergman when he warned:

"The workers have no need for socialists in their struggle to improve their conditions, if that is their only struggle. In all countries there are workers who wage the struggle for the improvement of their condition, but know nothing of socialism or are even hostile to it." ("A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy," Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 275)

Fusing Economism and Reformism

Of course, at this point the Mensheviks would probably try to defend themselves by saying that they do concern themselves with more than the workers' bread and butter issues. There is some truth to this claim, but the Mensheviks' line on these other issues is essentially a rerun of the old original economist Menshevik formula—economic struggle for the workers, political struggle for the intellectuals (and even "enlightened" bourgeoisie). This isn't fusion—it's a further separation of the working class from political struggle.

Because the Mensheviks really have no principles, the economic struggle is not something sacred to them but only something convenient. They are willing to take up politics when it suits them—when they feel they can find a current of backwardness to unite with and advance themselves in political movement.

While the Mensheviks' line today is to concentrate on the economic struggles of the workers and to do this in a purely economist way, building these struggles as ends in themselves, they also dabble in political questions, especially among other strata in society such as professionals and students. Here their method is to "fuse" economism with petty bourgeois reformism.

The Mensheviks have consolidated a line—which had existed as an incorrect tendency in our Party (promoted, of course, by themselves)—that sees the work among oppressed nationalities, etc., as "united front work." This line "forgets" that the object of all our work, whether building a factory strike or a struggle in support of African liberation, is to build the united front against imperialism under proletarian leadership.

Instead, the Mensheviks are content to "fuse" with the spontaneous struggles of petty bourgeois forces which come up against the imperialist system, building them, like the economic struggles of the workers, as separate struggles in themselves, without bringing out the need for proletarian revolution and the outlook of the proletariat in these battles, and on that basis working to unite all the struggles of the people into a single powerful political current.

This was clearly true of their student work, as has been extensively written about (see the pamphlet, *Communism and Revolution Vs. Revisionism and Reformism in the Struggle to Build the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade*, RCP Publications). The same basic method is also very clear in their work among the oppressed nationalities. Of course, following their overall line, their main tendency around the national question has been to ignore it, to act as though the struggle against national oppression were a diversion from building the (trade union) unity of the working class in the struggle against this or that employer.

But when they have taken up this question, they have distinguished themselves for promising reforms, tailing bourgeois nationalism and unbelievable all-around narrowness. Their work tries to pimp off the hatred of the Black masses for oppression without doing a thing to bring out where this oppression comes from and how it can and will be ended. In work around the Bakke case, they have run themselves ragged criticizing the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade for raising the slogan "Fight Imperialism, the Source of All Oppression," in addition to two other slogans more specifically related to the Bakke case, claiming that this slogan is correct "in general" but "too left" for Bakke work.

They've worked (along with their suitors in the Communist Party [Marxist-Leninist] [CPML] and other rightist misfits) to confine the outrage and opposition around the Bakke case to a struggle for bourgeois democracy, without using it to expose why bourgeois democracy can't end the oppression of minorities. In the Arthur Miller case in New York (see article on p. 2) these Mensheviks, again working in tandem with the CP(ML), have "fused" themselves completely with some reactionary nationalists working to turn this struggle against police brutality and national oppression into a fight against the Jewish residents of the area.

Fusion of Another Sort

Here, in order to go deeper into the essence of the question, since the Mensheviks are so superficial, it might be useful to compare them with the CP(ML). For the Mensheviks, "fusion" with the workers' movement means essentially fusing themselves into the labor movement. It means keeping their mouths shut about politics so as not to "scare" the workers while they try to lead—or tail after—a few strikes, in hopes that in this way they will become union officials, and then will have some real "influence" over the workers when they speak of political issues. This is also an illustration of the Mensheviks' stagism.

But the CP(ML) already has tried going along this route, developing it into a principle a few years back, and today perhaps has a more developed opportunist antenna which allows them to sense that the workers want more than that. The CP(ML)'s idea of fusion is to merge with economism, reformism, nationalism, or whatever else seems like a good bet in a particular struggle, and then tag on a few words about socialism at the end of speeches, leaflets and articles.

The object of this game is to "prove" to the masses that communism is really not so different from bourgeois ideology and their bourgeois prejudices. Both these methods of "fusion" are guided by the bourgeois philosophical line of two-into-one, which leads to acting as though communism and the present outlook of the masses could be combined, instead of the proletarian, dialectical viewpoint of dividing one into two—in this case, taking up the daily struggles of the working class in order to unite with the revolutionary kernel within these struggles, and within the workers' outlook, that is covered over with the husk of bourgeois ideology and politics, and to aid the workers in making a radical rupture with the bourgeois outlook which goes against their basic class interests.

In this regard, too, it is important to note that even in the situation of today, where the workers are mainly involved in the economic struggle, communists can't simply bring light to the economic struggle, but must also do political exposures about broader questions. They must promote revolutionary struggles, political struggles that expose and attack imperialist rule (not reformist "political" struggles which sidetrack the revolutionary kernel of the masses' struggles and strengthen the bourgeoisie's political and ideological hold). The communist work done around African Liberation Day this year is a good example of how it is possible to promote such struggles under today's conditions.

The necessity of waging such struggles, which the rightists never seem to grasp, is well put by this quote from *A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, written under Mao's leadership in 1963 against Khrushchev-style revisionism:

"Even in ordinary times, when it is leading the masses in the day-to-day struggle, the proletarian party should ideologically, politically and organizationally prepare its own ranks and the masses for revolution and promote revolutionary struggles, so that it will not miss the opportunity to overthrow the reactionary regime and establish a new state power when the conditions for revolution are ripe." (p. 22)

On Stages

Overall, what characterizes these Mensheviks is the line of least resistance. In the late 1960s and early '70s, the line of least resistance—arising from the fact that the working class and its struggle was not on the center stage in society—was to look elsewhere than to the working class for revolution. In particular, the pull of spontaneity favored trying to adapt Marxism to nationalism, giving rise to such deviations as "Black workers take the lead," and revolutionary nationalism and Marxism were often considered one and the same thing.

Although some leading Mensheviks did react with "vacillation and doubt" in the fight against these various deviations which went against basing the communist forces in the working class and on its outlook, in general they went along with the correct line sooner or later.

But today, because of the relative ebb of the movements of the 1960s and early '70s and the advances in the working class struggle, and especially because of the advances made in fusing the communist and working class movements, overwhelmingly spontaneity pulls towards seeking short-term results in "the actual struggles the workers have already begun to wage." Because founding the Party represented a giant advance in the ability of the working class to advance beyond the treadmill of eternal struggles around nickels and dimes, it was inevitable that this contradiction between communism and economism within the Party would greatly intensify.

The Founding Congress of the RCP led to a reorganization of the communist forces that had grown up spontaneously, concentrating them in key industries and key industrial areas, and giving emphasis to establishing ties between the Party and the day to day struggles of the workers. This was a correct step, a vital step, in order to carry out the party's overall political role.

But along with this a countercurrent emerged, a rightist current which sought to restrict the Party's efforts to the economic struggle and to make this linking up with and leading the economic struggle a separate stage of our work. (For more on this, see the article,

"Economic Struggle and Revolutionary Tasks," in the July 1978 *Revolution*.) The Mensheviks not only "fused" with this spontaneous rightist current within the party, they also sought to make this error everything, to drag the whole Party under with this orientation.

A fierce struggle was waged within the Party against this deviation. The Party's 1976 Central Committee Report, "Revolutionary Work in a Non-Revolutionary Situation," represented a qualitative advance in the Party's understanding of the current situation and our tasks. It characterized the present mood of the masses and the current state of the working class struggle—and put this in the context of a situation in which, after a generation of relative stability, U.S. imperialism is at the beginning of a period of deep economic and political crisis, the beginning of a new *downward spiral* "which will only give way to another spiral through a major change in the relation of forces in the world—redivision of the world through war, among the imperialists, revolution, or—most likely—both, on a world scale." (1976 CC Report, p. 3)

Before their widely welcomed departure from the Party, the Menshevik leaders filled their factional channels of communication with cries that this report was "metaphysical." Now they are crying out that one of our greatest sins is "failing to make a basic analysis of the specific stage of the struggle we're in." But of course we didn't "fail" to make such an analysis. What really gets to them is that we refused to *base* the Party's work on the present stage of things and instead analyzed it dialectically and formulated the Party's tasks in terms of carrying out work in this stage so as to serve the interests of the overall development of things toward revolution.

This line of submerging communist work under whatever seems to be happening at the moment (in this case, the economic struggle), instead of representing the overall revolutionary interests of the working class, is and always has been a major hallmark of opportunism.

The importance of grasping how all things, including the class struggle, develop through stages is not to restrict the party's tasks to those which fit in easily and which in fact tail behind the general stage where things are at today. It is exactly the opposite—to grasp the development of stages in order to lead the working class movement *beyond* its current level towards its final goal of revolution and communism.

If communists are not concerned first and foremost with how to advance towards the goal of socialism and communism through all the stages of the development of the workers' movement, or if the working class could develop spontaneously through all these stages without communist leadership, then why would the working class need a Party at all! It could very easily get by with just a "Revolutionary Workers Headquarters," as these Mensheviks now call themselves, meaning no more than a center for coordinating the spontaneous working class struggle as it exists today. The 1976 CC Report pointed out:

"... at any given time you do have to figure out how to make concrete, qualitative (within quantitative) advances. But you have to do this without falling into a theory of stages, or 'here's the program for the next period,' which then turns into its opposite and becomes reformist... For example, you can see that in the history of the old CP when they went about building the industrial unions, there was a real tendency to make those unions an end in themselves and to make the building of them a program in itself. And when you do that, then instead of the reforms being a by-product of the struggle for revolution, the dialectic gets reversed and they become an end in themselves and revolution becomes something separated from your day to day work and off in the distant future." (pp. 20-21)

The dividing line then is between recognizing that development takes place in stages, precisely in order to play a vanguard role in pushing development forward, and the Menshevik line of walling off the movement into frozen stages in order to passively adapt themselves to what's happening at any particular moment.

Continued on page 16



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Fusion...

Continued from page 15

These Mensheviks screamed bloody murder when we emphasized that in taking up the day to day struggle communists must do this in a revolutionary way and link this to the overall interests of the working class. They screamed more when we insisted that along with this work, communists must do work among all strata of the people, and must organize the struggle around broader political questions and conduct widespread political agitation and exposures. This, they said, was "abandoning" the economic struggle, "separating" communists off from the workers and "failing to understand" what it means that the U.S. working class "has been without socialism for 20 years." This is their great contribution to an "analysis of stages."

It is true that the political tasks of communists run into contradiction with the nature and level of the workers movement today. It is easier to get a certain kind of "results" if politics are kept out. For instance, in a particular plant, the workers may be more than ready to wage a struggle around a contract, etc., and Joe Menshevik, who may be more experienced in organizing such things than many (though not all) of the workers, may find himself in the lead.

On the other hand, a communist, who is not just a trade union organizer but a tribune of the people, who works to bring out the overall interests of the workers in this and every struggle, may find the going a little rougher. It won't be so clear to all the workers what this contract struggle, etc., has to do with broader political questions, and raising such questions—and even the issue of communists participating and leading the economic struggle—certainly raises the ante.

But this brings us back to the fundamental question of what communists are all about in the first place—do we seek to capitalize on the present level of the workers movement, do we use it to advance our own careers and in fact promote this backwardness? Or do we take into account where things are at in order to figure out how to make the maximum advances in changing it, in working towards the transformation of the current level of the workers movement—diverting it from its spontaneous path—into the class conscious struggle of the proletariat for its historic goals?

This is not the first time this question has come up in the U.S. in the last twenty years, despite the lack of a genuine communist party. In fact, what the Mensheviks are trying to do is repeat the backward and reactionary role played by the revisionist CP, the Trotskyite SWP and other petty reformers during the 1960s.

Mensheviks' Ugly Ancestors

For instances, at its beginning, the Black people's struggle was mainly a struggle for civil rights. This is what characterized the goals and understanding that spontaneously developed among the masses of Black people who took up this struggle. Yet even at this early stage an extremely positive role was played by people like Malcolm X and later SNCC, who pointed out that the movement could not remain at the level of demanding equality under the law—that it had to challenge the very system which oppressed Black people—and who linked the Black people's struggle to the worldwide struggle against U.S. imperialism.

This was in very sharp contradiction to forces like Martin Luther King and others who tried to keep the movement confined to its initial level, who fought tooth and nail against anything that would bring a broader outlook to this struggle, and whose sharpest

criticism against those who tried to make these advances was that anything "too radical" would spoil Black people's chances for advancing in their immediate struggle at the moment. (Ten or fifteen years after advanced forces in the Black movement came out against King's backward role in this, the Mensheviks still have been known to claim that the Black masses are "not ready" for any criticism of him!)

Similarly, when the Black people's movement advanced anyway, despite all the bourgeoisie's efforts to hold it back, the Black Panther Party's struggle against reformism and cultural nationalism and their promotion of armed revolution played an even more crucial and advanced role in the late 1960s, setting the stage for further forward motion in the revolutionary movement.

No one in their right minds could claim that Malcolm X in the early 1960s or the Panthers at the end of the decade represented the consciousness of the "average" Black masses. Their views were those of an advanced minority. They were extremely controversial and widely condemned by the forces of conservatism. Both ordinary reformism ("let's get a piece of the action") and narrow cultural nationalism, for instance, were far stronger currents among Black people than was the Black Panther Party.

But Malcolm X and the Panthers played an advanced role exactly because they spoke to the basic interests of the Black masses and to the contradictions that the Black people's movement was objectively running up against. While these forces were not communist and could not fully represent the overall revolutionary interests of the masses of people nor proceed from the point of view of the proletariat, there is certainly much that communists can learn from their historic role in pushing forward the struggle against the capitalist ruling class.

Few who took part in the anti-war movement in that decade can forget the treason practiced by the revisionists and Trotskyites. These scum, because of their wide connections and organizational experience and the lack of fully developed communist forces, were able to capture the main nationwide anti-war organizations and coalitions, capitalizing, exactly like our Mensheviks are trying to do, on the backwardness and shortcomings of that movement.

Because the masses of people in general were only just beginning to get a picture of U.S. imperialism—because, especially at first, the movement was in a certain sense in the "stage" of opposing the war and not of opposing the imperialist system—these reactionaries did everything they could to keep things exactly where they were and tie this movement to the tail of the bourgeoisie. The revisionists and Trotskyites became infamous for filling the stage of anti-war rallies with all kinds of bourgeois politicians, with the excuse that this was how to "reach" the American people, when in fact these bourgeois politicians were running as fast as they could behind the growing anti-war movement of the American people in an effort to pull it back.

From the beginning, and especially as more and more advanced forces did develop in the course of this struggle, there were those who insisted that the cause of the Indochinese peoples was just and that their struggle was in the interests of the masses of people in this country. The revisionists and Trotskyites freaked out when a few people would show up at an anti-war demonstration carrying "Vietcong" flags!

In fact, not only did they seek to politically isolate them by claiming that such actions would "hurt" the anti-war movement and its "credibility" with the people (or more to the point, with bourgeois forces), these reactionaries often sent in their goons to do police work against the advanced forces who had to fight for

sion by the bourgeoisie. If it doesn't fit this task, it isn't funded and developed, which is one of the reasons that overall scientific advance is actually held back by imperialism. Under these conditions many people rightly oppose various applications of this scientific research. A couple examples of undertakings which met such righteous opposition are the "Manhattan" project to develop the atomic bomb during World War 2 and chemical and biological warfare research during the Vietnam war.

Genuine communists must unite with such anger and resistance and help direct the fire at the capitalist system, not science itself. But the CP(ML) flails at science as a part of its general petty bourgeois hysteria that fascism is something entirely different than capitalism, and that all that can come out of the crisis of capitalism is barbarism and destruction—and created out of a test tube at that.

Along with its attack on science, the article is a telling exposure of the CP(ML)'s hypocritical, reformist line on the woman question. One minute they condemn the capitalist health care system for causing many women to have damaged tubes, and the next minute they condemn science for developing a promising method to bypass the tubes and allow for normal birth!

Underlying this is their view that embryo implantation is dangerous because it involves "separating childbearing from sex and the family." This is patently absurd. Why did the Browns take advantage of this new procedure in the first place? They wanted a child of their own, which is precisely what they got! The *Call* might as well denounce artificial insemination, since in many cases it results in the birth of children whose "natural" fathers (sperm donors) may have never been within a hundred-mile radius of the women

their line with fists and sticks. Revolutionary forces built—heaven forbid—"anti-imperialist contingents" in these marches. Wasn't that "too abstract," Mensheviks?

When we raised such points to the Mensheviks in the polemics about youth and student work, these Mensheviks freaked out too, yelling and screaming about how we were prisoners of "nostalgia for the 1960s."

Of course, when it was more fashionable, some of these Mensheviks were willing to go along with the radicalism of the 1960s. But the reason that they are repudiating it today—and what other top Mensheviks like Jarvis have despised all along—is not the lack of proletarian leadership and all the many shortcomings that flowed from this, but that the 1960s were "too radical!"

And of course the Mensheviks are quite capable of joining with their CP(ML) cousins in trying to recreate the petty bourgeois (and often reformist) political and ideological character of the 1960s movement, especially the less "radical" variety that flowered in the early 1960s. Trying to whip up nostalgia for that period and appealing to people who got "stuck" in it is something that the CP(ML) has specialized in for years.

History has shown that those who speculate on the backwardness of the movement, who base everything on "the specific stage of struggle we're in," are doomed to be left behind by the development of things which takes place whether any one likes it or not. Such will also be the case with these Mensheviks. The struggle of the working class is developing and it is already beyond any point where a handful of "organizers" (as the Mensheviks style themselves) can seize hold of and guard as their own "capital" the spontaneous struggles of the workers. But of course our Mensheviks have long ago shown that they are capable of change, of adapting themselves to "fuse" with backward tendencies that will always exist within any given stage of things at any time.

As the development of the objective situation—and of new stages of struggle—is conditioned above all by war between the U.S. and USSR, while the conditions for revolution may well mature, the pull of spontaneity in the direction of capitulation to the U.S. bourgeoisie will inevitably increase greatly.

This capitulation in the face of superpower contention has already been pioneered for the Mensheviks by the CP(ML). Certainly the Mensheviks, who are swept off their feet by the tendency towards economism today will be completely blown away by the tendency towards combining "Marxism" with patriotism and outright imperialist war. As Lenin put it, speaking of the reformist socialists at the outbreak of World War 1, "the boil burst." Spontaneity has never led any party to make revolution—the line of least resistance always leads downward.

Thus the need for communists to guard against and reject the seductive pull of such "fusion" and to uphold above all the proletariat's long term interests will be a key task for a very long time to come.

Karl Marx, who along with Frederick Engels began the historic process of fusing the principles and outlook of scientific socialism with the working class movement, put it like this:

"The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole." (*The Communist Manifesto*, section II, "Proletarians and Communists," p. 46) ■

who receive their sperm. For that matter, adoption should be condemned, since it represents the ultimate "separation" of childbearing from the family. What is wrong with "separating childbearing from sex and the family"? Or even from the mother, for that matter?

While mothers are now forced to endure nine months of discomfort, often at the risk of their health and sometimes even their lives, it is not unforeseeable that science will one day perfect a means by which child-birth can be completely separated from the confines of the woman's body. Under socialism this would represent a tremendous liberation of the productive forces and an important factor in the advance toward classless society.

Such things are "unthinkable" to the CP(ML). M. Klonsky & Co.'s Papal view of the family defines childbearing as the ultimate goal of women, without which their lives would have no purpose. This is classical male chauvinism, and it permeates their article in the guise of combatting the impending "fascist threat."

They blow their argument out of the water, however, when they inadvertently admit that birth control is a great advance for women. This is unquestionably true. So we ask you, CP(ML), isn't birth control at least as great a potential danger in the hands of the bourgeoisie, as embryo implantation? In fact, hasn't it already been widely used against the working class and minority nationalities in this country, and against the masses of people in the underdeveloped countries of the world? It can't be denied. Yet, fundamentally, birth control and embryo implantation represent important advances for women and society as a whole. This is clear for all to see—all, that is, except the CP(ML), which has dislodged its head from the sand only to put it somewhere else. ■

Despair...

Continued from page 6

and can therefore be supported. But this is metaphysical.

It assumes that socialist countries exist in a vacuum, sealed off from the rest of the world. It ignores the fact that the bourgeoisie exists internationally, and is capable of taking scientific knowledge developed in socialist countries and using it for anti-social purposes. And this view also ignores the fact that the bourgeoisie exists *inside* socialist countries, especially within the communist party in power, and is always trying to usurp power from the working class and restore capitalism. In the event it succeeds, it, too, will be able to use scientific discoveries for reactionary purposes.

In addition, if all science under capitalism is reactionary, then the CP(ML) should explain this to certain people whom they follow closely, and who insist on quite the opposite view.

Only once does the *Call* even suggest that science itself might be alright, and that the real danger lies with "the kind of society we live in," but then it is in the form of a quote from a progressive doctor, whose main point is that ways must be found to control the development of science.

The proletariat cannot control science without controlling all of society, by overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing its own dictatorship, but not once does such a revolutionary concept worm its way into this article in the *Call*.

Under capitalism, every, or nearly every, scientific advance is put to use to serve exploitation and oppres-