

ple on Sunday, August 12 protested the government's new press censorship law.

Foreign newsmen reported that tens of thousands of onlookers nodded in agreement. This was the third day of marches in Iran's capital city called by Iranian Marxist-Leninists and democratic forces after the government had closed down Ayandegan, a progressive daily paper that had openly criticized the policies of the Khomeini-Bazargan regime. Throughout the week, small bands of right-wing Moslems organized in the government's Islamic Republican Party had attacked the marches, but the demonstrators only came back stronger on the following days.

On Sunday, as the huge march moved down Revolution Avenue in the middle of the capital, 2,000 Moslem reactionaries who call themselves "Hesbollahi" (or "the Party of God") viciously attacked the demonstration with rocks, clubs, chains, iron bars and bottles. Over 200 people were injured, some seriously. The well-organized demonstrators fought back, repelling every attempt by these reactionary thugs to stop the march, until they reached Prime Minister Bazargan's heavily guarded office, where a militant resolution was read condemning the new press law. In Abadan, oil workers were reported to have staged protests Continued on page 15

Charges Double on Mao Defendants

Monday, August 13, Courtroom Number 1, Judge Carlisle Pratt presiding, District of Columbia Superior Courthouse: there was no special fanfare. Defense attorneys were present to enter "not guilty" pleas to new indictments handed down by the grand jury. It might have passed for any other "routine" arraignment in Courtroom Number 1. Except that the wheels of American "justice" do not just "routinely" grind out 425 felony charges against a group of revolutionaries every day, as they did on August 13.

Each of the 17 Mao Tsetung Defen-

dants, including Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, was re-indicted that day on 25 felony charges and one misdemeanor charge. They now face a maximum possible jail sentence of 241 years each.

Around the country as word of the re-indictments spread, many were shocked and outraged. Well-known lawyers found it hard to believe that the U.S. government would even proceed with this case, based on the apparent flimsiness of their evidence against the 17. "The very ridiculousness of these indictments is itself frightening," was

the response of one. The "majestic neutrality" of the law was being ripped aside to show its true nature as a blunt instrument of the capitalist class, to be used any way they saw fit to serve their interests.

These indictments are a confession of the flakiness of the prosecution's case. But they are also an obvious attempt to "pile up" so many fabricated charges that something will be more likely to stick on at least some of the defendants. Only 9 of the 17 defendants are even charged with doing anything specific. The other 8 defendants, including Bob **Continued on page 3**



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Klan Marches in Supreme Court's Footsteps

On August 11 fifty white-robed KKKers crossed the Edmund Pettus bridge in Selma, Alabama beginning a well-publicized "white civil rights march" along the same route as a march by Black people for voting rights held in 1965. "We believe that it's very appropriate that we take this route because it's a symbolic reversal of the trend," said the imperial lizard. Indeed it was very appropriate for the Ku Klux Klan to be holding a march against "reverse discrimination" on the heels of the reversals being carried out by their respectable black-robed counterparts who sit on the Supreme Court bench. The trend both have set out to reverse is the gains, small as they are, won by Blacks and other minorities through bitter struggle and the so-called "reverse discrimination" they whine about is nothing but a rallying cry to attack Black people, whether it be with guns and clubs or the Bakke and Weber decisions.

In 1965 the first attempts to begin the 50-mile march from Selma to Montgomery were met by mounted sheriffs who tear gassed and viciously beat people. It wasn't until Martin Luther King made a deal with the federal government to limit the number of marchers that they were allowed to march to Montgomery. The KKK in 1979, however, was protected front, back, and sideways by state troopers and overhead by police helicopters as they slithered down the Jefferson Davis Highway.

The capitalist press was swarming all over the Klan's pitiful march. There were 200 newsmen and women covering the start of the march. Earlier in the week the media, including "Sixty Minutes" and New York newspaper reporters, were convoyed to a secret KKK youth club outside Birmingham, where these scum were lecturing kids on the inherent biological superiority of whites.

The media played to the hilt the sup-



Blacks give fist as garbage collects on the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama.

posed "confrontation" the Klan was heading into when they reached Montgomery.

They had not applied for a parade permit to march into Montgomery to the state capitol. Montgomery city officials, while publicly blustering and sounding tough about not letting the Klukers march, privately tried to strike a deal so they could hold their low-life rally. The chief lizard and city officials met and eventually came up with a plan that pleased all of these reactionaries. The Klan held its rally on the outskirts of town. Then on Sunday morning, with cameras whirring and tape recorders running, the sheet-heads were "busted" in an obviously stagemanaged affair. They were bussed downtown and quickly released-not one even saw the inside of a jail cell.

Nationwide publicity quickly followed with the mayor even showing off pictures of the tools of their nightriding trade confiscated by the pigs-the guns,knives and clubs they carried "to protect themselves from the niggers and the commies." The television coverage for the mock arrests was extensive.

This march provided a clear example of what the cry of "reverse discrimination" is all about. Stripped of all the legal mumbo jumbo tossed around in the courts by the Klan's big brothers in Washington, D.C. the campaign around this catch-phrase is nothing but a movement to intensify the oppression of Blacks and other minorities. Like the Supreme Court, the KKK is out to "erase everything they [Black people-RW] accomplished when they marched in 1965," as one white hood

slobbered. "The white race as a whole is being discriminated against." He will find no argument here from the "nine honorable men'' who ruled that punk Alan Bakke was a victim of discrimination against white people.

In its moves to snatch away any gains won by Black people and other minorities and intensify their oppression, the ruling class is working on all fronts. Their unleashing and promotion of the KKK and the Nazis is the most blatant form of attack along with the murder, beatings, and jailings by their pigs. But the most despicable of all is when they dress things up in black robes and high-sounding talk and make the racist ravings of the KKK nightriders so very refined and respectable.

Notice to Our Readers

Starting with this issue the Revolutionary Worker will take a one-week break. We will skip the next issue, which would have been dated August 24, 1979. We will resume publishing on August 31.



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Behind the Fall of Andy Young

After 30 months of one controversy after another, Andy Young finally got the ax as U.S. Ambassador to the UN. But it wasn't because he had failed to do a good job for the U.S. ruling class. If anything, Andy just overplayed the role he was assigned by the Carter administration. Young's so-called voluntary resignation does, however, show that the job of being a careerist lackey and a mouthpiece for imperialism, while it can be rewarding, is not the most stable occupation. The most faithful servants are often the first to get their hands slapped or their heads chopped off when the master gets himself into a tight bind.

Young's resignation was the occasion for the ruling class to promote 57 varieties of dead-end and reactionary opinions among the people. Taking pot shots at Andy Young had long been a favorite way to fire up "get tough, America!" flag-waving chauvinism. But especially for Black people, since Young was the first Black to be given a top U.S. diplomatic post, his sacking was put forward as a rallying point for a righteous cause.

But what does Andy Young and his job as a major spokesman for U.S. imperialism have to do with the lives and struggles of the masses of Black people? It calls to mind the first big starring role a Black had in a TV series (after Amos and Andy, that is). Bill Cosby played a CIA agent in the series "I Spy." Now this really spoke to the conditions of Black people! Cosby cut a real fine figure to identify with, doing spy work for a superpower oppressor of the people of the world.

Andy Young, who is nothing but a careerist spokesman and front man for the oppressor, loved to cast himself as the "champion of the oppressed." He tried to come across as a straight shooter who refused to go along with all the diplomatic gobbledygook and "told it like it is." He cultivated the image of

the dude who "speaks truth to power." Behind this act, however, Young has always been and remains an "I Spy"-type supporter and promoter of the interests of the U.S. ruling class.

Let's just look at this latest flap that brought Young's resignation: his meeting with a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Even the bourgeois media have admitted that Young's meeting with the PLO representative was not that far out of line with U.S. policy. As Washington columnist Joseph Kraft put it, "Young was only slightly out of step, and acted in fundamental accord with American policy."

In his letter of resignation to Carter, Young stated that "I want you to fulfill the tremendous promise of your Administration, and that depends to a great extent on a settlement of the situation in the Middle East." In fact, protecting U.S. interests in the Middle East from revolution and from rival Soviet encroachment is of vital concern to the whole U.S. ruling class. The bedrock of its policy remains maintaining the Zionist settler state of Israel, and Young supports this all the way.

The overall game plan today is to get the Arab countries to recognize Israel and to unite in a common U.S. alliance against the Soviets. But this obviously cannot be done without some form of recognition of and reconciliation with the Palestinians. So in the past couple of years the U.S. imperialists have made increasingly loud noises about the right of the Palestinians to have a determining say in their own future. By this they don't mean a Palestinian state. What they have been trying to accomplish, through carrot-and-stick tactics, is to get the PLO to bend to the recognition of the Israeli right to occupy Palestine, and to be satisfied with the status of some sort of abstract "legal entity."

To this end the U.S. has had increasing direct and indirect contact with the PLO. Young has played the "carrot" in this situation, as in so many others. He's acted the "good guy" who continues to protest that it is unrealistic not to deal with the PLO. But has Young *ever* supported the right of the Palestinians to a state in their homeland? Hell no! He's been a supporter of Israel and has referred to the Palestinian people as a "problem" that has to be resolved. **Continued on page 14**

meanor riot charges on which the 78 originally arrested were booked the night of their arrest, the charge was raised against all 78 to felonious assault. When 17 were indicted, Avakian and several others were included, although they had not been identified by *any* government witness. When notified of the indictments, the defendants were told they faced four charges. At the arraignment in July the formal indictments made it clear that this really meant 12 to 15 felony charges. Now the 17 have been reindicted on 25 felonies.

When a frequent contributor to a progressive weekly newspaper in Chicago, the Chicago Lawyer, questioned prosecutor Mary Ellen Abrecht about why the government is exposing itself to charges of heavy-handed overkill, Abrecht replied, "The charges describe what they did." Sorry, Abrecht—it is not so easy to rewrite history.

In fact, what these latest charges —consisting of 25 felonies and one misdemeanor and a possible 241 years in jail for each defendant—do describe is what the government would like to do to the Revolutionary Communist Party, its Chairman, Bob Avakian, and the 16 other revolutionaries who go to trial in November.

By ballooning the original misdemeanor riof charges into 25 felonies, the government is making a political statement about the seriousness with which they regard revolutionaries who dare to unfurl the banner of revolution, especially as deepening crises and war loom ahead. The ridiculous "piling on" nature of the new indictments openly exposed the flimsiness of the case against the 17 defendants-but the government is saying, "So what! These are revolutionaries and by definition they must be found guilty of whatever we charge them with." The shotgun nature of this government blast is also aimed at the broad masses of people who are beginning to hear of this case and are outraged at what is going on here. It is an attempt to intimidate others who would dare to stand with these defendants by implying that the U.S. government can load still more shots into their big gun and go after anyone who dares to go up against their system and their class rule. These new indictments, coming on top of everything else, are quite a piece of legal evidence-evidence of the vicious political nature of these attacks and at the same time evidence of the underlying weakness of the government. The "democratic" mask behind which they love to hide their system of exploitation and oppression is being increasingly cast aside, their dictatorship is being further revealed, in their frantic desperation to get these revolutionaries.



Avakian, are named only as "aiders and abettors," a charge so far backed up by the "evidence" that they were present at the demonstration on the 29th and therefore are guilty.

Of the nine defendants charged with doing something specific, four are charged with assaulting "unidentified members of the police force." In all, 85 of the charges against the 17 allege that these four defendants attacked unidentified cops and were aided and abetted in doing so by everyone else. All 17 defendants are charged with aiding and abetting an "unidentified attacker" who allegedly assaulted seven different police officers. A total of 119 of the charges are leveled against the 17 on this basis.

This model of legal "clarity" presented by the latest indictments now exposes what was really going on in the courtroom during the previous July arraignment of the Mao Tsetung Defendants, when Judge Braman threw out some earlier indictments for their vagueness. During this July 5 arraignment, Judge Braman stated that he was "putting the government on notice." He suggested that the D.A. return to the grand jury to clarify the indictments because, as they stood, they jeopardized the liberty of the défendants. The district attorney returned to the grand jury all right, and in returning exposed the hallowed grand jury system for the rubber stamp on the desk of the prosecutor that it is.

The grand jury drew up "new" indictments which coincidentally read word for word exactly like the old indictments with one minor exception. There is one new phrase added: "All defendants named above are herein charged in each of counts 1-22..." Judge Braman was worried that the earlier indictments failed to make clear which defendants were charged with which crimes. The new indictments clear up this problem of the defendants' "liberty"—by charging all defendants with everything.

At the earlier arraignment, the defense had proposed that the two groups of defendants be consolidated into one group of 17 for a single trial. This was so as to unite the cases politically and avoid doubling up legal defense efforts. At the time, the prosecutor, Mary Ellen Abrecht, objected. She said, "These are two separate indictments, these are two different types of cases...there would be a hardship, a great confusion of issues." Once again, however, the government has responded to a defense motion with an escalated outrage. When defense attorneys actually filed a motion to consolidate the two groups into one, Abrecht didn't bother to come to court to protest any further. She was too busy drawing up the new indictments for her grand jury. The trials were consolidated into one trial set to begin on November 19 and *all 17* (not merely the ones whose indictments had been thrown out by Braman) were reindicted.

Multiplying Outrages

From the beginning the government has tried to have its cake and eat it too in this case. While publicly maintaining the posture of prosecuting the 17 defendants on simple "criminal" charges ("not political," they say), behind the scenes a powerful political railroad is being stoked up in preparation for rolling out of the station house on November 19.

From the January police attack on the demonstration up to and including the August 13 re-indictment, a step-bystep, calculated, mounting assault has been going on. Monthly the outrages have multiplied. From the misde-

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Government Suit Against Rizzo Master Thugs Finger Philly Hit Man

Philadelphia, Pa. Mayor Frank Rizzo and the Philadelphia Police Department are not what you would call shrewd and tactful. Unlike "civic leaders" elsewhere, they do not lay on a sweet liberal rap about concern for "human rights" and "equality and justice for all" as they blow out a young Black man's brains on the sidewalk. They let it all hang out. Two years ago, for instance, 20 people watched in shock as 10 Philly pigs broke their nightsticks over a Black man's head. Why? Because the man ran a stop sign. When asked about the incident, Rizzo replied, "It's very easy to break some of these nightsticks nowadays.'

The Philly pigs have a reputation for being among the most vicious and brutal in the country and Rizzo has been called the George Wallace of the North. Their record for killings and beatings of Blacks and other minorities would make the police in Rhodesia or South Africa proud. However, the difference between Philly and the other major cities in this country is hardly recognizable once the facade of sweet talk and "proper police procedures" is stripped away.

With the growing resistance to police terror against Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, and the growing exposure of this violence, the government has viewed with alarm the openly racist and gun-slinging stance of Rizzo and others like him. It is moving to try and cool things out. Naturally our rulers have no intention of basically changing anything-the system breeds police murder, Rizzo or no Rizzo. The idea is

simply to cover the naked truth. All of a sudden those who have stood behind and promoted dogs like Rizzo to the hilt are saying that the behavior of the Philly cops "shocks the conscience."

On August 13, the U.S. Justice Department began a "crackdown on widespread and systematic brutality against minorities" by local police departments in what is being heralded as an "unprecedented move." The Justice Department filed suit in Federal court against Rizzo, the entire Philadelphia Police Department and 20 other city and police officials for "violating the civil rights of persons of all races, colors and national origins.' If found guilty, the maximum penalty will be the cutoff of Federal funds to the city. The word is that similar suits are in the works against the police departments in Houston, Memphis, and Mobile, Alabama.

The charges are against practices that are standard for every police department in the country. Every year the Philly pigs murder 75 people by official records alone and there are 1,100 complaints of brutality (which is only the tip of the iceberg since most people don't file such complaints for fear of reprisals). The charges in the suit are well known-people blown away for changing a flat tire, people shot in the back, beat to death while handcuffed, witnesses murdered, people dragged out of their cars and beaten for no reason, illegal searches and seizures, etc. In addition, the suit also includes charges of whitewashing cases of murder and abuse and failure to discipline the pigs involved. Also cited is systematic harassment of critics of the police and Rizzo's administration.



Always a willing henchman for the ruling class, Frank Rizzo personally leads his boys whenever possible. Here Police Commissioner Rizzo leads a typical cowardly attack on a Black woman demonstrating at the State Office Building in Philadelphia.

As far as the people are concerned, the Philly pigs, along with their brothers (and sisters too) across the country are guilty and no trial is needed. The evidence is already in. But the point of this suit is not to find anyone guilty and not much will come of it.

The suit is the culmination of a 9month investigation of the activities of the Philadelphia police. The outrage surrounding the brutal beating of members of the MOVE organization on live television after the Philly pigs launched an assault on a house they were occupying, gave the federal government the opportunity to begin the investigation. Supposedly this tipped off the government that something was wrong in Philly. Supposedly they had no idea

of the systematic terror that was and is going on. Only a fool could believe such a fairytale. The reality is that big-bellied baboons like Rizzo, who have played a very useful role in perpetuating the system of oppression of Blacks and other minorities, sometimes need replacing. And now that it's time to ditch them in favor of slicker politicians, they are a convenient target to blame for all the evils that have gone down.

The Rizzo Dynasty

Frank Rizzo has done well for the bourgeoisie. Rising to fame for his law and order "keep the niggers in their place" stand, he proclaimed himself as the "white man's politician," a protec-Continued on page 15

The California State Senate Has Said Jane Fonda Is Not A Qualified Representative Of The People. **Jane Fonda Appointment Fight** Warmakers She's Not. Here's Why. **Hunt Enemies** in Film Industry horn reactionaries, not to mention the Full page

film community, as well as several members of the California Arts Council, took out a full page ad in the L.A. Times protesting the actions of the State Senate, and the Screen Actors Guild recently passed a resolution to censure that body. Alan Alda, star of TV's Mash, who had also been suggested as a possible speaker at the UC Davis graduation ceremony, refused to participate after Fonda was axed.

But even with this resistance, which is objectively hurting the ability of the capitalists to silence opposition to their plans, the debate has largely been conducted on terms favorable to the ruling class. Fonda's response to the charges of "treason" has been to claim the mantle of true patriotism. As Fonda said, "I have been content to let history decide which side of the Vietnam debate was correct and what best served the national interests." "National interests" capitalists they stump for, is the fact that in the late '60s and early '70s, Knation, and the effect of this type of millions of Americans stood up against argument is to leave the reactionaries on the offensive, instead of holding the real criminals accountable for their monstrous crimes against the Vietnamese people. Why should anyone apologize for supporting the enemy of these national interests, for treasonous activities against murderous imperialism? The issue has continued to sharpen. A full page L.A. Times ad placed by State Senator Paul Carpenter defended the actions of the State Senate, and Carpenter also laid out conditions under which Fonda's appointment might be reconsidered. One of the conditions is that she apologize to the POW's and their families for, according to Carpenter, aiding in their imprisonment and torture. Another is that she join with Joan Baez in attacking Vietnam over the "boat people" question. That Carpenter and his cohorts in the State Senate would focus on these particulars, dragging up the old POW issue and joining the hypocritical bourgeois boat people chorus, is only further indication of the nature of the attack on Fonda's political stand. It all represents the latest attempts by the ruling class to reverse the verdict of the American people on the Vietnam war, and thereby whip them into line for what is to come.

The California State Senate has rejected actress Jane Fonda's appointment to the California Arts Council. In a recent 28 to 5 vote, Fonda, appointed to the Council by California Governor Brown, was excluded because of the progressive stand she took against the U.S. government during the Vietnam war. While attacks from various politicians along these lines are nothing new, and while there is clearly an element of bourgeois politicking from Jerry Brown's opponents involved, this recent move represents something much broader than the rantings of a handful of reactionaries. Far from being a movement to simply dump Jane Fonda, the recent State Senate vote is part of a reactionary wind being stirred up to get

people in line for World War 3. The diatribes of State Senators, frothing at the mouth over Fonda's opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and her visit to Hanoi in 1973, have filled the pages of the press. State Senator Robert Nimmo, a retired army colonel, declared, "By the standards under which I was raised and served for 29

paid for by state senator who voted against Fonda's Arts Council appointment.

advertisement,

years, giving aid and comfort to the enemy is an act of treason. She in fact gave aid and comfort to a country at war with the U.S." Sen. Ruben Ayala chimed in with, "Anyone who gives aid and comfort to the enemy waives her right to serve in any appointive position in State government." The following week, Fonda's name was removed from a possible list of speakers at the graduation ceremonies at the school of medicine at UC Davis for being "too controversial."

These broadsides followed close on the heels of similar attacks focused on former prisoner of war Edison Miller, recently appointed to the Orange County Board of Supervisors. Miller was censured by the Navy when he returned from Vietnam for making statements against the war while a POW and meeting with Fonda during her trip to Hanoi. After his appointment, scores of reactionary POW's were dragged through the media testifying to Miller's "treason" and "collaboration with the enemy."

But what really horrified these tin-

"their" country in a time of war, and a great many came to support the other side. The treason of Fonda and Miller making anti-war statements from Hanoi, and even supporting the NLF (National Liberation Front), was a part of, in reality a product of, the movement of millions who demonstrated against U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam. The movement saw thousands of American civilians waving "enemy" flags in the streets, and thousands of GIs refusing to go out in combat, fragging their officers, striking a blow against the common enemy of the people of the U.S. and Vietnam.

It is the legacy of that movement that the capitalists must try to stamp out. The deep hatred of that war stands as a tremendous obstacle to their ability to unite the American people behind the defense of "their" country as they prepare for the next war-this time between the superpowers to see which one can dominate the world.

The attack on Fonda in particular, has been correctly viewed by many in the entertainment industry, many of whom were part of the anti-war movement, as a clear attempt to intimidate them from taking any stands against the government. Over 200 people from the



On his national speaking tour, Bob Avakian has reached large numbers of people with the Revolutionary Communist Party's message. Many have come to hear his major speeches, and in addition pressure from the people and interest among some reporters has created conditions for some broad press coverage in a number of cities. On August 5, Bob Avakian appeared on KDAY, the largest soul radio station in the Los Angeles area. Below are some very slightly edited excerpts from that Sunday night.

KDAY: Hello, you're on Sunday night with Bob Avakian.

Caller: Yes, I have a comment to make to Bob.

B.A.: Yeah, go ahead.

Caller: Listen, I've been listening to you now for most of the program and I happen to believe in a lot of things that you're saying. However, I don't feel that revolution can take place in this particular country.

B.A.: Why not?

Caller: From the simple standpoint, Bob, the places that you have mentioned-Nicaragua, Iran and this type of thing-the type of problems that they're having there we know nothing of. We are "the elite" as far as countries go.

B.A.: Yeah, okay.

Caller: Okay? Where you happen to be at this very moment here in California, this is like Utopia.

[Bob laughs.]

[Caller laughs.]I'm telling you, man. B.A.: Do you believe that?

Caller: Now listen, listen. B.A.: Do you really believe that?

Caller: More people are riding around, walking around, thinking that they are much more than what they really are B.A.: Yeah.

Caller: In terms of worth and status. You follow me?

B.A.: Yeah, well these are illusions that are built up.

Caller: Of course. But as long as you have television and O.J. Simpson and Monday night football it will continue. **B.A.:** Well, hey, you know what though. You know there's this dude, Gil Scott-Heron, right? Caller: Right.

B.A.: And he wrote this song, "The Revolution will not be Televised." **Right?**

Caller: Exactly.

B.A.: And I think when it comes down to it, we're not going to be having it, they're going to take away Monday night TV. I agree with you, right now the conditions of the masses of people in this country-as miserable as they are for the great majority-are not yet to the point where they say, "I'd rather tionally, is approaching the popping point, the breaking point.

Caller: I believe in that.

B.A.: All right. And you know what else is happening? They're talking about World War 3 to try and get out of all this and redivide the world among these thieves, right?

Caller: Right, but..

B.A.: When this kind of stuff happens you think they're still going to have Monday night football and O.J. Simpson on the TV when they're shooting nuclear weapons?

Caller: But listen where I'm coming from.

B.A.: All right.

Caller: Okay. As long as there is one ounce of a thought in each and everyone's mind, that they can virtually have what they cannot have, you dig it? B.A.: Yeah, illusions, promises, lies, right.

Caller: As long as that one ounce of thought is there, forget about it.

B.4.: But you know what I'm saying? I'm saying this system by its very nature is like a beast that not only ...

Caller: Wait a minute, you don't have to challenge me.

B.A.: Right, okay, we're on the same wavelength here.

Caller: Right.

B.A.: You know what I'm talking about and so do the great majority of August 17, 1979—Revolutionary Worker—Page 5

people listening, right? But what I'm saying is that when this system is not able to make these concessions the way it's been making them, when it's forced to come out and show its nature a lot more openly and nakedly, then people's patience is going to grow even shorter than it is now. Let me give you an example. You know this thing that happened in Levittown, Pennsylvania around the gas lines?

Caller: Oh, yeah.

B.A.: There was a big riot and people fighting the pigs out there a couple of days and everything else. We went out in the middle of that and we interviewed people and we did some agitation. We educated people, we talked to them, we learned from what they were going through. And I think it was very significant what one previously backwardthinking white steelworker in the area said to our people. He said, "Listen, in the 1960s when the Black people rose up and the police came and put them down and shot them, I used to think they'd got what they deserved. But now I know that they were right." This iswhat the system does by its very nature of being a brutal beast. It educates more and more people ...

Caller: Where I'm coming from is, you know, what you're saying to these people out here you know, you'll find a lot of people that are going to agree ...

B.A.: But here's a dude in Levittown. That's supposed to be "good-land U.S.A."

Caller: So, Bob, tomorrow, when they hit the streets and they look at these Cadillacs and everything else driving down the street, they'll say, "Yeah, I'm going to get me one-next year." [Bob laughs] Follow me?

B.A.: Yeah, all right.

Caller: And it's going to be next year or the year after that and on and on and on. So what I'm saying is that virtually if the revolution is about to come, we'll



be watching it on TV out here in California.

B.A.: No you won't. You'll be right in the middle of it. I remember Hunter's Point, up in the Bay Area where I used to live, blew up in 1966. And they ran James Brown out there to try to tell the people to get back in their homes. They just ran him out of there, you see? And they put the Giants and the Dodgers on the TV especially to try to get the people back in their homes, but it didn't work. I used to live here. This is no utopia, it's the same mess it is everywhere and I believe that people in California will be right in the middle of it.

Caller: Worse, I'll tell you, even worse. B.A.: How about Watts? How about Watts, man? Remember Watts?

Caller: About everything. About everything. Jobs, the whole thing. You name it, it's worse. But it's tinsel town, man.

B.A.: I know, but tinsel don't last forever. People get tired of it and it dries up anyway.

Caller: How long? [Caller laughs.]

B.A.: Well, you know, soon as we can put an end to it, that's what we're going to do.

Caller: Right on. I won't take up any more time. It was nice talking to you. B.A .: Okay, nice talking to you.

D.J.: Okay, thank you for calling. 520-1580 is our phone number. We'll be back in just a moment.

* * *

D.J.: We've got a lot of calls backed up here but, Bob, I've got to ask you a question very quickly. Everything you've said so far I think could be considered illegal. Aren't there laws against advocating the violent overthrow of the government?

B.A.: Well, there are in a sense. But then they interpret them the way they want to and whether or not they try to use them against you depends upon how much they want to expose themselves because they . . .

D.J.: So far they haven't because you're here talking about it.

B.A.: Well, I'm facing over 200 years in jail for exercising what is supposed to be my right to demonstrate so don't tell me. If you're getting ready to tell me how democratic it is, you might as well fold that one up and go on to the next one.

D.J.: I'm just wondering if you win your struggle, would I be able to go out and advocate violent overthrow of your government?

B.A .: Well, I think you would have to take into account that the masses of people wouldn't want to hear that from you. Because after they've gotten out from under all this misery, if you want to go back... What do you want to replace it with?

D.J.: I don't know what I'm going to replace it with... B.A.: Well, what would you like to

replace it with?

D.J.: Who cares? The point is I want to change it . . .

B.A.: Well the masses of people care...

die than live another day under this." And things do have to get to that point before you can have a massive uprising of revolution.

Caller: True, but I doubt very seriously that this will happen within the next ten years.

B.A .: Well let's look at where things are going in this country. I mean, Carter's on the TV and the radio whining and crying about how people are losing confidence in the system. And he's begging people to say something nice about the country and telling us that the people expect the next five years to be worse than the last five. And they weren't very good. Remember '74 and '75, they had a serious economic crisis?

Caller: Serious economic crisis right now, my man.

B.A .: Right. Okay, that's what I'm saying. But it's going to get deeper because in '74-'75 they tried to get out of it by inflating everything all over the whole international system. In Europe and Japan they got these currencies so inflated it's like a balloon that's blown up and the larger it gets it gets to the point eventually when it pops. And I'm saying that this whole system of theirs, not only in this country but internaRevolutionary Communist Party, will be speaking throughout the country in the / next several months. Bob Avakian is facing charges adding up to more than 100 years in jail.

Committee of the

This is your chance to hear the leader of the only organization in this country seriously working for revolution, the organization the government is viciously attacking and declares to be the most dangerous revolutionary organization in this country.

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When you hear Bob Avakian speak you will know why those who rule this country are desperate to put him away and to stop the RCP. And why those who hate this whole criminal system and government are rallying more and more to the RCP!

This Week in Midwest

For more information, contact the RCP in your local area, or write to: PO Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654.

To Get Down With The RCP! It Will Change Your Whole Life!

D.J.: Whatever it is.

B.A.: No, you can't talk about "whatever it is!" You got to talk concretely about what you want to put in its place. That's what you've been asking me here over and over again. If you want to.

D.J.: All I'm suggesting is if you are in power and I want to change it, will I have the opportunity to go on the radio and say, "Hey folks, let's violently overthrow the government"?

B.A.: It depends on whether you want to change.

D.J.: Oh, it depends if you approve of the change. Okay.

B.A.: Well, now you're...

D.J.: 520-1580.

B.A.: Not only are you asking the questions, you're answering them for me so I think your listeners can tell you're not really interested in a serious answer.

D.J.: Well, let's see what the masses of people do have to say about this. B.A .: All right.

> * * *

D.J.: 1580 KDAY is K-D-A-Y, Santa Monica. A lot of calls backed up. Let's go back to the phones. Hello, you're on **Continued on page 8**



10 Years of British Military Occupation of Ireland

Last week marked the ten year anniversary of the landing of several thousand British troops in Northern Ireland. Along with British political rule, the troops remain in Northern Ireland today. In Belfast, a demonstration of 5,000 people, through the Falls Road Catholic ghetto, protested the continued presence of the foreign army in Ireland. The march, led by the Irish Republican Army, was significantly associated by its participants with armed struggle against the British. Afterwards, fighting broke out as youths pelted police armored cars with rocks. Others attempted to attack a police station but the cops fired on them with plastic bullets. The demonstration was preceded by three days of fighting between the British troops and Irish youths in Belfast, Londonderry and other cities.

The struggle in Northern Ireland has always been portrayed as a religious conflict between Catholics and Protestants. This is a lie. It is true that the British rely on the Protestants as the social base of its rule in Northern Ireland and the struggle has taken the form of fighting between people of Protestant and Catholic backgrounds. But the essence of the matter is that Northern Ireland is ruled by British imperialism, as a result of the partitioning of Ireland after the civil war in the 1920s. The goal of the struggle is to overthrow this rule.

The Belfast demonstration had the clear support of many on-lookers. As one young Irish man angrily stated, "The Brits have got to get out. The British army has been having everything its own way here and we're sick of it. We're just as determined as we were ten years ago."



New Indictments Hit Red Lake Freedom Fighters

The federal government is continuing its campaign of vengeance at Red Lake. On August 14, FBI agents went into this northern Minnesota reservation and arrested four young men accused of having some connection with the May 19 jail takeover and armed uprising. Sources say that federal authorities may seek as many as fifty more indictments against tribe members.

The July 23 sentencing of five tribe members, who proudly acknowledged their role in the takeover, to jail terms ranging from 10 to 26 years, has not satisfied the bloodlust of the authorities. The only defendant to be acquitted in that lightning railroad, Don Desjarlait, has now been charged with "assault on a federal officer" for a July 20 confrontation. In that incident (described in the July 27 RW), which was clearly a provocation designed to get Desjarlait, gun-toting Bureau of Indian Affairs cops surrounded a pickup truck full of children which Desjarlait was driving and held them at gunpoint until other tribe members arrived and forced the cops to back off. Desjarlait is accused of pointing a rifle at the cops. He is being held on \$10,000 bail.

Harlan McNeil is being held on the same amount of ransom on three counts of assaulting federal officers. He has been charged with pointing a gun at cops during a roadblock in which hundreds of tribe members held off police after the May 19 takeover. Albert Stately and Francis Nedeau, also being held for \$10,000, are accused of larceny for allegedly taking some ammunition out of a store that was burned down after the jail and the police station. The store, which took advantage of the distance and the difficulties that tribe members face in driving to the nearest town, was widely hated as an overcharging ripoff operation.

The extremely high bail that has been set for these men follows the harsh sentences given the five freedom fighters already convicted. It shows quite plainly that the government wants more than anything else to crush all resistance on the reservation and create a situation in which no one will dare rebel in the future. The government knows damn well that nothing has been resolved and there is still as much as ever to rebel against—and still plenty of people determined not to take it.

Even the immediate outrage that sparked the May 19 uprising, the firing of "dissident" leader Stephanie Hanson from the tribal council for daring to expose the robbery of tribal wealth by council chairman Roger Jourdain, has still not been settled despite the BIA's announcement, on the day that her husband Harry Hanson was being sent up for 26 years in prison, that the BIA considers her firing illegal. As long as the federal government and the banks continue to allow Jourdain to control and spend tribal money and run the reservation from his off-reservation hiding place, then absolutely nothing will have changed at Red Lake. For all the talk and promises of FBI and Congressional investigations, the only thing that has happened so far is the jailing of freedom fighters.

Letter from Portugal

The following letter was recently sent from Portugal to the Revolutionary Communist Party. It has been edited slightly.

> Lisbon July 1979

At the time I first heard your name I didn't know anything of you and I still don't know much more. That's why I am writing to you.

I would like to know your position about Albanian revisionist Hoxha. I think the Albanians [and I had the occasion to talk with some of them last summer when they came to Portugal to participate in a meeting held by the neorevisionist and pro-Albanian party U"DP"/P"C"P(R)] held the very same position of the Chinese about the main problem-Maoism, the problem of how to continue the Revolution under the proletarian dictatorship and the Cultural Revolution. The problem of the International Communist Movement (ICM) is also important. I think the 25-point letter of the Chinese to the Russians is still actual. What do you think about it?

Woman member of Provisional IRA at Sinn Fein march in Belfast.

Protests Sweep Sudan

The northeastern African country of Sudan has been the scene of several days of violent strikes and intense demonstrations. The protests were sparked by a government announcement earlier this month of heavy price increases for food, petroleum products, and other basic commodities. Gas and oil price increases apparently added over onethird to the cost of public transportation.

Masses of youth from the cities of Khartoum (Sudan's capital) and Omdurman demonstrated against the price increases and fought off police with stones, bricks and Molotov cocktails. The demonstrations were rumored to have spread to outlying provinces. The police hit back with tear gas and clubs, killing at least two students and arresting over 800. Three schools were closed and extra guards placed around government radio stations. Police trucks patrolled the streets.

Meanwhile, the country's 200,000 railway workers struck on August 11 after the government backed off a promised wage increase for all government workers. In an effort to diffuse the struggles, the number two man in the government, Mohammed Ibrahim, was dumped by Sudan's President Numeiri.

Sudan has been one of only two Arab states to back the U.S.-sponsored Mideast peace plan, indicating its ties to the west. The western imperialist bloc, aware of the shaky political situation in Sudan, as well as of its necessity to maintain a foothold in this critical area of the Horn of Africa, has certainly viewed the recent struggles with alarm.

I'm writing to you from the other side of the Atlantic but still I feel that we are rather close.

Comrades:

I'm a Portuguese student and I first heard of you on TV. Your heroic fight with the police and your demonstration in defense of Comrade Mao Tse-tung against the new revisionism of Teng Hsiao-ping and Hua Kuo-feng made me feel that the red flag of Maoism had not fallen from the hands of the American Revolutionaries. I saw the pictures of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the denunciation of Teng's revisionism and I saw that although we have had a temporary defeat, many of us stood firm in our post defending Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Yesterday I was told that your Chairman was arrested. The imprisoning of your Chairman is an act of despair by the bourgeoisie and imperialism in view of trying to shut up the voice of the working class.

The fight for the freedom of your Chairman and the other Maoist militants is a task for the American people to do but they have the support of all revolutionaries of the world.

I join my protest to this provocatory act against the working class in her head, the Chairman of her Party. I have asked you many questions and you are in the right to ask, "Who is this fellow?"

Well I'm a Portuguese student (economics, 4 years) and worker. I work and I study...

Freedom to the Chairman of the RCP Freedom to all Revolutionaries Death to Revisionism Down with Imperialism and Social-Imperialism The People Will Win O Povo Vencera Long Life to Proletarian Internationalism Viva o PCR Viva o Povo Americano Death to Racism

> Communist Salutations, Lisbon, Portugal

Breaking With Old Ideas About Heroes & Art

Recent showings of the film, "Breaking With Old Ideas," produced in revolutionary China under the leadership of Chiang Ching before the 1976 reactionary coup, have left audiences astounded by the power of proletarian art. After a recent showing in New York City, some people who had been skeptical before the movie were amazed at how much they liked the film and how deeply it had moved them. One guy remarked, "Socialism may be a transition period to communism, but I'll tell you one thing, it's one hell of a lot better than capitalism." Another said, "Now I know why Teng and Co. had to bury this film-it's too dangerous for them.'

Yes. "Breaking With Old Ideas" is dangerous-to the oppressors. For it is a fine example of how the proletariat, under the leadership of Mao Tsetung, exercised dictatorship over exploiters and would-be exploiters in every field, including culture, and it is a fine example of Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line on art brought to the screen. It was a blast at nearly every revisionist policy being pushed by Teng at the time. For this reason, the film has been banned in China today.

But thousands will have the opportunity to see "Breaking With Old Ideas," which is showing in cities around the country in connection with the Mao Tsetung Defendants and the RCP's \$1,000,000 fund drive. And like those who have already seen the movie, they will be inspired to debate and discuss questions concerning revolutionary art. This article was inspired by one such discussion over the question of proletarian heroes in "Breaking."

* *

"Breaking With Old Ideas" is a film set in the year 1958, at the time of the Great Leap Forward in China. It describes the revolutionary struggle to break the grip of the revisionist line in education at a rural-based agricultural college. But while the setting is 1958-61, "Breaking" does not limit itself to the historical conditions of that period, but draws on the struggles going on at the time it was made. It was released in December 1975, at a time when Mao Tsetung and the communists who were following his line were preparing for their last great struggle against the powerful bourgeois headquarters within the Chinese Communist Party, the main leader of which was Teng Hsiao-ping.

Throughout 1975, the new bourgeoisie within the Party had begun an all-out attack on the gains of the Cultural Revolution-an attack referred to by Mao and the "gang of four" (which included his wife Chiang Ching) as the "right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts."

Much of the controversy during 1975, a period in which Teng and his camp appeared to hold the upper hand, centered around Teng's revisionist industrial and agricultural program. This program called for the widespread reintroduction of material incentives and the use of the piece-rate system, the wholesale introduction of foreign investment and technology into China, and a reversal of Mao's policy of workers and peasants leading professionals and intellectuals. In relationship to this, there developed an extremely sharp debate over the revolutionary line in education which had triumphed during the Cultural Revolution.

The policy of putting politics in command in the schools, the line that "class struggle and revolution is the main subject," the abolition of entrance examinations which discriminated against the workers and poor peasants in favor of the sons of landlords, capitalists, bourgeois intellectuals and Party officials, and the policy of combining education with productive labor, sending educated youth into the countryside to integrate with the peasantry and help transform China's rural areas-all of these "socialist new things" were condemned by the capitalist roaders within the Chinese Communist Party as "training a generation of ignoramouses who can do nothing but talk about politics and class struggle and who cannot contribute to the goal of transforming China into an 'advanced socialist country by the year 2000.' '

"Breaking with Old Ideas" represents a major counter-attack by those who were fighting to defend Mao's line on the achievements and lessons of the Cultural Revolution. What is more important, especially in terms of our own understanding of how it must have been received in China, is that the audience was well aware of the true signficance of the film.

Though the story is set in 1958, several of the major scenes-especially one in which the students turn in blank examination papers-were in fact highly publicized incidents in the year 1975. By early 1976, when the film was being shown to Chinese audiences, the masses were well aware that a titanic struggle was taking shape, since polemics on the line on education had filled the press for some time. There can be no question that for the Chinese audiences the film had a major impact and must have been highly controversial.

"Breaking with Old Ideas" is remarkable in a number of other respects. Is it a communist propaganda film? You bet it is. But you will find it is a propaganda film that encourages students to talk back to and even ridicule their teachers. It is a propaganda film that extolls the revolutionary enthusiasm of the youth, while openly avowing that there are people in the high leadership of the Communist Party who are opposed to the revolutionary line and must be overthrown, and it shows students as well as revolutionary Party members openly attacking them.

The entire film cuts against the line of submission to authority-from the beginning when a student attempts to bow Confucian-style to the new principal-a genuine revolutionary-who rebukes the students for this fawning attitude. This is not to say that the line of the film is the line of rebelliousness for its own sake. Overall, the key point is that the masses must be prepared to follow the revolutionary line, study and think for themselves and grasp the consequences of their actions, and that in defense of revolutionary principle they must not be afraid to go up against even powerful, entrenched authorities.

Those responsible for making the film-the main responsible person being Chiang Ching-saw to it that no one would misinterpret the message as being that these rebellious acts were all right in the past, but had no application in the present. In fact, the final frames of the film show the revolutionary hero, Principal Lung, set against the background of blue skies speaking directly to the audience, clearly outside the context of the plot, warning them that the struggle ahead will not be smooth and will be filled with revolutionary storms.

The question of the portrayal of the principal hero was a cardinal one in the class struggle in Chinese drama. Though there are many positive, selfless and heroic characters in the film (as well as backward forces and outright counter-revolutionaries), Principal Lung stands out as the chief heroic figure and as such he is dealt with differently from an artistic and dramatic standpoint in the film. Lung concentrates within his character the shining qualities of a proletarian revolutionary fighter, a Communist Party member genuinely guided by Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. He is depicted as a staunch, fearless leader of the revolutionary masses-both closely linked to the masses and marching at their head, arming them politically and playing a crucial role at key junctures of the class struggle.

After one showing of the film, the portrayal of Principal Lung became a topic of hot debate, as some people who had seen the film asked Party members about Lung's central role in the film. One scene in particular was a focus of discussion. While Principal Lung is away from the Communist Labor College, the revisionists plot to turn the school into a hot-house to train capitalist roaders. Meanwhile some of the production brigades in the area are hit by insect pests and a group of revolutionary students offer to help save the crops. While they are gone, the revisionist Tsao throws a surprise exam and then uses the excuse of the students' absence to kick them out of school and get them out of his hair. When Lung returns, the students gather around him, looking to him for leadership in this struggle.

The discussion of this scene after the movie centered around the portrayal of Lung as a proletarian hero and the relationship of revolutionary leadership to the masses. Some people said, "Why couldn't the students have dealt with the problem without Lung's help?" A similar question was raised about a Continued on page 16

Come to a benefit showing of "BREAKING WITH OLD IDEAS"

Showing in:

Now china! banned in china! Washington, D.C. Sunday, August 19 1:00 p.m. Key Theater 1222 Wisconsin Ave. N.W. \$5.00 donation

Los Angeles, California Saturday, August 25 7:00 p.m. Pasteur Junior High 5931 W. 18th Street \$5.00 donation

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English subtitles.

For more information about when "Breaking With Old Ideas" will be playing in your area, watch for announcements in the Revolutionary Worker.

"Breaking With Old Ideas", Available from Single Spark Films. For more information call: (415) 495-6362 or write P.O. Box 40043, San Francisco, Ca. 94140

Margaret Thatcher Sets Trap for Zimbabwe

For the ninth time in 14 years, a major effort has been launched by the western imperialists to arrive at a settlement in the struggle which has raged in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). This time, Britain has taken the lead for the U.S. in attempting to come up with a plan for black majority rule that will be viewed as something other than a complete sham and deception.

The last "internal settlement" in Rhodesia, which resulted in the election of the current government of Bishop Abel Muzorewa (and the cosmetic renaming of the country "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia''), has gone over like a lead balloon. The western imperialist bloc, headed by the U.S., had hoped that the internal settlement would gain acceptance in Africa. It promised to provide black majority rule, bring the long war of liberation against the racist regime of Ian Smith to an end, and open the door for the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with countries which had cut off or curtailed trade with the Rhodesian minority government.

In fact, the new government has been recognized by no one but racist South Africa. The Patriotic Front, made up of forces of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) continues to press on with the war, and the imperialist consensus is that the Muzorewa/Smith regime, seen by all as nothing but a thinly disguised continuation of white minority rule, is doomed to extinction.

In this light, the U.S. bloc is desperately searching for an alternative to Muzorewa—one that will be acceptable to the black African countries and at the same time be open to western investments and imperialist political influence.

A great deal is at stake here. The en-

tire region of southern Africa is a focus of increasing contention between the U.S. and the Soviet Union due to its strategic location and its valuable natural resources which are extremely important in the superpowers' war preparations. A stable pro-western government in Zimbabwe would greatly strengthen the hand of the U.S. bloc in Africa.

The western imperialists' latest hope came early this month from Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who only two months earlier had proclaimed her intention to recognize the Muzorewa government and lift British trade sanctions against Zimbabwe. Her position was sharply criticized by the governments of Nigeria, Zambia and Tanzania, former British colonies and now members of the British Commonwealth.

After a quick assessment of the situation, Mrs. Thatcher's foreign policy advisors assured her that recognition of the Muzorewa government would alienate Britain from the pro-western African countries and significantly weaken western influence in Africa. Besides, it wouldn't save the current Smith/Muzorewa regime.

So, at a conference of Commonwealth countries held this month in Lusaka, Zambia, Mrs. Thatcher proposed a six-point plan for majority rule in Zimbabwe which would include the Patriotic Front. The plan would do away with the provision in the present constitution which allows for white minority veto power, but naturally, would still guarantee as yet unspecified "safeguards" to the ruling white minority, allowing them economic and political power out of all proportion to their numbers.

. The plan is for Britain to draft a new constitution for Zimbabwe under which

new elections would be held, supervised by Britain and other Commonwealth countries. Although they won't discuss it openly, this undoubtedly means the stationing of British troops in Zimbabwe prior to the elections and until the new government is installed. In order for any of this to happen, a ceasefire would have to be agreed upon by the Patriotic Front and the Muzorewa government.

The Muzorewa government has agreed to participate in the British effort, provided that no preconditions are demanded by the Patriotic Front. Meanwhile, ZANU's Rogert Mugabe has continued to state publicly that the disbanding of the Rhodesian Army and police force, and their replacement with Patriotic Front forces, might be a precondition to his participation in any new settlement plan. No such demands have been made by ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo. Britain (and the U.S.) hope to split the Patriotic Front by getting Nkomo to participate on his own if Mugabe refuses.

The British proposal, complete with its so-called "safeguards" for the white minority, was unanimously approved by the 39 Commonwealth countries meeting in Lusaka, including the key African states of Nigeria, Zambia and Tanzania. Zambia and Tanzania, which along with Mozambique provide sanctuary for the ZANU and ZAPU guerrilla forces, are putting pressure on the Patriotic Front to accept the British proposal and attend an all-parties conference in London, now set for September 10, to discuss the new constitution. The potential for Zambia and Tanzania to nudge ZAPU and ZANU toward the conference table is real, because without their sponsorship the two guerrilla armies would lose valuable base areas and access to food

and military supplies (the latter coming largely from the Soviets).

Zambia in particular has a vested interest in seeing the Patriotic Front participate in the British settlement. ZAPU's presence in Zambia has brought on frequent air raids and military incursions by the Rhodesian Army inside Zambia's borders, raids which Zambian president Kaunda is eager to see stopped. At the same time; Zambia's economy is on the skids, and two months ago Kaunda was forced into the uncomfortable position of breaking sanctions against Rhodesia by opening his southern rail route through that country in order to import badly needed grain and to export copper. A majority rule government brought about through the British initiative and including the Patriotic Front would eliminate the pressure to maintain sanctions.

Nigeria', Zambia and Tanzania are all neo-colonial countries whose economies are heavily dependent upon investment and aid from the western bloc, particularly Britain and the U.S. In the growing contention between U.S. imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism on the African continent, they have sided with the U.S. In this context, the long-standing close relationship between ZAPU and the Soviets, and the recent moves of ZANU in that direction, while the Muzorewa government falters, are viewed by the western bloc with alarm. None of these African countries wants Zimbabwe to become another Angola.

The British plan, even if it goes through, will of course mean no fundamental change for Zimbabwe. How could it? A political settlement in the area engineered by the imperialists can only result in continued imperialist domination and oppression of the masses of people in Zimbabwe.

Set Your Dial

Continued from page 5

Sunday night with Bob Avakian. Caller: Yes, is Bob Avakian there? B.A.: Yeah, I'm here.

Caller: Okay, I'd like to ask Bob Avakian to answer the question that I believe Roger [the D.J.] asked at the outset of the program about Andrew Young...

B.A.: I didn't hear that, maybe someone could repeat it.

D.J.: Okay, very quickly, I'll repeat that. Alexander Haig, who is retiring as our NATO commander, told a meeting in St. Louis today that U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young underestimates the consequences of Soviet involvement in underdeveloped countries. murdered all kinds of people, literally hundreds of thousands of people, and wrecked and burned their homes. But I think we have to understand that they're running this little shell game on us, like those little games with the three cards and try to keep us guessing which one is going to come up the winner for us. We're always losing as long as we play by the rules of this system. And Andrew Young is up there for the purpose of trying to get us to go along with the game.

Caller: Oh, so you don't think he's pointing up all of the bad things that are actually going on. He's actually

would be born. I think it's kind of difficult for anybody to take up a question like that in that kind of time. But, I'd like to say that you are pointing out some good things. I think Black people should start looking at your Party as a possible alternative, seeing as though the Republican and the Democratic parties are not providing or have historically not provided the needs of Black people. And I think, one other thing, is that all of the Blacks and the minorities throughout this country and throughout the world should band together and let's put the revolution on a human level. Let's keep it off the racial level and let's not be diverted by issues like the illegal aliens, unemployment and that kind of thing 'cause like somebody pointed out earlier, the problem of unemployment is really not a problem of the Blacks or the Mexicans but a problem of the economy itself ... B.A.: Well I agree with a lot of what you're saying and I think you're right that people should check out our Party. Like I said they can contact us at 585-8234. I just want to say one thing. I think we do have to relate on a human level. We have to unite in our common

interests as working people. Look, 1 want to say how I feel about this. I'm white, right?

Caller: Right.

B.A.: I feel we need a revolution in this country because I feel that there are masses of people of every race and nationality who are being ripped off and exploited in this society and I don't want to see *anybody* ripped off. It doesn't make me any difference as far as I'm concerned whether it's Black, Puerto Rican or Chicano, or white or what you might be. You know, it's like the song says, "If you've ever been mistreated you know what I'm talking about."

Caller: Yeah, right.

B.A.: And we can have a common bond here. We can learn to break down

B.A.: That's the statement you want me to comment on?

Caller: I want you to comment on Andrew Young's activities as the ambassador generally, his outspokenness, and whether you think he does in fact understand what he's doing in pointing up all of these things that he's pointing up in South Africa.

B.A .: See, I look at it this way. I think Andrew Young does not represent us, the oppressed people in this country. He's someone who took part in the struggle of the '60s and used it as a way to get a career and made deals with people like Carter to get where he is. And he is involved, as all these guys are who run this deal, in infighting among themselves about how best to protect their interests to plunder and exploit us, and, of course, they put people like Young up there to try to convince people that we can get somewhere and have some spokesmen under this system, but they don't speak for us. And I, of course, don't support Haig because Haig is a murdering dog, you know, who carried out all these kinds of murdering policies in Vietnam, who hiding some of it.

B.A.: I think he's hiding a lot of them. You're darn right he is.

Caller: A couple of other things I want to get to, too. I've grown up in Los Angeles. I'm Black and I'm about 25 years of age and I've seen the illegal alien problem, you know, develop. I think it's serious and I think it requires national attention. I don't think this can be handled on a local level. I don't think there should be a brick wall or anything between the borders because I think the Latinos have some right to come here. I do generally agree with what you've been saying about the possibility of revolution in this country. I think Roger [the DJ] has not been all that objective in taking what you're saying seriously. Maybe it's because he doesn't feel the pressures of, what is it, the recession, that we're having or all of the problems that Blacks and other minorities are experiencing. Maybe because he doesn't feel that, he doesn't see what you're saying as being a possible relief for some people. But it is. Well, anyway, I'd like to say that I agree with you and I agree with [another caller]. I think you've been very patient in trying to answer all the specifics of just how the new society these divisions they're trying to create in our ranks to keep us divided from each other. And our Party stands for uprooting and destroying every form of discrimination and oppression against minorities, as well as every form of ripping off the working people as a whole. And I think people should come forward and check us out because we're serious about this.

COMMITTEE TO FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS

Contact At: P.O. Box 6422, T Street Station Washington, D.C. 20009

> or c/o the Revolutionary Worker (see local area addresses on page 2)

FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS! STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN!

CPUSA Convention Dilemma: How to Serve 2 Masters **Headed for War?**

Billboards in downtown Detroit advertise "People's Rally and Disco", August 25 and 26. Sponsored by the revisionist "Communist" Party, USA to coincide with their weeklong 22nd National Convention, the Rally-Disco promises to be a fitting finale. It will certainly be in the fine tradition of the bourgeois political circuses that the CP loves to mimic.

Slogans such as "Stop the Monopolies," "Put People Before Profit" and "Register Your Protest" are raised to attract those who won't come for the Disco alone. The build-up has all the markings of a self-conscious, stiff-necked bore trying to be "hip. And at center stage will be Angela Davis, who gained a certain fame in the late '60s by associating herself with the upsurge among Black people all the while continuing to preach the CP line of conciliation and peaceful reform.

At the convention itself, however, leaders of the CPUSA will be facing a more difficult decision than simply who to run for president or what record to spin. They have to come to grips with how to all at once serve two imperialist masters who are fast preparing to go to war with each other.

The CPUSA gave up any thought of revolution many, many years ago and since then has busied itself preaching to the people that they should put their hope on peacefully reforming the system, moving to "socialism" without the need for revolution. For this, the CP has won the tolerance of the U.S. ruling class which considers the CP a "moderating" influence on the people's struggle.

At the same time, the CPUSA leadership has been fiercely loyal to the rulers of the Soviet Union. They whitewash every crime of the Soviets, from their involvement in Africa to the recent Soviet-sponsored invasion of Cambodia by Vietnam. And the CP continues to present the Soviets as a 'peace-loving socialist state'' interested only in "defense" and aiding the people * of the world.

The CPUSA has handled the problem of serving two, conflicting masters by latching onto and promoting the illu-

sion of "detente," the smokescreen behind which both of the superpowers have found it useful to conduct their war preparations. They promote the USSR as the "main bastion of world peace" (apparently their missiles are armed only with brotherly love) and say that within the U.S. it is not the entire ruling class that is following a war course but only a handful of "unrealistic war hawks."

But this solution to the CP's dilemma becomes more complicated in the situation today, in which the "detente" smokescreen is clearing and revealing two snarling well-armed bandits ready to go at each other. In the U.S., the ruling class is less and less willing to allow the Soviets to parade about as peaceloving and instead has been building up plenty of public opinion about their war-like nature. And, no doubt, the CP leadership is worried that as things further heat up the rulers might not be so tolerant of an organization basically conducting propaganda for the "enemy."

Still today, however, the CP finds that the promotion of pacifist illusions is the best way to carry out its work in the U.S. and to help out the Soviets at the same time. Right now they have made the ratification of the SALT II their big campaign. In fact, in a recent issue of their journal Political Affairs they write that the "challenge for Left and progressive peace activists is to channel this movement, the largest upswelling of peace protest action since the Vietnam War [here they are referring to the mass movement against nuclear power], into millions of letters, telegrams, and personal visits to senators demanding the ratification of SALT IF"!

In their pre-convention resolution, they continue to promote the lie that "the self interests of the working class and people can be served by a foreign policy that realistically takes into account and accepts the new world balance of forces." In other words, without revolution, with the capitalists still in power, it is possible for the U.S. to adopt a foreign policy in the interests of the working class! They go on to

add, this "can be a winning struggle within a short period of time"!

Among the workers, the CP continues to push the myth that "detente means jobs" and raise ridiculous scenarios about how if only the U.S. would not spend so much on the arms race (if only the imperialists wouldn't be imperialists) then we could have such and such social programs, parks, free babysitting, etc.

This is not the main tune being sung by the U.S. ruling class, but it is certainly one they can make use of. As more and more people come into motion against the war moves of the U.S. imperialists, the ruling class will consider it useful for revisionists like the CP to be out uttering pious proclamations about "peace" and "disarmament" while actively combatting the only real solution to imperialist war-rising up in armed revolution against the ruling class. Since armed revolution of the masses of people is completely opposed

to everything that the CPUSA believes-indeed, their very outlook prevents them from even considering it as a remote possibility-the CP can continue to promote a political line which will prettify the Soviet Union and aid them in their propaganda, but will at the same time disarm and cloud the eyes of the working class in the U.S.

As far as the CPUSA's perspectives for the future, their pre-convention resolution makes clear their intention to try to use the mass movement to further their own selfish aims. "We must ride the crests of the mass waves that objective reality gives rise to." But alas, poor revisionists, reality will give rise to more than just waves, but a hurricane of revolutionary struggle. And the masses could knock the CP and its surfboard right out of the water.

The CP convention should be interesting to watch, as these revisionists search for a solution to avoid doing the splits:



Revisionists prepare for the '80s-disco music and bourgeois politics.

BAD DA for the FBI

for the People

"Today was the worst day of violence in the history of the FB1," mourned Director William Webster. But while August 9th certainly upset J. Edgar Hoover's successors, no tears were shed by the people. Within a period of only several hours, three agents of the hated FBI were shot down, two in El Centro, California, and one in Cleveland, Ohio.

In El Centro, Jim Maloney went to the local FBI office with a shotgun in one hand and a pistol in the other. He blew away the entire local bureau. Maloney, mortally wounded in the shootout, then killed himself.

Jim Maloney had been a political activist in the past. He had marched against the Vietnam war and participated in more recent struggles, including the fight of California farmworkers in the Imperial Valley where El Centro is located. Like many others, he had been continually hounded and harassed by the FBI for his political activity. They had kept him under surveillance for over ten years, no

doubt applying many of the disgusting techniques which have made these bastards notorious. In the end, Maloney lashed out at these agents of the ruling class, and as their fellow political policemen grieve, they have little company.

Meanwhile, in a Black community in Cleveland, not only were no tears shed, but the people cheered in joy at the sight of the third casualty of the FBI's worst day. The dead, sheet-draped body of agent John Oliver was carried from the decaying, rat infested housing project known as Carver Park Estates. The other officers looked on grim-faced as a crowd gathered and people laughed and clapped.

Oliver and five other FBI agents had smashed into the apartment of accused rapist Melvin Bay Guyon, expecting a routine arrest. What happened was anything but routine-one agent bit the dust and Guyon got away, unhurt in a hail of bullets.

In the wake of Oliver's death, authorities have unleashed a wave of

gestapo terror against the Black community. Over 400 FBI agents, SWAT teams and other cops have kicked in doors, forced families out at gunpoint, aimed sawed-off shotguns in the faces of little children, and have stopped, searched and arrested scores in a widening dragnet. People are outraged and standing up to the attacks. An old Black man boiling with anger said, "Already thousands across the country were killed or hurt since Oliver, and not a damn thing is done. One of their own, one lousy cop is killed and they send in a whole army."

As fifty cops were breaking into one man's apartment, they yelled to him, "Get those kids out of here now or you'll never see them alive." The FBI offered a \$10,000 reward, now increased to \$20,000, as bait to get Guyon. "It won't be long before he's caught. \$10,000 is a lot of money for those people," one police spokesman boasted. The cops, in fact, got over a thousand "hot tips"—sending them on a wild goose chase all over the state! The police captain had to admit, "If all this guy's friends could vote, he'd be mayor." For a week, Guyon outmaneuvered this massive manhunt, the biggest in Cleveland's history, until his capture on August 16 in Youngstown after a shootout with four FBI agents.

In response to this invasion, 100 people joined in a demonstration organized by the RCP and RCYB (Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade). The march was in sharp contrast to the meanderings of the NAACP and various Black politicians who predictably called for a federal investigation. This time such a call is even more ridiculous-the FBI which has sent 400 agents to terrorize Cleveland's Black community, is now invited to investigate itself impartially!

Obviously, the FBI's show of force is a response to more than one dead agent. What the FBI Director was really thinking about when he described August 8th as "The worst day... in the history of the FBI" was the sight of the masses celebrating Oliver's demise.



Red Wages Day in Silicon Valley

On the surface, Santa Clara Valley's "silicon valley," home of the giant semi-conductor industry, seems to defy the traditional tales of capitalism's sweat shops with its modern buildings, green lawns and fountains. Instead of subways and city skies, the women arrive in Datsuns and Toyotas in the shadows of the scenic Santa Cruz mountains. The companies' public relations men trumpet their enlightened images, and the money keeps rolling in.

On closer examination, however, the fancy trimmings prove to be little more than cosmetic tinsel. The wages are low, starting about \$3 per hour, there's little job security, no unions, and as their competition increases the company puts on the pressure-toe the line or else. The acid accidents are more frequent and underlining it all, the thousands of women are told daily in thousands of ways, you are women-you must accept your place in life. Share your misery with god, numb yourself talking about Avon and Marine World, and don't break out of the mold, your place isn't to think.

The last few weeks at Semi-conductor have called a lot of these "sacred" concepts into question. The Million-Dollar Fund Drive of the RCP is a big issue. The women are talking about Bob Avakian and why the capitalists are trying to put him in jail. A number have taken a stand with the RCP. At the same time, reactionaries have crept out of the closet-flag wavers and breastbeating bible-thumpers are actively organizing to oppose the "evils of communism," to make sure the company's interests aren't affected, to make sure the women act like women are supposed to act.

As leaflets went out and stickers went up saying, "A Day's Wages to the RCP," "Free the Mao Tsetung Defen-dants," "It's a Railroad We're not "Free the Mao Tsetung Defen-Mistaken, Take Your Bloody Hands Off Bob Avakian," the normal machinery started to break down. The stickers were soon covered with written comments, for and against. Several people came to hear a tape of Avakian's May Day speech and two pledged to donate a day's pay. Worried by the bold revolutionary work, the company brought a half-crazed reactionary to one department in order to counter one of the revolutionaries.

She droned on and on about how wonderful America is, how it's a land of opportunity that all the boat people can come to, that everyone should love less than mere slavery... The constitution says we're all free. The truth is we're free to follow bullshit orders... This to me is dead. I don't need that kind of freedom... If you were to read the *Revolutionary Worker* you'd change your ideas of communism completely. Support the RCP for your good and for the good of others!"

The plant was electrified on Thursday when a woman stood up in the cafeteria at break and said this, "Today is my last day working in this hellhole. Because they can't blackmail me with the threat of firing anymore... I want to say a few things. Sure part of what I want to say is 'take this job and shove it,' but I want to say a lot more. Many people know me as a revolutionary communist, a supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party. I'm putting it straight out there, the RCP is calling on people at National to donate a day's wages, to stand with the future...Our enemy, the ruling class, has labeled the RCP the most dangerous organization in the U.S. and they fear the Chairman, Bob Avakian, more than any man alive ...

The place exploded. One guy shouted, "If you don't like it here go somewhere else." A woman shot back at him, "If you love the red, white and blue so much you'll probably be happy to be buried in it after our rulers blow you apart with a neutron bomb." The guards ran over to pull Barbara, the speaker, down, but she pushed them

DEATH TRAP

ARENA

away and kept right on.

When she finished she walked from table to table passing out hundreds of leaflets with the guards right behind her trying to snatch them away from people. Someone walked into the cafeteria, saw what was happening and with a big grin on her face went to the phone; called the front office and said, "You really blew it! Your guards are running wild and you got egg all over your face!" Another woman walked up to an RCP member whom she'd never met and asked if she stood with the woman who gave the speech. She answered, "Damn right!" The woman said back, "I'm with her 100%!" As it became more and more clear a lot of people liked what was happening, more people took heart in it. They saw that they weren't the only ones who felt angry, disgusted by the "American dream." Some who shouted their support seemed almost to surprise themselves with their own boldness. This wasn't supposed to be happening, women weren't supposed to be thinking about all this stuff. The scene was outrageous and it was great!

Afterwards the guards stalked their prey back to her department, trying to give courage to the reactionaries and to intimidate her supporters. One woman made her stand clear by standing next to Barbara for the rest of the day, going everywhere with her to make sure no one started any trouble.

Finally National, after blowing it by sicking their dogs on her, made bigger

Monday, August 13, 8:30 a.m.-As

one jet roared overhead, the partially

completed domed roof of the Rosemont

fools out of themselves by publicly apologizing to her, saying they supported her right to free speech and claiming the guards weren't their employees as they were gotten from an outside agency.

The next day was Red Wages Day and revolutionaries, including the woman who spoke out were at the gate. A number of workers pledged a day's pay, and the struggle continued. Some workers made fools of the guards that day by getting them to page "Bob Avakian" over and over on the plant P.A. system.

Things are just beginning to change in the silicon valley. Some people went to a bar the day the cafeteria speech was given, and the talk wasn't about Avon or clothes. Instead they were discussing the future, revolution. A Black woman asked how Bob Avakian, a white man, could be a leader of the Black people, women wanted to know what socialism was about, what was Marxism?

The workers have come forward to support the fund drive but more importantly the whole campaign lifted their sights. It raised big questions, questions they weren't even supposed to think about, much less begin to answer. National wants thousands of pretty, empty heads to slave for them every day, to take orders and be paid with pennies. Instead the women have begun to give them a glimpse of the hell the ruling class is going to have to pay in the future.



crete support buttresses, crushing five workers to death and injuring more than a dozen others. Within hours, officials from OSHA scurried over to the shattered entertainment complex, searching for clues to the disaster. They hoped, no doubt, to find some schnook to pin the blame on.

While the exact cause of the collapse of the wooden structure has yet to be determined, several facts have come to light indicating that the owner (the Village of Rosemont), the general contractor and the architect, true to form, pursued the cheapest and most expedient methods and construction design, with safety considerations at the bottom of their list.

For example, the 270 foot-long wooden truss beams spanning the structure were supposed to be braced with support members that were found to be missing more than 100 crucial bolts. And of seven steel tension cables that were supposed to criss-cross the roof to give needed support during construction, five were missing. The roof covering, to be started only after installation of all the truss beams, was already onethird completed, even though only 12 of 14 beams had been attached. In addition, design studies to determine the strength of the structure in the midst of strong winds, vibrations and turbulence created by dozens of landing jets dealt only with the stadium when complete, not taking into account its weakness during construction. Finally, why the hell is this stadium being built directly beneath the path of incoming jets? An error of 200 feet could not only snuff out the lives of the jet's passengers, but the 20,000 others seated in the death-trap arena that developers still vow to complete. A spokesman for the Village of Rosemont casually remarked that he didn't think a bond issue would be necessary to raise the extra funds needed for completion of the project. In other words, this unexpected cost overrun of 5 lives is small potatoes compared to the future profits these slick hoodlums salivate over.

it or get lost. This was fine with management, but when the revolutionary woman they were afraid of took on this reactionary garbage, the foreman pulled her off the floor and threatened her. At first the rest of the department was silent. But when she went out and struggled with them, one by one they began to take a stand. "Shut that hag up and leave Alice alone." Soon the company changed its tune—they had gotten too far out there with their hatchet women and had to warn the reactionary bitch to turn off her mouth.

In the week following Avakian's speech, the situation sharpened up even more. Up to that point, several workers had agreed off to the side to donate money, and a lot of general opinion had been raised. But it was clear more needed to be done. It wasn't enough for people to know about the Party and the campaign, they had to be challenged to come forward. So the people who pledged to give wrote open fetters to their fellow workers, which were distributed at the gate saying why they decided to support the RCP and why others should also. One woman wrote, "There is NO reason we should have to live under conditions which are nothing

Wilmington, North Carolina

Prison Rebels Face 25 Years

Wilmington, North Carolina, Monday, July 23—It was hotter than hell in Wilmington—98° for two weeks running—and about to get hotter. Prisoners on the third floor in the New Hanover County jail were suffocating behind boarded-up windows, competing with rats, roaches and mice for sitting room. 81 prisoners were crowded into space that was already too small for the 63 person maximum now established by the pigs.

At 7:30 a.m. the prisoners made their move. They called two jailers over to get a mop out of one of the cells. When the pigs opened the cell door, the prisoners grabbed their key. Within minutes, they had taken over the whole jail, opened the other cell doors, and barricaded the doors with vending machines. Scared stiff, the two jailers scurried into a cell and locked it with their handcuffs. The revolt was on.

The word spread like brush fire through Wilmington. People came to stand outside the jailhouse from all over town, friends and family of the prisoners, supporters, tourists from the waterfront to check out what was happening—close to 900 people. While a platoon of pigs crouched nervously behind patrol cars with their shotguns aimed at the jailhouse windows, prisoners shouted down to the people, "We want the truth!"

They demanded to talk to reporters about the monstrous conditions inside the jail—the heat and overcrowding, not being allowed to take showers or even brush their teeth, and other denials of basic necessities of life. They shouted their demands out of the windows of the jail to the crowd below. Some in the crowd shouted at the cops, "Why don't you let them talk?"

For nearly four hours, the prisoners held the jail. The pigs held phony negotiations, making lying promises that they would let the prisoners tell the story of conditions in jail to the press, until they learned their two fellow dogs were safely cowering in a jail cell. Then they stormed the jail with shotguns in hand, swinging clubs at prisoners, while the prisoners fought back with fire ex-



Wilmington prisoners rebel. Five now face 25 years in jail for demanding to be treated better than caged animals.

tinguishers.

Even when they were being taken out, some of them in their shorts because jailers wouldn't let them wear clothes, the prisoners raised their fists to the crowd, shouting out about conditions in the jail. On the rare occasion when they were allowed to take showers, the stalls were covered with fungus; being infested with vermin of all kinds, including lice. The one hour per week for visitors was taken up with skin searches.

As the buses pulled out for Burgaw jail in Lumberton, prisoners were still waving their fists, joyous at what they had done, regardless of what might come

At Burgaw the pigs did what they didn't dare do in front of the crowd—beat the hell out of the prisoners. One prisoner wrote to his mother, "I'm in a world of trouble. I really don't care. They brought us up here in Burgaw and beat us up with their sticks. I wasn't about to just stand there and I fought them back and they bruised me up."

They were thrown in segregation cells without clothes or personal belongings. And they were sent to Raleigh Central Prison, one of the worst prisons in North Carolina.

The local rulers were aghast. How could this happen? After all, the prisoners had been promised clean new lodging in the new jail before long. One county commissioner even criticized the sheriff for being too "gentle" for not blowing away the prisoners.

People in the neighborhood around the jail told all about the sheriff's "gentleness." Elevators stopped between floors while deputies beat up prisoners. A man beaten by a woman pig and thrown in jail where he died without treatment. A man arrested after he'd been shot, taken to the jail from a hospital with tubes still in his nose and arm. Fifteen people in a cell with two bunks, sleeping on the floor next to the toilet which rarely worked.

Since the uprising, the sheriff has made a big show in trying to paint over the worst of the filth, closing the jail for 10 days and "as a humanitarian gesture," taking the boards off the windows. But the main renovation has been in new double locks and bright lights to keep a better eye on prisoners.

With all their recognition that "conditions might have been a little bad" the



pigs are out for revenge. They were left with nothing to charge the prisoners with. They had done less than \$100 damage to the jail and hadn't taken any hostages.

So the court singled out five prisoners for special treatment. They decided that "damage incurred during the uprising?" included not only the few light bulbs that were broken, but also the cost of the bus to take them to Burgaw and the wages of the extra pigs needed to beat the prisoners up once they got there. And they decided their loss should be twisted to charge the five prisoners with kidnapping and hostage-taking by a prisoner. For demanding to be treated better than animals in a cage these brothers face 25-year sentences.

51-38, a handful of people sat with smug looks on their faces. They thought they had won a cheap victory. They thought they had stampeded people into what amounted to taking a stand *against* the Mao Tsetung Defendants without discussion.

It was only a few minutes before these snakes had the smiles wiped off their faces. According to parliamentary rules and the agenda, there was to be no more discussion and debate. But more and more people were becoming uneasy, and more than a few were furious, seeing that what had happened would bring .shame upon the Guild-that the Guild could not continue as a progressive organization and at the same time allow itself to be characterized by the same kind of anticommunism that it had been formed to prevent. The struggle broke loose a few minutes later, during the very last item on the agenda, "criticism and selfcriticism." Speaker after speaker rose up to denounce what had happened as completely unprincipled and disgusting, as something which threatened the Guild's very reason to exist. Only one person dared defend it, a CPMLer from Chicago, who said that maybe it was wrong to hang the RCP without a trial, but that "many of us hate the RCP for good reason." This made it ever more plain that the CPML's hatred for the RCP, and really for revolution itself. ran far deeper than any desire to appear progressive or "non-sectarian." The debate and struggle spilled out onto the floor and was vigorously persued among the delegates as the convention broke up. RCP supporters were joined by several other people who, although they most definitely did not want to be branded as "RCP symps," went among the delegates asking them to personally sign their names to the **Continued on page 16**



On August 13, the National Executive Committee of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) passed a resolution demanding that all charges be dropped against the Mao Tsetung Defendants. RCP supporters had asked the Guild to take a firm position against this assault on the Party and its Chairman. The National Lawyers Guild won a fighting reputation for its struggle against red-baiting and McCarthyite repression in the 1940s and 1950s and in many political court battles since then. The NLG could play a very helpful role in mobilizing members of the legal profession and others to stand up to the government's attacks in this case. For this reason the resolution was definitely a positive development. It was the product of some sharp struggle which took place at the Guild's National Executive Board meeting (essentially a bi-annual mini-convention) over the weekend in Minneapolis. This struggle revealed that there are a few opportunists operating within the Guild who are so blinded by their sectarian hatred of the RCP and the cause of revolution that they would try to destroy the Guild as a progressive organization. rather than see it take a stand against the government in this case. Most definitely these opportunists, including the CPML, the CP and others, would like nothing better than to see RCP Chairman, Bob Avakian, and the 16 other defendants in prison.

At a meeting of the Guild committee against government repression and police crimes, which took place at the beginning of this convention, RCP supporters and others introduced a resolution against the railroading of the Mao Tsetung Defendants. After some discussion as to whether or not this resolution would imply that the Guild supported the stand taken against China's revisionist rulers in the January 29th demonstration, the resolution was passed overwhelmingly with only secondary changes. It was considered inconceivable that Guild members would not vote to condemn this kind of repression. Later copies of this resolution were given out to everyone at the convention, as part of the general agitation and educational work done by RCP supporters around this case. Under ordinary circumstances, this resolution would have been routinely passed along to the National Executive Committee without further question. Recognizing that this resolution would be controversial, and wanting to build real political support and not just get a formal resolution, Party supporters tried to have discussion of this resolution scheduled into one of the main plenary sessions. This request was denied. Still, there was quite a bit of informal discussion. This was more than some people could stand. The CPML, along with the "Revolutionary Workers Head-

quarters" (better known as the Mensheviks, who split from the RCP), who generally played a fairly laid-back role in this conference, were forced to jump out and fight. Even though many people at the convention had some questions about China and the RCP's denunciation of the current leadership, these groups did not dare openly argue against the resolution as being "anti-China." This was a confession by the CPML and the Mensheviks of political bankruptcy. They knew that any real debate over the question of what has happened in China would only make their hollow and reactionary pro-Teng line look very foolish to anyone who thought about it. So instead, they launched a cowardly sneak attack by parliamentary maneuver. Late in the afternoon on the last day of the convention, a half an hour before it was scheduled to end, when many of the hundreds of observers and delegates had already left for home, a motion was made to table the resolution on the Mao Tsetung Defendants-with the excuse that it was too controversial to pass without discussion and there was no longer enough time to discuss it! As the forces marshalled by the CPML and the Mensheviks, and the few more honest people who were fooled by the appeal not to vote on the motion "without discussion," all raised their hands, and the motion to table the resolution passed by a vote of



Report from Kurdestan

"Don't think we are just concerned about the problems of this one village," he said. "No. We are concerned about the struggle of people in every country of the world against imperialism."

-a Kurdish peasant.

Kurdestan-July 26, 1979

Since the armed uprising in February that toppled the Shah, the flames of revolution have not been extinguished among the Iranian people. And it is especially among the more than 4 million Kurdish people who live in western Iran that this struggle has burned red hot, exposing the nature of the Khomeini-Bazargan regime and inspiring the Iranian people to keep on making revolution.

Kurdestan today is a hotbed of armed revolutionary struggle, an area that is far from being under the control of the government, mainly because of the explosive development of the peasant movement. Tens of thousands of peasants in villages dotting the mountains and valleys of Kurdestan have formed peasant councils and associations, kicking the landlords off the land and arming themselves to defend their gains. While this developed spontaneously at first, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organizations are playing an increasingly influential role in organizing the peasants and leading them forward. In response, the feudal landlords and their private armies—who are generally supported by the Islamic government—are viciously and desperately trying to suppress the awakening masses and the revolutionaries.

The Kurdish people have a rich tradition of armed resistance to their oppressors. Even before the February insurrection that was centered in Tehran and the other major cities, Kurdish armed detachments had overrun many army barracks and liberated large areas of Kurdestan.

Many recent visitors to Kurdestan have taken note of the fact that the men are walking arsenals, with guns and cartridge belts at their sides and hand grenades dangling in leather pouches. It is not unusual to see a Kurdish woman with a child on one hip and a Kalashnikov on the other. And tucked away in the hills is heavier equipment—machine guns, anti-tank weapons and artillery seized from the Shah's army. No one in Kurdestan thinks that the revolution is over.

Iran as a whole suffered bitter oppression as a semi-colonial and semifeudal country under the regime of the Shah and his masters, headed by U.S. imperialism. Kurdestan suffered the additional burden of intense national oppression. This national oppression is closely linked to the feudal oppression of the Kurdish peasants. In the rest of

Iran, where about 50-60% of the people live in the villages, the power of the big feudal landlords had been slightly undermined in the "white revolution" (the Shah's phony land reform program in the 1960s which sold small unproductive parcels of land to some peasants, but was really aimed at tying the old landlords more tightly to imperialism and the Iranian comprador capitalists. centered around the Shah). However, this "white revolution" barely touched Kurdestan, where fully 80% of the people still live in villages. The development of industry and economic structures such as roads and communications was deliberately held back.

In the villages, the peasants were the virtual property of the landlords. Owning the best and largest share of the land, the landlords taxed the peasants for everything from holidays to their water, animals and crops. Even when the peasants "owned" the land, it was usually too little to support them, and they were forced to go to the landlord to work on his land, or go to the cities and seek employment. Even when they could eke out an existence on their land, the peasants were forced to pay outrageous taxes to the feudal lords, often amounting to 40% of their crop. Of course, those with no land had nochoice but to work the feudal land, receiving barely enough to survive to



20,000 people marched through the streets of Sanandaj in the revolutionary May Day celebrations this year. Some of the banners read, "Workers of the World Unite;" "Hail the Peasants—Closest Allies of the Workers," and "On to the Formation of the Party of the Working Class?"

work another day.

The landlords had absolute political power in the villages, relying on the local armed gendarmerie to enforce their rule, killing or arresting any peasants who resisted. Peasants even had to ask permission of the landlords to get married or take trips to town. One notorious landlord forced "his" peasants, on the eve of their weddings, to bring their fiancées to him for the night.

The villages had no running water or electricity, no schools or hospitals. As one peasant described this situation, "We have nothing here-no life and no future." This misery was intensified by the imperialists' penetration and exploitation of Iran. Imports from the U.S. and western Europe ruined the native handicrafts industries, upon which many peasants had depended for extra employment and income. Also, exports from the imperialist countries, supported and subsidized by the Shah's regime, ruined agricultural production -especially wheat, rice, meat, and some fruits-in many areas. The Shah used to buy wheat from the U.S. at over twice the price the government paid the peasants for their wheat, making it unprofitable for many even to grow wheat. Because of this, the unemployed

(Above) Kurdish liberation fighters on guard against government planes during the battle for Sanandaj, capital of Kurdestan—March 18-22, 1979.

(Right) Support for the struggle now raging in Marivan has poured in from all over Kurdestan. In early August, over 2,000 men, women and children marched 90 miles over mountainous roads from Sanandaj to demonstrate their solidarity with the fighters of Marivan who have driven out the government forces, liberating much of the surrounding area.

and the semi-employed comprised 50% of the population in Kurdestan.

The national oppression of the Kurdish people also took the form of the systematic denial of any democratic rights. In public offices and schools, Kurds were forbidden to speak their language or to wear their traditional dress—in some cases even having the seams of their pants (which are baggy around the legs but narrow at the ankles) slit to "Iranicize" them. The military and police were intentionally drawn from other nationalities, and the main businesses and government offices were controlled by non-Kurds, even in Kurdestan.

peasants' councils and unions. In many villages, councils have been organized that are a form of people's political power in which the peasants both administer the affairs of the village and organize their strength against the landlords in the struggle over land and taxes. In some villages there have been steps taken toward working the land collectively.

In the Marivan area, close to the Iraqi border, over 60 villages, representing, between 35,000 and 40,000 peasants, have formed one of the first peasants' unions. This union has developed its own armed detachments for protecting the area, and has inspired peasants' unions in other parts of Kurdestan.



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As a tidal wave of revolutionary struggle swept through Iran in 1978-79, the masses of Kurdish people had high hopes of finally ridding themselves of this bitter oppression they had shouldered for so many years. Although the peasants were not the first to act during the revolution, the sparks of revolutionary consciousness and aspirations reached even the remotest villages in Iran, both spontaneously and through the work of communists and other revolutionaries.

In recent months, the peasant movement in Kurdestan has grown by leaps and bounds. In many cases, the peasants have forcibly expropriated the landlords. Or they have stopped paying the debts and exorbitant rents they were forced to pay. And in some instances, small feudal lords, who had their land "taken" (bought by the government to sell to the peasants) during the "white revolution," are now returning and demanding as much as 10 years of back taxes or even the return of "their" land. All this has led to many sharp armed clashes between the peasants, who are in the main armed, and the landlords and their gangs.

The banner development in this struggle has been the formation of

The peasants have received assistance from revolutionary communists and other progressive groups who have gone to the countryside. The influence of the Kurdestan branch of the Union of Iranian Communists (UIC), and such Kurdish Marxist-Leninist groups as the Union of Revolutionary Toilers and the Organization of the Unity of Toiling and Oppressed People, have grown rapidly among the peasants in Kurdestan.

The revolutionaries have assisted the peasants in fighting against the landlords and in forming organizations of mass political power. In the course of this they have paid particular attention to raising the general political level of the struggling peasants through discussion and study classes. In fact one of the revolutionary organizations working among them declared that this was its main task. When one Kurdish peasant was discussing the struggles in his village, the fruits of this communist work were clear. "Don't think we are just concerned about the problems of this one village," he said. "No. We are concerned about the struggle of people in every country of the world against imperialism."

Whereas remote villages at one time Continued on page 14



Continued from page 13

had little contact with the nearby cities, let alone the revolutionaries, conversation now centers on the national struggle of the Kurdish people, the overall struggle against imperialism, and the differences between different groups and different political lines. What is U.S. imperialism's strategy in Iran? What are their imperialist rivals, the Soviets, up to? What are the differences among- the various revolutionary groups? What is the real nature of the Islamic government, and why is it so afraid of communists? What are these communists all about?

The peasants and revolutionaries are fighting reaction on a number of different fronts. Some of these forces are directly linked up with the U.S. imperialism and remnants of the Shah's regime. These reactionaries have been active in helping to arm the landlords, organizing armed bands for them, and trying to attack and suppress the peasant movement. This is just one part of their general preparations to regain a stranglehold on Kurdestan and all of Iran, and to break their main obstacle to that-the revolutionary masses. General Palizban of the Shah's army, who has strong connections to the U.S., is hiding out and organizing near the Iraqi border, and the notorious Provisional Ghiadeh, a CIA-led Kurdish "guerrilla" organization, is also very active in the area.

The flunkies of the Soviet imperialists in the area, the Kurdish Democratic Party (the KDP, which is the Kurdish arm of the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party), have actively been trying to misdirect the struggle of the masses. Just how low these revisionists have sunk was revealed in one area where they actually armed the feudal forces, taking guns from the peasants. At the same time, in another area of Kurdestan, where they were very isolated from the masses, they armed the peasants (with arms taken from the other peasants) in order to try and gain some control of the movement. Time and again, the KDP has opposed the peasants seizing and occupying the feudal landlords' estates, whining that the peasants' revolutionary struggle "disrupts the unity of the Kurdish people" and telling the peasants to rely on the Khoumeini-Bazargan government to solve the land question.

The KDP's tactics have ranged from this double-dealing and a strong tendency to compromise with the government (to gain concessions for themselves, of course), to leading the masses in a "left" manner into incidents provoked by reactionaries, all the while trying to maintain their cover as "fighters for the Kurdish people." The bloody fighting between the Turkish and Kurdish minorities in late April in Naghadeh-which the KDP heiped provoke-is a case in point. (See the July 6 issue of the Revolutionary Worker for the story of this reactionary incident.) All this amounts to one thing: opportunistically trying to use the mass movement and gain influence in it, not for revolution, but to build up their own careers and Soviet influence in Iran.

of the Kurdish people has not been for a separate state, but for regional autonomy within Iran. In fact, the peasant movement in Kurdestan and the powerful struggle against national oppression that has united all popular strata of the Kurdish people have been a powerful inspiration and blow for the emancipation of *all* the Iranian people.

The struggle in the city of Sanandaj, the capital of Kurdestan, provides a graphic illustration of how the Kurdish people's struggle has propelled the revolutionary struggle forward throughout Iran. This struggle broke out in March around the question of continuing the revolution-over whether to rid the army of its old reactionary structure and practices, and over who would control the city: the Kurdish masses, or the local komiteh (appointed by the Islamic government in Tehran and heavily infiltrated by former pro-Shah elements and other opportunists) backed up by the army of the central government.

One of the first battles was initiated by Kurdish members of the armed forces who demanded that an elected rank-and-file soldiers' committee run the army, and that the army rid itself of former SAVAK agents and pro-imperialist elements. The army refused to meet these demands and then shipped these soldiers to other areas of the country. Along with this, the people in Sanandaj resented the komiteh's highhanded actions and attacks on revolutionary groups.

This resentment boiled over ito a mass march on March 18. The masses of Sanandaj, 10,000 strong, first stormed the gendarmerie, taking all the weapons there. Next they marched on the army base to press their demands. They were met with heavy gunfire, and a fierce battle, lasting four days, ensued. The military resorted to heavy shelling and helicopter fire, aimed mainly at the working-class neighborhoods nearby. Over 100 were killed, often buried in the gardens of their homes, and 500 were wounded.

This battle ended in a stalemate, but the people of the city were rid of the komiteh (whose office had been burned down and whose members were driven out of the city), won an elected council, and sharply limited the ability of the army to interfere in their affairs. This struggle has given the people and the revolutionaries considerable freedom to organize openly and to hold a share of power in the city (three of the eleven council members are revolutionaries). As a result of this, on May Day 1979, over 20,000 people in this city of 110,000 marched with the revolutionary Left, while only 3000-4000 joined the pro-government Islamic forces.

This battle did much to heighten the consciousness of people all over Iran of the need to be armed and organized to continue the revolution. It also exposed the growing efforts of the Khomeini-Bazargan regime to put an end to the revolutionary struggle of the masses and consolidate its rule.

In Kurdestan, despite a few minor

Sanandaj, the army and the komiteh don't represent the masses, often siding with the landlords and trying to suppress the peasant movement. After more guards were flown in from Tehran, a group of Kurds marched on the komiteh on July 14 and demanded that the guards go back to Tehran, telling them that the people of the town could run their own affairs. The government forces opened fire on the demonstrators, killing 3. The Kurdish masses responded in kind, killing 8 komiteh members and arresting the 30 or 40 that remained. With Marxist-Leninists playing an active role, they then took complete control of the city, making plans for an election similar to the one in Sanandaj and setting up their own armed forces to control the town.

At that point the army said that if the peasants didn't lay down their arms, they would be crushed. Holding firm, the Kurdish people evacuated most of the town and prepared to fight. Support came from all over the province—food, medicine, arms and men. When the army sent a convoy of a dozen U.S.-made M-47 tanks towards Marivan, men and women from the neighboring town of Kamyaran lay down on the road to stop them. Because of this, the army has not dared to attack in force.

Several days after the incident there were numerous demonstrations of thousands all over Kurdestan, including one of 40,000-50,000 in Sanandaj, to protest the lying TV coverage of their struggle and to support the fighters in Marivan. (The state-controlled TV refused to give the real story, saying Kurdish "anti-revolutionaries" had attacked the "innocent komiteh.")

In the following weeks, there have been numerous armed clashes around Marivan between the army and the armed peasants, with the government forces mainly getting the worst of the battles, as the Kurds_are fighting with popular backing and in familiar areas. In some cases the peasants control key areas and



And that's exactly how the whole U.S. ruling class sees them. The dispute within the bourgeoisie is over how to handle this "problem."

Never missing a trick, the imperialists have taken advantage of Young's resignation over the PLO meeting, to crank up some "Black leaders" like Jesse Jackson to spread their own particular variety of racist garbage. While never once mentioning Zionism and its U.S. imperialist sponsors, they have been spewing anti-semitism, charging that it was the *Jews* who got Andy.

Young's Role

Young's role all along, as has been pointed out by the media and the Carter administration alike, has been as a U.S. "bridge" to the oppressed countries, especially in Africa, as well as to Blacks in this country. And in reality Young has been a skilled craftsman for U.S. neo-colonialism in the underdeveloped countries, particularly in Africa. By speaking openly about the racism of the U.S. and the British, as he did a year or so ago after a trip to Africa, Young has used his apparent straight talk and honesty to sugar-coat U.S. imperialist aims. His "take off the coat and tie and let's sit down and talk" approach with the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe had no other goal than to try to get the liberation forces to put down the gun and come to some negotiated solution that would leave U.S. interests in that country as intact as possible. Young's seemingly free-wheeling and independent role as an important figure in the Carter administration has been a calculated attempt to suck Black people in this country into accepting the notion that they can really make it in this system. A year ago Andy backed up his statement in a French magazine that there were "hundreds, maybe even thousands of people I would categorize as political prisoners in U.S. jails,' with the fact that he himself had been arrested a decade earlier in a civil rights protest. This made for a big scandal.

roads. Recently a government delegation again pressed the demand for the Kurds to disarm and give up control of the city, but the people refused, instead demanding that the government free 14 Kurdish fighters in prison and withdraw its armed forces.

From the government's point of view, the battle in Kurdestan and particularly now in Marivan is very important. They must extinguish the flames of mass rebellion and suppress the increasingly influential revolutionary communist forces in order to consolidate their hold on the country. As the governor-general of the province remarked, "If the problem is not solved urgently, other problems are likely to arise in the province." (And he clearly is speaking of Iran as a whole.)

The reactionaries are trembling with fear that Kurdestan is developing as a base area spreading revolutionary struggle throughout Iran. They have good reason to be worried, for a powerful revolutionary storm is gathering strength among the Iranian people—a storm that is already beginning to break out. The oilfields and the factories, the universities and the high schools, the working class neighborhoods and the bazaars—all are hotbeds of political discussion and revolutionary activity in spite of the government's attempts to crack down on all opposition.

And of great importance in a country such as Iran, a mighty revolutionary force is awakening in the countryside, as tens of thousands of peasants in Kurdestan and other areas are organizing and arming themselves to break free of the oppressive yoke of the feudal landlords. This is a sure sign that the Iranian masses will not be satisfied with stopping the revolution half-way. And this is a sign of their determination to press forward, to smash all the forces of imperialism, feudalism and reaction, and from there to move on to build a new socialist Iran, a bastion of revolution in the world.

good friend of the President of the U.S." Sure there is racial discrimination, but it's not as bad as it used to be. Things are getting better, the system works. "Our society has matured," Andy proclaims.

Playing Every Angle

While he was in office, and right down to today, the ruling class has played the Andy Young controversy from every reactionary angle. Long ago they learned how to skin an ox twice. They use people like Andy Young to promote illusions and false hopes among the masses of people in order to keep them "in their place," that is, hoping and dreaming that someone will solve their problems under the system of capitalism. But they also unleash their dogs, whether they be Senators, Congressmen or the Ku Klux Klan, to launch the most vicious and disgusting racist attacks just to make sure Blacks and other oppressed minorities do stay "in their place"-at the bottom.

And what is the popular "answer" to

Closely related to the peasant struggle in its development has been a powerful mass movement demanding full democratic rights for the Kurdish people and the uprooting of all the old forms of national oppression, and also the workers' struggle in the cities and towns of Kurdestan. Though the number of workers in Kurdestan is relatively small, the struggle of the employed and unemployed workers has been spreading rapidly. Unemployed workers have held sit-ins in half a dozen cities to demand jobs, and real workers' unions have been formed recently in a number of cities.

While the new rulers of Iran do their best to portray the struggle of the Kurds and the other oppressed minority nations and tribes as the work of "reactionary separatists," the main demand concessions to the peasants, such as not collecting on loans made under the Shah's regime, the Islamic government and its army has consistently supported the landlords, taking back land the peasants have occupied and often even assisting the feudal landlords and their private armies in suppressing the peasant associations and the communist forces.

The new constitution that the government is trying to ram through does not guarantee that any of the democratic rights of the Kurds and other oppressed nationalities will be protected. Instead, this "law and order" constitution promises that the armed suppression of the Kurds by the army and "revolutionary guards" (the government's militia) will continue in the future.

A sharp indication of the powerful revolutionary storm that is building up in Kurdestan and is already beginning to break out is the struggle now taking place in Marivan, a town of 11,000 ninety miles to the west of Sanandaj. Since February there had been two komitehs, one Kurdish, the other "revolutionary guards" from Tehran. There is a large army base nearby. As in

But then he went on to say that only "three years later I was a Georgia representative," and he might have added, "now I'm UN Ambassador and a

all this given by the likes of Jesse Jackson and other so-called Black leaders? They demand their right to be lackeys for the U.S. imperialists, whether as UN Ambassadors, CIA agents, cops, or in any other puppet or pimp position. And more to the point, they try to stir up the masses of people to see this as their own cause. It is not hard to see why a lot of these bootlickers were upset by the sacking of Andy Young. He represented their aspirations. Andy was a pacesetter for them. There is nothing they like better than to hobnob with Carter at Camp David and play the role of big shots.

But what is the alternative the capitalists and their leading spokesmen offer the people? Either you support Young's firing like the racist dogs who were after his hide, or you demand the right of Blacks to be lackeys for the very system that has kept them in bondage and enslaved in their millions throughout the world.

These are the two alternatives that the capitalist ruling class puts before people. And on that basis it is a no-win situation. The great revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin long ago put his finger right on what happens—and how **Continued on page 16**

Iran Continued from page 1

against this new law as well.

The Islamic government wasn't about to let these mass demonstrations go unanswered. In retaliation for the lumps they took on Sunday, several thousand right-wing Moslems went on a rampage on Monday through the offices of various leftist organizations (including the Fedayeen), the library and the school of law at Tehran University. They overturned furniture, dumped pamphlets in the streets and beat anyone who got in their way. The government militia, the "revolutionary guards," who were called to the scene, stood by and made no attempt to stop them.

The streets of Tehran haven't been rocked by protests against the new Islamic government on this scale since March, when tens of thousands of women rejected Khomeini's order to wear the chador (veil). However, these street demonstrations and clashes are already having far greater repercussions for the future course of the revolution in Iran. They are taking place in direct opposition to the all-out effort of the Khomeini-Bazargan government to consolidate their rule and build up their vision of an "independent" capitalist Iran. To accomplish this, the government is clamping down on the mass struggle, singling out the revolutionary left, whose influence is growing steadily among the people.

All over Iran this new press law is seen as a deadly serious attempt to strip the people of the revolutionary gains and freedom won only after years of struggle and sacrifice against the Shah's dictatorship. Under this new law it is now illegal to criticize government officials, with jail sentences of up to 3 years for anyone who writes articles "slanderous to the clear tenets of the Islamic revolution." At the same time, the government barred anyone formerly connected to the Shah's regime from publishing newspapers or magazines, but there was no doubt who this new press law was aimed at.

Within days, it was used to close down *Ayandegan*, the last mass daily paper left in Tehran that had remained independent of the government, as well as the satirical weekly *Ahangar*. Eighteen staff members of *Ayandegan* were arrested, charged with "counterrevolutionary policies and acts" and are being held for trial. Eleven of them were transferred several days later to Tehran's notorious Evin prison, where thousands of revolutionaries were tortured and executed under the Shah.

Ayandegan itself has become a politically charged issue over the past year. For more than a decade, this newspaper was a loyal mouthpiece of the Shah, but it began to change in late 1978, as political prisoners were released from prison through the people's struggle and joined Ayandegan's staff. As the paper began to give more coverage of the revolutionary upsurge then raging from one end of Iran to the other, the Shah's regime arrested the editor and announced that the army would supervise production of the paper. The entire staff was outraged and staged a 60-day strike, forcing the government to back, down.

After the February insurrection, Ayandegan continued to take a clear progressive stand, reporting on the frequent outbreaks of struggle among all sections of the people—from the oil workers in the south and the battles in Kurdestan, to the women's movement in Tehran. It criticized many of the new government's reactionary policies and printed articles and letters submitted by Iranian Marxist-Leninist groups. Growing steadily in popularity, on some days Ayandegan was completely sold out at the newsstands by 10 or 11 in the morning.

Because it was such a thorn in the side of the Islamic government,



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Ayandegan has been attacked more than once by reactionary Moslems organized and spurred on by forces inside the regime, who ransacked and burned several of its offices. In May, the government took over Tehran's major daily, Kayhan, purging its staff of all "leftists" and then threatened to close down Ayandegan altogether. However, because of mass protests, Ayandegan resumed publication nine days later. Besides, at that time the government had no legal justification for shutting down progressive newspapers.

But now they do-the new censorship law. With this they hope to silence all opposition, especially to the new reactionary constitution which Khomeini has repeatedly demanded on nationwide TV and radio as essential to restoring "law and order" throughout the country. How the government is planning to use this "law and order" constitution has already been demonstrated in recent months by the arrests of dozens of members of revolutionary organizations for vague political offenses, the jailing of three leaders of the oil workers in southern Iran, and the formation in late July of a new "intelligence" organization, SAVAMA. This secret police force has already started hiring back large numbers of old SAVAK agents whose "experience" the Islamic government intends to utilize fully.

It is clear as the light of day what Iran's new rulers are worried about. There are new outbreaks of struggle. nearly every day from one end of Iran to another in the oilfields, the streets of the major cities, and in the most remote villages of the Kurdish and Turkishspeaking regions. In many factories, the workers are resisting the government's attempts to install the old managers and destroy their newly organized workers' councils and unions. Tens of millions of unemployed are told to wait until more companies become "profitable" again. Food prices have skyrocketed (meat is selling for \$5/lb. in many places), and food riots were recently reported in Tabriz.

In dozens of villages, the government has thrown its support behind the feudal landlords when the peasants have taken over "their" land and set up armed peasant councils to defend themselves. In one of the sharpest battlefronts in the country, the just struggles of the Kurds, Arabs and other minority peoples for their national rights (see centerspread article) have been viciously attacked by the army which has still not been purged of its reactionary, U.S.-trained officer corps.

The officials of the Islamic government continuously harp on the theme that the main question now for the Iranian people is restoring "unity and stability" to the country and rebuilding the economy with aid from the imperialists. This is nothing more than the political outlook of bourgeois nationalists who, once they are in power, want to see the revolution stopped short and aborted.

But for the workers, the peasants, and the overwhelming majority of Iran's 35 million people, the task at hand is to push forward until imperialism, feudalism and the forces of reaction are pulled out by root and branch. For them, the inability of the Khomeini-Bazargan government to consolidate its rule is a good thing, since it provides favorable conditions for carrying the revolution through to the end. There are contradictory forces within the current regime and some of its measures-have earned the hatred of the imperialists, but through bitter experience, the Iranian people are learning that their basic demands and revolutionary aspirations cannot be satisfied under the present regime. Once again, Iran is a tinderbox ready to explode in open revolutionary struggle. The last week's demonstrations, spearheaded by the Iranian Left against the new reactionary press law, have further stripped away the "revolutionary" cover of the Khomeini-Bazargan government before the eyes of millions. But more than that, this struggle has developed as an important test of strength, pointing towards a major showdown between the forces of revolution and reaction in the not too distant future.

Philly Continued from page 4

tor of the "rights of whites," and more recently a staunch opponent of "reverse discrimination."

He took over as Police Commissioner in 1967, as the anti-war movement and the Black liberation struggle were arousing millions. He set out to perpetuate and intensify the brutal terror of Blacks and other minorities and put down the growing struggle of Black people. He made himself and his reacionary stand well known in Philly and in many other places. Such out-front suppression of Black people and promotion of racist ideas was very pleasing to the bourgeoisie, who trembled in fear at their rising struggle and were desperate to smash it. In 1971, Rizzo personally led a raid on the Black Panther headquarters in Philadelphia. After destroying the office and beating the Panther brothers, Rizzo forced them to strip and then paraded them through the streets naked. Partly as a result of his role in attacking the Panthers, he was able to move up the ladder to the position of mayor. Along with the vicious killings and beatings, increasingly the city government coldly and consciously promoted racist activities and fanned antagonisms between whiles and minorities. A roving quad o pigs was created to travel around in a bus and occupy certain areas of the city, stirring up racial antagonisms and seizing on even the smallest excuse to move in and bust heads. Recently there have been open conflicts between Blacks and whites in south and southwest Philly. On June 14 (Flag Day), it was announced on several local radio stations and through the city grapevine that it was "kill-a-niggerday" in Philly. On June 17th, a 22-year-old white youth shot 3 Black youths. One of the youths, Tracy Chambers, died the next day. This is some of the vile erap promoted by Rizzo and his ilk in Philly.

Rizzo Being Dumped

Of course, all of this hasn't gone down without any opposition. In fact, the Rizzo machine has steadily been more and more exposed. Spontaneous resistance is on the rise including a few demonstrations by Black people. The city government has grown isolated. Black politicians are being promoted to try to cool out the growing anger among the Blacks in Philly and try to turn it down a dead-end road. Rizzo's swaggering stance has turned into a liability that only fuels the struggle the bourgeoisie is trying to smother. All this has led to the decision to dump Riz-10. The movement began in the last elections in Philly where the bourgeoisic as a whole joined the campaign to reject an amendment to the city charter that would allow Rizzo to serve a 3rd term as mayor. The amendment was defeated 2 to 1. Now the time has come to finish the job. Enter the Justice Department and the "unprecedented suit.'

serious racial conflicts as a result of policemen killing minorities under controversial circumstances." The coalition is to include such loyal servants to the ruling class as the Urban League and the 'League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC). A Justice Department official summed up the reason for organizing this coalition, "The issue has reached such crisis proportions that in some parts of the country an undeclared war has seemingly developed between minorities and police."

Should anyone have any hope that some real reforms will come out of these suits, they need only listen to the words of Peter Vaira, the U.S. Atforney for Eastern Pennsylvania, who has been handling the suit. According to him, the only purpose of the suit is to push the city towards "greater sensitivity in dealing with complaints of police abuse." Or you can look at what they are holding up as a model city for "taking steps to keep police behavior within clearly defined limits"-Los Angeles, where an average of 1.5 people a week are blown away by pigs. Reactionary to the core, Rizzo and his boys have been only too happy to help the government out and further their own demise by polluting the air with more of their reactionary filth. At a recent demonstration of 500 pigs against the indictment of 3 of their fellow oinkers for brutalizing Delbert Africa during the raid on the MOVE house, Charles Gallagher, president of the Fraternal Order of Police, told the press, "They should have killed him." And Rizzo, loyal to his fellow porkers to the end, has naturally risen to their defense in this suit. "We'll continue to protect policemen," he said, "for doing something slightly wrong when they think they are doing something right.'

This is what's behind the "shocked conscience" of the government. They hope to discredit Rizzo and his underlings in order to replace them with leaders who are more skilled at using their velvet tongues to cover the daggers in their hands.

Further indication of some of the motives behind recent Justice Department antics is that it is cautiously moving toward creating what the *New York Times* recently described as a "coalition of Blacks, Hispanic-Americans and policemen in an effort to head off

BREAKING

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scene in the film where Mao Tsetung sends a message to the school supporting the revolutionary line. "Why was such a message needed?" This question of the relationship between revolutionary leaders and the masses was also raised during the time of the Mao Tsetung Memorials last Fall when some people asked the Party, "Well, if you say the masses are the makers of history, why are you making such a big deal about the role of Mao Tsetung?"

The portrayal of the hero in the revolutionary operas and films which were a great product of the Cultural Revolution in China were based on the theory of "combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism." On the one hand, it is a reflection of objective reality that in the bitter class struggle against the bourgeoisie, the masses must and do bring forward genuine revolutionary leaders. These individuals, because of their deep grasp of the historic mission of the proletariat, the science of the proletarian revolution, and their understanding that leadership, in the last analysis, means arming the masses to grasp hold of their revolutionary destiny, play a very significant-in fact, indispensable-role in the outcome of the class struggle. In fact, it is an index of the level of maturity of a social movement, of the ripening conditions necessary for a rising class to actually seize power, whether or not such individuals are produced by the masses, capable of leading the struggle through to victory. Lenin, himself one of the most outstanding great leaders our class has ever produced, pointed out that "Not a single class in history has achieved power without

producing political leaders, its prominent representatives able to organize a movement and lead it."

The key to understanding the role of revolutionary leaders, and why they are able to play such a significant part in shaping world history, is exactly their dialectical relationship to the revolutionary class which produced them. The ability and influence of such leaders is not based on some innate or mystical force within them independent of the millions of people who are striving to advance society and history forward. That the proletariat has been able to produce outstanding revolutionary leaders, far-sighted, courageous, and, like Mao Tsetung, determined to lead the masses in fighting for revolution to their last breath, is a fact of proof that the masses do indeed make history.

Of course, world history-especially the struggle for socialism and communism-is not in the last analysis, made blindly or spontaneously. Chance and accident do play a part in shaping events, of course, but it is no chance and no accident that a revolutionary class preparing to seize power will produce its conscious vanguard party and its great leaders to serve as the general staff of its struggle.

This, then, is what is meant by "revolutionary realism" in portraying such heroes as Lung in "Breaking With Old Ideas"-such heroic leaders exist objectively in the forefront of the revolutionary ranks and at critical turning points they in fact can play a decisive role in the outcome of the struggle. Therefore, in order to genuinely depict a class struggle in revolutionary art, proletarian heroes must be vividly and clearly brought to life, and their prominent role must be emphasized.

Revolutionary Romanticism

But in revolutionary art, the realism must be combined with "revolutionary romanticism." This is because art is, as Mao Tsetung pointed out, "on a higher plane, and more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life." The character of

resolution which had been tabled.

Many delegates said that they weren't

sure where they stood on the Party, and

even that they considered themselves

hostile to the RCP, but that they could

not let their organization be ruined in

that way. Even the person who had

made the motion to table the resolution

came forward, saying that he had been

put up to it by the CPML without any

political discussion of the consequences

and that he wanted to withdraw the mo-

tion. The National Executive Board

decided to take up the question and

finally passed a resolution to defend the

17 RCP members and supporters when

Guild convention was that it did not

One very serious shortcoming of this

it met the following day.

Dispute

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Andy Young

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to break through. "People always were and always will be the foolish victims of deceit and self-deceit in politics until they learn to discover the interests of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises."

Andy Young is no forthright spokesman for the interests of the oppressed. He is a slick hustler for the interests of the oppressing class. A lot of people have said that the reason Andy Young was forced to resign was that he was not a "yes man." Well, he may not be a subservient, open bower and scraper like a lot of your politicians, but then, he couldn't play the role that he does for the capitalists if he came off that way. The days when Steppin Fetchit was promoted as a model for Blacks are long gone because people just won't tolerate that garbage. But that doesn't make Andy Young any less of a "yes man" for the capitalist system that continues to exploit and oppress people.

Andy Young's routine was mapped out from the beginning. Let him spout some radical-sounding (but not too radical!) bull to lull the oppressed to sleep, thinking they've got a "friend" in high places. Then have Carter "excuse" Young's more militant-sounding rhetoric and carry out the real government policies. It's the old shell game they'll play forever, with ever-new Andy Youngs, until we smash the shell. In fact, while Andy Young's time as UN Ambassador has come to an end, his role as a hustler for the capitalists is by no means over. If anything, Young's prestige as a "militant leader" and spokesman for Black people has been somewhat heightened by his "bloody but unbowed" resignation. I did what I had to do, he said, and I'm not sorry for it. And he then set right to work preparing to support Carter's reelection and trying to minimize the damage that his firing might do to Carter's support among Black voters. Of course, Andy is a pretty shrewd character. He may see this as just the right occasion to jump off the "Carter team," like jumping off the Titanic before it goes under. Who knows, maybe Teddy Kennedy or some other presidential candidate will have a better offer for him. His services are certainly for sale.

the hero Lung in "Breaking With Old Ideas" represents a concentrated expression of the revolutionary ideal that Mao Tsetung and the Four were fighting for; and he actually stands, and is intended to stand, higher than life. He serves as a living embodiment of the proletarian revolutionary line in the film

This is in opposition to the bourgeois theory of realism, which holds that characters should be portrayed "just as they are," "warts and all." Such a bourgeois line held sway in cultural circles in China for a long period. In the original revolutionary opera, "Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy," for example, the bourgeois writers insisted that the main hero of the piece be portrayed "true to life." "They therefore made Yan Tzu-jung (the hero) hum or sing ditties on his way up the mountain to the bandits' lair, flirt with Vulture's foster daughter . . . and tell ribald satires in the bandit stronghold," according to an article summing up the class struggle around this opera. Such a line would lead to smearing and defacing the image of the proletarian heroes and the masses as a whole by emphasizing small personal faults or idiosyncracies. The line, 'Well, if it's really true, why not portray it? Show the bad as well as the good, what have we to fear from the truth?" actually is a cover for getting over a big lie. The fact is that in art, whatever is portrayed has the symbolic content and power to convey a specific political line.

Because of the symbolic nature of art, things which are of little importance or are totally irrelevant in actual life become invested with great significance on the stage or screen. Suppose a revolutionary is portrayed with some physical defect or other while the counterrevolutionary main enemy is portrayed as witty, charming and handsome. Certainly, it is possible that in real life some heroic fighters have physical defects and some counterrevolutionaries crack urbane jokes and charm people-the better to perform their treachery

But if, under the guise of "truthful

to jail the Red Lake fighters on long terms. The fact that this scurrilous attack on Red Lake was coupled with praise for another reservation struggle where this AIM leader brought in the American Arbitration Association, certainly helps shed some light on the political reasons behind it.

The struggle around Red Lake became an important issue for the rest of the convention even though it did not appear on the formal agenda. It went on in many forms and became extremely heated. Many Guild members felt that because of the opposition from the AIM leader, the subject was too confusing. A few opportunistically argued that the Red Lakers should not be defended because a leading figure in this struggle had declared to the press that they were opposed to communism. But regardless, there is the fundamental question of principle: when the people rise up, when the oppressed rebel and the bourgeoisie comes down on them, do you stand for or against them? After some discussion with other AIM and Guild members, a new resolution was proposed, putting the Guild on record as opposing the jailings without any mention of the rebellion itself. This was referred to a subcommittee meeting, and the RW representative was later informed by a messenger that it had been turned down "because the RCP had proposed it!" This almost unbelieveable act of narrowmindedness was defended by some of the same people who like to hide their reactionary opposition to the revolutionary line of the RCP behind the claim that it's the RCP which is sectarian! In this regard, the efforts to drag the Guild into the Democratic Party by a coalition of forces in which the pro-China revisionist CPML and the pro-Soviet revisionist Communist Party were the most prominent (with the silent yes votes of the always agreeable Mensheviks) were very revealing about the underlying stand which gave rise to the frantic attacks by the opportunists.

portrayal," this situation is projected onto the screen, the physical characteristics of the two antagonists become symbolic-the outward weakness of the revolutionary seems to convey some inner weakness, the outward charm and polish of the counterrevolutionary seem to symbolize some innate goodness. The audience tends to be attracted to the enemy and repelled by the proletarian leader. How "true" is this portrayal that ends up conveying an entirely false view and twisting the whole orientation of the audience?

In other words, the revolutionary romanticism of the proletarian art is not a "censored" or "airbrushed" perversion of reality, "picking and choosing" only what is favorable and leaving out the "unpleasant truths" we would rather not portray. On the contrary, revolutionary romanticism which is "higher than life" actually conveys a deeper truth, a more concentrated vision of the essence of reality.

Heroic figures such as Lung, while appearing as individuals, actually represent far more than simply an individual. They are the quintessence of thousands and thousands of heroes and they symbolize and idealize the proletarian spirit and line. Filled with deep class feeling and loyalty to the masses and bitter hatred for the bourgeoisie, imbued with high political consciousness, filled with lofty ideals and determined to fight until death for revolution, such heroes are truly inspirational, and their creation in art is one of the magnificent achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China.

"Breaking With Old Ideas" is a stirring example of this. But such stirring heroes could not be created in art if the basis for them did not exist in life. Only the proletariat, the most advanced and revolutionary class in the history of mankind, is capable of producing such giants-and their strength, in turn, is firmly based on and pushes further ahead the strength, heroism, selflessness and revolutionary determination of the millions of working people.

tion agreed that the Guild should join the Progessive Alliance, "coalition" headed by UAW President Doug Fraser and IAM head William Winpisinger, whose explicit purpose is to "revitalize America's political institutions," especially the Democratic Party with which both Fraser and Winpisinger are closely tied.

When many people argued that for an organization commonly understood to be "radical" such as the Guild to join such an alliance would only strengthen the effort to drag people back into "American political institutions" at a time when the Democrats, the Republicans and the whole system are becoming increasingly exposed, the CPML forces echoed the argument they had previously written in the Guild newspaper: "The NLG should not stand aside when it has a real opportunity to go where the mainstream of the labor movement is." Most of the Guild's membership is made up of people who came to hate and fight the system during the mass upsurges of the 1960s. As lawyers, most witness the brutal and unjust nature of "American justice" every day. But at the same time, constantly dealing with the law on its own terms and working as a part of a "legal fraternity" alongside prosecutors, judges, and so on pulls people very strongly in a conservative direction. This is the aspect which those who actively work against revolution have been counting on and building up. But something else could also be clearly seen at this convention: the truth about this society and the ruthless nature of the class that runs it can't be covered up. Despite the bourgeoisie's attempts to train lawyers as defenders of capitalism, many lawyers have come forward to fight it tooth and nail, inside and outside of the courtroom. In fact, the clumsy manipulative attempts of a few to use the Guild against revolution have brought some important questions even more sharply into focus for Guild members. Many are determined to grapple with and grasp these questions and take a stand with what is progressive against what is reactionary.

bass a resolution against the jailing of the five Red Lake freedom fighters, who were railroaded to prison just a few weeks and a few blocks away from this meeting. A stand by the Guild against this outrage would have made news and had a real effect in the Twin Cities and the whole state-and the failure to take such a stand was reported in the newspapers with glee.

A resolution condemning the jailing of the Red Lake freedom fighters, introduced by a representative of the Revolutionary Worker, was violently opposed by a leading member of the American Indian Movement (AIM), who voiced his opinion that the Red Lake defendants were "drunks," paid by the government, and just generally self-seeking maniacs-not fighters for the Indian people. This is exactly the same kind of slander spread by the capitalists and their press around this case, just as they tried to label the Moody Park rebellion in Houston and the Humboldt Park uprising in Chicago as drunken outbursts and not righteous rebellions against oppression.

While some people were confused by specific slanders (whose purpose was to spread such confusion), these lies could not answer the basic question of why the government has been so determined

On the proposal of a long-time CPML type, and with the CP and the CPML leading the charge, this conven-