



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

Vol. 1

No. 35

ISSN 0193-3485

January 4, 1980

60

Sección en Español

25¢

# Soviets March into Afghanistan Quicksand

On the first day of the 1980s, 10,000 Afghan and Iranian demonstrators marched on the Soviet embassy in Tehran to protest the recent invasion by the Soviet Union into Afghanistan, as well as its installation of a new puppet regime. Shouting "Down with Social Imperialism," they tore up the Russian flag, while a number of the demonstrators attempted to storm the embassy walls. From there, the demonstration proceeded to the former U.S. embassy, adding "Down with U.S. Imperialism" to the chants. At the same time, the Soviet flag was burned at a demonstration of 5,000 at the Russian consulate in Mahshad, Iran, near the Afghan border. The next day, the Afghanistan embassies in both West Germany and New Delhi, India, were taken over by Afghan students and held for a number of hours.

While the Soviet Union has been trying to blame its armed invasion on "imperialist interference" in Afghanistan's internal affairs, the U.S., expressing laughable indignation at the Soviet Union's "naked aggression," has been using the opportunity to rattle its own war sabres and tighten up its bloc in preparation for their use. Events in Afghanistan are clearly taking shape in the international (and regional) context of the sharpening contention between the U.S. and USSR. And while these events may prove to be a qualitative leap in this sharpening contention, there is an element to the general picture that, wish as they may, neither imperialist superpower can ignore. The actions of the masses in Central and South Asia, including within Afghanistan itself, are showing the people have other plans than to be used as pawns in the inter-imperialist rivalry for world domination.

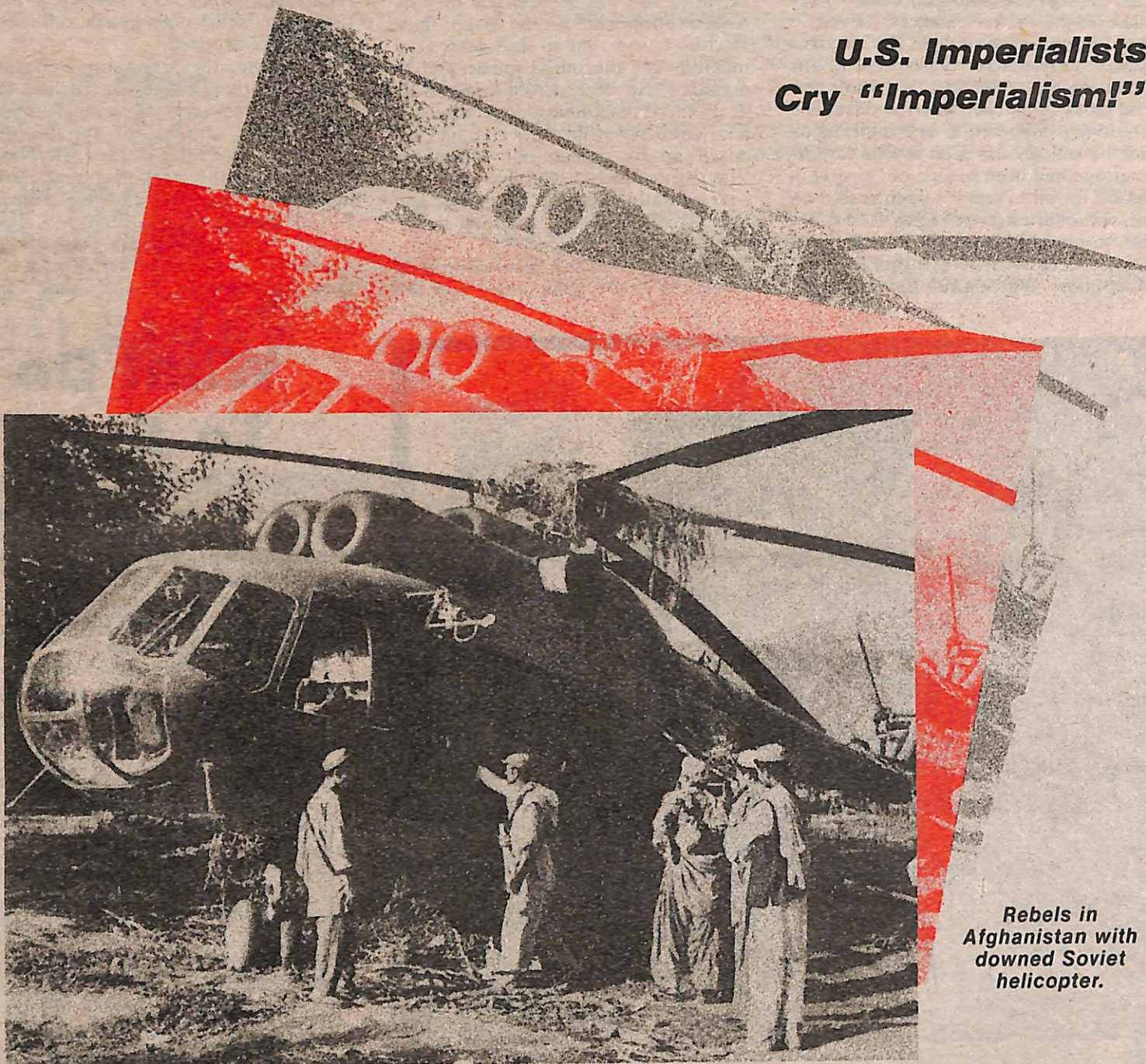
## "Stabilization"—Soviet Style

Actually, the Soviet Union's increasing difficulty in "stabilizing" its own domination of Afghanistan is what has led it to send some 30,000 to 50,000 troops (so far) into that country, and to replace one puppet regime with a new one. The past year has seen a number of mass uprisings against the Afghan regime and the Soviet masters, including in the major cities Harat and Jalalabad in the east. In addition, rebel guerrilla forces have been battering the Soviet puppet troops especially hard in recent months, and their ranks and areas of control have been swelling. At least one province, Kunar in the east, was reported to be totally under rebel control, and most of the rest of the country's 28 provinces have been the scene of fierce fighting, with the guerrilla forces basically controlling the areas at night. In fact, armed convoys travelling from Kandahar, 400 kilometers south of the capital, to Kabul, normally a seven-hour drive, have taken 3 days to arrive after being ambushed by two or three different guerrilla groups along the way.

This situation has led to big problems within the Afghanistan puppet army.

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**U.S. Imperialists  
Cry "Imperialism!"**



Rebels in Afghanistan with downed Soviet helicopter.

## Bob Avakian Case Appealed Gov't Fires Up Railroad Again

Late last week the U.S. government fired up the engine of its legal railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. On Thursday, December 27th, the U.S. Attorney's office filed an appeal with the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. The appeal stems from the lower court ruling on November 14th dismissing the 25 felony counts against Comrade Avakian and the 16 other defendants. The legal grounds of the dismissal were "prosecutorial vindictiveness" when the prosecution added charges increasing the defendants' possible jail time from 100 to 241 years when they combined two sets of defendants. The underlying fact was that the government had been forced to temporarily retreat in this case, due to the strength of thousands of people who had been mobilized to oppose the attack and the potential strength of many thousands more throughout society stepping forward in opposition to the government and its attack.

Still, the government did not change a bit as far as their determination to nail Bob Avakian is concerned. While they were plotting and maneuvering for a comeback on the legal front, they have unleashed their attack on various other fronts—in particular sending out the Secret Service agents to wage a secret war against Bob Avakian (See RW No. 32). By filing their appeal, the government has stepped up and raised their attack to a still higher political level. They have further shown their blood-thirst by rushing to file their appeal a month or more ahead of deadline.

In the past the government has gone to great lengths to cover up the political nature of their attack as well as the focus of this railroad in a thick fog of "just another criminal case." In the appeal, this disguise is reduced to the petty little cover of changing the name on the case from the U.S.A. v. Robert Avakian et al to the U.S.A. v. Nina K. Schiller (another defendant) et al. But this just about ends the coverup because

after that the political nature and focus of this attack is run practically straight out in the open.

On the very first page of the appeal, the prosecution puts it straight to the Appeals Court—this is a political trial and these are the terms, "the charges all grew out of an incident on January 29, 1979, when the defendants, armed with a variety of weapons and objects, attacked police lines in front of the White House while protesting the visit of Premier Teng Hsiao-ping of the People's Republic of China to the United States." In a footnote they add, "The defendants were part of a group which five days earlier had identified itself as the Revolutionary Communist Party Committee for a Fitting Welcome." And in the very next sentence they lay out the cornerstone of the renewed case, "... the defendants had acted premeditatedly and in concert in committing the assault." Here you get it practically straight out:

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# Whitewashing the White Sheets in Greensboro

**Greensboro, North Carolina.** The moves to set the fascist filth responsible for the Greensboro massacre free are proceeding at the same high speed that tens of thousands of the masses of people are railroaded into jail. Recently, all charges have been dropped on one of the 15 arrested for the massacre and all charges of "conspiracy to commit murder" were dropped on the 14 remaining Klansmen and Nazis facing charges. Many more outrages are yet to come as the government methodically goes about letting these dogs loose.

Since shortly after the nationally televised cold-blooded murder on Nov. 3 that left 5 dead and 9 wounded at an anti-Klan rally called by a group calling itself the Communist Workers' Party, a carefully planned combination of an almost total news blackout and legal whitewash has unfolded. The purpose of this whitewash is to let as many of the KKK/Nazi murderers go scot-free and giving those who may be convicted slap-on-the-wrist sentences. Even a brief examination of what has occurred since the massacre reveals beyond any shadow of a doubt that this whole sordid plot was hatched with the direct and thorough cooperation and supervision of the ruling class after it was sure its message had been spelled out clearly in blood for all to see: it's open season on revolutionaries (even though the CWP is "communist" in name only) and Blacks and other minority nationalities—Watch Out! Better not get

mixed up in making any trouble or you will pay.

The coverup actually began only minutes after the shooting. Only 15 of the 35 KKK/Nazi scum were arrested and only one of the nine vehicles involved in the massacre (a yellow van) was impounded, the rest mysteriously "got away". The Ford Fairlane that was pictured in every major newspaper in the country with its trunk open as a group of fascists pulled out their guns was allowed to leave the scene. After its owner, Nazi Raeford Caudle, cleaned out all the evidence, he turned himself in. All charges against Caudle have since been dropped by the Greensboro Grand Jury and of course the car contains no evidence against the murderers.

Before they clamped down a nationwide news blackout around the case designed to help give them the freedom to quietly put the KKK/Nazi murderers back on the streets, the ruling class began to run out the scenario they intended to fabricate for the trial of these fascists. It was time to shift gears after making sure the initial impact of the massacre had been driven home. Suddenly these reactionary dogs were just poor confused white boys who had got mixed up in a shoot-out with some "Leftist outsiders" who may very well have actually fired the first shots and thus provoked these "good old boys" to attack.

This story has since been refined and developed to the point where now the

scenario being run out is that the KKK/Nazis had simply come to jeer and throw eggs until the "communists" began shooting and rioting, thus forcing the unsuspecting Klansmen to act in self-defense. According to the defense attorneys, "they didn't mean to do it."

This little fairytale was the basis for the recent dropping of all "conspiracy to commit murder charges" by the Greensboro Grand Jury. In addition, while the two CWP members arrested have been charged with "inciting to riot", the grand jury only charged the 14 fascists with charges of "riot", again on the basis that it was the anti-Klan demonstrators that provoked the KKK/Nazi terror. Both "conspiracy" and "inciting to riot" charges are routinely slapped on those arrested in fighting the bourgeoisie. In those cases even three people standing on a street corner talking has been considered felony conspiracy, but here in a nationally televised mass murder all such charges are dropped.

Of course, the grand jury left the murder charges (five counts each on 11 men) since they can't erase the memory from people's minds of the bloody scene left in the wake of the KKK/Nazi caravan and the stark fact that *only* anti-Klan demonstrators were killed. But the state has that covered too. The actual murder weapons and most of the murderers whose bullets actually found their mark have not been "found." In

fact, no one's even looking for them.

As one local newswoman, who was at the massacre and has studied the raw film footage, is quick to point out, the evidence will show that the men arrested were not the ones whose bullets actually killed someone. And the law enforcement agencies are saying that they arrested everyone they have plans to arrest.

The 92 page Greensboro police report puts forward the lie that *all the guns used* by the KKK and Nazis were in the yellow van—the only vehicle in the caravan they stopped immediately after the massacre. Of course, eight other vehicles and over 20 other men left the area in a "clear" getaway, including Raeford Caudle and his well photographed Ford Fairlane mentioned earlier. As for the FBI, they're only running weapons tests on all of the weapons confiscated from those that attended the funeral march a week after the massacre in order to determine if *they* were the murder weapons!

In light of all this, it's no wonder one of the defense attorneys gleefully squealed about the prosecutor's case, "I don't think you'll be able to make murder on all those charged." But just to be sure, steps are being taken to guarantee a truly farcical trial of the 14 KKK/Nazi murderers. The prosecuting District Attorney in the case is none other than Mike Schlosser, who personally recruited witnesses against four Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade members who were recently railroaded by Schlosser's assistant for leafletting at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. They received sentences of 1 year in jail each. Schlosser is working completely with the defense and the judge who has been

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If you want to understand what's going on in Iran, to rip through the barrage of lies appearing daily on TV, in the capitalist newspapers and the White House Press Room; if you want to know what's going on in the world—from the politics involved in the Pope's travels to what's behind the Ku Klux Klan to our rulers' plans for World War 3—and you want to *change* it—then join with thousands of others, Black, white, Latino in the revolutionary movement.

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## What Do You Want To Ask The RCP?

What do you want to know about capitalism, socialism, dictatorship, or the political line and program of the Revolutionary Communist Party? What about the flag, defending the country, the treatment of minorities, or our stand on the unions. While we run many articles on these questions as we see them, we want to know how *you* see them. We know our readers have many questions about these and other questions and we want to begin directly answering them.

Starting soon the *Revolutionary Worker* will run a column from time to time devoted to just this purpose. The material can come from only one place—you.

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# January Storm Decreed Criminal by Revisionists



In January 1967 the working class and masses in Shanghai seized power from the capitalist-roaders. Above, a message of support for their actions from Mao and the revolutionary leadership of China is distributed to the masses of Shanghai, who are shown at left celebrating the establishment of the city's Revolutionary Committee.

The 1967 January Storm, the most famous mass uprising during China's Cultural Revolution, was officially denounced as "counter-revolutionary" by the Shanghai Municipal Peoples' Congress (December 24, 1979, China's *Liberation Daily Newspaper*). The revisionists declared that all those who took part in the uprising could be *criminally* prosecuted by "severe legal action." It's clear the reversal of the verdict on the January Storm is a big step in preparing public opinion for the upcoming political trial of the Gang of Four, actually a trial of Mao's revolutionary line and Mao himself. The storm was led by Chiang Chun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan, and Wang Hung-wen, three of the four, and was hailed by Mao: "This is one class overthrowing another. This is a great revolution."

It's not surprising the January Storm and the Cultural Revolution still freak out the revisionists. Vice-Premier Yeh Chien-ying, recently called the Cultural Revolution "an appalling catastrophe." For these revisionists, it certainly was. January 1967, hundreds of thousands of workers in Shanghai, joined by students, as well as peasants from surrounding areas, overthrew the Municipal Party Committee, a stronghold of the Liu Shiao-chi—Teng Hsiao-ping revisionist headquarters. Mao called on people all over China to learn from them and overthrow the bourgeoisie—"those in power taking

the capitalist road"—in the same way.

This was a great historic advance, even internationally, for, as Mao said of the whole Cultural Revolution, "In the past we waged struggles in the rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-around way and from below." The January Storm was just such a step.

Wave upon wave, hundreds of millions of Chinese people were mobilized to seize back from below

those portions of power these capitalist roaders had usurped. Big character posters, public mass criticisms of persons in power, millions debating and changing society—this was the "catastrophe" the revisionist rulers like Teng, who was the number two target in the Cultural Revolution, hated and feared. Through the Cultural Revolution, unprecedented in human history, the working class and masses of people led by Mao and other Communist revolutionaries further transformed not only the Party, but every aspect of society—economic and social relations, culture, people's thinking—and continued the revolution of the working

class rule. Mao warned however "the struggle between the two classes and their two lines cannot be settled in one, two, or three Cultural Revolutions..."

This coup, of course, shows that what these capitalist-roaders find criminal about the January Storm was not that it was an act of violence by which one class overthrew another—but the fact that it represented the working class overthrowing the capitalists and not the other way around, like their coup. Hua and Teng are the real criminals and the final sentence will most definitely be passed on them by yet another rising of the Chinese people. ■

## Prison Resort for Torres Murderers

Three of the six Houston cops who murdered Joe Torres were recently sent to jail. They have begun to serve time, being resented in October. The three murderers are resting comfortably in Montgomery, Alabama. They are incarcerated in a prison palace behind finely manicured hedgerows during the week, and on weekends they are permitted to take a 14-hour leave. They have also been put to hard labor—raking leaves and sweeping sidewalks. According to the warden, these "three celebrities" will be treated no differently from any of the others—which have included John Mitchell, Charles Colson and

other Watergate "celebrities." Their "prison" includes tennis courts, a miniature golf course, jogging track, fishing stream, art studio and baseball diamond. The question now is not whether these cops will get paroled when they become eligible in four months, but whether or not they will want to leave this place by then.

Meanwhile, back in Houston, the city government is breaking new ground in letting other murdering cops off the hook. The city council is actively working on a policy which would pay cops' legal expenses with city funds if they are indicted for a crime committed in the

course of duty. This policy is immediately aimed at helping two cops charged with killing Reggie Lee Jackson, a Black man who, according to four witnesses, was begging for his life right before he was shot. To add to this outrage, the secretary of the Grand Jury which will hear this case is an assistant to Police Chief Caldwell himself. Naturally, the authorities hope that the Reggie Lee Jackson killing will be dropped before it goes much further. And as for the "punishment" given to the killers of Joe Torres, in this case it clearly meets the state's view of the severity of the crime. ■

# The Hammer of Dawn

*This poem is submitted to the Revolutionary Worker in outrage at vicious attacks being perpetrated on Bob Avakian by this stinking imperialist system. Although a vampire is not nearly as vile as imperialism itself, the vampire is used as a descriptive image in the hope that in this way this poem can give at least a hint of the true nature of this decaying and rotten system. I hope the Revolutionary Worker sees fit to print it.*

A D.C. Volunteer

In the hushed interim  
of Midnight and Morn  
There looms a silhouette...  
The U.S. flag is on its pole—  
It seems quite dead... And yet  
It seems to stir  
Like a vampire stirs  
When a hammer is near its grave.  
It seems to dread  
Being deader than dead  
From the Hammers of the Slave!

Iranian dawns of lightning flare—  
The flag is seized by storm!  
A banner weaved of vampire hair  
Cannot conceal its form.

It screams from a pole  
On the White House lawn.  
A castle where vampires dwell...  
Where the Morgues of Death  
On their atrocious breath  
Smell worse than sewers smell...  
Where all the blood their veins congeal  
Is the blood of millions their system kills.

The hammer of slaves  
Sparking the night...  
A red horizon  
In the vampire's sight—  
Bob Avakian leading the way  
To destroy this beast in the U.S.A!  
"Every slave must fight to be free!"  
Says the hammering Chairman of the RCP!

But hammers are bad  
On a vampire's nerve  
And their sucking servants  
Have a purpose to serve—  
Vampire vaults must be sealed!  
Coffins of dirt must be filled!  
The vampire's cloak  
must be kept on the ass  
of the imperialist system  
And the capitalist class!  
Bob Avakian is under attack  
'Cause he's snatching the cape  
From the vampire's back!  
Even the worms on the vampire's tail  
Have tried to put this man in jail.

They tried to chain him  
To their dungeon floor  
For two-hundred forty  
And one year more!—  
All because he exposed the wings  
of that mangy bat  
Called Teng Hsiao-ping!

All because he used his voice  
And exposed the lie of Freedom of Choice!  
All because he took his stand  
With the fighting hammers  
That rose in Iran!  
For vampires thrive on profit and blood  
While their maggots survive  
By sucking their crud—  
Neither can stomach Avakian free  
As they prepare to feast  
On World War III!  
Vampires rule by vampire law—  
But the masses snatched The Chairman  
From its bourgeois claw!  
But an imperialist beast maneuvers at night  
And even retreating  
It has to bite!  
The vampire screams  
For its hounds of prowl  
And its Secret Service  
Leap from its bowels.  
Now these curs  
Are making their rounds  
'Cause their master can't stand  
Those hammer sounds!  
While they protect the Ku Klux Klan  
And shield the ex-shah  
From a trip to Iran...  
While nazis wave those mangled things  
That they call flags  
But are vampire wings—  
They try to use a liar's law  
To put Bob Avakian  
In their master's jaw!  
But they better catch up  
To those spangled lice  
Who think that filth is paradise  
And crawl back up their master's ass  
'Cause The Chairman ain't through with their pedigree class!

The Revolutionary Worker  
Is a hammer of light  
The masses must lift  
To destroy the night!  
For if the vampire reels  
From a little noise  
It's bound to keel  
From the slaves new poise—  
And just as sure  
As the Dawn must break  
Bob Avakian has a vampire stake!

Keep your bloody hands off Bob Avakian!  
On to May Day 1980!

## Railroad

Continued from page 1

"Here's the biggies who got embarrassed; here's the revolutionaries that did it—and they conspired."

Throughout the fourteen pages of muddled mumbo-jumbo supposedly combatting the prosecutorial vindictiveness ruling, the central theme of the ruling class' attack became evident. The government's theory now is the same as it was at the preliminary hearing. "By presence and knowing participation each defendant aided and abetted each assault which took place as part of a mass attack on January 29, 1979." This is the reason they give why all defendants are guilty of everything. The impression they try to create is that 241 years probably isn't enough. At least thirteen different variations of this "joint liability" theory appear throughout the government's appeal.

The government hasn't run politics as open as this since the very first days after the arrests—when they sent in Chief Watergate Prosecutor Earl J.

Silbert and argued that Bob Avakian deserved jail because "he is a revolutionary leader." Later they had dropped all this open stuff in order to cover up as much as possible the political nature of the railroad.

Now they are running what effectively amounts to a conspiracy case, and using it in the appeal to justify these piled-up charges, with no claim at all that these charges relate to the defendants' actions. But last summer, when U.S. Attorney Mary Ellen Abrecht was "explaining" these charges in response to a writer in the publication *Chicago Lawyer*, she said, eloquently, "The charges describe what they did."

Now the talk is about "joint liability" and "in concert." But last July 5, at a hearing when the defense proposed joining the two cases, Mary Ellen Abrecht remarked, "These are two separate indictments, these are two different types of cases... there would be a hardship, a great confusion of issues." In perhaps the best display of all of true vindictiveness, the mid-September response by the prosecution to a defense motion for dismissal "explained" the mushroomed charges in the combined cases as follows: "the

government-gave them what they asked for." But still they didn't put forward their "conspiracy" theory. This only began to surface in an October 17 status hearing when they blurted out, "The government's theory is that Avakian's speech (at a press conference four days before the demonstration—*RW*) and the activity and statement at the church are admissible against all of the defendants because they were in furtherance of a joint enterprise in which all defendants were involved." This vicious theory—which reveals the political nature of the case and that its main target all along was Bob Avakian—has now been picked up and further escalated in the appeal.

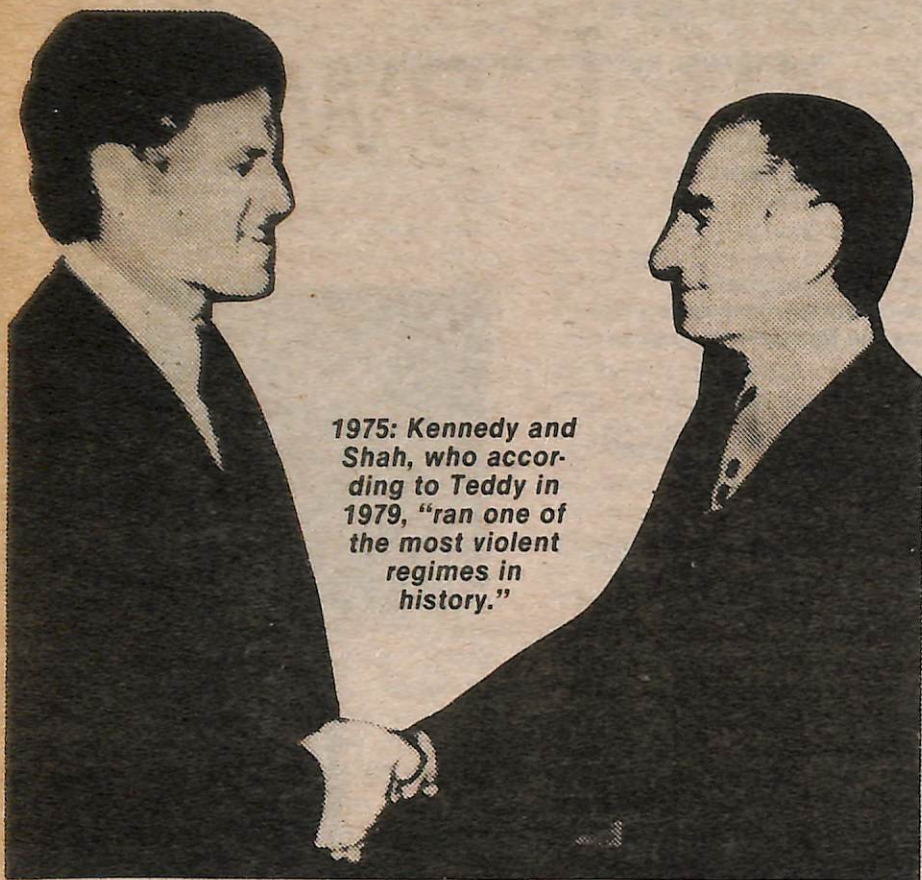
With this appeal the government has been forced to let the cat out of the bag—the cornerstone that their entire case is built on is their "joint liability" theory, spelled conspiracy. On page 10 of their appeal, they state, "In view of the government's need, which it acknowledged from the beginning, of proving joint and concerted action of the defendants in order to convict any of them of more than a fraction of the assaults alleged, a single trial of two indictments reflecting an arbitrary divi-

sion of defendants and assaults into two groups would greatly weaken the government's theory of prosecution."

This latest move by the ruling class is a clear indication of both their determination and their increased necessity to nail Bob Avakian. As the world heads into the 1980s and the crisis and war promised by imperialism nears reality, the U.S. rulers cannot afford to allow the revolutionary leadership of Bob Avakian and the RCP to go free among the people. Already they've gotten a taste of what this means with the development of their Iran crisis—where the Revolutionary Communist Party, led by Bob Avakian, has consistently and unswervingly educated and mobilized the masses of people around their revolutionary interests and in solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people. With their future in mind, the ruling class has pushed forward with their legal railroad and shown beyond a doubt that they can and will use any means possible to complete the job they started back in January of 1979. That means the people have to complete the job we started then too—"Keep Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants Free". ■

# The Pirate Ship

## of Camelot



1975: Kennedy and Shah, who according to Teddy in 1979, "ran one of the most violent regimes in history."



1961: Reactionaries embrace before U.S.-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion.

1963: South Vietnam's Diem—discarded U.S. puppet.

Right in the middle of the capitalists' reactionary grandstanding on Iran, Teddy Kennedy piped up and declared that the Shah "ran one of the most violent regimes in history" and stole "umpteen billions of dollars from his country." Immediately, *Time* magazine dutifully informed us that "riding a wave of patriotism, the president has become the front runner" leading Kennedy in the polls, all due to his masterful handling of the hostage situation.

It was, we were cynically assured by *Time*, "one of the most dramatic political turnabouts in modern American political history." Had the shining knight, the Prince of Camelot come back to save the realm of the U.S. ruling class, suddenly fallen off his white horse? Had Kennedy blundered and taken a progressive stand in spite of serious consequences to his bid for the presidency?

Hardly. It was political hogwash, pure and simple. The current fascination with Carter's "rousing revival" represents nothing more nor less than the immediate necessity of the U.S. rulers to deal with the crisis in Iran. However lackluster and inept Carter's presidency has been, however unsuitable he is to be the U.S. imperialists' man for the turbulent 1980s, nevertheless he *is* the president. And right now the capitalists need very badly to rally support for their handling of the Iran situation, to feed the fires of "national unity" and intensify their not-so-completely successful attempts to whip up patriotism and chauvinism aimed against the people of Iran.

In fact, Kennedy's objections to the Shah in no way undercut, and even helped promote patriotic fervor being whipped up by the bourgeoisie. He made it perfectly clear that he completely supports Carter's efforts to free the hostages in Tehran, slyly adding that this unity and sense of purpose shown by the American people must be mobilized to confront the other problems we face: energy, the economy—and he might have added, war with the Soviets.

His claim that America "has never been a dumping ground for dictators" provided a convenient cover for the fact that the U.S. is a veritable tourist resort for deposed U.S. puppets, like Nicaragua's ex-dictator Somoza or South Vietnam's General Ky who operates a thriving liquor business in Los Angeles. And his remark that the Shah "was looking out for one person—himself. I think that was the number one interest of the Shah" carefully whitewashed over the fact that it was the U.S. imperialists who placed and kept the Shah in power and that *theirs* was the "number one interest" he was looking out for.

But the real purpose of Kennedy's statement was to seize upon the progressive sentiments against the Shah among broad sections of the American people. The capitalists must rally support among these broad sections of the masses for their future plans to maintain their empire. Important sections of

the bourgeoisie are well aware that, as one White House correspondent put it, the majority of the American people believe that the Shah should have been "booted out of the United States."

Reflecting this recognition, a considerable amount of bickering has been going on among the bourgeoisie about whether it was such a smart move to bring the Shah here after all and who's to blame for this predicament the U.S. finds itself in with the Iran crisis. So enter Teddy to rope in this public opinion and harness it for himself and the bourgeoisie as a whole. He even slipped in a little cheap shot to boost his appeal among Chicanos. "How can we justify allowing the Shah to come here," cried Teddy, "and at the same time say to Hispanics who are here illegally that they have to wait nine years to bring their children to this country?"

This routine is part and parcel of the particular political role that the Kennedys have always played for the U.S. imperialists—attempting to capture the genuine anger of the American people at their meddling and plunder around the world and turn it into support for a Kennedy-type "savior" who will then continue to pursue their imperialist aggression under the banner of "reforming" U.S. foreign policy.

Teddy's older brother, John F. Kennedy, was a master of this kind of deception—combining the Peace Corps with the CIA and the Alliance for Progress with the Bay of Pigs invasion. In 1961 he declared his profound belief "that the U.S. is neither omnipotent nor omniscient—that we are only 6% of the world's population—that we cannot impose our will upon the other 94% of mankind."

Meanwhile, he was busily plotting counterinsurgency tactics to be used against the liberation struggle in Vietnam and escalating U.S. military involvement there to 17,000 troops by the time he was assassinated.

To the imperialists' way of thinking, JFK's pious platitudes to cover their aggression were completely compatible with his earlier, more truthful statement that "we must regain the ability to intervene effectively and swiftly in any limited war anywhere in the world." Or more crudely, in the words of the Green Berets, that special group of select imperialist hitmen created by JFK himself, "when you've got 'em by the balls, their hearts and minds will follow."

Despite their mock horror at Teddy's comments, the bourgeoisie knows damn well that the Kennedys including Teddy never opposed the Shah's bloody dictatorship when he was in power. When the Shah was in trouble in the early '60s with protests mounting against his regime, it was the JFK administration that urged him to cool out the struggle of the Iranian people by initiating a series of phony "land reforms" (known as the White Revolution) which ended up actually strengthening the U.S. grip on Iran since much of the token lands confiscated from the feudal landlords ended up in the hands of compradors loyal to the U.S.

After the Iranian people "approved" this scheme in a national referendum at the point of a gun, JFK wrote the Shah, "This demonstration of support should renew your confidence in the rightness of your course and strengthen your resolve to lead Iran..." The Shah wrote back, "Many thanks for your kind congratulations... I know that in the implementation of our social and economic development we can count on the sympathy of our American friends."

And indeed such American sympathy was pouring into Iran under JFK in the form of F-86 jets with Sidewinder missiles as well as millions in other arms to bolster the Shah's role as butcher of his own people and as "policeman of the Middle East."

But now that the Shah's goose is cooked, it is appropriate for the bourgeoisie to begin summing up that maybe he wasn't so great after all, and Ted Kennedy is the logical one to begin doing it. His statement was perfectly consistent with the liberal foreign policy stands he has taken for years and with the Kennedy role in U.S. politics. In fact, it is precisely these kinds of "maverick" positions on many of the policies of the U.S. imperialists that make Kennedy such a valuable asset. And it can be easily seen that his positions are not really so "outspoken" as they may appear, in fact often reflecting a more "far-sighted" approach to the various options of the U.S. rulers in dealing with the rising struggles of the world's peoples against them.

When Kennedy has criticized U.S. imperialist policies in Asia, Africa or Latin America, for example, you can bet they are policies that have already failed. Teddy clung to support of the war in Vietnam started under his brother's administration, as long as victory for the imperialists still seemed possible. As late as 1967 he was declaring, "I support our commitment in South Vietnam. I'm fully committed to the fact that we are there and that we have to remain..." But as soon as the

1968 Tet offensive shattered the U.S. rulers' dreams, Teddy could suddenly be found mingling among demonstrators in the streets of Washington D.C. denouncing the war as a "mistake" as he tried to ride the back of the massive anti-war movement.

More recently, Kennedy blasted South Korea under Park as "a veritable police state" and warned that continued support "may (!) make the U.S. an accomplice to political repression." Not surprisingly the U.S. imperialists as a whole had also summed up that Park was a little too exposed and it was only a matter of months before they had him bumped off by the Korean CIA.

Kennedy has also spoken out against Latin American dictators like Somoza in Nicaragua when it was clear they were going down the tubes. His recent call for the U.S. to "promptly recognize" the Sandinistas is perfectly compatible with the imperialists' new strategy in Nicaragua of supporting the Sandinistas and offering large amounts of "friendly economic aid" in order to regain a foothold where an open U.S. puppet dictatorship has failed.

In this light it can be seen that far from being an off-the-cuff blunder, Kennedy's remarks about the Shah were rather a carefully calculated move by a shrewd, opportunistic politician who is looking out for the longer term interests of the bourgeoisie. As the imperialists prepare to launch into the upheavals of the 80s, they desperately need a "leader" who is adept at leaping to the forefront of the progressive sentiments of the American people and twisting them into support for the reactionary violence—to put it bluntly, the hell—they have in store for the masses of people in their drive to reassert their domination of the world. And the last remaining Kennedy, and the legend that comes with him, is still their best bet to cloak the iron fist of imperialist reaction in the velvet glove of bourgeois reformism and magical hopes for "a better world."

# San Francisco Artists Donate to \$1,000,000 Fund Drive

For three days over the weekend of December 14-16, the Ecology Center on Columbus St. in San Francisco's hectic Northbeach area was the scene of a rather extraordinary art sale—a benefit for the RCP's Million Dollar Fund Drive. Initiated by revolutionary artists, supporters of the RCP, the art sale drew together over 100 works of art contributed by more than 30 local artists, including a number of poets who supported the sale by reading their work at the opening night event.

The idea for the show developed about three and a half months ago. "We were going out to artists around the fund drive," said one revolutionary artist, "but they didn't have any money. They were broke, just like me, all they had was their work. So we figured, well, why can't the artists donate their work and raise money that way." Early responses from a number of local artists was good and so they set about organizing the sale. It is no exaggeration to say that this art sale unleashed a bit of a geyser from the reservoir of artists in the city who welcomed the opportunity to engage in political struggle and do something for real, for the future, with their art for a change. "People came forward around the big questions—the railroad of Bob Avakian and the struggle in Iran—it wasn't just a narrow thing of 'you're getting your pants ripped off at the gallery so why don't you come with us.'" One Black poet, who is an ex-prisoner, got turned on after coming to an art committee meeting and made arrangements to get on a local Bay Area radio program addressed to prisoners, where he took the opportunity to talk for most of the show about the political railroad of Bob Avakian.

On one occasion some people were at the San Francisco Art Institute to talk to people about the sale and sell the *Revolutionary Worker* when they walked into a poetry reading event. Remembering that they had a copy of the special edition of the *Revolutionary Worker* on the story of the January 29 demonstration in their car, they ran back to get it, and read a poem which had been written in jail by one of the demonstrators. This created quite a stir at the poetry reading and many times afterwards, the art sale committee returned to the Institute with the *Revolutionary Worker* to get down on the events of the day, challenging artists to take a stand for the sale, and collect contributions to the show.

The circle of public opinion among local artists in favor of the show went far beyond those that the committee contacted themselves. People hearing about it began to call to find out how they could take part. Some had read the *Revolutionary Worker* and others had never heard of the RCP before. One well known poet approached the committee to find out more and later volunteered to read at the opening night event. Artists started asking each other, "Are you donating?" and "Oh, is that person donating?" And for those who were fed up and disgusted with all the



lies about Iran, who saw that the government was trying to snatch away the revolutionary leadership of Bob Avakian and wanted to stop this railroad, the art sale simply became the "thing to do." It wasn't just a matter of "donating to a good cause"—participating was a political act.

A Black teacher who is now a well established artist in town, had been active in the Black liberation movement of the '60s and remembered well what the government had done to the Black Panthers, donated a sketch of a Black woman which he had saved since the high tide of the '60s, to stop the railroad of Bob Avakian on the threshold of the '80s. Some artists painted new works especially for the show, struggling to put a new political understanding on their canvas. A 16-year-old Chinese American high school student brought his teacher and fellow students to the art sale and read several poems about growing up in the Chinatown ghetto and revolution.

All this was not accomplished without a lot of political struggle and this struggle was especially sharp among those artists who are still heavily influenced by the middle-class leftist trends and opportunists who would rather spread rumors than change the world. To those who charged that the RCP was "sectarian," revolutionaries on the art sale committee challenged, "Look who's sectarian! The government is attacking revolutionaries. Are you against this frame-up or not?"

The art sale itself reflected a broad cross section of experience, artistic forms and political commitment: the vibrant, almost fluorescent colors and bold wood cut style of the portraits of Mao Tsetung and Fred Hampton by the San Francisco Poster Brigade (See review of their work in *RW* 7/27/79); a watercolor painting by the late Felix Ayson, a revolutionary fighter and former tenant of the International Hotel, which showed a young woman sitting by a window making the first red brush stroke on her canvas; a woodcut produced especially for the show of a woman denouncing a politician during a rent strike—"you're a fake and a

David Fisher, a well-known San Francisco poet, read this poem at the art sale for the Million Dollar Fund Drive. It is from a book of his poetry called *The Book of Madness, A Study of Mental Illness in America*.

## THE TRAVEL EDITOR SUCKS: A NICKEL A LOCUST

To see her  
after a free meal  
is to see the diva's face  
quiver after an aria.

\*\*\*\*\*

Her neck reddening  
from the complimentary wine  
she gives the temple some stars.

\*\*\*\*\*

Her prose  
(awash with Danish *bindingsvaerk'*  
the porcelain of Delft  
the gibbons of Sumatra  
tarbooshes of Morocco  
above all the damask-covered walls  
of the recommended hotel)  
is like a tupperware party  
in a logging camp.

\*\*\*\*\*

Faithfully she answers  
her readers' questions:  
Are pantsuits appropriate for Ghana?  
Is there bobsledding in Burma?  
What is the best time for visiting Poland?

\*\*\*\*\*

She has come far  
from sylvan outer New Jersey  
to the leatherette ottomans  
of hotels which are both  
removed from the natives  
and close to the digs.

\*\*\*\*\*

She has known danger, too:  
and though dictators are generally  
more thoughtful to tourists,  
she will also describe  
with a little impartial thrill  
the picturesque hooded faces  
and AK-47 rifles  
of the opposition.

\*\*\*\*\*

She means well,  
as terrorists<sup>2</sup> do,  
and lives, as terrorists live  
in benevolent dreams:  
She has found a delightful,  
tucked-away suburb of Mecca.  
In Benares, she recommends  
the endive salad, with  
medallions of quail.  
She knows a poor Yugoslavian  
*grappa*<sup>3</sup> maker, who is deserving...

\*\*\*\*\*

Young girls in Jakarta  
are selling  
deep fried locusts  
from baskets on their heads.

It works out,  
she tells her readers,  
to less than  
a nickel a locust.

liar!"; another painting done for the show which showed the world looking rather like a time-bomb, with two band-aids painted on it, one bearing a likeness of the Shah, symbolizing the imperialist's attempt to keep their empire together; a huge mural donated by the Iranian Student Association, and a wide variety of paintings, photos, posters and prints. One artist in the show, whose father and grandfather were longshoremen and photographers, said, "I feel that if you have a skill like photography you should dedicate it towards the advance of the working people. Mao Tsetung was absolutely correct when he said that when you look at art you have to look at who it serves."

One brief interruption in the opening



1. a style of Danish house construction
2. referring to the U.S. imperialists
3. a kind of liquor

event which featured poetry and films was a rude intrusion by a "lover of Beethoven" in a "classic polyester suit" who strutted in to demand that the gallery be closed so that he could throw a birthday party for his favorite composer. When he became more upset over the revolutionary art sale than he was about his champagne getting warm, he called the cops. The cops arrived quickly, showing their great concern for Beethoven (!?) but they were unsuccessful and the show went on. Ironically though, this little stunt by this lover of "art for art's sake" only further proved the point that every artist reflects the viewpoint of one class or another and art galleries are no sanctuary from the class struggle, especially when the working class is holding its own "Million Dollar" art sale. ■

## U.S. Seeks Sanctions on Iran

With the Shah of Iran off the front pages of the newspapers and tucked away on a Panamanian island, the United States has launched a new attack on the Iranian people. On December 31, the U.S.-sponsored resolution to the Security Council of the United Nations was passed calling for economic sanctions against Iran. While it took years

to get sanctions imposed against the imperialist backed racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, it took no more than four hours of discussion to agree to the idea of sanctions against the people who have dared to defy U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. sent Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to the U.N. to "put full weight behind the resolution." And though Vance termed the sanctions as being "in the interests of a peaceful solution," the sanctions are designed to force the Iranian people into submis-

sion by cutting off all shipments to that country with the exception of food and medicine. And further, the passage of sanctions lays the basis for more attacks against Iran, including military intervention, all with the approval, or tacit approval, of the United Nations.

As Vance put it in his statement at the Security Council meeting, "our patience and forbearance has been severely tested in these past weeks. They are not unlimited. We have made it clear from the beginning that we prefer a peaceful solution to the other

remedies that are available to us under international law."

The only peaceful solution the U.S. wants to see is for the Iranian people to give up; the "other remedies" are expressed in the paragraph of the UN charter following the section on sanctions which reads: "Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 (Economic Sanctions) would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take action by air, sea or land forces as may be

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After the Embassy was seized in Iran, and the U.S. imperialists swung into high gear whipping up reactionary hysteria, a progressive worker asked a *Revolutionary Worker* distributor, "Where are the students?—we always look to the students in situations like this. Why aren't they responding?"

Of course, campuses were already boiling over with debate, and the news media was blacking out any coverage of the many places where student sentiment had begun to shift in support of the Iranians. What role the students have played and will play is a very important question. A very positive impact of the movement of the 60s and the early 70s brings to mind this same question to many, many in this country. (And this is one of the reasons the media champs at the bit to photograph every reactionary jock waving a flag that they can find.)

But it is also a legacy of the 60s, only of a more negative nature, that another question was *not* asked by this worker and many others like him: "What are other workers doing in support of the Iranian revolution? How can we utilize this crisis to advance and lead the struggle against the imperialist slave-master?"

These are decisive questions nonetheless. As Chairman Avakian's New Year's article (*RW*, Dec. 28) pointed out, "The urgent need for the working class, . . . particularly the politically aware, class-conscious workers, to step onto the political stage under its revolutionary banner, to take what the Russian revolutionary leader Lenin called 'independent historical action'—this is dramatically and powerfully demonstrated in the events around Iran."

But why is this so? What difference will it really make for the words "radical" and "revolutionary" to be identified with workers in this country more than students? What's different about today as compared to the upsurge of the sixties that makes it more possible and ever more necessary for the working class to take to the political stage? And why is it so critical for this to begin happening around this issue of Iran in a way unheard of in the Vietnam War?

#### The Sixties and the Working Class

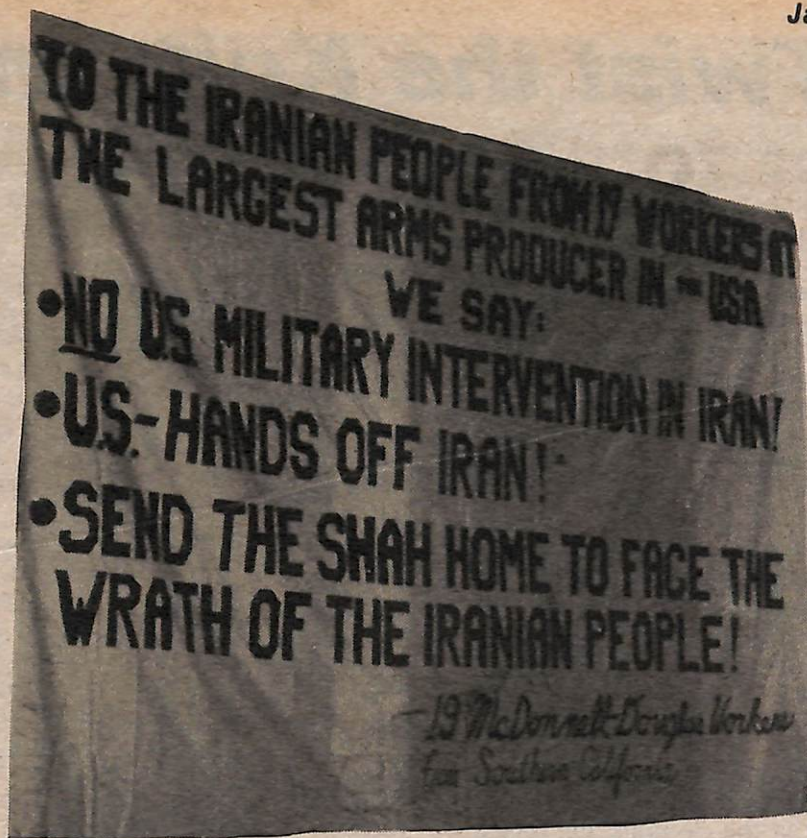
The manifesto calling for revolutionary May Day, 1980, states: "The fires of the sixties fueled our burning hatred, while they labeled us the 'silent majority,' threw out nickels and dimes and held up Archie Bunker, consciously working overtime to smother our potential strength. To our shame they paraded flag waving hard-hats who attacked the students we should have been leading."

The working class was definitely *not* one solid mass of reaction during the '60s and early '70s. In fact, even ruling class statisticians had to confess that the percentage of industrial or "blue collar" workers consistently opposed to U.S. involvement in Vietnam was among the highest percentage of all sections of the people. Even the Gallup poll had to admit that it was over 50% in the early '70s.

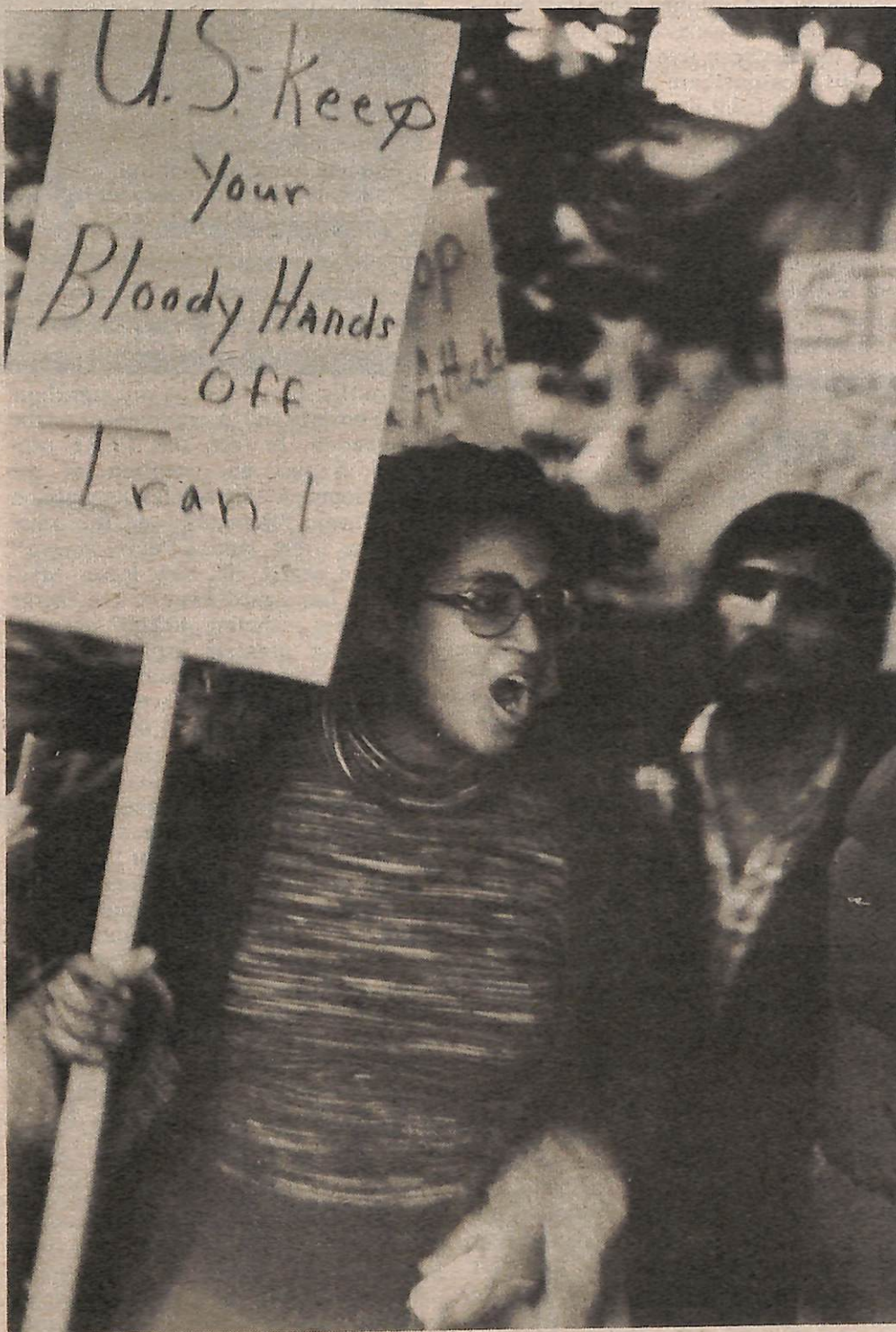
A significant number of workers joined in various aspects of that upsurge, from the Black liberation struggle (where a high percent of those involved were workers, reflecting that the vast majority of Blacks in this country are members of the working class) to the mass and militant demonstrations against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. And thousands of the sons of the working class played a role in the heavy resistance to the Vietnam War right in the imperialists' own military.

Many, particularly working class youth of all nationalities, joined the consciously revolutionary sections of the mass movement at that time. But the working class as a *class* did *not* play a significant role in the 60s—its revolutionary interests were not thrust to the forefront in the course of that crisis of the imperialists and the great upsurges that took place.

Why was this so? In the 60s (and the 50s) U.S. ruling class dominated the international scene. It was the top imperialist oppressor in the world and at the time no other imperialist power was strong enough to challenge its hegemony. This position made it possible for it to throw some crumbs to large sections of the U.S. working class and



## Making the Mark of the Working Class in the Iran Crisis



dangle the possibility of eventually "earning" some to less privileged sections.

In other words the extraordinary profits (superprofits) literally squeezed out of the backs and lives of the people of the world by the U.S. imperialists kept the living standards of the workers here from being ground into the dirt—at least in the short run. While this amounted to crumbs, still it reinforced the illusion among large sections of the

working class that their interests weren't completely opposed to the interests of the capitalists in this country.

Many would say, "Maybe the U.S. wasn't really fighting for democracy in Vietnam, even so this is still the land of opportunity despite its shortcomings." The U.S.'s relative position of strength in the world helped immensely in concealing the fact that this system was rotten to the core. This is one of the main reasons that workers in their millions

were not compelled into struggle in the mass movements of the 60s, and also why so many were freaked out by their children's rejection of the so-called good life.

But even given these conditions, it would not have been impossible, even at that time, for there to have been a mass visible section of the working class exerting tremendous influence. As already pointed out, thousands upon thousands of workers were involved in these upsurges that did take place and there was a basis in the course of such political upheaval for many more to see what the pitiful trinkets thrown to them were really based on and to get a glimpse at where U.S. imperialism was actually heading.

But a key element was missing through all of this. There was no tested and tempered revolutionary Marxist leadership capable of bringing a developed scientific understanding of the world and weld together these advanced elements among the workers. Marxism-Leninism had been abandoned years earlier in this country and those revolutionaries turning towards Marxism (inspired in this direction by major developments around the world in the class struggle) had only *begun* the difficult but absolutely necessary road of rediscovering Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and developing its application to the conditions in the U.S.

The upsurges of the 60s ebbed—fundamentally not because of the lack of this class-conscious section, but because the imperialists were able to weather the storm of the upsurges. Vietnam signaled a more severe deepening in the imperialist crisis, but it was not yet severe enough; their rivalry with the Soviets had not yet matured quite to the point where directly following Vietnam things could ripen to the point of an overall revolutionary crisis.

#### And Now the Stakes Are Up

History does not repeat itself, it moves ahead. As Comrade Avakian's New Year's article drove home, these dinosaurs are weaker, more desperate than ever. The current crisis is not a freak historical occurrence, just the opposite. It is a sign of the accelerating developments in the world toward world war and revolution.

Vietnam was like a turning point for the U.S. imperialists. The giant was seriously wounded and every step they took to extricate themselves from the decline of their empire would come back to haunt them. In the same period, the Soviet Union, driven by the same search for profit, began rivalling the U.S. for spheres of influence.

Some of these underlying contradictions broke through the surface during the relative calm of the 70s as the Iranian revolution burst through with blazing intensity. Around the world, the oppressed cheered as the Almighty Shah fell and his U.S. backers took it in the teeth. While the U.S. is entangled in a web of contradictions it spins trying to regain its stranglehold on Iran; it watches nervously over its shoulder at its imperialist rivals invading Iran's neighbor Afghanistan.

The Iran crisis is a harbinger of the tumultuous changes that will rock this country in the next decade. Unlike Vietnam, the flames of war and revolution will lick the corners of the globe, including the possibility of revolution in the U.S. this time around. And unlike Vietnam, the working class is in a better position to take advantage of the imperialists' desperate straits, because out of the upheavals of the 60s through the 70s, a party of the proletariat was forged. Tempered in battle, it sunk roots, and through fierce internal struggle developed a revolutionary theory and strategy capable of leading the working class.

In the face of the Iran crisis, it won't do to tremble, close our eyes, or bury our heads in the sand—it won't go away or settle back to "normal." In fact, doing this will only allow the enemy to change the situation in their favor. Events in the world will not stand still. It is not enough that the ruling class can't yet fill coliseums with flagwavers, or that thousands or tens of thousands scoff at the hypocritical self-righteousness, indignation and trans-

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# Imperialists Twist the Knife in Zimbabwe

The ceasefire agreed to by Rhodesia's Muzorewa-Smith regime and the Patriotic Front leaders, Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, after three months of "negotiations" (i.e. capitulation by the leaders of the Front—see *RW* No. 33) in London, went into effect officially at midnight on December 28. Under the terms of the ceasefire, the guerrilla forces of Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) headed by Mugabe and Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) headed by Nkomo had until midnight on January 4 to come out of the bush, identify themselves to British authorities and be herded into "camps" around the country.

Eighty-four senior officers, 40 from ZAPU and 44 from ZANU, have been dispatched throughout the country to help the imperialists round up the liberation forces. They will be kept under guard by British Commonwealth troops until after a new government has been elected and installed. The guerrillas will be permitted to keep their weapons, but as one bourgeois report put it, "the British will supply no ammunition." It is inconceivable that they will allow anyone else to supply ammunition either.

A glimpse of what the U.S. and British imperialists have in mind when they sing praises to "majority rule" for Zimbabwe under their "negotiated settlement" could be seen in the events leading up to and during the first week of the ceasefire. In complete violation of the ceasefire agreement, racist South African troops have been allowed to remain in Rhodesia, a menacing reminder of who really surrendered to whom in London.

The now-"legal" political rallies of ZANU and ZAPU have been repeatedly attacked by Salisbury police. And when thousands of blacks converged on the airport in Salisbury to greet the Patriotic Front commanders returning from bases inside Zambia and Mozambique, they were set upon by police attack dogs and tear-gassed by the racist white "security forces" under the authority of British colonial governor Soames.

This is the atmosphere under which the imperialists' so-called "free elections" are scheduled to take place in less than two months. The purpose of

the continued assaults on the Patriotic Front and its supporters, even after it has supposedly gained "legal" and "equal" status as a result of the London settlement, is to make clear to its leaders that they will be expected to toe the line and be obedient servants of western imperialism to whatever extent they succeed in participating in the new government.

Even more, it is a warning to the masses of people in Zimbabwe to accept their "fate" as slaves to the western imperialists and their white Rhodesian lackeys. Finally, it is meant to weaken the Patriotic Front in the coming elections by making it painfully clear to the masses just how much racist viciousness and imperialist treachery Mugabe and Nkomo are willing to put up with and still participate in the ceasefire and elections.

The U.S. and Britain don't expect to be able to completely ice the Patriotic Front out in the elections, but they do hope to minimize the Front's victories, and in line with this they have begun to pour millions of dollars into the elections funds of the Front's opponents, particularly Muzorewa's.

Regardless of who wins what in the elections, the imperialists are confident that the outcome of this "settlement" will be a neo-colonial Zimbabwe. When asked by a *Time* magazine correspondent whether the Patriotic Front wouldn't be likely to resume the war should they lose in the elections, Britain's Lord Carrington spoke for the U.S. imperialist bloc in saying, "I don't think so. There might be a short period in which something might happen. But I have reasons for saying that the frontline states would not support the continuation of a war—based in their countries and supplied from their countries—after an election that is generally felt to have been free and fair."

His "reasons" are the same ones that forced the front-line states to demand that Mugabe and Nkomo capitulate in the first place—the fact that the imperialists were devastating their economies through massive military assaults and economic measures as long as they harbored and assisted the forces of ZANU and ZAPU. And, equally important, the fact that Mozambique and Angola in particular (both neo-

colonies of Russian imperialism) had gotten the word that the Zimbabwean liberation struggle would no longer get the kind of backing it had from the Soviet Union.

These two factors were enough to pull the front-line states together around the question of the negotiations and they continue to guarantee unanimity on the question of the elections. There is no doubt that the front-line states will see the February elections as "fair and free" regardless of the outcome.

All of this bolsters the confidence of the U.S. and British imperialists that they have strengthened their hand in Rhodesia. But while there is no question that the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe has suffered a serious setback as a result of this sell-out of the Patriotic Front leaders, and that it faces a very difficult and tortuous road ahead, there is already evidence of revolutionary forces in Zimbabwe determined to stay on the revolutionary road and advance the struggle.

The Patriotic Front leaders are finding that capitulation to imperialism cannot be so easily sold to the masses of Zimbabwean people or to genuine revolutionaries within the ranks of their own organizations, ZANU in particular. In the U.S., ZANU officials have been heard to complain that many who have supported the liberation struggle of the Zimbabwean people are

recognizing the London settlement as the sell-out that it is. In unguarded moments of candor they have even revealed that within their own organization in the U.S. there are certain "dogmatists" who stubbornly cling to the revolutionary line of self-reliance and victory through armed struggle.

This is no startling revelation, for within Zimbabwe itself, despite all the obstacles to obtaining accurate information, word is getting out about revolutionaries within ZANU who are refusing to go along with the terms of the settlement. An early tip-off that has been hard to conceal is all the empty relocation camps that are supposed to be filling up with guerrilla soldiers.

But even as they scrounge around and begin to pull people into the camps, the British colonial authorities admit that they face "grave difficulties" in getting the bulk of ZANU's forces to comply with the ceasefire. At the same time, the *New York Times* reveals that "intelligence reports from the Rhodesian military command indicate widespread disaffection among Mr. Mugabe's forces with the ceasefire pact."

Of course, there is a certain propaganda value for the imperialists in such reports, since they try to use them as justification for stepping up their attacks on the Zimbabwean people. But the imperialists would infinitely prefer not having to report such "grave difficulties!"

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**Excerpts from a speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, November 18, Washington D.C.**



price: 25¢

## Gov't \$'s to Fuel Reservation Energy Rip-Off

On Dec. 6, Dept. of Energy Undersecretary Richard Stone announced a government grant of \$24 million to the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT). Stone told the organizations, made up of the heads of the U.S.-government authorized Tribal Councils of 25 tribes from 10 western states, "Simply put, CERT happens to be the most efficient way... to develop your energy resources, and that is per se in our national interest." What makes CERT "efficient," in the government's eyes, is its seeming potential to defuse the struggle of Native Americans.

CERT members' tribal lands contain over half the uranium, 30% of the low-sulphur strippable coal, and 5% of the oil and natural gas reserves of the country. The capitalists desperately need to get their claws on these resources, but they've been running into a major obstacle. As the poisonous uranium tailings and abandoned open pits have begun to permanently scar their land and kill the people, and as forced relocation to the cities has accelerated, so has the resistance of the Indians. Broader numbers, including Indian workers from the mines and mills, are coming to stand against the ruling class' plans to vastly accelerate this rip-off.

Here's where CERT comes in. By creating a new "super-Indian" agency, and rerouting federal funds already earmarked for energy development and "Indian education," the government is

attempting to "neutralize" Native American opposition and enlist the Indians in the new energy army. Energy Undersecretary Stone's speech to the recent CERT conference in Phoenix made this clear as 3/4 of his talk was about the "growth of ominous international events which seem to grow worse every day..." He concluded by invoking the memories of "Argonne Forest (WWI), Iwo Jima, and in Korea... (where) Native Americans have demonstrated their willingness to fight for American Ideals..." calling on them to make similar sacrifices in the "energy war."

Of course, the sacrifices are to be made by the Native American masses, while the various Tribal Council chiefs of CERT enforce this "American ideal." Peter MacDonald, (former executive with the Hughes Corporation and now Navajo Tribal Chairman), the founder of CERT, is well aware of the role his group is to play. In a recent CERT promotional speech to select energy company representatives, he said, "You should also understand that it is for your own benefit in operating on Indian reservations that tribal governments be strong and be respected. The stability of the agreements under which you operate depend on it... we clear and maintain roads... (and) supply trained uniformed police forces paid entirely out of tribal funds..."

But to the Indians, MacDonald is fond of boasting that this new government plan will bring "development for

self-sufficiency," that it will somehow solve poverty and unemployment on the reservation. In fact, this CERT proposal is just an extension of the "development" already taking place on the Navajo reservation and the other western tribal lands—"development" like the nearly 400 new leases MacDonald has signed away to the energy companies including 400,000 acres to Exxon for uranium exploration and 250,000 acres for a National Nuclear Waste Dump, while the average Navajo income remains only \$1,000 per year and the unemployment rate is 45%.

The "benefits" to Native American masses of the recent \$24 million grant is demonstrated in the specific allocations. \$7 million allotted for "resources inventory" will do the exploration that the energy corporations would otherwise have had to do for themselves. Another \$10 million goes for federal loan guarantees, allowing CERT tribes to provide the energy corporations with capital that they would have otherwise had to produce or borrow themselves. The remaining \$7 million is the price tag for trying to convince the Native Americans that they will benefit from imperialist "development"—\$2.2 million for the operation of CERT, \$4 million diverted from other government "education" programs to educate some Indians for managerial and technical positions, and the remaining spare change for various CERT propaganda programs to indoctrinate the Indians as to the benefits of all this.

To help educate Native Americans in this brand of "self-sufficiency," CERT has recently appointed the former president of Husky Oil and the chairman of the board of Colorado National Bank to their "Indian Education Advisory Committee." And there are even rumors afloat that, if CERT is successful in this venture, it might replace the thoroughly discredited

Bureau of Indian Affairs as the government's main agents to deal with the Indians. (The U.S. government and some CERT members are even collaborating to build federal prisons for Indians on the reservations).

However, the government's hopes for the success of the CERT scheme may be short-lived. The formal CERT conference, which was supposed to be a showpiece for the 10 visiting state governors and the Department of Energy representative, was also the scene of protests by a number of Native Americans, many of them from the Navajo tribe that MacDonald claims to have under control. They taped up posters opposing CERT at the site of the "victory" press conference called by the "little Shah of Navajoland" (as MacDonald is not too fondly called by many Navajos). And the protesters issued a statement of their own, which said, in part: "We have observed and oppose the systematically planned scheme by the multi-national corporations and the U.S. government for the exploitation, genocide, and destruction of our people and our Sacred Mother Earth... We the indigenous people of the Western hemisphere are in opposition to the development of our lands. This is not because the corporations are underpaying us or because of any desire to make profit from the land. It is because we value the lands and livelihood of our nations over any monetary profit... Negotiations being conducted by CERT are in collaboration with the multi-national corporations, local, state and federal governments..."

The recent grant to sell-out CERT officials for continued Native American "development" and "self-sufficiency" is destined to produce the opposite of the original intent. Instead of defusing Indian militancy, it has only laid the basis for sharper struggle in the future.



## Story of a Young Revolutionist

## On the Streets in El Salvador

Carmen's parents forced her to take a vacation in the U.S. after a nun at her high school in El Salvador warned them of her political activities. Her parents, well-off professionals, were terrified that Carmen would end up like the hundreds of people shot down by the military and police in these last three months alone, during the "democratic opening" of the junta that seized power with U.S. backing October 15. Carmen is a member of the MERS, the student organization of the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR)—a mass organization of workers, students, peasants, professionals, and others which has been in the forefront of the fight against the junta in El Salvador. Even in the U.S., she didn't stop her revolutionary activities—the RW reporters met her at a demonstration supporting the Salvadoran people's struggle. She is returning to El Salvador this week to re-join her comrades; in this interview, she explains what some of her activities have been and why she is so determined to be a revolutionary.

**Q.** How did you become involved in politics in El Salvador?

**A.** I am a high school student at a private Catholic school which some daughters of the bourgeoisie, the upper petty bourgeoisie, attend—you know, daughters of military officers, professionals, etc. We went on a retreat and we got to talking about the necessity of taking part in the struggle going on, the struggle of the people, and of integrating ourselves with the students from other schools and taking part in their struggles. Among even the strictest Catholics, there are members. The church is very divided. In my school, the biggest struggle is ideological—we have to make people aware, raise consciousness, and stop thinking about just having a good time. I am a member of MERS, the student organization of the Bloc. If something is happening, some form of repression against workers or peasants, it is everyone's duty to denounce and repudiate that, whether or not you're part of that class. Students can broadcast the news about the repression, or call rallies to expose it, or go on strike and stop classes. We can put up posters. In one canton (neighborhood—RW) where there was a massacre, for example, we went in, put up posters denouncing it and voicing our solidarity with the peasants.

My first demonstration was the one the 8th of May—when they massacred 21 people in the Cathedral of El Salvador. We were stuck in the cathedral all night and all the next day until 5:00 p.m., because the police had us surrounded—so there we were, students, workers, peasants, teachers—for me, well, it was the most vivid experience, to live the repression the workers and peasants face every day of their lives, the fear of the cops, the anger. I felt more than ever the need to join them.

The massacre was at 1:00 p.m. They didn't let the Red Cross enter until 8:00 p.m. I was outside when they began, and I ran up the stairs with everyone else to escape the gunfire. We were there to demand the release of the BPR directors from prison. It was a peaceful demonstration, there were a lot of people, even people with balloons! I saw the trucks of soldiers pull up, and since it was my first demonstration, I was pretty innocent—I thought, "What's this, are they going to tell us to leave?" Suddenly people began to go up the stairs, I was in the middle and they carried me along. I fell as I entered the doors—luckily I fell, because they began firing. Some of us were wounded, those who were behind us died, and some inside died of their wounds because the soldiers wouldn't let the Red Cross come in.

I remember being afraid, but the comrades took the responsibility to comfort people and try to raise their understanding, especially me—I was new—I had joined only four days

before! And they said, "Look, you must be strong, you must not just think of yourself but think of the others."

There were maybe 200 or more of us inside, and we had food since the cathedral had been seized earlier by members of the Bloc, whose takeover we had come to support. That night was psychological warfare. The soldiers and cops fired their guns all night to provoke a response that would give them an excuse to enter the cathedral with tanks and kill us all. They fired their flares, and on the radio the news was that it "was all over." We discussed politics all night too. Some of our best cadres were preparing to try and get out to get us help, but in the afternoon the doors were opened because outside a call had gone out and there were thousands, thousands of people. How can I describe my feelings at seeing so many people! Then everyone poured in, reporters, Red Cross, all kinds of people, and we just filtered out with them...

**Q.** Do the youth support the struggle going on among the people?

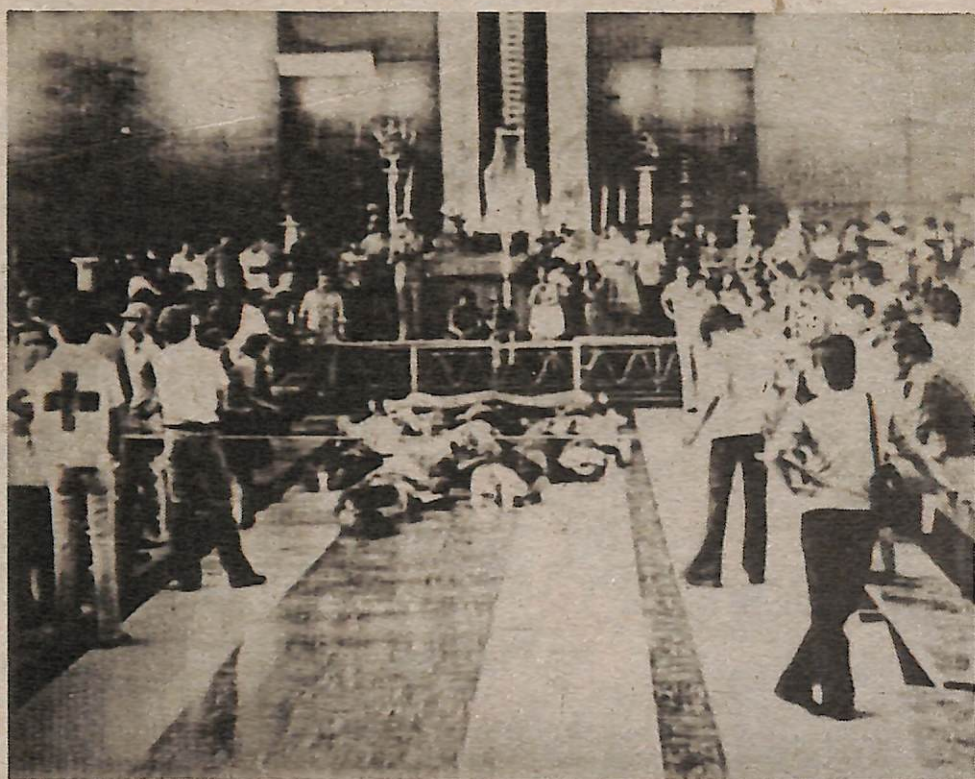
**A.** Look, among the petty bourgeoisie there are kids who have been deceived by the junta, because it's convenient and comfortable to say, "Everything's OK, the junta's all right." But for the most part people aren't tricked, because the first thing the junta did when it seized power was to unleash repression—a state of siege, martial law, killings. During Romero's regime it was really oppressive. Everyone hated him, he was exposed. Suddenly, the military took power the 15th of October—a coup, but the Salvadoran people had nothing to do with it, we didn't hear a sound, no shots were fired. They made a lot of demagogic statements about putting an end to repression, amnesty for political prisoners, the dissolution of ORDEN (a right-wing paramilitary organization that murders and tortures leftists and activists and supporters)—just lies to win over the people.

**Q.** And the teachers and administrators of your school, what do they think?

**A.** Look, my school is a school of nuns—but we have teachers who are members of ANDES (the BPR's teachers' organization) and others who are progressive, and some who are reactionaries. The nun who is the director knows about us, and there is a constant struggle—"My child, you must not hate," and all that. Well, hey, that's why I'm here, because she squealed to my parents! And they watch us all the time.

**Q.** Tell us about the Halloween parade of Nov. 1.

**A.** The BPR had taken over some ministries. We were putting out a plat-



Inside the cathedral, May 8: bodies of those killed by the soldiers.

form of demands, and we wanted to ridicule the junta. We organized a parade of masks. There was a big effigy of Uncle Sam with puppets on his hands that were the members of the junta, posters, effigies of the Christian Democrat leadership that wants to "save" the country, and slogans like "Death to Imperialism!" We wanted to really expose the junta—we'd call out to the people on the sidelines, "Do you want the junta?" And they'd yell back, "No!" "What do you want?" "People's revolution!" We were a lot of people, three or four blocks full, thousands. We had students, teachers, the people from the shops and the markets, street people, even children with Halloween masks! People from the slums too. We arrived downtown at the central market—I was standing a little above the crowd on a street leading into the market—it was full. Suddenly, I heard a very ugly noise—like feet running—then no sound at all, then gunfire, rapid, like machine gun fire, bursts of fire. The people right in front, well, no one could save them. And let me tell you something, the official reports of deaths, that's a lie, the guards began to pile bodies on their trucks, and they do that all the time, they pile them in the trucks and we never find them, or if we do, they are mutilated without eyes and we can't even identify them, let alone their murderers!

Well, the day before this march, I had had a terrible fight with my folks, who didn't want to let me come. So I

spoke with a friend and went with her (telling the parents she was at the friend's house—RW). During the melee, I lost her, and I ran into a tavern, the smallest, poorest little tavern, because the owners ran out and said, "Quick, quick—hide here!" and pulled some of us in. I was the only girl. I had a pompon with the colors of the Bloc, so they burned it right away. Again, I saw the solidarity of the people, these people who didn't know me, poor people who helped me and the others, told us how to get out safely, helped us climb a wall after they had sat us down and tried to calm us...

**Q.** What has been happening recently?

**A.** All I know is what my friends have been writing to me. Around this march of the women (Dec. 10, a demonstration in favor of the junta—RW), I know more because one of my sisters marched in it, can you imagine! She's married to a professional and is well off. Well, these old bags, wives of businessmen, chamber of commerce, all that, contracted women to march, they paid them! And they yelled, "Enough, enough! Down with Communism! Peace, Work, No to Communism!" Well, they met up with a demonstration of another left group, including a lot of people like the market women, and the working women were disgusted and called these well dressed "ladies" *bitches*. I don't know just how the shooting began—maybe some provocateurs—but three people were killed.

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## 30,000 Protest Political Prisoners

Throughout December, the Salvadoran ruling junta tried to smash the waves of strikes, takeovers, and demonstrations which are happening almost daily. The Junta has killed over 150 people this month alone.

On December 24, The Committee of Mothers of Political Prisoners marched in San Salvador, their ranks swelling to a reported 30,000, as people in the streets joined them. On Christmas Day, government troops invaded a coffee plantation in Santa Ana which 500 workers had struck the week before; the troops killed 5 workers and wounded ten. The same day a funeral march of over 1,000 people for two trade union leaders of the BPR (Popular Revolutionary Bloc) filled all the main streets of the capital with people shouting anti-junta slogans. The mutilated bodies of the two men were discovered after they had been kidnapped by right-wingers. It is well known the right-wing is backed by the Junta even using government vehicles and weapons.

Significantly on December 24, Arch Bishop Romero, who had welcomed the coup that put the 5 man junta in power

as "a return to democracy and stability," was forced to declare that the murders of workers, peasants and students "supported popular opinion that this government is just a continuation of the regime it replaced, and is losing credibility before the people."

In desperation, Colonel Majano, right-wing member of the Junta, who received his military training at the U.S. Canal Zone base, threatened a state of siege. But threats, murder, or torture can't stop the people's takeovers of factories, plantations and schools all over El Salvador. Demands include 100% wage increases, the release of political prisoners, disbanding and prosecution of right-wing paramilitary groups like ORDEN and a record of disappeared persons.

At the time of the October 15 coup, the Junta had promised they would provide a report on all "disappeared" persons by January 1st, which the Left has constantly exposed as a ploy to gain time. No report has materialized and a lot more people have since disappeared.

On Dec. 22, 300 students occupied the rectory of the University of Central

America (UCA-Universidad Centro Americana) to demand the University condemn the junta. Junta member Mayorga was UCA rector before the coup; another junta member, Ungo, as well as 11 members of the 25 man cabinet, are all UCA professors.

The Right has also arranged two big demonstrations recently, trying to rally the middle class forces. Official reports describe a Dec. 27 demonstration as a march of businessmen and professionals. Thousands of marchers, predominantly men, marched in formation with 5 helicopters, ten airplanes and guards armed with machine guns, "to protect them from leftists."

The U.S. imperialists behind the bloody Junta are increasingly a target of attacks. On Dec. 29, Citibank and ITT in San Salvador were bombed. The U.S. Embassy has reduced its staff and is sending dependents home, but according to the *New York Times* (Dec. 26), embassy officials maintained the withdrawals "did not imply any lack of confidence in the Junta" to which the Administration has "pledged its strong support."



Political discussion in the midst of work: Tachai peasants study Mao Tsetung together in the late 1960s. Revolutionary theory and its combination with practice is exactly what today's Chinese rulers want to wipe out.

## Tachai: Another Red Banner Pulled Down in the Dung

In recent weeks another of Mao Tsetung's red banners has been pulled down in China as that country's revisionist rulers—Teng, Hua, etc.—go full steam ahead in wrecking socialism. This time the victim is the Tachai production brigade, famous all over China from Mao's "In agriculture, learn from Tachai" campaign.

Once hailed as the "standard bearer" in China's socialist agriculture, Tachai is now coming under heavy fire. In 1964 Mao issued his famous "learn from Tachai" call. By grasping the key link of class struggle, the peasants of this 450-member production brigade were able to transform this rock-strewn mountain village into a thriving community. By 1974, Tachai's grain production was ten times the peak pre-Liberation figure. Carts and aerial cableways replaced backbreaking manual labor, and blocks of new housing were built. But as a revolutionary at the first National Learn from Tachai in Agriculture Conference in 1975 summation put it, "the land has been transformed... but the fundamental change has been in people's thinking. The intense struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist and the capitalist roads and between the revolutionary and revisionist lines has tempered and educated broad masses and cadres. A contingent of socialist-minded peasants of a new type is stepping forward."

In 1977, less than a year after Mao's death and the revisionist coup, the second National Learn from Tachai Conference was held. Still facing the necessity of pretending to be Mao's successors, the revisionists held up Tachai as a model, but in fact painted the red banner white by making its lesson one of just hard work and increased production. Today this banner is being dropped altogether. Painting it white is not enough. Undoubtedly—even admittedly—some Tachai peasants were resisting this revisionism. And besides, not even a *memory* of socialism can be

allowed to stand in the way of capitalist restoration.

A Hsinhua News Service dispatch of Nov. 20, 1979 details a Shanxi (province where Tachai is located) Middle Region Party Committee meeting which held a "serious study" of Vice Premier Yeh Chien-ying's speech last October. This speech was a vicious, thinly veiled attack on Mao and his line that there are still classes and class struggle in China, and that class struggle is the key link. Mao's greatest contribution to revolutionary practice, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, was called an "appalling catastrophe" (see *RW* No. 22).

As a result of applying this speech to the concrete conditions of Tachai, the committee concluded that "in the past they had incorrectly put forward that Tachai's experience can be summed up as: always take class struggle as the key link, criticize revisionism and capitalism in a big way, consciously struggle against capitalist roaders within the Party..." We can thank the Shanxi Middle Region Party Committee for laying out—in order, of course, to attack—the *real* significance of Tachai.

The class struggle was waged around the question: will capitalism or socialism rule in the countryside? Revisionists like Teng and Liu Shao-chi put forward the "theory of productive forces" which says that, as the peasants are encouraged by material incentives to work hard like mules for hay in the fields, production will automatically rise and this will lay the basis for socialism. Mao was completely opposed to this kind of thinking. Having taken only its first infant steps toward communism, China under Mao was still shackled by many things left over from the old society. Feudal ideas such as the importance of having one's own land to cultivate were still widespread. Agricultural production was still small and scattered, and as Lenin pointed out, "small production engenders

capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale." Above all, bourgeois right (inequalities) had not been eliminated, even in the sphere of ownership.

This was especially true in the countryside, where ownership was still in the main collective (although this was a great advance from individual farming) rather than by the whole people through the state. What this meant was that those with better land and machinery could produce and accumulate more. Since there were still commodity relations—that is, production units had to sell part of their output to buy machinery and other means of production—there was a spontaneous tendency for those generally more well off (both individuals and collectives) to get richer, while the poor became poorer. This was fertile ground for capitalism.

The peasants in Tachai, led by Mao's line, took concrete steps to strike down the remnants of the old society and restrict inequalities. For instance, once a neighboring brigade in difficulty offered to buy Tachai's surplus hay at ten times the state price. At a mass meeting called by the Party branch, peasants denounced profiteering and decided to sell the hay at the normal price. Backward peasants were struggled against around holding private plots, and steps were taken to reduce wage differences.

### "Self-Criticism"

These advances made by Tachai to restrict capitalism and build socialism came under a point by point attack in an Oct. 3 *People's Daily* article titled "Rectify the Ideological Line to Solve the Questions of Implementation of Economic Policy." The article reports that the Xiyang (county where Tachai is located) party committee is "reviewing and re-evaluating the ultra-left mistakes of the country's Learn from Tachai campaign in the last ten or more years," and that the "party committee

sincerely felt that in the past they had raised Tachai to an inappropriate position, made Tachai's experience a dogma, and did a lot of stupid things."

And just how does the Xiyang party committee propose to correct these "stupid things" they did (meaning, building socialism)? The party committee reached a decision to "release all the county's private plots and create conditions to encourage and support brigade members to work them well," and to "greatly develop sideline production" (like raising pigs, growing cash crops, making small handicrafts, etc.—*RW*). They also declared that "our past ways of restricting local trade fairs went against objective economic laws" and therefore the fairs must be promoted. These measures run completely contrary to the Tachai spirit of collectivity and will open up a floodgate of "me first, screw the next guy" kind of thinking.

Mao and other revolutionaries recognized that private plots, sideline production and trade fairs at this time still fulfilled a certain limited function of providing products not available through existing supply channels and of supplementing peasant incomes. But these things must not be promoted, and in fact must be restricted to the degree possible, because the peasants' spontaneous tendency is to be drawn to them, to the detriment of collective production. For example, one of the ways devised to restrict private fairs was to set up socialist big fairs, where peasants would buy and sell products through supply and marketing cooperatives, thus putting an end to speculation and swindling.

### Treating Labor Like A Commodity

In another major point of reversal, the revisionists are throwing down the gutter Tachai's wage system based on socialist consciousness, in the spirit of "wholeheartedly labor for the collective interest, and determine work points through self-assessment and public discussion." This is totally unheard of to those of us who slave in a capitalist society—it's like writing your own time card and determining your wages through collective discussion with fellow workers. Of course, this requires the collective to develop a relatively high degree of political consciousness. The revisionists also axed Tachai's old policy of taking into account family size and natural physical abilities in determining wages, which meant that peasants who were weaker, or ones who had some children, didn't have to be so disadvantaged compared to stronger people or ones who were single. Now it's everyone out for himself—more work, more pay—that's it.

And finally, Tachai's emphasis on developing collective welfare (for example, free health care, child care, etc.) was blasted as nothing but ultra-left "egalitarianism." Tachai's policies around the questions of wages and welfare were steps, although still primitive, to narrow inequalities toward the communist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

Of course, as steps were taken in the past in Tachai as elsewhere to restrict capitalism, the bourgeois elements jumped out to oppose the revolutionaries at every turn. This opposition was the fiercest and found concentrated expression within the top levels of the Party leadership.

In 1952, when Tachai first set up cooperatives, Liu Shao-chi branded their plans "utopian." Again in 1961, when Tachai was hit by a disastrous flood, a capitalist roader from the county came to Tachai and preached a return to individual farming and open markets, even instigating rich peasants to engage in profiteering. This went on at every stage, but under the leadership of Mao's line, the people fought it and pushed ahead.

This points out why Mao insisted that the *fundamental* lesson of Tachai was taking class struggle as the key link. Yes, the Tachai peasants did develop scientific planting to get the most out of the land, and yes, the peasants did develop mechanization to free them from the back-breaking manual labor that weighed down on them in the old

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# CWP: Opportunism "Beyond the Point of No Return"

In addition to this article, readers are encouraged to read the latest issue of Revolution magazine, which has just published a major article on the Communist Workers Party, and the philosophical basis for its opportunism. The Revolution article is called, "There Will Be Revolution, But Wishing Won't Make It So. Voluntarism, Metaphysics and the Communist Workers Party."

On November 3, the KKK and the Nazis, in close collaboration with police, murdered five people and wounded nine others in an anti-Klan rally in Greensboro, N.C. Several of those killed or wounded were members of the Communist Workers Party (formerly the Workers Viewpoint Organization—WVO) which had organized the rally.

Our Party, the RCP, made it very clear at the time where it stood on these attacks. In a press release and an article immediately afterwards, we said, "The Revolutionary Communist Party once again firmly condemns these brazen, brutal murders by the Klan and the Nazis, and the obvious role of the police and their bosses. The RCP, as has been stated before, has serious, deep disagreements with the Communist Workers Party, who called the demonstration, over many major political questions. These differences have been and will continue to be made clear in our Party's press..." That is the purpose of this article.

Neither the line of the CWP, nor that of its WVO predecessor, has ever had anything to do with genuine Marxism. Historically, this sect has been characterized by an exotic combination of pseudo-revolutionary, dogmatic and phoney "left" posturing and the most slavishly rightist and economist practice.

Since the formation of the Communist Workers Party three months ago, it is this ultra-"left" current which has come sharply to the fore and tended to characterize the CWP, though their open rightism, particularly economism, has remained intact as well. In fact, WVO historically has combined and pitched back and forth between "left" and right—always carefully avoiding a genuine revolutionary communist stand. This phony "leftism" is not just a matter of mistakes and deviations from a genuinely revolutionary line; in fact, it is the opposite of genuine leftism.

But the CWP seems to at least talk about revolution, even at last claiming to uphold Mao and the Four and opposing the current revisionist treason in China, while much of the rest of the Left in the U.S. has at this point given up even doing that. Precisely for this reason the potential exists for some revolutionary-minded people to be attracted to the CWP in the short run.

More important, CWP raises to a principle a deviation that Comrade Bob Avakian pinpointed in the Central Committee report, "The Prospects for Revolution and the Urgent Tasks in the Decade Ahead"—a deviation that fails to see "the real contradictions and the way things are moving and developing" and instead views revolutionary work as "just gritting our teeth and doing all this because it's the right thing to do, even though it has no real relationship to the actual situation and its development... another form of utopian socialism, idealism, moralism." While this may assume ultra-"left" forms, this outlook will ultimately give way to rightism, to capitulationism. By studying this deviation in its fully flowered form of the CWP line, revolutionaries can better understand and combat the nature, danger and source of this kind of thinking in the present period, and grasp the correct line better in opposition.

First, a brief note on the fact that some of the confusion over the difference between CWP and genuine revolutionaries seems to have been rather consciously created by the CWP itself. While the CWP makes no secret of its hostility to the RCP, they never-

theless consistently attempt a shallow mimicry of certain aspects of the RCP's line and work.

Two instances should give an idea. Following the Mao Memorial Meetings held by the Party in September 1978, which climaxed unprecedented mass campaigns to defend and uphold the revolutionary line of Mao in the face of the revisionist coup in China, the RCP announced the Mao Tsetung Enrollment—a call on revolutionary fighters, who through the campaign had been armed to see more clearly the goal of the working class and the need to pick up the banner and stand with Mao Tsetung, to step forward to join the Party. At the time WVO publicly and virulently condemned the RCP for exposing the revisionist leaders in China, who they continued to defend for some months. But then, after some time passed, the WVO announced its own... Mao Tsetung Enrollment!

Likewise, during the recent campaign to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants, the Party popularized on a national level the militant slogan "Turn D.C. Upside Down!"—a call for 200 volunteers to come to Washington, D.C., the site of the trials, and turn it into a major political arena of struggle against the bourgeoisie's attempts to destroy our revolutionary leadership. A short while later, up went CWP's posters: "Turn the Country Upside Down!"

Is CWP's imagination really so barren that they can develop no slogans of their own? Not likely. As our examination of their line will show, their imagination is quite active indeed, though a bit on the bizarre side. No, these cases of petty political pickpocketry are typical of CWP's method of borrowing the superficial trappings of a revolutionary line to conceal their own dangerously opportunist essence.

### Subjective Idealism of the CWP

This essence, boiled down, is *subjective idealism* in the form of *voluntarism*—the view that the world can be reshaped, and revolution accomplished, through a sheer act of revolutionary will and *without applying* revolutionary science to understand the world. To the CWP, revolution is a matter of getting your nerve up and not "punking out," to use a favorite phrase of theirs.

True, CWP calls on its followers to study—but what their *line* betrays is a

total failure to *apply* that study to reality, to understand reality in order to change it. Instead, CWP has invented its own reality, spun from their urgent desires to see change soon, and in so doing has negated the very real elements *leading* to revolutionary change. In fact, for all their talk of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, their line ends up far over-estimating the strength of the bourgeoisie, and totally leaving out the role of the masses.

Let us look to CWP's summation of its own history in the Nov. 5, 1979 newspaper, *Workers Viewpoint*:

"Revolutionary Situations Frequent Under Imperialism" they say very early on, and then, incredibly, claim that such a situation existed in the U.S. immediately following World War 2! Now a revolutionary situation demands not only that there be a revolutionary party, but that the ruling class can no longer rule in the old ways (its institutions are breaking down, there is open war between various groups, they can't even unite their own ranks, let alone maintain hegemony over the masses) and the working class and masses cannot live in the old way, is drawn into action by the millions, and is willing to not only die but to kill in order to change it. The most recent striking example of a real revolutionary situation has been the revolution in Iran.

Can anyone conceivably think that the U.S. was in anything approximating such a situation in 1946? Their position in the world had been greatly strengthened, with a vast new empire and a position of undisputed hegemony in the capitalist world. This, and the expansion that resulted, in turn allowed them in the years ahead to throw a few crumbs to the masses and cool out the struggles that had in fact raged during the Great Depression of the 1930s. This thesis of CWP's puts you in mind of a remark Stalin once made in a different context, to the effect that to say such a thing one must have either taken total leave of his senses or be an opportunist.

CWP claims that "in this excellent situation, the Communist Party (USA)... lost (its) nerve... What was one of the best opportunities for proletarian revolution in the U.S., these revisionists now speak of as the 'horrors of the McCarthy era.'"

Well, there was a revisionist betrayal by the CPUSA, and it was sickening indeed, constituting a severe setback to the U.S. working class—but not

because somehow they blew their "big chance" for revolution right then, but because had the CP stayed on the revolutionary road in what was admittedly a period of defense, it would have kept the spark of revolution and science of Marxism-Leninism alive, and this in turn would have immeasurably strengthened the next wave of mass struggle—that of the 1960s, when the *objective position* of the imperialists had grown far weaker. This is the lesson of that period, not some stupid fantasy of automatic revolution if only revolutionaries don't lose their nerve.

Travelling into the metaphysical realms of CWP for just a moment, though, let us suppose the CPUSA had called for a revolutionary onslaught at the time. Such a move, while "showin' guts," would do nothing for revolution but set it back by setting up the most class-conscious to be killed and demoralizing the masses. This would have been putschism, a desire for quick and easy victory carried out by a handful, a deviation that Mao Tsetung—who CWP claims to uphold but in fact doesn't even begin to understand—condemned and had to fight in China for years. "Going out in a blaze of glory" may be the only alternative to selling out that CWP can conceive of—but revolutionaries dedicate themselves to preparing, in the words of Lenin, to "solve those practical tasks on those great days... in which 20 years development is determined in a single day."

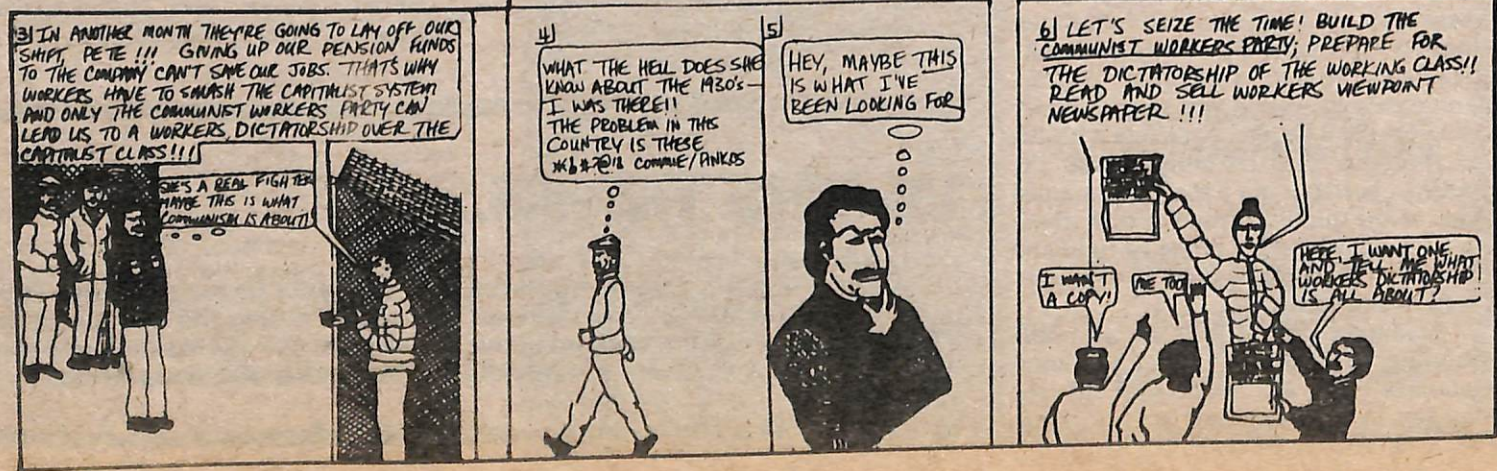
As for today's conditions, while not coming fully out and saying just yet that the U.S. today is in a revolutionary situation, you're certainly left with the feeling that such a statement is on the tip of their tongue.

"The bourgeoisie increasingly cannot rule in the same way... The masses are increasingly not willing to live in the same way... But most important of all, the proletariat now has its Party, the Communist Workers Party (sic), to organize it, make it conscious and lead it in such a way that U.S. imperialism will never find a way out of this crisis!"

While the bourgeoisie is definitely in a bad way and getting worse, and while the masses are again beginning to stir, CWP's deliberate echoing of Lenin's terms is designed to imply that a revolutionary situation is just about here. Two things are revealed here: the first, a lack of respect for reality, is not new.

Continued on page 12

Despite having all the appearances of a parody, this is an actual CWP comic strip. It illustrates their "leftism"—lots of militance and talk about the "dictatorship of the working class." But also obvious is CWP's economism, with Peter being "revolutionized" by economic crisis, and the "communist's" role being reduced to saying, in effect: "The economic crisis shows we need revolution; follow the CWP!" This is a long way from revolutionary agitation. Note also CWP's "scientific" analysis of the present economic situation—"worse than the thirties." And note how zombie-like artistic form faithfully follows content.



**CWP:**

Continued from page 11

But the second is more revealing: the CWP's apparent view that capitalism really won't be getting too much worse. This comes through in their almost complete failure to even mention the prospect of world war in their analysis of the developing crisis. Their article "30s Depression Haunts Bourgeoisie, But Fear of 80s Freaks Them Out!" (WV, 11-5-79) omits any mention of war at all!—while instead offering the theory that "whether the capitalists will be able to 'do what FDR did' in the next five years is a matter of life and death for them." In fact the CWP pictures itself in a race against the bourgeoisie's supposed ability to recover in "the next five years." The spiralling defense budgets are analyzed in the same article by the CWP as merely an economic gimmick to alleviate the crisis!

Clearly the CWP believes that the imperialists can extricate themselves from their problems without war, despite their talk about how with the CWP on the scene the bourgeoisie will never "find a way out." CWP indeed is awed by the apparent stability of the U.S., by their remaining reserves, and simply cannot conceive of, where in fact this system is going no matter how blatant the signs of that direction are becoming. Perhaps they sense the approaching war, and in real "freaked-out" fashion, try to pretend it won't come if CWP doesn't recognize it.

The CWP has clearly substituted its own fantasy world for an analysis of the objective situation. They seem motivated to make only the most superficial analysis of this situation, and even most of that is wrong. When they are not creating their own fantasies they are busy swallowing down others'. They completely accept the illusion that the bourgeoisie is out to "re-industrialize America"—never mind the "little fact" that the bourgeoisie is gearing most all their moves, including economic ones, to preparation of themselves and their imperialist bloc for war. They also continue to cling to the Chinese revisionists' Three Worlds Theory and use it as a further justification for ignoring war with such gems as: "the struggles of the third world have pushed back the danger of world war..." (WV, Nov. 5), and that this Three Worlds analysis "gives us time" (same issue).

**What Does It Mean to Prepare?**

This subjective idealism carries over into their view of the Party and the masses. The CWP, in their imagination, is the center of everything, and the masses nothing at all.

They speak of "forging the Communist Workers Party, USA beyond the possibility of defeat in the coming period" as "the most crucial part of the preparatory work to seize the country in the bloodbath." "The act of building up the Party of the U.S. working class is the act of the awakening of the U.S. working class itself," and throughout there is a constant refrain of the party needing to "steel itself."

Must the party of the proletariat be prepared for the revolutionary situation? Absolutely! But this preparation goes on in dialectical relation to constantly raising the consciousness of the masses through agitation and propaganda, a newspaper in particular, and through leading them in the crucial battles of the day. For instance, isn't it exactly through practice like agitation and struggle against the reactionary offensive of the bourgeoisie around Iran that revolutionaries will, as a by-product, be "steeled"? Apparently not for CWP, as they've been virtually absent from this battlefield in any significant way. But genuine revolutionaries must grasp that it is precisely crises like the one around Iran that disclose rudiments of what a real revolutionary situation will be like, complete with the tremendous political turmoil and the need to both put out a sharp communist line while uniting broadly with those who have not only a desire to fight and learn but also possess their own class interests and ideas, etc.

Rejoining the CWP in its self-steeling, we find their view of how communists will win leadership of the masses in the storm and swirl of strug-

gle: "The Party members and advanced elements of the proletariat must seize the time, actively learning to assume leadership by actually assuming leadership in all spheres of life without exception. Kick out the hacks and misleaders of all shades and colors." This is a standard "militant" economist recipe for "seizing leadership." It shows that, for all their "leftism", CWP has by no means abandoned their rightism and economism. It is the standard "fire yours, hire ours" appeal to the workers to select communists as their leaders not because of their overall program, but because they are better day to day fighters. In the particular form the CWP is practicing it now, this amounts to "left" economism—that is tacking on revolutionary sounding rhetoric about revolution and socialism onto essentially trade unionist practice.

Unfortunately for the CWP this is no better than plain old rightist economism, which they also practice, and is something that the U.S. working class historically has had more than its share of dead-end experience with. The CPUSA, which they insult but never really scientifically analyze, practiced something like this in the late 1920s and early 1930s before they made their total leap into rightist abandonment of revolution. This "left economism", however, was one factor which helped set them up for this leap. It amounts to a total abandonment of the all-around revolutionary role of communists, particularly the role of broad political agitation and propaganda exposing capitalism in an all-around way.

Let us look at exactly how the CWP envisions its role in revolution and how it is steeling its membership.

CWP concludes its statement on its founding with the following: "Comrades, seize the time, build the Communist Workers Party, Prepare for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat! We must steel ourselves, perfect our organization, and deepen our perspective and vigilance, by grasping the correct line, in the course of actually assuming leadership of the working class. Only then will we be able to seize the time, fight, fail, fight again, fail again and fight until we reach the point of no return, where all turning back is impossible, until final victory."

This "point of no return" idea is based on—and designed to encourage—the idea that since the objective world is not knowable and can't be scientifically analyzed (and nor does it *have* to be), then all that revolutionaries must do is to get to the showdown "where no turning back is possible" and somehow—through their steeling—survive the storm and awake, like Dorothy and Toto, in the Land of Oz after the cyclone.

Anyone can achieve the sublime state sought for by the CWP, where no turning back is possible, by just marching off a cliff. But the result could not be described as "final victory", at least by those who uphold Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and the proletariat represented by that ideology.

**Need for Genuine Revolutionary Science**

This cynical hype job by the CWP leaders, these hot-air exhortations to "steel yourself", turns out to be the assurance that to make revolution all you must do is hate the bourgeoisie, love the masses and blindly follow the CWP.

This is clearly illustrated in the poem written to commemorate the founding of the CWP. Note, in the following passage, how "study analysis and sum-up" dissolve into the virtue of hate, which is then elaborated on in depth:

*We have not forgotten  
because we have studied*

*and we have analyzed  
and we have summed-up  
and we have fought  
and we have killed  
and we have hated.*

*Yes,  
we have hated,  
because we must hate them  
we must hate the bourgeoisie  
with a hatred so clean and pure  
that it steadies our trigger fingers  
sharpens our eyes  
makes our tongues into knives  
that pierce their shriveled hearts  
makes our existence  
the instruments of their deaths  
you see, the monopoly capitalists  
do not have a monopoly  
on hatred  
and we know that they do not have  
a monopoly on dealing death.*

It is certainly true that a working class not yet filled with the deepest hatred for the bourgeoisie, its rule, and the wage-slave system of exploitation it represents can never make a revolution. But neither can these subjective qualities alone bring about a revolution when the situation is not ripe—nor can a revolutionary party give real leadership based solely on a claim that they hate the bourgeoisie more profoundly than anyone else.

Comrade Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP, addressed this question in his talk greeting the volunteers who came to D.C. this fall:

"...If we didn't have a hatred for this system, if we weren't fired with that kind of hatred, if we didn't have a burning desire to get rid of and bury it once and for all, we would have no right to call ourselves revolutionaries. Lenin once said, very clearly, in fact, without this kind of spirit you can't have a revolution..."

"But that spirit, he says, will also never make a revolution by itself. It has to be tempered with revolutionary theory and the scientific understanding to deal with the complexities of what a revolution is about and being able to bring forth the forces that can actually make revolution—and that's the masses of people in their millions and tens of millions."

Or, as the late Comrade Gert Alexander once put it in a struggle with another group of opportunists: "Some people want revolution so bad they are willing to be ruthlessly scientific about it."

The CWP uses the word "science" (it comes up once in the poem, for example) and even sometimes poses as very scientific. But what comes through more and more—and in fact is an expression of the dilemma of dogmatism desperately trying to make the leap into some practice—is the feeling that "Well, we've got our analysis down and behind us, now it's time to 'steel ourselves' and leap into the real fray." This leaves out the real dynamic role of revolutionary theory in analyzing the world and guiding practice in changing it.

The point here is that the conscious element—the Party, in this case—can only transform the world *consciously* through grasping the laws governing the world and the contradictions determining its development—not only in general, but at each particular stage. The revolutionary theory of the proletariat is *scientific* because it is materialist—that is, it proceeds from recognizing and studying the objective world (i.e. matter) that exists outside and independent of the consciousness of man; and dialectical in that it recognizes that matter is in motion and that both the world and society ceaselessly change and develop as a result of the struggle and resolution of contradictions inherent in matter itself.

Because matter and consciousness themselves form a contradiction—with

consciousness arising from matter and in turn reacting back on the world and changing it through man's practice—man's role in society is a conscious and dynamic one. By grasping the laws governing reality, man can use those laws to change reality.

Not so for CWP. They have read a few phrases in some Marxist works, and they truly hate the position they are in and so they have constructed their own world.

The CWP, basing itself on the general and true statement that imperialism is the era of proletarian revolution, draws therefore the conclusion that the U.S. is in a revolutionary situation right now. They refuse to study the *real* stage of the current imperialist crisis, and miss that not only is the U.S. not in a revolutionary situation now, but that—more importantly—there are elements and there is motion within the current still relatively stable situation that will lead to one quite a bit more challenging (and filled with *real* opportunity) than the narrow-minded theorists of the CWP dare imagine.

Likewise, CWP once read that the masses make revolution—and so they have concluded that whatever the masses are doing now must be "revolutionary." Thus, in their article on the funeral march following the Greensboro massacre, CWP describes an "elderly woman (sitting) on her front porch, sweaterless on that cold rainy day and watched without saying a word. But she didn't have to, because the marchers knew where her heart was. They knew that sitting out front was her way of showing her hatred of capitalist oppression and defying the bourgeoisie."

So *that's* the role of the masses—to sit and watch as the real heroes (the CWP) march by! The masses don't "have to" do much at all in the CWP world, since whatever they do is already right on. And this makes it much easier for CWP, for instead of arming the masses with a correct line—which does involve *struggling* with them—and on that basis *unleashing* their initiative, all CWP must do is hoist their flag on their way to the point of no return and "know" that the masses will rally to it—"in their own way."

But more to the point—CWP's view of what constitutes advanced activity for the masses today again misses what's really going on: the contradictory character of the real mood of the masses, where, despite the overall low level of class consciousness among the American working class and masses broadly, revolutionary sentiment is on the upswing. There already exists a small but significant section, numbering perhaps in the tens of thousands, who can and *must* be mobilized into a revolutionary material force that in turn will influence millions. It is *this* understanding that has led the RCP to undertake the work of spreading *Revolutionary Worker* distribution networks and, further, to the call for Revolutionary May Day 1980.

Here is illustrated the *real* role of the subjective factor—not empty calls to "steel yourself" and "assume leadership", but an actual line that can grasp the motion and development of the objective world and on that basis formulate policies and plans that the masses will take up as their own to change the world and actually move the class struggle forward.

This is the task that the proletariat demands of its party: leadership in the tortuous, complex and protracted class struggle which exists in the real world—leadership with the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

The CWP line is a reflection of the class position and sentiments of the "outraged petty-bourgeois intellectual". Ground down by monopoly capital and hating it, they are in fact awed by its apparent strength. Convinced of their superiority to and right to lead the masses, they are blind to (and fearful of) the huge potential power the masses really possess, and consequently provide no leadership at all! Thus they retreat to a world of dreams and dogma, eventually standing in the way of the real advances that the proletariat has to make. It will lead no one anywhere—unless it is to the "point of no return."

**IN THE NEWS...**

ABC's TV news recently reported that the State Department has kept a record of the attacks on American embassies during the decade of the '70s. They said that during that time, there were 655 explosive bombs in U.S. embassies abroad, 266 incendiary bombs, and 95 kidnap attempts.

# STATE RETALIATES AGAINST PONTIAC BROTHERS

Chicago, Illinois. Before entering the courtroom, all observers are subjected to a search at the hands of Cook County sheriffs. Inside, a thick, bullet-proof glass partition walls off the 17 defendants and their lawyers from the spectators. The message to prospective jurors, the press and observers is unmistakable—"these men are dangerous criminals, not to be trusted for an instant." Because of the glass barrier, the proceedings must be transmitted over a sound system crackling with static, barely audible even to those sitting directly under the speaker. The sheriffs, poised like attack dogs straining at the leash, have already beaten and arrested the brother of one of the defendants who called to the judge, "you're wrong."

This den of inquisition sets the stage for the state of Illinois' attempt to railroad 17 Black prisoners from maximum security Pontiac Correctional Center to the electric chair, to perpetrate the biggest lynching and execution of prisoners this country has seen since the Attica Rebellion in 1971. The 17 are being tried for participating in the full-scale uprising of a thousand Pontiac prisoners back in July of 1978, where 3 guards were killed. Pre-trial hearings in the case have been under way for several months now and the trial is scheduled to start in mid-March.

On July 22, 1978, Pontiac exploded in one of the largest and most significant prison rebellions in recent years. On July 22, prisoners refused to submit any longer to sadistic guards, to brutal punishment, to the intense harassment of Black and Latino prisoners and the insidious pitting of prisoners of one nationality against those of another, fomented by the institution. Over 1000 inmates poured into the yard at the height of the uprising and set fire to the hated commissary with its vile food, the laundry which hadn't issued clean clothes for months, the general store with its exorbitant prices and other buildings.

The rebellion raged for five hours before it was put down by a force of 300 police, including 165 in riot gear with every 8th man armed with a shotgun. After the rebellion, a deadlock (complete lockdown) was clamped down on Pontiac, turning the prison into a living hell. Inmates were caged in their cells like animals 24 hours a day, deprived of the most elementary necessities—like phone calls, and even showers. These deadlock conditions, in retaliation for the rebellion, lasted for a previously unheard of 8 months.

Pontiac Prison is a 107-year-old, rat-infested dungeon, originally built as a reformatory for 600 boys. On the day Pontiac went up in smoke, 1,982 inmates were crammed into this hell-hole—in some cases three to a tiny 9' x 5' cell, with two sleeping on the bunk beds and one on the floor underneath. Even a government study released two years ago concluded that this crumbling prison should have been torn down long ago.

What pushed the Pontiac prisoners over the edge was the constant, vicious and racist harassment by the guards (80% of the prisoners are Black). "I've seen them drag a man with his hands cuffed behind him. They take him by the feet and drag him down the stairs that way so his head hits every stair," a white prisoner paroled from Pontiac shortly after the rebellion told the *RW*. "There's brutality, and that's why three officers died and three were hospitalized. You've got to consider all these instances of brutality on a daily basis. When you put all these coals together in people's guts, when a riot jumps off, all these hatreds are culminated."

*"We are scapegoats because no one can be held to blame for the Pontiac Rebellion except those that turn our blood and sweat into dollars and cents for their own self-serving purposes"—from a statement by the 17 Pontiac Brothers.*

The Pontiac brothers have consistently exposed the conditions, and the system responsible for them, that gave rise to the rebellion and the death of the guards. They have clearly pointed out why the state, with Illinois Gov. Thompson at the head, is going after them with such a vengeance.

The ruling class is not simply enraged at the rebellion and out for blood because three million dollars worth of property was destroyed or 3 of their henchmen died. More fundamentally, they are desperately afraid of the powerful example of the rebellion to prisoners and oppressed people across the country, and are attempting to make an example out of the Pontiac Brothers. The message of the ruling class is—"Don't dare to stand up to us or we will crush you." The viciousness with which they are pursuing this case is very much connected with their current moves to clamp down on prisoners in general and further strengthen their repressive apparatus in the face of the great storms of struggle that they sense are not far off.

Even faced with the death penalty, the Pontiac Brothers have refused to go down on their knees and beg for mercy from the high and mighty responsible for the brutalization and degradation of prisoners. This stand has enraged the state even more as it goes all-out to railroad the Pontiac 17, piling outrageous charge upon outrageous charge. Each is charged with *fifteen counts* of murder—murdering three guards five different ways.

A reign of terror has been unleashed at the Pontiac Prison in the wake of the rebellion to coerce and intimidate prisoners into supplying enough testimony to bring down the indictments. Every man in Pontiac was interrogated by the Illinois Dept. of Law Enforcement (IDLE). After being held in lockdown for 8 months, shortened sentences were dangled in front of prisoners faces as "bribery" to get them to testify against the Pontiac 17. Sworn statements entered in court reveal the nature of their "investigation." Prisoners were told, "We'll guarantee you will make parole if you say XXX beat Officer A.," or "We will help you if you'll just testify that XXX is the leader of a gang, and that he gave the orders." And if the man still refused to cooperate he was threatened with, "We're going to fry you in the electric chair by June."

Sixty-seven inmates (including the 17 on trial for murder) have been sentenced to disciplinary segregation for a year and had one year of good time (time subtracted from their sentence for good behavior) taken away from them without even a hearing. One prisoner locked up in segregation wrote this to the *RW*: "They did me unjustly because I wouldn't help them on the 22nd. I told them to kiss my ass, keep his 90 days (shortened sentence) and smokes. So when this happened they said 'we'll pull you out from under this' if I gave some names. I still told them to kiss my ass, so they do this to me because I refused to sell my soul... If I could go home right now I'd still stay because what was did (the rebellion—*RW*) was did for all of us." Shortly after refusing to cooperate, this same prisoner was set up for a stabbing by two other inmates and stabbed while the guard looked on. He was thrown into segregation, afterwards, while the attackers went their merry way.

Thirty-one prisoners have been indicted on charges connected with the rebellion and all resisted this interrogation in some way, refusing to break or crack even when threatened with the electric chair. Besides the 17 charged with murder, 14 others were indicted for lesser crimes such as arson, mob action, and aggravated battery. Added onto the sentences they are already serving, these charges could add up to life imprisonment for the 14.

The trial of the 14 is a key part of the State's strategy for winning convictions in the possible death penalty cases. As one of the brothers stated, "They will attempt to get as many convictions and maximum sentences for the 14 as possible to 'legitimize' the other false charges to be tried later." The case of the 14 has intentionally been kept out of the public eye, receiving hardly any attention in the press, to make it that much easier for the state to railroad them.

While a change of venue was granted for the Pontiac 17 after a legal battle, moving the trial from all-white downstate Illinois where Pontiac is located up to Chicago, this same motion was denied for the 14. Instead of moving their case to Chicago, the state purposely assigned it to Bloomington, Illinois, located in McLean County which is 95% white, predominantly rural, and close enough to Pontiac Prison to be the home of many guards and other prison employees. Coincidentally, Bloomington happens to be the birthplace of assassinated American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell.

To make it more difficult to organize political support for the 14, the state has refused to try them together, but instead has split their cases up between five judges.

The press has gone wild attacking the rebellion and those now facing charges, attempting not only to create a political climate favorable for a speedy railroad of the Pontiac Brothers but also to whip up support for clamping down on prisoners in general and overall strengthening and expanding the ruling class' repressive apparatus.

The following quote from an ex-prison warden in one of many articles in the *Chicago Tribune* on the Pontiac

rebellion is typical of the kind of crap spread by the press:

"If people are going to act like animals, then we have to treat them like animals. I feel like a zookeeper trying to tame and trying to train and getting my arm bit off when I try... People talk about rehabilitation, but you have to be habilitated before you can be rehabilitated."

Using rabid columnists like the *Chicago Tribune's* Bob Wiedrich, the media has tried to paint the picture that the rebellion was sparked by drug crazed, violence prone gangs. In no less than eleven articles, so far, Wiedrich has hammered away on the theme that "gangs" run both Pontiac and Stateville prisons. To illustrate this point, and prove how dangerous the Pontiac 17 are, Wiedrich even went so far as to print a fabricated story in his column. Speaking of "gang-generated unrest in Illinois penal institutions," his article goes on to quote the state's Department of Corrections head:

"We had a huge incident a few weeks ago, in which ten of the inmates charged in the Pontiac Prison murders attacked and injured four correctional officers in the Statesville law library."

According to sources inside Statesville prison, this story has been twisted inside out since it was the guards who threw a chair and heavy ashtray, injuring the handcuffed Pontiac Brothers.

The trial of the first set of 14 Pontiac Brothers begins this week. With the trial of the 17 Pontiac Brothers up for murder charges scheduled to begin in March, the chorus of the ruling class and their media mouthpieces around this case is bound to grow to a shrill scream for blood. In the face of this, the working class and all oppressed people must stand with the Pontiac prisoners and expose this vicious and blood-thirsty attack on the people and the criminal class responsible for it. The Pontiac Brothers are displaying the proud stand of all those who genuinely burn with the desire to get out from under the slavemaster's boot, refusing to go down on their knees, choosing instead to stand up and fight.

(Major developments in the trial of the Pontiac Brothers will be covered in future issues of the *RW*.)

## Iran

Continued from page 6

necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade and other operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the United Nations."

At the same time that the U.S. pushed for the sanctions, UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim was dispatched to Iran to try and negotiate the release of the hostages. Waldheim tried to disassociate himself from the sanctions, even going so far as to have the Security Council meeting stalled for over an hour until he was en route to the airport.

But Waldheim is no neutral negotiator. He is very much the personal messenger boy from the Security Council and the U.S. delivering an ultimatum to the Iranian people. If upon his return to the UN, the hostages are not far behind him, the Security Council will meet on January 7 to set the sanctions into motion.

Waldheim serves yet another function for the U.S. and that is to exert pressure and give a firmer hand to conservative forces within Iran, particularly the capitalist class, which would be the most directly affected by the sanc-

tions, to press for the release of the hostages.

The imposition of sanctions against Iran is meant to tip the balance of forces, to put the U.S. in a strong position. But the nature of the resolution and the voting itself reveals that, on the contrary, the U.S. is in big trouble. The only sanctions it can get allies like Japan to go along with right now are ones against imports to Iran and not exports from Iran like oil.

Further, while the U.S. got its rivals, the Soviets, to go along and not veto the sanctions, the Soviets continue to challenge the U.S. in this region—as in Afghanistan. Additionally, a number of Third World countries did not want to go along with the sanctions for fear that this would expose themselves to people of their own countries.

Zambia, which voted for the sanctions, repeatedly registered official protests against the sanctions. Kuwait and Bangladesh abstained from the voting, with Kuwait stating that the sanctions would "further destabilize our region" and would "add flames to an already inflammable situation." Plus, the one factor the U.S. cannot dismiss with a resolution is the Iranian people themselves. As soon as Waldheim's visit was announced, the students at the embassy in Tehran flatly refused to negotiate with him.

# FIRST HAND

## Part 2: Shah, SAVAK and the U.S. Press

This is the second in a three-part series written by Clark Kissinger who headed up the Send the Shah Back/U.S. Hands Off Iran Delegation of Americans, recently returned from Iran:

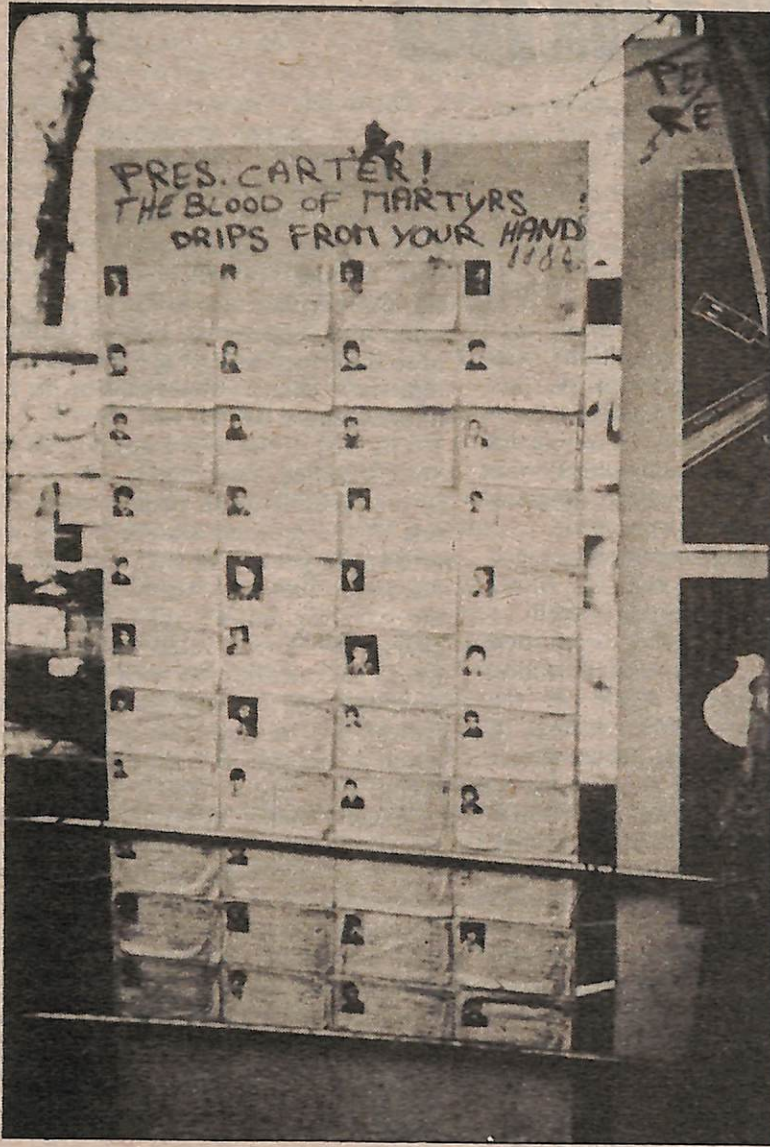
According to his U.S. propagandists, the Shah is supposed to have engaged in a state modernization campaign, the so-called "White Revolution" which was begun in the 1960s under the tutelage of the Kennedy administration. We saw the results of this campaign one morning as we toured the vast slums of Tehran. The selling off of the land of a few large landholders in a phony "land redistribution" program resulted in thousands of peasants being driven off the land which they had farmed (though not owned) for centuries. The land was "redistributed" all right—but not to the people who tilled it. This process, together with the destruction of local industry by low-priced foreign imports, created the shantytowns surrounding Tehran and other big cities. In one decade, Tehran almost doubled in population.

The hovels of the worst areas are constructed of empty five-gallon oil cans cemented together with mud or mortar, their labels still readable through the mire: Shell, British Petroleum, Standard Oil, etc. In contrast to these fruits of American "aid" stand sprawling palaces of the Shah, also tributes to the contributions of Shell, British Petroleum, and Standard Oil to Iran. Of course we couldn't visit all of the Shah's palaces. He had over a dozen in Tehran alone. But what we did see showed full well the extent of the wealth wrung from Iran's land and its people. For these glittering palaces did not represent the bulk of the profit extracted by the U.S. capitalists, these were only the "fringe benefits" thrown by them to their loyal watchdog, the Shah.

We visited Niavaran Palace in the northern suburb in Iran where the Shah actually lived. Closed circuit TV cameras were everywhere to protect the Shah from his loyal subjects. This was a "modern" palace. Rather than the gold doorknobs and 200-meter Persian carpets characteristic of the older palaces, there were more modern comforts. A solid gold Kleenex box. A modern private movie theater with leather recliner chairs for the Shah and his wife. A library with never-opened leather-bound editions of the world's classics together with some more practical books for a Shah by Henry Kissinger and J. Edgar Hoover. A stainless steel garbage container full of empty whisky bottles. Everything just as the Shah left it when he fled in panic.

Upstairs in the kid's bedroom was a picture of Rosalyn Carter together with the Shah's brat, signed, "Best Wishes, Rosalyn Carter, Amy Carter." Wonder what wishes the women and children of the Tehran slums had for the Shah?

Outside the Shahvand Palace, Iran's White House, the Shah's Mercedes Benz camper is still parked. Outside the palace we see the old doorknobs and



Pictures of hundreds of revolutionary martyrs have been posted around the captured embassy compound.



gold fixtures in the bathtub. At the nearby Green Palace (named for the green marble used in its construction), the walls and ceilings of every room are a mosaic of millions of handset pieces of mirror. The government guide circumspcctly explains that this palace was used to house visiting dignitaries. The driver of our bus, more bluntly, explained that this is where the Shah brought his mistresses. The masses called it the "screwing palace."

Somewhere along the route, we were joined by a carload of wealthy Iranians who had somehow obtained permission to join the tour. They went from room to room oohing and ahing, and having their picture taken sitting on the Shah's couches. Their attitude toward the February revolution was clear: "At last the Shah is gone. Now we can have a go at it!"

In 1941, the Shah had been put on the Peacock Throne by the British, who sent his old man off to exile in the Union of South Africa. In 1953, the Shah fled the country only to be restored a few days later by a CIA-organized coup. His life was characterized by the idle squandering of wealth on women and airplanes. His reign was one of unrestrained cruelty and impoverishment of the people. Henry

Kissinger describes him as "our loyal ally." Speak for yourselves and your masters, Henry. When the Shah is finally returned to Iran, he will be executed, and the people will pat each other on the back and smile with satisfaction. Actually, the Shah will be getting off light. He was responsible for the deaths of thousands, but he can only be executed once. But then, as President Carter said, "Not everything in life is fair."

On the lawn of the Niavaran Palace, there is a small pagoda-like structure with open sides. Beneath its sloping sides is a sculpture, a gift from President Carter to the Shah of Iran. Curiously, wooden crates are piled around it, shrouding it from view. We climbed over to have a better look. What the hell is that? It's a thumb. A thumb? A 7-foot high sculpture of a thumb thrust skyward! The good-ol' American gung-ho "thumbs up" for Iran. There is only one little problem. In Iran, "thumbs up" doesn't mean the same as it does in the U.S. Whether it was out of stupidity of the U.S. "experts" about the Iranian idiom, which is hard to believe since the U.S. government has whole international protocol departments to investigate such gifts or whether it was a sign of things to come, it seems that President Carter had "given the finger" to the Shah.

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### The Tragedy of SAVAK

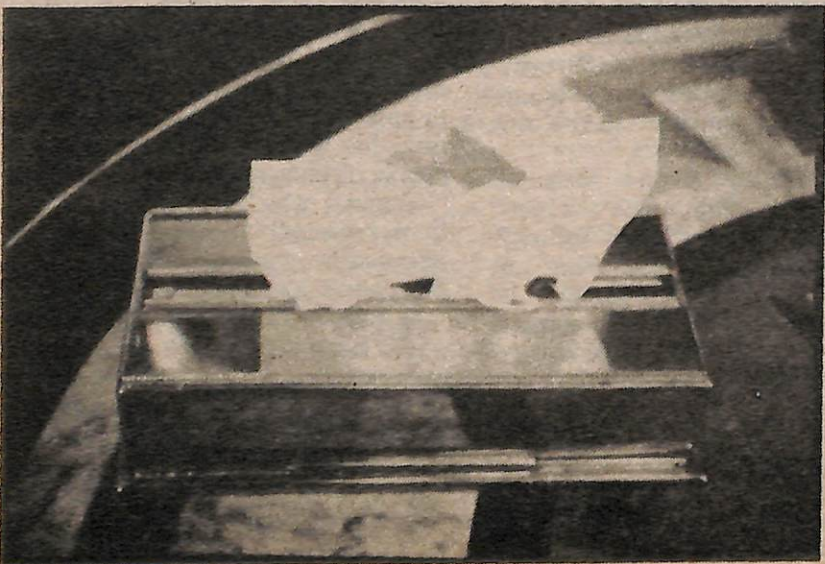
One of the most painful parts of our journey to Iran was the tour of the SAVAK headquarters in the center of Tehran. Our bus pulled in through the gates which only a year ago people entered never to reappear. In some ways the scene is still frightening, because while the SAVAK torture and detention cells now stand idle, the adjoining buildings are still the central police headquarters. And the high-ranking officers who were standing about eyeing us with suspicion were for the most part the same officers who worked there for the Shah.

Accompanying us were a half dozen persons who were intimately familiar with the previous operations because they had been prisoners there under the Shah. One said that he had seen the streets outside for the first time that day because when he had been brought there before he was blindfolded. The central complex was a four-story structure with a circular courtyard in the center overlooked by a balcony on each floor. Off each balcony were individual interrogation rooms. Each balcony had a metal grill to prevent prisoners from leaping to their death in the courtyard below. The metal grills were decorated with dollar signs, a grim reminder of the hand of U.S. imperialism behind this torture chamber.

One former prisoner told how he was brought in for interrogation with his coat tied over his head. He was immediately chased around the courtyard by several guards lashing him with whips. Later he was strapped in the "Apollo Chair," an infamous invention of the SAVAK. In the Apollo chair your legs were slowly crushed while your head remained inside a round metal helmet which reflected your screaming back in your own ears.

Achmed Sadegh, a man who looked to be in his late fifties, described how he lost four children to SAVAK. The oldest, his son Nasser, was killed in 1972 at the age of 25. His body was never returned and the family was prohibited from holding a memorial service. What was his crime? It seems that he was an honor student who was personally awarded a special medal by the Shah. To receive it he was required to kiss the Shah's hand. He refused.

"Well, there's no evidence of torture here," quipped one newsman, "this is just a jail." And it was true that the SAVAK had done their best to destroy the physical evidence when the Shah fled the country. But some things you can't destroy. One is the physical scars on people's bodies which they showed us. Another is their burning memory. Achmed's youngest son had his arms burned with lighted cigarettes and his



From the Shah's palace: Gold Kleenex box.

# FROM IRAN

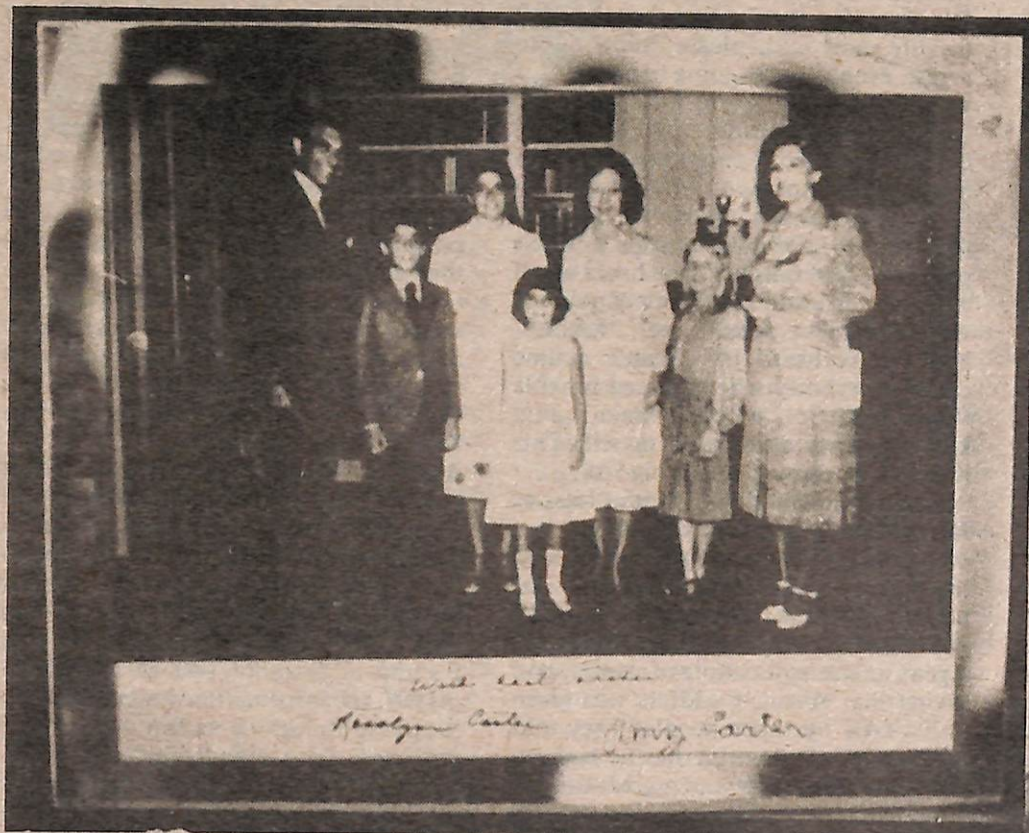
fingernails pulled out. Achmed's 14-year-old daughter Sohayal was "questioned" at SAVAK headquarters for 9 months, then sentenced to one year in jail.

I wandered through the abandoned cells on the third floor. In one room where the soles of people's feet were beaten raw with bundles of wire there were still footprints in human blood on the floor. But the American newsmen were sunning themselves on the roof waiting for the bus to take us to the next stop on our tour.

The next stop was Evin Prison on the northwest outskirts of Tehran. It is a modern prison, modelled after one in the United States, and controlled not by the police but by the *pastars*, the young and well-armed "guardians of the revolution." Although in the hands of Moslem militants, this prison reflected the intense class struggle going on in Iran today. Jailed there are former officials of the SAVAK and the Shah's regime awaiting trial, but there are also revolutionaries from Kurdistan and other parts of the country.

In a prison press conference, a group of officials from the Shah's regime was produced, and an extraordinary offer was made to the Western reporters. They were told that if there was any other person in the prison they wanted to interview, just name him and he would be brought to the conference. One could only wonder how often prisoners in the Shah's prison were allowed to hold press conferences.

Most vocal at the press conference is Dr. Shoabin Sheikholeslazzadeh who was Minister of Health in the Shah's government. The good doctor, who



Gifts from the Carters: Rosalyn, Amy, and the thumb statue.



speaks flawless American English, proceeds to tell how it was he who was responsible for an end to the practice of torture under the Shah. As he tells it, he submitted a report on the use of torture to the Shah who, when he found out what was going on, ordered it stopped. At this, a group of relatives of those tortured, who are also present, start screaming insults and accusations at the

doctor. The reporters leap to the defense, asking, "If you stopped the torture, then why are you in prison?" Dr. Sheikholeslazzadeh then mentions that there is this little matter of payoffs by the EDS (Electronic Data Systems) Corporation in return for the purchase of computer systems for his ministry. However, the good doctor maintains his innocence of all wrong-doing. He

does admit that the Shah committed many crimes, and that he would be willing to testify against the Shah in any court. The reporters express their indignation over the good doctor's continued imprisonment and he sits down smiling.

The next to be questioned is Hassan Sana, who was the security and

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## Ex-Prisoner Interrogates His Torturer

Following are excerpts from a tape made by the Send the Shah Back/U.S. Hands Off Delegation in Iran. This tape is of an interview where foreign press questioned SAVAK agents now imprisoned in Iran and prisoners who had been tortured by SAVAK. During the interview one of the prisoners under the Shah recognized the SAVAK agent who had arrested him. This SAVAK agent, who had not yet been tried, squirmed and lied, trying to play innocent. The transcript of this confrontation is below.

**Q. Did SAVAK know about the fire set at the Rex Cinema in Abadan last year?**

**A.** In 1967 I started in my position.

**Q. Did SAVAK know about the fire at the Rex?**

**A.** Not as far as I know.

**Q. What did you know of?**

**A.** About four years ago, when the revolution was starting to take shape, in order to distract the people, and also to switch the blame, we started planting bombs in various homes. And also in homes of those who were the leaders of the upcoming revolution. We ordered destruction of certain places, fires in certain supermarkets, and so forth.

**Q. Did SAVAK set the fires?**

**A.** I don't think so.

**Q. Were SAVAK agents trained in Israel, or the U.S. itself?**

**A.** Definitely.

**Q. Were they trained in torture?**

**A.** They were trained in how to get information from people they were interested in, they were also trained in the various psychological and physical methods that could be used and they demonstrated the various methods they could use to take information, from the people they were dealing with.

**Q. Including torture?**

**A.** Yes, including torture, physical and psychological.

**Q. Did they say where exactly this training was taking place?**

**A.** We were taken from Washington on a flight that took four hours, in a special plane, and we were not told where we were actually being taken. On

the basis of our own watches...the windows were covered, and there were various lamps in the plane...from takeoff to landing on the plane I was on myself took exactly four hours. It was not apparent from where we landed what particular city or place we were in. And the building we were taken to appeared to actually belong to the CIA, and they were not giving any information as to the location of this place.

The CIA would not actually train someone and show them how to do it, they would tell them for example how to use electrodes and circuits and where it would have the hardest effect as far as the person being tortured. In the beginning we learned those theories, and then came back and made our own improvements on them. For example, we would heat the needle hot, then insert it in someone's body. The torture tools used were mostly made by the U.S. and sent to Iran along with engineers to demonstrate and train the SAVAK agents.

The (Apollo) chair was built in Iran by a man called Jaled Aswani who had his training in the United States in how to build explosives. After he designed the chair, the parts were imported from the U.S. so he could put it together...the thing about burning people was SAVAK's own idea...

**Q. Do you know any specific person who was a CIA agent?**

**A.** The main CIA agent who was in charge of the whole thing's name was William Wood. This may not be his real name. He was known as William Wood. Yes, he was an Embassy member. One day I was sent by General Mossehadan, who was director of SAVAK in that day, to go and talk to this gentleman, Mr. Wood, and he said that the message was from Farah, the Shah's wife, and was, what is the latest situation in Iran, what can we do to quiet down the revolution...

**Q. When was this?**

**A.** Forty days before the revolution.

\* \* \* \* \*

Suddenly, in the midst of the interview, Mr. Amini, who was imprisoned



Left: SAVAK agent.

Right: Ex-prisoner.

under the Shah and whose sister was killed by SAVAK, pointed at one of the agents.

Amini. I was imprisoned for 2-1/2

years here and my sister was tortured to death. This man was an agent in my arrest; he was a witness to the torturing of my sister, in Evin, in Ghoson prison,

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## Torturer

Continued from page 15

until she died out of torture. My sister's name was Fatemeh Amini and she was burned until her entire body was paralyzed, and the gentleman behind me has done it, has been a witness to all these tortures. At the time they arrested me, he introduced himself as Colonel Dadsetan.

**Agent.** My intention on joining SAVAK was to serve my country. I had no ideological base or political understanding. I was not trained in any political ideology. I wanted to join SAVAK because in the name of it security is used, which means security for the nation, and also information. SAVAK is the abbreviation of the words that make that name. I was a weightlifter at the time. They had investigated all my records. They hired me, when it was proven that I did not have anything in my background that would be detrimental to SAVAK. SAVAK policy was to hire people that did not have any political philosophy or ideology of their own. At the time that I entered SAVAK, I went through the various trainings, and these trainings are intended for the trainees to be able to follow instructions, and the philosophies and morals that SAVAK wanted us to. Any small deviation was not forgiven by SAVAK, and we would be greatly reprimanded. I worked in the 4th division, SAVAK had various divisions. Our pattern was the CIA's but we adjusted it to the different conditions of Iran. Even using the gun and the different weapons was taught by the CIA.

After having been in there, I realized the kind of organization that I had made myself involved in. It dawned on me gradually, after having arrested the people, who would have with them books and so on indicating their ideologies, and also I found out that the people SAVAK was most interested in were educated Iranians, and the most intelligent young people that this country has. The gun I was carrying on my belt was from the United States, as well as the gun that was used which had the letters USA imprinted on it. Our masters and our teachers were the CIA

agents. Also, this prison was made with the help of the U.S. and is patterned after a prison located in New York. The gentleman who talked against me, Mr. Amini—SAVAK was planning to destroy their home, and I knew that there was a pregnant woman and a child in their home, I saw them come out of the house while we were watching, and I felt sorry for them. And then I risked my life, and said, please, allow me to arrest, even if I was going to be killed, I would not mind it, but I did not want that pregnant mother and her small child to be killed. I endangered my own life in trying to save his whole family from being blown up with a grenade that he had. I did it because his wife was pregnant, and because they had a small child. You should see from my point of view that these people were "Kharabkar" (terrorists). The Shah's regime called everybody who opposed his rule "terrorist." So I thought Amini would kill everybody along with myself. This is why I thought it was a big risk.

**Amini.** You can tell him that at least as far as I am concerned, that at the time of my arrest, I was a simple worker at the Institute of Standards, that I was not armed, these things that he is saying about being armed are not like me.

**Agent.** (naming a couple of names, and saying that Amini's address was given to SAVAK by those people) They told us that he was armed, that he had explosives in his home and a great deal of money, that he was working in the political opposition...

His sister was to have been (at a certain place at a public square in Tehran) at a certain time, and been arrested there, but she escaped and met (names of the people). On the day they were supposed to arrest his sister, I left my home to go to a dairy shop. But on the way I looked, (I saw Amini), and from his clothing I knew that he was not armed... and I told him, that there is no problem. I told him, you have been summoned. With no resistance at all he got in the car and came to this Evin prison.

**Interpreter.** Now you said that they started beating you in the car itself.

**Amini.** In the car they started beating me with their fists. My regular money was in my pocket, I don't know how much it was, but when I was here in

Evin prison they interrogated everybody here on their relationship with my sister.

**Agent.** Because of the position that I held in SAVAK, and other assignments, I could not be present at the time of the interrogation. We delivered them to jail, the time I was there was very short, after that I was not aware of what took place. And I know from the man who interrogated, that because of the manner that the interrogations were conducted, his sister hanged herself.

**Amini.** As soon as I was arrested, instead of taking me to the interrogation room, you took me to the torture room. This gentleman was present, and three other persons (he named them). And they started beating me with cables. In order to increase this information I should have told you that the money that was with me I was to have delivered to my sister that day at 9:00 in the morning. The time of my arrest was 7:00 in the morning.

**Agent.** When a sick person rules over a country, when a brain is damaged and cannot function, and it rules over a country, the result cannot be other than this. When brothers are set against brothers, and when the wealth of this nation are called criminals, and now as I stand in front of you as a criminal myself, the information system that was supposed to serve a nation was serving only one person, and that's the Shah. We would get up in the morning to the music of the national anthem, and the national anthem was the Shah from the beginning to the end, and we would go to bed hearing that music.

**Amini.** I have witnesses that know my sister, and know the conditions she was under in this prison. She was tortured to the extent, and burned to the extent, that her body was paralyzed. In no circumstances could she have hung herself. And there are also others who are willing to witness to the fact that Fatemeh Amini could not hang herself. She died under torture.

**Agent.** Of course I should tell you that since I was not involved with the activities of those persons, many things could have happened. I had presumed that she hung herself with a sheet from a bed after having been in prison several months.

**Amini.** In Evin at that time, there were

no sheets on the beds. All prisoners could witness to this.

**Agent.** I have no more in my defense, but I know from the laundry that was done here that there were sheets that were being used in the prison. He should accept that I had nothing against him personally, and if we feel that against each other, it was because of a system run by one man, and that man, because of his own personal ambitions, set us against each other.

I was arrested seven months ago. I have not been tried yet. The methods of investigation and interrogation are a great deal different from under the previous regime. They will do an extensive investigation on me. I am telling you sincerely that they will not pass a verdict on us very easily. The atmosphere of this prison for the ones who are running it is deeply religious. When the investigations of me are complete, and the records that they need have been gathered, they will take me to the court system, where I will be tried.

**Q. Do you see yourself responsible for the torture of either Mr. Amini or his sister?**

**A.** Under no circumstances, if I had tortured him, then I could have also been able to torture his sister.

**Amini.** He sure was a witness to the way I was tortured and the way my sister was tortured.

**Agent.** I even cried for him and for his sister. And this crying was very difficult because I was not supposed to show emotion. I look to the court system to exonerate me. I have a request, please. We will not be comfortable until the individual who resulted in us being here today is here also. I am not talking about dying at the gunpoint of the bullet, but every minute of our life is a kind of death, knowing the kind of crimes we committed against this nation. You need to help us, for the United States to return the king to Iran. I spent the best years of my life, and of my family's, and I want to take my revenge. My friends, and myself and my colleagues, who had no political awareness, were set against their own brothers in organizations set up primarily for information security services...

## Tachai:

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days. But all this would never have been possible if the peasants had not been armed with Marxism-Leninism and mobilized to struggle against those who wanted to drag Tachai down the capitalist path. Mao saw the need to take this lesson and spread it all over China, for only by the masses of people taking class struggle as the key link could the dictatorship of the proletariat be protected and strengthened against the bourgeoisie. The revisionists in control of China want to smash and stomp out this lesson, because the class struggle waged by the Chinese people under Mao's leadership was directed precisely at their kind. Even some Tachai leaders who originally went along with the coup—though they met resistance—have now fallen from favor. Chen Yung-kuai, on the Politburo, has been relieved of all real functions. The top revisionists used him for a "seal of approval" but now they want "experts," not peasants, running agriculture.

### Attacking the Communes

Although Tachai is a concrete and sharp example of what the revisionists' plans are for China's agriculture, indications are that much deeper and more thorough dismantling of Mao's legacy in agriculture is taking place. His policy of "taking grain as the key link" is now being junked for the law of highest profit. China is now considering trashing the whole concept of people's communes. A signed article in the Nov. 6 issue of *Guanming Daily* (indicating there is still debate among the ruling circles on this question) puts forward the view that people's communes outstrip objective conditions in China since they combine political and economic functions and therefore contain an element of ownership by the whole people. The people's commune,

the article charges, has "few advantages and many disadvantages," and "the confusion it created was very serious." The article proposes that the communes be stripped of their political character and become purely economic units.

Again, although this article doesn't name names, it's obvious that criticism of people's communes is a direct blast at Mao. People's communes were a product of the struggle in the agricultural sphere waged by Mao against the Right and their "theory of productive forces." Mao ridiculed these people, saying that "some of our comrades, tottering along like a woman with bound feet, are complaining all the time, 'you're going too fast, much too fast.'" ("On the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture," *Selected Works*, Vol. 5) With full confidence in the peasants' boundless enthusiasm for socialism, Mao pushed for ever higher forms of collective ownership. People's communes were finally established in 1957. The greatest importance of the people's communes was not simply that they were a more efficient system of production than small-scale farming or that they rescued the poor peasants from being squeezed out by the rich or ruined by natural disasters, although the communes certainly did do these things. Above all, people's communes were a giant leap toward the communist goal of eliminating the differences between town and countryside and transforming peasants into proletarians.

The effect of revisionist policies in the countryside is clear—they will unleash all the capitalist forces. Peasants and production units will be egged on to produce all they can for profit instead of the collective. Inequalities between different regions, villages and individual households will intensify as bourgeois right is expanded. But the main thrust of the revisionist policies is not to encourage small-time private production, al-

though this will greatly expand, but to transform collective units into self-supporting, profit-oriented agricultural firms, linked to the state not by planning or required deliveries and sales, but by bank credit. It's either turn a profit or sink, the peasants be damned!

As an example of a capitalist force unleashed, a recent (No. 47) *Peking Review* cited favorably the example of a "commune member" who made 2,000 yuan a year in a sideline occupation. 2,000 yuan is many times the average yearly wage of a worker. But this little capitalist-to-be is called an example of the "meaning of socialism"—a few "socialist rich people," no doubt, while the masses can go to hell.

The revisionists' efforts to develop agriculture and the whole economy in accordance with what they euphemistically refer to as "natural laws" and "objective laws" (that is, the law of profit!) will inevitably result in a lopsided economy—cash crops will replace staples, rich units with better land will become richer, the poor poorer. The effects are already apparent—Vice Premier Li recently announced that 40,000 "unprofitable" enterprises would be closed (while there are 20 million unemployed), and for the first time since Liberation, inflation haunts China, as food prices were raised 33% on Nov. 1 (*San Francisco Chronicle* UPI report), while prices paid to peasants for agricultural produce had no proportional increase.

In any case, the difficulties the revisionists are having underscores a real necessity for them to come out more and more openly against Mao's line. Reportedly a cynical saying circulating in China a few months back went like this: "In agriculture, learn from Tachai. In industry, learn from Taching. The whole country must learn from Uncle Sam."

Now it can just be shortened to: Learn from Uncle Sam.

## Greensboro

Continued from page 2

involved in the case up to this point to make sure to provide the best case for the defense. And even Schlosser's half-hearted plea for a delay in the start of the trial because he has not even been able to prepare his case, since the FBI refuses to release any of the physical evidence they seized from the scene of the massacre, was denied by the court.

With all this going on, it is no surprise at all that Virgil Griffin, the head lizard of the Klan group that was part of the massacre and who openly brags about being there himself, is travelling all over the Carolinas raising money and recruiting new members. Griffin is clearly unafraid of any punishment.

At the same time, various politicians including the governor, Jim Hunt, have made statements to the press attacking "wild and crazy groups." While they are usually careful to mention their opposition to "extremists from both the left and the right" clearly they are not referring to those innocent "good old boys" who were provoked into killing 5 people in "self-defense" in Greensboro. Governor Hunt made an open call for more open repression of revolutionaries saying, "We're going to have to make a strong and effective effort to deal with organizations that engage in violence..." specifically calling for the repeal of any laws that "tie our hands" in investigating and infiltrating such "wild and crazy groups."

Clearly, the hand behind the Klan is dripping blood all over the place as it desperately seeks to tighten its grip on the masses of people and suppress revolutionaries.



# First Hand

Continued from page 15

economic advisor to the head of SAVAK. His testimony was a clever combination of profuse detail concerning matters that would expose the United States (and hence possibly win his freedom) but total ignorance of his own complicity in any crimes. Thus he told of the day-to-day direction of the SAVAK by an American agent (who he met at the Embassy) who called himself William Wood. He told of his training at a base in the United States in physical and psychological methods of "interrogation." He told of how other agents were trained by Masoud, the Israeli intelligence agency. He admitted that SAVAK was responsible for the bombing of stores that served liquor in order to cast the blame on "Moslem militants." But then he denied involvement in the Rex Theatre fire in Abadan where hundreds were killed. This again brought cries of protest from the Iranian citizens in the room. In the end he attributed only good motives to himself, blamed everything on the Shah (who was of course safely in the United States), offered to serve the new Islamic republic and declared his only regret was that he had been unable to kill the Shah. He too sat down smiling.

And so the litany went on. One after another, angrily confronted by Iranians who had suffered, sympathetically questioned by the American journalists. All now ready to serve the new Islamic republic. All decrying the reign of the Shah who "set brother against brother." In other words, "all that's in the past, let's forget and be friends now."

I left the prison with a profound feeling of disgust. I certainly had questions about Khomeini's policy toward executions—it was clear that he hadn't shot enough of these bastards! And they were so cocky. They were obviously well-fed and most were wearing sport coats, and all acted like it was only a matter of time till they would be out. A

young Iranian walking out with me spat on the ground, "Hell," he said, "this isn't a prison. This is a country club!"

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## Pity the Hard-Working Journalists

For American journalists Tehran is a hardship assignment. The laws of the new Islamic republic have shut down all the bars. As a result you have all these TV crews and foreign correspondents going through DT's while trying to invent today's "latest atrocity by the Moslem fanatics holding the hostages." For many years the old "Tehran hands" among the press corps used to warm barstools on the mezzanine of the Intercontinental Hotel and process the daily news handouts from the agents at the Propaganda Ministry. Now the long bar is deserted and hard times have come upon the press.

After the booze famine, the next biggest hardship for the American press is getting used to the fact that America doesn't own Iran any more. Doors do not automatically open for them, and they even have to wait in line occasionally like mere mortals. Still, they manage to make their obnoxious presence felt, yelling out imperious demands to Iranian press officials, "Let's get the show on the road. We have deadlines." At a press conference in Evin prison, when Iranian officials presented a mother who had lost four children to SAVAK during the Shah's regime, the room full of foreign newsmen promptly shut off their camera lights and refused to ask her a single question. But when a former minister of the Shah's government was brought in they scrambled up on the chairs to photograph him and bombarded him with questions. "Why are you in prison? Did you have a fair trial? Are you being mistreated? Don't you resent being tried before the press like this?"

After touring the SAVAK torture chambers, we heard James Walker of ABC-TV exclaim to one Iranian official, "Why would your press office organize such a grim tour, except to demonstrate the crimes of the Shah to create world public opinion to pressure

the U.S. to give him back!" Very perceptive, Mr. Walker. And the next question we might ask is, why does the U.S. organize such an anti-Iranian hysteria except to prepare world opinion to accept U.S. military aggression against Iran?

The one uplifting aspect of the journalists' lives in Iran has been the rebirth of legal scholarship among American journalists. After decades of seeming indifference to the legal niceties of U.S. invasions of Lebanon, Dominican Republic, and Vietnam, the bombing of Laos, and assorted coups and CIA assassinations in dozens of countries, the U.S. press corps has at last awakened from its legal lethargy. At the press conference which our delegation held in Tehran the burning questions of the day seemed to be: "Can the U.S. legally extradite the Shah without a valid extradition treaty? Isn't the seizure of the embassy in violation of international law? And what sort of legal precedent would our returning the Shah create?" One newsman, in a total frenzy over our support of the Iranian people's just demands, even went so far as to exclaim that international law was the very foundation of all civilized society, without which man would descend into barbarism! Yet when we pointed out instance after instance where the U.S. flagrantly violated this so-called international law which the imperialists created in the first place for its own imperialist interests we were accused of changing the subject. It soon became clear that our newsmen's interest in "international law" was solely confined to the one instance in which they thought it could be turned to the U.S.'s advantage, and their hystrionics were solely for the benefit of their own cameras.

In another revealing exchange we heard two BBC newsmen complaining to an Iranian press official that the hostages in the embassy were not being properly treated by *European standards*. Without batting an eye the official replied that he was not fully familiar with how Europeans held their hostages, but that he had seen a few pictures from Auschwitz.

While our delegation was blacked out in the United States, we did receive fair media coverage in Iran. Our first press statement was broadcast worldwide over Radio Iran, and the national television network recorded a half-hour interview with our delegation which was excerpted on the nationwide news. We were also interviewed by several papers.

Since our return we have been able to kick a few holes in the blackout and in particular we have stirred up a storm by widely distributing copies of the secret documents found in the embassy by the students. The students released most of these documents to the American press before we even went to Iran, but on the orders of the Ayatollah Jody Powell they were kept from the American public. Now that the documents have come out in the U.S., the press which refused to carry them is screaming about "top level officials in the Carter administration are seething privately that material of such sensitivity was not destroyed."

No one in the government has even bothered to deny the authenticity of these documents, they're just upset that the Iranian students got their hands on them. A *Los Angeles Times* wire service release (December 26) says of these documents, which clearly show CIA agents' identities and cover stories as well as implicating several Iranian diplomats in cahoots with the U.S., "such reporting is the normal work of the ambassador and political officers at an embassy." They also quote one Western diplomat saying, "The problem is that one country's 'diplomatic reporting' can be considered by another country as outright espionage. It all depends on your point of view." It appears that what the U.S. diplomats and their press are most upset about is that their "point of view"—that U.S. imperialism should be allowed to run rough-shod over the rest of the world—has been even more exposed by these documents and that the Iranian people, as well as many others in the world, find this viewpoint totally unacceptable. ■

Next week: Conclusion of First Hand from Iran

# Afghanistan

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Even with the presence of 3,000 Soviet military advisors, as well as jet bombers, tanks, and helicopter gunships, all supplied by the Soviet Union, the government has not been able to hold the army together in the face of the continuing popular movement. Because of losses in battle, desertions, and in many cases, outright defection to the liberation struggle, the Afghan army has been reduced from its original size of about 100,000 men down to about 60,000, despite the fact that the government recently lowered the draft age to 14-year-olds in some rural areas to try to swell its ranks.

In November, Hafizullah Amin, who had come to power only two months before in a coup against the previous Soviet puppet, Nur Mohammed Taraki, attempted to launch a general offensive against the liberation forces. While he had some initial success in one province, mainly due to the presence of Soviet helicopter gunships flown by Soviet pilots, the rebels in most of the country beat back the attacks and began to take the offensive themselves, initiating hit and run battles within 60 kilometers of Kabul. Apparently, this was the final straw for the Soviets. Having airlifted about 4,500 troops into Afghanistan, the Soviets announced on December 27th that Amin had been executed and that Babarak Karmal was to be the new head of the Afghan government.

Karmal is the head of the Parcham (Banner) faction of the so-called People's Democratic Party, the Soviet-style revisionist party in Afghanistan, while Amin, and Taraki before him, had been the leaders of the Khalq (People's) faction of the same party. The two factions have united and split apart 14 times in the 14 years that the party has been in existence, with the main difference between them being which faction would get to be the chief Soviet bootlicker in

the country. They united most recently in the April 1978 Soviet-sponsored coup that overthrew the Daoud regime, which had been getting too friendly with the U.S., and brought Taraki to power. At first, Karmal was named the Deputy Prime Minister of the government but Taraki quickly appointed him ambassador to Czechoslovakia as part of a move to get all the Parcham leaders out of the country and consolidate the Khalq faction's power. When Taraki later tried to get Karmal back to Afghanistan after a purge of the Parcham faction, Karmal went into hiding somewhere inside the Soviet bloc to await his master's call, should he be needed. Apparently, the Soviets are hoping that Karmal and his faction will be less exposed than the Khalq group, and that he will be able to make some sort of a deal with at least some of the opposition forces in Afghanistan, and broaden the Kabul government's base of support.

But clearly they are not relying on this latest change in puppets to stop the struggle of the masses. Immediately after the announcement of the coup, the Soviet Union rapidly airlifted more tanks and troops into the Kabul airport to consolidate their hold, and beat back those Afghan army divisions that were reluctant to go along with the latest Soviet maneuver. And Karmal called on other Soviet puppets, from Cuba to Angola, to also send military help. The Soviets have also moved two armored divisions into the country, possibly to secure the major airfields in preparation for a combined air-ground Soviet military offensive against the guerrilla forces, similar to the "pacification" program attempted by the U.S. in Vietnam. Given the determined and resolute struggle of the Afghani people for their freedom, the Soviet attempt at "pacification" will undoubtedly meet the same fate at the hands of the masses.

War Mongers Scream "War Mongers"

For its part, the U.S. government's

response to the Soviet invasion and coup has had two aspects. The first has been to express shock and outrage that their adversary imperialists are just as bloodthirsty as they are. President Carter, complaining that Brezhnev had lied to him about the Soviet invasion, decried the lack of honor among thieves in a nationally televised interview with "newsman" Frank Reynolds, ABC-TV's chief hand-wringer over the declining forces of U.S. imperialism. The State Department expressed the hope that the world, including Iran, would note the difference between the "aggression" of the Soviets and the "restraint" of the U.S. in Iran, failing to mention the fact that it has been the united action of the Iranian masses that has so far prevented the U.S. from taking the military action that it has consistently threatened.

But more than the public opinion maneuvers, the U.S. has used the occasion to make a number of moves to tighten up its war bloc in preparation for a future showdown with the Soviets. Warren Christopher, U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, was quickly dispatched to a NATO meeting to discuss various options. While this included the possi-

bility of boycotting the Olympic games scheduled for Moscow this summer, more to the point was State Department discussions of the possibility of resuming direct arms shipments to Pakistan. This country, which borders Afghanistan on the east, had previously been cut off due to its insistence on developing nuclear weapons. The State Department also mentioned the possibility of arms shipments to China. In addition, they held out the possibility of initiating direct military support for those few Afghani groups based in Pakistan that the CIA deems trustworthy, such as the so-called Afghan National Liberation Front, whose sole desire is to replace the Soviet puppet regime with themselves on the end of the U.S.'s string.

But the maneuverings of the superpowers in the Persian Gulf area are not taking place in a vacuum. Although they are each fond of pointing to the other as the war monger (and on this point, they are both right!), and claiming that the people have to choose which superpower they like best, the masses of people in Iran and Afghanistan are showing their determination to be free of both. ■

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# Making the Mark of the Working Class

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parent lies about Iran that government spokesmen deliver deadpan.

Yes, there are many today in the working class whose eyes are open—who see the naked emperor parading around—a walking corpse, overdue for his grave. The ranks of the working class include veterans who experienced directly the filthy horror of “defending democracy,” minorities whose fight for freedom scorched one city after another in the 60s, immigrants who know first hand the unbelievable misery U.S. imperialism brings to people in their native lands; workers who are just now shaking off the stupor of living in the main imperialist power in the world.

For the same reason that the imperialists are desperately trying to wipe these vivid memories out, to rewrite history, the working class needs to build on these strengths. But this alone is not enough to guide us through the twists and turns of the Iran crisis or the turbulence ahead.

It is not enough for individuals scattered in the working class to have their eyes more open—those who *do* understand have to step forward onto the political stage, acting consciously in the revolutionary interests of the working class as a whole. Of course, those willing to do so will be a relatively small force *today*. Historically, this has been true in the development of every revolutionary movement. Lenin described a similar situation just before the 1905 revolution (a full-scale dress rehearsal for the successful proletarian revolution in 1917). When a factory foreman asked a group of workers what they wanted, only one voice shouted “a new constitution” (then the key demand in the struggle against the Tsar’s autocracy), and because the voice sounded so isolated, it was ridiculed as comical. As the masses began to understand that this demand crystallized their aspirations to influence affairs of state, Lenin described the transformation, “then the cry... will not be an isolated one, but will come from the throats of thousands and hundreds of thousands, when it will no longer be comical, but menacing.” This story from Lenin underscores that the working class will not move in a monolithic bloc—if you waited until even a majority of the working class was solidly united, nothing would change. Even at the time of an insurrection, there will still be a part of the working class whose highest aspirations will be striking for higher wages.

## Advanced Workers, Shake the Broader Ranks Around Iran

The only way to shake the broad ranks of the working class awake is for thousands of their own to rattle the cages, to race to the forefront. The necessity and the opportunity for this to happen is sharply focused in the Iran crisis as the imperialists cynically line people up to defend monstrous criminals, from Rockefeller to the Shah, and yet not notice that they’re standing in a pool of blood—blood of people like themselves. While far too many have been swept along—are too complacent with life under capitalism, there are millions of others whose anger burns deep in their guts against their miserable existence and the insanity of life in the good old USA. Millions more barely get by—for them life is little more than working day in and day out especially as the crumbs of the imperialists dwindle. Even the “happy slaves” with their campers work so much overtime they have little time to use it. Many know deep down that the tinsel on their slave chains is meaningless decoration. If that wasn’t so—then why all the alcohol, the tranquilizers, the divorces...? Those in our ranks who not only smell the stench of the USA but are sickened by it, have to stop being dragged down by the grossly ignorant views of the tinsel clingers and their endless prattle about how the U.S. is the best country in the world or, “How could you justify endangering 50 American lives?” ad nauseum.

It’s long overdue to make a sharp break with the slavemaster’s ideology, to say look—the American flag means the same thing (or even more heinous crimes) to the people of the world as the swastika did and we ought to join them in burning it! Welding the advanced in our ranks into a visible force led by the RCP can exert a profound influence in both the immediate situation and the tremors that will inevitably follow as the crisis intensifies and earth-shaking events erupt. When a section of the working class puts the stamp of its uncompromising internationalist outlook on its actions, it begins to open a second front on our common enemy. When a banner signed by postal workers drapes the U.S. embassy in Tehran, it encourages our brothers and sisters in Iran to stand firm. (If it didn’t make any difference, why does Carter plead for messages to be sent to the Iranians that we’ve all united against them?)

In this case the ability of the working class to make a clear analysis of who are the real friends and who are the real enemies is critical to preventing the struggle from being shipwrecked. Just look back at the anti-war movement where many forces could not see clearly the face of the enemy. Large-scale pacifist tendencies existed which failed to see the *class* character of the war and instead condemned war in general and attacked the Vietnamese as well as the U.S. ruling class (or even GIs).

When in the charged atmosphere around Iran, the revolutionary line of the RCP acts as a lightning rod, the debate rages like at National Semiconductor (an electronics plant in San Jose, California), opinion shifts and more who have been silenced by the reactionary nonsense step to the fore. Debates like these, the exposures in the *Revolutionary Worker*, help to concretely train a section of the working class in its class interests—to embrace proletarian internationalism and discard national chauvinism. This will help prepare the ranks of the working class for the time when world war is an immediate reality. We cannot underestimate the effect of telegrams from the factories being sent to Iran with a hundred, forty or even a dozen names as there already have been. When even 15 workers at McDonnell Douglas, a defense plant, most with 20 years seniority, sent an open telegram in support of the Iranian students, literally thousands in the working class and some among the students and professionals are inspired and the working class wins allies.

When those who actually make society run, declare their resolute opposition to the whole way society is run, it presents a sharp alternative to many whose sights would otherwise not go far beyond futile hopes of finding the “honest” politician who could somehow finally cure the ills of capitalism. These small but significant steps which must be intensified many times over have an impact far beyond the numbers involved or even who they move the next day. (Imagine the effect if thousands led by a united front of the multinational working class marched in the streets in defense of the Iranian revolution, breaking the press blockade.) And obviously the advances the working class makes in taking the Iran crisis head on will dramatically influence the working class’ ability to unfurl its banner in the streets on May 1, 1980.

## Iran—Part of the Revolutionary Process

In the long run, how the working class responds, especially its farsighted members in a key battle like Iran, as Chairman Avakian said will be, “a part, a very important part, of the whole process of revolution and have a great deal to do with victory or defeat when there is a qualitative leap in the situation.” The thousands today who get trained in their class interests, tempered through the storms of such a crisis, will be able to lead hundreds of

thousands and eventually millions as the objective conditions for revolution ripen (a possibility not at all remote in the U.S.). Again Lenin described this process in Russia, “The sudden deepening of the crisis and all the strains it puts on society stick out all the more sharply and call into question the right and the *ability* of the bourgeoisie to rule.” As Lenin expressed it, “the masses who uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed in peacetime... in turbulent times are drawn by all the circumstances of the crisis and by the upper classes themselves into independent historical action.”

The imperialists understand in their own perverted way that the working class are the gravediggers. Their fear is driving them to fight desperately to keep the mantle of the working class in their hands. Why else did their traitorous henchmen in the ILWU immediately leap into their lap—issuing orders not to load cargo destined for Iran. In the ’60s the hacks of the ILWU and other so-called “progressive labor leaders” under the guise of being anti-war were useful in swinging the movement behind the “liberal” bourgeoisie. Today the imperialists use them as open front men in the working class to crack the whip (although tomorrow they may again shift their tactics as support grows for the Iranians’ just demands to derail the movement into safe channels and to keep the word “worker” synonymous with “democrat” and harmless to the bourgeoisie). Why else are they freaking out, firing revolutionary workers for wearing buttons, t-shirts, speaking out, exposing their ghoulish lies about Iran? Or canning the few news reporters who have dared to speak even part of the truth? The imperialists are saying straight out—“We’ll tell our workers what to think.”

The bourgeoisie knows full well the impact that even a relatively tiny percent of the working class can have on their fellow wage slaves and other sectors of the people. Back in the ’60s they went to great efforts to misportray the workers’ views on the war. They splashed on page 1 reactionary incidents

engineered by union officials like Peter Brennan, of construction workers attacking anti-war marchers. They hoped to demoralize the anti-war forces by portraying the working class as their enemy as well as dampening support for them among the workers. Imagine what the impact could have been on the broader ranks of the working class in particular if there had been a visible class conscious section during the high tide of the ’60s. For one, today we could have a working class significantly less wedded to the likes of Teddy Kennedy. And today if there wasn’t a basis for thousands to influence hundreds of thousands in the not too distant future why does the ruling class take these drastic measures which rip up their already tattered pretense of democracy?

The Iran crisis has turned the political situation from being like a slack rope to one that’s been snapped taut. While this rope could choke us, it can also be cut, severing the ties that bind the working class to the imperialists. With or without the conscious role of the working class, there will be upheaval and turmoil. The real question confronting us—Will the imperialists be the real ones to gain through it? Or will the working class seize the opportunity to make important advances in the course of this crisis? Today the working class is in a significantly better position to unfurl its banner than in the ’60s; the bourgeoisie is considerably weaker, bourgeoisification is breaking down and the working class has a vanguard party. However, the working class can’t stay in the same place or the rope will be tightened around its neck and the ground cut out from under it. If during the course of the Iran crisis, the working class makes concrete preparations, mounts the stage and the word worker actually begins to call to mind among the general populace a radical, a revolutionary (not an automatic or an easy transformation) during the Iran crisis, the working class and the oppressed will be in an immeasurably stronger position when the storms of the ’80s sweep the country. ■

# On the Streets in El Salvador

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From the letters I’ve received, the repression is worse than ever, for example, in the countryside.

Q. What is the face of U.S. imperialism in Central America?

A. Well, the people know about the domination, maybe not too much about the economic or political if they haven’t studied it, but they do know there is a cultural domination—the youth all dress like gringos and dance disco, there’s a lot of alienation, music in English is preferred to music in Spanish. There’s a lot of technological domination—the biggest factories are owned and run by gringos, and these are also the factories where the biggest problems occur—strikes, work stops, etc. In the *Diario* (a big newspaper—*RW*) they are always talking about how nice it is that the U.S. is “happy” with us, that the U.S. “approves” of the junta, etc. And the arms sales to the military—they are American weapons purchased through Israel, just like in Nicaragua. There are people from Somoza’s government in our army. When Romero was in power, they gave him \$52 million for “defense”—not external defense, I can tell you! It’s for the Guard and the police.

Q. What are your feelings around the revolutionary movement? Have the massacres scared you off?

A. Every time something happens like more crude repression, the more you feel you have to do something! Because it isn’t going to stop! Even the small experience I have had, I think of the peasantry, the workers, what they have to live through every day! In the Halloween massacre, we were in a slaughterhouse and I felt so afraid of the noise, the Guard, the gunfire—but how does a peasant feel, every time the Guard enters a canton? My moment of terror is a lifetime for him. And if we don’t try to change things, this system, this will continue. The political struggle

is a human struggle. My friend, who went with me on Halloween, she is much more experienced, and she is ready to leave her family, because they will not let her participate. These family questions, well, you feel bad. I’m a real spoiled kid. They love me a lot, but when I think of the workers and peasants whose families they have killed, husbands, wives, children, well, I have to fight for the class, for these class brothers, I have to expand my thinking. I am ready to fight in a revolution! To me the word *revolution* means change, the destruction of capitalism in El Salvador. And because of what I have seen and lived, I want to destroy the capitalist system, it is oppressive and exploitative, it isn’t anything good! So many people suffering just so some capitalist pig can make money! And if we have a revolution in El Salvador, well, like the revolution in Nicaragua strengthened us, our revolution will strengthen Guatemala. If Central America is free from imperialism, that would be a big step for all of Latin America, imagine, a free Latin America! And if you make a revolution here in the U.S.—Damn! With these things, imagine what the people, what humanity, could do...

\* \* \* \* \*

*Carmen’s last words, as we embraced and said good-bye, were “Well, maybe we won’t see each other again, but we’ll keep in touch. We have to remember, the struggle has no borders!”*

