



# THE YOUNG COMMUNIST

(Formerly FIGHT BACK!)

Revolutionary Student Brigade National Newspaper

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MARCH 1978

## VICTORY AT MADISON!

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# COUNTERFEIT CREW UNMASKED

In the last few years the Revolutionary Student Brigade has emerged as the largest, most important revolutionary organization of the nation's campuses and has begun the process of building chapters in the ghettos and communities. Our purpose for existence has been to mobilize broad numbers of students and youth to stand with the working class and its Party in the fight for socialism and communism. Until now, the Revolutionary Communist Party was the party of the working class, the party of revolution. On that basis the RSB accepted leadership from and supported the RCP.

## IT'S RIGHT TO REBEL AGAINST REACTION

In recent weeks the RCP has begun to consolidate around a counter-revolutionary line that abandons the struggle for socialism in this country and abandons socialism where it has been won - in the People's Republic of China. 40% of the Party has rebelled against this betrayal.

Despite physical intimidation and attacks, despite constant claims that the Brigade members are too stupid to deal with the political questions at hand, the overwhelming majority of Brigade members, including 90% of the East coast, and 85% of the western mid-west, the entire national office and 2/3 of its elected political leadership, have chosen to raise their heads and stand with the rebellion. We supported the RCP when it stood for revolution. We are forced to rebel against it when it abandons this task.

The oppression and misery that people throughout this country face, demands revolution and revolutionary leadership. The heroic strike of the coal miners taking place right now demands it. The anger and hatred millions of minorities have for the Bakke decision demands it. The victims of US aggression in southern Africa demands it. We are determined to help provide it. We are determined to help mobilize students in this country to stand with the working people world-wide. For final freedom and liberation can only be gained through revolution led by a revolutionary party. We are determined to stand with and contribute to building that party. Right now we are joining with hundreds of communists who have rebelled against the RCP's opportunist turn to do just that.

As we said at the 1977 RSB convention, "We are 700 youths and students from all across America determined to fight the rulers of this country, stronger, smarter and more organized than before. 700 who don't want to see the people being forced to fight one abuse after another year after year. 700 who are sure that we can help move the struggle forward to build a bright new world. 700 determined to be the generation that brings socialism to America."

It would be irresponsible for us to tell students of this country to support ANY party, or support ANY strategy for revolution. It would prove dangerous today, and outright disastrous tomorrow. Every student who has fought the rulers for the smallest concession knows full well that wrong leadership can lead to defeat. In the struggle for revolution, wrong leadership can lead to golden opportunities being blown and millions being condemned to continued but unnecessary oppression. Therefore, at a recent national meeting of the RSB, attended by two thirds of its membership, we made a difficult but necessary decision. The decision to uphold the interests of the people and the goal of revolution above former allegiances and to rebel against the opportunist RCP and its egomaniacal chair, Bob Avakian.

Some members of the RSB, particularly in the South and California have chosen instead to become Avakianites. We hope these wayward comrades will lift their heads up, choose to be communists, not Avakianites, and reboard the train to revolution.

At the same time, it is important to expose their attempts to pimp off the name and experience of the RSB. These former members of the RSB have chosen to form a cheap and counterfeit imitation of the RSB. This organization, called the "RCYB", has as much in common with the RSB of the last several years as any other phony socialist group running around on the campuses. NONE!

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## OPEN LETTER TO PIPSQUEAK AVAKIAN 1/24/78

# What You Couldn't Organize, You Can't Steal!

This short person's got no  
reason to live

We condemn your attempts to split our organization. We condemn your attempts to hijack our organization for your own purposes. We condemn your cowardly attacks on our members and our national office.

Our membership has recently become aware that a severe crisis has shaken the Revolutionary Communist Party. We are aware that nearly half of the Party, including half the leadership, have rebelled against your decision to support the Gang of Four and to conclude that China is on the revisionist, capitalist road. We are also aware that there are substantial differences on how to apply Marxism-Leninism to the U.S. Out of these two lines and as a product of the rebellion there have emerged two headquarters in the Party (your own and the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters). This line struggle is important. It is a struggle between Marxism and opportunism and between revolution and counter revolution. Those who take the wrong position are on the road to hell. Since we are a communist youth organization that stands with the RCP, that has been developed by the RCP and acknowledges the leadership of the RCP, this struggle has great implications for our organization. We as an organization that openly applies Marxism-Leninism are capable of determining right from wrong. As an organization that has for a number of years stood with the People's Republic of China, we are capable of determining the class nature of the Chinese Party and State. In short, the political differences in the Party could have been brought into the Brigade and struggled out.

This however has not been your approach. Brigade members under your influence attempted to organize secret Brigade meetings. Individuals representing your Central Committee have come to our meetings and declared them "illegal." We had tried to resolve this struggle in a principled way. A national meeting was called in Baltimore the same weekend as the benefits demonstration. A debate was proposed between the two headquarters. Instead you went ahead and organized a scab national Brigade meeting that only a sixth of the Brigade membership attended. Most chapters and areas were excluded. It was not called by our National Political Committee and in fact was in opposition to the decisions of two thirds of our NPC and the meeting it called. You defended this scab meeting from the Brigade membership itself with a paramilitary force of thirty goons in Cincinnati. They came complete with chains, bats, blackjacks and attacked our members - particularly the National Office of the Brigade. Six foot six goons wielding baseball bats clubbed women. Our members had come armed with nothing but Marxism-Leninism. It seems it was this weapon that you feared the most. Since then you have released a pamphlet that claims the majority of the Brigade and the Brigade as an organization supports you. This is an outright lie! There is not one chapter on the East Coast that supports you. In the Midwest the majority of the chapters oppose you. The entire National Office and two thirds of the National Political Committee oppose you.

Bob Avakian - who the fuck do you think you are. You don't own our organization. Nor will you be allowed to steal it. We are the proud inheritors of the traditions of the RSB and the Youth in Actions, not the sixty who met in Cincinnati. Our organization has fought the rulers from Wall St. to Kent State. We have withstood the various political assaults of the bourgeoisie. We have fought the perversion of Marxism-Leninism by opportunists. We will certainly roll over a pipsqueak like you. ■



# Carter - Hands Off The Miner's Strike!!

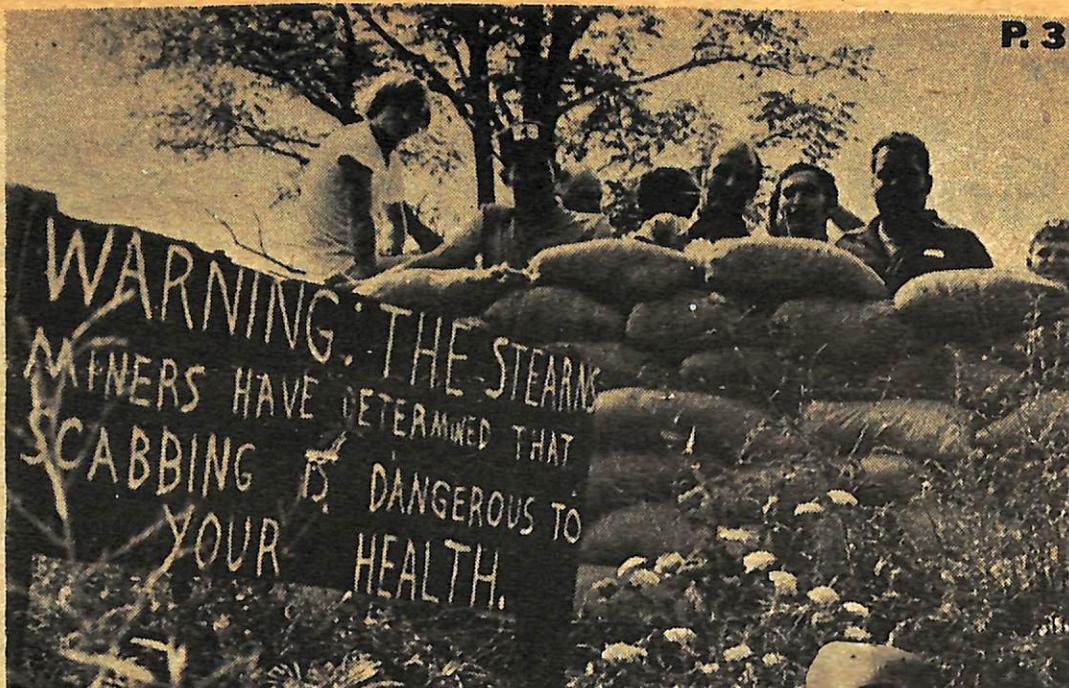
FLASH!!

As we go to press, the Federal Government is threatening to intervene in the coal strike. Jimmy "friend of labor" Carter is threatening to try to crush the strike by invoking the Taft-Hartley Act as well as by bringing Federal Troops into the mines. Already the national guard is on the streets protecting scab coal shipments. The miners answer has been swift and clear. They will not be cowed and are confident "the army can't mine coal with bayonets!" Students across the country should join in denouncing the plans to militarily smash the just struggle of the miners.

National newscasts threaten a colder winter ahead. But its not the weather they're reporting. It's news of the longest strike to hit the coal mines in history. 165,000 miners on strike for over 11 weeks. Miners writing another proud chapter in their long history. Fighting for dignity - standing up against the bosses attempt to drive them down. Standing up today against cuts in Black lung benefits, against efforts to take away their right to strike. Standing up for what they need to live. Standing together for what's right. It's not cold in the mines. The heat is on full blast - on the mine owners and the rest of their damn class.

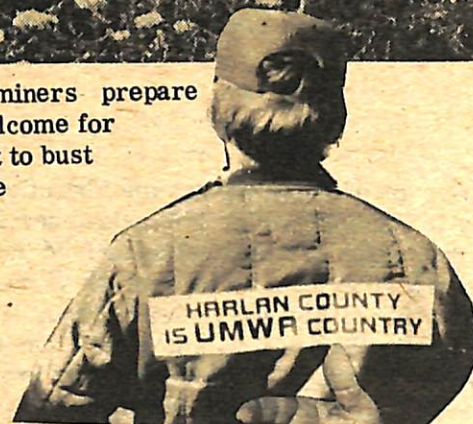
Forces are lining up to smash the strike. Calling on us for support. Walter Cronkite and his cronies do the mine owners bidding. That's what's behind all the forbidding reports of no heat, lay-offs and black outs. Promises of national guardsmen escorting coal-trains, through the mid-west. And Carter threatens to invoke the Taft-Hartley act - and sending in troops to end the strike. All this in the name of protecting us from strike crazy miners.

Their position is clear and all the phony claims of concern for the people are just that - PHONY! Their record speaks for itself. How many miners lives have been saved by governmental actions closing unsafe



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Above, miners prepare warm welcome for scabs out to bust the strike



reasonable - selfish. Mine owners just a little to stubborn. And the government our saviour. But once again the facts tell a different story. But facts are something they're not fond of broadcasting on the 6 o'clock news. They don't talk much about the thousands of miners who fought and died for a union to defend them against starvation wages, rotten conditions, never ending work days. They don't write obituaries for the countless who have been buried alive in the mines. Or of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association all out offensive to steal back the medical coverage won in the 60's. Or how they've cut benefits and pensions to force the workers to submit to their rule. These are the things that make us hate the mine owners.

Hate the system that forces people to work and live like animals for their damn profit. And they sure as hell don't tell us about workers standing up and fighting back. The wildcat strikes that swept through the coal fields like brush fire are pictured as fanatical acts - wildcats that pulled not hundreds, or even thousands, but 10's of thousands into battle. And how through militant and united action they've won and protected their victories. That's the truth they fear. These are the lessons they want to bury along with the miners in the fields.

There's a lot of garbage to cut through to see this one clearly. But it can be done. It must be done. All across the country people are looking for changes. Big changes, to solve big problems. The miners are showing the road forward in a big way.

Brave, raw-boned fighters joining with their wives and families to challenge Jay Rockefeller and the Energy Trust. These fighting workers set an example for all who are sick of being stepped on by the rulers that be. But this strike means more than that.

The rebels in the coalfields are the vanguard of a stirring workers movement. The thunder in the mines today are sounds heralding the on-coming working class storms that will pound the rule of the high and mighty. A movement that is increasingly setting its sights on the real target - the monopoly capitalist rulers. That movement will increasingly become a rallying cry for every person who wants to join the march up the mountain of freedom.

The coal miners today and the working class as a whole in the future will be calling on students across the land to declare which side they are on. Let's begin to make that declaration today. By standing with the coal miners through their strike, the RSB plans to do strike support work - raising money to support the strike and opposing any moves by the government to crush the strike - uniting with the National United Workers Organization and other workers groups to help the miners in any way we can.

WE ARE ON THE SIDE OF THE MINERS!  
WE ARE ON THE SIDE OF THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS!

shafts. None. When was the last time the government forced the mine owners to pay benefits to miners crippled by Black Lung disease? Never. When was the last time the White House intervened in a strike to see to it that the workers just demands were won - never. And when was the last time their rule meant less misery and suffering for us? Never.

As the government prepares to invoke the Taft-Hartley or even invade the coal fields with the National Guard, the rulers are trying to mobilize public opinion against the miners. They point to the miners as the reason factories and electric companies are running out of coal. They are trying to turn the resulting cold homes and layoffs into indictments of the miners.

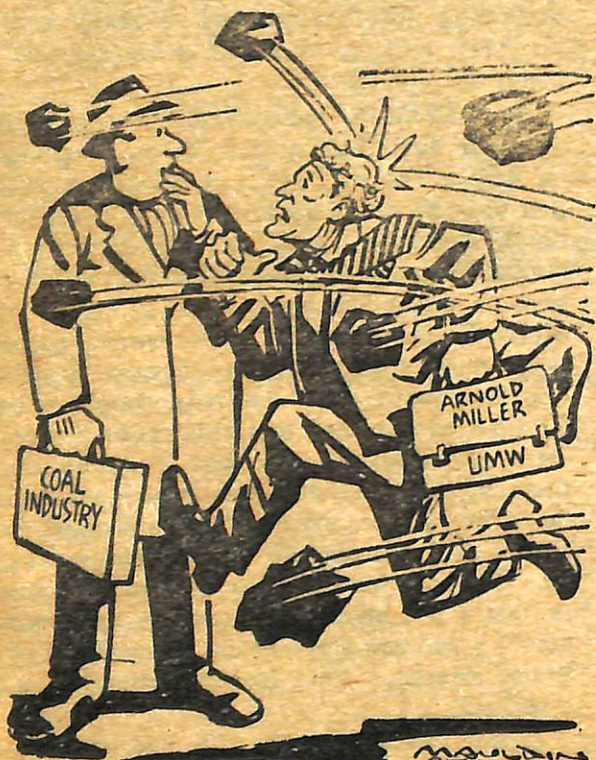
But instead they are cold, stark indictments of the system the miners are fighting. Without a coal strike, for the last several years the American people have been hit hard by energy shortages as the profit thirsty energy giants restrict production. The energy companies have disrupted our lives as well as the lives of the miners.

It is the energy companies who killed people last winter by shutting off the power when they couldn't pay their heating bills. The strike is a crucial weapon the miners are wielding to oppose this disruption. It is the cold and calculated arrogance of the coal companies that is refusing to meet their demands. When supplies of gas were short in 1973, miners in the West Virginia coal mines demanded that enough gas be supplied to EVERYONE in the area (not just coal miners) - directly challenging the lies of the oil companies that there was "no gas available".

It is the refusal of the coal operators to give in to the demands of the miners that are disrupting the lives of the American people. Rather than opposing the miners, every justice loving person needs to stand with them.

They want us to believe the miners are un-

## Running Dog of the Month



"They're only digging enough to throw at me."

## Arnold Miller Pedigree Reformer Turns Out To Be Bosses' Mongrel

Arnold Miller is this months choice by the YOUNG COMMUNIST for RUNNING DOG OF THE MONTH. Of course, as with every other month, there was fierce competition in the field. Henry Ford, for instance, almost wrenched victory from the jaws of defeat when he stated recently that the U.S. would "never leave southern Africa" because it had "too much invested there." But while that's definitely a less-than-populist thing to say, it lacks the flare and creativity of this month's winner, Arnold Miller - president of the United Mine Workers (UMW).

On the campuses there's usually a lot of support for the various labor reform movements that go on - the Millers in coal, Sadlowskis in steel, Chavez's farmworkers, etc. As the rank

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# Southern Africa~ People's Struggle Rolls Over Attacks and Phoney 'Solutions'



Over the past few months the liberation struggles in southern Africa have gained new strength in the battle to wipe out apartheid and white minority rule, steering through the various roadblocks set up by the racist regimes and their imperialist backers. As a result, more forces have been brought into motion, both in southern Africa and around the world, to support the peoples' struggle, and to isolate and smash the racist regimes.

Since the brutal murder of Steven Biko and the October bannings of 19 mass organizations

the South African government has gone all out in a new effort to smash the black resistance movement. They have bulldozed urban black communities, transporting thousands out to the barren rural bantustan settlements so the urban areas can be "whitened" and the black population isolated, controlled and exploited according to a more systematic plan. They have created another "independent" bantustan for the Tswana people in the north to provide a legal justification for the forced population resettlement. And there have been house-to-house searches in

Black townships for student activists and other leaders, which have led to mass arrests and the trial, on charges of treason (which carries the death penalty) of dozens of mass leaders, including Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela, and eighteen leaders of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

But each new attack has been met with defiance and rebellion on the part of the Azanian people. When existing organizations were banned, new ones formed, including the Soweto Action Committee, which is involved in the massive school boycott going on now. When the official inquest into Steven Biko's murder whitewashed his killers, thousands took to the streets in major cities to denounce the verdict and convict the apartheid system. And as people have been resettled into the rural bantustans, the struggle has spread to those areas. Most recently, the school boycott initiated in January by primary school students in Soweto has sparked similar boycotts in major cities and towns across the country, including the newly formed bantustan, Bophutswana, miles away from any urban center. Clearly, the word coming out of South Africa today is that no act, no matter how desperate or brutal, can dampen the spirit and determination of the Azanian people to overthrow the apartheid system.

## ZIMBABWE

The big news, though, is the so-called "settlement" that was reached in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) in mid-February. The armed struggle for liberation led by the Patriotic Front has pushed the minority into a last ditch effort to hang on to some of the privileges and positions which have allowed them to enslave the nation's 6 million blacks for decades. Now this settlement is being hailed by some as a peaceful "solution" to white minority rule.

But this settlement and the negotiations leading up to it have been phonies from the start. They consisted of Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith and three of the so called "moderate" Black leaders, Bishop Muzorewa, Reverend Sithole, and Chief Chirau (to qualify as moderate you have to denounce the armed struggle being waged by the people for freedom and be ready to allow the white minority to retain a big share of the power and wealth).

The "settlement" includes such gems as guaranteeing 28 seats out of 100 in the new parliament for whites who only make up 5% of the population (talk about quotas and reverse discrimination!), veto power by a one third vote by parliament (which obviously means the whites only have to swing five black votes to control what happens), protection of white-owned property (since most of the land is already owned by whites who for years were the only people allowed by LAW to own land this reinforces the racist class structure) and the right of whites to continue in their present jobs (which means that the army, police, civil service and most businesses will remain white). When you add it up, the only real change in these proposals is that a few black elites (excuse us, "moderates") would now share in the enslavement of the Black masses. This isn't a settlement - it's a sell out!

A few months ago the U.S. had played most

## "Coin of Love" Earns Tons of Hatred

"Give an ounce of pure love for Christmas - the Krugerrand." This was the ad used in Boston to promote sales of the coin made of South African gold, the coin that pays for apartheid. This was the ad used by five stores in their pitch to cash in on the peoples' Christmas spirit.

But last December the spirit was one of growing struggle for freedom in South Africa. It was the season of growing desperation for the white minority regime. The regime's dream of a white Christmas in Johannesburg forever was being put to rest as the murder of Steven Biko and banning of Black organizations sparked another heightened wave of struggle from those who stand with the fight for freedom in South Africa.

And now, the racist South African government was selling this blood-soaked coin for a little PR and to raise money to prop up its fast sinking regime. In Boston, ads for the Krugerrand had already been a focus of struggle and the TV stations had been forced to stop their ads. But, some stores had this new slogan "the Krugerrand - an ounce of pure love."

What the hell does paying Black South Africans 43¢ an hour have to do with love? What does forcing Black workers to live apart from their families for 11 months of the year have to do with love? What does the instituted racism, represented by the hated passbook system have to do with love? Nothing. But that's what these coin sales go to.

Fighting the sales of these coins has become an important focus for all those who support the struggle for liberation in southern Africa. It's a way of politically exposing the role of U.S. bosses and bankers in supporting apartheid slav-

ery - it puts a face on the enemy and helps show that it's our rulers right here in the U.S. and it's a good way to even further isolate the fascist South African government.

The Brigade took up a campaign to drive this coin out of Boston - starting with one store - JJ Teaparty's. The owner refused to talk with us, so we called a picket line for a Saturday before Christmas. Twenty-five people came from three campuses to jack up the store owner. But he didn't show up. We stayed and picketed and read a proclamation to people who gathered around. It said in part, "The only love you feel, JJ Teaparty, is the love you share with your senior partners in this country, the bosses and bankers...and that's the love of profit... for every ounce of gold you sell you will face a ton of resistance."

The next weekend when we went back, the owner was there himself. We took our whole picket line inside the store, which freaked him out more than a little. He agreed to come out on the street to answer our questions if we would just get out of his store. We took him outside, surrounded him and demanded that he stop selling the Krugerrand. He mumbled and fumbled, but said nothing satisfactory. So, we started up the picket again, pulling out a giant 5 foot effigy of the coin and set it ablaze. A speaker turned to those who had gathered to watch, "You are seeing the flames of the struggle of the people of southern Africa and their burning desire to be free. Victory to the people of southern Africa and their burning desire to be free! Victory to the people of southern Africa! Ban the Krugerrand!" ■

**Banned in Boston!**

**Give an ounce of pure love  
for Christmas.**



# VICTORY AT MADISON

## UNIVERSITY SELLS INVESTMENTS IN APARTHEID



February 10 demonstration at UW Regents  
- photo by Todd Lengnick

On Friday, February 10, the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents finally voted, after long months of hard fought struggle by hundreds of students to sell their \$10 million worth of investments in corporations that do business in southern Africa. This was a big victory and a big contribution by the students of UW to the struggle for liberation by the people of southern Africa.

The victory came as several hundred students marched on campus and picketed outside the building the Regents was meeting in. The day before 600 had jammed into an open hearing on the question confronting the Regents and demanding they divest. 34 speakers from the campus and the community denounced the brutal, racist system of apartheid in Azania (South Africa) and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and U.S. support for those regimes including UW investments. Only one speaker spoke in favor of the investments and he was quickly shouted down. Throughout the three hour session the crowd jeered the Regents and chanted the demand to drop the investments.

To follow up this victory, to bring together those who have been fighting the same battles on other campuses, to help spread the fight where it hasn't been taken up yet, an important conference is being called at UW-Madison on March 11. The RSB is pulling together a committee to organize the conference, SOUTH AFRICA - THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION AND THE TASKS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. This conference will be to educate people about the liberation forces, the role of the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the role of the University - and to organize material aid for the freedom fighters, the fight against University investments, the protest against the South African Davis Cup Team (see article on page 17) and to launch the building of African Liberation Day this year. The conference will also take up the fight against discrimination faced by Blacks and other minorities in this country - concentrating on the fight to SMASH THE BAKKE DECISION and the national demonstration called for Washington, D.C. in April (see centerfold).

### YEAR LONG STRUGGLE

The victory around the UW holdings didn't come easy. It was a year long battle that started off "small" - unnoticed by the press and scoffed at by the Regents. But by its culmination in mid-February this was a battle that had the support of the whole campus - that had attracted attention and sparked struggle at other schools - and one that dragged the arrogant Regents to their knees in defeat.

Things got rolling in the Spring of '77. The RSB initiated a coalition and a petition drive demanding divestment. This was part of a na-

tionwide campaign to build support for the liberation struggles exploding in southern Africa and to build for African Liberation Day in Washington, D.C. We saw attacking university investments as an important way to build this campaign - it gave us a good chance to expose how apartheid and minority rule means slavery for the millions of black people in Azania and Zimbabwe and why the struggle against it is a just one - it "put the face on the enemy", exposing the role of U.S. banks and corporations in propping up and profiting from minority rule. It gave us a concrete way of building struggle in support of and giving aid to the liberation forces by making it harder for the U.S. to support the white minority governments.

One of the first actions was confronting the Regents at one of their regular meetings with stacks of petitions demanding divestment. They coolly responded with the same tired line that every Board of Regents and college president uses when told to get out of southern Africa.

Of course (of course!) they are against discrimination in any form, but the U.S. corporations provide jobs to the blacks of southern Africa. Without the U.S. corporations there, the blacks would starve! And besides, the corporations can use their "influence" to "encourage" a rational policy of race relations in the rabidly racist apartheid government in southern Africa. (For instance, due to our influence, restrooms in all South African coun-

try clubs are now integrated," reports a pleased representative of Bloodsuck Incorporated.)

This nonsense is so unbelievably absurd that it's hardly worth refuting. U.S. corporations don't "provide" black workers with their 32¢ an hour jobs! That's like saying that when a thief ties you up and takes all your money that he's "provided" you with a rope!

And the students in Wisconsin didn't bite either. The Chancellor's office was briefly occupied to underline the demands, and a student referendum was organized that backed up the demands with a 2 to 1 vote in favor of divestment.

Last spring's struggle made many on campus aware of the issues and started building support for the fight for freedom in southern Africa. The Regents became more exposed as they refused to budge on the demands. As a result of this campaign a good sized contingent from UW-Madison marched in the Soweto Brigade organized by the RSB in the May 28 African Liberation Day (ALD) march in Washington, D.C.

In the fall the Coalition and the RSB took up the struggle again. By the November Regents meeting support for the struggle had really grown and the Regents took some steps to kill the issue quick. They dropped the question of divestments from their agenda - saying that "the Sullivan Statement" is the last word on investments and the University would go by that. The "Sullivan Statement" is something drawn up by a GM executive in South Africa with the backing of the South African government - which says that US corporations should stay in South Africa and use their influence for "progressive change."

Upholding this statement was a slap in the face to those on campus who opposed apartheid - it outraged students and 250 came out to demonstrate at the Regents and MAKE SURE African liberation and divestment was on the agenda. The entire demonstration marched up 18 flights of stairs to the Regents meeting room and busted in - destroying any hopes they had of ignoring the demands. And though the Regents tried to squash the protest by sending in police with mace, that only further exposed their phoney "sympathy" for the fight against minority rule.

This attack couldn't stop the growing struggle - but the blizzard that hit during the next Regents meeting in December kept the demonstration there pretty small. But right after the start of this semester things really started snowballing.

A new, broader based coalition was pulled together and it was clear that students were not going to give up the fight - campus sentiment was really building against the investments.

The Regents began to back down - their first concession was to grant the open forum, hoping to prove themselves "reasonable" and "concerned." But this only made the issue swell enormously and there was a tremendous turn-out for the forum. After seeing this and with clear signs that the struggle would continue, the Regents had no choice but to back down.

### CAR PIMPS OFF FIGHT

Unfortunately, while hundreds of students were fighting to support the life and death fight for liberation a group on campus - the so-called Committee Against Racism (connected with the

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## MARCH 11 CONFERENCE CALLED FOR MADISON, WISC.

### South Africa - The Struggle for Liberation and Tasks of the American People

The beat of freedom is getting louder. Each day on and off the battlefield the African people are scoring new victories in their drive for liberation. Revolution in Africa is increasingly becoming a rallying cry for support in the US. Thousands march on African Liberation Day. Struggles erupt on campuses, coast to coast. Now is the time to pull together all the concern, all the anger and all the activity. Madison, Wisconsin is the place to do it. Right on the scene of the recent victory where the Regents were forced to divest millions in stocks tied to apartheid. This conference will go deeply into how to merge the movement in support of Africa with the growing struggle against the racist Bakke Decision here. It will pull together a network between different campuses fighting university investments in southern Africa. The African people need support. The struggle there demands greater unity here. March 11 is the time to do it!

US OUT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA - SUPERPOWERS HANDS OFF!  
VICTORY TO THE LIBERATION FORCES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!  
END ALL UNIVERSITY TIES!  
SMASH THE BAKKE DECISION!

For more information contact Revolutionary Student Brigade, P. O. Box A3423, Chicago, Illinois 60690



# DOG...

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and file movement increasingly run up against the "established" and openly traitorous union big shots, various champions of the workers' interests come forward. Until the workers' movement develops further to the point that the workers can supervise these leaders, today's reformer can be expected to become tomorrow's "reactionary." Once their positions have been secured the workers' demands they had at first been the loudest to proclaim they now choke on even repeating. The poor mining boy Arnold Miller from West Virginia has recently proven himself to be one of these skyrocketing sell-outs.

"I'm just a poor boy" Arnie has proven himself to be another George Meany (with a dash of country). A leader of Miners for Democracy in 1972 he was elected President of the UMW and immediately announced the disbanding of Miners for Democracy. The movement had served its purpose and was now unnecessary. It wasn't only the movement he eliminated though. He also eliminated the beginning steps toward democracy. Quickly he suspended from the union certain "malcontents."

Of course Miller did all the things that a well-rehearsed "man of the people" is supposed to do. He took all of Tony Boyle's (Miller's hated predecessor) cadillacs, which had become a symbol of the corrupt Boyle machine, and sold them off. He walked around a lot without a tie on and liked to remind people that "he had once been a miner himself," etc., etc.

But this act didn't last long. Because when you get past the window dressing of this "new wave" of "working class heroes", you discover that it doesn't matter one bit whether the window dressing itself is "cheap and worn" or "expensive and new". The point is: do these leaders, tie or no tie, stand with the workers?

"Thank God I'm a country boy" Arnie was simply applying that country maxim that the smart wolf operates within the chicken coop and not from without. The last UMW president had been nabbed and Arnie had to be slicker. Miller's predecessor ran the union like he was the star of "On the Waterfront." He treated the union treasury like it was his own wallet. As one oppositionist, Jacob Yablonski, found out - disagreement with Boyle's mob meant death. Boyle's gangster tactics ended up earning him a union post in the nearest penitentiary. This gave Miller his opening to be the new turkey decked out in trimmings Boyle had never dreamed of.

Arnold Miller "does not stand with the workers." And he "doesn't do it" with a vengeance. For instance, the recent contract presented by Miller to the rank and file was a top-notch, grade A (government inspected?) sellout. It throws out the right to strike over local issues. It puts the health fund (formerly jointly operated by the union and the company) in the hands of the company. It sets the stage for big speed-ups and "production drives". In sum, just about everything the miners wanted, they didn't get, while everything the company wanted they got.

But Miller, in a move that would have made Tony Boyle and crooked union leaders everywhere proud, got on TV and told striking miners that they could either accept the wonderful offer made by the companies or they could go on striking over "every little bitch and gripe." Well Arnie - the miners are still striking over

## Royalties at Stake, Nixon's Thieves Fall Out

Thrills and chills! There's a new "startling revelation", "first-hand account" and "new, never before revealed exposure" of the Watergate scandal! A carefully orchestrated p.r. campaign has been promoting the new book by that impeccable source of the Lord's Truth, H. R. "Bob" Haldemann.

Now, "somehow", of course, particularly juicy excerpts of Haldemann's book (cryptically titled "The Ends of Power") were "leaked" to the press - who grabbed up the gossip quicker than a NATIONAL ENQUIRER editor who just discovered that Jackie Onassis is REALLY Howard Hughes in drag. "Somehow" a "limited amount" of "advance copies" appear on the stands for sale, and the papers carry huge ads for the book. We hear that Haldemann blames Colson for screwing everything up. And Colson? The reborn Christian piously replies that Haldemann was the real jerk who insisted on keeping up the cover-up, that Nixon didn't know what was going on.

And Nixon? He's keeping his mouth shut. Why? Is he still stonewalling? No - he's got his OWN book coming out and tells everyone to wait until its leaked - er, published - to get the REAL scoop on what happened.

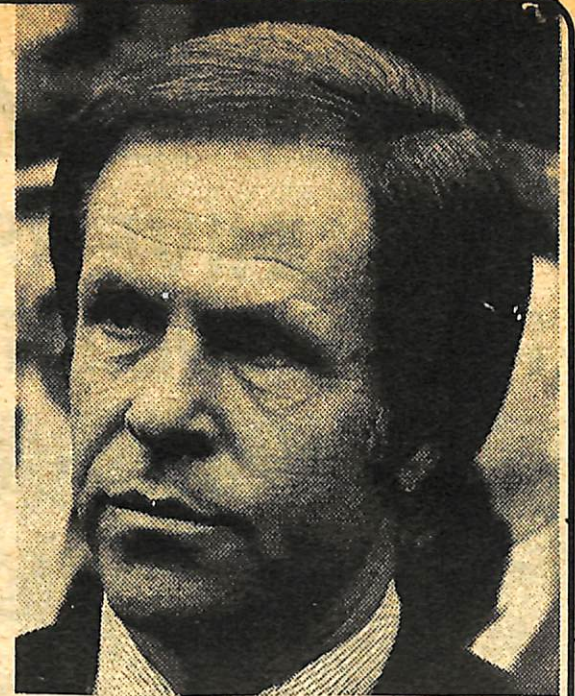
What comes through real clear in all this back and forth nonsense between the Watergate boys is just how sick they, and the ruling class they epitomize, really are. For one, the way this formerly tight-knit, tempered and slavishly loyal collection of nuts started leaping at each others throats the minute it was in the personal interest of any of them is indeed a good "exposure" of the nature of the class they serve, the bourgeoisie.

Everyone knows that the reason all these books are being written is not so these different criminals can "confess all" and clear their guilty consciences, but to do what they were trying to do when they committed their crimes in the first place - get ahead, and make some money. If doing that conforms to the interest of the ruling class as a whole, then fine. If not, then to hell with it - they'll strike out on their own.

And second, the thing that NOT ONE editorial, ad or book review mentions is that THESE GUYS GOT AWAY WITH IT! These people, who lied

every one of these "little bitches" (right to strike, health benefits, decent safety conditions and all those other gripes). They know where they stand and what they're fighting for.

When Miller first ran the media speculated how rebellious he would be. Miller has wasted no time to prove himself just another George Meany with a dash of "country." The man who stood with the workers can't return to his office because it's jammed with protesting miners. He speaks for the workers. But the workers hate him, so he hired body guards faster than Jay Rockefeller. As the workers meet in the hol-



Bob Haldemann is still troubled by Watergate. Above, he worries about the size of his next royalties check

to and tried to trick the American people for years about Vietnam - a war which killed and wounded hundreds of thousands of Asians and Americans; these murderers, who hid behind the mask of John Mitchell - style "law and order" while organizing the murder of people like Black Panther leader Fred Hampton in this country, while financing the overthrow of the Chilean government overseas; these idiots, who babbled ad nauseum about the "American way" and "democracy" while using every trick possible to mislead the American people, as well as beat out rival members of their own ruling class - these guys are not only out on the street, they're bringing home a bundle every time they open their lying mouths to reveal some new "secret."

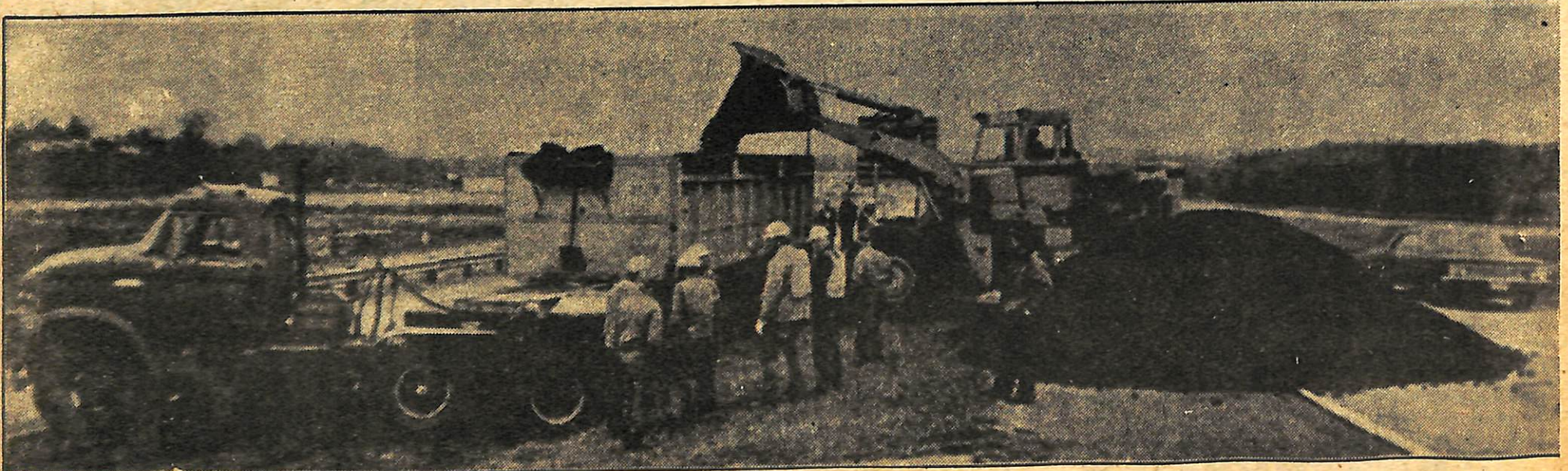
Well, there's another book out - a lot like Haldemann's - which in the same gossipy style reveals the in-fighting and back-biting that went on in the ruling class of another country. Herr Goebells, Nazi propaganda chief, wrote a diary in the last days of World War II which has been published and is already hitting the top of the charts. In it, he "blames Goering" for losing the war, decries the incompetence of Hitler's aides (except for himself, of course) and "even" has a few words of criticism for Der Fuehrer himself.

But for the people of the world, it doesn't matter one bit which Nazi lied and which didn't, which one was honest and which was "out for himself." And just as the WHOLE German ruling class was responsible for the towering crimes of fascism, none of the present backbiting and pointing of fingers (away from themselves) will save the ruling class of this country from the fate they will eventually share with their predecessors from the Third Reich; total destruction at the hands of the American people! ■

lows planning the strike, Arnold meets in the White House board rooms planning how to crush the strike.

Miller's gone full circle. From leader of Miners for Democracy, to a man-of-the-people union president, to selling out the rank and file at contract time. And now we hear that Miller, worried that there's not enough "dignity" in his office - has started leasing himself one of those 9 passenger black cadillacs!

So congratulations, Arnie! Your certificate and dog tags are in the mail! ■



Striking miners dumped thousands of tons of coal on the road, like in Dover, New Hampshire

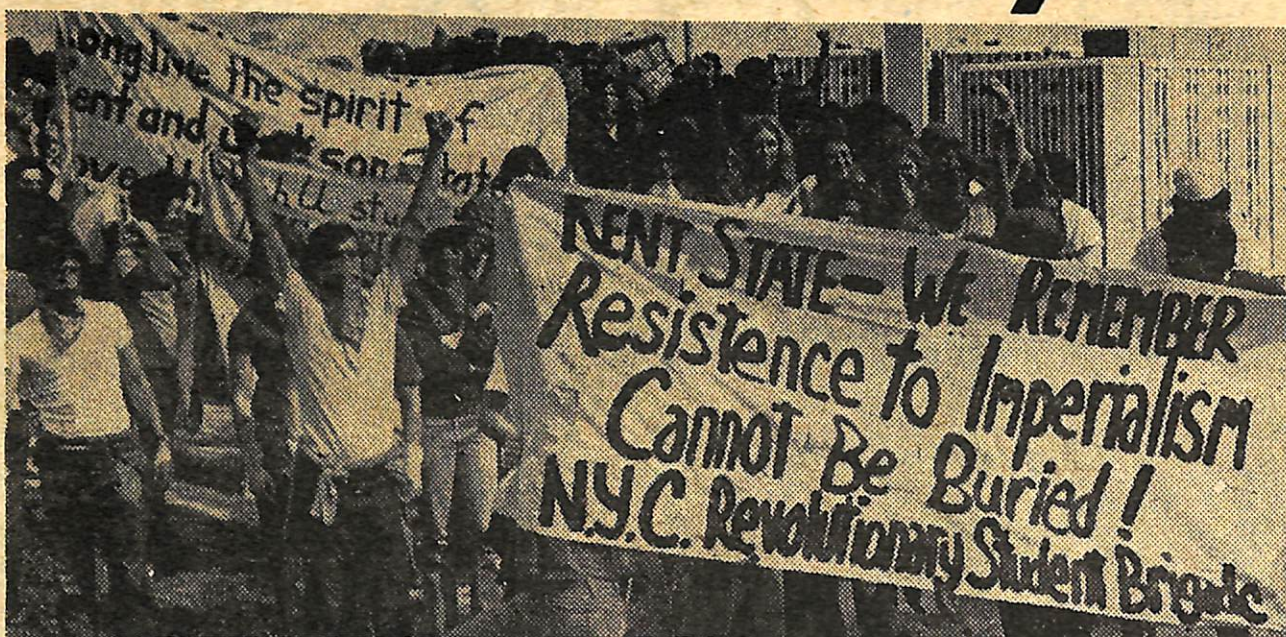


# AFTER BURYING SITE: **Kent President Out To Steal The Memory!**

Kent State University is the scene of a new attempt by the administration to bury the memory and lessons of May 4th, 1970, the day four students were murdered by National Guardsmen while demonstrating against the war in Indochina. Suddenly the administration, under the reign of President Golding, is interested in commemorating May 4th. A sudden change of heart? Hardly. Their position is clear. For the past two years they refused to cancel classes so that people could attend the annual memorial rally. And last year construction of a gymnasium covering the site of the murders began. Now in a slick move, Golding has dubbed himself premier of this year's May 4th activities. Replete with his own hand picked staff, and veto power if they get out of line, Herr Golding will preside over all plans for the day. This will ice the May 4th Task Force which had organized the memorials over the past few years, and Golding will establish his own "May 4th Memorialization Committee".

In doing so Golding is only proving what the May 4th Coalition and many other students had said at the time. The issue at stake was not the building of a gym. Golding was not representing a thrifty (though possibly arbitrary) administration concerned with the most economical site for the building of a gym. Instead it was a calculated attempt to drop the curtains on a living showcase of the brutality of the rulers and the militant resistance of the people. Now that the gym is on its way to construction, Golding continues hell bent on destroying every opportunity for new students to learn the story of Kent.

On the surface the stuff smells pretty bad. But Golding's plans are rotten to the core. He says that May 4th observances must be "planned with a view not to propagandize but rather to provide inspiration and stimulation for people to reflect on their own." A May 4th of a new type - non-political. And there are more "concrete" plans to replace the political lessons of May 4th - little brochures that will explain to visitors just what happened and how Governor Rhodes who ordered the guard onto campus was just as much the victim as were the students. Rejecting a proposal from his own committee to maintain what is left of the site as it was in 1970, for fear of "making such a commitment against an uncertain future" he proposed a marker to commemorate the "victims". Free of all political discussion, Golding might actually have a nice day on May 4th.



But May 4th will never be non-political. Six months of struggle involving thousands of students broke out around the issue of the gym. It was part of the continuing fight for justice for the students murdered at Kent. And it was a fight to preserve and revive the lessons and memory of the anti-war movement and the decade of rebellion of which it was a part. Occupying the site with a Tent City, mass arrests and demonstrations met with horses and tear gas; thousands saw that the University administration and the criminals responsible for the murders were willing to do almost anything to make sure that the gym was built. With the site literally under tons of concrete and steel, they hoped that the memory of May 4th, 1970 would be buried once and for all. Their purpose became clear - rip off and bury May 4th to do away with the reminders that inspired young people to stand up against injustice, as millions of students in the 60's stood up against the war and discrimination - reminders of the lengths that the bourgeoisie would go to to suppress a just struggle. Reminders of the thousands who began to think about making revolution and getting rid of capitalism forever.

In fighting to move the gym, the spirit of Kent and Jackson State, the spirit they hoped to bury spread like wildfire to campuses all around this country. Golding's latest plan is just a rock he has picked up to drop on his own toe. A new battlefield has opened at Kent. And students are already laying plans to bust through their "navel contemplating" plans.

Although May 4th is still months away, the May 4th Coalition (of which the RSB is a part), which led the battle to move the gym is calling on students at Kent to begin a battle to keep May 4th in the peoples' hands. And despite Golding's latest attempt to bring May 4th under his authority he couldn't be in a worse situation. He's trying to dull the lessons of May 4th. But the riot-gear police, arrests and tear gas he unleashed against the students last fall only sharpened up these lessons for people at Kent State University (KSU) and around the country. The struggle against the gym and the rulers behind it are still fresh in peoples' minds. The May 4th Coalition will be opening up a new round of struggle in the next few weeks raising the demands:

- Keep May 4th in the hands of the people! Dissolve Golding's phoney committee!
- No Classes on May 4th!
- The University must publicly admit the injustice of the May 4th massacre!
- Drop all charges on participants in the gym struggle!

The stage is set. The forces are already lining up, and the peoples' side is undoubtedly stronger. From Boston to Chicago to Kent State itself the recent battle at Kent has made a whole new generation of students more aware than ever of what May 4th represents. On May 4th, 1978 they will surely respond to Golding and Company's latest maneuvers to bury the spirit of Kent and Jackson State! ■



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As Carter Says "You Light Up My Life"

## Iranian Students Rip Mask Off Shah!!



They brought Jimmy Carter to tears. They battled D.C. cops for two days of protest. They brought the crimes of the repressive tyrannical regime of the Shah of Iran out in the light of day for millions of American people who watched the events of November 15 and 16 on TV.

5000 Iranian and American students in a protest called by the Iranian Students Association in the U.S. stood up to cops, tear gas and the Shah's secret spy cops - SAVAK - to oppose the visit of the Shah, to expose his terroristic rule and his U.S. backers.

In Iran, corresponding demonstrations swept the country. All major universities were shut down, "illegal" workers strikes, teacher walkouts and the like took place. The regimes response was wholesale repression and over 47 murders. But the Shah's terror campaigns and martial

law have only unleashed a more determined wave of rebellion in Iran and worldwide.

Against this backdrop, more than 2000 Iranian students met in Oklahoma City, December 25 to January for the 25th Annual Convention of the Iranian Students Association - U.S. Off of the upsurge of the peoples movement in Iran and the growing worldwide support, the meeting spent days struggling over the situation in Iran and the need for ISA here to go deeply among Iranians and Americans to build struggles here in the U.S. to expose the Shah and his U.S. backers and support the freedom fighters in Iran.

The Iranian people have lived for decades under the Shah's fascist rule. Strikes are illegal. All political activity is outlawed and protesters are literally shot down in the streets. The jails are filled with political prisoners and torture and "official" murder are commonplace.

And all this is backed up by Jimmy Carter and his silver-tongued "Human Rights" policy. The U.S. needs Iran. Its huge oil reserves offer billions of bucks to the U.S. capitalists and its location as a gateway to the wealth and power of Europe - which depends on Mideast oil and waterways to the rest of the world - makes it invaluable. So, the U.S. supports the Shah and he in turn enforces his tyranny to try to keep the Iranian people from throwing these imperial thieves off their backs.

But, especially in the last year, the movement in Iran has stepped up and gained more attention and support worldwide. And the ISA has played a crucial role in building that movement in the u.s. and elsewhere. The recent convention marked this growth both in numbers and in determination to take the battle out more broadly over the coming period and to bring the rule of the Shah and his imperialist overlords in the U.S. to an end. ■

## HELL NO! WE WON'T GO! .....CUBAN STYLE

A recent article appearing in the CHICAGO TRIBUNE tells of a new turn in the type and numbers of people escaping from Cuba. In 1975, not one person escaped from the island. The next year, 12 escaped, and in 1977, 33 Cubans headed for the Miami sun.

Now, after 1959, when the Cuban people overthrew the hated Batista dictatorship, the kind of people who were leaving Cuba were the scum that had profited handsomely from the misery and suffering of the Cuban people. But now it's not capitalists, landlords, and pimps who are getting out of Cuba. It's DRAFT DODGERS! Cuba's phoney "proletarian internationalist" (read: shock troops for Soviet aggression) adventures in Africa are a little bit less than inspiring to a growing number of Cubans.

A few dozen escapees from Cuba aren't too damning - but the facts they relate are. A new prison has been built in the northern part of Cuba - not because of lack of space in other prisons, but because they want to separate off draft dodgers and deserters from the rest of the prison population. Two Cubans who stowed away on a Greek ship reported that a new draft is pressing teenagers and old men into service.

Publicly, Fidel Castro has admitted to only THREE DEATHS in the one and a half years of Cuba's military activity in Africa. To cut down publicity, a "corpse ship" off the coast of Cuba doles out dead Cubans two or three at a time to grieving relatives so there isn't a big influx of war casualties onto the island. But even this has had some problems, and so

Fidel has announced a new policy. "Internationalist" Cubans who give their lives overseas will now be buried where they fall. They save on shipping costs home. They save on the embarrassment of a large war-time graveyard. All this shows that Castro's excursions into Africa are none too popular, and this is why draft dodging is beginning to crop up there.

Well, we students here in the US have a certain history of resisting the draft. We too have had to resist our rulers attempts to drive us on the battlefields in wars of aggression. And we'd be more than willing to share our experience with our brothers in Cuba. "Burning Or Tearing: What To Do With Your Draft Card", a pamphlet containing two opposing views on how to dispose of your draft-card in the most dramatic way possible is being prepared in a Spanish edition and smuggled into Cuba by the RSB. Similar information is being prepared, and will be announced in future issues of THE YOUNG COMMUNIST.

But, of course, the Cuban people, like people everywhere, have no interest in being sacrificial lambs in some superpower contest in Africa, or anywhere else. That's why many refuse to be drafted. When the Cuban people were fighting for their liberation in '59, they didn't think twice about risking life and limb, to do whatever it took, to get rid of the US backed Batista regime. But fighting for the profits of some Kremlin boss and his Cuban sidekicks stinks to the Cuban people just as much as fighting for "our" ruling class' profits in Vietnam did to us back in the 1960's.

So we say "right on!" to our Cuban brothers! Dodge That Draft! ■

## Shah's Sister On Tight Budget - \$500g's a Night

Princess Ashraf, the twin sister of the Shah of Iran, is affectionately known as the "Black Panther" in the Monte Carlo gambling casinos, where she is said to have dropped as much as \$500,000 a night. Her brother, rumor has it, tries to keep her on a tight allowance of \$5 million a year. But this won't cause the Shah to bounce any checks as long as he keeps his brutal grip on the Iranian people and the country's rich oil resources. And, of course, one big reason this bigtime dictator is still in power is the annual "tight allowance" of about \$2 billion of the most up-to-date weaponry he receives from Carter and the U.S. ruling class. ■



# King Documentary Tells Only Half The Story

"And I look to the day when we will all say those words of that old spiritual, Free at last, Free at last, thank God Almighty, we are free at last!" For three nights in February, millions of people watched and learned from the special TV showing of "King".

This month is Black History Month and a variety of TV, radio and news programs are being paraded in front of the American people. In line with this, "King" - a six hour documentary story of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the early civil rights movement was aired on TV. For many of us who were too young to remember the early days of that movement, the show gave us a taste of a powerful time in our history.

It takes you from King's early days through the Montgomery Bus boycott, the Birmingham marches with Bull Connors' now infamous firehoses and attack dogs, and the Selma march. We're shown the real terror facing the freedom riders who broke up segregation in interstate travel. The voter registration drives, the sit-ins at restaurants and businesses and the mass arrests. All signs of the fact that Black people were saying we will not cow down and be



trampled on any longer. This was the civil rights movement. The new awakening of a nation of people who had suffered the "separate but never equal" oppression at the hands of our rulers. It was an uprising of a kind which this country had never seen. And it was a movement of Black people and others in their millions which carried the seeds that blossomed into every ghetto and slum in this country in the Black liberation movement.



Initially, the civil rights movement was mostly a legal battle - to desegregate schools, buses, and all public facilities. And even in its earliest days it reflected deeper demands for freedom boiling under the surface.

This is the period that "King" focuses on, and actually does its best work in. For many of us watching the shows three nights, our eyes were opened up. The lives of Black people - particularly in the south in the 50's meant back of the bus, separate but lousy schools, restaurants and shops. It meant "nigger", no voting, legalized racist housing restrictions. And it meant terror - lynching, bombs thrown into homes, beatings and constant abuse.

Then the battle began. The show starts off with Rosa Parks refusing to give up her

Each step of the way, we're given a fairly accurate account of the development of the movement. The support of whites - mostly students - from the north who came in on the freedom rides. The strength and determination of people who marched for 54 miles to Selma through the most dangerous country for Black militants. And the reaction and repression - all these things are brought out clearly - and it's just as clear that none of these things ever sway the movement, but only strengthens it. The murders of supporters of King, the bombing of churches, the firehoses and constant arrests cannot stop this wildfire movement from burning out of control.

The show is good in that it doesn't paint King as a saviour - he wasn't. But he was - during this period - an important leader. To millions he represented the beginnings of "Black pride". And he offered a road to organizing to standing together and fighting the law of the land. He represented the importance of a movement, of mass involvement. And he stood to change things. For these reasons, Martin Luther King was loved and respected by millions of Blacks and others.

"King" also goes into some depth on King's relationship to the Kennedy's. The point is not how "enlightened" the Kennedy's may have been. They weren't the honest concerned liberals of the 60's. Rather, they were forced to recognize the winds of social change that were blowing across the land. Were they interested in the "Black vote"? Yes. Were they interested in public relations? Yes. And were they interested in appealing to King - offering him

continued on p. 16



Montgomery Bus Boycott

**Malcolm X**

**Honored & Remembered**

"Revolutions are never fought by turning the other cheek. Revolutions are never based upon love your enemy and pray for those who spitefully use you. And revolutions are never waged by singing 'We shall overcome'. Revolutions are based on bloodshed. Revolutions are never compromising. Revolutions are never based on negotiations. Revolutions are never based upon any kind of tokenism whatsoever. Revolutions overturn systems. And there is no system on this earth which has proven itself more corrupt, more criminal, than this system."  
- Malcolm X

Malcolm X was a revolutionary. A leader of the people. Malcolm X stood against oppression and discrimination. He would not compromise with capitalism. He chose instead to stand with the masses of people and their struggle. They could not buy off Malcolm X.

So they gunned him down. Thirteen years ago this month, they killed Malcolm X. They murdered him to kill the storm of rebellion sweeping the Black nation.

Malcolm was a leader and a spokesman. Not because he was a man who pulled himself up.

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Madison Debate

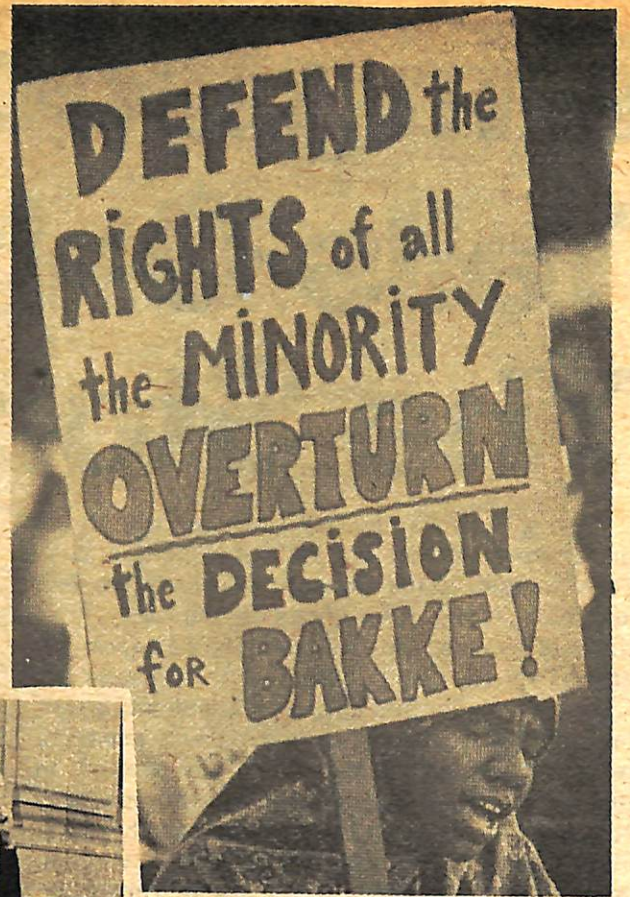
# BAKKE DEFENDERS FAIL TEST

On October 11, 1977 at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, 250 people packed the Union Theatre to overflowing to hear two sides slug it out over the Bakke Case. On one side of the debate were some of the most capable defenders of Bakke's vicious attack on Black, Latin and Asian people - in other words, the biggest reactionaries in the student body, the Young Republican Club, the Young Americans for Freedom (sic) and the Badger Herald (a reactionary student newspaper started by the administration years ago, and a former RSB Running Dog of the Month). In the other corner standing up for the rights of minorities were members of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) and the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC).

The debate - organized by the local NLG with the assistance of the Madison RSB - served a useful purpose by getting the real position of the Bakke supporters out in the open. Soon their hypocritical sobbs about "injustice" and "reverse discrimination" gave way to the real point behind Bakke - to deny that discrimination against minorities exists and to defend doing nothing to stop it. This came out in such gems as the Republican Party representative saying, "Martin Luther King's dream of equality is being subverted by affirmative action". Or this real beauty from the mouth of the YAF speaker on the nonexistence of discrimination against minorities - "I've known Negroes all of my life and they are happy now."

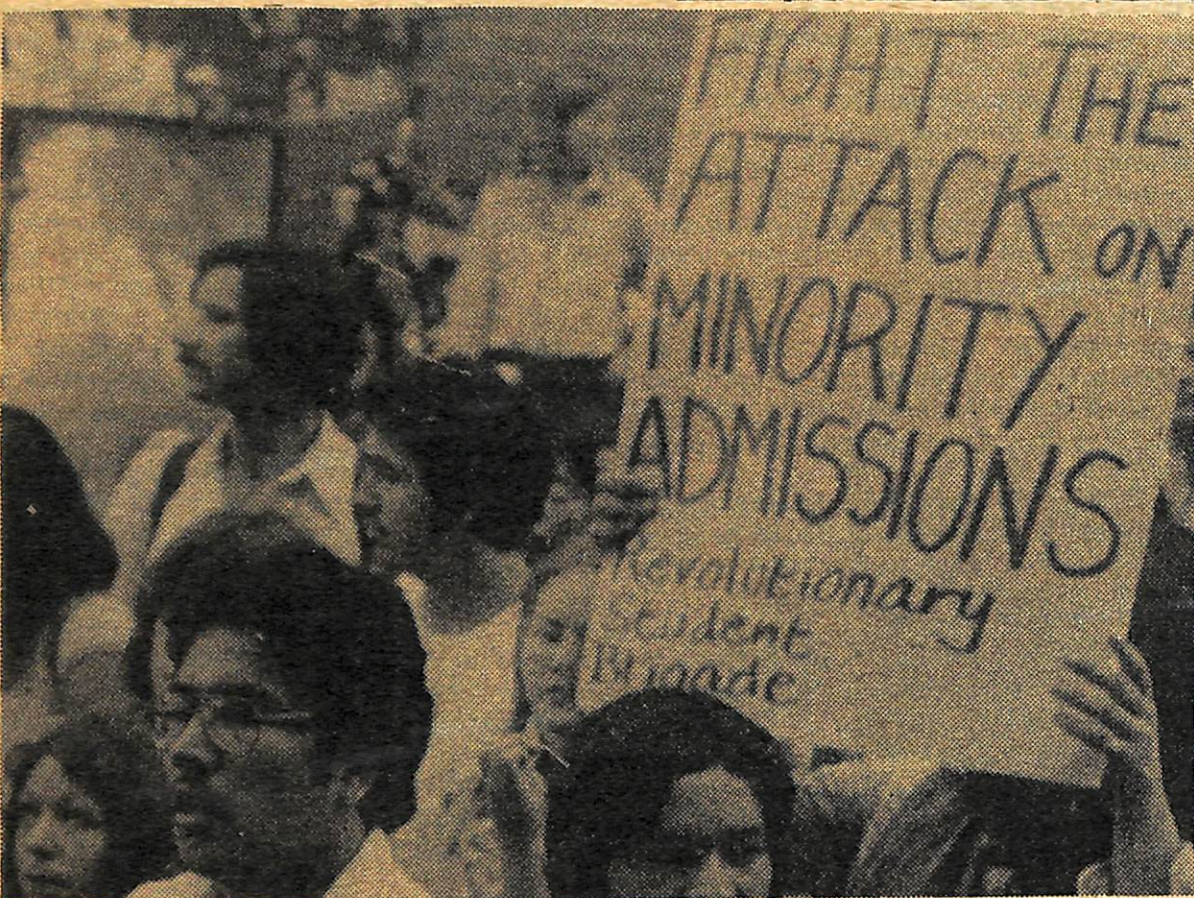
This garbage was greeted by boos and hisses from the crowd who were mainly against the Bakke case. The NLG and also speakers thoroughly trashed these racist arguments and showed how the Bakke case really stood for more discrimination, not less.

This debate helped clarify the issues for many people and laid the basis for other actions in the future. Right now plans are being made by the RSB and other forces to build the struggle against Bakke on campus - drawing off the unity and political consciousness developed in the campaign against University investments in southern Africa. ■



## Affirmative Action Under Attack

# CUNY STUDENTS FIGHT FOR S.E.E.K.



December 11, New York City, more than 100 students of the City University of New York (CUNY) demonstrated in front of the Board of Higher Education to demand "STOP THE KIBBEE PLAN," a plan to eliminate SEEK, a special minority student program in CUNY.

In 1969, students in CUNY fought and won open admissions and other programs like SEEK in the fight against discrimination in education. SEEK was set up as an independent program inside CUNY for Black and Latin students who - because of rotten conditions in the high schools in these neighborhoods - needed remedial or special language courses.

Like many other programs of this nature, SEEK was barely even a halfstep on the road to fulfilling the needs of minority students. From the start it was never given enough funding or facilities. For years they've tried to get rid of it. And now, the Board of Higher Education is using the program's problems to axe it entirely. They report that 80% of SEEK students drop out, that the program isn't fulfilling it's "goals" and is a waste of money. Their solution is to put the funds for SEEK under the control of each president of the different schools in the CUNY system, to end the independence of the program, and end accreditation for remedial courses it offers. All this - in the form of a 32 page proposal called the Kibbee Plan - is an attempt to eliminate the SEEK program, attack the victories of the movement against national discrimination in the 60's and to once more drive down and enforce the oppression of minorities.

Students at the demonstration demanded the continuation of the program and an end to racist attacks by the Board, demanding to get into the Board's so-called "open meeting" to discuss "readjustment" of the SEEK program. But 500 of New York's finest were sent out to stop the protestors. For 2 hours a shouting match went down between the students and the cops and representatives of the Board. The crowd would not be kept out, and finally the administration was forced to allow a contingent of 15 into the meeting to lay out the demands.

Many students at the demonstration were interested in linking the fight to save SEEK with the struggle against Bakke. The RSB chapters there from the Queens, City and Lehman CUNY campuses talked about the need to take up both fights - how the attacks on SEEK were part of a larger picture of attacks on minority people - the kind of thing the Bakke case is aimed at doing. Plans are being made to carry on the fight to save SEEK and to build a powerful movement at CUNY to SMASH BAKKE! ■

# Malcolm X...

continued from p. 9

But because he stood with the people. Fought to understand the road forward. And broke with old ideas that held back the march up the mountain to freedom. Malcolm had been a Black Muslim. He believed that "white devils" were behind the misery his people had been condemned to. But because he was not a dreamer, had roots among the people and based his understanding on what existed in the real world, he rejected these ideas.

He traveled to China, to Africa and Arab nations. He saw people fighting for liberation. And he saw the threads that bound these struggles to the fight of Black people to be free. The world was shaking with the thunder of revolution.

"You may be shocked by these words coming from me, but I have always been a man who tries to face facts and to accept the reality of life as new experiences and knowledge unfold it." The enemy was not whites, the enemy was capitalism.

Malcolm's answer to capitalism was not Black capitalism, but revolution. He described how

there are 'house slaves' and 'field slaves'. When the master got sick, the house slave would say, "we's sick". When the field slave heard the master was sick, he would hope he died. Malcolm declared the millions of Black people in this country, including himself, were field slaves. He was poking fun at the so-called black "leaders" like Roy Wilkins then and Andrew Young now who supported the system. Malcolm was saying freedom and liberation would only come by rising up against the master system, not by becoming a part of it or accomodating with it.

Malcolm X dedicated his life to liberation. He moved the struggle of Black people in a revolutionary direction. He sparked revolutionary ideas and revolutionary spirit among people of all nationalities.

This is why the rich hated and feared him. This is why they murdered him. And this is why all those who desire freedom and hate oppression loved him. As a fighter against oppression and exploitation we will learn from him. As a revolutionary we will always honor him. ■



# Special Supplement



## THE YOUNG COMMUNIST

(Formerly FIGHT BACK!)

Revolutionary Student Brigade National Newspaper

VOLUME 5, NUMBER 3

MARCH 1978

# THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT SMASH BAKKE!



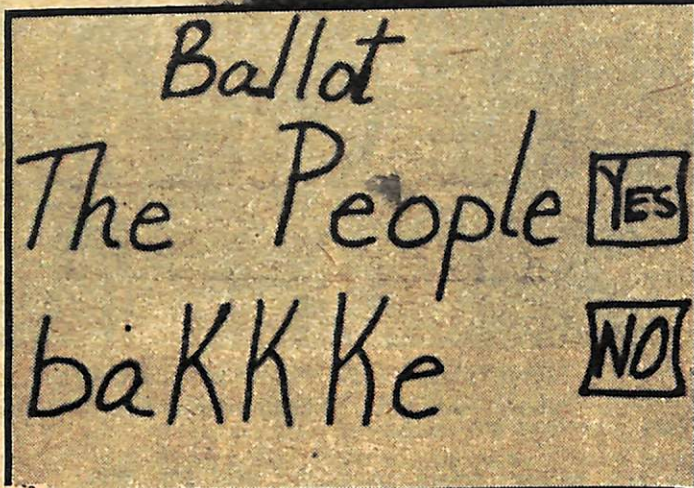
April, 1978 - Nine rich men sit in judgement. At stake is the future of millions of minority people in this country. Society as a whole hotly debates the question of discrimination and the solution. The issue is the Bakke Decision. While the Supreme Court gets ready to hand down its verdict, tens of thousands will march on Washington April 15 to deliver the peoples verdict -- SMASH THE BAKKE DECISION! Why?

Caste-like national oppression has marred the lives of one generation after another, one nationality after another, while generations of slaveowners and industrialists have gotten rich from it. For millions of Blacks, Latins and Asians national oppression has been a sentence of oppression and degradation.

For the Carnegies and Rockefellers, it's been a ticket to added riches. The chains of racial oppression have hung heavily on each new generation born. Slow burning hatred and anger for this condition has given rise to explosive rebellion time and again. The most recent was ten years ago.

Ten years ago the people delivered their verdict. It was delivered in the lunch counters of Mississippi, it was announced by armed Black students at Cornell University and was seared into the peoples' understanding by the flames of Watts and a dozen other cities. It was declared by millions of whites who proclaimed their solidarity. It was the time of the sixties. Every nationality, particularly Black people, rose up in rebellion. This rebellion changed the face of the country, won affirmative action programs and forced recognition of discrimination. These were correct verdicts. Verdicts fought for and won at great sacrifice. Verdicts under attack by the Bakke Decision. This is why the Bakke Decision needs to be denounced.

Now the rulers of this country want to reverse the verdict and the gains won through the hard fought struggles of the sixties. Now they talk about "justice". They talk of the



danger of "reverse discrimination". They fret over quotas. They talk as if discrimination and racism are things of the past. But national oppression cannot be denied. There is a city within every city called Harlem USA. These are living hell holes, where the social services are the least, where police brutality is the most, and where robbery is the most systematic by tight fist ed slum lords, avaricious businessmen and the parasites who create new business out of poverty.

Discrimination is clear in the relatively white classrooms of the finest colleges. The dirtiest, most dangerous jobs in the factories claim new victims of discrimination daily. It rings through the streets of Plains, Georgia as the KKK and their kind again begin to march. Discrimination continues to ravage the lives of millions now, as always. It continues to intensify, as minorities come under the gun of the economic crisis. The wounds deepen as unemployment mounts. New cutbacks jeopardize the few services that exist and meanwhile the welfare system is dismantled. This is why the Bakke Decision needs to be denounced.

There are quotas that are met yearly and

need to be challenged. The infant mortality rate of minority babies. The doubly high unemployment rate facing Blacks and Latins. The limited spots for minorities in colleges and the professions. These quotas are never mentioned by the rulers and are never fought against.

These quotas have been barely affected by affirmative action and other programs. Now affirmative action is under attack by the Bakke Decision. This decision would close the doors that had been forced open a crack. It is the opening salvo in a whole new attack on minority people, a renewed statement by the powers that be that there will never be equality under their rule. This is why the Bakke Decision needs to be denounced!

The Bakke Decision is not for equality, but for discrimination. It represents not neutrality but renewed prejudice. The prejudice that stalked the streets of South Boston. The prejudice that barred Black students in Montgomery. The prejudice built into every hiring hall and admissions office. It's the prejudice and inequality that creates millions of second class citizens. Second class citizenship to be legalized by the nine robed justices in the Supreme Court. Robed in the white colors of the KKK.

Resting on the scales of justice are the fates of millions of minorities. On the one side of the scale sits the profit driven monopolies and their government servants determined to pass the Bakke Decision and to reinforce national oppression.

On the other side stands millions of Blacks, Latins and Asians determined to be free. Standing with them are all who believe in social justice, all who refuse to be divided, all who recognize the forces behind Bakke are our common enemy. In the halls of justice the only justice is in the halls. We will be filling those halls with our anger, our determination and the united voices of tens of thousands declaring the peoples' verdict on Bakke.

DOWN WITH THE BAKKE DECISION!





## Controversial Issue Raises Questions

# People Unite to Smash

Q. What is the Bakke Decision - why is it so important?

A. The Bakke Decision is the biggest attack on minority people in the last ten years. It's an attempt to wipe out the gains won by Black, Latin and other nationalities in the massive struggles and rebellions of the 60's. It's the opening shot in a new offensive against minority people by the rulers of this country. Bakke is aimed at increasing inequality under the guise of concern for equality. It's a way to increase discrimination under the cover of charging "reverse discrimination." It's a campaign to get the American people to see discrimination against Blacks, Latinos and other people as a thing of the past - and to get us fighting each other Black against white over shrinking school openings, housing, jobs, etc. as the economic situation worsens.

Bakke is a ruling by the California State Supreme Court now under appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court based on a court suit brought by Alan Bakke, a white student turned down by the University of California-Davis medical school. It says that affirmative action programs - ones that give preference to minority people for education or careers - are unconstitutional and unjust. It upholds the myth of "reverse discrimination", that if oppressed nationalities fight for and win even a little equality or opportunity - this will lead to discrimination against white people who will have to be denied their rights, jobs, education, etc.

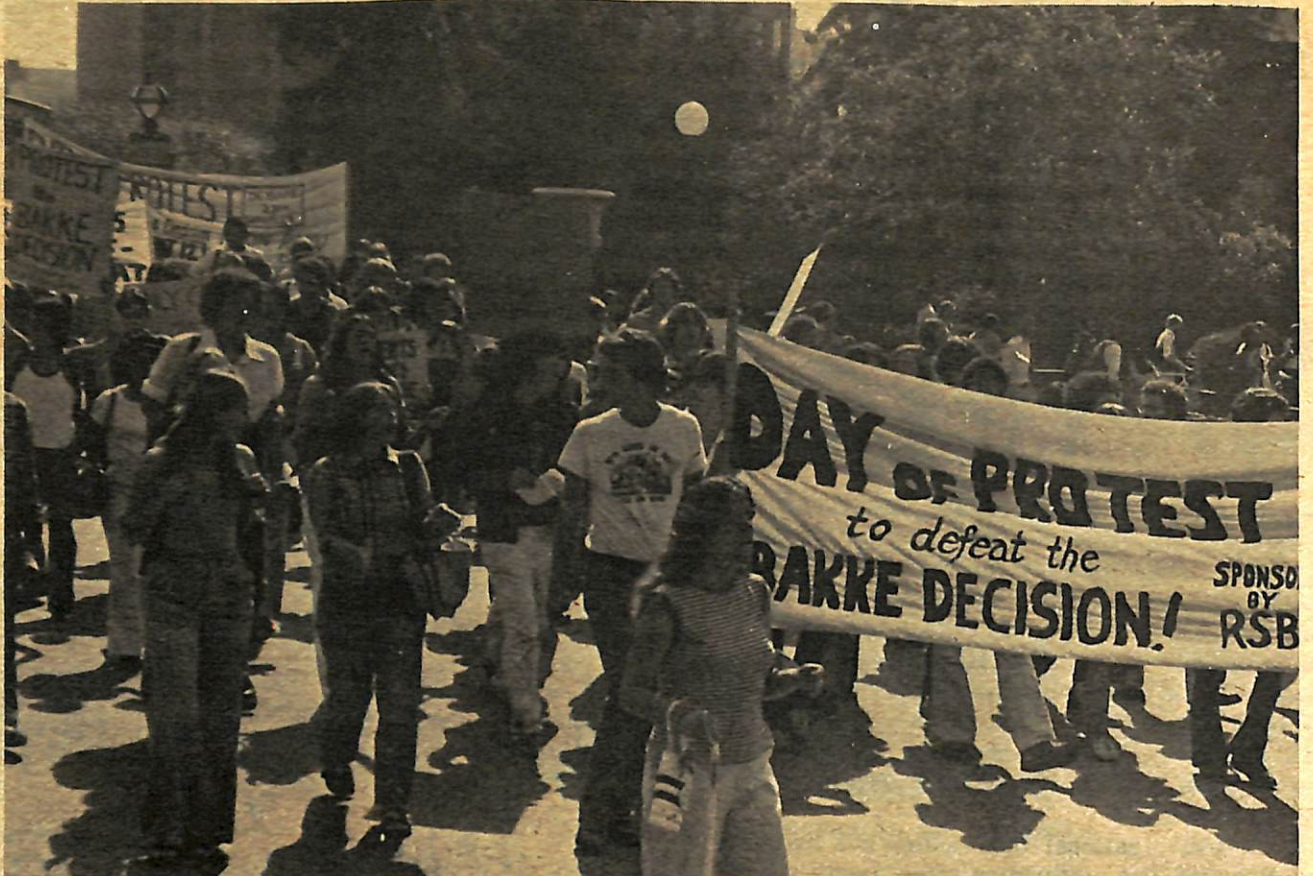
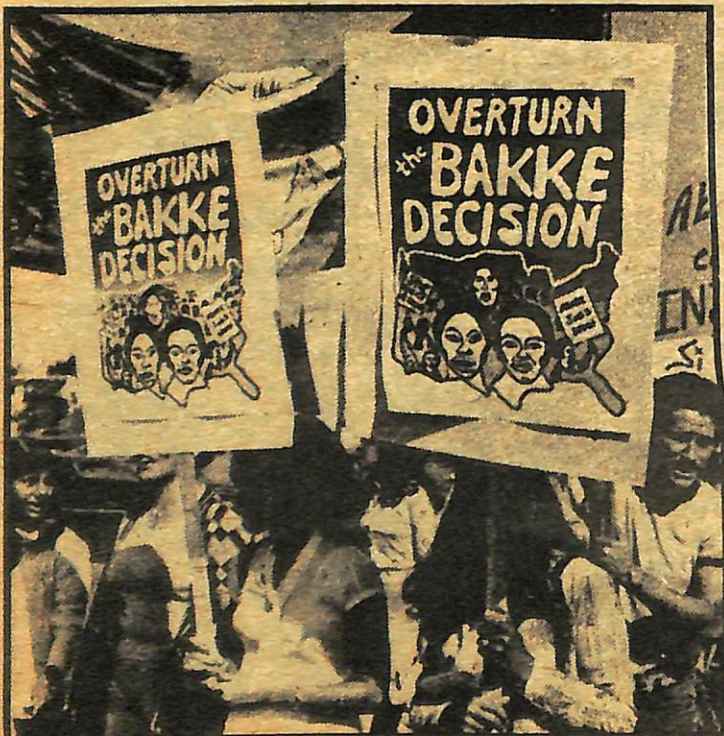
If this ruling is upheld it will be the legal basis for doing away with the already inadequate openings for minority people in schools and jobs. Here's what the Dean of Admissions at the UCLA Medical School said: "Without preferential admissions policies there will be almost no minority students in schools - no matter how aggressively we recruit."

This case and the controversy over it has already been the basis for a big media campaign aimed at creating public opinion that affirmative action programs for minorities are discriminating against whites. And it's brought forward and encouraged other attacks - like the Selective Index policy at the University of Illinois Circle Campus and the wiping out of the SEEK program at the City University of New York.

Now with the Supreme Court getting ready to hand down a decision this spring - this case has become the crucial battleground for minority people and for all those that stand against discrimination and national oppression. That's why the RSB has made the fight against it our national campaign and why thousands of people will be going to Washington on April 15 to say SMASH THE BAKKE DECISION!

Q. Why is this attack coming down?

A. Because the men who own the corporations and factories, those who run the schools and the courts have been caught in a deeper



While Alan Bakke "lives in controversy", the masses of people, like the students above, want unity to fight attacks like the Bakke Decision.

and deeper crisis over the past few years, and they've brought down a hundred and one attacks on the people as they try to stop this crisis. The only way they can - by squeezing even more profit out of the working people, by sacrificing everything to their drive to boost profits. This means skyrocketing unemployment - millions walking the streets, some laid off after 15 years on the job - others, young people who've never been able to get a job. It means energy crisis and inflation, crumbling cities and cutbacks in everything from education to health care to garbage collection.

And - like its been for 400 years - one of the main targets of the rich man's attack is the Black, Latin, Asian and other oppressed nationalities living under this system. More than ever, minority people are facing extra oppression as the rich bankers and bosses try to squeeze out extra profits. Unemployment among minority youth is 40% - twice that of the average. Hospitals, firehouses and schools closed most often are the ones in the inner city - serving the ghettos and slums. And now, with Bakke, the doors out of poverty and oppression that have been opened only a crack are being slammed shut. What they gave out with an eyedropper they're trying to take back with a steamshovel.

The rich are being forced by the economic crisis to take back those crumbs and concessions they were forced to give minority people during the storms of rebellion of the 1960's - and they're being forced to try and drive minority people down even further by their drive for profits. They're trying to take advantage of the fact that organized struggle and resistance by Blacks and other oppressed nationalities has gone into a lull in recent years. But before they can do all that, they have to create public opinion and lay the political basis for their attack - and that's where Bakke comes in.

Bakke is also aimed at building up even more divisions between whites and minorities. Not only to get us fighting each other over the rapidly shrinking college and job openings - but to promote racist ideas and racist movements among white people. Racist garbage like - "Black people are looking for a handout" - or "they're out to take away what we've got" are being cranked out of the sewers by the rich man's media and by scum outfits like the Nazis and KKK which are being promoted more and more. The point of all this is to get the heat off the rulers - get us fighting each other instead of them as they are forced to bring even more attacks on us in the years ahead. And it's aimed and building support among white people for more ruling class attacks on minority people, winning white workers, students and other people to standing with the bosses and bankers instead of standing with other people of all

nationalities that this system rules over.

All of this shows why Bakke is such a crucial issue - Bakke being passed without any real opposition opens the doors to worse attacks - Bakke being opposed by a strong movement of people of all nationalities will be an important roadblock to the plans of the rich to drive us all down.

Q. Other groups talk a lot about racism being responsible for Bakke and the real problem Blacks and other minorities face in this country. The RSB talks a lot more about "national oppression," "discrimination" and "the system" as the problem. Why is this - aren't you guys against racism?

A. The RSB is 100% against racism - but we don't think that gets to the root of why minority people have faced brutal oppression for hundreds of years - up to and including Bakke. We think that to get rid of racism - and attacks like Bakke, you've got to see who stands behind them and who profits from them - a handful of parasites - big capitalist bankers and businessmen like Rockefeller, Carnegie, Hearst.

For generation after generation, national oppression has meant oppression and degradation for millions of Blacks, Latins and Asians. For generations of slaveowners and industrialists from George Washington to John P. Getty, it has been a ticket to added riches. The fortunes of the north and the south were built on the bloody slave trade. Chinese and Filipinos brought here to labor and die in opening up the west, agribusiness and its rich profits from pennies a day wages to migrant workers, slum housing with its quick profits for the landlords, "last hired - first fired" in the factories and mills. The worst pay for the hardest most dangerous jobs. It all adds up to super oppression and super exploitation for minorities - super profits for the handful of rich men who run this country.

Discrimination in housing, education and the courts, police terror in the ghettos, drugs pushed on youth - these are the tools used by the ruling class to protect their super profits. Racist ideas - in books, the media, taught in the schools, pushed by scum like the KKK and the Nazis - are their big weapons to win support among whites for the oppression they bring down, and to get whites fighting and blaming minorities for unemployment, crime, rotten cities, shrinking education - which the rulers are responsible for.

Bakke is the latest attack in this history of oppression - and the latest divide and conquer scheme to get whites fighting Blacks over a shrinking piece of the pie. To fight it we have



# Bakke!

to know who's really behind it - to say the problem is "racist ideas" or "racist whites" lets the real criminal off the hook - it covers who's responsible for those ideas - and hides the fact that Bakke is not in the interest of most white people. And it points our struggle in the wrong direction. This view says that the way to end discrimination is by changing white peoples' ideas - instead of fighting to get rid of the system and institutions that profit from and breed discrimination and racism. It says we can't move to end discrimination until we get rid of the system and institutions that profit from and breed discrimination and racism. It says we can't move to end discrimination until we get rid of those ideas - and holds us back from going up against our real enemy - a small handful of capitalists who rule over and oppress all nationalities.

Q. But isn't the fight against Bakke and the whole fight against national oppression a struggle for minority people? Why should white people take part in it? Aren't most white people in favor of Bakke?

A. Yes, the fight against Bakke and national oppression is a struggle for minority people. Black people by the millions waged tremendous rebellions against national oppression during the 1960's - this sparked other minorities to also take up the struggle. Today minority people are the main force organizing around and fighting Bakke and other forms of discrimination.

But the fight to end discrimination and national oppression isn't only a struggle for minority people - it's a battle that people of all nationalities should support and take part in. This was true in the 60's when millions of white people came out in support of the Black peoples' liberation struggle and the fights of other minorities. It was true on the campuses when tens of thousands of white students supported and fought in the struggles that won affirmative action, minority studies departments and other programs. And it's true today as many of all nationalities have united to take up the fight against Bakke.

This unity can't be built out of wishful thinking or good ideas - but based on the cold hard fact that the same rich rulers who stand behind Bakke - who every day work to drive minority people more into the dirt - also are standing on the backs of the majority of people in this country - people of all nationalities.

They're dragging us all deeper and deeper into their crisis - destroying our hopes for a better world with their drive for profit - getting ready to send us off to war again to defend their interests overseas. National oppression has always been a major prop of their rule - the fight against it is a major battle against the common enemy of people of all nationalities - these rulers and their system.

The fight against discrimination and national oppression is in the interest of people of all nationalities. Not only is it a major battlefield against our common enemy - but discrimination

is a weapon used by the rich to oppress people. This is true among working people where competition for jobs is used to hold down the wages of all workers, rotten slum housing sets the standard for all housing, where discrimination in hiring is used to bust unions and the union shop.

Smashing Bakke would strike a blow at these parasites - it would weaken their ability to oppress minorities and their whole plan to solve their crisis by making the people pay. The greater the unity we can build - the more we can win people of all nationalities to take up this fight - the greater the blow we can strike. And the unity we can build in this fight will be a big weapon against the rich in all the battles we'll face in the future.

Q. But why should a white student support the fight against Bakke when affirmative action might mean we won't get into graduate school?

A. The press, lawyers, school administrators, etc. are trying to build up support among white students for the Bakke case. They're doing this by playing off two facts - First that millions of white students in this country are facing a more difficult time staying in school, going on to graduate schools and getting decent jobs. Second that white students are not the cause of discrimination and racism. The big bankers and corporation owners stand behind national oppression and make millions off of the low wages, rotten housing and high unemployment minorities are forced into. These same men have built up the myth of reverse discrimination to make white students think affirmative action is an attack on them.

But who was it that kept Alan Bakke from going to school? Was it minority students fighting for their rights or a system that denies millions of young people, of all nationalities, a college education.

The press never reports that the University of California at Davis medical school, which Bakke applied to, only accepts a grand total of 100 students a year! And that out of that only 16 positions are reserved for minority students under the special admissions program. In 1973, Bakke had the company of over 2500 other students, of all nationalities, who were turned down. In 1974 it was worse; over 3600 students applied and were turned away.

This is the real problem students of all nationalities face - the system is set up to allow only a limited number of youth to get a college education, based on the needs of the capitalists' economy, not on the needs of society for more college educated people like doctors.

In the face of this we have two choices - we can turn on each other, and fight over the crumbs the rich throw us from their table or we can solidly unite against this vicious attack against those of us Black, Latin and Asian, defend their right to a decent life and at the same time carry on the struggle against the problems and attacks we all face. Many students of all nationalities have already taken this stand - and through hard work and struggle thousands more can be won.

Q. But isn't it true that reverse discrimination HAS become a problem? Aren't quotas unfair? Why should any nationality have preference? Isn't Carter's position - for affirmative action without quotas - the fairest one?

A. "Reverse discrimination" is a myth - in fact discrimination against minorities is still a basic fact of life in this country, cities and industries, in the university, professions, etc. The affirmative action programs that Bakke is aimed at wiping out have only scratched the surface. Today, even with affirmative action - only 2% of the students at the University of California-Berkeley are Chicano - while Chicano people make up 15% of the population. Only 1% of California lawyers are minorities, compared to the overall minority population of 25%.

Bakke is just the sharpest example of the way discrimination is INCREASING, not decreasing. At University of Illinois Circle Campus in Chicago the new Selective Index Policy is openly admitted by the administration as cutting minority enrollment in half - in the interests of "quality education."

-Tuition-free Open Admissions was ended at City University of New York (CUNY) over a year ago. Now SEEK, one of the biggest affirmative action programs in the country is being wiped out.

-At the University of Illinois-Champaign there's widespread talk about shutting down the Afro-American studies department.

-In North Carolina, Bakke is already being cited as the reason for ending minority programs.

Judges, newspaper editors, trustees are all crying about quotas - how unfair they are! Suddenly they're worried about injustice when every day their institutions treat Blacks and other minorities like dirt. They don't need open quotas to hold down minorities - it's built right into their system. Every time they close a firehouse or school in minority communities, when money for inner city schools is cut, when slum housing is allowed to rot away. "Justice" to these hypocrites means oppressing minorities for 400 years, making education for minorities the worst in the country, driving Blacks and Latins and their children into poverty - discriminating against them up until the day they apply for the job or take the college entrance exam - and then "fairly" comparing the results with other people.

Quotas can be a good thing or a bad thing - it depends on who uses them and for what purposes. The fact is that unwritten but very real quotas AGAINST minorities still exist everywhere in this society. Affirmative action with formal quotas in favor of minorities has been one of the main weapons in starting to get at generations of "last hired, first fired" - and other forms of discrimination. Even with quotas, these pro-

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Affirmative Action was won in the mass movements of the 60's.





# BAKKE...

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grams only scratched the surface - for the majority of Blacks, Latins and Asians, conditions haven't changed. But they were still a significant victory in the fight against discrimination. With the winning of affirmative action literally thousands of minority students got a chance to go to college, doors were opened to minority people in the factories and in the professions.

That's why Carter's position is so phoney - he claims to be for affirmative action - but wants to take the real teeth out of any program - leaving things to the "good intentions" of employers and administrators. As a millionaire capitalist himself and a representative of the big monopolists, Carter's position shows the position of a big section of the ruling class. On the one hand they want to open the door to cutting out these non-profitable programs - and pave the way for more attacks on minorities. On the other hand they still see it as necessary and possible to come out publicly against discrimination and to protect a small handful of Black businessmen and politicians - like Andrew Young, Maynard Jackson, Jesse Jackson - people who have gotten their positions or made their careers off of the tremendous mass struggles and rebellions by Black people in the late 1960's. The rulers want to launch attacks on the broad masses of minority people - but they are still ready to protect the position of this handful of Black leaders in the hope that they will continue to perform their job of holding down Black peoples' struggle - by restricting it to the channels of the Democratic Party in this country (something particularly important for Carter who's political base is in a big way dependent on these Black leaders) or like Andrew Young running around Africa telling liberation movements to lay down their guns and trust the U.S. government.

Q. You guys always talk about "demonstrating" "mass movements", "struggle". Well, if the people with the power are the ones behind Bakke, why don't we go straight to them - get the politicians, Carter or the courts to come out against Bakke. Isn't it up to the Supreme Court and don't we have to influence them - what good will demonstrating locally do?

A. The first year of the Bakke case is a good example of why we can't rely on the courts or liberal politicians to win for us - why only a mass movement that stands up to the system will stop Bakke.

It was a UC-Davis administrator who pushed Alan Bakke to sue the university. It was the university not Bakke who demanded that this case be turned into a test case for the whole special admissions program. Then the University proceeded to lose the case - leaving vital information out like the fact that there were 36 out of the 84 white students admitted at Davis that year also had lower marks than Bakke - which would have been an important argument showing Bakke was not rejected on the basis of race. And the University admitted to no discrimination against minorities before the special admissions program, even though in the history of the school they had only admitted a total of three minority students before that.

All this is not to say that every administrator in the U of C is conspiring against special admissions - but it's clear that the Regents representing the big banks and corporations, and many of them monopoly capitalists in their own right are behind this attack - and that we can't rely on them or their system to defend us.

As for Carter, we've already seen how his



position is a sell-out - he wants to get rid of affirmative action but just isn't ready to say it. The point is not to go on looking for other politicians to "save us" - the courts, the government, the press - none of them are going to fight in our interests. They're going to fight in the interests of the men who run them and run this country. If we want anything out of them we're going to have to force it out of them.

This is as true today as it was in the civil rights movement and the rebellions of Black people and other minorities that swept the nation's cities in the 1960's. From the Montgomery Bus Boycott to the uprisings in Harlem, Watts, and Detroit and other cities, it was the actions of thousands of people - not the work of a handful of leaders - that struck fear into the hearts of those who run this country and forced them to make concessions. Today the flames of rebellion are not burning as high, the mass movement against national oppression, along with the revolutionary movement it helped spark, are for the time being not as large as they were. Yet the same general laws hold true - to quote Frederick Douglas, an ex-slave who helped lead the fight against slavery, "Power concedes nothing without a struggle." Unless Bakke is met with fierce resistance, unless we mobilize as many people as possible to take action - whether it's demonstrating or some other form of struggle, if we leave things up to the very courts and politicians who are trying to drive us down, then we're leaving ourselves open for a knife in the back.

Already thousands of people, especially in California where the case first came down, have taken to the streets against Bakke. Last October, 2,000 marched in Washington DC when the case first went before the Supreme Court. These actions have done a lot to make the rich think twice before trying to ram Bakke down our throats, and to wake up people around the country to what's going on. Only by continuing to build the struggle in this way will we have a chance of winning. This spring will be a crucial time to broaden this fight.

Q. But can we really win this fight? It's been 400 years and Blacks, Latins and other minorities still haven't won equality or ended discrimination. Now it looks like things are

going backwards, not forwards.

A. There's no guarantee that we can win the whole struggle to smash Bakke. There's never any guarantee when you start standing up for your rights that you'll win every battle. The 400 years of national oppression in this country, since the days the first slaves were brought over, have been 400 years of people fighting to be free - from Nat Turner's rebellion and the thousands of runaway slaves who fought in the Civil War down to the Black Panther Party and the uprisings of the 1960's. Not every battle has been won - but the history is dotted with victories won through tremendous sacrifice and heroic struggle. Faced with yet another attempt to drive minority people into the ground, those of us Black, Latin and Asian have no choice but to stand up and carry on the struggle. Those of us who are white who want to see an end to all oppression and injustice have no choice but to stand and fight with them.

How much we can stop Bakke will depend on how well we can unite people of all nationalities to stand up to it, how well we focus our struggle on the real enemy, how much we rely on our own strength and not the promises of some silver tongued politician or on the system which is trying to grind us down. Even if we can make the rulers pay a price for it - we can expose their brutal, racist nature to the whole country, we can build up our unity, understanding and determination to fight them. We can start building iron bonds of solidarity between minority and white. All victories will be crucial for battles in the future.

Because no matter what happens in the struggle against Bakke, win or lose, we know it won't be the last battle against this system. As long as the Rockefellers, Hearsts and Morgans run this country they'll try to take back with a steamshovel what they give with an eyedropper. Their drive for profits will keep forcing them to try and squeeze super profits out of minorities. Their repeated crises will force them to drive down minorities and all people - to protect their rule and enforce their discrimination they'll continue to push racism and racist ideas, promote groups like the Nazis and KKK to set white against Black.

In fighting Bakke, in fighting any battle against this system we've got to keep our sights on what's going to be the final and only solution to the abuses and oppression people face - revolution. That's the only road to liberation for minority people - it's the only way out for people of all nationalities. When the working people rule - those who have no interest in super-exploitation or exploitation of any kind - those who have no interest in dividing the people nationality against nationality, but whose interest lies in uniting the people in the fight for a common future - then the decks will be cleared for doing away with the long centuries of discrimination and racism. Only then will all people be "free at last." ■





MOVIE REVIEW



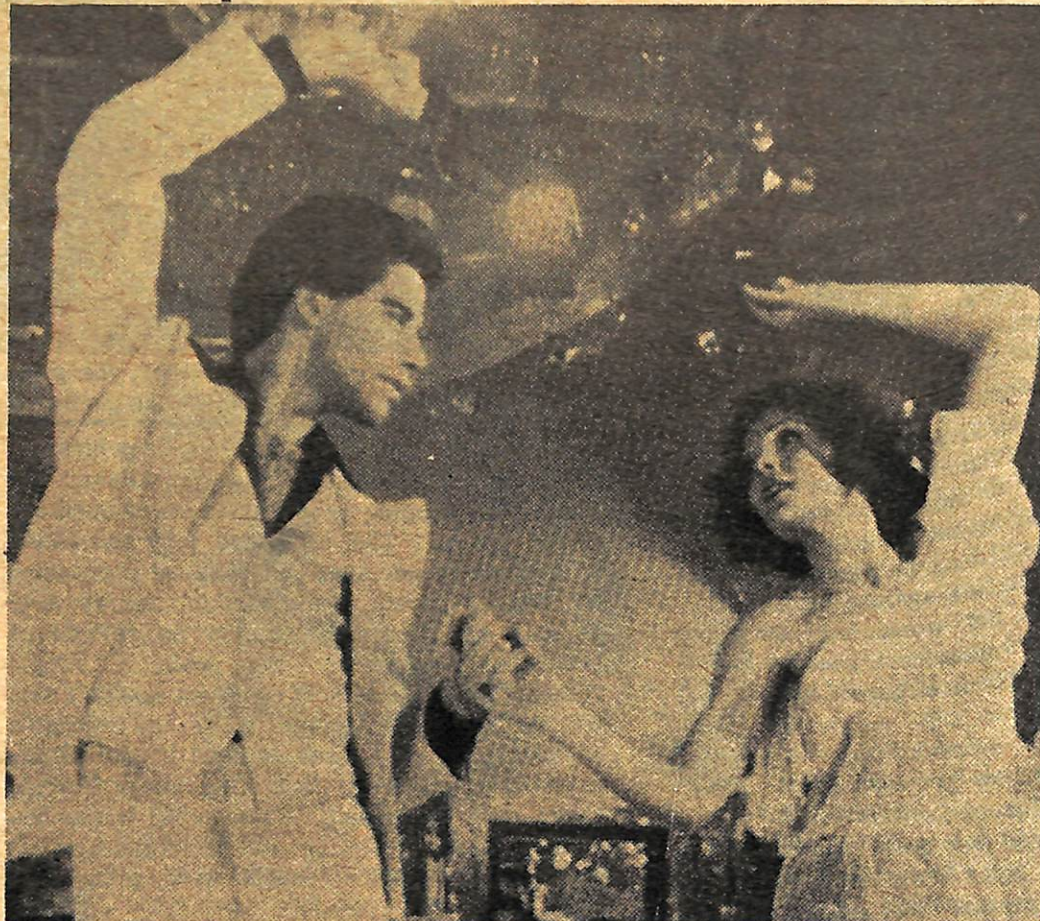
# Staying Alive

## Means Fighting the System

Just as a broken clock is right twice a day, every once in a while a film comes out of Hollywood that speaks to the experience of the people. According to the critics that film was Looking for Mr. Goodbar. Gene Shalit look out. You just exposed the world of difference between how TV critics imagine us to live and the way we do live. Looking for Mr. Goodbar is a film that describes people in this country as decent, serious people by day and vicarious thrill seekers at night. According to Looking we destroy ourselves in the endless search for cheap thrills. But Saturday Night Fever is like a burst of sunlight through the cinematic clouds. It tells it like it is. A thick slice of life that any young person can bite into and be satisfied. After having read the reviews we expected two hours of good music and dancing. The music is fine in fact its a whole new lease on life for the Bee Gees. The dancing's tremendous and it doesn't take long before the audience is in the aisle dancing in some theatres. Unlike Goodbar's warped out view of what we are and how we live Saturday Night Fever tells the truth and this important part the critics never mention.

Saturday Night Fever can be a couple of weeks in the life of any one of millions of young people growing up in the U.S. It is the story of Tony Mannerio, an Italian working class kid growing up in Brooklyn. Tony Mannerio (John Travolta) faces the same contradictions has the same desires, and values as many other youths. Tony wants a piece of the world a future, but doesn't know how to get it. He is stuck in a rut. All week long he works in a paint store and hangs out in the neighborhood, seven days a week the temperature builds, and becomes Saturday night fever on the dance floor in the disco.

During the week he feels like nothing. He's locked in the neighborhood with no way to escape. The paint store is a job for some quick cash but he freaks when the owner tells him it can be the rest of his life. Societies pressures, unemployment and religion, weigh heavy on his family. So while he loves his parents, he hates going home. But Saturday night he drops his paycheck to feel like a king. Saturday night he is a king. No one tells Tony what to do on Saturday night. He looks sharp, dresses sharp and feels sharp on Saturday night. All week long he is under the discipline of the boss but Saturday night he creates his own discipline. The discipline makes him an outasight dancer.



On the dance floor, instantly he changes from being a nobody to a somebody. Its clearest with Tony because he is the best dancer in the joint. But its true for all the kids in Bay-ridge. When the line dance starts, everyone's on their feet and everyone dances together, moves together, and the power is there. Power that makes the dance floor rock but has the potential to rock the world. Tony caps off the night by going to the largest bridge in the world, the Verazzano in Brooklyn. The power built up from hours on the dance floor turns the bridge from an awesome structure to a playground that Tony can handle at will.

It's at the bridge that the message comes home. Getting out of the rut isn't just a question of having a future - it's the only way to STAY ALIVE - the system will destroy you otherwise. It's on the bridge that Tony's sidekick kills himself. He had gotten a girl pregnant. His parents, his guidance counselor, his Catholic upbringing all said marry her but his youth and his friends argued stay free. Stuck

in a situation he couldn't face he leaped his way out of what seemed an insolvable contradiction. His friend's death forced Tony to deal with the contradictions he faced and he saw the need to stay alive.

Here the film misses the boat. Up until now it has done an excellent characterization of Tony's life, but it would be too much to expect Hollywood to provide an answer, a way out. It doesn't. The way out it tries to offer isn't much. Tony plans to move out of the neighborhood (which represents the working class) into Manhattan a step up into a skilled position. For Tony it is not much of an answer, since he lacks the necessary skills and he's already seen his girl having to sell herself to acquire them. For the masses of youth it's certainly not an answer; for while Tony might make it the rest of his friends are still stuck in the rut.

In Saturday Night Fever Tony Mannerio faces a crisis all youth face. The crisis between being a happy go lucky kid living for today and growing up and having to find a future. He is more capable than most. A kid who has backward ideas but fights against them. He has accepted certain racist ideas, but on the dance floor he won't accept inequality. He believes some women are nice and some are whores, but he demands respect for all women. Time after time Tony confronts the differences between what he has been taught and what he thinks should be. He tries to escape by dancing - but at the end he sees the hypocrisy and garbage he's trying to escape is in control even there. Tony faces this challenge honestly and earns the audiences respect in the process.

There are millions of Tony's in the world. Youth who want a future who want to stand up for what's right and make this world a better place. Tony, like a million others is trying to make sense of the world and map out a future in it. Tony wants a life with a purpose. Life with a purpose for youth in this country means revolution. Revolution means an end to the things Tony hates - like men dumping on women, families dumping on each other and Italians dumping on Puerto Ricans, by everyone getting together to dump the bourgeoisie. It offers youth the opportunity to make the life of the working class a life worth living, instead of something to escape from. Tony can take the power of the disco - the Saturday night fever - and turn it into fever for revolution. Revolution against the rulers that condemn one generation of youth after another to having to fight just to stay alive. ■

### WHY IS THIS MAN CRYING?



Above, Shah of Iran breaks into tears upon hearing of growing Iranian student protests against his rotten regime, as reported in THE YOUNG COMMUNIST.

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# KING...

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positions and through him trying to maintain some control over the movement? Of course.

For them, it was a question of trying to grab the growing movement by its leadership and that way control it - nip it in the bud. For them - as for all politicians and the wealthy rulers they serve - they never gave a damn about the problems of Blacks. They would grant only what demands were necessary in hopes of forestalling the movement and steering down the path of "faith" in the system.

And here the show falls down. Federal troops are shown as protectors of the movement. The enemy is some particularly backward southern sheriff. The Kennedy's are the patient but practical supporters of King. It's J. Edgar Hoover who has let his position go to his head - is the lone opposition force in the government.

Much of what the show tells us about Hoover and the FBI is revealing. The spying, infiltration and sabotage of marches, etc. Their tricks and maneuvers to discredit King and the movement. But the show makes these attacks the personal vendetta of Hoover.

And in a way, this also reflects King's biggest shortcomings. The civil rights movement was a powerful movement for "equal rights" in itself, but it was much more. It was the signpost to millions of Blacks to rise up, to mobilize themselves against the powers that be. To shake the world with the call for Black power - for more than just new laws to be enforced at the hands of the old system - but for liberation.

Was Bull Connors a mad dog in his own right - as the TV show presents him? Yes. But he was no different from the 1000's of cops who were ordered into put down riots with clubs, tear gas and guns from Watts to Newark. If the Kennedy's and their ilk could succeed in derailing the Civil rights movement and preventing its inevitable growth into a militant movement for liberation, that would be one thing. But the temper of the times forestalled channeling Blacks into a pressure group for legal reform. The system itself was now the target.

The movement was changing. The cry of "we shall overcome" was being replaced with "Black Power". The demands for greater civil rights was being overshadowed by the growing



By the time of his murder, the movement for Black liberation had passed King by, above, scene from one of the ghetto rebellions of the late 60's

conviction that there would be no Black emancipation as long as there was capitalism. But King wasn't keeping up with the movement he had helped spark. The unleashed fury and power of a whole people that had suffered oppression for four hundred years wouldn't be as easy to lead as a congregation, or as refined as protesting preachers. His goals of simple reforms and new acts of congress wouldn't satisfy the rebels of Newark, Watts and Chicago's southside. The masses avenged King's killing in a wave of revolt that King himself would never have sanctified. Even in '68 it was becoming clear that King and his followers and the masses of Black people were going separate ways.

If this film had a prologue the road King's closest followers were to take would have made this crystal clear. Now less than ten years later Andrew Young is applying every lesson he learned in those early days of the civil rights movement, this time against the people. He is Carter's number one tool in attempting to get the South African masses to accept far worse conditions than he himself was fighting at the time. He is at the same time sparing no effort to try and destroy the growing solidar-

ity Black people in this country feel with the African peoples. Jesse Jackson plays a similar role in Chicago, thriving on being one of the leading Black skills for the Democratic Party.

Martin Luther King didn't grow with the masses and their understanding - in fact, he held it back. He still saw the problem as merely the racist ideas of backward whites. The solution was to shock the consciousness of the nation. He says this many times in the show. And to do this, he saw only the non-violent Ghandi-ist means. He would say, "There is no need to antagonize the government."

While racist ideas certainly do exist, King never saw the root cause of Black people's problems. The government was ALREADY antagonistic. The system itself was based on the brutal oppression - in different forms from the slave days - of Blacks.

And the movement which started with goals just centering on peaceful reform was changing. People had gone up against cops, fire-hoses and jailings. There were new laws. But the old problems still existed.

In the film, there is a scene between King and Malcolm X where they discuss goals and tactics. Malcolm X (see article on P. 9) represented the growth of the Black liberation movement. The militant self-defence of Black communities against police attacks. The dissatisfaction with merely new laws which still had not fundamentally changed a thing. For King, his role as a mass leader was shrinking because the Black masses had moved beyond him.

It was at this time that he was murdered. Whether this shooting was the work - as this show presents it - of the FBI itself or some other agency, it was clearly an order by the US capitalists. Even though his role by the mid-sixties was no longer responsive to the growing demands of the people, and in fact represented dragging them back into a pacafist pressure group, his assassination was an attack on the Black movement. And it brought forth even more rebellion against injustice.

"King" was by no means a thorough portrayal of the civil rights movement. But for many of us it did serve to help educate a whole new generation in the power and scope of the movement. The film stops there. It never analyses the weaknesses or points to the militant rebellions that grew out of those times. King is portrayed as a great leader who got isolated from his people by making a "bold but righteous" statement about Vietnam. For Black people the Vietnam war was a poignant lesson. The realization that "no Vietnamese ever called me nigger" helped to identify Black people's friends as well as enemies. Black Panther Party spokesmen and many others began to identify the Black liberation struggle as part of the world wide revolutionary movement.

The truth is King never learned the links between Vietnam and the Black movement. He never saw the real face of the enemy - those who run and rule this country. But for several years, his role was crucial in developing a movement which brought millions of people into struggle and which revealed the criminal nature of this system to them. A movement which took on the rulers of the US and shook this country to its core. ■

## Mao Tse-tung on the Death of M.L. King

When Martin Luther King was killed, there were storms of revolt by Black people in this country and outrage and protest by people of all nationalities - here and around the world. Mao Tse tung - Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and leader of the Chinese people and revolutionary people everywhere, wrote the following statement.

Some days ago, Martin Luther King, the Afro-American clergyman, was suddenly assassinated by the US imperialists. Martin Luther King was an exponent of non-violence. Nevertheless, the US imperialists did not on that account show any tolerance towards him, but used counter-revolutionary violence and killed him in cold blood. This has taught the broad masses of the black people in the United States a profound lesson. It has touched off a new storm in their struggle against violent repression sweeping well over a hundred cities in the United States, a storm such as has never taken place before in the history of that country. It shows that an extremely powerful revolutionary force is latent in the more than 20 million black Americans.

The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class. It is a tremendous support and inspiration to the struggle of the people throughout the world against US imperialism and to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against US imperialism. On behalf of the Chinese people, I hereby express resolute support for the just struggle of the black people in the United States.

Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the black masses in the United States and US ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the US monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States share common interests and have common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States.

The struggle of the black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the US monopoly capitalist class.

At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The struggle of the black people in the United States for emancipation is a component part of the general struggle of all the people of the world against US imperialism, a component part of the contemporary world revolution. I call on the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals of every country and all who are willing to fight against US imperialism to take action and extend strong support to the struggle of the black people in the United States! People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, US imperialism, and against its accomplices! It can be said with certainty that the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off.



# S. Africa...

continued from p. 4

of its cards with the players at the negotiations, seeing in them the best possibility to maintain class rule and national oppression in Zimbabwe. In fact, the U.S. even helped formulate some of the guidelines for these negotiations. Everything seemed to be running smooth for the U.S. After all, they've maintained exploitation and racial oppression in this country long enough - no reason they shouldn't expect to export some of their methods to Rhodesia. But there is a reason, the armed struggle for liberation being waged by the Patriotic Front is still going strong and the Patriotic Front (P.F.) has refused to participate in these negotiations. They are determined to continue the guerilla war until they destroy the economic and political power of the white minority regime and its British and U.S. backers.

This is what's behind Andrew (Mr. Human Rights) Young's recent criticisms of the phoney settlement. Fresh in his and Jimmy Carter's memories is what happened in Angola where the U.S. hitched its star to the "wrong" (read losing) side in supporting Portugal and opposing the liberation struggles. This left the door for the Soviets to step in as the saviours and get its claws in the liberation movement. Now Carter and Young are worried about both continued liberation struggle led by the Patriotic Front on the possibility that the Soviets will be able to worm their way in.

To avoid this type of scene Carter sent "I've been through this all too" Andrew Young to set up separate negotiations with Patriotic Front leaders Nkomo and Mugabe, and British Foreign Secretary David Owens. So far these talks haven't met with any progress for the U.S. - the P.F. remains firm in its demand that there be no talk of ceasefire until plans for a transition and new constitution that GUARANTEE genuine black majority rule have been worked out. And so far neither the U.S. or the Soviets have been able to create splits within the ranks of the liberation forces, though not from lack of trying on either side.

The key to the success of the Zimbabwean struggle lies in the peoples war being waged by the Zimbabwe Peoples Army (ZIPA) and the P.F. It has weakened the white minority regime to the point where it can no longer rule through its repressive apparatus alone, but must seek alliances; it has built up support among the people to the point where phoney negotiations and peace plans have little hope for success in deceiving the people, and it has proved through

its practice that the only road forward for Zimbabwe is for the masses of people to rise up and, through their efforts, according to their own needs and aspirations, take power in Zimbabwe. ■

## AT DAVIS CUP

# Which Side Of Net Are You On?

The Davis Cup tennis championship is one place racists dare to tread. Last year the matches were disrupted by protests against South Africa being allowed to participate. This year, the tennis matches have retreated to the south, and the South African team is being invited to again compete.

Obviously, they think it will be safer for them in Nashville - but they're about to find out how wrong they are. Thousands of demonstrators are determined to say otherwise as national plans are in the works for big demonstrations in Nashville. The Davis Cup

has one goal - promote the Vorster regime. The demonstrators have the opposite goal - run the South Africans out of Nashville, out of the US, out of tennis and out of sports.

Already the South African racists have found support from their American cousins, the KKK. One outspoken white professor in Washington is active in mobilizing for Nashville was jumped in his office, and had "nigger lover" carved in his chest by the KKK.

Clearly Nashville is quickly becoming an important and contested battle line. Therefore, the RSB encourages all students to join with us and head for Nashville on March 18!

# Victory...

continued from p. 5

even smaller Progressive Labor Party) tried its best to make a name for itself by pimping off the struggle - being more concerned with pumping up its image than winning the battle. In fact, while they were nominal members of the coalition, they disagreed from the start with making the demand for divestment the focus. Instead, they said the REAL battle was to fight racist ideas among the Regents members.

While they parade around as the most militant fighters against racism, in fact this group was nothing but a roadblock to the real battle being waged against racism and discrimination in southern Africa. While the RSB and many other students were trying to strike a real blow against racist apartheid - showing who was behind the discrimination in southern Africa as well as the U.S., these overblown windbags in CAR were trying to turn things into a battle to reform the way the Regents thought. Instead of linking the fight for liberation with the real struggles going on against discrimination here, like the fight against the Bakke Case, which many forces including the RSB took up, CAR was only interested in shooting off their mouths about fighting racism in the abstract and considered raising any real demands (except for a general call for more affirmative action) to be a sell out.

The real sell outs were these scabs who acted time and again to make it seem like they alone were leading the struggle, not the coalition. This went as far as making a deal with the Regents to run the open forum - in exchange for which they got 12 of the 34 speaking slots. To CAR, the success or failure of the struggle was based on how much publicity they got. This came out crystal clear on the 10th - when it was common knowledge that the Regents were going to vote to divest (they had voted 19-1 the day before in a preliminary vote) and in spite of this CAR tried to lead the demonstration

up the meeting room and right into a confrontation with the cops.

But since media attention was all they were after it didn't bother them when only 20 of their members went up to the board room. Their aim was clearly stated as one of their leaders shouted (as they were being pushed back by the police) "we're winning" and then as he was dragged off to jail "we've won!"

## REGENTS TRIES TO PLAY COOL

The topper to CAR's whole sorry performance was a letter to the school paper, the Daily Cardinal, on February 17 which called the victory a "racist trap" and a "token gesture". This was strangely similar to what the Regents was trying to get over at that point - that the victory was no victory - because "we were going to do it all along."

The Regents is now claiming that they were forced to divest not by student protest but by a ruling by Attorney General LaFollette calling the holdings illegal (this was based on a 1971 civil rights law saying that it is illegal for the University to invest in corporations that discriminate.) The problem is that LaFollette's decision was reached NINE MONTHS ago! At that time the Regents response was to hire a lawyer named Baldwin to prove the Attorney General wrong. Then they pulled their "Sullivan Statement" trick, then finally agreed to divest.

Of course, the University will never admit that student action had any affect on their actions. Well almost never - one Regent member did say she voted to divest so "we could get this thing over with" and that the mass movement "obviously had an affect" on the decision. And there are those like CAR, who are trying to say that this victory, whoever was responsible, was really meaningless, that it has no affect on the fight against apartheid.

In fact, making UW dropping their holdings was a concrete say for supporting the liberation struggles. Just the idea of it scared the South African government enough to have their embassy write the UW of Milwaukee Chancellor and ask him to oppose it. More than the economic impact of divestment, what the South African government and its U.S. backers fear is the political exposure and isolation that a struggle against investments brings. They're scared of growing opposition to their blood-soaked rule that reaps them billions in profit.

Their lies about the fight at Madison are nothing but a feeble attempt to keep other people from learning from and following the example of this successful fight. But its too late now - from coast to coast people have been organizing to support the liberation struggles in dozens of ways.

The conference in Madison on March 11 will be an important victory - spreading the lessons learned there and the lessons learned in other struggles in support of the freedom fighters - and getting organized for important battles coming up - the Davis Cup, on March 18, the fight against university holdings at the University of Chicago and Northwestern University, African Liberation Day this May.

In southern Africa the flames of liberation burn higher every day - in the U.S. the movement to support that fight is helping to fan those flames and build the struggles of the American people. The victory at Madison adds even more fuel to the fire - and we say burn baby burn! ■



Part of South African youth rebellions in Soweto township last spring.



# Socialism at Work In China

TACHAI, THE RED BANNER

Foreign Language Press, Peking

On the edge of starvation, constantly at the mercy of nature, peasants trying to scratch out a living from barren dust and rocks. Living in fear of rich landlords, local tyrants and foreign invaders - this was the village of Tachai - a mountain village in northern China - 40 years ago.

Today 700 million peasants - from Tibet to Mongolia to Shanghai are part of a giant campaign to transform every village in China, to remake the entire face of the country in the image of this place. Not as it was then - but as it is now. What happened? Did the peasants of Tachai strike oil and make it rich? Did they cut a hit record? Invent a new kind of Chinese granola?

The difference between the old Tachai and the new one is like day and night - poverty, illiteracy, rampant sickness and disease have been wiped out. The rock strewn gullies of forty years ago have been turned into small fertile plains. Where people lived in caves - they now have stone houses. Where a few rich landlords prospered while the rest suffered under their whips and punishments, now all the people of the village (except for the long gone landlords) run things. Still by our standards Tachai is still a relatively poor village.

What has made Tachai the model for the Chinese countryside - what has made the slogan "Learn from Tachai" a nationwide battlecry in the People's Republic of China (PRC) is that in Tachai a whole new world is being built - new way of doing things - a new society that at one and the same time wipes out oppression and exploitation and creates the conditions for the tremendous progress such as the world has ever seen.

Now a book is available in the U.S. that describes the incredible struggles the people of Tachai have gone through to achieve the progress they've made - and that outlines the problems still to be overcome and battles still to be fought in building this new socialist world. This book TACHAI, THE RED BANNER is a lively interesting story of people - once illiterate poverty-stricken peasants, who have taken things into their own hands and are building the future.

## REVOLUTION THE WAY OUT

The life of the peasants of Tachai before liberation in 1949 is today the lives of hundreds of millions of the world's people in Asia, Africa and Latin America where the chains of feudalism and poverty are held in place with the military might and economic control of the capitalist countries. And its not so far removed from the lives of millions of working people in the "advanced" capitalist countries - where unemployment and poverty fester in slums not very different than those of Shanghai forty years ago. Where we live at the hands of a small group of incredibly wealthy rulers - who's drive for profit may bring us the next energy freeze, or the next war on another continent, or the next collapse in the economy.

So the same questions confront us whether its an undeveloped third world country or a heavily industrialized superpower - can we really build a different world - or is it human nature to live with oppression and exploitation?

The people of socialist China, and the village of Tachai, have taken the road of the future - wiping out the old system and constructing a new one in its place. TACHAI THE RED BANNER shows the intense struggles they had to go through at every step - the struggle against nature, the struggle against the old ways of doing things and old ideas and against those few who wanted to turn things back to the old society with themselves as the new rulers.

This struggle could only start by getting rid of the main obstacle the Chinese people faced - the foreign imperialists - who were sucking the blood of the people with the help of their Chinese puppets-warlords, bankers and factory-owners, headed by Chiang Kai shek. It was this class rule that created the oppression. In Tachai, for example, "The village had 64 households. But



Since liberation the people of Tachai have transformed their countryside from barren gullies to fertile plains.

one landlord and three rich peasant families owned 70 percent of its land. Out of 48 poor and lower-middle peasant households, 30 or so worked for landlords as long-term or seasonal labourers or as shepherds. Another dozen had to beg all the year round. In the famine year of 1920, over 20 poverty-stricken peasant families were forced to sell off their children. And seven died out altogether, having nothing to eat after paying rent and usury." (From TACHAI, THE RED BANNER)

In 1949, after 30 years of fighting, the Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) headed by Mao Tse-tung drove the foreign imperialists from China. As Mao said, "The Chinese people have stood up." The workers and peasants led by the CCP, were now in command of the country - the shackles were off and they were free to reconstruct China on a new basis. Yet in spite of the years of fighting, heroic sacrifice and hardship the struggle had only begun. As Mao said one month before liberation in September, 1949...

"To win country-wide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li. Even if this step is worthy of pride, it is comparatively tiny; what will be more worthy of pride is yet to come. After several decades, the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution, viewed in retrospect, will seem like only a brief prologue to a long drama. A drama begins with a prologue, but the prologue is not the climax. The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be long-er, the work greater and more arduous."

- Report to the Second Plenary Session  
Of the Seventh CC of the CCP

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When Mao Tse tung, chairman of the CCP died a year and a half ago, the rich man's media and ruling class China watchers hoped and predicted that the revolution in China would end. Instead, it has forged ahead - the movement to learn from Tachai, which Mao called for, is an important sign of this.



# Tachai...

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The struggle that now confronted the Chinese people was the "struggle between two roads" - the road that led forward to building and strengthening socialism and the one that led to capitalism. These struggles were over how to construct the new society - do it in such a way that it led to the doing away with the suffering people had faced in the old society, that it led to doing away with the old inequalities and class divisions.

TACHAI THE RED BANNER describes how this came down in the day to day lives of the people. It shows how this two line struggle which our press paints as the factional infighting of different power blocs, actually revolves around life and death problems facing the people around very practical questions of how to run the country. Questions, which if resolved incorrectly will eventually lead to the old class divisions being reestablished - with a handful of rulers at the top.

For instance in this country we're always told that people work best if they're working for themselves - that in working for the collective good people will have no "incentive." The same question has come up in Tachai time after time. After liberation, the land of the rich landlords was distributed among all the poor and middle peasants - this was a big step in putting the means of production (land, animals, tools) in the hands of the people, ending their starvation and poverty and starting to wipe out the inequality of the old society. But this still left each peasant working on their own - farming tiny scattered plots. Not only was this a very inefficient way of farming which would have left the peasants and China itself very poor, but eventually this kind of individual production would have led to some peasants doing better than others - with the old differences and inequalities coming back.

The solution - to move the peasants of China's countryside forward economically and politically was to step by step go from the peasants farming their private plots of land individually to large scale collective agriculture with land and income being controlled by larger and larger units until China's land is collectively owned and run by the

whole people. This struggle is still going on in China today and the campaign to Learn from Tachai that is going on now represents an important and leap in the process.

TACHAI THE RED BANNER describes the first step in this long struggle - the setting up of mutual aid teams made up of different households where people pooled their tools and animals and helped each other on their different plots (which were still owned separately). While the local Communist Party Committees, headed by a poor peasant Chen Yung Kuei, called for the formation of one team for all to participate in, several of the better off peasants de-

ren in it and not many strong workers. At first this team was the laughing stock of the village - everyone assumed that the other team - the "Stout Fellows" team - would do much better. Yet at the end of the year the poor peasants team had harvested more than the better off team. How could they do this? Because the poor peasants from years of suffering could see that collectivization was in their interest; while the better off peasants were convinced that the way to make it was "looking out for number one." When it came time to work the poor peasants worked equally hard on each other fields - the better off peasants would work like hell on their own land and loafed when it was turn to work



Members of the former "Oldsters and Youngsters Team" - the first step towards a collective agricultural economy

decided they would form their own team. They didn't want to be "bogged down" with the poorer families - which had poorer land, less tools and animals and fewer able-bodied workers. Instead they excluded the poorer families and struck out to "make good" on their own.

Chen Yung Kuei and the Party Committee went ahead and formed a team of poor families - called the "Oldsters and Youngsters Team" because it had mainly old people and young child-

to work on someone else's. The poor peasants worked out a plan for developing all their fields - the "Stout Fellows" fought each other over whose fields would get worked. In short - the poorer peasants, because of their background and with the leadership of the CCP grasped the need for working together, while the better off - starting with the forming of their separate team were still into individual production.

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## Long Live The People's Republic! Long Live Working Class Rule!

Two Octobers ago the Chinese people turned a difficult situation arising from the death of Chairman Mao into an important victory by defeating the counter-revolutionary Gang of Four. Aware of the two classes, two lines and two roads you continue your heroic march down the socialist road. Through this struggle communists in China and worldwide gained greater understanding of the tasks of the working class under socialism. This victory placed the future of China more firmly into the hands of the Chinese proletariat. Once again the Chinese people and Party proved capable of conquering all obstacles.

In the U.S. students and all revolutionary people watched events unfold closely. China has meant much to the American people. It has year after year proved socialism superior to capitalism. It was the salvos of the Cultural Revolution that led to Marxism-Leninism being reborn in the United States. And once again socialist China was a beacon as the defeat of the Gang of Four prepared us to remove a counter revolutionary bane in our own ranks. This bane which commanded a slight majority of the leadership of our party were the U.S. kissing cousins of the Gang of Four. Their control prevented us from expressing support for the defeat of the Gang of Four earlier. It was necessary to break their control of our ranks to continue to stand with the Chinese revolution.

To turn against China now is to turn against revolution. This we would never do. Therefore we are determined, even if apologetically late, to now take the opportunity to express our warmest congratulations and most militant solidarity. Today greater than ever before the words of Mao ring loud, "We have stood up. Our revolution has won the sympathy and acclaim of the people of all countries. We have friends all over the world."

-National Office for the Revolutionary Student Brigade



# P.20 TACHAI...

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This early experience taught the people of Tachai a valuable lesson - the socialist road - the road of collectivisation, is at one and the same time the way to wipe out inequality and the way to move the countryside forward economically and improve the lives of the people. And that this could only be done based on the poor peasants and working people, who's interests are most firmly with the new socialist way of doing things.

Sometimes we're told that socialism is fine for poor countries - but as soon as a country develops economically - builds up industry and agriculture, develops science and technology, then it will inevitably turn into a capitalist country - dominated by the rule of profit - everyone out for himself trying to be top dog while the country is run by a handful of rich bosses or bureaucrats. In other words, like the US. These people try to say that revolution and production (raising the standard of living, etc.) cannot go hand in hand.

What the people of Tachai learned, and this book shows again and again is that the two HAVE to go together. The revolution the Chinese made could only succeed because it brought a new, better way of life to the people, wiped out the abuses and horrors of capitalism. At the same time, this better way of life CANNOT continue or improve unless the people, led by the Communist Party, continued to revolutionize their way of doing things and thinking - continue to wipe out the old inequalities, the old habits left over from capitalism step by step until they are eliminated.

## HUMAN NATURE

Tachai, The Red Banner shows how this lesson was repeated time and again. In 1959 - 1962 China was faced with serious economic problems, including natural disasters that seriously affected agriculture. The village of Tachai was now organized as a production Brigade in a people's commune - a large scale way of organizing farming with land and income controlled collectively by the entire village. Because of its advanced thinking and methods over the years, Tachai had stored up big grain reserves while other brigades were in need.

Some people in Tachai were in favor of selling their surplus grain for a big price and getting rich quick. This is what some other brigades were doing. Under the difficult conditions facing the people - many started questioning whether the socialist economy could work. In some places people went back to farming private plots. Much of this activity was being consciously encouraged by a handful of members of the Communist Party who were trying to use their positions to become the new masters of society by destroying socialism.

In the face of this crisis, the simple question of how much to sell your grain for became a point of sharp struggle between capitalist and socialist ideas. Once again the Party committee and poor peasants of Tachai



Chen Yung-kuei - communist leader of Tachai and all of China, taking part in manual labor, as he often does.

led the way. They recalled what life had been like in the old society when everyone was "free" to buy and sell as they pleased - and how this led to the vast majority living in inhuman conditions.

They saw that if Tachai was going to start making profits off of other brigades problems, they would soon be no better than the old landlords - living off the fat of the land while the majority starved. So the people of Tachai decided to sell their grain only at state-set prices, and not on the black market.

This story, also from the book, Tachai, The Red Banner flies right in the face of the myth that it's "human nature" to be greedy, selfish, and only concerned with your own welfare. It shows that the more the socialist system proves itself superior to capitalism, the more the people see that the socialist system actually takes care of their needs better than capitalism, that it is run by them and in their interests, then the more new socialist ways of thinking can and will develop.

Because the peasants of Tachai saw the whole system of socialism as in their interest, they weren't just concerned with their own profits, their own farms. They were concerned with the well being of the entire country, and with strengthening the collective economy, not breaking it down.



WORKING PEOPLE IN COMMAND

This brings out an important theme running through Tachai, The Red Banner - the success of socialism can only be based on the masses of working people, led by the working class. No other class in society has more interest in building a new world and NO interest in continuing exploitation and oppression.

Throughout the book, this point is stressed again and again. It is the working people themselves who must take control of society. The picture we get of Tachai and socialist China in Tachai, The Red Banner, isn't one of a handful of communists dictating to everyone else. It's a society where open, two-line debate is constantly going on, where the Communist Party and its leaders must WIN the people to its positions through discussion and experience, not force.

Major sections of the book are devoted to the way the people of Tachai, led by the CP, struggle to master Marxism-Leninism, the working class science of revolution. By learning the laws that make society run, the people themselves will be able to decide which is the correct path to follow, which way will lead towards strengthening socialism and the ultimate goal of communism - classless society.

To do this, they have had to overcome many obstacles. Illiteracy, the old view that peasants and workers are too dumb to master the laws of nature, political economy and philosophy. The tendency by some to make studying theory a dogma - divorced from the real questions confronting the people.

The model Communist Party leader put forward in the book is light-years away from the bureaucratic "comissar" we're taught runs socialist countries. Chen Yung-kuei, Party secretary of Tachai was a poor peasant who never deserted the people in return for higher position or get-rich quick schemes, who continued to share the life and hard work of the rank and file no matter what his position or other duties. Most of all, the book shows how this communist leader, who today is a member of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and vice-premier, mobilized the whole Party committee in Tachai to train the masses of people so that THEY

could run Tachai and participate in running the whole country.

## SOCIALISM IS THE FUTURE

This book came out of China about a year ago - during a crucial point in the Chinese revolution. It was only a year and a half ago that Mao Tse tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party and leader of the Chinese people for 50 years, died. Around the world the rich man's press and China watchers hoped and predicted that this would mean the end of socialism in China.

And in fact, a small group of counter-revolutionaries, the "Gang of Four" tried to jump into the situation and seize control of the CP and the country. These were four people who were at the highest level of the CP - including Mao's wife. At one point, during the Cultural Revolution they actually helped lead the people to overthrow other reactionaries and create an upheaval in socialist thinking, culture and relations.

But by the time of Mao's death they had become divorced from the people. They made the struggle for socialism a struggle over ideas divorced from the life and death questions confronting the people. They pitted revolution and production against each other and they attacked

Under tree where peasants were whipped by their landlords, children of Tachai get educated about life in the old society.

anyone who addressed these questions as "right-wing" or "capitalist-roader" and used these labels to try and advance their positions and those of their agents.

These dogmatists attacked the campaign to learn from Tachai - just as they attacked anything that dealt with the concrete task of changing the world. Their view of revolution and socialism stood in sharp contrast to the people of Tachai as laid out in Tachai, The Red Banner. Today, with their overthrow, with genuine revolutionaries leading the CP (including Chen Yung-kuei), the mass movement to learn from Tachai is proceeding at full steam. A giant battle is going on to change the face of China's socialist countryside after the Tachai model.

Tachai, The Red Banner is also an important book for the people in the US to read. Socialism, like in the People's Republic of China represents the future for all humanity. Why is this? Are the majority of people in the US peasants? Is our agriculture based on tiny individual farms? Isn't our standard of living the highest in the world? What basis does socialism have here in the US?

In fact, the basis for socialism is even stronger in the US than it was in pre-1949 China for the very reasons that we're told it's impossible. The majority of people in the US are already engaged in collective production - the 10's of millions of workers working together by the 1,000's in the factories, mills and mines. Our agriculture is more and more concentrated in the hands of a few agribusiness monopolies - the individual farmer has been replaced by the farmworker.

The working class, the class with no interests in capitalism and every interest in socialism and revolution has developed as the biggest class in the US. The task now is for the workers, supported by all revolutionary people to seize control of the fabulous wealth they have created and start running things in the interest of the people - not the rich mans profits.

1,000's of miles away, in a very different setting, the people of Tachai and all of China have already taken that path - the path of revolution and socialism, the path to the future. Tachai IS a red banner for the people of China, and for the people of the world. ■



# Real RSB...

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Our organization has grown and earned the respect of students because it has been a fighting organization. When ten thousand students stormed the New York State Capitol, we led the charge. When the KKK showed up in Tallahassee, we helped to run them out. Just this week we helped to force the University of Wisconsin to divest stocks in southern Africa. We have been on the frontlines of the major battles and we've fought like hell in the smaller ones too. From picket-lines and rallies around issues, from fired professors to late financial aid checks, students have known the RSB as the fighters, the radicals on campus.

We have taken this stand in opposition to a variety of grouplets on the campuses who openly call themselves Trotskyites (named after their hero, Leon Trotsky, who did everything to oppose socialism in the Soviet Union and was run out of that country over 45 years ago for being the counter-revolutionary scum of the earth). The RCYB has taken the same stand as these trotskyites but they lack the honesty to admit it. Many students have seen how these groups operate. Refusing to join with the struggles students are waging, they are forced to simply ignore them. Concocting proposals for the fight that are actual diversions, they make themselves objects of contempt. Their attempts to rip off the advanced fighters from every struggle just to build their own organizations has earned them hatred. Their intellectualizing and theorizing have earned them ridicule. These groups call themselves communists but they breed anti-communism. Communists become viewed as preachers and pimps. Mao Tse tung described similar people in China when he said:

"In a very short time several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves. Every revolutionary party and comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at the head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in the way and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly."

The Avakianites have chosen to trail, to gesticulate, to criticize, and most importantly to stand in the way of the struggle.



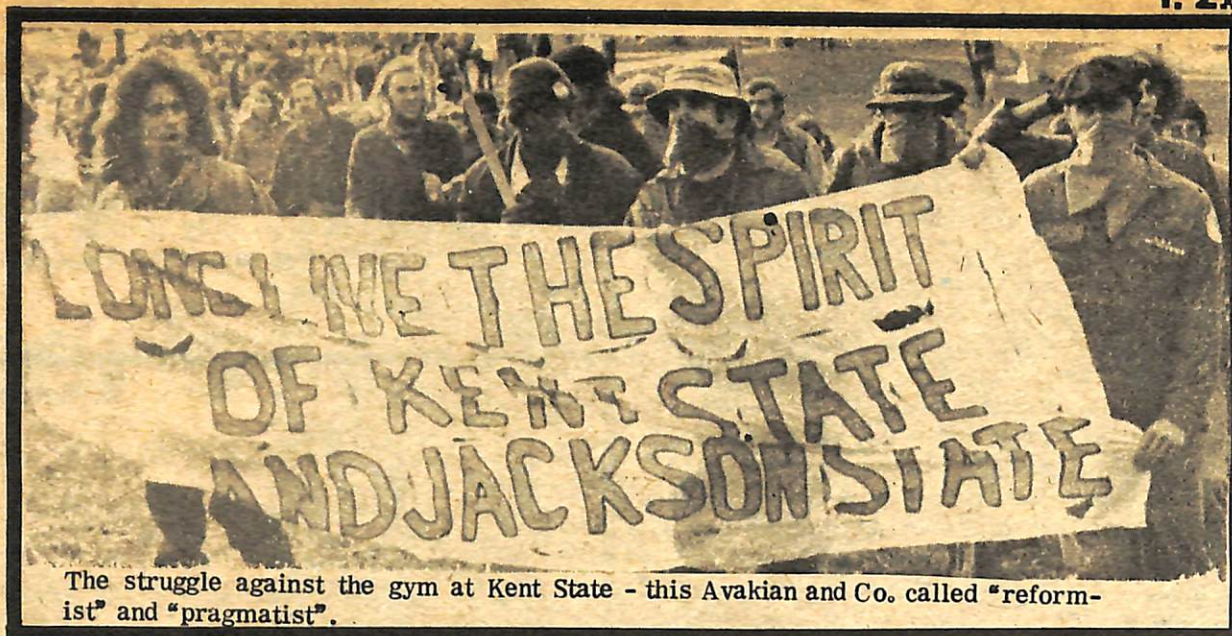
The fight against police repression in Humboldt Park - this Avakian called "embarrassing".

That's why Avakian argued that our organization shouldn't join this past summer with the struggle to stop police terror in the Puerto Rican community of Humboldt Park in Chicago. He argued that instead we should mobilize the youth to go to Kent State, because "this was a struggle they could be proud of". This statement is not only racist, it's revealing. It reveals these phonies have no interest in joining with and leading the ACTUAL struggles people are waging but instead choose to promote battles that THEY consider important. And then they lead these incorrectly.

A good example of how this works is Kent

In one short statement this representative of the Avakian clique exposed their contempt for the struggles thousands have been waging against the brutal regimes of southern Africa. Claiming to uphold revolution, these creeps oppose fighting to end the sale of the South African coin the kruggerand, sold in the U.S. to help prop up apartheid, as well as the struggle to end university investments in southern Africa.

Brothers and sisters, if communists aren't fighters, what are they? To the Avakianites, communists aren't fighters until the morning of revolution. Then they will hurry to pawn



The struggle against the gym at Kent State - this Avakian and Co. called "reformist" and "pragmatist".

State. At one point they argued that the RSB should lead students to block the bulldozers at the Gym site. It is not the particular tactic that is wrong, for at times it might actually be very useful and important. But for Avakian the question was not whether this tactic would advance the struggle, but whether or not it would get us on national news. Such actions can only lead to isolating the advanced from the masses of students, lead to defeatism when it fails and causes actual danger to those who participate.

But despite obstacles thrown in our way, the struggle to move the gym at Kent State was a tremendous victory. Thousands of students rose up to take on the KSU administrations plans to destroy the site where four students were murdered and bury along with it the lessons of the war and the movement that swept the country in opposition to it.

Standing together we delivered a powerful message to the rulers of this country, we are not the silent generation, youth unconcerned about injustice. We are a generation ready to stand up for what is right, ready to build a movement powerful enough to sweep them and their system of oppression into the pages of history textbooks forever.

At the 1977 RSB convention some of Avakians followers in our ranks openly stated the sickness of their position. Avakian's followers, in the course of opposing fighting university investments and the Kruggerand, complained, "For too long we have been mired in the struggle for reform, what we really have to do is propagate revolution." And another example, perhaps even clearer, comes from the Bay Area student leader. In characteristic Trotskyite logic he declared, "Who do we want in this organization? Do we want militant fighters? No, we want communists."

their books, pick up their weapons, march to the front lines and attack the government. Alas, revolution is not that easy. If communists don't fight today, they will not be capable of leading at the time of revolution. Communists who decry fighting are not communists at all. They are intellectual windbags. Many students have seen these kinds of "Marxists" on the campus. They glibly philosophize and are never around when it's time to build the struggle. Avakian wanted to turn the RSB into a collection of intellectual windbags. But it his RCYB that is quickly cornering the helium market.

But even as intellectuals these RCYBers fail miserably. They are just as incapable of organizing theory as they are the struggle. Instead of concrete plans for the whole organization to take up revolutionary theory, they send everyone home to study on his own. Those familiar with theory study further, those who are not are left to sink or swim.

#### THEORY SERVES PRACTICE

This is not simply a question of how to organize study. It runs much deeper. For them, theory is not necessarily something taken up to serve practice - the struggle of the people. Therefore there is no reason why the organization should study together, to integrate theory with practice. They separate theory from the work and promote the idea of "theory in its own right", or theory for its own sake. Instead of contributing to the deepening understanding of revolutionary theory, they contribute only to the trotskyite school of theoretical abstraction.

Intellectual windbags, standing apart from the struggle or merely concocting schemes to make ourselves famous, this is the RSB Avakian had in mind for us. But he wasn't content to leave it at that. For him and his clique, our role was to shock people with our communism. This led to their insistence that "communism" be in the name of our organization. Sometimes it was argued that communism would shock people and they say that is a good thing. Other times they would say that it was no more controversial than wearing a beret, so what's the problem. The first point at least is worth discussing for it does at least touch reality.

These new found Yippies believe that a communist student organization should engage in ideological terrorism - against the people. The first time it was a farce, the second time a tragedy. Maybe the originator of this line is in the need of shock therapy but the masses aren't. The capitalists provide all the shocks the people need. A communists task is not to shock people. A communists task is to unite with the people, lead them in battle against the problems they face and explain the source of this oppression and how to overcome it.

The name RCYB went hand in hand with their view of what our organization should be. Instead of a mass organization, it should restrict its membership for the sake of ideological purity. Instead of uniting with the people, it should "live in controversy" by shocking people. It should increasingly abandon the struggle in favor of theoretical work. This has already come out as the RCYB has declared that the main aspect of the fight against Bakke is the ideological struggle.

But let's step back for a moment and see how the Avakian shock forces are fairing. Anticipating the isolation their revolutionary therapy might cause, they have chosen to bury their organization and their name into mass organizations built around different issues.

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# REAL RSB...

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This is not an example of political cowardice, but more of the errors the line leads to. Mass organizations that are needed to unite broad numbers of people are fine. But to build a mass organization for every little issue is in fact a mistake. The result is the communist organization sells its paper, holds educational programs, while the mass committee builds the struggle. The result is that the mass committee has trouble fully understanding the nature of the battle, and the communists are viewed as the "idea" peddlers. But most importantly it fails at the most critical moment, when students are engaged in battle to change the world, to offer them the way to do that. It fails to harness the determination of youth to contribute to society to build a bright future. This strategy fails to offer that life with a purpose and once again abandons the struggle and the cause of socialism.

For a short time the Avakianites were able to hide from most of us what their view of our organization was and were able to force the rest of us to temporarily accept it. As a result, while our 77 convention was overwhelmingly a success, it made the serious error of accepting the name RCYB.

At a recent national meeting, it was decided that in order to consolidate our past successes and move to even greater victories we needed to correct this mistake. For that reason we have decided to return to the name Revolutionary Student Brigade.

But why was the convention a success? Because our organization had emerged as a leading force in the battles of students and youth. Not any force, but a revolutionary communist force that combined good practice with open Marxist analysis on a variety of questions. Because it linked the battles on the campus with the broad questions and struggles throughout society. Finally, because it presented a frank and real view of socialism that popularized the tremendous difference it meant for the people. Leading up to the convention, important advances had been made in struggles like Kent State, the youth march on Wall Street, and African Liberation Day.



10 million youth need jobs - the RSB and revolutionary youth groups organized a demonstration at Wall Street to hit those responsible - the bosses and bankers. Avakian called this a "pet project".

This is the proud history of the RSB. A history the Avakianites had little to do with, certainly never led, sum up negatively, and will abandon entirely in the future. It is a history the RCYB will try to pimp off of but never succeed. The picture they paint is one students have seen many times before. It's a picture of one of a number of trotskyite sects that clutter the lobbies of the student union. The campuses are plagued with enough trot sects and have no need for the RCYB.

## RCYB ATTACKS CHINA

In their head-long rush to abandon the struggles of the people, the inventors of the RCYB have left no stone unturned. Discontent with simply abandoning the struggle here they have chosen

to abandon socialism everywhere and in particular in the Peoples Republic of China (PRC).

Our organization has always popularized the PRC as a living example of the future of mankind. China daily proves socialism is a society worth fighting for. It shatters the lie that capitalism is the last and best social system. The working class in China is daily proving it is capable of ruling in its own name and for its own interests.



Socialism in China has created a new life for the people - wiping out hunger, poverty, illiteracy and disease. Avakian & Co. said continuing this progress was "revisionism and capitalism".

Around the world, millions are watching China. They are watching a poor country eliminate poverty, a backward country overcome ignorance, a formerly disease ridden country provide mass quality medical care for the people. These advances are demonstrating the superiority of socialism over capitalism and are a call to imagine what life could be like under socialism in an industrial country like our own.

China has been a dividing line. A dividing line between the capitalists and the people. The capitalists and their agents try to down-play and deny the advances in China, and the people are encouraged by them and popularize them.

It is around China that the RCYB once again exposes which class it serves. One of the ways socialism has been attacked is through the capitalist myth that socialism and poverty go hand in hand and that as soon as a socialist country gains wealth it becomes corrupted. The RCYB says the same about China! The rulers say socialism can never last because power corrupts and a new set of exploiters are bound to arise. The RCYB says the same about China! The rulers say socialism is an interesting experiment, but the people are bound to grow tired of it. The RCYB says the same! The rulers divide the Chinese Communist Party into two camps - those who favor revolution and ignore production, they are the revolutionaries, and those who favor production over revolution are the pragmatists, and oppose socialism. The RCYB says the same! They believe capitalism is being restored in China. This position rather than reflecting the position of the RSB since its founding has more in common with the CIA.

## RCYB SUPPORTS "GANG OF FOUR"

And it has to. It is built around support not for the Chinese people, but for a small counter revolutionary clique known as the Gang of Four.

These traitors were thrust into the headlines in this country a year and a half ago when they attempted a coup d'etat following Mao Tse-tung's death. In the sixties these forces had come forward during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution was a mass upsurge that threw back attempts at capitalist restoration in China. But when the Gang were foiled in their chase after the top spots in the

consolidation of the Cultural Revolution and were criticized by Mao and hated by the masses for the disruption aimed at trying to enthrone themselves, they continued their trotskyite left posturing and actual right sabotage. Just like an aging star hates to see the type of movies end that had inspired their careers, the Gang hated to see the Cultural Revolution come to an end. Instead they fought for uninterrupted, turmoil, endless campaigns and non-stop cultural revolution. This went clear against what Mao believed when he

said events like the Cultural Revolution could only take place two or three times a century. More importantly it went against the actual tasks confronting the Chinese people necessary to strengthen socialism. The class struggle needs to continue above all, but it required new forms and developed around new questions. This the Gang of Four never chose to understand. As a result they failed to lead the class struggle where it was actually taking place. Secondly, they made class struggle simply over ideas the only task. It was fine for them to say as they lived off and lorded it over the people. But the fact of the matter was that serious problems had arisen in advancing production and technology. These problems meant a lot for the Chinese people. It meant whether the peasants were going to receive sufficient farm equipment from the cities. It meant whether the workers would get food to eat from the countryside. It meant whether sufficient technicians would be trained to build the steel plants, auto plants, military bases and so on - what is needed to make a socialist country strong. These were more complicated and difficult tasks than the Gang had imagined. And they were not simply the mass demonstrations and hardy red banners that had first inspired the Avakianites to dig China.

The Gang's response was to attempt to seize power and to turn their backs on the task confronting the Chinese people. The Avakianites have also chosen to turn their backs on the Chinese people. But as has been proven time and again if you ABANDON SOCIALISM WHERE IT EXISTS YOU WILL NEVER SUCCESSFULLY FIGHT FOR IT WHERE IT DOESN'T EXIST. This is why the RSB along with nearly half of the party's membership chose to rebel against this anti-communist line. To do otherwise would have been irresponsible. It would have rendered our organization incapable of leading struggle in this country. It would have made us incapable of popularizing socialism if we had to deny socialism where it actually exists. It would have been a betrayal of the Chinese people and a betrayal of the people in this country. It had to be done.

## WHY THIS SPLIT?

But isn't this split just another example that the left can't get together? There is no deny-

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# Ethiopia...

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armor in many years - behind the Ethiopians war against Somalia.

The results have been staggering. Reports indicate that the Somalian army, until recently in control of 90% of the Ogaden province it had invaded, has been thrown back in the face of the combined Soviet-Cuban-Ethiopian counter-offensive. Somalia has called a state of national emergency and is pleading with the US, Egypt, Iran and other countries to aid it - arguing that the Soviets will not stop at simply driving Somalia back across its borders, but will push on until they at least control the northern section of Somalia, where the most important ports are located,

## US IMPERIALISTS IN TIGHT SPOT

For a while, the US ruling class was almost completely iced - on the outside looking in - in the Horn. With Soviet influence already firmly set in Somalia and growing in Ethiopia - well, the outlook was dim.

But hurrahs went up and champagne glasses clinked in the White House when Somalia kicked the Soviet Union out.

But the US knew that it couldn't be content with being Somalia's new boss - especially as Somalia is now quickly losing its war against Ethiopia. So while backing Somalia, and warning (along with Iran) that it "will not stand by" if the Soviets and Ethiopians move on to invade Somalia, the US is doing its best to keep its hand in Ethiopia.

It is doing this mainly through the "Ethiopian Democratic Union". With its headquarters in London, this group is made up of elements that got the shaft when Haile Selassie's monarchy was overthrown. This was about as popular as calling for Nixon's return to office in this country. So, especially in the face of growing fascist repression the junta is using to thwart any resistance to its regime - the EDU dropped the bit about monarchy and started talking about "democracy" instead. The activity of this group is sure to increase in the months ahead - funded by US dollars.

## THE ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE ARE NO ONES PAWN!

Just as "things didn't go the way" the US and Haile Selassie had "planned" for Ethiopia back in '74, both the Soviet Union and the US's plans for Ethiopia as a pawn in their superpower contention are bound to meet with, and are being met with, fierce resistance from the Ethiopian people. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) and its military arm, the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Army (EPRA) are calling on the Ethiopian people to oppose the designs of both superpowers. For this "treachery", the EPRP has been a special target of terrorist repression by the Ethiopian regime. The junta has already murdered 1000's of people in their wave of terror.

But the fact is that the Ethiopian people have no interest in seeing either the US or the Soviet Union "win" in the Horn. A US puppet under the cover of democracy while he robs the people blind is no better than a Soviet puppet under the cover of socialism.

## WORLD WAR ON THE HORIZON

All these maneuvers, advances, retreats and contortions by the two superpowers are leading to world war between them. They need to re-divide the world and settle the question of who is to be top dog in the imperialist scramble for world power. This scramble NECESSARILY leads to war, sooner or later under imperialism. Whether it's small wars (like Angola yesterday, or Ethiopia today) or big wars (like WWI or II) - there is no way for the imperialists to settle their differences other than war.

The American people - along with the Ethiopian people and the rest of the world, have no interest in lining up with either superpower in the hopes of winding up on "the winning side". Because the only winner in that kind of war is one of the two ruling circles of the US and the Soviet Union.

Today what we must do is oppose any attempts of the US to enforce its will on the

# Communism & Revolution vs. Dogmatism & Sectarianism

## Documents from the 2 Line Struggle to Build the RSB

This pamphlet contains two documents from an important struggle in the RSB. One is a major polemic against a dogmatist tendency that tried to take over and wreck our organization. It contains as well, important lessons learned from years of practice, of communist organizing among American youth and students. The other is the frantic ravings of a frustrated student leader from Antioch, Ohio that puts forward, among other things, isolation from the masses in the name of ideological purity as the way forward for a communist youth organization.

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# REAL RSB...

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ing this split is a setback. It seemed for a while that the ability of our organization to lead the student movement was advancing greatly along with the ability of the party to lead the working class movement. Hundreds deciding to abandon revolution has to be a setback. Whole areas of the country being robbed of a communist party and a revolutionary student organization is a setback. But it would have been a far greater setback for everyone to have accepted a counter-revolutionary line.

These splits reflect the times. They reflect the times in several ways. These are difficult times for the people and communists alike to fight in. The last wave of social rebellion ended with the sixties. The new wave has yet to develop. Since the sixties the people have accumulated new experience and the working class has stepped to the forefront of the peoples' struggle. But until a new wave of social rebellion develops mobilizing people is difficult.

## OPPRESSION BREEDS RESISTANCE

This rebellion will develop. As we said at the 1977 RSB convention "Oppression breeds resistance. If there is one thing we can expect from our rulers that's oppression. Today's fear of the enemy will become tomorrow's hatred. The sacrifices made today will turn into added reason to fight tomorrow. The calm of today will turn into the storms of tomorrow. Our task is to seed the clouds today, fan the breezes of discontent into gusts, the gusts into winds and to continue on to be the eye of the storm." The struggles between Marxists today revolve around how to seed these clouds and how to fan the breezes into winds. Or for that matter whether to do it at all.

These are important struggles that will determine whether there will be a communist eye to the future storm. The RSB is immersed in seeding those clouds with books and picket signs and with theory and activism. The RCYB has decided to hide from the clouds, flee from

the winds and simply forecast the arrival of the storm. When the storm comes they will be locked away in their house. Why is this?

Because learning how to make revolution isn't easy. There are no simple blueprints. It's a struggle to increasingly root Marxist theory in the actual terms of the class struggle. Some choose to abandon Marxism to merge with the struggle. Others, like the Avakianites, abandon the struggle and as a result turn their Marxism into wrong and impotent theory. These types of struggles are affecting Marxists around the world. These were important struggles that laid the basis for victory in the Chinese and Russian revolutions. These are struggles that take place and develop out of more firmly applying revolutionary theory to revolutionary practice. In the process some back away like the forlorn comrades of the RCYB, while new and fresh forces come forward.

Overall, the growth and development of the revolutionary forces is by far the greater phenomenon. It has to be. Capitalist to the core, this country needs revolution.

Crisis increasingly besets the rulers of the country. Millions of workers slave in factories only to leave with empty pockets and clenched fists. Youth just out of high school desperately searching for the key to the future in a society that chains us to the past. Dozens of nationalities who have been turned on by the capitalists in their drive for greater profit wait to eagerly turn against the rulers in full fury. Ruined shopkeepers, alienated professionals add their names to the list with reason to hate the rule of capitalism. In the midst of these social conditions a few hundred Avakianites abandoning the people seem like a grain of sand being washed off the beach.

And that is why the RSB is still convinced as we said at the 1977 convention, "We are the minority to become the majority. We are the first of many more. This young communist league will enable us to forge a whole other future for the youth to take. A life of standing with the oppressed against the oppressor. A life of serving the people today and contributing to liberate mankind entirely." ■



Soldiers of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Army - who are fighting to free their country from all foreign domination and their Ethiopian puppets

Ethiopian people. While aiming our struggle against our own ruling class in particular, we must join with the Ethiopian people in de-

manding that both superpowers get the hell out of Ethiopia, and support the Ethiopian peoples' fight to drive them out. ■



**LOVING TWO AIN'T SO EASY TO DO**

**War in the Horn of Africa**

It seems like every couple of months now there's some new "hot spot" on the international scene that fills the TV screens for a couple of weeks and then dies out - or is simply replaced by some new flare-up in another part of the world. Angola, Lebanon, the Mideast, southern Africa - we hear a lot about these "disturbances" in the media without getting much understanding of why these things are happening.

The Horn of Africa is a big prize in their contest for world control. Control of it means control of access to the Red Sea and potential domination of vital Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf shipping lanes. To win domination there the Soviets have thrown their weight behind the so-called "Marxist" regime of President Mengistu in Ethiopia. There is, of course, nothing Marxist about it - more on this later.

The US for its part, is backing up (as much as it can) the Somalian government and has made promises to the effect that if Soviet and Cuban troops invade Somalia, the US will start selling arms to the Somalian army.

What's amazing in all this is the fact (which the media mentions but does not explain) that a bare six or so months ago, Ethiopia was the US imperialists' client in that area, while the Soviet Union was "standing shoulder to shoulder with the Somalian people in their fight against Ethiopian aggression." Now the Soviet Union says the same thing, but they just change the position of the countries. Now it's "shoulder to shoulder" with the Ethiopian military junta against "Somalian aggression". True to form, all this switching around by the Soviets has not dimmed in the least their ability to look the whole world straight in the eye and say: "Our every thought, motive and action is based exclusively and only upon the needs of the 'world proletarian revolution'!" Not unlike a prostitute who goes from bed to bed in a house of ill repute telling everyone (even past clients) that she's a virgin.

**SUPERPOWER JUGGLING ACT**

But let's step back for a second. How did all this superpower juggling act come about?

For decades, Ethiopia was ruled by Emperor Haile Selassie, a virtual puppet of the US ruling class. The history of Ethiopia under the rule of Selassie is a history of never-ending famine, oppression, ignorance - and the struggle of the Ethiopian people against this oppression. The US profited from its domination of Ethiopia in two ways. First, they sucked as much profit as possible out of the country through usurious loans, selling machinery to the economically backward country at high prices, and holding back parts for the machinery at even higher prices. Second, control of Ethiopia was (and is) key to controlling the Horn, and the all-important shipping routes that go with it.

All through these long decades, the Ethiopian people, especially the peasantry, rose up time and again against Haile Selassie's rule. But it was only in 1974 when a whole set of conditions came together to topple his rule. That year, a particularly sharp famine killed 200,000 peasants. An independence movement in Eritrea (a northern province of Ethiopia) had liberated 90% of Eritrea and was sucking the wealth and military power of the country dry in a



guerilla war (which is still going on today). Inflation was sending basic essentials far out of the reach of the ordinary citizen.

All these things put together spelled the end of Selassie's dictatorship. A massive movement which shook every inch of Ethiopia tossed out Selassie - and his US backers with him. He was replaced with a military junta - which could not help but dress itself up, not only in the usual three or four pounds of medals - but in a "revolutionary", even "Marxist" guise. This served two purposes. First, they could come across as genuine leaders of the Ethiopian people who wanted to see some real change in their lives, when in fact they were a new set of exploiters and masters not one iota less vicious and bloodthirsty than their predecessor, Haile Selassie. Second, posing as Marxists could help grease the skids for the Soviet Union to come in and replace the US as the new masters of Ethiopia.

Which, as the months went by, is exactly what happened. But up until the junta took power in Ethiopia, the Soviet Union had been trying to get control of Somalia, just to the east of Ethiopia. The usual set of "contracts, advisors and technicians" had settled down in Somalia, and Somalian troops were being trained by Cubans.

The turning point came in the middle of last summer. An independence movement in the Ethiopian province of Ogaden (bordering Somalia) had sparked the interest of the Somalian government. Sure of Soviet support, Somalia invaded Ethiopia's Ogaden province on the pretext that "most people living in Ogaden were Somalians". As this war heated up, the Soviets re-checked their options and tried to play both sides. They pulled a trick that the US ruling class are past masters at: they started to arm BOTH SIDES.

It was a trick the Somalians didn't like. They tore up their Soviet contracts and told every Russian in sight to leave in 24 hours. This was a big blow to the Soviets. Somalia has crucial ports which serve the Red Sea and those shipping lanes. So the Soviets threw everything, including one of the biggest airlifts of military

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The most recent of these is in the Horn of Africa (see map). All of a sudden we hear that some country called Somalia has invaded the Ethiopian province of Ogaden. Russian advisors, \$1 billion of Russian military aid, and 5,000 Cuban troops along with the Ethiopian army, are counter-attacking and driving the Somali army back through the Ogaden province that it had invaded, and across it's own borders.

The U.S. has let its interests in the Horn be known. In his State of the Union message in January, Carter said that, "There is danger that the Soviet Union and Cuba will commit their own soldiers in this conflict, transforming it from a local war to a confrontation with broader strategic implication."

That's exactly what's happened. But unable to directly enter the war in the Horn the way the Soviets have (because, as one State Department official said, "For once, the Soviets could seem to be helping a legal government repel aggression"), the US has sent a Destroyer from its sixth fleet down into the Red Sea to join US warships already there, threatening action in defense of Somalia while trying to find ways to keep its hand in Ethiopia.

**TWO SUPERPOWERS - SLIP-SLIDING AWAY**

Behind this jumble of activity, the war in the Horn boils down to another test of strength between the worlds two superpowers, the US and the Soviet Union.

As usual both superpowers are covering their drive for profits with noble banners of "democracy" and "socialism" - but their motives have nothing to do with either. Under the cover of democracy the US is trying to regain a valuable semi-colony. Under the banner of socialism the Soviet Union is trying to consolidate its unseating of the US as the main power in the area. Both are driven by a purely capitalist need to expand and suck profits out of the people of the world.

