



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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## WAR IN THE



## HILLS OF KURDESTAN

Despite repeated claims by the Iranian government that it is on the verge of crushing the struggle of the minority Kurdish people, thousands of popularly-backed Kurdish fighters are continuing to launch new attacks against the troops of the reactionary central government from one end of the mountainous province of Kurdistan to another.

On September 1, Mostafa Chamran, the Deputy Prime Minister directing the Iranian government's military operations in Kurdistan and head of SAVAMA (the government's newly created secret police force), announced that a combined air and ground offensive was underway throughout the province. However, the Kurds were launching an offensive of their own.

At Saqqez, the site of fierce fighting only a week ago, the Kurds bombarded the army base with 106 and 120 millimeter artillery. A nighttime raid on the military garrison in the mountain  
Continued on page 14

### Another Brand of Reactionary Poison

## Zionism and the "Black-Jewish Rift"

One of the major spinoffs of the storm of controversy surrounding the Andrew Young affair has been a volley of highly publicized charges, made by leading figures in the Black establishment, that Young was a victim of the Jewish vendetta against Black people. Jessie Jackson told Black audiences, "It wasn't the Klan that got Andy Young, it was the Jews." A Black mayor called the Jewish leaders' demands for Young's resignation "a direct attack on Black people." Opportunist fools like Jesse Jackson

looked particularly ridiculous attempting to pose as opponents of Zionism and supporters of Palestinian liberation; after all, Jackson and the vast majority of the Black bourgeois leaders have been supporters of Israel for years.

In fact what they are doing fits quite nicely into current U.S. plans in the Middle East and is not even basically antagonistic to the Zionist state of Israel. The U.S. is presently trying to make some adjustments in its Mideast policy to undermine Soviet influence among Arab countries and the PLO. The current act of these Black leaders in this country puts them in an excellent position to talk to (and help "moderate") the PLO. It also creates some public opinion maneuvering room in this country where our rulers have pushed nothing but rabid anti-Palestinian sentiments for years.

Even while all the anti-Jewish crap

was being stirred up, many of these Black leaders swore their allegiance to Zionism. Andy Young said, "The Congressional Black Caucus has been almost 100% in supporting aid to Israel." Jesse Jackson also spoke about the U.S. "obligation" to support Israel.

Due to the counterrevolutionary nature of Israeli Zionism, and the conservative and reactionary role played by the main Jewish organizations in this country, there is a fertile field right now to explain the problems of Black people through the ideology of anti-Semitism. Widespread among Black people is the idea that Jews occupy a unique and strategic place in the power structure of the United States, that the main oppressor is usually or invariably Jewish or controlled by the Jews. Notorious Brooklyn reverend Herbert Daughtry, a prominent Black leader in New York,  
Continued on page 15

Special to the Revolutionary Worker

### The Rebel Kurds

Page 12

# Imperialism Adds Death Punch to Dominican Hurricane



Dominican housing. Is it any wonder that thousands died when the storm hit places like these?

(We received this report from a Dominican comrade living in the East—ed.)

The latest report from the Dominican Republic after Hurricane David swept the country on September 1 and 2, is that the situation for the masses of Dominican people is a desperate one. More than a hundred thousand people are homeless, close to 3,000 people were killed, the agriculture of the island has been totally destroyed. There has been no running water or electricity for the last few days and the government has declared a curfew. Grocery stores are controlled by the military, protecting the food from the people.

The hurricane hit hardest in the southern part of the country, in cities like San Cristoval, Bani and Barahona. Not a single house was left standing in some villages. More than 400 people were killed in Barahona when the roof of an old church, where they had come, collapsed in the storm. In Santiago, many people were drowned in the Yaque river when hundreds of cardboard houses built on the bank were wiped out. In Santa Domingo, the capital city, the storm hit hardest in the barrios like Gualay and Las Canica.

Dominicans living in the U.S. are trying to find out what has happened to their families in Santa Domingo. Communications are totally shut down, bridges into the city are destroyed, and the airport is closed. You can't hear a word from your relatives. Like myself—I am dying to hear from my mother, my brothers and other relatives. There are hundreds of thousands of Dominicans living in the U.S. who want to know if their families are still alive.

Let me tell you, anyone familiar with the living conditions of the people in Santa Domingo knows that it's no god damn mystery why the hurricane hit the way it did, and why it was the poor people in the cities and the peasants in the country that were hit harder than anything else. Although the U.S. has been saying how sorry it is about the situation and all the people killed, this is only a cover for the real reason for the high death toll. The real reason is that U.S. imperialism controls the island completely.

While thousands are dead, U.S. cor-

porations were well protected during the storm. Texaco Corporation, which owns a refinery, was pumping gasoline again two days after the storm. They doubled the price, selling it now for three to five dollars a gallon. Facom Bridge, a U.S. and Canadian owned coal mine, also quickly started up operations.

So why not talk about the fact that this small Caribbean island has been oppressed and exploited by U.S. imperialists for many years? The economic aid and the helicopters and ships sent by the U.S. government, supposedly for hurricane relief, are to make sure that the millions of dollars they've invested in the country are well protected—not from the hurricane, but from the masses of people.

Man, what do you expect to happen when millions of people are forced to live in houses made of cardboard and palm trees? With unemployment running up to thirty percent? With inflation so high that people can't even afford to eat meat?

Why should these hypocrite S.O.B.'s that rule the U.S. talk about how concerned they are for the Dominican people? This bullshit about a concern for human rights is the same thing they were spreading back in 1965, when Dominicans rose up against the same conditions that they are facing today. Didn't we see how they sent 45,000 Marines to shoot down the Dominican people?

The hurricane has done untold damage, but U.S. imperialism delivered the death punch.

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**Mao Tsetung: Dec. 26, 1893—Sept. 9, 1976**

# Greatest Revolutionary of Our Time

September 9 marks the third anniversary of the death of Mao Tsetung, the greatest revolutionary of our time. The developments in China and the world since then have further deepened the determination of revolutionary communists in the U.S. and around the world to carry forward the great cause of communism to which Mao dedicated his life, and to uphold and learn from Mao's tremendous contributions to and development of the science of revolution.

Within weeks after Mao's death, the counterrevolutionaries in China, led by Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping, launched a vicious coup d'etat, arresting the revolutionary leaders who were fighting to carry forward Mao's line. Since then they have been frantically attacking all that Mao stood for and had led the Chinese working class and people in achieving over many decades of hard struggle. Today, only the politically blind or outright apologists for reaction refuse to

acknowledge that the new rulers of China are reversing the course charted by Mao Tsetung.

Of course, the imperialists of our country have reacted with glee to the tragic betrayal in China, hoping to use it to demoralize the people and spread the capitalists' own fantasy that revolution is an impossible dream of the oppressed which, if accomplished, ends up betrayed and with the people worse off than before. Others, who pose as the enemy of the imperialists, also leapt at the defeat of the line of Mao Tsetung in China to hurl slander and abuse at his teachings and try to undo the advances that had been made in the understanding of communists in the last two

decades.

But try as they will, neither the imperialists nor the revisionists can stop the forward flow of history. Revolution, pronounced dead and given a public funeral, flares up in Iran, in Nicaragua, and smolders on every continent. And everywhere the proletariat is enslaved by the chains of capital, and everywhere whole peoples are kept in enforced backwardness by the workings of imperialism, revolutionaries take up the science of Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tsetung, which alone charts the path to liberation, socialism and communism.

As one surveys today's world situation both the difficulties and the pro-

spects stand out in sharp relief. Turmoil and confusion grips the ranks of revolutionaries, but out of this turbulence again emerges Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, tempered and stronger from its battle with opportunism. The imperialists threaten to unleash the monstrous crime of a third world war, but the working class and the oppressed people threaten to unleash a far more powerful force—a revolutionary storm capable of dealing the imperialist system its greatest defeats ever.

Mao Tsetung, above all else, taught that the road to communism would not be straight and that there would be many setbacks along the way. But he also pointed out that the triumph of the new over the old, of revolution over reaction, of the masses of people over their oppressors, is an irrefutable law of nature and society. As Mao stated, "The conclusion is still the two familiar comments: the future is bright, the road is tortuous." ■

## 1001 Excuses for Segregation

# Chicago Mayor Mouths Off

As school opens again across the country, the issue of school busing has again become a major issue in several cities with the rulers milking it for all its worth to build up a racist movement against Blacks and to divide the working people. In the past period the understanding of the Revolutionary Communist Party has developed further on this question, and the Revolutionary Worker will have more to say on these plans in the future.

On August 29 the federal government presented Chicago with a feasibility study for desegregating the public schools, setting the stage for the ruling class to use the busing issue to unleash a floodtide of reactionary views. News broadcasters opened fire the day of the announcement with melodramatic reports on the failure of cross-town busing in Los Angeles, with pictures of kids waiting for buses in the dark morn-

ing hours, and emotionally charged editorial comments on the plight of the "white minority."

This they followed with irate and panicky white mothers vowing to put their kids in parochial schools or flee to the suburbs rather than have their kids share a classroom with Blacks—recalling the specter of Nazi sewer rats and bat-wielding parents taunting Black children involved in a small-scale voluntary transfer plan two years ago.

But the storm of racist propaganda unleashed around this proposal was not limited to the open white supremacists. None other than Jane Byrne, elected mayor on the strength of the Black vote, jumped out in front of the likes of Nazi Frank Collin as the leading spokesman of maintaining white supremacy. This "liberal" Democrat lends a more "respectable" image to the racist garbage the ruling class wants white people to follow, while at the

same time allowing the bourgeoisie to more easily stay on top of a more "controlled" white racist movement.

Byrne came out swinging like a Lester Maddox, the only difference being that instead of an ax-handle she used all sorts of transparently phony "non-racist" arguments to justify her segregationist stand.

It was obvious Byrne's stand was "keep Blacks and whites in 'their own' schools" but she fired off a string of arguments such as the "oil shortage" and "it snows in the winter making travel difficult." It was a farce. Her vehement protests on the impossibility of busing school children was quite a hypocritical flip-flop from her campaign promises in the wake of blizzards and snow-bound streets to keep the buses rolling, especially in minority neighborhoods!

Of course, even the federal government isn't really arguing that this pro-

posal to bus 114,000 school children is a serious plan to desegregate the Chicago schools. In the first place it is merely a feasibility study to show that it is statistically possible to achieve partial integration in 60% of the schools.

Even the proponents of the plan like Jesse Jackson admit that it would leave a gigantic bantu-zone of all-Black schools in the central and southern sections of the city, including most of the poorest ghetto schools located near the housing projects. And all are quick to admit it would result in school closings and cutbacks and would be used as an occasion for instigated white flight to the suburban and Catholic schools.

This doesn't mean that what is really needed is a "better busing plan," what it shows is the aim of the federal government in floating these plans. What's happening in Chicago makes it crystal clear that the real purpose of the

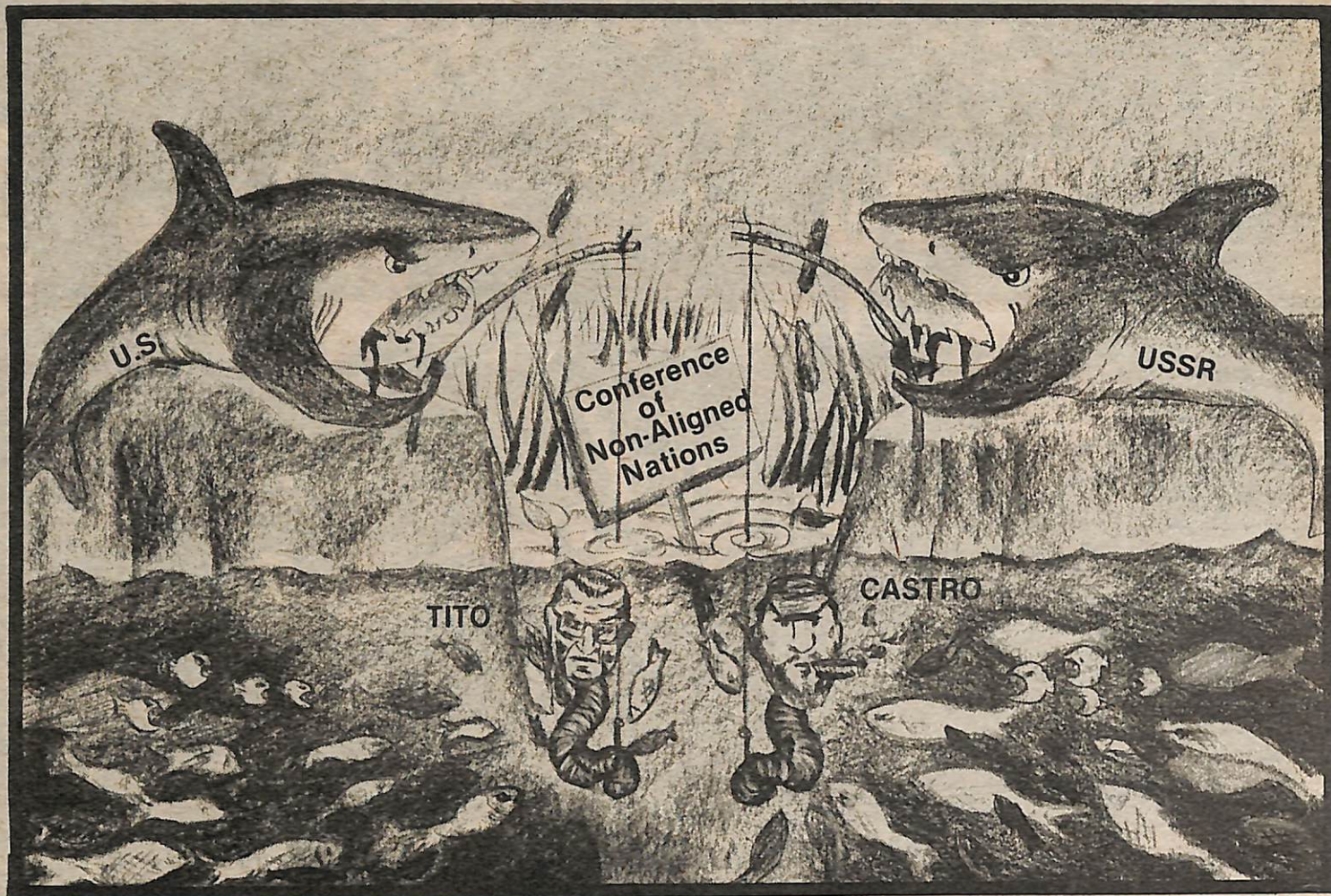
Continued on page 8

# Superpowers Line 'Em Up At Non-Aligned Confab

As we go to press, the sixth international conference of nonaligned countries is in progress in Havana, Cuba. Long before it began, the stage was set for this to be the most aligned "non-aligned" conference ever held, as the growing tension between the U.S. and Soviet imperialists around the world has exerted tremendous pressure on the rulers of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to line up ever more loyally behind one superpower or the other.

The true nature of the Havana conference was reflected in the roles of the two men who took center stage in organizing it and setting the terms of the debate, each on behalf of his "own" superpower boss. On the one hand is Yugoslavia's president Tito, who for the past eight months has been meeting with the heads of state of many of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, fronting for the U.S. by warning against growing dependence on the Soviet Union for economic and military aid. On the flip-side of the coin is Cuba's Fidel Castro, promoting the Soviets as the "natural ally of the developing nations" and condemning the U.S. (and China) as the main enemies of the nonaligned.

At the opening session of the summit conference on Monday, Castro railed against "Yankee imperialists and their old and new allies" (clearly referring to Yugoslavia and China) who "would not hesitate to divide the nonaligned movement..." At the same time, Cuba has thrown its weight behind seating the reactionary puppet regime in Cambodia, installed by Vietnam on behalf of the Soviets, in opposition to the just struggle for national liberation being waged at this very moment by the Kampuchean people. Castro also sharply condemned Egypt, one of the participants in the conference, for joining in the U.S.-orchestrated Camp David "peace" pact between Egypt and Israel. The Egyptian representative objected strenuously, saying he was "disconcerted and shocked" by Castro's attack



Revolutionary Worker

(although he knew full well it was coming) and piously claiming that Egypt had gone "to Jerusalem to liberate Palestine from Israeli colonialism." Right on cue, Yasir Arafat (head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who finds it expedient to support Soviet positions at the present time) popped up and said he was "surprised to hear talk about the liberation of Jerusalem from the one who sold Jerusalem for a parcel of desert in the Sinai." Responding to all this, a delegate from Yugoslavia whined, "This is confrontation. Castro has not even observed the niceties of protocol, which is how the inaugural speech should be approached. The old man (Tito—ed.) didn't like it."

The fact that the Havana conference has openly taken the form of a superpower slugfest by proxy indicates the great changes that have taken place internationally since the inception of the so-called "nonaligned movement" itself.

The present nonaligned movement was initiated by Tito in the 1950s and officially opened with a conference in Belgrade in 1961. By then Yugoslavia had received over \$3.5 billion in aid from the U.S. In return he developed the "nonaligned movement" into a crusade under the guise of "charting an independent course" free from the domination of both the "eastern and western blocs." The real target of the crusade was the Soviet Union.

Tito had been at odds with the Soviet Union virtually from the time he took power in Yugoslavia during World War 2. At that time the Soviet Union was a socialist country which after the war was quite correctly offering aid and encouragement to all those countries dominated and oppressed by the capitalist West. As early as 1948 Tito had set out plans for developing Yugoslavia along capitalist lines. That year he broke completely with the Soviet Union and began preaching the dangers of "Soviet domination" to anyone who would listen.

When the Soviet Union changed colors with the rise to power of new exploiters led by Khrushchev and began challenging U.S. world domination (this time from an imperialist, not a socialist perspective) Tito leapt to the defense of his U.S. backers.

Tito's development of capitalism in Yugoslavia, which the U.S. is fond of calling "maverick communism" in order to hide what it really is, was put forward by the nonaligned movement as a model for the newly-emerging independent countries to follow. While criticizing the western European colonial powers for their stubborn refusal to "grant independence" to their colonies without a fight, Tito kept "hands off" the U.S., which was poised and ready to jump economically (and in some cases militarily) into the void left by the ousted colonial countries.

For their part, the countries that were gaining independence during this period were largely led by class forces (particularly the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie) which were anxious to assert themselves and improve their position. It was among these countries and these class forces that the "non-aligned movement" took root.

The movement grew for a time as Tito's line (and practice) of economic dependence on the U.S. corresponded with the neo-colonial expansion of U.S. imperialism into most of the countries which had thrown off their western European colonial masters. But as the contradictions sharpened between U.S. economic and political interests on the one hand and the interests of the ruling classes of the various neo-colonial countries on the other, Tito's pro-U.S. stand lost ground in the nonaligned movement. Especially as the U.S. began to take a beating in Vietnam, the neo-colonial countries were able to assert their independent interests to a greater degree. Even as junior partners of the U.S. and exploiters in their own right, the ruling classes of these countries took some actions that contributed to a degree to the weakening of U.S. imperialism. But through all this there was no fundamental change in the class forces ruling most of these countries, and now, with the contention between the U.S. and the Soviet Union getting hotter every day, the inevitable alignment of the various "nonaligned" bourgeois ruling forces in these countries is appearing stronger than ever.

All of the issues at the Havana conference boil down to the question of which superpower the countries are going to line up behind as U.S.-USSR contention draws the world closer to war. As the rivalry has heated up, there has been some switching of sides, and one purpose of this conference is to try to cause even more "defections" from one side to the other.

In the recent period the Soviets have made heavy use of Cuba, as well as other countries such as Vietnam, Ethiopia and Angola, to challenge U.S. influence around the world. As for the U.S., China has been its most recent (and by far its biggest) trump card in global contention. At the same time, "diplomatic" efforts like Andrew Young's talks with the PLO have clearly been geared at muting and hopefully turning around some of the Soviet's recent inroads. Both superpowers have much at stake in this proxy fight, and they are watching the Havana conference with keen interest.

## Brutal Immigration Raid—"Routine Police Business"

**August 26, Huntington Park, California.** 8:00 a.m. It was a quiet Sunday morning in this mainly Mexican barrio near Los Angeles. In the corner apartments at Pacific and 55th streets, many people were still sleeping and some were just getting up and taking showers. Suddenly, seven city police and five Migra (Immigration and Naturalization Service—INS) vans arrived on the scene. Some of the cops stationed themselves on the roof of the building next door. The rest stormed through the apartments, kicking doors down, dragging people out of bed or out of their showers. Some of the men were not even allowed to put on their pants before being thrown out onto the street.

An 18-year-old youth saw the storm troopers arrive and ran door-to-door warning the neighbors. One man locked his pregnant wife in the bathroom to protect her; another put a padlock on the outside of his door and stood in the hallway holding up his papers to prove he was here legally. Still, the rampage continued—two pregnant women were beaten, heads were cracked, children were hit with nightsticks, furniture was busted up. Some tried to escape by jumping out the second story windows; as they fell to the ground, badly injured, they were scooped up and herded into

the waiting Migra vans. Altogether, about twenty people were deported to Tijuana.

This search and destroy mission against Mexicans was termed "routine police business" by a spokesman for the Huntington Park Police Department. The police chief stated that they were responding to a complaint about "overcrowded and unsanitary conditions." When asked if this was a typical response to a public health complaint, the chief told reporters, "Ask the INS." The Migra cowardly refused to talk.

But the people of Huntington Park had plenty to say. One woman, recently arrived from Mexico with her husband and four children and living in a one room apartment, told the *RW*, "We live this way because we are forced to. We can't afford anything else." Her neighbor said, "The rich are the ones who send out these uniformed assassins. They give them a salary and a badge to kill."

As the authorities drove away from the raid they yelled to the people who were left, "We'll be back." Three days later, one man reported seeing twelve Mexican children, ages 9 to 14, picked up by police and turned over to La Migra. "Routine police business" is conducted seven days a week.

## Bob Avakian Answers Questions About Black People & Marxism-Leninism

# When You're Talking Communism You're Talking Internationalism

In the past week the national speaking tour of Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party came through Columbus, Ohio and Buffalo, New York. At a gathering of people in Columbus, Comrade Avakian was asked some questions about Black people and communist organization.

**Question:** The unique situation of Black America within this country has produced in the Black community a mistrustful attitude towards whites as a whole. The oppressive force isn't seen as being capitalistic, but as being white-motivated or white-perpetrated. I have a possible strategy, this is something in line with the Black Panther movement, that the Black community be organized, Marxist-Leninist for sure, but it be organized among themselves. This would include not only Blacks, but other minorities that experience this unique experience, because I think that the Black community is still mistrustful of the white community and they need to

have leaders to identify with to inspire hope that they are not going to just have another group of white people to institute a new type of oppression. They need to know that there are Black people there that are going to be the vanguard for their interests as well. And at such a time Black people do see trends of the development of the working class toward revolutionary consciousness, then there could be a sort of a merger. What do you think about that?

**Bob Avakian:** Well, the problem is that among Black people (and other minorities) there already are different class interests, and the interests conflict as they're bound to all the time. There are people of the working class, there are people of the middle class, there's even some Black bourgeois elements, like the Johnson family (Johnson Publications, etc.), Jesse Jackson and other people like that, who have completely different interests. They don't have an interest in overthrowing the system, or if they would unite with such

a movement, however half-heartedly and temporarily, it only would be on the basis of a tremendous mass upsurge all the way around the society. They want to compromise with, conciliate with and get a position for themselves under the system.

I agree that there are some of these problems you're talking about. It's not like the problems aren't real, it's not like there's no basis for them. I don't think they're as unique as sometimes we think they are. For example in Russia before the 1917 revolution you had much the same problem. Besides the one big "Great Russian" nationality as it was called, you had over a hundred different nationalities who were oppressed and exploited in their own territories, robbed of their territory, culture and so on. It was a tremendous problem to unite them also, in Russia. But they needed and they had one Party to do it.

Look at a place like Cyprus today, where you have people from Greece and Turkey living on the same island. Because they are overwhelmingly peasants and live and work in a more backward condition, the divisions among them are much greater even than they are here between Blacks and whites. We actually have an advantage, though maybe it doesn't seem like it un-

til you look at the rest of the world. And the ability of the ruling class in many other places to fan the people to go at each other is even much greater than it is here because people in this country, even with all the divisions, do have experience more and more of working together and of having some common struggle. There is more of a basis for unity because people here are mainly workers and not peasants isolated off on their own plot of land, but workers who have a much broader vision, even if it's corrupted and narrowed by the capitalist system. There's much more of a basis for unity.

The problem with what you're saying is that you move away from that. There have been among Black people many leaders who have stepped forward, taken a militant stand and then sold out—not because they were Black of course, but because of their class interest. You can look at the Muslims for example. They stepped forward, took a very militant stand, aroused the pride of a lot of Black people, especially with the thrust that Malcolm X gave to the Muslims of not standing aloof from the struggle (which was Elijah Muhammed's program) but of getting right into it. It aroused a lot of pride. It gave people leaders like Malcolm X to identify with, which was a very positive step at that time. But Malcolm X was killed. And because the leaders of the Muslim movement were developing as capitalists, they more and more saw their interests lying in compromising with the system and you can see what they're doing today. Whereas 20 years ago they wrote underneath the American flag, "Slavery, Suffering and Death;" now they march around with the American flag and sell K-rations to the Defense Department.

### Marxism-Leninism—the Ideology of the International Working Class

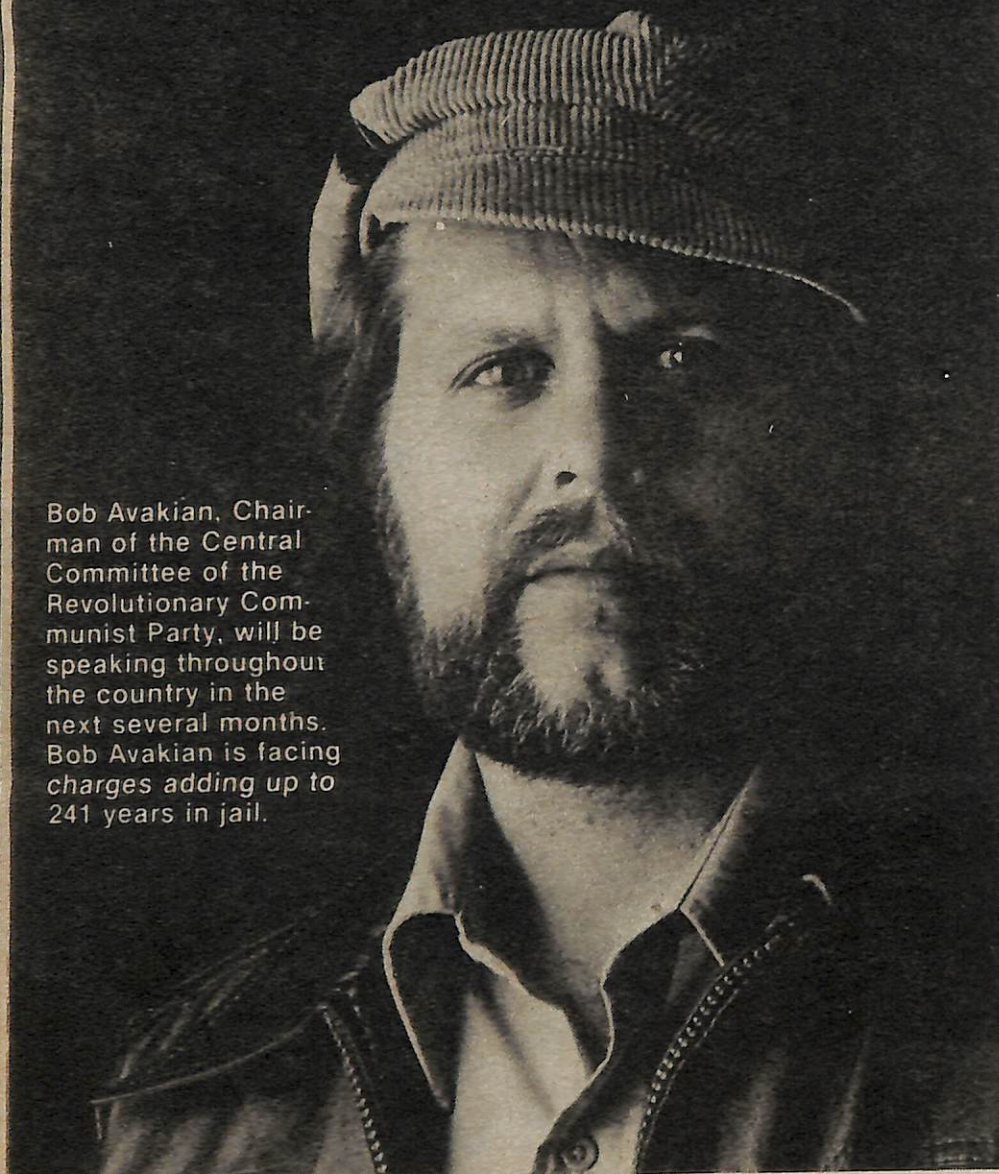
**Question:** I'm not advocating nationalism or Pan-Africanism, I'm advocating a Marxist-Leninist type of organization that would organize the Black community. You're quite right

Continued on page 16

### Major Speaking Tour by Party Chairman

**"To All Those Who Refuse To Live and To Die On Your Knees!"**

Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, will be speaking throughout the country in the next several months. Bob Avakian is facing charges adding up to 241 years in jail.



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May Day 1975, Cleveland, Ohio—Black, Puerto Rican and white workers and a student carry banners that read, "Workers United Will Never Be Defeated!" in English, Spanish and Arabic, and "Workers Unite to Lead the Fight Against All Oppression!"

# Reds Rile Lynching Town Sheriff

Two articles titled, "Lynching 1979—Ugly Mark of Slavery" (July 27) and "Speaking Out in Lynching Town" (August 10), appeared in the Revolutionary Worker and were sold in Chester, South Carolina—a small rural cotton mill town, where Mickey McClinton Poag was lynched last May for having a white girlfriend. These articles have broken through the cover-up of the lynching by local county and state officials, and caused a real stir in the town. As a result, the county sheriff called a press conference recently to put out his racist denial of the murder (which he calls a hit and run accident) and an attack on the Revolutionary Worker and a Black-owned paper in Charleston that has covered the case.

The radio stations and newspapers dutifully repeated Sheriff Bobby Orr's lies and racist remarks: "A controversy surrounding the death of 19-year-old Mickey McClinton (Poag-RW) of Great Falls, has sprung up in the past few weeks here in Chester County. Rumors started in the June 16th issue of a Black liberal newspaper called the *Charleston Chronicle*, and in the July 27th and August 10th issues of a communist tabloid called the *Revolutionary Worker*, have the population of Chester confused and angry. Sheriff Robert Orr wants the public to know the truth, there has been no lynching and no cover-up in this case. These newspapers are only trying to hurt innocent people in Chester..."

With the sheriff scrambling to further cover-up the lynching of Mickey McClinton Poag and cover his racist rear end, it is quite obvious who it is that is "confused and angry." It's Orr and his boys, along with the murderers of Mickey Poag who haven't been able to whitewash their crimes, and whose rein of terror against Black people is being exposed. It is mainly the articles in the *Revolutionary Worker* that have been the spark, as the smoldering anger of the people of Chester has put Sheriff Orr on the hot seat. The *Charleston Chronicle* ran a story on the lynching as well as *Jet* magazine. All this has set the sheriff's red neck glowing with rage. How dare these Black liberals and communists come down here and disturb our peaceful little lynching town, he fumes. Why it's a goddamn conspiracy.

Everything was just fine until they showed up; we could just go about our business of beating and murdering people without any trouble.

At his press conference, the sheriff tried to defend himself, saying that he had no knowledge of any lynchings in Chester in the past and couldn't comment on the activities of any past sheriffs, but that one thing was for sure—in this case there was no lynching and he has done nothing wrong. He went on to say, "The rumors can hurt me personally and I can live with that. But what I can't live with is the fact that several innocent people could be hurt." The "innocent" people he is talking about are the reactionary scum with the mentality of the old slave owners who murdered Mickey Poag. These cowardly fascists make it their business to terrorize Black people and especially punish those like Mickey, who are "guilty" of associating with white women. There's a long list of other murders—a Black man whose head was cut off in a fight over a white woman, a Black woman raped and hanged, and a white woman beaten to death for dating a Black man, to name a few.

Sheriff Orr, like his predecessors who conveniently looked the other way as "these suicides" and "unfortunate accidents" were perpetrated, is only concerned with protecting "innocent" upstanding citizens like Harold Leonard, who, not surprisingly, many believe had a big hand in murdering Mickey Poag for dating his daughter. There is much evidence to support this belief. But he has gone scott free, after a brief "disappearance," even getting a promotion at Springs Mills where he works.

Why the way Orr tells it, the whole affair was an unfortunate hit and run accident on a dark road. Mickey was supposedly so drunk he jumped or fell into the path of a car. And he really wasn't seeing Leonard's daughter, in fact he was supposedly going to marry his Black girlfriend the very Sunday he was buried. This fabricated story, of course, runs counter to all the evidence in the case from the mutilation of Mickey's body to the fact that the workers who discovered the body saw a chain around his neck. In fact, the only evidence the sheriff has to support his



story is the statement of a local doctor that the body had "multiple, severe, traumatic injuries consistent with being struck by a car and dragged."

There is little doubt among the people of Chester, especially the Black people, that Mickey's death was consistent with a brutal beating and lynching. Few have been swayed by the sheriff's lies

and many are more convinced than ever that Sheriff Orr is clumsily trying to cover up the lynching.

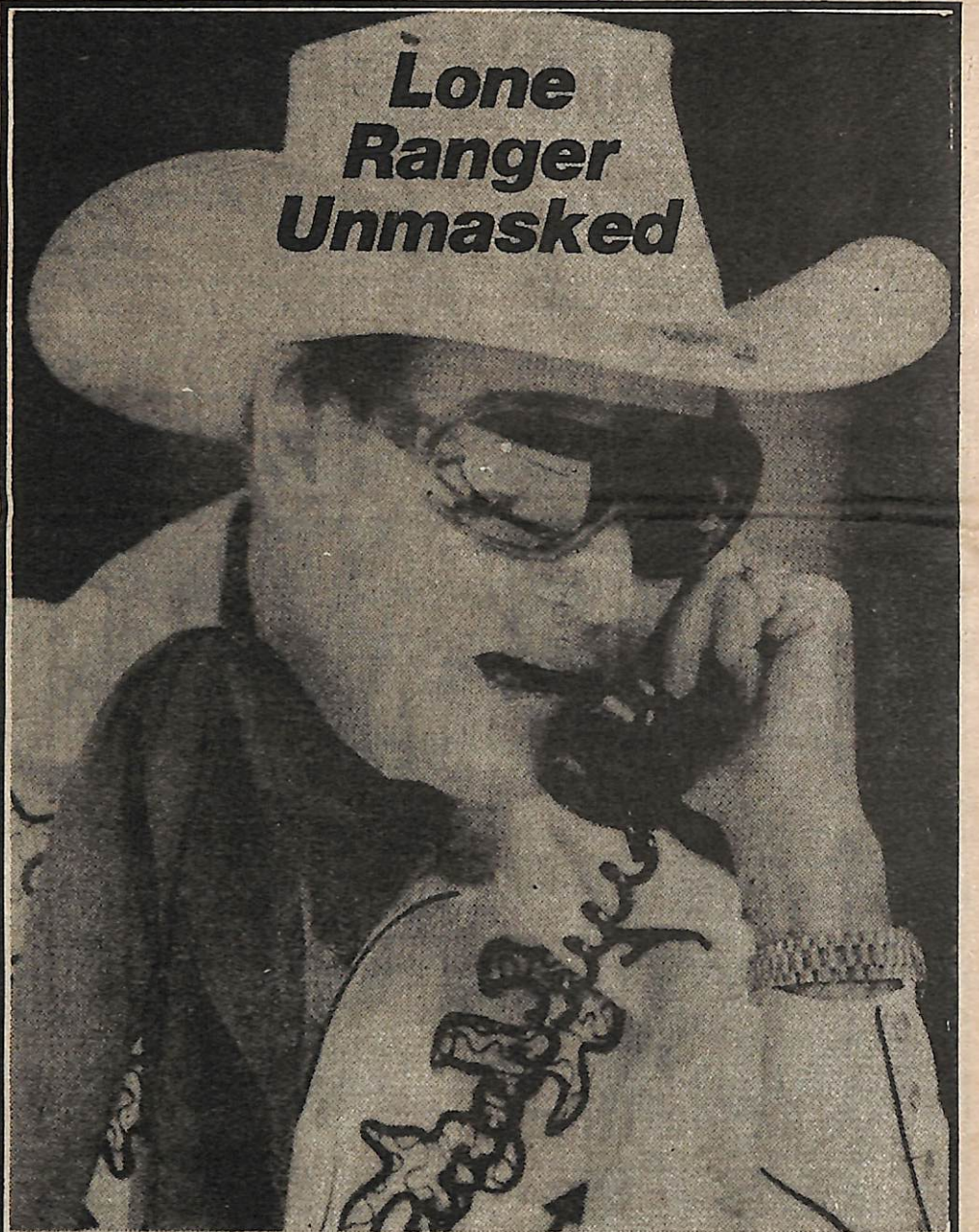
It seems that after his little press conference, Sheriff Orr finds himself in an even bigger hole than before. The more flimsy lies he tells and the more he tries to cover things up, the clearer it becomes just who the guilty ones are. ■

## County Bans Youth, Music Latest '50s Revival

Prince Georges County, Maryland. Local government officials and businessmen with the aid of the Liquor License Board have sunk to ridiculous depths in their attempt to keep things in the county under control and "business as usual." In their move to clean up the county of "undesirable elements," i.e. youth who hang out at rock clubs, they have banned punk rock. The Liquor Board has threatened to revoke any club, bar, or school's liquor license that allows "punk or acid rock" bands to perform.

First off the county officials called in "a very influential member of the recording industry" to define punk rock. What they came up with was "punk rock or rock and roll that's played in a frenzied hard rock manner, that uses characterizations by painting their bodies, that uses offensive names, such as Sex Change Band, that are typified by the overwhelming conception of the drug culture being the in-thing, which convey into their music and their actions that they approve of the drug culture." In an attempt to ban any music that has a shred of rebelliousness in it, they broaden that definition to include "acid or rock and roll bands that play at a high decibel level."

This ban on punk rock is a repeat of the reactionary attempt to outlaw rock and roll in the '50s and rock music in the '60s, to break the rebellious spirit of youth and the music that cut it loose. Not to be outdone by those blockhead reactionaries of the '50s and '60s, Robert Miller, head of the Liquor Board, has revealed a link between punk rock and such activities as bowel movements of youth infected with this dreaded music. As Miller himself said, "I'm against punk rock. It causes trouble, people urinating and defecating and fornicating." For these upstanding citizens of Prince Georges County, the flashing lights and ringing bells of the cash registers in the porno and massage parlors are quite respectable. But it's filthy and disgusting for the young people to line up outside the clubs on the strip to hear rock music, this "undesirable element" that has no respect for property, and doesn't give a damn about making it in America. These youth who are rejecting the lifeless, zombie mold this system pushes down their throats—these youth are an unsightly nuisance to the Prince Georges County officials, one they hope the ban on punk rock will do away with. ■



Picture this scene. As a squad car pulls away from a suburban shopping mall, from the back seat a feeble voice croaks, "Hi-O-Silver Awaay." A young boy looks up at his mother, and asks, "Who was that old masked man that the cops took away Mom?" The mother with a faraway gaze focused on the disappearing squad car responds, "That, my son, was the Lone Ranger." The big word here is "WAS." Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Jerry Pacht has ordered 65-year old Clayton Moore, who has portrayed the Lone Ranger for the past 30 years, to permanently take off the mask and to stop appearing in public as the masked fighter against evil. This order satisfies the Wrather Corporation, which is making a new multi-million dollar Lone Ranger movie complete with a new streamlined hero.

The corporation stated that confusion would set in with the public if two masked men were roaming around (and that might interfere with profits), so the old one would just have to be put out to pasture. In their words, Moore "no longer is an appropriate physical representative of the trim nineteenth

century western hero." Maybe, for example, he couldn't be portrayed outshooting and outperforming his enslaved Indian "sidekick" Tonto. And that just wouldn't do for a real white "western hero" would it, Wrather Corp.?

The stage seems set for the above shopping center scene because Moore stated that he had no intention of obeying the order. In fact, he strode in and out of the courtroom with his mask intact.

Still these events have to be especially disconcerting for the old cowboy. All his life, he fought on screen for the Knotts Berry Farm version of "truth, justice and the American way," the very things Judge Pacht and the Wrather Corporation represent. And now these things that he held sacred are moving in on him, taking off his mask, cashing in his silver bullets and sending Silver to the Elmer's Glue Company.

While the Lone Ranger sits on a bench outside a marble-walled courtroom, contemplating a possible future on welfare, he must be wondering, "What was that masked system that did this to me?" ■

**"Communist" Party Convention Theme**

# We'll Make Capitalism Work!

Detroit—The 22nd National Convention of the Communist Party USA (CP) was a suit-and-tie affair. The speeches droned on and on. "Respectability" oozed from every crack and cranny of their gathering. All of this was the outward expression of the likewise "respectable" (to the bourgeoisie) essence of the political line of the CP. All this was put on display at their public rallies during convention week.

Their political line, for many years now, has been nothing but useless, or, when somewhat influential, poison for the working class in its revolutionary struggle. But this occasion was somewhat more significant. With the crisis intensifying and war looming, they hear their call to go into action. Far from seeing the developing situation as one which will help expose the absolute bankruptcy of this crisis-ridden system and strengthen the revolutionary forces, the CP has come forward begging to be cut in on the action by helping to make an unworkable system work and nurse it along.

They are *revisionist*. They are "communist" in name only. This makes them particularly dangerous since the name "communist" historically represents revolution—while the CP tries to make it stand for reformism. Also, this time around, the ruling class saw fit to make a bigger deal out of the CP. They let them use the Cobo convention arena (the same arena the Republican Party will be using for its 1980 Presidential Convention). For the first time delegations from fellow foreign revisionist parties were allowed to attend, and their convention was given wide coverage, including front-page news in the Detroit media. Most importantly, while the CP serves the U.S. imperialists through their reformism, they're openly loyal to another imperialist master, the Soviet Union.

**"Save Dodge Main"**

They thought they struck gold when they announced their plan to Save Dodge Main. It was their reference point throughout their whole public rally at the convention, a shining example of their overall strategy to "change things" in America. Really, it was a sharp exposure of their opportunist line.

They started out the rally on a militant footing: "either you run the plant, or we (the workers) will" they warned Chrysler. This applause-getter, obviously, was looked on in amusement at Chrysler world headquarters. And just to make sure everyone realized that this was indeed an idle threat, what the CP really had in mind for Dodge Main was spelled out in the next breath: you, the capitalists should run it better, and we will tell you how to do it.

First, Angela Davis told us, "Cut down on Iacocca's [Chrysler's head] \$360,000 per year salary." Iacocca was already preparing an announced reduction of the top executives' yearly salary to \$1 a year. Next, the CP's General Secretary Gus Hall advised that what is needed is some legislation that would establish a "plant security fund" to be financed by "payroll taxes" so that when a plant is in trouble, the fund can be used to "bail it out". A governing board, including politicians, executives and workers would determine how and when the funds are used.

He admitted that the purpose of the fund would be to "guarantee that the plant would stay open and productive" and "protect Chrysler's investments." Finally, Hall advised that there would be nothing wrong with the government running the plant—that is, if individual capitalists can't run their plant, then the capitalist class as a whole, using its state power, should step in and take over the decision making. As he put it, "This is not a radical solution, it is just sound business practice." "Protect Chrysler's investment," "sound business practice." Yes, whatever is good for business!

How could they ever justify this except by claiming that they're only "concerned with the welfare of the workers," in other words, the worst possible thing that could happen to you is to lose your job and the most you can ever hope for is what the CP calls your "basic right to earn a living," to be a slave to some exploiter so you can "pay the rent." Such schemes in the CP's little mind are indeed as laughable as they are impossible, but at the same time they are useful to their capitalist masters to the extent that they dull the anger that erupts over events like the massive layoffs of Chrysler workers and the dog-eat-dog anarchy of the system that breeds this over and over again. And just to make clear the CP's role in siphoning off any revolutionary sentiment into dead-end reformism, Angela Davis boldly announced the goal of one million signatures on a petition to "Save Dodge Main." This is the CP's view of the masses of people's role in all this: a pressure group on the powers that be to make sure that they run things better.

**"We Want Electoral Power"**

While they hope to make a splash to get a little piece of the action, and a little bit of influence with the ruling class immediately (as with Dodge Main) the CP also has a more long-term strategy.

On the one hand, they seek to gain influence using mass pressure tactics organized by "watchdog" committees that would try to implement a 12-point "people's agenda." This was clearly laid out at their mass rally. At the same time, they put out the line that the

ultimate way to change things is through elections. They push CP candidates as well as "anyone who represents a viable alternative," according to Angela Davis. These "communists" sound more like the League of Women Voters.

Their model would be something like the Italian Communist Party (PCI) which rode the backs of the working class into positions up near the highest ruling circles of government. They did this by posing as opponents of the system and spokesman of the "welfare of the workers." Once given authority in certain localities, the PCI went about proving how loyal they were to the ruling class by coming down hard on uprisings of workers and students, keeping them down. The head of the PCI even sits on the board of directors of Italy's third largest corporation. In the 1980 elections, in all likelihood, the CP hopes to get a start in this direction. Admittedly, they don't expect to win, but promoting a Gus Hall/Angela Davis ticket, they expect to more than double their votes and, to quote Gus Hall, "Yes, we are interested in electoral power."

So this electoral strategy serves two purposes. Namely, it promotes illusions that you can peacefully vote in all kinds of progressive changes and even eventually communism, keeping all the government apparatuses of the capitalist class intact, that the armed seizure of power by the working class is unnecessary. And secondly, from the self-interest standpoint of the CP, it's a way to get a piece of the power to rule over the masses.

**Angela Davis**

In the '60s and early '70s, with the upsurge of revolutionary consciousness that characterized the Black liberation struggle and sections of the student and anti-war movement, the CP had to adopt a more revolutionary image to attract some of these people. Angela Davis and the struggle to free her, which for a time attracted people with some revolutionary aspirations, gave the CP the kind of image of pizzazz it needed then and brought some new people into its ranks.

But, it must be said that even in the early '70s Angela Davis was rotten to the core. For example, she and the CP did all kinds of double dealing, snitching and back-stabbing to get her the hell out of any kind of association with the heroic Marin County Courthouse escape attempt for which she and Ruchell Magee were standing trial. After all, "She's a Black woman professor!" Respectable people like that shouldn't and couldn't possibly be involved in such "crazed acts of desperation," they argued.

The CP was banking on some Black people still looking at Angela Davis as a symbol of revolution, or at least Black

liberation. They played this up for all it's worth in Detroit, making it seem like Davis was going to be the main speaker at the rally and focusing media coverage of the convention on her. Although most of the 500 or so people who came from Detroit (on top of about 1500 others) were there to hear Angela Davis, they were far fewer than the thousands that the CP had predicted. The Convention Hall had half its seats empty, showing that more people than the CP thought see where Angela Davis is really coming from. Davis spoke for a piddly 15 minutes, which angered those who came to hear her.

Despite her slightly more militant pose and "Save Dodge Main" T-Shirt (rather than a suit) she ran the same bread and butter line with a little bit of barbeque sauce added. Even as she spoke, her image dripped with bourgeois ooze. It was clear she felt that Black people wouldn't be interested in hearing anything about anything but the problems of their own nationality, so she talked about how plant shut-downs affected Blacks. She called Chrysler's layoffs "genocide against Black people." Despite the nationalist overtones, she reduced the whole question of national oppression to economic attacks on Black people, as if the most a Black person could want was a chance to be exploited like all the other workers.

It is clear that the CP sees Black people as another possible pressure group to add to its chorus of those demanding economic reforms. "Hundreds of thousands of Black people in the streets shouting 'No!' to layoffs would be a force they'd have to deal with," she said, and "This would force white workers to join in."

In other words, white workers would be too backward to get it together without Blacks taking the lead. There was nothing from this phony communist about the revolutionary unity of the working class and oppressed nationalities, or even about multi-national working class unity. At most, she talked about building unity among minorities, and even that was on a "I'll scratch your back, you scratch mine" level.

Davis gave away who she really sees as the leaders of Black people—Black bourgeois politicians like Andrew Young. "The ruling class says that Andrew Young and Black people don't have the right to stand up for the Palestinian people," she said, giving credence to the image of Young as a Black David standing up against a racist Goliath.

Towards the end of her rap, Davis showed the most valuable role that she can play for the CP, shoving Soviet social imperialism down the throats of Black people. "There are people of color who do have confidence," she said,

**Continued from page 14**

## ... OF PRESIDENTS AND RABBITS

A rabbit. And a President. Big news for an entire week. The bourgeois press did all but publish photos of the bloodied critter.

'Tis a cruel world for washed up capitalist politicians, Jimmy. The same masters who placed you in office seem eager to dump you now. Ask your predecessors how it worked. Ask Old Tricky about Watergate. Or Jerry about

how pictures of him stumbling and falling down stairs started appearing every day in the media.

Well, that makes three in a row: a crook, a bumbling fool, and now a born-again rabbit mugger. And the line-up of replacements promises more of the same:

## WHAT DO THESE MEN HAVE IN COMMON?



... is afraid of rabbits



... looks like a rabbit



... eats rabbit food



... has brain of rabbit



... swims better than a rabbit



... trips over rabbits

North Dallas Forty

# “We’re the Equipment, They’re the Team”

Some say competition has a limited place.

But if that cowardly slogan is true Then why did God call it the human race?

You might expect to find these lines inscribed on the walls of the executive bathroom of GM or Ford—the capitalist credo. But this little bit of all-American graffiti comes from the mouth of a football coach in a scene from the movie *North Dallas Forty* which offers a sometimes funny and generally biting look into one of America’s sacred institutions—pro football. Based on the book by Peter Gent who played for several years with the Dallas Cowboys, *North Dallas Forty* rips into the pro football scene and shows up the nature of the game. The players are turned into animals and drug addicts—their bodies broken, chewed up and spit out when they are no longer useful. The slightest attempt on the part of the players to defy the rules of owners and coaches, not to go along with the way things are, is met with punishment—humiliating lectures on “God and team spirit,” threats, getting stuck on the bench, and openly getting thrown off the team and out of the league.

While the petty-bourgeois film critics have praised the film as an exposure that “pro football is the major American industry whose product is violence,” and some have pointed out that for Gent, “football is a metaphor for the way we are, for our violence in Vietnam” (Paul Hendrickson for the *Washington Post*), they have narrowed their view of the exposure in *North Dallas Forty* to what is, already, well known—the widespread use of drugs, the wracked bodies and ruthless trading and selling of players, and a criticism of violence in the abstract.

Gent played for Dallas from 1964 to 1968, a time when the whole country was shaken by the impact of the Black rebellions and the Vietnam War. Like Chip Oliver of the Raiders and Dave Meggysey of the St. Louis Cardinals, who also spoke out against pro football, Gent’s perceptions about the game were shaped by what was going on in the world. Publicly Gent tries to put distance between himself and radicals like Meggysey, whom he refers to as a linebacker for the other side. But despite the fact that Gent’s intentions were not to produce a radical statement about America, what is most revealing and progressive about *North Dallas Forty* is that it lets some of the class relations in football and in America come out. And while the film certainly does not put forward any solutions, it provides an irreverent metaphor for

capitalist society that goes beyond the realm of pro football.

The story is based on Gent’s experiences with the Dallas Cowboys and many of the characters are based on real-life players for Dallas. The coach, B.A. Struthers, who delivers pious lectures from the Bible’s *First Corinthians* on “maturity” (i.e., the ability to shut up and do what you’re told), and who sizes up players in his computerized game plans, is modeled after Tom Landry, the only coach the Cowboys ever had. The star quarterback, Seth Maxwell, is based on Don Meredith, Gent’s best friend on the Dallas team.

In the movie, Maxwell is a cynical character who sees through what’s going on but goes along with it to keep his position. He tells Phil Elliot (based on Peter Gent’s life), “We’re all whores anyway, why not be the best.” Maxwell knows what goes on behind the scenes, and when Elliot is busted on morals and drugs charges by the League’s internal security, there is the implication that Maxwell, his partner in crime, knew he was being railroaded and may have even turned him in to save his own ass. And though that didn’t happen in real life in the same way, it is a concentrated, larger-than-life image of the reality under capitalism of “look out for Number 1.” As Gent said in his interview, “It’s like the drowning man; no sense both of us going down. Don always knew that instinctively there’s no way you can carry someone.”

There are others, like the second-string quarterback, a religious fanatic, who’s supposed to be Craig Morton (and could just as well have been Roger Staubach) in real life, and a pair of big linemen played by Bo Svenson and John Matuszak who play for the Oakland Raiders. Svenson’s character, Jo Bob, is a big animal, a racist woman abuser whom Maxwell allows to run amuck to keep this giant in a good mood so Maxwell won’t get his face smashed in out on the field. Jo Bob’s buddy, O.W., played by Matuszak takes care of him. At one point after they lose the big game against Chicago, O.W.’s frustrations with the carping criticism of the coach explode: “Everytime we say it’s a game, you say it’s a business, and everytime we say it’s a business, you say it’s a game.” O.W. is mad but he doesn’t quite get it. Elliot, watching all this, says, “Far out!”, because in a small way the lineman has taken a stand against the way things are in pro football, where players who aren’t afraid to buck the coaches or the owners mostly end up traded or on the second team. Phil Elliot is the maverick on the team, a receiver with tremendous ability who bucks the management and



The North Dallas management—in their game “you must live by the rules.”

sees through the game. Because he won’t go along with the program, he gets railroaded out of the league.

As compared to the book, the movie suffers somewhat because the story is taken out of the historical context in which Gent and a number of other players took a stand against the man-eating game that is pro football. In 1968 it was “un-American” for an athlete to smoke dope and wear long hair. In 1979, to make this an issue is trite. Instead of the “dangerous threat to the law-and-order rules of pro football” that the character Phil Elliot is in the book, the 1979 Elliot seems to be more of a cynical seeker of the mellow lifestyle. Also left out of the movie is the character Thomas Richardson, “the best athlete on the team,” who never plays because he’s a Black man who refuses to bow and scrape for the boss. Richardson is actually modeled after Duane Thomas, who won the Superbowl but called Tom Landry a “plastic man” and was driven out of the game. Failing to include him in the movie robs it of an important part of the undercurrent that was shaping professional sports, which only eight years before Gent retired still had all-white teams.

Elliot’s rebellion and irreverent mocking of the way things are runs along the lines of those who, during the time Gent played football, shredded up computer cards that said, “Do not fold, spindle or mutilate” and mailed them back to the phone company. But even this is intolerable to the owners and coaches on the team. Of the owners, Conrad Hunter and his vicious, idiotic little brother, Elliot says in his final confrontation with them, “They’re the team. We’re just the equipment, the jock straps and the helmets. They just depreciate us and throw us away.”

Hunter, the owner, has a football helmet representing the Cowboys on his corporate tree—the team is his favorite corporation. And it’s not just a matter of a tax write-off. In fact, what the film shows is actually some insight into how the capitalists dominate every aspect of life in society, including sports, and how their ideology permeates the game and the lives of the players. Hunter watches with glee as the coaches cook up a fight between Jo Bob and one of the Black players, Monroe, to get Jo Bob psyched up for the game. Let the players fight among themselves, as long as the team—i.e. the company—wins. Team spirit is company spirit, and if you have to shoot your legs full of dope to make it out on the field or break some other player’s leg to win the game, then you do it. Players who refuse to go along, like the Black player who doesn’t want to use the needle, are either pressured to go along or kicked out. The company owns them body and soul.

At a party where the women are all

portrayed as whores, except for Charlotte, who later becomes Elliot’s girlfriend, Jo Bob is brutalizing the women while everyone just watches. Elliot tells Charlotte, “Jo Bob is there to remind people that the meanest and the biggest make all the rules.” But it is Conrad Hunter who makes the rules. Jo Bob is just an enforcer within the ranks of the players—300 pounds of reactionary muscle—one of the team’s most valuable assets!

B.A. Struthers talks about the team as 45 meshed gears—“If one gets out of line, I’ll pull it”—and in one scene that shows the players training on machines that look like torture racks, one is reminded of a scene in Charlie Chaplin’s *Modern Times* in which Charlie, playing a factory worker, is so tied to his machine that the bosses bring in an eating machine to feed him on the job, and he is unable to stop the movements of his work on the line even when he leaves the factory.

The anti-religious theme in the movie is strong and very humorous. The religious fanaticism of the second-string quarterback is shown to be just a bunch of hypocritical nonsense, the flipside of the degenerate lifestyle of the other players which he finally succumbs to and gets undone by. The team priest, the monsignor, is portrayed as a kinky homosexual who praises the team’s owner and serves him well. In the scene before the big game with Chicago, the priest winds his way through the players, blessing the team and especially its owners, and when the blessing is finished, Matuszak, playing the big lineman, hollers, “Let’s go out there and kill those cocksuckers.” So God has blessed the dog-eat-dog kill-or-be-killed world of pro football, much like Richard Nixon, one of the all-American game’s most loyal fans, used to call post-game congratulations to the winning locker room and dream up lousy plays for his heroes to use. But Richard Nixon would not bless *North Dallas Forty*. The ruling class likes to have its jocks play by the rules. ■

## Chicago from page 3

federal government’s proposal for busing is not to end inequality, but to provide a platform for racist mouthpieces to whip up a reactionary tide.

The important issue is not whether the buses roll. This is made very clear by the fact that in Chicago there hasn’t even been a concrete plan presented for busing, and already the ruling class has done a ton of its reactionary work. What is really important around these questions is not buses. It is combatting the divide and rule racist propaganda that’s launched around this stuff. It’s sticking scum like Nazi Frank Collin and other bat-wielding attackers of Black children back in the sewers and burying them there. And it’s moving against the underlying segregation and all-around discrimination in society that keeps minorities down and the masses of people divided up.

Byrne’s chauvinistic rallying cry has been “preserve the neighborhood schools.” Roughly translated, this is an

open call to preserve segregation and all the inequality that national oppression has built into the fabric of these segregated neighborhood schools. In Chicago it means maintaining a school system where only four of the city’s 493 schools actually meet so-called “federal standards” for integration.

Byrne says that “the neighborhood school system is what most families seem to prefer.” Why how nice, down-home and family-oriented, Jane! But there is certainly nothing quaint about neighborhood schools in Black and other minority communities which are overcrowded, drug-plagued, and crime-ridden.

Who would want to preserve schools where the children have to play in the streets because the playground is full of portable classrooms? It is the height of irony that at one such school, Raster Elementary, the problem of overcrowding was dealt with two years ago by Superintendent Hannon (Byrne’s main man in the anti-busing movement)

Continued on page 15

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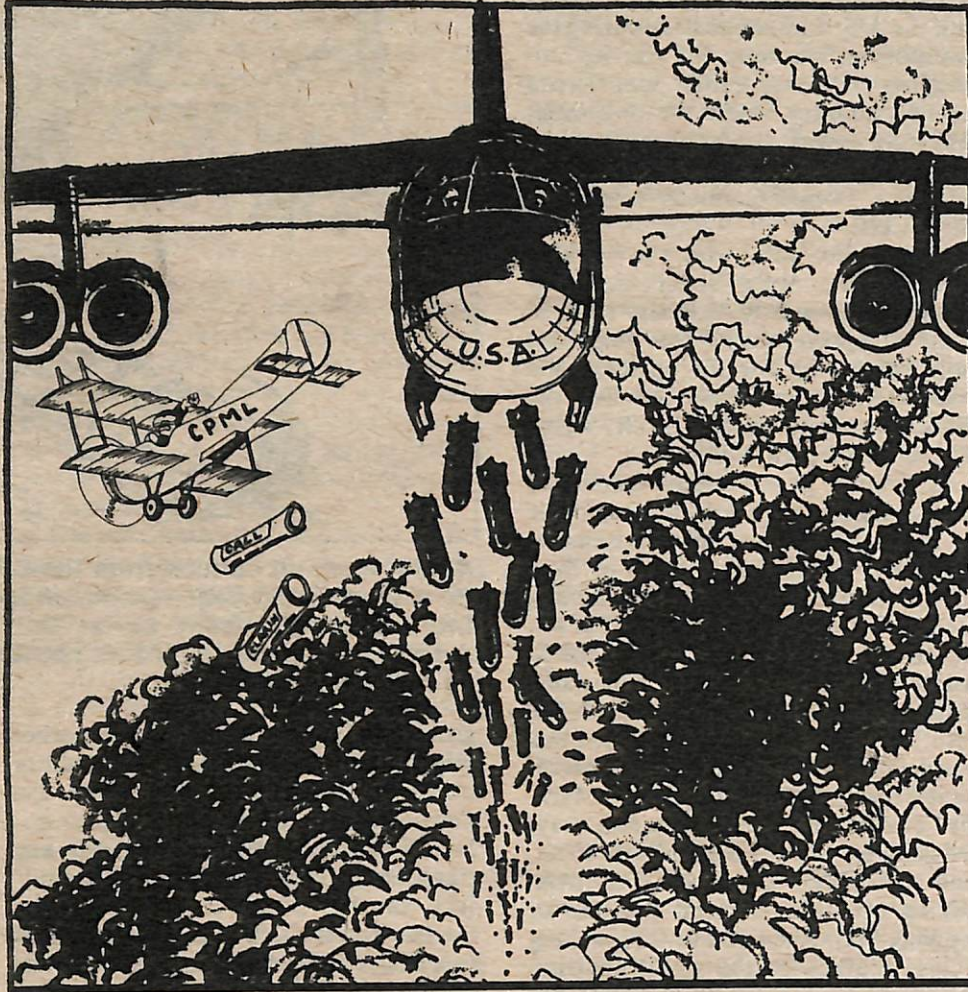
**Phony Communists Urge: Toughen Up!**

# Is the U.S. Really a Toothless Tiger?

Some so-called communists these days seem to have been carefully studying and copying Ronald Reagan's "revolutionary" international line. Listen, for example, to this rather typical quote from the pages of *The Call*, newspaper of the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist: "Appeasement among U.S. ruling circles has and is allowing the Soviets to gain clear military advantages during negotiations. It is, thus, encouraging Soviet aggression and bringing the world closer to war." This is hardly a communist condemnation of the war preparations of both imperialist superpowers; it is a nearly naked appeal for the U.S. ruling class to stop "giving in" and start arming to the teeth—or perhaps we should say "to the eyeballs"—since they have already armed to the teeth.

Behavior like this is nothing new. It has long been condemned by real communists all the way back to the Russian revolutionary Lenin as "social-chauvinism." This means "socialism in words, chauvinism in deeds"—that is, communists miserably tailing behind their own ruling class in its war propaganda against "the foreign enemy." The effect is to grease the skids for worker to fight worker in a war to see which bloodsucker will come out on top. Today, this act is being played out in an endless and boring series of articles in *The Call* which pretend to contain a "Marxist" analysis of SALT II. And after wading through all the CPML's official-sounding missile counts and graphs straight out of *Time* magazine, their message is inescapable: *the U.S. rulers, poor fellows, are quite incapable of defending their world empire and are hell-bent on "appeasing" the Soviets by allowing them to get the military edge.*

Just who are these "appeasers" anyway? Are we honestly to believe that Carter, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and all who favor SALT II are soft on the Soviets, unable to look out for their own imperialist class interests? Apparently so. On the other hand, there are the James Schlesingers and Henry Jacksons who are valiantly opposing the SALT treaty because it is "giving away" too much to the Soviet Union. And it is clearly the latter who are



A recent Call subscription ad (put in proper perspective).

preferred by the CPML, since they have taken to glorifying them in the pages of *The Call* for their opposition to SALT II.

These "hardliners," we are informed in a recent issue (July 23), "make a more realistic assessment of Soviet military strength. They have also targeted the appeasement policies which have marked the SALT negotiations..." We are even told that the U.S. rulers' phony SALT "debate" can "be used to the people's advantage because it spotlights appeasement, the most dangerous trend among the U.S. rulers..." Come on, CPML—get serious!

"While condemning all imperialist war preparations," the CPML drones, "it is especially important to oppose the appeasers." To this we can only answer—huh? This doubletalk roughly translates to: "While condemning all im-

perialist war preparations, it is especially important to support even more blatant calls for war preparations by the U.S. imperialists"! The mind strains to comprehend such a totally illogical and contradictory statement, especially when it dribbles from the mouths of those who proclaim themselves to be "communists." What, pray tell, is behind this silly appeasement line and this unashamed support for the basic policy of the U.S. ruling class, which is nothing but massive military build-up against the Soviets?

## U.S. Appeasers?

It is certainly not that the U.S. rulers are in fact soft on the Soviets. In today's world this is utter nonsense. The two superpowers are smack up against each other, battling for hegemony in every corner of the globe. Far

from pursuing a policy of placating or "giving ground" to the Soviets, the stance of the U.S. rulers in the '70s has been increasingly marked by heightened contention with their social-imperialist rivals, although the facade of "détente" is still of some value to both the U.S. and the USSR in preserving the illusion that they are "lovers of peace."

Take Angola, for example—the CPML claims the U.S. "appeased" the Soviets there. Evidently, we are to believe the UNITA mercenaries and South African troops financed by the U.S. were using toy pistols and rubber bullets when they fought the Soviet-backed MPLA to see which superpower would dominate the area after U.S.-backed Portuguese colonialism bit the dust. Or look at Portugal, where the pro-Soviet Communist Party had a lot of influence in the government for a while, and threatened to take still more. Did the U.S. stand aside? Hardly. Instead the Portuguese CP was knocked way back by some heavy moves by the U.S. together with its European allies.

And what about Chile, where the CIA helped the military junta of Pinochet to drown in blood the Allende government in which the pro-Soviet CP had a dominant influence? More recently, what are we to think of the thinly concealed U.S. sponsorship of the Chinese invasion of Vietnam only two weeks after Carter met with Teng Hsiao-ping? Wasn't this military thrust to match the Soviet-backed Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchea (Cambodia) welcomed (and almost certainly approved in advance) by the U.S. rulers?

And what of SALT II itself, the CPML's big "appeasement" boogymen? Since SALT was signed, the U.S. has been flexing its muscles like an Olympic weightlifter. The first fruit of the SALT "disarmament" agreement was the announcement by Carter that the U.S. would deploy the MX mobile intercontinental missile. Next came the launching of the first heavily MIRV'ed Trident submarine. And now the latest "timid" step—the rather blatant U.S. proposal to plant hundreds of new nuclear missiles in Western Europe (not covered by SALT) aimed directly for the first time at the Soviet Union. This, of course, is an unmistakable signal on the part of the U.S. imperialists that they do not intend to give the Soviets an inch in Europe!

Only a fool or an idiot (or, synonymously, the CPML) would consider these and countless other aggressive moves as "appeasement" on the part of the U.S. imperialists! For the peoples of the world who are being victimized by

Continued on page 10

## Carter: "It's a Free Country"

### Revolutionaries Busted at Tampa Town Meeting



Tampa, Florida. On August 30, President Carter came to Tampa to hold a "town meeting on energy" at a local high school gymnasium. In his usual style he called on people to "unite to meet the threat." It was clear that the threat he was talking about was the Soviet Union and that preparations must be made for war—a war which will require vast reserves of energy to fuel the U.S. imperialists' military machine.

"We must deal with the energy problem on a war footing," Carter said. He repeated his proposal to set up an Energy Mobilization Board, "much like the War Production Board in WWII," which would give the government the power to ration gas and energy in a "time of crisis" (read war), as well as floating Energy Bonds similar to the old war bonds. The bottom line of Carter's speech was his statement that "Our nation not only has the will, unity, strength, the commitment to protect freedom, our people, and our principles, but also the military power that if anybody should challenge us, they would be committing suicide."

However, this war rally did not go unchallenged. During Carter's speech, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party and a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth

Brigade began shouting down Carter's war jive and unfurled a banner reading: "U.S.-Soviets gear for war, that ain't what we're fighting for, Turn the guns around, Tear the system down!" Carter's rap came to a dead halt. Unable to ignore the commotion as the revolutionaries were dragged out by Secret Service agents, Carter managed to get out the truly amazing and ironic statement, "It's a free country."

Realizing that the incident was receiving widespread local and national press coverage Carter felt compelled to add to this remark a short time later. As the two people who held up the banner were being busted outside for disorderly conduct and held on \$1,000 bail in this land of "free speech" Carter said, "I think it's very good even when people express themselves in that way. I'm not embarrassed by it... I think it's a proper place in our country for people to raise a banner or ask the president a difficult question or to shout out a criticism. I don't have any problem with that. It's a free country. I want to keep it." How wonderful it is to be in this great country—why if a disruption like this would have happened in the Soviet Union the troublemakers would have gotten arrested for disorderly conduct and held on \$1,000 bail. ■

# Toothless

Continued from page 9

the belligerent nature of U.S. imperialism as it fiercely contends with the Soviet Union for world domination, the CPML's portrayal of the U.S. rulers as "appeasers" may be ridiculous but by no means funny.

### What Was Appeasement?

"Wanna Borrow My Umbrella, Jimmy?" This headline appeared in the June 25 issue of *The Call* next to a picture of Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister who carried an umbrella to Munich in 1938 where he informed Hitler that the Allies would do nothing to stop the Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia. This Allied policy came to be known as appeasement. The implication, of course, is that Carter and Co. are coming from a position of weakness, "appeasing" the Soviets just as the supposedly weak-kneed Allies appeased Hitler.

But this superficial historical analogy completely misses the point. While appeasement was a definite policy pursued by the Allies for a few years toward fascist Germany, it was not in the least a policy of weakness as the CPML (and American history books) suggest. In fact this attempt by the Western imperialists to lure Hitler into a war to the east, toward the then-socialist Soviet Union, was a cold and calculated decision.

This strategy, the Allied bloc hoped, would dispose of the Soviet Union and the revolutionary Bolsheviks, which represented a more fundamental threat than Hitler. This first socialist country in history, while it would not attack the Western capitalist countries, represented their future doom and posed the greatest long-term danger to their dreams of world expansion and plunder. At the same time, by diverting Germany into such a war, they hoped to weaken this up and coming imperialist rival for their own eventual attack. As Mao Tsetung penetratingly summed up, it was a case of the U.S., British and French imperialists attempting to be in a position of "sitting on top of the mountain and watching the tigers fight."

Far from "giving in" to Hitler, appeasement was thus an imperialistic policy carried out for imperialistic reasons. It was the flip side of the imperialist coin of aggression, particularly in this case an expression of the Allies' desire to annihilate socialism in the Soviet Union (and wear Germany down) indirectly instead of through their own open attack, which would doubtless prove to be most costly. While keeping a wary eye on Germany and stepping up their own war preparations, the Allied imperialists actually pumped up the German economy, trying to push Hitlerian fascism to conduct a "holy war against the Bolsheviks."

Of course, appeasement mainly proved to be a flop even though the Soviets eventually had to bear the brunt of fighting Germany. When Hitler turned against the West before attacking the Soviets, the Allies dropped appeasement like a hot potato. Perhaps the CPML and the Chinese revisionists, whom they follow, think they are the first bourgeois forces to sum up the failure of this policy. The U.S. imperialists summed it up quite adequately when they decided to declare war on Germany, and they are capable of applying this lesson today.

But considering the fact that in the early stages of World War II appeasement was a policy of aggression directed against the then-socialist Soviet Union, did this mean that the task of communists was to "fight appeasement," to line up in support of the war drives of their own imperialist ruling classes? Not at all. As Mao said at the time: "On whichever side, the Anglo-French or the German, the war that has just broken out is an unjust, predatory and imperialist war." While there was a place for exposing appeasement, through agitation and propaganda, as an attempt to instigate an attack on a socialist country, the main task of communists in the Allied countries was to take advantage of the sharpening crisis and the upheaval brought about by war

to work for the defeat of their own imperialist bourgeoisie with the aim of overthrowing them.

### Defense of a Socialist Country?

However, when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, the character of the war changed. It then became necessary for communists to temporarily subordinate the struggle of the proletariat for revolution in the Allied countries in order to safeguard the gains of the proletariat internationally. This meant uniting tactically with the Allied imperialists, utilizing the contradictions among the warring imperialists to defeat Hitler and defend the first country where the proletariat held state power. It was also correct to oppose the tendencies of the Allies to "sit back" while Germany went after the Soviets.

In this situation, with the working class in power under attack, and only on this basis, was it necessary to fight a line of appeasement. One form this took was calling for the opening of a "second front" in Europe to relieve the military pressure on the USSR, which did the bulk of the fighting.

As defense of a socialist country is the only correct justification imaginable for raising the danger of appeasement, one would expect the CPML to raise this question in the course of drumming out their "appeasement" cry. After all, they are fond of promoting the false illusion that China is still a socialist country elsewhere in the pages of *The Call*. But nowhere in their ponderous recent volume of articles on "appeasement" and SALT II do these "Marxists" even bother to try. They don't say: "Make a temporary compromise to defend a socialist country." Far from making even the slightest pretense of applying Marxism-Leninism, of making a class analysis of the world situation and trying to show the revolutionary interests of the working class, they are content to slavishly echo the John Wayne, Green Beret-type war calls of the bourgeoisie.

A year ago, however, CPML did make a feeble attempt to raise this argument in a series of articles (beginning 9-25-78 in *The Call*) in which they tried to do some "general education" on the history of appeasement. There it was briefly mentioned that "There are still those among the U.S. imperialists who cherish hopes that Brezhnev can be turned against socialist China," and that U.S. stalling on normalization of relations with China was "another important example of appeasement." (Of course, since then China's unholy wedding to the U.S. has been consummated by Teng's visit last January. Since then any talk of the U.S. sacking the Soviets on China has completely disappeared from the "appeasement" articles in *The Call*.)

That China has been anything but socialist since Mao's death is a subject our Party has already dealt with in great detail and one which is too lengthy to be restated here. And that China has become little more than a pawn of imperialism, particularly the U.S. at this time, is painfully obvious for all to see. (One wonders just what the CPML would do if China decided to capitulate over to the Soviets!) But let's give CPML the benefit of the doubt and just for a minute grant them their argument that China is socialist. Unfortunately, their "appeasement" logic still falls flat on its face.

Even if China were socialist, and even if the U.S. rulers were appeasing the Soviets to encourage them to attack her, this would not mean that the task of communists would be to shamelessly bow down before the U.S. imperialists' war preparations, to rally behind their imperialist motives for going to war, or to rely on them to carry out the defense of a socialist country.

### Repeating History's Errors

In fact it is precisely these mistakes (made by many communists in the '40s) that the CPML avoids discussing like the plague. They are conveniently left out of the CPML's "history lessons" because they are the same errors they are raising to a principle today without even the necessity of defending a socialist country. One serious error made by communists in World War II was not teaching the workers that the only basis on which to ally with one



(Above) a recent cartoon from the CPML newspaper—*The Call*. They show the U.S. as a leaky boat—no match for the mighty power of the Soviet Union. And supposedly Jimmy Carter, the "appeaser," doesn't even notice. The hundreds of billions the U.S. is spending on war preparations must all be going for Jimmy's fish bait.

group of imperialists against another was the defense of a socialist country under attack. Instead they took the "easy road" of portraying the imperialist countries as being divided into "aggressors" and "non-aggressors," just as the CPML now paints the Soviets and the U.S., respectively. This tendency to see the Western powers as the "good guys" instead of as the imperialist bandits they were, and to hinge everything on aiming the "main blow" against fascism (just as CPML directs the main blow against the USSR, the "up and coming Hitlerites"), led the CP's in many Western countries into easy accommodation with their own bourgeoisies.

When the war broke out, these parties were ill prepared to lead the struggle for revolution at home; and when the USSR was attacked, they were even less prepared to lead the battle for the defense of socialism under a proletarian line and to avoid the poison of national chauvinism so as to be in the best position to step up the struggle for revolution at home after Hitler was defeated.

A case in point was the rapid degeneration of the CPUSA which, particularly under the leadership of Earl Browder, steadily betrayed the interests of the working class in the name of fighting fascism and winning the war. Within three years, the CP went from opposing the U.S. imperialists' arms sales and war preparations to chauvinistic calls for "a big armaments program for our country"—long before the USSR was even attacked. When Hitler finally did attack the USSR, many communists correctly joined the imperialist army to fight the Nazis, but by this time it was under the national banner and on the bourgeoisie's terms. After the U.S. entry into the war, the CP sank to enthusiastically championing the return of piecemeal and supporting no-strike pledges by the AFL, CIO and railroad brotherhoods. By 1944 the CP dissolved itself as a party in the name of "national unity."

### First Time Tragedy, Second Time Farce

But today there is nothing resembling the situation of WW II. There is no socialist country which if attacked could change the character of the war on one side into a "war in defense of the future" as far as the working class is concerned. World War III is shaping up as a strictly interimperialist affair, a war between rival robbers preparing to go for each other's throats, and communists should be putting forward their defeat. Even if the U.S. were appeasing the Soviets in the SALT negotiations (which they most certainly are not), any genuine revolutionary would be tempted to ask—so what? Lenin's statement was never more true: "A revolutionary class cannot but wish for the defeat of its government in a reactionary war, cannot fail to see that its military

reverses facilitate its overthrow."

But is there a spirit that emerges from the CPML about working for the defeat of one's own government? Hardly. It's more like a spirit of strengthening it. The odor emanating from the pages of *The Call* is unadulterated chauvinism, a pure and simple attempt to revive Teddy Roosevelt's "big stick" with only the most transparent attempt to perfume it with a "Marxist-Leninist" cover. What we get is columns of quotes from "Scoop" Jackson, hysterical cries that "U.S. policies have, in fact, mandated that the Soviets be allowed to catch up with the U.S.," reams of reprinted bourgeois analysis to fill us with alarm that "the ascending curve of Soviet military capabilities intersects the declining curve of our own."

And despite the CPML's standard one-line disclaimer about how the people must oppose all war preparations, it is clear what message is being hammered home. It's the same old song and dance about how the Soviets are the "main danger", "the most aggressive," the "main source of war," coupled with absurd formulations about how strengthening the U.S. imperialists' war machine will somehow "delay the outbreak of war"! This is little more than a warmed-over version of the U.S. rulers' line of "peace through strength!"

All this, of course, inevitably leads to spineless groveling at the feet of the U.S. ruling class. "Ruling class criticism of SALT II," we are told in the June 25 issue, "found its most forceful expression in Sen. Henry Jackson's charge on the very eve of Carter's departure for Vienna.... Jackson raised the spectre of appeasement openly.... Jackson's remarks were made at a 'freedom awards' dinner where he warned that 'seven years of detente are becoming a decade of appeasement'..." How forceful indeed! Too bad the CPML couldn't have attended the dinner to present this bald-faced, flag-waving John Wayne re-run with an award for "Staunchest American of the Year"!

All that remains to be asked is this: Does the CPML sound like a party which will lead the proletariat and the masses to, as Lenin said, "convert the imperialist war into a civil war," to take advantage of the war that is brewing to make revolution in the U.S.? Or does it sound like the social-chauvinists of Lenin's time who deserted the ranks of the proletariat, voted for war budgets and called on the masses to line up as cannonfodder under the imperialists' national banners and "defend the fatherland"?

When World War III breaks out, we can rest assured that the CPML will rush out waving the red, white and blue, yelling at the top of their lungs: "Stars and Stripes Forever! And Don't Spare the Ammunition!"

## Revisionism Greases the Skids

USCPFA Slides  
Toward Oblivion

The U.S.-China People's Friendship Association (USCPFA) once had the inspiring task of building friendship and understanding for a revolutionary China that represented a light toward a brighter future for mankind. Today it has the unenviable job of apologist, travel agency and minor league business agent for the bunch of revisionist chieftains currently serving up China to the drooling jaws of the U.S. imperialists. At their national convention in Detroit on Labor Day weekend, they seemed to be straining to convince themselves and the U.S. capitalists that they were still the best outfit for this job.

It's been one year since the turmoil in the USCPFA, caused by the overthrow of working-class rule in China, came to a head. At last year's convention, many quit this organization after the Revolutionary Communist Party (the Revolutionary Union, which preceded the RCP, was instrumental in the formation of the earliest Friendship Associations back in 1971) and supporters launched a sharp political struggle, pointing out that USCPFA was degenerating into a cheering section for the re-enslavement of the Chinese people to capitalism by Teng Hsiao-ping, Hua Kuo-feng and Co.

This year puts some new light on last

year's arguments. At the San Francisco convention last September, quite a few USCPFA leaders tried, feebly, to claim that China's line and policies today were really Mao's revolutionary policies. They said that the so-called "gang of four," who were overthrown for upholding Mao's line, were actually against Mao. China's current leaders were advertised as the real Maoists.

Well, USCPFA, where are these arguments now? While Mao's name is occasionally tossed around for a cover, the real story is coming out naked. The head of security for this year's convention was a CPML'er, and the CPML is "pro-China" and still claims to uphold Mao Tsetung. But when some RCP supporters went into the convention to investigate the scene, this person followed them around muttering "damn Maoists"!

The official Chinese government

leader at the convention, Wang Bingnan, said very little about this question. Far more interesting were the remarks of Dr. Paul Lin, a Chinese American who lived in China. Although Lin was billed as a speaker for USCPFA, his speech was so much an apology for the Chinese revisionists that he could have been a dummy sitting on Wang's lap, saying the "naughty things" Wang wouldn't dare say. While Wang has put out to the press the transparent lie that Mao's line is now being carried out "better than ever," Lin openly attacked Mao. "Why didn't Mao remove the Four? This causes one to question Mao's ability in his later years." Under this banner of "later years," the revisionists are attacking everything Mao stood for in the socialist revolution.

Lin also bragged about how the current rulers are destroying China's socialist economy, planned to meet the needs of the people first, and replacing it with an anarchistic capitalist economy based on profit. "In Nanking they are experimenting with allocating human resources by leaving regulation to the market," he said. "The best qualified gets the job. Economic security for those who are qualified. It's wrong to have security for no reason." China, where the workers really were the masters, is now dog-eat-dog all the way.

In an obvious reference to the

peasants who have been protesting their impoverishment resulting from the dislocations that capitalism has brought to agriculture, Lin said, "Freeloaders create dissension." He also admitted that aside from "seeking profit," "there is no other mechanism at this time for making an enterprise profitable." So much for the claim that China has not embarked on a speedway to capitalism!

## USCPFA—A Sinking Enterprise

Despite the fancy digs in Detroit for this convention and the high-ranking Chinese guests and such luminaries as councilwoman May Ann Mahassey, a mouthpiece for Mayor Coleman Young, this meeting was about half the size of the one in San Francisco last year. At its high point it drew only 500 people for the banquet and main program. The *Revolutionary Worker* talked to one delegate who described how her chapter in California which had been large and active last year was now virtually non-functional.

Revisionist China generates a lot less interest and excitement than revolutionary China. But beyond this, the very reason for the existence of the USCPFA is in question. A position paper called "USCPFA Post-Normalization" distributed at the convention said, "Some feel that now that the goal of normalization has been met, and interchange between China and the U.S. is going on at all levels and through other organizations, our special role will be greatly diminished, perhaps even unnecessary." In other words, now that *Time* magazine has given Teng Hsiao-ping the Man of the Year award and is only too happy to

Continued on page 14

Running for  
Revolution

85 years ago Labor Day was officially declared a holiday in the United States in direct opposition to the international revolutionary working class holiday May Day. It was meant to be a day when the capitalists' wage slaves gratefully celebrated the generosity of the masters for allowing them a day of rest. It has never been anything more than the latest version of the old rest days given to domestic servants in England or the party days some of the slavemasters had for their human property. However, this year on Labor Day picnics were held in major cities across the country for the RCP's Million Dollar Fund Drive. Various fundraising activities raised vitally needed money to support the work of the Party. The following is the story of one of these activities at the picnic in Chicago.

## Running for Revolution

I went to the Revolutionary Communist Party fundraising picnic in Chicago on Labor Day. It was a beautiful day along Lake Michigan and I wanted to get in a little exercise and make a contribution to the \$1 Million campaign. So I suggested running 15 miles if people would sponsor me at so much money per mile. My T-shirt had the Party symbol on the front and the title of Bob Avakian's speech "To All Those Who Refuse to Live and Die on Their Knees" on the back. I would be a mobile advertisement for the RCP, running past thousands of people enjoying the holiday at the lakefront. I set off with pledges amounting to \$82.50 if I completed the run.

About half way I started to get a little stiff so when someone sprinted past me I caught up to him and tried to loosen up by speeding up. He asked me how far I was going and I told him 15 miles and why. He had a lot of questions about what the Party thought of what's happened in China, the possibility of overcoming the selfishness bred by capitalist society, and whether we would try to change everything at once. He said, "Start with the advertising industry. It's the pits."

At this point he and I went off in different directions but I started to think. This guy was so interested, couldn't I do a lot more than just run past people with my T-shirt on? I decided to talk to more runners, telling them why I was running today.

The next two I spoke with were Chicano students running together. When I told them I was running to raise money for the RCP, one of them said he had seen Bob Avakian on TV the other night. It was a very late night talk show and he said the Chairman was very impressive and knowledgeable.

They had heard of the Party, had seen the fundraising posters around town and were very interested in what was going on. We talked about the Mao Defendants case, the \$1 million drive and why it is necessary, the new *Revolutionary Worker* and its role in preparing for revolution, the Moody Park 3 struggle and more.

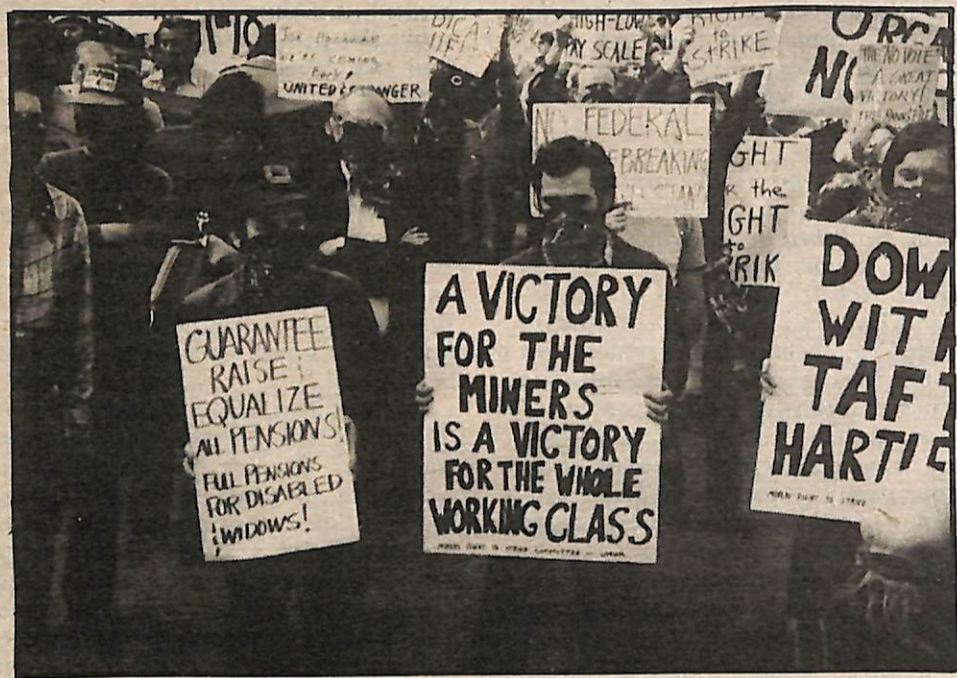
I had run about 2 miles with them at this point, and I asked them if they had enough energy left to run the rest of the way with me, about four miles. I suggested we run by the picnic and get some sponsors for them and they could do their part to contribute to the fundraising efforts. They said yes, and we went past the picnic at 12-1/2 miles and picked up more than \$40 in pledges for them to run the last 2-1/2 miles.

We headed off with one guy saying, "Now I feel inspired to run." I asked if they had been involved in politics before. One of the runners said his first exposure was in the Farah strike in 1972. He was an 18-year-old high school student working at the plant in San Antonio, Texas and was one of the first people to walk out, beginning the strike at Farah's plants in that city.

I had been very active in building support for the strike on the West Coast and we traded lots of stories of the strike and its effects. The brother talked about the fear the strikers had about losing their jobs and homes, but also and more importantly of the tremendous joy and excitement that they got from standing up against the bosses. He told me the support the strike got from around the country played a big role in helping the strikers to keep on fighting. I explained that it was the Revolutionary Union, the organization that played the major role in forming the RCP, that had taken the lead in building that support across the U.S.

By this time we were near the end. We had talked non-stop for nearly 6 miles—twice as far as they had intended to go when they set out earlier. We were feeling great and we sprinted the final 100 yards to the cheers of the people at the picnic.

This 15 mile run taught me something about the power of the Party's line. I expect we'll be seeing more of these brothers in the future. I'm thinking now about asking them to join me and some others in some medium distance races and maybe just some "fun runs" down by the lake. Can you imagine the effect of four to six of us running with red flags and a banner saying "Free the Mao Defendants. Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian." I don't think these were the only two guys running out there who are interested in revolution—not by a long shot.



## Miner's Widow Supports Fund Drive

"It Doesn't Do  
No Good to  
Close Your Eyes"

The following letter calling on people to contribute to the \$1,000,000 Fund Drive was received from a coal miner's wife, whose husband, a member of the Miner's Right to Strike Committee (in center of above picture), was killed in a mine accident almost a year ago.

When I met some of the people from the RCP, I was a coal miner's wife. Me and my husband both knew and had stayed in contact with the RCP. It was a challenge and an experience I won't forget. Now I am a widow. I do my best to stay in touch with the RCP. I am now a mother and father to my three children. It's hard taking care of my home and children and things like repairing things around the house, even though I get a good income. I once experienced going out and seeing for myself what the outside world is about, but I tried to close my eyes to it by taking an overdose. I know it doesn't seem to be a solution—what I did, and now I realize this too. I realized in time,

before it was too late.

I got my second chance and I too know that the people need to open their eyes and realize this so the people can stick together and let's get behind the RCP. Let's get the *Revolutionary Worker* sold and get them to the people. Let's get the Rich Class out of the way so we can make this world a better one than what it is.

I personally would like to see this world changed. I don't like it the way it is. I want to see a better world than this, if not for myself, for my Coal Miner (my husband), the Black people, the Indian people, all the Working Class People. I too have kept in close contact with the RCP and the *Revolutionary Worker*. I do stand behind the working class people and the RCP and let's all pitch in and raise the Million Dollar Fund so that the RCP can have something to work with to wipe out Imperialism in the United States.

A widow from Logan, W. Va.



Women's contingent in the 5-day solidarity march from Sanandaj to Marivan. Revolutionary organizations of women workers and peasants played a leading role in organizing the march.

Camp in the hills around Marivan set up after the government attack. In late July the local peasant government komiteh members who had

Special to the Revolutionary Worker

# The Rebel Kurds

The following account of the life and struggle of the Kurdish people in Iran is the second in a series of articles about the Iranian revolution, by Bob Saibel, a revolutionary activist and writer who has just returned from a two and a half month stay in Iran. He was a first-hand witness to the work and ideas of the Iranian Left. He was in the thick of the developing revolutionary struggle of the people from Tehran to Kurdistan. He is now writing a book on his trip, which will be published in a few months.

"The Islamic Government Executes Kurdish Rebels." "Kurdish Rebels Attack Khomeini Troops." "Kurdish Rebels," in the latest AP dispatch, two empty, lifeless words. For someone who has been with the people of Kurdistan these words evoke deep feelings of solidarity and love of these heroic people who are shedding centuries of feudal enslavement and rising to the heights of revolution.

It was early morning in late July, as we bumped along the road. "Even this road is part of the oppression of Kurdistan." After four hours on a rocky dirt road, the backward conditions of Kurdistan that this peasant referred to were jarred into my consciousness. For our destination, a remote village in the far west of Iran was but 60 miles from Sanandaj, the nearest city to our starting point. "The regime of the Shah never developed anything here, no roads, no factories, no water system. And the new regime is no different."

The valleys and even the dry rocky mountainside we passed along the way were dotted with small, irregular shaped fields. We saw peasants bent over, small sickles in hand, harvesting their grain. So these are the people that one half of the famous hammer and sickle symbol stands for, I thought as I began to get a feeling for what incredible toil must go into simply daily survival here.

As we approached our destination high in the mountains, near the Iraqi border, I wondered whether the revolution had touched this village, where there was neither electricity nor phones. And what do the people think about political events when they are separated from even the other villages in their own province by hours of hard travel?

Made of mud bricks drawn from the same hill we stood on, the village literally grew out of the mountains. The homes clung to the mountainside, part of the roof of one being the floor of another. A river through the center of town turned out to be the only source of water and mules were the main form of transportation.

"This village has been here 700 years and my family has lived here for 500. Many of the homes are nearly as old. Other parts of the world have progressed—we have stayed the same." So spoke this peasant, one of the group of four that greeted us when we arrived. About 45 years old, his face and hands were those of a man who had done the work of three—for a lifetime. As we walked along the only street in town, and turned up into the narrow walkways between the houses, we talked. "For as long as I can remember, I hated the Shah's regime, for when I first opened my eyes, I saw the unfortunate life I was born with, a life of endless toil."

Another host, also middle-aged, continued. He was a small man, dressed in traditional Kurdish clothes. Like the other man, his years of working in rugged dry fields showed plainly, but his eyes were alive and quick. "The only time we saw the Shah's government was when they would come into the village to help the rich and kill any of us who had resisted the feudals (rich landlords—RW). When there was a problem to be solved, they just kicked those with no money." "We have nothing here, no jobs and no schools, no electricity and no hospitals—no life and no future."

As we walked, we saw many young men talking and drinking tea. "They are unemployed, none of us can rely on one piece of land, it's too small and poor and we have too few animals," an older peasant, gun on hip, explained. "One has to try to get two or three jobs to eat and not to die. Many had left for the cities, for there are no factories here and the big landlords have all the good land."

At the mention of landlords, the huge walled castle—"house" to the feudal lords that owned it—that I had seen in Sanandaj flashed through my mind. The peasants of Kurdistan understood very well the "modern" ways of the Shah and the local feudal rulers in housing and construction. Under the Shah's regime, a peasant from this village had once failed to properly salute "his lord" and was cemented alive into a wall. These were the feudals that the peasants had to answer to and to slave for—often having to give them as much as 60% of a meager crop. And these were the same feudals that the U.S. imperialists are now backing through reactionary groups like the Provisional Ghiadeh, and who the Islamic government is allying with to "stabilize Kurdistan."

The revolutionary upsurge of the passed years had shaken this village.

New winds were stirring; the Kurdish peasants' age-old dream for liberation was thrust into the forefront, not as a distant hope, but as a raging struggle of the day. The villagers talked enthusiastically about how they had visited Sanandaj during the revolution, to see what was happening and hear the latest news; how they had been glued to their portable radios every night for any bits of information they could get about the developing battles; and how they had held armed demonstrations in the villages prior to the February upsurge. Everyone's life is changed.

The man who had driven me and my Iranian revolutionary guide here from Sanandaj, described how he was forced to leave the village and seek work eight years earlier. He had become a construction worker. "I experienced ex-

ploitation, and I asked, why must it be like this?" During the revolution, he had met communists on the job and he now considers himself one. Unemployed with no income to support his family of six but a few dollars a month from driving a taxi, he told us, "We can only sell our labor, we can do nothing else, I have nothing to lose, I am ready for revolution."

So these were the people that the "revolutionary" Islamic government was calling "anti-revolutionary." I suppose I did understand it. They were calling the Arabs in Khuzestan "anti-revolutionary," the unemployed workers in Esfahan "anti-revolutionary," the revolutionary-minded students in Tehran were also "anti-revolutionary," and especially all the progressive and Marxist-Leninist groups were very

Kurdish mountain village, existing in feudal backwardness and poverty.



Peasant revolution area of the entire





to house people evacuated in preparation for a govern-  
ment organization had taken over the town and arrested the  
landlords who had been suppressing the Kurds and aiding the area landlords.



Khomeini's "revolutionary guards" perform counterrevolutionary acts, executing Kurdish  
freedom fighters and soldiers who had refused to fight against their Kurdish brothers.

"anti-revolutionary." So why not the  
Kurdish peasants also? After all, where  
was their concern for the "stability and  
unity" of Iran's bourgeoisie, big  
landlords and religious hierarchy?

Our discussion continued as we sat  
down to eat in the kitchen-sized room  
that was the home of one of the friends.  
A rug and rolled up mattress were the  
only furniture. From village conditions,  
the discussions leapt, led by these  
peasants who could not yet read.  
"Don't think we're just concerned  
about the problems in this one village.  
No, we are concerned about the struggle  
of people in every country in the world  
against imperialism." I was struck. My  
carefully planned questions about  
village life had elicited *this*. Here in a  
village that seemed a million miles from  
the struggle that I had been involved in.

"We see that it's the same imper-  
ialists that are the common enemy of  
the people of the world—Nicaragua,  
Palestine, Asia and Africa," he con-  
tinued. "When I heard Nicaragua had  
succeeded, I had a party for myself  
because I was so happy. I felt imper-  
ialism had gotten another bodily in-  
jury and it was getting weaker while we

were getting stronger." Ayatollah Kho-  
meini frothes at the mouth about Kur-  
dish peasants being "puppets of foreign  
imperialism" and lines these peasants  
against the wall for execution, their  
blood filling the streets.

"We are trying to get an idea of how  
to fight imperialism, no matter how it  
changes its tactics." Their hopes had  
been raised tremendously by the insur-  
rection and the early promises of the  
new government. Quickly, they began  
to see how this government was not  
about to carry through the revolution.  
But a slumbering volcano had awaken-  
ed to life; and if the reactionaries who  
had usurped the fruit of the insurrec-  
tion without shedding their blood for it  
would not do the job, fine, these pea-  
sants would do it themselves. "We will  
fight to the end for democracy and au-  
tonomy; our slogan is: Democracy for  
Iran, autonomy for Kurdistan." Ah,  
yes, as the holy man of Islam had said,  
these were "Kurdish separatists, trying  
to partition Iran.

#### The Local Mullah

And this battle for land and  
democratic rights was raging in the  
village itself. "That mullah we saw, he  
always lives off everyone else, and  
wants to keep on doing it. We gave  
some 40,000 tumans (about \$5,000) to  
benefit the village and we haven't seen  
anything yet. He has had several hun-

dred villagers work for him from time  
to time for free because that's the old  
custom." This mullah, it turns out, like  
most throughout Iran, had been closely  
tied to the feudals and SAVAK in the  
area.

Their faces hardened in anger as they  
described how this mullah had been try-  
ing to use religion to squash their cause:  
"Every time we have a meeting and talk  
about forming a peasant union, like  
they have in other areas, he says we are  
communists trying to destroy the Koran  
and 'everything we have'. But we are  
organizing and fighting for a peasant's  
union anyway." Whenever revolu-  
tionary organizers had come to the  
village, the mullah would try to run  
them out, saying they didn't belong  
there. The peasants laughed as they  
described the response of some young  
villagers: "They told him, 'You're the  
one that doesn't belong here, why don't  
you leave'."

Then it was their turn, they had some  
questions for me. "What do people in  
the U.S. think of the struggle in Iran?"  
"What is their opinion of U.S. imper-  
ialism?" "Are the workers in the  
U.S. struggling against the capitalists?"  
"How did I plan to relate what I had  
seen and heard in Iran when I  
returned?" Mutual understanding and  
deeper feeling of solidarity grew as the  
struggle progressed. "Will there be a  
revolution in the U.S.?" "What did I

think U.S. imperialism was up to  
around the world?" And "What about  
the communist movement in the U.S.?"

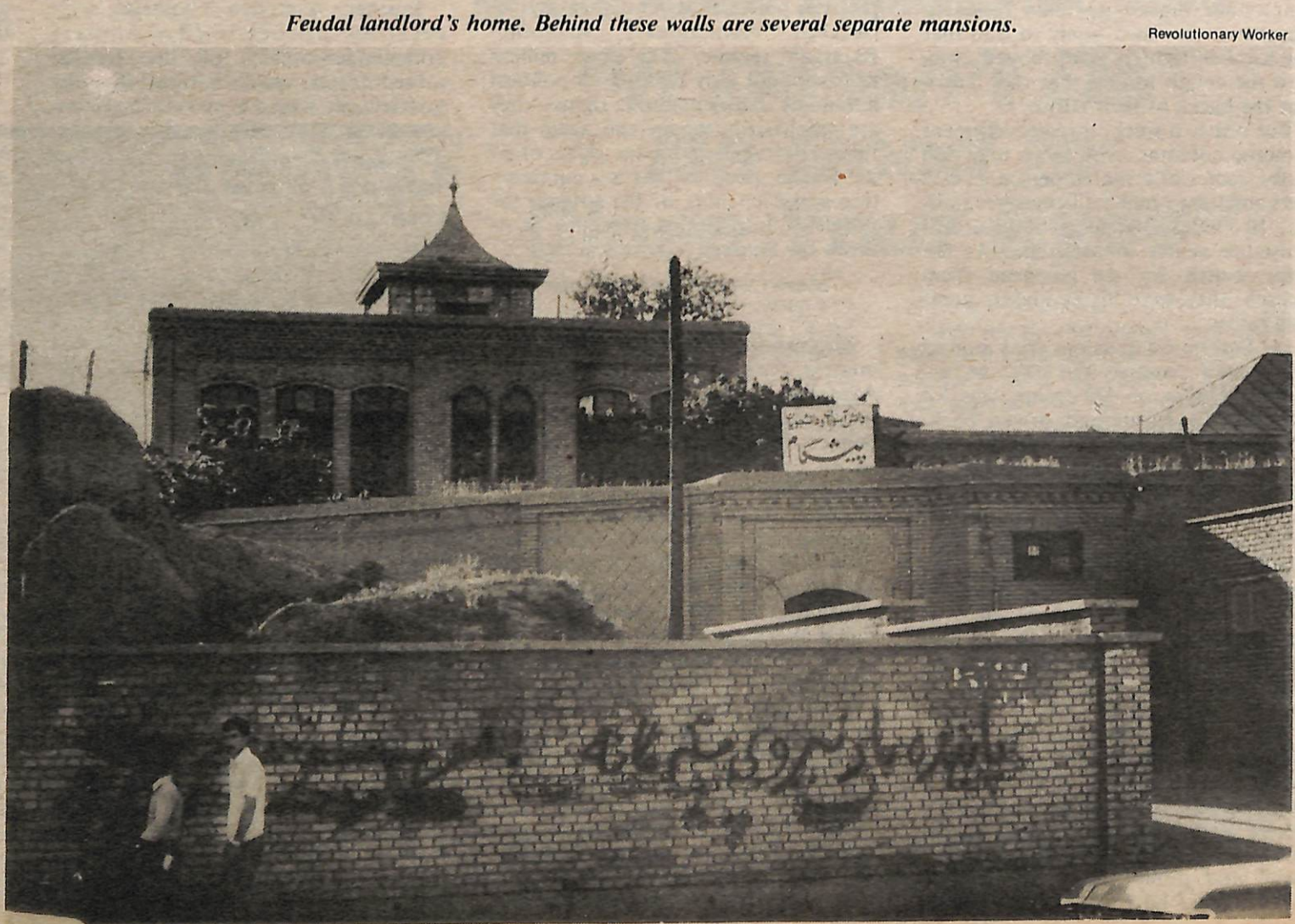
\* \* \* \*

The echoes of the Kurdish uprising  
surrounded us on the return trip as well.  
We stopped to talk to a crowd of men  
who were gathered in the road. An old  
peasant was the center of attention: "At  
four this morning, the army com-  
mander near our town of Marivan (a  
town of 11,000 people, 90 miles to the  
northwest of Sanandaj) threatened to  
invade the city if we didn't give up con-  
trol to the revolutionary guards." He  
had just left the city as the people  
evacuated it. Except, of course, for  
those 1000 armed Pesh Merga (Kurdish  
freedom fighters) who were holding the  
city. The contradictions I had heard  
about and seen on my trip were ex-  
ploding into armed conflict across  
Kurdistan.

It wasn't easy to leave these good  
friends I had known only for a day. But  
this sadness was overtaken by the  
strength of proletarian interna-  
tionalism: those two words I had heard  
and said so often had come alive today.  
One couldn't mope over the parting of  
comrades.

'Kurdish rebels...,' visions of armed  
Kurds, sitting in their mountains,  
waiting for the next government convoy  
to pass...

ary. This one room is over 70% of the  
house that he occupies with his family.



Feudal landlord's home. Behind these walls are several separate mansions.

Revolutionary Worker

## CPUSA

Continued from page 7

glowing. "People like in Angola and in Ethiopia." (Neo-colonies of the Soviet Union). And she said, "The Soviet Union and Cuba are the two greatest friends of the people of the world fighting for liberation." The CP tries hard to dress up wolves in sheep's clothing. She ended her speech on the stirring note of begging people to join any one of the CP's many front organizations.

### War and Peace and Serving Two Masters

The August 17th issue of the *Revolutionary Worker* pointed out that the most interesting thing at this convention would be how the CP would resolve their thorny predicament—the question of the fast approaching world war and how they were going to serve both opposing imperialist powers at the same time. Unfortunately, the CP basically dumped out on this issue at their public rally. It was a "no-show." They completely neglected to mention the possibility of war, much less characterize its feature or possible causes.

The closest they got to dealing with the U.S. vs. the Soviet Union, was in the speech from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), a CP front group. This speaker acknowledged that there was an arms race between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and put forward SALT II as a step for "stopping" and reversing" the arms race.

In fact, their whole approach to the question of peace was reduced to SALT

II! This has become their public code-word for their "struggle for detente." They never really use the word "detente" as their big public slogan. This reflects the fact that the imperialist drive for war has heightened to the point where the detente smokescreen, the illusion of a more permanent framework for peace, is no longer credible, and the illusion of "putting on the brakes," as WILPF described SALT II, is the most they could sell to people.

Even the way they try to con people into fighting for SALT II reveals the CP's utter contempt for them. Here again, everything is reduced to an economic question—guns or butter. According to the WILPF, if the SALT II wonder-drug were administered, the capitalist economy would recover miraculously—no more inflation, everyone would have jobs, the cities would rise from the ashes and be reborn. Just lop a couple of hundred million off the military budget and start putting "human beings first." So, auto workers, if you want your job back, beg your local senator to sign SALT II!

One way the CP's pro-Soviet stand slipped out was by their constant portrayal of the Soviets as desiring peace and the U.S. as war-mongers. "The Soviets have agreed to a 25% reduction in nuclear stockpiles and the U.S. hasn't," scolded the WILPF speaker.

But even within the U.S. bourgeoisie, according to the CP, there are "good guys and bad guys," those who support SALT II and those who don't. At the rally the bad guys were just called "nuclear madmen" by Gus Hall. The CP called on the people to support pro-SALT politicians and join with them to pressure the no-SALT bad guys into seeing the folly of their position.

This was another variation of the Kauskyite (a reformist masquerading as

a communist in Lenin's time) view that war is just a policy of the imperialists, or just a section of them, rather than an inevitable outgrowth of capitalism with its expand-or-die drive to maximize profits and its dog-eat-dog competition between capitalists of one country and internationally.

What the CP is working for, objectively, is for the U.S. to be ruled by bourgeois "good guys" who would make peace with the Soviet Union and together they would peacefully share in the exploitation of the whole world. In the short run, their pacifist movement could aid the Soviet Union if it actually has any effect on limiting the U.S. arms build-up. For the U.S. rulers, too, a pacifist movement is a safe alternative to a revolutionary one. So SALT II serves the CP well. It also serves both imperialists by hiding the nature and danger of war from the people.

### Band-Aids for Cancer

The CP's convention mass-rally was a sickening example of the poison of revisionism. It could have been called "A thousand and one ways to patch up a terminally ill dinosaur" or "How to get your fair share under slavery." The two imperialist superpowers sinking deeper into the swamp of their unsolvable contradiction, which their crises reveal more sharply every day, are locked in a desperate battle over which one of them will lord it over the people of the world and they're both prepared to devour millions of lives in the contest. Only working class revolution can bring an end to the criminal system and lay the basis for a new world, not based on profit or exploitation of man by man. It is this great goal that all communists live and die for.

But at this so-called Communist Convention rally there was not one single

mention of revolution, no sense at all that capitalism would have to be overthrown to put a stop to the misery it causes, not a whisper of the great historic mission of the working class to liberate itself and mankind.

To some extent, these phony communists, because of their thoroughly bourgeois, capitalist-aping ideology, don't even really understand the need for revolution. They don't see the profit-cancer that is capitalism much less that you can't treat it with band-aids.

Some of their ranks might suspect that real change can only come about through revolution. But they think the millions of people in this country and around the world are too dumb to figure it out. Like the head of the CP's youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League, told an *RW* reporter, "Youth don't want to hear about revolution, they just want jobs".

But more and more people are starting to put the lie to this slander. The hundreds of people who stalked out before the rally was over were a testament to the anger and disgust that many people have with attempts to reform and prolong their enslavement. And growing numbers of people, like them, are looking for *genuine* communist leadership to provide a line that can forge a revolutionary path out of capitalist hell.

A group of delegates in business suits were confronted in front of Cobo Hall by a construction worker, unknown to *RW* reporters. Laid off from Chrysler, he had been breaking pavement and lifting big chunks of cement. Knowing who these suited up system lovers were, he asked loudly, "Hey, what do you think of the Revolutionary Communist Party"? As their mouths dropped open, he shouted "I don't care what you say! They have a better idea!"

## Kurds

Continued from page 1

town of Jaldian in northwest Kurdistan left one sergeant dead and other troops wounded. Another government soldier was killed the following day during an attack on a military truck near the Iraqi border.

When word got out that Deputy Prime Minister Chamran was holed up at Bustan, the Kurds stormed the town three times, ready to rip apart this reactionary whose crimes against the Kurdish people rival those committed by the butchers of the Shah's regime. Latest reports indicate the government has suffered still heavier losses in coordinated Kurdish attacks launched in a number of areas.

In the case of the important Kurdish city of Mehabad, as with other towns recently taken by the Iranian army, heavily armed government troop columns have moved up main roads to "capture" the town—only to find that the Kurdish fighters have slipped away into the rough terrain that they know like the backs of their hands.

For nearly a week, three government armored columns, with more than 100 tanks, scores of armored personnel carriers and long-range artillery, were stalled 10 miles outside the Kurdish resistance center of Mehabad. As the army waited for the go-ahead from Tehran, they were hit by nightly guerrilla raids.

On September 2, as the army started to advance towards the city, an armored column of 400 troops was hit hard by the Kurds and driven back. And when the army finally entered Mehabad the next day, they found that most of the 10,000 Kurdish fighters and the city's population of 100,000 had withdrawn into the surrounding hills. Claiming a big "victory," Iran's national radio quoted army commanders in Mehabad as saying they had been "welcomed by the people" as they entered the city. They will certainly receive a further warm welcome by bullets in the weeks ahead.

During the fighting, both the Iranian government and the U.S. press have been playing up the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), whose revisionist leaders are tied closely to the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party in Iran. Khomeini and other reactionary government leaders have repeatedly claimed

that the Kurdish struggle is really under the control of a "foreign power"—the USSR. Like their U.S. imperialist rivals, the Soviets do have designs on Iran. Thanks largely to Soviet money and guns, the KDP is fielding and paying a force of several thousand fighters. The KDP is not the largest or most influential of the organizations in Kurdistan—and it is doing very little of the actual fighting. In recent weeks, its leaders have specialized in making militant threats to "wage all-out war" and "blow the government's planes out of the sky" with the heavy military equipment they brandish. But it's been tens of thousands of Kurdish liberation fighters, many organized and led by revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organizations, who have been battling the army and shedding their blood.

Throughout Kurdistan, the masses of people—men and women, young and old—are armed and ready to fight against the systematic national oppression practiced against them by the so-called "revolutionary" Khomeini-Bazargan regime. The four million Kurds are not only fighting for political autonomy and democratic rights—they are emphasizing again and again that they are struggling for the rights of *all* the Iranian people. This is a continuation and deepening of the struggle the people of Iran began when they overthrew the Shah.

### More Counter-Revolutionary Executions

Meanwhile, the head of the government's "revolutionary courts", Ayatollah Khalkhali, bloodied his hands with another 20 executions at Saqqez. Even these executions contained an ominous note for the government. Nine of those executed were government soldiers who had courageously refused to carry out orders and had instead joined the Kurds' revolutionary struggle. These executions of revolutionary fighters raised the total to well over 70 since Khalkhali was sent to Kurdistan two weeks ago.

This, after the regime has practically stopped the righteous executions of reactionary leaders and secret police torturers of the old regime of the Shah. Instead, many of these people are being recruited into the anti-Kurdish struggle. The U.S., too, is regaining some influence.

Far from cowering the masses of Kur-

dish people, the news of these continuing executions spread through hundreds of peasant villages. More and more Kurds joined the battle, determined to drive the reactionary army and the government's hatchetmen out of Kurdistan. At the same time, various forces started up negotiations aimed at a "peaceful compromise" that would stop the Kurdish people's struggle far short of achieving its demands.

On August 27, a five-member Kurdish delegation traveled to Tehran to meet with Ayatollah Taleghani, the city's religious leader and a Khomeini ally, and reached agreement on a ceasefire. But what the government was really after was for the Kurds to lay down their weapons—since they had no intention of halting the executions of captured Kurdish fighters and stopping the bombardment of Kurdish-held villages and towns by the army's U.S.-made helicopter gunships, artillery and F-4 jets.

Further, Ayatollah Khomeini, who recently proclaimed himself commander-in-chief of the Iranian armed forces, made it clear that the government was not making any con-

cessions. Speaking directly for Khomeini, Bani-Sadr, a right-wing leader of the Islamic Republican Party, told the press on August 28 that, "There is no justification whatsoever for the systematic subversion of minorities that want to impose violence on our people. . . it is not up to us to declare a cease-fire." Several days later, Khomeini once again ordered the army to move on Mehabad and "crush the outlaws."

But faced with this just and fiercely determined struggle of the Kurdish people—a struggle which has gained the sympathy and support of millions more throughout Iran—the Khomeini-Bazargan government's desperate lashing out at the Kurds is a sign of its underlying weakness and its reactionary nature. With executions by the dozens, and with much of the army and thousands of right-wing Islamic militiamen pouring into Kurdistan, Khomeini is still not confident that the government can put an end to revolutionary struggle of the Kurdish people. The latest reports quote him as saying, "I will personally go to Kurdistan." ■

## Oblivion

Continued from page 11

promote China's capitalist "modernization," why is there a need for a special organization to promote this?

However, the paper points out that USCPFA must still "safeguard the permanence of this friendship," warning that "a possible major reversal of U.S. policy" could still occur. Could they be envisioning a possible shift to a Sino-Soviet alliance as the ever-pragmatic Teng and Co. decide to join what looks like the stronger threat to them in the countdown to World War 3?

So with a desperate tone, this proposal clings to the never-say-die position for the USCPFA. In a puny parody of the Chinese revisionists' capitalist "modernization" plan, they say, "We should make 1980 a USCPFA year of modernization." This venture, fittingly, also seems headed for the rocks. Despite the Association's grandiose plans, it is rapidly moving from being bourgeois to just plain irrelevant. Their problem is clear: now that they are promoting friendship with a newly bourgeois China, and on a bourgeois basis, they're competing with the big

boys—the U.S. capitalists—and USCPFA is out of its league.

Right now the main function of this organization is promoting and organizing tours to China, a role that will inevitably be taken over by more "professional" capitalist organizations like Pan American, which has recently been welcomed into the hotel and travel business inside China.

Still, the USCPFA is proud of its part in tying China more tightly to the U.S. imperialists' cultural and economic domination. The "post-normalization" paper boasts, "Members of USCPFA assisted in sending a group from the California Farm Bureau to China and USCPFA members helped send the Norman Lear Television and Motion Picture Group to China which among other results led to a relationship between CBS and China. . ." This "relationship" promises to eclipse any minor promotion the USCPFA can do.

But according to another paper at the convention, the USCPFA should be prepared to "jump into the mainstream," even if they do get swamped there. Perhaps a fine example is the following proposal, "USCPFA can join the other groups in the U.S.

Continued on page 15

# Zionism

Continued from page 1

has led large marches of Black people to protest in front of Jewish temples. At the first such march, in the aftermath of the killing of Arthur Miller in 1978, Reverend Daughtry stated that "We stand today in the shadow of our oppressor." These bourgeois Blacks are no more representatives of the true interests of the masses of Black people than Zionist leaders are of those of the masses of Jews. The irony of all this is pretty obvious, since Blacks and Jews are often linked together in backward stereotypes: take, for instance, the common poisonous ideas, "Blacks have all the jobs. Jews have all the money." These ideas are equally stupid and reactionary.

But still, because of this recently growing phenomenon, it is important to analyze the influence of Zionism in this country and the reasons for the reactionary role played by many Jewish organizations, as well as the powerful ideological grip these forces hold over many Jews today.

## Zionism—Reactionary Ideology

The Zionist movement, from its inception, has always been thoroughly reactionary and pro-imperialist; based on mystical bible stories, the idea has always been to create a white Jewish colonial settler state in Palestine, to be striking a deal with one or another imperialist power. Prior to World War 2, Zionist leaders sought to sell their services to the British imperialists in return for guarantees of the "right" to a territorial takeover of Palestine; but after World War 2, it was the United States that actually held the cards. From the formation of Israel in 1948 to the present day, Israel has been a client state of the U.S. imperialists and a bulwark of imperialist rule in the Middle East.

For many years, the Zionists and their organizations in the United States have held a virtual stranglehold on public opinion. Billing themselves as the true guardians of the heritage of those who died at the hands of the Nazis in Europe during World War 2, and playing off the widespread hatred for these fascist atrocities in the United States, the Zionists for a long time were able to mislead many Jews (as well as many others) with the idea that Israel was some kind of progressive socialist utopia. Up until the 1960s, few people had even heard of the Palestinians, much less knew of the forcible ripoff of their territory and their persecution by the Israelis.

"Zionist" and "Jew" are by no means the same thing. In fact, Jews have historically been found in the front ranks of every progressive and revolutionary movement in this country as well as others. But unfortunately, since World War 2, and, ironically, using as a wedge much of the progressive sentiment of American Jews, Zionism has gained a powerful position of hegemony. Whereas in the first decades of the 20th century, the typical Jew was

a poor immigrant laborer struggling against capitalist exploitation and anti-Semitic prejudice, by the '50s and '60s the objective position and role of Jews in the social structure of the U.S. had changed. Many, due to a period of growth by U.S. imperialism, had moved up some. They saw themselves as having a stake in—and even being part of—the American dream. This, together with the U.S. imperialist alliance with Zionist Israel, accounts for the existence of conservative, reactionary ideology in the main Jewish organizations and its grip on significant sections of the masses of American Jews.

Jews constitute a little over 3% of the population in the United States. Today, they are largely concentrated in the "middle" and "upper middle" classes. Many Jews occupy high visibility "authority" positions—landlord, storekeeper, school teacher—which causes them to be perceived as "the system" or "the enemy," especially in minority communities. At the same time, Jewish ownership of some book publishing companies, film studios, and newspapers contributes to the public image of Jewish power and domination in American life.

Despite worn out lies and popular misconceptions, even a superficial survey of the top monopoly capitalist banks and industries of this country reveals that representation of Jews in the circles of the American ruling class is practically nil. Ever faithful lackey Henry Kissinger was more than once the brunt of anti-Semitic jabs in these circles.

As noted, the hegemony of Zionism over the past 30 years on U.S. Jews is significant. Religious organizations, pro-Zionist groups and reactionary periodicals such as *Commentary* magazine abound. But contrary to notions spread by Jesse Jackson and others, the influence of various Jewish organizations is not some mysterious force which bends American foreign and domestic policy. And, against the will of the monopoly capitalists, serves the needs of "international Jewry." The fact of the matter is that lobbying in support of Israel has until recently (and still does in the main) coincide with the interest of U.S. imperialism. There has been an increasingly conservative stand of Jewish leaders on domestic issues (case in point: the all out lobbying effort of the B'Nai B'Rith Anti-defamation League, supposedly an organization opposed to prejudice and discrimination, in favor of the Bakke decision). But the Bakke decision can hardly be painted as something "forced" on the U.S. ruling class by Jews.

The reactionary impact of Zionism upon the political consciousness of American Jews did not fully mature until the 1970s. During the anti-war upheavals on American campuses in the '60s, thousands of Jewish youth played a prominent and leading role, and many were won to support the Black liberation struggle and to revolution generally. Some even repudiated Israel. However, it was possible in the 1960s to

who are helping to provide expertise in the areas of science and technology and management." (our emphasis—RW) And the USCPFA newsletter is presently promoting the fact that the reactionary Dalai Lama of Tibet, who led a revolt against the Chinese revolution, is speaking in the U.S.

## Wang Bingnan Denounced

The deathly boredom of this convention was punctured by one high point. On the night of the convention's major speech and banquet, the RCP and supporters were outside agitating about the Mao Tsetung Defendants and the joint attacks on them by the U.S. and Chinese bourgeoisie.

The convention and the city of Detroit were honoring Wang Bingnan, the revisionist scoutmaster heading the delegation of the Chinese organization for friendship with foreign countries which has been touring the U.S. to promote the new capitalists in China. Wang Bingnan has also announced to the press that groups like the RCP might benefit from the "campaign of disinfection" begun in China after the "gang of four" was overthrown.

In spite of tight security, a few RCP

members and supporters had managed to slip into the banquet hall. After a program of tired speeches, everyone awoke as the Maoists jumped up to denounce Wang and his attacks on U.S. revolutionaries. Ten feet away from him, with Red Books flashing, they loudly called him a traitor, chanting, "Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants, Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian." "Mao Tsetung did not fail, revolution will prevail" rang throughout the whole ballroom before 25 security thugs ejected the protesters, furious that the Friendship Association—once a vigorous and healthy organization, had been once more exposed for the bankrupt business operation it has become. ■

## Correction

August 31, 1979 *Revolutionary Worker*, page 11. In the article, "China Official Urges 'Raid' on U.S. Revolution," the second full sentence in column two should begin: **Coming at a time when Bob Avakian and 16 others are facing 241 years in jail for opposing Teng Hsiao-ping's visit to the U.S. last January...**

consider oneself "radical" and against the war in Vietnam, while still not confronting the question of Zionism. Indeed, the American Left as a whole, even as the anti-war movement was rapidly intensifying in 1967, was almost totally silent on Israel's U.S.-backed war of aggression against the Arabs. It was only following the Six-day War, with the emergence of the Palestinian revolutionary struggle and the more and more openly reactionary nature of Israeli Zionism, that the contradictions began to grow sharper.

Prior to the late '60s, there were widespread misconceptions that Israel was a socialist country, a utopian society motivated by high ideals and supporting progressive people and ideas. Movies such as "Exodus" cast the Zionist struggle in the garb of a "liberation movement." Israel's close relations with South Africa were neither widely known or as blatant as they are today; it was easy to see the Six-day War as "little Israel" surrounded by hostile Arab states motivated by sheer anti-Semitism, heroically fighting for its existence and determined never to allow another holocaust.

## Jews and Civil Rights

In the 1960s, many young Jews saw their participation in the anti-war movement and their support of the Black liberation struggle as a continuation of a progressive tradition of American Jewry, battling oppression and supporting the underdog. Jews had played a very prominent role in the Black civil rights movement of the '50s and '60s. Many Jewish anti-war activists of the middle and late '60s had previously done civil rights work, including going down South for the voter registration drives. And in 1964, two young Jewish civil rights workers, along with one Black, were murdered by segregationists.

But as the Black civil rights movement turned into a more militant "Black power" movement in the mid-'60s, as riots began to sweep the major American ghettos—as Black power became Black liberation and revolutionary ideas became widespread among many Black people—the bourgeois Jewish leadership reversed its position on civil rights. Organizations such as B'Nai B'Rith began to warn of a "new anti-Semitism—an anti-Semitism of the Left." Prominent Jewish reactionaries began openly saying that Blacks were out to get Jewish jobs, and that Jews "would be crazy to support Blacks at our own expense."

At the same time, Black revolutionaries began to perceive the common ties Black people in this country had with the Palestinians in the Middle East, based on revolutionary nationalist feeling, and the growth of a more powerful Palestinian liberation movement. This led to agitation against

Zionism on an increased scale by Black revolutionaries and the revolutionary Left in general, and counter-charges by the Jewish reactionary leaders that all talk against Zionism was actually just veiled anti-Semitism.

The reactionary 1968 teachers' strike, led by Albert Shanker, in New York City, marked the turning point in some ways. Ostensibly, the issue was "seniority"—but everyone knew that the issue was that a mainly white (and largely Jewish) teaching force was resisting Black community control of the schools and the entry of Black teachers into "white-held" bastions.

The ebb of the anti-imperialist student movement and the decline of the social upheavals of the '60s, generally coincided with a number of other developments to bring into full relief the reactionary nature of Zionism. The sharpening contradictions between the United States and the Soviet Union in the 1970s had made Zionist propaganda about the oppressed Jewish minority in Russia very useful to U.S. imperialism. (Without a doubt, there is virulent anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. But the point is that Zionist and U.S. imperialist propaganda uses this to build Carther's phony "human rights" campaign and prettify imperialist rule in the U.S.)

The Israelis were napalming Palestinian villages, selling arms to South Africa, and more and more openly parading as little fascists in the Middle East. But the reaction to Zionism of many people, both Jewish and non-Jewish, was not revulsion, but approval. This was mainly because the reactionary pull exerted by the Zionist organizations was largely unchallenged throughout society as a result of the ebbing of the revolutionary movement in the U.S. Suddenly, the religious aspects of the Zionist movement became attractive to many and, as has been true throughout large sections of U.S. society, conservatism began to harden. Open expressions of racism became fashionable among substantial sections of Jews who had previously considered themselves liberal or even radical.

As the social contradictions in American society grow sharper and sharper, the reactionaries who maintain political hegemony among American Jews advocate closer and closer identification with the U.S. imperialists as the only road to survival. At the same time, they work energetically to oppose any shift, however slight, in all out American support for Israel. According to these Jewish "leaders" the main threat to Jews comes from Black people and other oppressed and exploited people in America who might "take what we have over here" and the Palestinians and other oppressed and exploited people in the Middle East who might "take what we have there." Jews who dare

Continued on page 16

# Chicago

Continued from page 8

by busing children four miles to another Black school rather than allowing them to go to an undercrowded white school one mile away.

Schools in the Latino communities are among the worst in the city, but here both language and culture exert a strong pull to maintain neighborhood schools, especially given the history of busing plans being used to slash bilingual programs. Some Latino "leaders" are already jumping into the busing controversy with reactionary arguments that pit Latinos against Blacks.

Of course the schools in the white neighborhoods have not been spared from the general deterioration of the Chicago school system, as evidenced by the exodus of whites with school-age children to the suburbs. Still, the fact that the schools are relatively better in the white communities is the basis for the ruling class to try to whip up a reactionary movement among whites to preserve the status quo and "protect what you have from the encroachments of Blacks."

This call to preserve the neighborhood schools is an appeal to the most narrow and short-sighted interests of white people and a refurbished version à la Jane Byrne of the same line of reactionary garbage that inspired white

residents of Marquette Park to attack Black youth who ventured into the park, touching off a round of racial violence a few years back. It is the same line that is used to justify torching the homes of Black families who dare to move onto "white turf." How ludicrous to even suggest that white people control their neighborhoods, when the history of neighborhoods in Chicago is one of forced destruction and ethnic turnover through insurance red-lining, panic-peddling, condo conversion and redevelopment schemes. Even more ludicrous is the idea that a neighborhood could somehow be walled off as an island of peace and stability, untouched by the capitalist crisis and war moves.

The narrow "protect my neighborhood" mentality is both reactionary and an impossible dream. The more these reactionaries jump out with their racist poison, the clearer becomes the real battle shaping up around busing. In the face of the ruling class' efforts to fan antagonisms and draw white workers into a movement that is narrow, blinded by racism and thoroughly reactionary, the working class must rise to the challenge these busing plans present and direct the fight against inequality and national oppression, while exposing and battling the ideas that prop it up, especially white chauvinism, and unite the masses of all nationalities around their highest interests. ■

# Bob Avakian

Continued from page 5

there's a Black middle class; there's a very tiny Black upper class, but 40% of the Black nation is still living at the subsistence level. There is a large proportion who subjectively hate white society, the white mentality. I see that as a force.

**Bob Avakian:** I agree with that. I think that is a very tremendous pull to revolution. But still, there's a problem. See, we went through this same struggle with the Black Workers' Congress and some other groups about 5 years ago when it came time to form the Revolutionary Communist Party. They made much the same argument you're making. We had a very sharp struggle and split with them over it. They since disintegrated as any kind of organization. Some of those people who were on the other side, now have since come forward to join the RCP and summed up and criticized their errors of that time and taken up the RCP position.

What we've pointed out, which some of those people have come to see, is that once you talk about Marxism-Leninism, once you talk about uniting people on that basis, that is not something that stops at one race or nationality. You're talking about a class, not just here, but even internationally. If we're gonna be Marxist-Leninists, that's an ideology of the working class. To say we're gonna take that up—and not any form of middle-class, petty-bourgeois or big bourgeois ideology—means that we're gonna immediately talk about the whole working class.

Though it may not seem it on the surface, there is objectively and fundamentally more common interest between Black workers and white workers than there is between Black workers and the Black bourgeoisie. Now that doesn't mean that all Black people don't suffer some form of discrimination or oppression. But it's a much sharper thing for the masses of Black people than for the Black upper classes. They have almost no cushion or no privileges, and they also share a common experience as workers, even though they're at the bottom of the working class, and no one can or should who wants to make revolution, afford to ignore that. We have to fight around that, but nevertheless in the final analysis and fundamentally, the masses of Black people have more in common and more interests politically with the masses of people of all races and nationalities.

Once you start dividing it up by nationalities then the Black people and the Chicanos are also split because once you become divided by race or nationality, then each one wants to form its own thing. Then you start finding that the bourgeoisie can manipulate you and set the different nationalities against each other. And if you say, well, OK then, let's unite all the oppressed people, then why are you gonna unite some of the oppressed people but not all? Why are you gonna unite for example Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, but not the white people who are oppressed and exploited? Once you do that then you start retreating back into nationalism.

Whether you intend to or not you begin to retreat back toward nationalism and pretty soon you're right in the camp of the bourgeoisie, you're playing in the bourgeoisie's turf. And the Jesse Jacksons and the rest will defeat you every time because they're quite capable of demagogically using militant nationalist rhetoric in order to try to mislead the masses.

You gotta tell them this is fundamentally a class question. That doesn't mean its *only* a class question, it doesn't mean there isn't a whole, what you call unique, or special, or additional dimension of being oppressed as a people if you're Black or Chicano. This has its whole historical basis, as well as for the present-day reality. But fundamentally it's rooted in the contradictions of the capitalist system. It fundamentally requires the overthrow of that system. And that overthrow requires one Party uniting the working class as one class to overthrow it.

Now, there are certain tactical questions you have to take into consideration. When our Party goes to work in, say, mainly a Black area, we don't send mainly white people to do it. We send some, because we want to make the point right up from jump street that we're about uniting the people. But we mainly send Black people into those areas because there are certain questions you have to get over. You have to deal with the reality. You have to deal with where people are at, with the questions they've got. And we face this question straight up, "what are you doin' with those honkies?" We take it on, we put it out in the open, lay it on the table and struggle it through. And we find that we can make a lot of progress that way. Not that people don't have their misgivings, but the test of this is practice. The test of it is what does our Party do, what does it stand for, how does it lead people in struggle.

Our experience is that, as opposed to some of these hustlers and upper-class elements, the masses of Black people want unity. They just are doubtful and skeptical that it can happen, that they won't get stabbed in the back. As soon as they see any real possibility of it the masses gravitate toward it. They want it, but they're skeptical. "Can it happen? What's gonna happen? Is it gonna last, or is it gonna be something that will be sold out?" And that's a question of constantly fighting.

## No Guarantees

You see there is no guarantee that you're not gonna get sold out. If people deviate from Marxism-Leninism toward nationalism or anything else then you'll end up compromising with the system. The most militant nationalists will end up in reformism because they don't have the basis to stand up against the system with a nationalist ideology. They can't unleash and bring into motion the forces that have to be united in this country to stand up to the system. And it is a powerful system. When we say we can overthrow it we don't mean to underplay the fact that it's powerful. Now it's true the masses of people are not gonna be united overnight, but the vanguard has got to be united from the beginning, even before the masses are. Because that's also something you gotta have before the people as a model. That's something else you've gotta point to, that this unity can be achieved and is expressed in the highest form of organization we have, which is the vanguard Party. It's gotta be united right from the beginning.

**Question:** There's the question of lack of trust. That is a very subjective outlook of the Black community. After we have achieved some sort of a revolution, how do we know that Black people's interest will be served in a new communist state?

**Bob Avakian:** That's true. I think our Party understands that this is gonna be a constant struggle. People will have achieved a lot of unity in order to overthrow capitalism. We won't be able to come near to overthrowing it until we have achieved a lot more unity and overcome a lot of these divisions. There are gonna be disagreements, people will fight to overthrow capitalism from all kinds of different understandings. Millions of people will finally come into struggle against it who will just hate what's going on right then and there, and finally decide maybe the communists are the only ones with an answer to it.

And that means that after we make revolution millions of people's thinking will still need to be radically changed. And that's gonna be a long-term struggle. But you see that doesn't just come down Black and white, that's *one* of the forms it comes down in. Men and women is another. It comes down among different sections of the working class. It comes down between workers right on the same job. We're gonna have to work to overcome all that stuff, all that stinking stuff left over from the

bourgeoisie. And the only way that we have to do that, again, is to put the Party out there as the vanguard.

For example, what will we do when we have to rebuild these neighborhoods? There's gonna be war, at least civil war, right? There's gonna be a lot of destruction. But it will still be the case that these ghettos, these slums where mostly the minority people live will be the most run down and broken down. There'll be a struggle right immediately. A lot of people are gonna suffer before we win victory, mainly because of what the capitalist system is gonna do to them, but also because of the process of the civil war. Everybody's gonna have an urgent feeling that they want to see their conditions improved and that'll be one of the reasons they'll support the communists. Except the most politically conscious will look farther than that. We're gonna have to go among them and say, listen, "we are going to take these slums, these buildings that are at the very bottom and we're gonna rebuild them first and you're gonna have to live with what you're living with now. For a few more months or even a year."

Because if we don't bring the bottom up first, exactly what you're talking about is going to happen. People who've always been on the bottom will say, "Hell with it, we're still on the bottom, what good is it!" And they're gonna turn away and we'll be right back to where we were. Divided and ruled over by some new capitalists or the old ones. This happened in Russia. When the workers were keeping the alliance with the peasants, they had to sacrifice, go without shoes, bread and everything in order to see that the peasants were fed and had clothing so that the alliance between the workers and the peasants wouldn't break down and the peasants wouldn't be won over by the capitalists. They did it by and large. The communists went right into the factories and explained it to them and also they set the example.

## Equality of Culture

**Question:** Maybe some of this will help to destroy that mistrust.

**Bob Avakian:** Take, for example, the cultural field. There's going to have to be a certain amount of autonomy in these communities. In other words, there is still a question of people having models to identify with, even of their own nationality. The communists see beyond nationality, they see to the whole international working class, they've overcome it. But the masses of people are not all going to be communists right away, and you can't say, "Well, you have to be all communists." You have to win them to that position. There's a Richard Pryor joke in this movie about how he had this heart attack and he thought he was dead and he woke up in the ambulance, looked around and saw nothing but white people. He woke up and thought, "I went to the wrong heaven and have to listen to Lawrence Welk all the rest of my life." Black people got different kinds of forms of music and everything they like, well, we have to allow that to flourish and develop, give it the same revolutionary content.

Look what happens in the army and jail. You got the people they call

hillbillies that want to listen to country music; you got the Black people who want to listen to a different kind of music; you got Puerto Ricans who want to listen to salsa music; and they pit everybody against each other. Put a little bit of one on, get everybody mad, turn it off. But we're not gonna do it, we're gonna encourage it all to flourish and develop. Different cultures and different national forms, preferences, with the same revolutionary content, with an internationalist outlook.

It's even sharper when you have, say, people who speak Spanish as the first language. Having that language be an equal language with English. Having both of them taught in the schools, especially in the area where they're concentrated, and being able to speak either or both. Raising the young generations, teaching the Black people Spanish, teaching the white workers Spanish, so they can learn to talk to each other, but allowing these different languages to be spoken equally so that one language is not inferior.

All that's gonna have to be changed, that's gonna be a monumental struggle to win that. The pull will always be to tail after the backward ideas and to try to just let things stay where they are. If they stay where they are, they go backwards. We've got a lot of inequality capitalism will leave us with, and we have to uproot it as fast as we can and as consistently as we can. And we can't go out and promise people, "Well, someday it'll get better." Now if we're taking serious, steady and concrete steps, people can say, "Alright. Everything isn't eliminated in one week. Things are improving and I can see the clear direction." It's a question of do you really seriously go after it. Are you making progress or are you bullshitting?

## Put Stress on Internationalism

That's why right now we go out and put so much emphasis on internationalism. We tell people that making revolution here is not just for us, it's for the whole world. We're trying to lay as much basis as we can now to be in the strongest position when we make revolution to be moving on this. We can get out there and struggle with people now to where they undergo a fundamental change in their outlook and see their real interests. They go from being backward, reactionary, racist, nationalist or whatever to being internationalists, communists—hating the oppression of everyone else just as much as their own. The more we lay the basis for that now, the better we'll be able to win those fights later. Because then instead of having a few thousand people, you're gonna have millions and millions with all kinds of screwy ideas and their thinking is gonna have to be changed.

On the other hand I think that the majority of people in this society, even those who don't know it now, will be glad to have the burden of this goddamn rotten outlook off their minds and this whole system off their backs. You know you go along with it, but you also know it's filthy. People are cynical, they don't think there can actually be anything better. But when they actually see there can, I think a lot of people will step forward to throw this shit away. ■

Zionism or the struggle in support of Palestinian liberation.

# Zionism

Continued from page 15

raise their voice against this reactionary hysteria are branded as "self-hating Jews who have fallen prey to anti-Semitism."

The widespread slinging around of the charge of "anti-Semitism" by reactionary Jewish leaders must be thoroughly exposed; on the other hand, anti-Semitism itself is a real phenomenon which is totally reactionary and even under some "progressive" guise, must be thoroughly opposed.

Anti-Semitism—the reactionary, religious based theory that the Jews are an accursed race, responsible for the murder of Jesus Christ and all of the Nazi and neo-Nazi variations on this theme, the idea that "the Jews are the enemy," that "Jews are the exploiters," obviously all this has nothing to do with the struggle against

The anti-Semitic diatribes of Jackson and other opportunists are designed to create the appearance militantly exposing "the oppressor" while lying about who the real oppressor is, and concealing their own ties with the imperialist ruling class. The masses of people cannot be trapped into accepting the ruling class lie that, on the "Jewish question," we face only two choices: two creeds based on reactionary mysticism in the service of the imperialists, anti-Semitism or Zionism. We must look at events and forces in society, not from the standpoint of nationality or some ridiculous racist theory of the "nature" of a given people, but from the standpoint of the revolutionary class interests of the proletariat—the only class which has no interest in the oppression or exploitation or persecution of any nationality or in the preservation of all the barbaric prejudices which are nothing but the ideological stench of a decaying social system. ■