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Will El Salvador Be Next?

Revolution Spreads in Central America

El Salvador police and army troops opened fire on 5,000 marchers on September 14, killing five and wounding fifty. Forty people were reported missing. Some of the demonstrators returned the fire with handguns and the marchers retreated to the University of Salvador, burning fifteen government cars along the way.

Immediately after the police attack, El Salvador dictator Carlos Humberto Romero canceled the Independence Day celebration planned for the next day. Nevertheless, 2,500 people defied government orders and marched on Independence Day in a funeral procession for two revolutionary teachers murdered by police in a demonstration earlier in the week.

This new wave of mass struggle and vicious government repression in El Salvador has the U.S. government extremely worried that they will not be able to maintain their grip on strategically important Central America. Already severely shaken by the overthrow of their man Somoza in Nicaragua, they are desperate to find a way to prevent revolution in El Salvador. Further disconcerting has been inroads by the Soviet Union in the region as indicated by recent reports of Cuban aid to Nicaragua.

The Romero government announced last week it will hold elections for low level officers next year. But the U.S. is afraid that will not be sufficient to derail the struggle. They have sent two of their top level diplomats, Asst. Secretary of State Viron Vaky and William Bowdler (former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador and Guatemala), scurrying between Central America and Washington in a frantic effort to convince the Romero regime to move the presidential elections, now scheduled for 1982, up to next year. Otherwise, according to Vaky, the government will fall to "insurrectionary violence."

Speaking to the House Inter-American Affairs sub-committee, Vaky said, "The central issue is not whether change is to occur, but whether that change is to be violent and radical—or peaceful and evolutionary...the prospects for avoiding insurrectionary violence are rapidly dimming."

The U.S. hope is that if a few reforms are carried out, that will create illusions among the Salvadorean people that problems can be solved peacefully and they will reject armed revolution. Of course, it's not that the U.S. government rejects *all* violence; in spite of its "human rights" refusal to sell arms directly to El Salvador, the U.S. continues to funnel weapons through Israel to the Central American Defense Council of which El Salvador is a member. The Romero government used those weapons to kill thirty demonstrators in

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San Salvador, El Salvador, Sept. 14—demonstrators return fire after police had attacked the crowd.

Defense Motions Filed in Mao Defendants Trial

Dragging Dirt Into Daylight

The most significant political assault on a revolutionary organization in a decade will be focused on the Superior Courthouse in Washington, D.C. as 17 Mao Tsetung Defendants go to trial there November 19. Yet if the U.S. government has its way, the case of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA VS. ROBERT B. AVAKIAN et al. will be tried in November as a *criminal case*—not political—and the 17 Defendants will be found guilty of all of the 442 *criminal charges* they jointly face. To accomplish this massive, top-level political frame-up of Bob Avakian, RCP Chairman, and the 16 other revolutionaries, the prosecution is

weekly, daily and hourly making a mockery of the sanctity of their so-called "democracy" and "justice for all." No principle of their own code of law cannot be bent or twisted to suit their purpose in this case. No democratic rights can't be flagrantly thrown out to accomplish their aim of putting away these revolutionaries. Yet they stick like leeches to their blood-thirsty claim, made by the D.A., that "the charges against them describe what they did." In other words, 241 years' worth of felonies is not political! They want to have their cake and eat it too: to carry out one of the biggest political trials to hit this country in

years—likely to develop into the biggest—under the guise of prosecuting ordinary criminals on multiple criminal charges.

Into this scenario, lawyers for the defense launched a major legal offensive last August 27, challenging the numerous blatant illegalities of the prosecution's case against these defendants, and dragging into the light of day the political forces working overtime behind the scenes to railroad Bob Avakian and send the 17 defendants to jail for 241 years. The package of pre-trial defense motions delivered that day to the court and the prosecutor's office was a legal fight, but also part of something greater. It is part of exposing the frame-up going on and pointing the finger at the real criminals in this case.

One such motion filed was a Motion for Disclosure of Electronic or Other

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Black Youth Sentenced for Disco Rebellion

Revolutionary Worker Banned in Greensboro, N.C.

Greensboro, North Carolina, September 13. Tim Hopkins and Evelyn Day stood before Judge Pfaff in the Guilford County Court House—convicted of selling the *Revolutionary Worker* without a permit. "If I told you that you weren't allowed to set foot in Hampton Homes (the Black housing project where they were busted) for two years would you continue to sell out there?" When Hopkins told the judge that the *Revolutionary Worker* would continue to sell in the project, that the people want the paper out there, Pfaff lost his cool. "You'll be able to read your paper!" he screamed. "You'll be able to read it for 29 days in jail!" The judge raved so incoherently that spectators in the courtroom were openly laughing at him. "You finally got what you wanted," he said, "Aren't you flattered to be here before me?"

But this is not just a case of a crazy judge flying off the handle. The conviction of Hopkins and Day is a political attack on the newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Party and the masses of people—an attempt to prevent the Party from spreading revolutionary public opinion in Greensboro. As we go to press the two revolutionaries, who are now out on bail pending appeal, still do not know what law they were convicted on! They were originally arrested on charges of soliciting without a permit. But the Greensboro city ordinance on business permits does not apply to newspapers; and it particularly does not apply to political newspapers because of the so-called First Amendment right to free speech! In fact, the clerk in the permit office wouldn't issue the *Revolutionary Worker* a permit because there is no permit that applies.

When the two newspaper sellers pointed out to Judge Pfaff that "this law (soliciting without a permit) does not apply to us," the judge said, "That's right." He then sent the D.A. to go find another law to convict them on. Pfaff further made it clear that anyone caught selling the *Revolutionary Worker* would be arrested on the spot—effectively banning the *Revolutionary Worker* in Greensboro. (It is also interesting to note that both the newspapers of the Workers Viewpoint Organization and the Socialist Workers Party are still being sold without interference from the authorities—apparently a permit is not

required to spread opportunism and reformist illusions among the masses.)

The Powderkeg at Hampton Homes

The honorable reptile Pfaff also included in the sentence that the two revolutionaries were banned from even driving through the Hampton Homes projects for two years because of the role that the Revolutionary Communist Party has played in the projects where an intense struggle against the police has been going on for several months. It began on July 20 when 50 police busted up a disco party in the projects, beat up a Black youth, Shelton Lucas, and maced him while he was handcuffed. Two hundred youths showered the cops with rocks and bottles, driving the cops wild. They ordered, "You niggers and monkeys get inside," using nightsticks and guns to press their point, and arrested another youth for inciting to riot.

The Revolutionary Communist Party put out a leaflet upholding the actions of the youth against the cops, and this leaflet was taken up by the people in the projects and distributed and discussed by the people of Hampton Homes. When six cops came to bust up another disco that night, they found themselves literally run out of the projects. When the cops ordered the youth to disperse, one youth read aloud the headline from the leaflet, "Dogs in Blue Unleashed on Hampton Homes." One cop turned to the other five and said, "We better get the hell out of here!"

For weeks afterwards, the cops didn't know whether the next time they went into the project, they would be met with a rock in the back or worse. One evening patrol cars were driven away by youths throwing rocks at both ends of the main street going into Hampton Homes. One cop who unwisely turned his back while questioning someone was staggered by a rock. The message to the police was clear—stay the hell out of the projects! Several people began taking the *Revolutionary Worker* out to sell to their friends. One guy urged his friends to buy the paper saying, "This paper is bad! It tells the truth."

Many people in the projects did not believe that the people busted during the rebellion would actually be convicted of the outrageous charges, let alone given heavy sentences. But on August 2, "Bird" Hayes, the youth charged with inciting to riot was convicted by Judge Pfaff, given a suspended sentence with

five years probation and was ordered by the court to get "mental help." "Bird" Hayes did the sanest thing he had ever done in his whole life the night of the disco rebellion—he stood up against the pigs!

The authorities in Greensboro were gunning for the *Revolutionary Worker*. Events were making it clear to them that the Party was not just a match in the Hampton Homes tinderbox, but a Party that is serious about leading the masses to revolution. On August 12, they got their first clear shot. A white cop busted Hopkins and Day selling papers in the projects. Giving them a citation was not enough; he called for the assistance of a Black cop who baited them, "What are you whites doing in our community?" The revolutionaries demanded an answer, "What are you doing here, pigs?" Some people who had been listening to a tape of Bob Avakian's May Day speech in one of the apartments in Hampton Homes ran out with the tape recorder and played it in the cop's ear. This obviously made quite an impression on the cop who later whined in the courtroom about how the people were agitating against him and "playing this revolutionary tape."

On August 28, the attacks intensified. Shelton Lucas went to Judge Pfaff's court for the ridiculous "crime" of assault on a law enforcement officer with a cigarette lighter. (During the rebellion when a cop pulled a gun on Lucas, he had handed the cop his cigarette lighter to show that he was

unarmed.) People in the courtroom were prepared for Pfaff's guilty verdict based on the trial of "Bird" Hayes, but the incredible sentence of 12 months active jail time left people shocked and outraged. Pfaff sat smugly and the cops and the prosecutor shook hands with hideous glee on their twisted faces. It was obvious that Lucas had not been sentenced for assault on an officer which he never did in the first place but for the "crime" of working with the RCP in protesting and agitating against the arrests after the rebellion.

The latest conviction of the two newspaper sellers is a further attempt to cripple the Party and the people by robbing them of their key weapon, the *Revolutionary Worker*. In the May Day tape that was playing in Hampton Homes at the time of the arrest, Bob Avakian says, "This system is a great teacher, if you don't learn the first time, it will be glad to teach you a second time, a third time, a fourth time, and so on until you learn." But the problem for Pfaff and Co. is that the lesson they are teaching the people of Greensboro only points out more clearly the picture of capitalist society that springs from the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker*—that behind all the garble of "democracy, justice and innocent before proven guilty" is nothing but conspiracy and dictatorship against the people. Whether banned or legal the *Revolutionary Worker* will continue to pass from hand to hand among the people of Greensboro, North Carolina. ■

Region Wide Conferences On Two Issues Most Vital to Our Class

At the end of September and the beginning of October, hundreds of workers, veterans, youth and others will gather in each of several locales to come to grips with some serious questions facing the working class. They will discuss and debate and make preparations to really get into motion and get out the word about two decisive battles that will be developing in the months ahead:


Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants! Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian! and May Day 1980

- East Coast**—Washington D.C., Saturday, Sept. 29 (212) 924-4387
- California & Southwest**—Los Angeles, 9am Saturday, Sept. 29, UCLA, 39 Haines Hall (213) 585-8234
- Hawaii**—Honolulu, 9am Sunday, Sept. 30, Kalihi-Palama Library (808) 845-2733
- Northwest**—Seattle, 11am Sunday, Sept. 30, Jefferson Park Community Center, 3801 Beacon Ave. S., (206) 723-8439
- South**—Birmingham, noon, Saturday, Oct. 6, Miles College Student Union
- Midwest-Great Lakes Area**—Cincinnati, 1pm Saturday, Oct. 6 (513) 524-5124

For more information, call above phone numbers or your local *Revolutionary Worker* (see listing on page 4).

Sponsored by:

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- Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee
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People of Puerto Rico Welcome 4

“Lolita Lebrón— A Brave Example”



Lolita Lebrón speaking to the large crowd that turned out to greet the four nationalists at the San Juan airport on Sept. 12th.

On September 13, Lolita Lebrón, Oscar Collazo, Irving Flores Rodriquez and Rafael Cancel-Miranda, the four Puerto Rican nationalists recently released from 25 years in U.S. prisons, stepped off a plane into their homeland and into a sea of Puerto Rican flags and banners. Thousands came out to greet them, filled with determination to continue the struggle against U.S. imperialists. Young leftists passed out leaflets calling for armed struggle. As the plane touched down, the crowd tore down airport fences and surged forward, chanting “Viva Puerto Rico Libre!” Irving Flores Rodriquez addressed the crowd and proudly declared that liberty “has to be conquered by blood and fire... our rights are not to be begged but fought for!”

Puerto Rican Governor Romero Barcelo, who had opposed the release of the four prisoners, had already fled for a visit to the mainland to avoid the embarrassment of their return. As the four walked through the massive crowd reaching out to clasp the hands of the masses, police nervously held onto them to prevent them from being lifted up on the shoulders of the people. But they were powerless to stop this welcome, not only by people from San Juan, but from towns and cities all over Puerto Rico. They lined the streets, bridges and housing projects waiting for the car caravan from the airport.

In a telephone interview with the *Revolutionary Worker*, a member of the Nationalist Party who accompanied the four back to Puerto Rico described their arrival: “When we got off the plane in San Juan there were thousands of people waiting. Everybody had flags and banners. There were people from the countryside, workers from the city, students, everybody was there.

“Lolita and the others all talked and they said what people had to do. They said they were happy to be out of jail because that meant they could be active in the struggle. They told us not to be fooled, that the old colonial situation still remains and the struggle still remains. They said they didn’t return to be the great leaders, but to be part of the people in their struggle for independence.

“When we left the airport, we headed out to the cemetery, the place where Pedro Albizu Campos is buried. [The four went to pay respects to this revolutionary fighter and founder of the Nationalist Party.] All along the road people had lined up to greet them to show their love. There were also large

numbers of cops, the government didn’t want people to be there so they sent the cops to scare them. The trip from San Juan airport to the cemetery usually takes only 15 minutes but on this day it took over 2 hours. When we arrived at the cemetery there were 2,000 more people waiting and they started chanting, ‘Lolita Lebrón—a Brave Example.’

“All this happened in spite of the threat of repression. Many more people would have been there but they stayed away because of the systematic repression of the colonial government and its bureaus of criminal investigations, as well as the FBI and the CIA. But even then people came out. In fact, San Juan is a city with walls around it. And between it and the ocean is where the cemetery is. And when we looked up there were so many people who were standing on the high walls of the city to show their support. They also joined in the chanting.

“In every corner of the country people were happy, that’s what I heard. People were happy both about the patriots and what they expect for the future of the struggle. You know, the newspapers in the U.S. say that such a small number of people came out and a small number of people support the struggle, but you know, with all the money and the power of the colonial system they have never been able to bring out so many people and have such an effect on the people. Only the struggle of the people and its leaders can do that.”

On September 17 the four attended a picket line denouncing the arrest and charges against 14 Puerto Rican fighters. These men took part in a militant demonstration against the use and

destruction of the island of Vieques by the U.S. military. The four continue to stand firm against imperialism. And they have announced they will be part of the El Grito de Lares celebration on the 23rd of September. This is the anniversary of the uprising against Spain in 1868 when Puerto Ricans set up an independent though short-lived republic.

The announcement that they will be at Grito de Lares is already drawing many new people into motion who have never taken part in the celebration before and who see the return of the na-

tionals as a sign of new upsurge in the fight for independence. One man put it this way, “It’s not so much that we saw them but that after 25 years they’re still strong. That’s what inspires us.” Meanwhile the U.S. rulers and their Puerto Rican flunkies are whining in worried tones about how the people “don’t really want independence” and how the four nationalists are “isolated from the people.” But the response of the masses to the return of these heroic fighters is proving just what the imperialists have feared. It is unleashing new hope and new struggle. ■



POPUS ROACHUS. Family: U.S. Imperialism. Genus: Churchus. Species: Popus Roachus, known to laymen as the Pope.

This species, though antiquated, is known for its remarkable ability to adapt itself to changing conditions. It has been observed down through the ages in the company of some of the most poisonous insects around: Emperors, Kings, Princes, Fascists, and today, Born-Again Presidents. This species likes to prey upon the public. Loves nukes. Beware of potential Roach Infestation.

NEWS ITEMS ...

Two seemingly unrelated items concerning chemical and biological warfare appeared in the bourgeois press recently.

From Washington came the report that the U.S. Army contaminated 800,000 residents of the San Francisco Bay Area with smog clouds of pneumonia-causing bacteria over a six-day period in 1950. It was one of at least 239 secret tests of biological warfare materials and techniques at the time.

Army spokesmen explained after the disclosure that they had originally thought the bacteria was harmless. A massive outbreak of pneumonia in and around San Francisco shortly after the

tests prompted officials to put a lid on the whole thing, which has kept it secret for nearly 30 years.

The second item came from Europe where NATO Supreme Commander, General Bernard Rogers, stated recently that, while the U.S. bloc is making advances in some areas of chemical and biological warfare, “We are in very bad shape in respect to chemical warfare retaliatory capabilities.”

One would assume new secret tests are in order.

In another seemingly unrelated item, unusually thick smog has plagued Los Angeles in recent weeks. ■

Legal Torture in the Desert

An incident highlighting the plight of Mexican immigrant workers in this country, as well as the U.S. government's unofficial policy toward them, has been in the news recently.

A little more than three years ago, Bernabe Mata, Manuel Loya and Eleanor Zavala left the border town of Agua Prieta to work in the fields of Elfrida, Arizona. The campesinos followed a well-worn path forged through the scorching desert by thousands of their countrymen before them. Two hours into the United States, the workers came face to face with Tom Hanigan, the son of a wealthy Douglas, Arizona businessman and confidant of Barry Goldwater. Hanigan, armed with a shotgun, ordered the trio into a camper truck and drove them to his ranch house. Mata, Loya and Zavala thought that Hanigan would phone La Migra and they would be sent back to Mexico like the million other Mexican workers seized in 1976 by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). But the Hanigans had another form of terror in mind.

Tom, his brother Pat, and his father George Hanigan drove the workers out into the desert, and one by one they were bound and stripped naked in the August sun. The ranchers used branding irons to burn the soles of Zavala's feet. They threatened to castrate the trio and drew blood in the perverted attack. A rope was tied around Zavala's neck and he was thrown into a small canyon; he survived by desperately clinging to the rocky edge of the crevice.

Failing in murder, the Hanigans sent the three workers running to Mexico ahead of a volley of shotgun blasts. In Agua Prieta, doctors removed 125 shotgun pellets from Loya's back and 50 from Mata's. They were lucky to be alive.

This incident brought a tremendous outpouring of indignation from both sides of the border. A mass demonstration at the border between Agua Prieta and Douglas was followed by a boycott

of white-owned businesses in Douglas by the Chicano community.

The local authorities were on the spot. To look the other way would only add fuel to the fire as word of this atrocity spread across the state. So the Cochise County District Attorney filed charges against his old friends for kidnap, robbery and assault. In deference to their respected position in the community, the Hanigans were never formally arrested and booked—the DA merely asked that they show up at the trial.

After several delays and the death of Papa George Hanigan, the trial got underway in September 1977. The prosecutor presented one of the shoddiest cases in the history of Arizona. Sheriffs' reports were deliberately written up in error, and the translation of much of the testimony was butchered, making it appear that there were discrepancies in the workers' testimonies. The DA introduced a different shotgun into evidence, after it was determined that Hanigan's gun was, in fact, the weapon used against the campesinos.

Clearly the government was determined to give the green light to border area vigilantes; at the same time, the San Diego director of the INS was giving a guided tour of the border area to David Duke of the Ku Klux Klan, helping them establish their widely publicized "border patrol."

The Hanigans stated that this torture of Mata, Zavala and Loya was justified because the three were trying to "burglarize our ranch." This phony excuse was backed up by the local director of the INS, Drexel Atkinson, who stated in the press just before the trial, "Every illegal alien is a potential burglar." When the case went before an all-white jury, the Hanigans were found innocent of all charges.

At that point, a number of Chicano groups asked the U.S. Department of Justice to file charges against the Hanigans. The Justice Department refused, citing laws that "protect the



Photographs of some of the injuries inflicted by the brutal torture. Above: feet burned and blistered by a branding iron. Below: sliced up hands and shotgun pellet wounds.

civil rights of illegal aliens *only* while in the custody of police officers." This statement would be laughable if it weren't for the all too real vicious brutality that is continually unleashed by police and INS officers against Mexicans. In just one example, a Mexican worker was shot in the back while in the custody of an INS agent last June 20. The U.S. District Attorney refused to prosecute, declaring the murder "justifiable homicide."

Recently, the Justice Department announced that it was impaneling a new federal grand jury to reopen the investigation into the Hanigan case. Newly appointed Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti, who is being promoted as a man with a "tough stand" on civil rights, has personally gotten into the act. Perhaps with an election coming up, the Carter administration is trying to figure out a way to get Mexican-Americans into the fold. Or maybe the government is attempting to bolster up various reformist Chicano organizations as these groups' continual derailing of the people's struggles into "proper legal channels" grows increasingly exposed.



Whichever, the Hanigan case has revealed the government's complicity in a declaration of open season on Mexicans along the 800-mile border.

Sterile Living Through Chemistry

This is the American chemical industry bringing you a sterile tomorrow. Dr. Ralph Dougherty gave the American Chemical Society a bit of bad news last week. According to a number of studies, the Florida chemist reported, the sperm count and potential fertility of American males appear to have declined sharply in recent years. Twenty-three percent of a test group showed up as functionally sterile. Analysis of samples taken in the studies revealed the presence of PCB and DDT. Literally millions of pounds of PCB were used in chemical manufacturing until 1976, when its cancerous effects became so well known that the government was forced to ban it. DDT, the

original wonder pesticide, was banned only after massive outcry and, of course, only once the chemical industry had another pesticide ready to replace it to keep the cash register ringing.

Dougherty pointed to a "little known by-product of PCB" as "entirely likely and responsible" for lowering the sperm count. The chemist also reported that studies done in Europe and Japan suggested that the sperm count is decreasing there also. DuPont, Dow, etc. advertise how a little bit of their product goes into everything to make life better. If they keep improving our lives much longer, there aren't going to be any future generations to keep improving life for.

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and

need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* is establishing a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
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Chile: The Real Story of the Allende Years



Chile: An Attempt at Historic Compromise—The Real Story of the Allende Years, by Jorge Palacios. Published by Banner Press, Chicago, 1979. 512 pp. \$5.95

The publication of a U.S. edition of this book by Jorge Palacios, a founder and leading member of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, throws a strong light onto what until now has been a mystery for many people: why the U.S. ruling class overthrew the Chilean government of Salvador Allende, a naked act of aggression which cost the U.S. far more politically than what it stood to lose economically through the nationalizations of U.S. companies carried out by the Allende government, and on the other hand, why the U.S. was able to overthrow Allende, despite the backing of the majority of the people for his government.

Many people—although not enough—already know about the CIA-provoked coup of September 11, 1973 that toppled Allende and led to the murder of 30,000 Chileans. Palacios' book adds valuable exposure and documentation of exactly how the U.S. ruling class plotted and carried out that notorious crime.

But what fewer people know about—and what is the focus of Palacios' book—is the other criminal in this case, a criminal who has tried to cover up what really happened by posing as a victim—the pro-Soviet revisionists who set the Chilean people up for this ambush. Today, these same forces are still in the field maneuvering, both in Chile and in other parts of the world, especially Western Europe.

That is what makes this book the "real story of the Allende years." And what it reveals is both the bloody hand of U.S. imperialism and the slightly less visible hand of the Soviet Union, which tried to use the Allende government as a pawn to achieve a "historic compromise"—a Soviet social-imperialist foot in the door to what has been until now U.S. imperialism's exclusive "sphere of influence."

One incident described in the book poses a sharp question. Exactly a week before the U.S. unleashed the military takeover, Chile witnessed the biggest demonstrations the country had ever seen. In Santiago alone, almost a million people—a third of all the city's men, women and children—marched through the streets to support the Allende government against the attack everyone knew that the reactionaries were preparing. The chants of "The people, united, will never be defeated" had barely died away when these same streets were filled with the tanks and armored troop carriers of the armed forces. In some of the factories which had been the strongest centers of revolutionary activity, on some campuses, in the *poblaciones* (squatters' camps) and farms that peasants had seized from the landlords, there was fierce resistance as the people held out for awhile with whatever weapons they had. But they were not able to stop the coup nor keep the U.S.-backed military

from temporarily consolidating an openly fascist dictatorship in Chile.

Why not? In a country where the parties that called themselves Marxist enjoyed the following of the majority of working people, a country where to be a worker means to be automatically suspected of being a Marxist, a country where the ideals of liberation and socialism had such strong popular support that a government that promised these things came about through presidential elections, why did the people suffer such a sudden, swift setback?

What went wrong was political misleadership—the misleadership of the revisionist Communist Party of Chile, the dominant force in Allende's Popular Unity (UP) coalition, although Allende himself was not a CPer. According to the revisionists, through elections the people could take over a government and its institutions which had been designed and used for centuries to oppress the people and use this government to bring about liberation and socialism. As it turned out, the Allende government soon became bogged down hopelessly in the courts, the parliament and the rest of the bureaucracy, while the ruling class whose property Allende tried to take from them by their own laws prepared to use the armed forces which they had always relied on to crush the Allende government and the people's movement. Nothing could be clearer proof of the fact that it is guns and not elections that determines which class holds power than what happened in Chile.

But what has been mysterious to many revolutionary-minded people is not the wrong line held by the Chilean CP on the road to revolution, nor the fact that it didn't work (although to this day the Chilean CP and its partners worldwide still claim that Allende fell as a result of "an unfavorable alignment of forces, exploited by the enemy" and not because of any errors). The big mystery has been why the UP government all but committed suicide: refusing to mobilize and rely on the masses to stop the rightist offensive, even when workers had already organized themselves and stopped one round of rightist strikes and sabotage; going along with a gun control law allowing the armed forces to take away the few weapons people already had, and more than that, to stage raids on factories and farms as a show of force to demoralize the people; and finally, bringing into the cabinet and making government ministers out of the very generals who were about to overthrow the government.

Why, two days before the coup, when everyone knew for months and more what the armed forces were up to, did the CP newspaper *El Siglo* declare: "There is and there can be no an-

tagonism whatsoever between the people, their government and the armed institutions"? Why, when the tanks finally rolled and Allende, machine gun in hand, was fighting to the death to defend the presidential palace, did the CP refuse all pleas to mobilize the people against the coup with the excuse, "First let's see if they dissolve the Parliament"?

Palacios asks, in the introduction, "Were the leaders of the 'C'P, the real inspirers of the Popular Unity and of the government's policy, so naive that they believed that they could march to socialism by promoting the political and economic 'suicide' of the ruling circles, and this by remaining in the framework of the law? Did they believe in the 'constitutional' and 'purely professional' spirit of an army which had massacred more than 10,000 workers since the century and which, faced in 1964 with the possibility of Allende being elected, made offers to the U.S. Embassy to stage a *coup d'etat*? ... All these questions and many others remain without any answer from those who continue to pretend that under the Allende government there was a real attempt to establish socialism in Chile. The policy of Popular Unity leaders (particularly those of the 'C'P) who claim to be Marxists is even more paradoxical if we consider that the reactionary opposition forces, together with the CIA, developed their offensive against the Allende government with tactics much closer to 'Marxist' tactics than those of the so-called Marxists: they combined legal and illegal struggle..."

Pillars of CP Strategy

The secret behind this bizarre situation lies with what Palacios calls "the real motivations behind the two basic formulations, the two pillars of the Chilean 'C'P's strategy that were decisive in this experience: the so-called 'peaceful road' to power, and the efforts to achieve a sort of "historic compromise" with the leaders of the pro-Yankee populist forces" (the pro-U.S. Christian Democratic Party).

First, Palacios explains, the aim of the revisionists was never revolution and socialism in the first place. What they sought—and still seek—is not a radically new society and an end to exploitation, but simply a piece of the action—a bureaucratic state capitalism that would allow the top CP leadership to become a part of the Chilean ruling class alongside other more traditional exploiters of the Chilean people. The very strength of the illusion that Chile's bourgeois democracy was anything

more than a veiled form of dictatorship was in large part due to the CP's long-standing attempts to confine the working class movement to economic struggle around wages and working conditions and to center the people's political activity around the farce of elections.

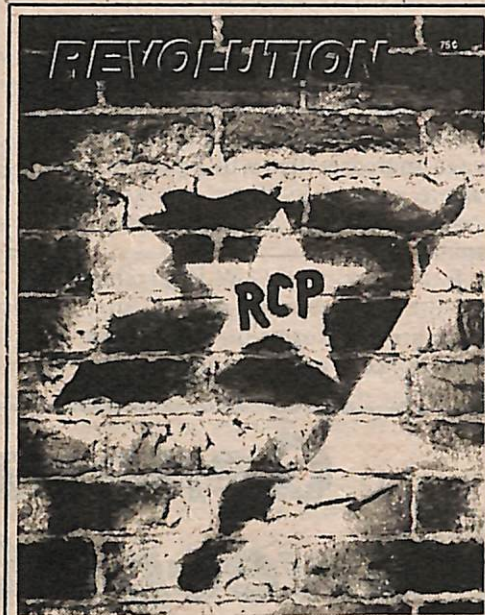
As Palacios puts it, "the revisionists are servants of the big bourgeoisie and their role is to safeguard the bourgeois order, even when they become disloyal and ungrateful servants (especially since the rise of social-imperialism) who would like to take the place of their masters and become exploiters themselves."

This is how the CP leadership saw Allende's 1970 election victory—as an opportunity to use the mass movement against the big bourgeoisie, the landlords and U.S. imperialism to take over the power and the goodies enjoyed by these reactionaries and rule themselves, along with other bourgeois elements they thought they could get to go along with this "compromise." These revisionists even threatened their rivals by declaring that only they could control the working masses, and, by implication, protect the ruling class from something far worse—revolution.

The Chilean CP is the smoking gun in this mystery—a gun in the hands of the Soviet social-imperialists. Palacios argues that the Soviets recognize Latin America, like Western Europe, as the U.S.'s "sphere of influence," in which an open challenge to the U.S.'s dominance "could mean that the U.S. would abrogate to itself the right to intervene in any conflict which might arise in Eastern Europe (like the Czechoslovakia conflict, for example), a region of Europe where the USSR has serious potential problems." Therefore the Soviets sought to use the Chilean CP not to grab power by and for itself, but rather to bring about a "historic compromise" with pro-U.S. ruling class forces in which the CP would be a junior partner—for the purpose of course of one day being in a position to seize complete control.

The Soviets refused to give Allende much economic aid and the CP refused to allow any real mobilization of the masses to defend his government. Such actions would have interfered with their plans. What they really sought was to

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Hardly anyone was surprised when a smiling Doug Fraser of the United Auto Workers Union and George B. Morris of General Motors announced to the press that they had come to terms on a new contract for GM auto workers in "last-minute bargaining" before the old contract expired at midnight on Sept. 14.

A strike at GM, this year's target company in contract negotiations, was avoided. The contract was, of course, a sellout. Everything was quite cordial and congenial. Quickly, Alfred Kahn of the Council on Wage and Price Stability announced how pleased he was at the settlement and praised it as a spur to the economy. How wonderful the whole little charade was. Both labor and industry pitching in together, each doing their part to work together and help the ailing economy. This was precisely the atmosphere GM and the class of capitalists as a whole wanted and needed to promote around this contract—peaceful, harmonious, and all on their terms!

As a leaflet put out to auto workers by the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) put it, "Truly never before have so many said, 'so what,' about so little." Auto workers have sensed the futility of making a big deal about the UAW "business as usual—fight for a few crumbs" routine in the face of much bigger questions. Many are sick and tired of sinking in the quicksand pit that Fraser and the auto companies want to keep the workers in. It's a pit of keeping workers sights narrowed to the struggle over contract terms in a futile effort to escape the effects of a fundamental and deepening crisis of the capitalist system worldwide. These exploiters hope to be able to sit around clinking their glasses talking about peace and reconciliation as the workers sink lower in the muck.

Chrysler, the tenth largest corporation in the U.S., is going down the tubes. More than 28,000 Chrysler workers have been laid off already and most have no Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) that are supposed to supplement auto workers' unemployment pay. It was not long ago that these hard-won benefits were billed by the union leadership and the companies alike as "freedom from layoffs." Such freedoms do not exist under capitalism as many are finding out.

Many workers sense that there's a lot of turmoil ahead. In the face of a rapidly deteriorating economic situation and the global political scene heating up toward world war, a few cents an hour wage increase that will be gobbled up before you see it, if you can keep your job long enough to get it, seems quite unimportant.

Fraser and the UAW leadership, like all the bourgeoisie, realize also that there are big storms on the horizon and that workers are looking for ways out

Auto Contract Set Up—Cover for Crisis

of the quagmire they find themselves in. At every turn they have moved to try to keep people mired in the quicksand of conciliation, compromise, and support for the capitalists' economic and political aims. They've tried, "Keep your eyes glued to the contract." And especially this year, with auto's economic troubles, they've retreated even from this and played up instead the "broader" trap of bourgeois politics. First it was the continuing "save Chrysler" campaign with Fraser calling on the workers to help Chrysler get government aid and agree to a two-year wage freeze.

Then came the nationwide six-minute work stoppage to get auto workers to sign postcards blaming OPEC and the oil companies for "threatening America's economic well-being." This was just a slicked-up call to "get behind and defend your country from the greedy Arabs" with a few jabs at "big oil."

Downplaying the Contract

And now the 1979 contract negotiations. Fraser and the auto companies want the whole affair downplayed. In fact the companies did not push any big obvious takeaways at GM and Ford this time around even though they might very well have been able to get over with some. They were in a position to do so since the auto workers are not in a very strong bargaining position with stockpiles building up and large layoffs threatening. The way they figure it is that the present contract allows them enough freedom to get over with any necessary attacks on these auto workers in the next period. And, of course, it can always be broken. But they had bigger concerns than just the nominal terms of the 1979 GM and Ford contracts.

They were out to promote the appearance that everyone was doing their share for the greater good of keeping the system afloat. A big part of this was aimed at helping Chrysler get over with their schemes for Chrysler workers to accept an inferior contract involving a two-year wage freeze or something similar. After all, "Chrysler bigshots did

their part"—Iacocca and Riccardo (before he resigned) agreed to suspend their salary for two years and 1,700 managers took salary cuts of 2% to 10%. If Chrysler workers can be forced to accept a contract worse than GM and Ford, this will be a significant precedent that will be of great use to the whole bourgeoisie in forcing other workers to do the same.

While spreading this "we're all in the same boat" view directly helps to disarm workers in their daily fight against the companies over wages and working conditions, even more it goes right along with and feeds the political views propagated in actions such as Frasers "get OPEC" campaign and has a broader effect in winning workers to the political stand of the bourgeoisie.

Many of the workers didn't give a damn about the charade 1979 contract charade. This reflects mixed trends. For one thing, some deeply engrained illusions are breaking down. People want out of the quicksand that has them clawing and crawling but only sinking deeper and faster. To many the UAW's pitiful "battle cry" of "cost of living raises on pensions" is like facing off a herd of charging bulls armed with a flyswatter. The present economic situation confronting auto workers also provides some soil for conservatism to grow in. The "soft recovery" from the '74-'75 "recession" has had a dual effect. First, the more militant mood that existed when layoffs were at their height has cooled off with the partial recovery. Secondly, the recovery has not been very strong and a new possibly even worse "downturn" is practically upon us, so people tend to want to hold on to what they have and not rock the boat.

Most fundamental of all is the fact that underneath there are sharp contradictions and growing discontent. In the face of this situation, the National

United Workers Organization (NUWO) agitated around the 1979 contract. They pointed to the positive development of people rejecting Fraser's path and looking for answers to bigger questions confronting the working class. The NUWO called on auto workers to vote NO on the contract as "the only fitting response to the class collaboration of the UAW International" especially pointing to the necessity to defeat the "sacrifice to save Chrysler" bullshit being spread. It was pointed out that at every car company in the past that went out of business the workers took wage cuts only to have the plants shut down anyway—Hudson, Packard, Studebaker, etc.

But more importantly the NUWO called for climbing out of the bourgeoisie's muck that Fraser and Co. would have the workers suffocate in. They called for smashing the illusions that have historically kept workers in chains, and every so often negotiating with the slavemaster the exact size and weight of the ever-tightening chains that are squeezing the life out of the working class.

The NUWO stressed that the road up and out of this quicksand is to get beyond the narrow confines of this contract non-struggle. This means fighting the rule of the capitalists on all fronts, fighting for the interests of all those oppressed and in the final analysis making revolution.

"Militant" Swamp Creatures

This was straight up against not only the deadening debacle of Fraser and company, but also against the normal and really very safe and acceptable "answer" of calling simply for so-called "militant" struggle around the contract. This, too, amounts to a flop at best and a conscious set-up at worst.

Every year at contract time, the top hacks generate an opposition. This year these bureaucrats have been unusually quiet, in tune with the bourgeoisie's whole emphasis on downplaying the contract negotiations. Their place has been taken instead by various quicksand dwellers and swamp-rats—some even masquerading as "communists"—but whose whole mission is to narrow down the visions and struggle of those autoworkers who are beginning to see the need to take on something more basic than the contract.

These types concoct a host of dreamed-up contract demands and seek to get workers occupied with pie in the sky. The net effect is to encourage peo-

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PRISONERS STRIKE AT WALLA WALLA

Letter from a prisoner in segregation at Walla Walla

It's been 90 days now since a guard was killed at the Washington State Prison and a lockdown was imposed on the prisoners. Since that time prisoners have experienced an unprecedented wave of official repression.

In the face of this onslaught prisoners have fought well considering their lack of guns or clubs to fire at or beat back the guards' armed attacks and continue in spite of all odds.

The latest on their struggle comes out of the prison's notorious "segregation unit." Recently 5 out of 20 guards were fired when a criminal investigation revealed they had brutally beaten 6 segregation prisoners after first handcuffing them to their cell bars.

There've been reports of large-scale violence in many areas of the prison but those received in segregation have been consistent. Isolated from the main prison, this facility has been used by guards as a safe place in which to beat people indiscriminately from the beginning of the lockdown.

Accounts of a high level of racial violence against Indians and Blacks were also widespread throughout the building but from talks with these prisoners we've learned the emphasis has not been on race but prisoners of all nationalities.

Despite it all, prisoners have not been terrified into passive acceptance of their oppressive rule. A work strike was staged on September 9 and prisoners refused to leave their small cages for any activity.

The protest materialized in relation to the cell searches recently conducted at the prison. During these searches rampaging guards, upset over the death of their friend, ravaged prisoners' cells. Their property was declared "contraband" and what was not confiscated was damaged or destroyed and prisoners were left confined to a bare cage.

Left to contemplate their new conditions of oppression and having failed to negotiate a settlement with prison officials for the restoration of their possessions, segregation prisoners have raised a rebellious cry.

Having secured the upper hand of the prison with the aid of Governor Ray and the capitalist media, Warden Spaulding is trying to check resistance by the slow lifting of the lock-up without conceding any of his gains...

People are asked to support the prisoners' struggle by contacting Patricia Kelly, 102 Newell Apt. 12, Walla Walla, Wash. 99362.

ML, a Walla Walla inmate
People can also contact the Revolutionary Worker in Seattle.

General Strike Sweeps Colombia

On September 14, all the major cities of Colombia were paralyzed by a general strike, called to commemorate the 50 people who were murdered and the thousands who were injured when government troops opened fire on strikers two years ago. At a workers' rally at a bull ring in Bogotá, Colombia's largest city, strike leaders denounced present day government tortures, arrests of political and union leaders, and the militarization of Colombia.

Direct CIA and other U.S. intervention in Colombia has increased tremendously. Colombia is extremely important to U.S. imperialism strategically, fronting on both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, with a large population and rich mineral and agricultural resources. There are many U.S. military bases and landing strips, and hundreds of CIA agents are directly in charge of an offensive against the Colombian people.

The government mobilized 200,000 troops in full combat gear, declaring the strike illegal and attempting to pre-

vent it through intimidation. Radio and TV stations were ordered "not to transmit news concerning the public order." Police and troops were stationed on the city buses to make sure the drivers didn't join the work stoppage. But the buses were empty, and large numbers of nails on the streets put them out of order.

The September 14 strike was only the latest in a series of actions against the regime of Colombian President Trubay Ayala. On September 12, students threw rocks at police and burned patrol cars in demonstrations in Bogotá and Cali. The government has ordered the closing of these universities and all public schools.

Cargo is rotting in 50 ships in three different Colombian harbors because of a strike by harbor workers. 200,000 people in the Department of Justice are on strike, including the judges, protesting the arrest and torture of four department workers.

Leaders of the general strike announced that another strike will be called for some time later this year. ■

Bob Hope Special on Revisionist China

Mr. U.S.O. Inspects the Troops

"We're on the road to China.
And since there is so much to see
From sea to China Sea,
We'll sample one from column A
And one from column B.
It's neat on the road to China!"

Imperialism isn't funny. Revisionism is even duller. Just how unfunny it is was made disgustingly evident last week as NBC aired its three-hour program, "On the Road to China," starring Bob Hope. The sight of this mummified imperialist warhorse on the Great Wall, with a golf club in his hand and a "Mao cap" mockingly on his head, singing his racist crap about "one from column A and one from column B," was more than most people could take.

"They gave me quite a ride to the hotel from the airport," quipped Hope. "Twice I fell off the handlebars. Housing must be a problem here. By the time I got to my hotel, there was a family of four living in my luggage."

Who let this bastard loose, anyway?

"Amazing, isn't it?" he mused, in a monologue short on subtlety. "Just ten years ago, who would have dreamt that an American comedian would be standing here in Tien An Men Square saying whatever he pleased? In those days the People's Republic was the Red Menace, the stern and implacable enemy... But in this fast-moving world, radical changes can occur overnight. So here I am!"

Indeed. The rise to power of revisionism had cleared the path for his chauvinist road show. And the Chinese bureaucrats and government officials who flocked to see him lapped up his insults, grinning all the while.

When Jimmy Carter went to Mexico earlier this year and made a scurrilous reference to "Montezuma's Revenge," the Mexican government (bourgeois lap-dog of imperialism that it is) at least voiced some protest, displaying a facade of independence and an ounce of pride. But when Bob Hope landed in Peking and did his disgusting Fu Manchu routine, the Chinese revisionists were so busy sucking up to the U.S. that they couldn't even muster a little nationalist resentment!

The road show was extremely political. It was infused with the outlook of the colonizer; the mentality of the imperialist overlord oozed like pus from the screen. Steeped in condescension, its message to China was, "Welcome back, boy." Welcome back to your rightful place, singing our song and licking our combat boots.

"Shanghai has changed, you know. In the old days they had dope, crime syndicates and political corruption—just the thought of it makes me homesick." You bet, Bob. Homesick for the stench of your own backyard, and even more homesick for the colonial China of "the old days," where all the evils you just listed were nothing but the rotten fruits of imperialist subjugation.

Mainly the program was a message to the American people, but a certain section of the American people—those who actually like Bob Hope! It was aimed at an older audience, a loyal crew who came through World War 2, Korea and Vietnam with the patriotic dream of the "American Century" firmly intact. It was definitely *not* aimed at those who are sick of the system and the crimes it has perpetrated—like the Vietnam GIs who booed Bob Hope off the stage in the last years of the war. Rather, it was directed at people so imbued with anti-communism, so successfully brainwashed by thirty years of the bourgeoisie's anti-China diatribes, that they cringe in horror at China's re-

cent entry into the U.S. war bloc. These are the people who still get teary-eyed when they think of Bob Hope's USO tours in Saigon, so Hope was the logical choice to set them straight on China. The message was woven through the entire three-hour show, and in case any Birch-brains or Kluckers missed the point, he repeated it one last time at the end. "It's really great being here in Peking with our friends—and believe me, they are our friends!"

In one particularly vivid display of "friendship," Bob Hope dresses up like a feudal lord, towing students of the Peking Ballet School behind him. They are near the Summer Palace, on the deck of a marble boat built by an empress of the Ching Dynasty with money that was supposed to go toward building a naval fleet to defend China against imperialist plunder. The boat is a permanent symbol of national betrayal. The imperial thunder of "Hail, Britannia!" fills the air, and then Lord Hope and his crew break into a Gilbert and Sullivan song and dance routine from *H.M.S. Pinafore*, a musical about the heyday of British imperialism! Of course, the Chinese students dutifully ape all of Hope's moves, in an orchestrated merger of imperialism and egotism that has marked Hope's whole career and made him the favorite representative of U.S. capitalism.

All of this was conscious symbolism combined with the most blatant, nauseating chauvinism imaginable. One wonders what must have been going through the minds of the Chinese masses viewing this scene from the adjacent park. They wouldn't even have to have been *class conscious*; the slightest trace of national self-esteem among them would have caused them to be repelled by the obnoxious spectacle. But perhaps the program's producers avoided the problem by lifting a page from China's pre-liberation history and posting a sign on the grounds of the Summer Palace: "No Dogs or Chinese Allowed."

An equally revolting scene had the Black disco duet of Peaches and Herb boogying on board a boat in Shanghai harbor as their Chinese pilot tended to his duties and stared straight ahead. Footloose and fancy free, Peaches and Herb definitely had it made. Even Black folks can enjoy some of the spoils of imperialism. There's no reminder of the fact that, back home, it would be Black hands taking the wheel, working all night while a few upper-crust white "society" types boogied the night away.

Throughout the program, you witnessed the U.S. reveling in the fact that revolution has been reversed and



Revolutionary Worker

socialism destroyed—not just in China, but in the Soviet Union as well. Soviet ballet star and recent defector to the U.S., Mikhail Baryshnikov, is flaunted to the hilt to make just that point. And who is the big winner? Why, the U.S., of course. Baryshnikov loves America, China loves America, everybody just loves the freedom and democracy of the good old U.S.A. How ironic it would be (and by no means out of the question) if, instead of this "happy scene," the U.S. looked on helplessly as the Soviet and Chinese revisionists negotiated an alliance out of mutual self-interest, leaving Baryshnikov and his beloved U.S. rulers with their leotards down!

If there was ever any doubt that the Chinese revolution had been betrayed, that everything Mao Tsetung stood for had been thrown out the window and the Chinese people sold to the imperialists for a song, the Bob Hope program erased it. And to further drive the point home, Hope departs from his racist "comedy" routine briefly to do a little politicking against the "gang of four," Mao's four revolutionary com-

rades who were jailed by the current Chinese rulers. You can just hear the Chinese officials in the background: "You know, we really mean Mao when we say 'gang of four,' but just play along."

When a reactionary dog like Bob Hope vilifies the Four, you know they must be revolutionaries. "The gang of four," lectures Hope, "didn't like dancing or telling the truth, and they weren't so sure about smiling." Why, they made comedians work on farms and in factories, and they even put some of them in jail, just for making people laugh!

At least that's one crime Bob Hope never committed! But for spreading counterrevolutionary poison in the name of "comedy," it is quite likely that a few diehard bourgeois performers served a little time when Mao was alive. Hope wants people to think that comedy serves no class, that it is not political. Anyone who believes that should take another look at Bob Hope's whole career—or even the last three hours of it, called "On the Road to China!"

COMMITTEE TO FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS

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

or c/o the Revolutionary Worker
(see local area addresses on page 4)

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

Khomeini-Bazargan Regime

U.S. GOV'T
APPROVED

On September 9, U.S. embassy officials in Tehran released a new policy statement on Iran. But the message of this one was "look on the brighter side." How could this be? Haven't we heard for months from the U.S. government how the Iranian revolution was nothing but foul and evil? We've heard official stories about how it has precipitated a worldwide oil crisis which will leave Americans standing in gas lines forever; how the loss of strategic intelligence bases has threatened U.S. national security; how the revolution accomplished no more than a state of madness.

Now all of a sudden in an apparent turnaround we are told we must take a more "balanced" view. The September 9 embassy statement outlines a number of major areas where immediate and long-term U.S. interests are being met by the Iranian government and it states that there are many Iranians "who appreciate the need for an American connection." So here emerges a picture of the continuing U.S. role in Iran—a self-portrait which shows the U.S., while dealt a severe blow by the people's revolution, still with a lot of room to maneuver in Iran and gradually working to regain its old kingly top position.

When the first round of Iran's revolution hailed the end of the Shah's despotism, it wasn't fully clear to the U.S. if the people would be able to continue forward with revolution, or even how far the new rulers would be pushed into carrying out anti-imperialist policies. But the ultimate goal of these new rulers was no more than a capitalist state with traditional, even fanatical Moslem trappings, and some feudalism to boot. Pushing toward that goal and threatened by further revolution, the Khomeini-Bazargan government is increasingly being drawn to work out its common interest with imperialism—a development the U.S. ruling class is more than eager to promote and exploit.

Into Oil Imperialists' Grip

The U.S. embassy officials happily cite the fact that Iran's oil business with the U.S. is virtually unchanged. While Iranian oil production has dropped from a total of 6 million barrels a day to 2.9 million, the portion being exported to the U.S. is 750,000 barrels a day, down only a small amount from the heydays under the Shah.

Iran's rulers want a place for themselves in the international oil game. They aren't about to rock the boat. Within OPEC the Iranian delegates have stood quietly aside from the organization's controversies, allowing the U.S. imperialist bloc more freedom to throw its weight around, particularly through such "moderate" allies as Saudi Arabia. Many of Iran's current top oil ministers and directors are former employees of the Shah or the foreign oil outfits.

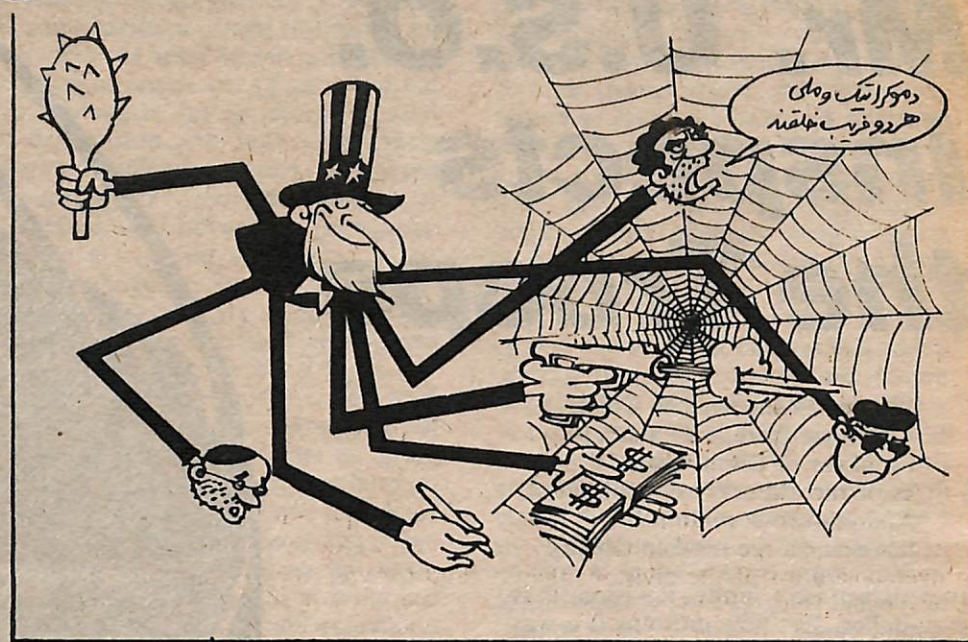
In one case 40 foreign oil experts are being brought back to supervise the Iranian workers doing construction on a heating oil refinery. Contrast this stand of the Khomeini-Bazargan government to the stand of Iran's revolutionary workers. When a GM executive offered to return to Iran, "his" workers answered him, "We hope to be able to bring you back to Iran as soon as possible. Not as executive director, of course, but to hand you over to the courts. Incidentally, we would like to inform you once again that the people of Iran will never allow the likes of you

to ride on our backs." (see *RW*, June 8, 1979)

Income from oil production has stayed at pre-revolution levels due to higher prices. Iran's rulers are so eager to fit into the imperialists' economy that they have pledged to honor all the Shah's loan payment obligations—a huge sum of \$80 billion. So again, the nation's oil reserves are ending up in the hands of the imperialists—as before with the Shah.

The "anti-imperialist" swaggering of the regime in relation to oil is wobbling to a halt. Soon after coming to power, the government terminated oil deliveries to Israel and South Africa. This was a big hullabaloo—but that oil is apparently now being sold to the U.S. In the same vein, Iran's new oil minister boasted of cancelling all ties to the foreign oil consortium that ripped off the bulk of production under the Shah. Recently, negotiations with the same consortium were reopened.

Quietly, Iran's new ruling class is encouraging the return of U.S. businesses and technological assistance. The marketplace of Iran remains flooded with foreign manufacturers' goods—everything from Foremost Ice Cream to Bristol-Meyers pills. The general manager of the Bristol-Meyers Tehran office bragged of having lost only two days' production to the revolution. The guiding outlook of Iran's new rulers is



Cartoon from satirical Tehran daily portrays the many tactics used by Uncle Sam in Iran: (Clockwise from top) right wing falangist, spy, armed force, bribery, propaganda, reactionary mullahs, and once again the falangists (represented by the club).

characterized by the president of an Iranian chemical firm, who said, "I don't believe we can afford to do without American companies in this economy. The government realizes it will have to play ball with the United States, once the dust settles." This view is held at the highest levels of government and by officials like foreign minister Yazdi.

U.S. Supplies Weapons

In addition to creating a more attractive business climate, the U.S. embassy statement goes on to say that the new Islamic government has generally indicated an interest in improving ties with the U.S. It cites the example of Khomeini agreeing to provide a regular uniformed police detachment, delegated from his handpicked "guardians of the revolution" to guard the U.S. embassy. But far more significant are the recent reports that Iran is negotiating to

resume large scale arms purchases from the U.S. These negotiations are part of the government's efforts to pull the Iranian military together into a strong and reliable force to suppress the continuing struggle of the masses. While arming itself with U.S. guns, the government is trying to disarm the masses of people who fought in the revolution.

This need was felt particularly sharply as fierce fighting broke out in Kurdistan recently. It was a harsh reminder to the government the revolution was growing and presented itself as an ominous threat to the Islamic republic. The U.S. has backed the Khomeini government, while trying to regain its own influence in this situation.

The Kurdish uprising has been used as an excuse for the government to justify its need for arms purchases. Most military generals have generally

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Daylight

Continued from page 1

Surveillance and to Suppress Evidence. It demands transcripts and records of all electronic or other surveillance carried out against the defendants, and their lawyers, or in any way used to gather leads in order to pursue the case against the defendants. It targets, "at a minimum," government agencies ranging from the D.C. police department to the FBI to the U.S. Attorney's office. Those still higher up will surely be involved.

This motion is not just a wild stab in the dark. During the pre-trial hearings in the case of the Embassy 5, a series of Secret Service agents took the stand and admitted that statements had been burned and tapes destroyed of key witnesses' testimonies in the government's case against the five. Clearly, the word went out after this political assault on the Chinese Chancellery last January 24th—how many memoranda flew back and forth between the Chinese diplomatic corps and the White House in those days preceding Teng's visit to the White House and the demonstration there on the 29th? How did information gleaned from the FBI's ongoing massive surveillance and counter-intelligence program aimed at the Revolutionary Communist Party get transmitted to all the government agencies present at and involved in the attack launched on the march on the 29th? And when Carter and Teng themselves were disrupted in their speechmaking on the White House lawn by *Revolutionary Worker* reporters exposing both Teng's treachery to revolution and the U.S. war moves, that must have been it!

Back in January at the bail hearings for the Embassy 5, the prosecution admitted that the U.S. government had been embarrassed by world public opinion because of the actions of the 5 at the Chinese Chancellery. What are the odds that the plans to prevent further "embarrassment" on the 29th did not

reach into the very highest levels of the U.S. government? Why did chief Watergate prosecutor Irwin Silbert show up as the prosecutor at the arraignment if this weren't known as a big political case? This is where this motion is aimed—to drag from behind the scenes the calculated plan of attack that centered on the Revolutionary Communist Party and the January 29th demonstration.

The battle fought over this motion will be significant to the development of this case as it proceeds to trial. In a recent trial in Los Angeles of members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (an organization in which the RCP plays a leading political role nationwide), charges stemming from the VVAW protest against *The Deerhunter* at the Academy Awards were dropped because the police chose to back off this attack rather than reveal the source of their surveillance and counter-intelligence activities against VVAW. This is highly unlikely in this high-stakes case, but it shows how seriously the government takes its current spying.

In Hawaii, during motions in an upcoming trial of 15 RCP supporters, the Honolulu Chief of Police testified that four years of his own personal involvement in surveillance of the Revolutionary Communist Party in Hawaii, and the activities of its members and supporters, had produced not a single document, not a single tape recording, not a single file, not a single written word. "I carry it around in my head," was the pitiful statement attempting to back up the ongoing cover-up.

But the attack carried out on the march on January 29th did not only, or even mainly, stem from a calculated plan of the D.C. police. The hand of repression that slammed down on the 29th was attached to the whole body of the U.S. government right up to the White House and its top ruling circles—and this is what the motion seeks to expose.

Illegal Identification

A second motion filed is a Motion to

Suppress Identification Testimony, aimed at protesting all out-of-court identifications made of defendants and any in-court identifications the prosecution may seek to make during the trial itself. The motion points out that the arrests on the 29th were "made completely at random. Persons in the group were arrested solely because of their proximity to officers at the time the order was issued." Given the charges—overwhelmingly related to supposed assaults—this is illegal.

Following these arrests, an array of 49 photographs attached to a large poster board was shown to approximately 240 cops, between February 2nd and 7th, and again between February 9th and 18th, in a bus on the mall behind the U.S. Capitol (while the cops were busy surrounding, harassing and suppressing the militant demonstration of farmers there). Of the 39 people pictured in this array, all but 8 were arrested on the 29th at the demonstration. This "shooting fish in a barrel," a so-called "identification," is way out of line with legal procedures. The motion also cites the illegal line-ups to which all 78 were ordered to return, line-ups in which 4/5 of the "subjects" were arrested on the 29th. Of the 17 defendants, 11 were "identified" in these line-ups.

Because of the illegal arrests, illegal procedures carried out at the preliminary hearings of the 78, and further illegalities in the method of obtaining identification (both through the photo arrays and the line-ups), the motion calls for the suppression of all this so-called "evidence" and for a court ruling to prevent it from being presented to the jury. However, this motion was not filed on behalf of every one of the 17 defendants. Why? Because a number of the defendants still have not been identified by a single witness, either in the four days of line-ups or the weeks of viewing photo displays. One of those who remains completely unidentified as even having been at the demonstration, and yet also remains charged with 25

Bob Avakian Answering Questions

After the Seizure of Power

The speaking tour of Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, continued last week. Below are answers he gave to questions asked by people in the university town of Madison, Wisconsin.

Bob Avakian: Is it possible to create and maintain a government that actually doesn't become a tool in the hands of new exploiters? This is a very big question. We know from the experience in Russia and China, that you have all the vestiges of the old system, including in the people's thinking. It's a very big struggle to overcome that and you have to overcome a lot of the divisions that are left over. The majority of people are kept out of political affairs. If you go to work 10 hours a day and you go home and the sound of the machine is pounding in your ears 'til you go to sleep and then you get up to go again everyday, it's deadening. Under this system, the conditions of life prevent people from becoming really politically aware and active except through the very limited channels that they're allowed to, like "vote for this or vote for that" which is meaningless. Really, many people know that.

There is a real task under socialism of drawing millions of people into political life. For example somebody called me up on one of these radio talk shows, I think it was in St. Louis. It was a common question, "If you were in power, I wouldn't even be allowed to criticize you." Finally I just got tired of it and I said, "You know the biggest problem with people like you would be getting you to criticize us. Because if you go along with all this stuff under this system uncritically, you'll put up with anything! In fact once we were the authority you would just uncritically go along with that." That's the real problem—indoctrination, conditioning and

felonies, is Bob Avakian.

Still another motion filed on the 27th was a Motion to Dismiss the Indictment, citing four grounds on which the government has flagrantly outstepped the boundaries of its own "law": prosecutorial vindictiveness, selective prosecution, bad faith prosecution, and conflict of interest. This wide-hitting motion targets the nature of the indictments against the Mao Defendants, stating that, as far as legal prosecution of demonstrators in D.C., "such a prosecution is totally unprecedented." Drawing out the direct involvement of two U.S. attorneys in this case and the case of the Embassy 5, it points out that "these defendants and the Revolutionary Communist Party which they support have been singled out for special treatment... no other group of demonstrators has ever been subject to such government attack... the prosecution of these defendants is part of a government program of harassment of the Revolutionary Communist Party and its supporters."

One of the sections of this motion exposes an interesting relationship among the government flunkies involved in pursuing this attack on the Revolutionary Communist Party, its Chairman, and the other defendants. The fact is that U.S. prosecutor Mary Ellen Abrecht is a former D.C. cop, the author of a book *The Making of A Woman Cop* (whose sales, as far as we can tell, have been largely limited to fellow cops), whose husband is currently employed by the D.C. police.

Such blatant personal ties to the club-wielding execution squad who will also be the government's star witnesses in the case make a mockery of every government claim to objectivity and the so-called separation of government powers. They expose as a blatant fact what is always the behind-the-scenes relationship in their sacred legal system: a wide web of government lackeys tied together in countless ways in their service to the big guns upstairs. In this case, Prosecutor Abrecht not only serves her masters well, as always, but

force of habit that whoever's in authority you don't question.

I mean that's what people used to say when the Vietnam war started. Because I can remember 15 years ago being in this same situation: You go on the radio show; you're opposed to the Vietnam war; people would call up and say, "How old are you?"

"22."

"What do you know about Vietnam? These people who run this country know what they're doing, da-dee-da-da. And it's not up to us to challenge them or question them or criticize them. Just go along."

You know, "That's for them to do and for you to carry out."

Getting people to break with that is a big struggle because the force of habit is to go along with whoever is in authority. Like I told some people at a meeting of mainly Party members and supporters last night, "You don't realize how fortunate we are. You don't see the good aspect when we go out, and some people curse at us, yell at us and tell us off. Right now we have no authority so if we want to get anything done we have to win people to it. We have to convince them. We can't get them to do anything without this. And yet once you come into office, then it's another story."

Questioner: When you have the power.
B.A.: Yeah, but it isn't even so much the power. It's more like the force of habit; it's the authority. I mean there is a power question but it's also that people are used to accepting authority and not questioning it and sitting back. There's this division of labor in this society where a handful of people do the thinking and make the decisions. Some people will say rather frankly, "I'd rather have it that way. It's too much trouble. I don't want to be involved in that." To overcome that is not an easy thing.

Experience shows that people can be

obtains a personal sense of satisfaction watching her brethren in blue join in finishing up the attack they carried out on the 29th (for which, it was overheard in the jails during the arrest of the 78, the brutalizing cops received *combat pay*).

The countdown is under way. Two months remain before the opening of the trial of the Mao Tsetung Defendants. The defense motions filed recently can help shed still more light on the up-front political nature of the attacks going on in the courtroom. In the legal sphere, they are aimed at thoroughly ripping off the phony glove of democracy from the iron fist of bourgeois rule, clenching for an all-out assault on the defendants on November 19. Because they help to expose what the enemy likes to keep hidden—the blatantly illegal maneuvering behind the scenes and the political forces at work on top government levels in the prosecution of this case—they will certainly be met by a government counter-attack when the prosecution files its responses at the end of this month. A tit-for-tat battle is being waged in the legal arena. The government will definitely try to maintain the massive cover-up and sharpen the "legal" edge of its attack in the days that come.

Taking them on politically in this sphere as well, turning back the attacks and exposing them at every turn, is a key aspect of the battle to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants and Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian. But the stench of bourgeois dictatorship, more and more uncovered as emanating from the great halls of justice themselves, underscores the fact that this battle cannot be fundamentally settled within the courtroom framework. Instead, it should serve to bring home to thousands more the necessity to take the battle to free these defendants to the streets, factories, campuses and communities of this country, and the opportunity this battle puts before us to step up our preparation for revolution, making the trials of the Mao Tsetung Defendants another nail in the coffin of this system.

drawn into that process but it's a struggle. And there are forces who want to resist it because they benefit from the division in society. They benefit from occupying a privileged position and they resist any effort to keep moving things forward and chip away at that.

You see it all the time. With every kind of intellectual position you see people resisting, whether it's a doctor or an artist or whatever it is, resisting any idea they have anything to learn from taking part in the same experiences as workers...

They don't really have an all-around view. You know this division of labor cripples everybody, part of it. If you only use your mind, your mind also doesn't develop fully. And obviously if you only use your hands your mind is not allowed to develop.

* * * * *

Questioner: What do you mean by the withering away of the state—a stateless society?

B.A.: That is like a long term goal. I think basically that we agree with Mao that to get to that point requires a long period of transition during which you have to have a dictatorship of the proletariat. You need this until you've overcome the various inequalities and social divisions left over from the old society, like those between the workers and the peasants, between intellectuals and workers and so on. And until you've developed the economic base to the point where you don't have to have commodity production any longer, where you raise everything up to the level of state ownership; and until

you've remolded the thinking of the people; and until you've drawn millions of the people into the process of actually administering the state; all those are necessary conditions before the state can wither away.

But I understand the withering away of the state doesn't mean it just disappears one day. It means that it is transformed. There will always be some form of administration because you can't just have anarchy. Even under communism people will have to figure out how to produce things and how to exchange them even if they don't use money.

So you're talking about a whole world. You've got to have some form of administration. The state as I understand it means an organ of suppression by one class over another. That will disappear as you actually eliminate the class distinctions that make a state necessary. In other words you draw the workers into political life. You develop mass forms for the workers to actually administer society. You remold the thinking of the people. You uproot the material basis for classes to exist or be re-engendered, for those who would exploit the old state apparatus. Then, as you're doing all this, you can develop new forms of administration that move away from being organs of repression. At that point then the state as such—in other words, as a government apparatus for the purpose of one class oppressing another—will no longer exist. But new forms of administration will be developed in its place. That's several centuries ahead. ■

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.

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

Don't Miss The Chance To Hear Bob Avakian Speak & To Get Down With The RCP! It Will Change Your Whole Life!

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

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

Workers Organize to Defend RCP

GOON ATTACK BACKFIRES IN HAWAII

A sharp battle in the nationwide fight to defend Revolutionary Communist Party Chairman Bob Avakian and all the other Mao Tsetung Defendants has erupted in Hawaii. On Tuesday, August 28, members of the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants and the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) in Honolulu were passing out leaflets at the Sheraton Waikiki Hotel calling on hotel workers to take up defense of the Party Chairman and the other Mao Defendants.

As workers poured out of the service entrance at the end of the late shift, security guards took their positions. A NUWO member had been beaten up by these goons the day before, and now 15 goons stood ready for the order to attack.

Suddenly a woman leafleter was dragged onto Sheraton property. When others moved to defend her, all hell broke loose. Men and women were dragged to the ground. As they fought back to free themselves, suddenly a 300-pound hired killer went berserk. He struck a leafleter straight across the neck with a club and then with full force he drove the piece of lumber into a woman's face, splitting it open and breaking bones. Four others were sent to the hospital.

Contrary to the image promoted by Sheraton of "happy smiling servants" full of "aloha spirit," Sheraton is a hell-hole sweatshop. Hundreds of immigrants from the Philippines, Korea and Samoa work at this affiliate of ITT in back-breaking and menial jobs like busboy, dishwasher, maid and laundry worker.

Over the past months, the influence of the Party among the workers has spread. Many had been regularly reading the *Revolutionary Worker*, and sharp struggle over political questions between workers had been common in the halls and basements of the Sheraton. Some had contributed to the Party's million dollar fund drive and had attended the recent speech of Chairman Avakian. Hotel management was clearly out for blood and determined to check the Party's growing influence.

The attack on the 28th was witnessed by several workers who quickly spread word of what they had seen. Sheraton management was forced to fabricate a series of ridiculous lies in response. Management claimed that it was the leafleters who attacked the goons, luring them off company property and attacking them with iron bars. The woman who had been seriously injured was struck by her own people, the story went. The head of security at the hotel told workers that the "RCP was found with grenades" and that it was planning to return with "weapons."

Return to the Sheraton

A quick response to the attack by Sheraton, as well as the Honolulu Police Department which had come to the hotel's aid, was crucial. At a NUWO meeting the following night, plans got underway for a forceful return to the Sheraton.

Many people came forward for the first time to join the struggle and workers who had previously been Party supporters sensed a new urgency. One veteran fighter, a member of the Workers and Tenant Farmers Against Evictions in Waihole/Waikane, said at the meeting, "I'm willing to return to the Sheraton even though I know it may mean my life." People agreed to mobilize for a meeting of the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants later in the week and to build for a revolutionary march through Waikiki which would return to the Sheraton Hotel.

Sheraton's actions had made the nationwide attack on the Party a sharp question in the area. At the highly successful meeting of the Committee to



Revolutionary Worker

As leafleters from the Honolulu chapter of the National United Workers Organization and the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants called on workers to take up the defense of the RCP, they were viciously attacked by goons from the Sheraton-Waikiki Hotel.

Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants, one after another, people stood to testify to the importance of defending the Party. One unemployed man who said he had just sold his car to get some money, gave \$250 to the RCP's million dollar fund drive. A Black veteran said, "I'm a supporter of the Party 100% and I'm a supporter of that march down there in Washington and the cause because I'm 100% revolutionary myself." He went on, "...the world is coming to a heavy deal. You know they're trying to get out of this shit some kind of way—start a war and knock off millions of people with atomic weapons and they'll come back on top and we can start this shit all over again. We ain't gonna allow it because we're gonna try and stop that shit right now!...the time is coming when people will be saying 'I see what brother Bob Avakian was talking about. I see what the RCP is all about. That's where we've got to go...'" Many others spoke out and agreed to join and build for the upcoming march, now set for the following Saturday, Sept. 8.

Meanwhile, at the Sheraton, controversy raged but management's lies

grew increasingly exposed. Some workers had smuggled hundreds of leaflets into the hotel calling for the demonstration. Others reported anything they heard about the activities of management's ever-growing security force. One worker reported how spooked the company was—saying she saw three motorcycle cops and a band of goons chasing down a pedestrian because they thought that the revolutionaries were returning.

Sheraton's fears became a reality on Saturday afternoon. The hotel had gotten wind of the demonstration and had doubled its goon force, which was also joined by the Honolulu Police. An ambulance circled the hotel, no doubt in case these demonstrators should try to "attack" the goons again.

Every worker in the hotel knew that the revolutionaries were returning at 4:00 p.m. The march arrived just as people were getting off work. As the demonstration neared the back gate of the Sheraton, workers could hear the resounding chant, "Sheraton-ITT-HPD: Keep Your Bloody Hands Off the RCP."

Management frantically tried to force



the workers to use an exit where they could not witness the demonstration, but most refused to budge. "If they tell you to go out that exit," said one woman to her fellow workers, "tell them to fuck off!" Over 100 stood on the landing facing the service entrance to the hotel as one worker ran to describe the whole scene to others still on the floors. The cops and the goons stood stiff and red-faced, sandwiched between the march and the crowd of workers.

The ultimate result of Sheraton's vicious attack earlier in the week was just the opposite of the hotel's intentions. Instead of isolating the Party, the effect has been just the opposite: the struggle to defend the Party Chairman and the Mao Defendants has grown broader than ever. ■

Actress Suicide — FBI Murder

Early this month well-known actress Jean Seberg died of an overdose of barbituates in Paris, France. This had not been the first suicide attempt by Seberg who was driven half mad by FBI harassment. Her death meant these hitmen for the ruling class could finally close their file and stamp it *Mission: Accomplished*.

During the late '60s, the ruling class, revealing their desperation and fear of revolutionary activity, attempted to destroy the Black Panther Party (BPP), through murdering more than 20 of its members nationwide and attacking many of its supporters, particularly those with a significant public presence like actors and actresses. Seberg had been a financial supporter of the Black Panther Party and was viewed by the FBI as a target to discredit.

Thus, an internal memo from the Los Angeles office of the FBI wrote to

headquarters that "Jean Seberg has been a financial supporter of the Black Panther Party and should be neutralized..."

Seberg was pregnant at the time by husband Romain Gary. The Los Angeles office suggested that a rumor be spread to Hollywood gossip columnists that the father of the child was not Seberg's husband, but a member of the Black Panther Party. The FBI memo stated, "The possible publication of Seberg's plight could cause her embarrassment and serve to cheapen her image with the general public."

Two weeks after this memo was written, an article appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* that implied Miss Seberg was carrying a child fathered by a leading member of the Black Panther Party. According to Romain Gary, she had become extremely distraught shortly after reading the article and went into

premature labor, necessitating the emergency delivery of the child. The baby died three days later. Each year around the time of the baby's death she attempted to end her life. This year she finally succeeded.

Given the fact that many recent "revelations" concerning the work of the FBI in the late '60s and early '70s have been publicly introduced with similar statements by Webster and others (i.e., "We're out of that business forever..."), the inquisitive reader will wonder "Yeah, then what business are you in?" In reality, the government's intentions in releasing information about the FBI's harassment of people has been two-fold. On the one hand, it has served to polish up the tarnished image of the FBI and, on the other hand, it's intended as a warning to anyone who the FBI may seek to "neutralize" in the future. ■

Soviets in Hot Water in Afghanistan

Mohammed Nur Taraki, the central figure in a 1978 Soviet-backed coup d'état in Afghanistan, was reportedly killed on Friday, September 14 as he presided over a meeting of the country's ruling body in the capital city of Kabul. While details are still sketchy, reports indicate that Taraki's assassins blasted away, hitting him nine times. 60 others were also killed by forces apparently led by Hafizulla Amin, the number 2 man in the government and, until last Friday, a close associate of Taraki's.

This development in no way represents a shift in the pro-Soviet nature of Afghanistan's ruling clique. This was indicated by Amin who, the following Monday, pledged good foreign relations with different countries and "especially with the Soviet Union." Further, the Soviets quickly reciprocated. Making no mention of Taraki, Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev and Premier Alexei Kosygin sent a letter congratulating Amin on his successful "election"!

Under the banner of supporting "revolution" and opposing "counter-revolution," the Soviets have been caught between a rock and a hard place in Afghanistan. Battered by a popular guerrilla war which has raged throughout the country for months, dealing increasingly sharper blows to the puppet regime, the Soviets have opted for a way to crush the resistance short of all-out military occupation. Changes in the regime have been expected for some time. While it is not clear to what extent the Soviets had a direct hand in deposing Taraki, what is clear is that the fissures and cracks in the Afghan government only serve to highlight the sharp contradictions faced by the Soviet social-imperialists as they attempt to stamp out revolution in the name of revolution.

Soviets in Hot Water

In the past year, the Afghan regime has lost most control of the countryside to the guerrilla war of peasants, students, workers and various Moslem forces. Only the cities and towns, and some of the main roads, are still controlled by the regime, and even here the grip is slipping. As of September 5, the main highway from Kabul to the Soviet border had been cut by the rebels at Salang Pass, and a heavily guarded bridge had been destroyed at the site. This is significant because the road is a major supply route for Russian arms and equipment.

In late August, 30 Russian "tourists" (most likely Soviet advisors) were killed in a guerrilla attack at Kandahar, the second largest city in Afghanistan. The 4000 to 5000 Russian advisors present in the country have all sent their families back to the Soviet Union for safety.

One of the biggest problems facing the government has been the mass defections and revolts going on in the army. On August 23, the 2000-man garrison at Aznar in Kunar province, including officers, joined the struggle against the regime. The governor of the province and his Russian advisor were shot. Earlier last month 300 soldiers were killed when a mutiny at the Balahisar fort, right on the edge of Kabul, was ruthlessly put down by the government, with Soviet-made helicopters firing rockets into the fort. Today, at least 6000 soldiers have defected, and many more are simply refusing to fight.

Big Stake

The Soviets have a big stake in Afghanistan. Immediately after the '78 coup, Soviet capital investment in the country, already heavy, made a leap. Today most of the natural resources of the country are sold to the Soviet Union at prices far below world levels. More important, however, is the Soviets' political stake in the area as they contend with the U.S. for spheres of influence.

A key element of the Soviet strategy in the area has for some time been access to the Indian Ocean. Although Afghanistan has no coastline, the southern part of the country borders on Baluchistan, an area which spans from Iran to Pakistan and does have an Indian Ocean coast. Not coincidentally, the Soviets have been pushing for an "independent Baluchistan," in hopes of encouraging the Baluchi people to separate from Iran and Pakistan. The area would then be brought into the Soviet orbit, thus completing the Soviets' southward path to the sea.

In addition to the advisors who control most of the armories and ammunition dumps in Afghanistan, the Soviets have provided the entire ammunition needs of the military, along with 100 MIG-21 jets, thirty combat helicopters, about 700 tanks, more than a thousand armored personnel carriers, and a variety of weapons ranging from heavy long-range guns to Kalashnikov automatic rifles. All of this has been used exclusively against the Afghan people.

The KGB (Soviet version of the CIA) has helped the regime set up its counterpart within Afghanistan, called AGSA (Organization for Defense of the Masses of Afghanistani People). This group of butchers is notorious for its night operations—breaking into houses



and dragging the people off to prison, where they are tortured and executed. It has played a big part in jailing the more than 60,000 political prisoners in places like the Policharki prison, near Kabul. Reports from Afghan revolutionaries say that hundreds have been executed at this prison, and also that there are thousands more Afghans being kept in Russian prisons just across the border.

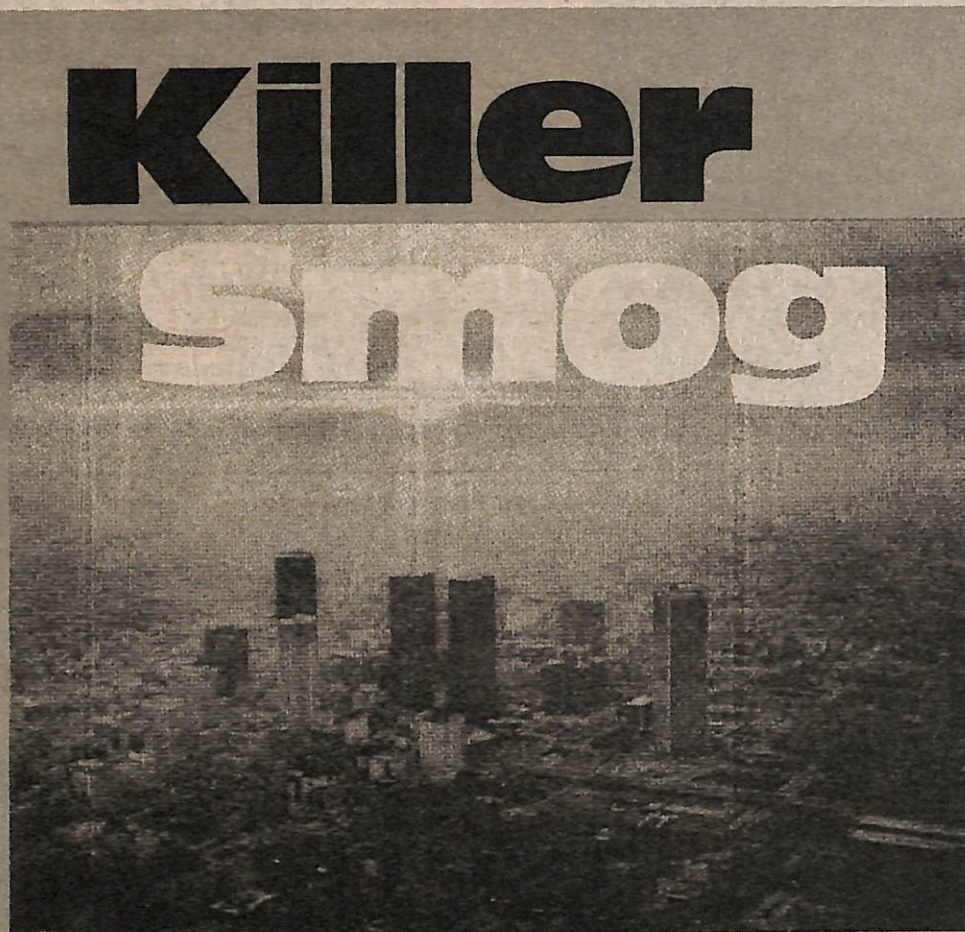
Struggle Sharpening, U.S. on the Prowl

The Soviet-inspired repression, instead of preventing revolution, has only helped spread it. Some 28 provinces of Afghanistan have been the scene of mass armed uprisings, as well as more constant guerrilla warfare. There are reported to be ten separate guerrilla

organizations functioning more or less independently of each other in different areas of the country. There is no central leadership of the liberation struggle, and while the guerrillas are still poorly armed, growing amounts of Soviet arms have been captured.

The government has tried to pit the many different Afghan nationalities and tribes against each other, but this has backfired on more than one occasion. Those of the dominant Pushtun nationality, after being drafted for government military campaigns against rebel minorities such as the Hazzaras and the Tajiks, have been known to use their weapons against the government and Soviet advisors instead. And it has

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L.A.—Smog City, U.S.A. Hundreds of miles of concrete and plastic studded with wilted palms. Skies are a romantic brown, the balmy air has the sweet smell of sulfur. The whole city is held together by a maze of freeways well travelled by 12 million automobiles, each spewing out poisons. This is a city once billed as the American dream come true, a never-ending suburb with 2 cars in every garage. Last week, L.A. had its worst smog in 24 years.

A thick brown layer of eye-searing, throat-burning smog turned the Los Angeles basin into a giant gas chamber. People collapsed on the street and choked on the fumes. Hospitals reported 30 to 50% increases in patients with respiratory problems. Even healthy adults were advised to stay inside. Elementary school playgrounds were closed, high school football games were canceled, and some people took to wearing gas masks in the bumper-to-bumper freeway traffic.

The Air Quality Management District has gone on TV to warn people that "the air is unfit to breathe." So what are people supposed to do, hold their breath? In the face of these literally suffocating conditions, the best solution the government could come up with was

ordering firms to cut back 20% on pollution and set up car pools for employees. The situation was completely beyond their control, and they have admitted as much.

The head of the Air Resources Board tried to portray the smog crisis as a natural disaster, comparing it to the blizzards in the east. But smog does not just fall from the sky. It is a product of capitalism's law of profits above all else.

L.A. used to have one of the most efficient rapid transit systems in the country, more than 1100 miles of track linking together 1/3 of southern California. However, the train system, owned by Pacific Electric, stood directly in the way of the expansion and profits of the auto, tire, and gas industries. In the early '50s, General Motors, Firestone, and Standard Oil (the perfect combination) joined together to buy out Pacific Electric. Once it was under their control, they dismantled it completely.

Today L.A. has no viable public transportation. In this sprawling city, people are helpless without a car; during rush hour it takes 45 minutes to drive the same distance that 25 years ago it took the train 15 minutes. This is progress—capitalist style.

Profits Come First

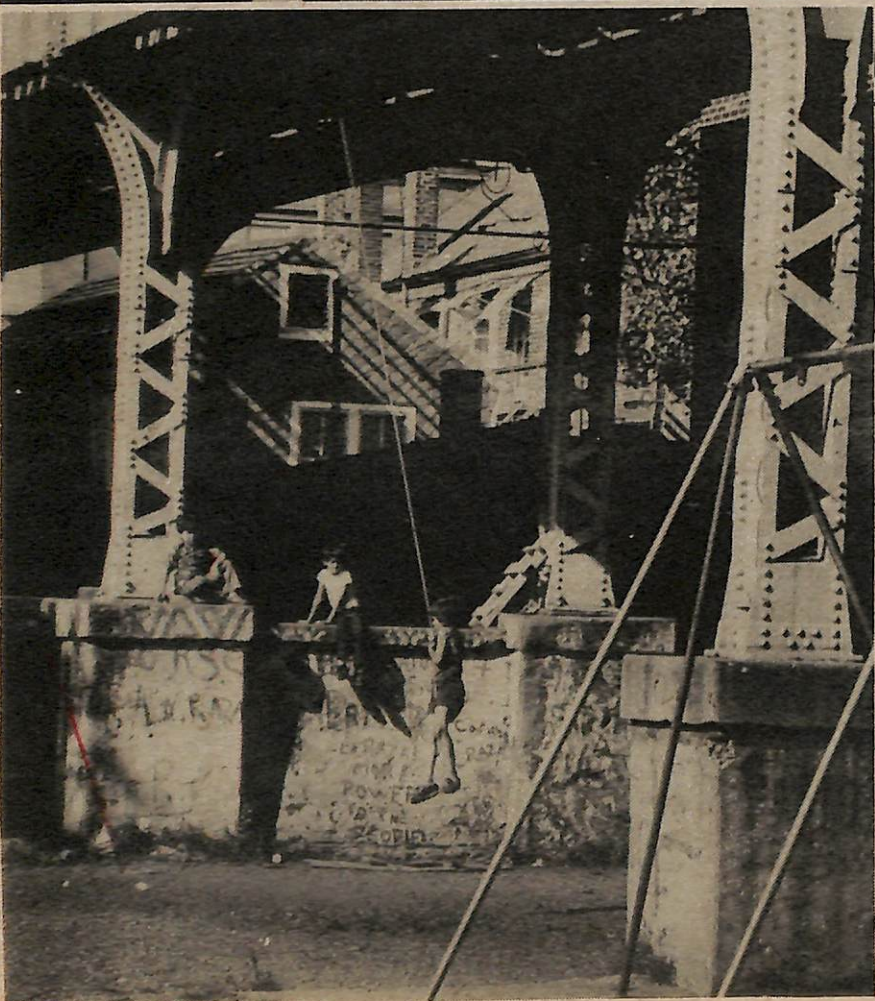
The car is by far the Number 1 polluter in L.A. Every technological development that would limit smog—from the steam turbine engine to pollution devices—has been stunted because it isn't profitable enough to merit the huge capitalist investments it would entail. In fact, from 1953 to 1965, car manufacturers met together in an organization whose express purpose was to hold back the development of air pollution control. They realized that if one manufacturer broke rank and put an effective device on the market, they'd all have to follow suit and all of their profits would suffer.

It's the same story with the major stationary polluters. The power plants, for example, have switched to lower grade fuel which puts more sulfur into the air. Why? Because, it's cheaper. That means more of their precious lifeblood—profits. Kaiser Steel in nearby Fontana pours two tons of smoke and noxious gases into the air everyday. The plant is in competition with Japanese and European steel industry, as well as other U.S. steel companies. If forced to rebuild the leaky coke ovens, the company says they'd have to shut down.

This drive for profits has meant slow death for millions of people through pollution poisoning. Between 1930 and 1960, respiratory illnesses went up 80% as a result of air pollution. Smog has been directly linked to cancer and premature aging. Recent research suggests that air pollution also causes sterility.

When smog is concentrated and prolonged it can quickly kill. This is what happened in October 1948, in the industrial town of Donora, Pennsylvania (pop. 18,800) where smog caused 20 deaths and 6,000 became ill. Then in 1952, the Killer Smog hit London—12,000 people died during a few months. The same type of weather that triggered that smog attack set off the one in Los Angeles.

But take heart, residents of L.A. and others across the country who can't remember what it's like to breathe deeply without gagging. L.A. is a "model" of pollution control. The local smog agency proudly told the *Revolutionary Worker* that experts from all over the world—England, France, Japan, and Russia—have come to see how effectively L.A. has managed to clean up the air. Los Angeles is setting the pace; soon gas masks will be a way of life in all capitalist countries.



Chicago's Pilsen

ARCHITECT

To the *Revolutionary Worker*,

As a resident of Pilsen, Chicago, I am deeply indebted to a recent article published in the Architecture column of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, called "Take a walk through Pilsen," for having opened my eyes to the valuable artistic treasures which up until now have gone unnoticed and unsung by us residents of Pilsen. We were convinced that we lived in a typical, run-down barrio which has for generations housed immigrant workers of different nationalities. But all that time, right under our very noses, was "at least 100 years of Chicago architecture... Victorian, Romanesque, Greek Revival, and Beaux Arts Eclectic!"

Imagine my surprise as I realized how narrow I was to feel outrage at the living conditions of neighborhoods such as Pilsen. How misguided I have been, as well as anybody else in the neighborhood over the age of five, to consider that Pilsen was just nothing but street after street of crumbling or half burned-out boarded-up buildings, of trash strewn all over the sidewalks and gutters, of one pot hole after another, and sidewalks which suddenly break off into deep holes that go all the way down to the gutters, and big enough for a child to fall into... when in reality we live in a neighborhood which has "an abundance of well preserved building types and styles!" Funny, but until I read that article I had always thought that the only things that were well-preserved in Pilsen today were the abundant cockroaches and rats, as well as the pigs, out on the streets competing with them in preying on the residents.

But I guess that as long as we can get up every morning and look out our windows at "superbly crafted cornices and moldings..."

Somehow in the shuffle the author of the *Sun-Times* article forgot all the windows which face onto basic brick!

Our bourgeois expert on architecture points out the "art deco glass facades" and "most spectacular are the complex rows of iron webbed fire escapes on the street side, which recall the 19th Century character that Pilsen continues to hold onto." What a thrill to be living in a fire-prone neighborhood where every year and especially in the winter of 1977 people die in fires due to insurance arson and the deteriorated conditions of the houses with ancient wiring and space heaters—with fire escapes more than one hundred years old! Oh yes, the way that you can tell the houses that are over 100 years old is that the entrances are below street level—the simple joys of living below the sewage line.

Our author gushes, "And there is more. The side streets in Pilsen have as many delicate and alluring masterpieces of exceptional architectural quality as any North Side neighborhood..." I am amazed that he missed the particularly distinctive character of these side streets during the winter months. Then they are festooned with ton upon ton of hard as rock snow which turns black within days, greatly adding to the overall quaintness by making travel almost impossible—truly reminiscent of centuries past—by completely covering all the cars parked along the street, as well as the sidewalks. Occasionally, the snow plow shows up. Otherwise car traffic is

Blackface Make

The British-sponsored conference on majority rule in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia is approaching its third week in London. And Britain, fronting for the western imperialist bloc headed by the U.S., is clearly attempting to put a new face on imperialist domination in Zimbabwe. For decades Zimbabwe was ruled directly by the British as an outright colony. Then in 1965, the white settler government of Ian Smith declared unilateral independence from Britain. But this meant nothing more than independence for the white minority to continue to enslave the Zimbabwean people for the U.S. and British imperialists in a new (neo-colonial) form.

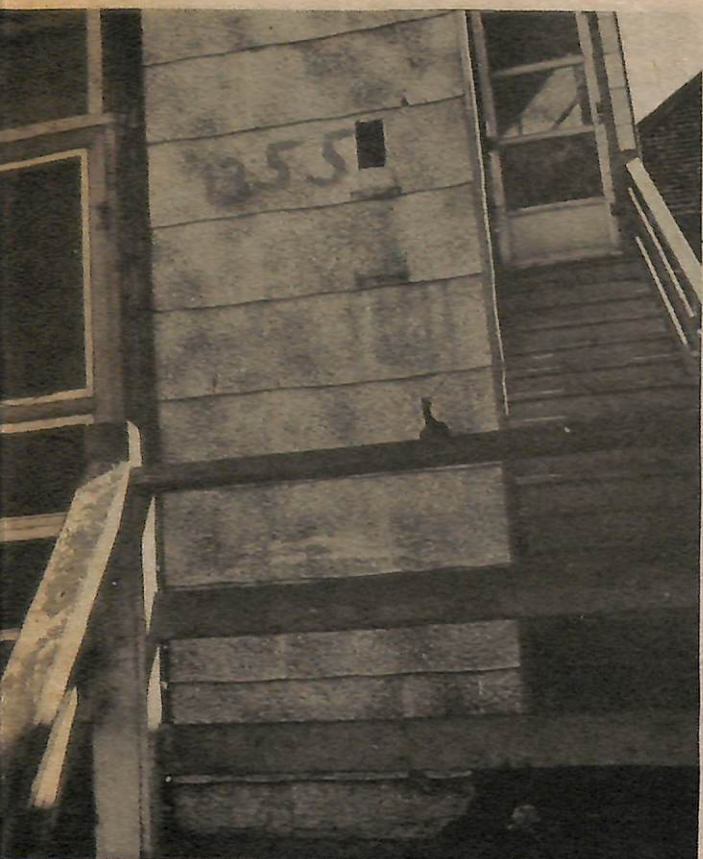
After a long period of armed struggle against the Smith government by the Zimbabwean people led by the guerrilla forces of the Patriotic Front (composed of the Zimbabwe African National

Union and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union), the imperialists were forced to make a pretense of granting self-rule to blacks. This took the form of the notorious "internal settlement" engineered by the U.S. and Britain in March of 1978. A year later, the Zimbabwean people were herded to the polls at the point of a gun and supposedly elected their "own" government.

But this sham "majority rule," presided over by black puppet Bishop Abel Muzorewa has been exposed as nothing less than a farce in the eyes of the world. The white minority still retains absolute control of the military, the police, the courts, and civil service with 28 out of 100 seats reserved for them in Parliament and the power to veto any legislative or constitutional changes.

Now with this latest conference to

Revolutionary Worker



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TURE OF POVERTY

almost impossible for weeks at a time as the streets take on the aspect of remote country roads.

Like the story of the blind men who each grabbed hold of a different part of an elephant and decided it was something other than what it really was, our architect is blinded to reality by his bourgeois expertise. Not only does he miss seeing the people who are referred to euphemistically: "On any sunny afternoon, the street is alive with excitement and color," but he even sees the houses as idealized forms. He does not grasp the content of life in Pilsen.

Oh wait, but doesn't he say that "the best way however to enjoy Pilsen is to look at the neighborhood as a neighborhood." And "in this sense, a lot has to be said about the newly acquired Latino contribution." Ah... a liberal. "The Mexican-Americans of the area have supplied a rewarding cultural definition that is evident in Pilsen's charm and beauty, from the countless wall murals throughout the neighborhood to the burgeoning Latin restaurants, bookstores, craft shops and specialty stores—all within sight of the Loop (the downtown business district)." Hungrily, our tourist eyes the scene. What! Mention the predominantly Latin and Mexican workers and unemployed who make up the residents of Pilsen? That would put a dent in the peaceful, smart and sophisticated picture he has gone to such great effort to present!

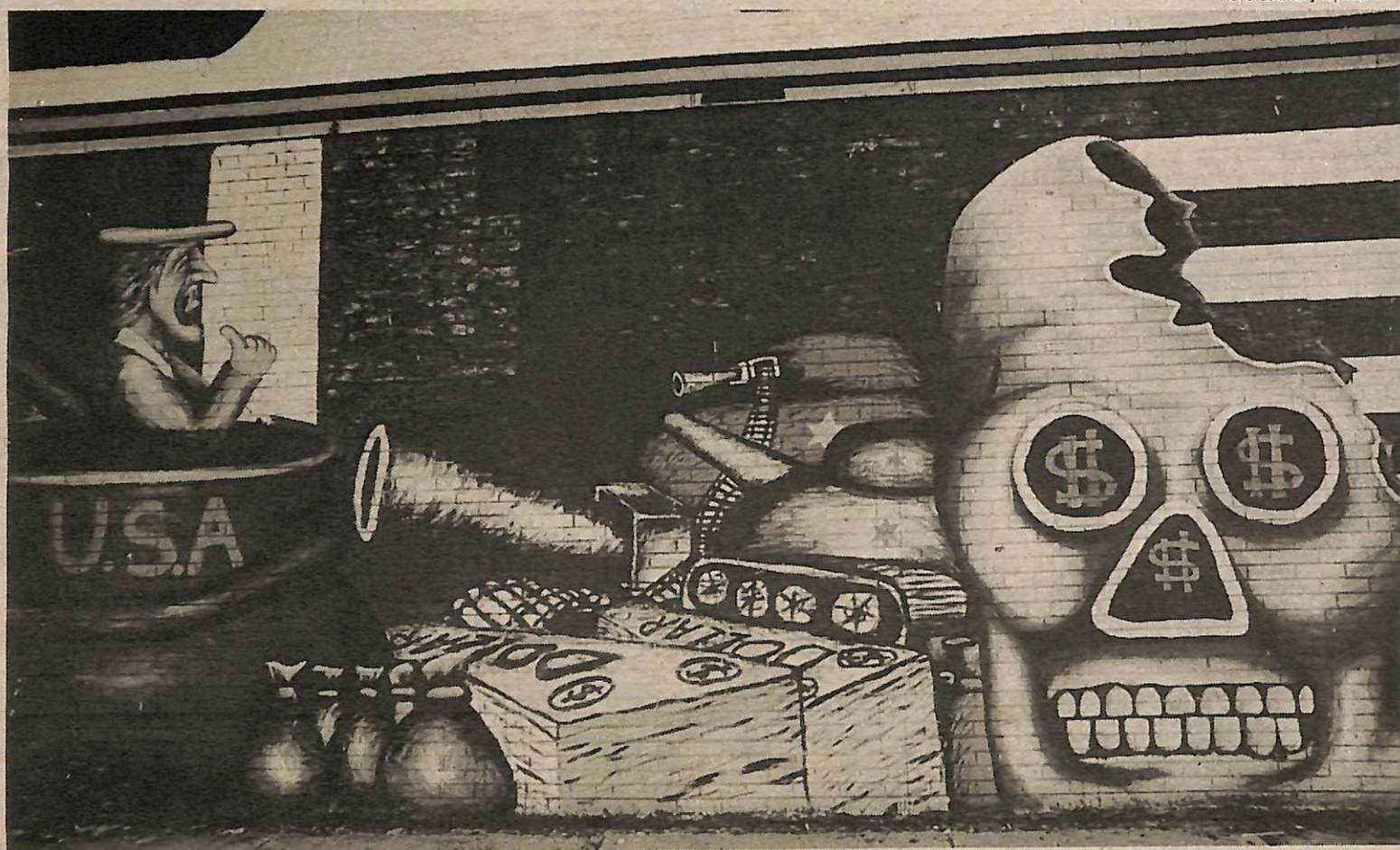
He is quite an observant fellow, passing over the murals with symbols of U.S. imperialism, octopus-like, skull-like, oppressing the Mexican people, as

"depicting scenes of Mexican culture" to dwell on a new mural which shows "the Chicago skyline and portraits of Pope Paul VI and Pope John Paul II in a mystic interaction with the Latino people." Now, that's the way our author likes to think of Mexicans... on their knees.

Who taught this guy to see the world as a maze of cornices and stained glass windows, fire escapes and pathetic churches, replicas of the European Cathedrals under the L train? Who taught him to paint dead word pictures where the masses of people are "color" and "flavor" and "ethnic accents,"

and to find misery "quaint"? Who plucked out his eyes and replaced them with the eyes of a dying class? Our expert on the architecture of poverty is indeed a fine example of the bankruptcy of bourgeois art. ■

Revolutionary Worker



ip for Racist Rhodesia

draw up yet another constitution for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and hold yet another round of "free and fair" elections, the imperialists are facing up to some hard facts. The traditional form of U.S.-British domination in the area—the rule of white settler minority regimes—is being steadily challenged by the armed movements of the African people for national liberation. At stake for the U.S. imperialist bloc is much more than just the question of Zimbabwe. The outcome there will affect the political stability of similar regimes in neighboring Azania (South Africa) and Namibia where the masses are looking to the armed struggle in Zimbabwe for inspiration.

A favorable solution to the present crisis in Zimbabwe is, thus, absolutely essential for the U.S. to maintain its loosening grip on the whole of mineral-

rich and strategically located southern Africa. Southern Africa is a virtual treasure trove, the plunder of which the western imperialists are not about to give up easily. U.S. companies like Union Carbide control all of Zimbabwe's chrome reserves. In Namibia, the U.S.-owned Tsumeh mining complex accounts for 80% of all mineral production in the country. The British and U.S. imperialists have over 6 billion dollars invested in Azania alone, including a plant which builds tanks for the U.S. military.

But even more crucial to the imperialists is the political significance of the area in their escalating contention with their Soviet superpower rivals for world domination. The wealth of minerals would be vital to any sustained war effort. Loss of South African gold would wreak havoc in international

money markets dominated by the rapidly sinking U.S. dollar. Control of southern Africa is necessary to provide security for U.S. oil routes which wind from the Indian Ocean around the tip of Cape Horn, particularly in the event of war. The U.S. imperialists are desperate to retain their hold on the strategic tip of southern Africa and fend off the ever-present Soviet imperialists whose influence in Africa has expanded rapidly and who have been posing as "big brothers" of the national liberation struggles, supplying arms and training to the Patriotic Front guerrilla forces in Zimbabwe.

New Paint Job For Imperialist Rule

The present conference in London is therefore a key link in the U.S. strategy to prevent southern Africa from slipping through its fingers and bring it

firmly back under their control. It is little more than a thinly concealed attempt to apply a new layer of cosmetics to the ravaged cheeks of their decaying neo-colonial rule. The British are floating out the possibility of reducing "white safeguards" by eliminating the parliamentary veto (known as "blocking power") for whites—although this is still "open for discussion." And there is talk of supposedly making the white-controlled state apparatus more "accountable" to elected black officials by "the advancement of Africans into senior posts," a few black faces to ensure the "continued efficiency" of the hated regime.

This is precisely the direction in which the imperialists are moving—further dressing up their white-dominated regime in black-face, while reshuffling

Continued on page 15

Iran

Continued from page 8

been in favor of resuming the flow of arms, but there has been some hesitancy within the government questioning whether the masses would buy it. Now they can stir up enough hysteria around these "agents of satan" and "godless communists" in Kurdistan who want to destroy "national unity" as their justification for buying the same U.S. arms the Shah used to murder tens of thousands only a year ago.

It is a step the reactionary Khomeini government would be driven to take eventually anyway. "They're stuck with us on military supplies because of their large inventories and many large joint projects," and it would be self-defeating "for us not to do business with them," the U.S. embassy statement proudly and nakedly proclaimed.

Only the contracts for new and additional equipment, ammunition and artillery were temporarily interrupted by the revolution. Spare parts ordered by the Shah, including a \$550 million payment made just before his downfall, have kept the military well supplied. But long-term maintenance could not be kept up without direct involvement of American technicians who are the only people qualified to handle the highly sophisticated technology of Iran's equipment, especially planes. Government aircraft crashed during the Kurdistan fighting for lack of proper maintenance.

In a move a few months back which could only be looked upon favorably by the imperialists, Khomeini declared a limited amnesty for those cohorts and agents of the Shah's regime who had escaped execution even though the masses were still demanding the Shah's executioners receive the punishment they deserved. Prime Minister Bazargan encouraged the people to forget the past and concentrate on rebuilding the country. After all, many of those dogs who fled for their lives along with the Shah have expertise valuable to feeble place at the service of the new government trying to pull itself together. And from the U.S. rulers' standpoint, many of these people would provide fertile soil for a full-scale comeback.

In the meantime U.S. interests are actively promoted by a host of agents working covertly in and around the government. Prominent among these is foreign minister Yazdi who rushed to aid U.S. ambassador Sullivan when the embassy was under siege during the February insurrection. His position in charge of security matters is undoubtedly of key importance to his imperialist masters.

Yazdi has access to the most sophisticated surveillance equipment left in Iran. His responsibility of wrapping up SAVAK's affairs has made him privy to the still unrevealed treachery hidden in the files of the Shah's secret police. He was instrumental in recruiting the "revolutionary guards," Khomeini's only completely reliable armed force. With these credentials, U.S. imperialism can certainly feel assured that he is carrying out the careful arrangements they made when the Shah fell to protect the extensive military and sensitive intelligence apparatus which is so key to the strategic interests of the U.S. as it faces off with the Soviet Union around the world.

The new Iranian government is not fully to the U.S.'s liking—they loved the murdering Shah and his gang far more. But as the recent embassy statement shows, they are growing more and

El Salvador

Continued from page 1
the last week alone.

It seems that the U.S. may well consider the revolutionary movement in El Salvador to be even more dangerous than in Nicaragua. This was indicated in a recent *New York Times* article which stated that, "In many ways the situation is different than that existing in Nicaragua before General Somoza's overthrow, not the least because the Left in El Salvador is trying to replace an entire social and economic system

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more anxious to make the best of it. In a situation which is not stabilizing, the U.S. is all too happy to back a government which is more and more being driven to rely on the imperialist powers for its own salvation.

The U.S. and other imperialists are particularly anxious to smash the revolutionary Left. Since the old reactionary forces don't have the clout to do so now, Khomeini's government is today the best thing around for this job. And while it does its dirty work, the U.S. imperialists are giving their more "reliable" reactionaries a chance to breathe and build up strength. If the U.S.-Khomeini relationship doesn't pan out as smoothly as they would hope, they are right now laying the groundwork for a still more blatantly reactionary regime. ■

and not just oust a family dynasty."

In El Salvador, forces opposed to Romero have speculated that Washington may attempt to force the dictator to resign or may even promote a coup to replace him with a government lacking Romero's tarnished image. Whichever, it is clear that the purpose of any potential move is to maintain U.S. imperialist domination, leaving the Salvadorean military intact as a dependable tool to suppress the people. And, according to the press, sources in the U.S. government have stated that if nothing else works, direct U.S. military

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intervention remains a distinct possibility.

But it's clear the U.S. and whatever puppet they maintain in El Salvador will have their hands full trying to hold

back the revolutionary upsurge of the Salvadorean people. Among the chants in the September 14 demonstration: "No to elections—long live the insurrection!" ■

Cops Close Whittier Blvd.

No Room for Youth on L.A. Streets

Whittier Blvd., Los Angeles, August 31. The only ones cruising the main drag in the barrio tonight are the cops. Motorcycles zoom by in twos, followed every 30 seconds by black and whites, red lights flashing. Nervous sheriffs ride four in a car, many in riot gear. Barricades block every intersection along the two-mile strip. Whittier Blvd., where for decades Chicano youths have come to cruise, is now occupied by police. Their orders are to close it down completely.

The closing of Whittier Blvd. is part of a statewide offensive. In recent weeks, other big cruising strips had been locked down. In National City, near San Diego, the cops recently made a clean sweep of the strip, busting and beating over 120 youths for curfew and traffic violations. In San Jose, the police launched a full-scale attack as Chicano youth gathered in a traditional cruising area on August 12. The police, in full riot gear, set up barricades and blocked off exits from a five-mile stretch of the freeway, shutting off the entire East Side of the city.

For years, any time Chicanos have gathered together they have been targeted by police, long notorious for

breaking up parties, even weddings. Closing Whittier Blvd. means going a step further. This is where thousands of Chicanos have converged every weekend for generations. They have braved the almost certain police harassment and the pigs' taunts of "wetback" and "greaseball" for those few hours every weekend on the boulevard. "What the hell else is there to do in East Los Angeles except cruise the boulevard, especially if you are under 21," said one youth. "All week long we look forward to it."

Now even this is being taken away. On August 31, the sheriffs came and forcefully shut the boulevard down to weekend night traffic. They had tried to mobilize community support, but the only ones willing to back them were a bank, a handful of smaller merchants, and a few "community" organizations. According to the sheriff's department, they shut down the boulevard to "protect the kids from violence."

Maybe it is their "protection" that makes 14 and 15-year-old kids cover their bellies with their hands when the cops come near. One youth told how "Every time they stop us for nothing, they hit us. In the ribs or the stomach.

The bruises don't come up there so much." And they don't limit their protection to youth. Just after the boulevard was closed, an older Chicano, a theater owner, was pulled over for a trumped-up traffic violation and kicked to the ground in front of his son.

These attacks on Chicanos are not going unanswered. On Whittier Blvd., over 70 of the 200 merchants in the area are circulating petitions to fight the closure. In National City, over 500 members of car clubs, including one Black and one white club, met to plan a counterattack. "If they're going to make war on us, we'll make war on them," one club member vowed. The barrios are a time bomb and the cops know it.

Several youths have told the *RW* that in East Los Angeles sheriff patrols have used their bullhorns to lecture youth about staying away from communists and instruct them to tear down the RCP poster about Bob Avakian's speech, "To All Those Who Refuse to Live and Die on Your Knees." What is so dangerous about this message? One youth said, "Man, I get so tired of all this. I seen dudes get killed and die in my arms. Man I hate the cops, not the

man—the uniform and the ones that own the uniform. I have laid on my sack in jail and dreamed of what our raza could be. People of all races could walk down the *calles* [streets] free and proud and not need to hassle anybody. When we can get it together, I swear on my father's grave we're gonna get through all this bullshit. Those barricades are gonna be kicked down and we are gonna go over the cops' faces laughing." Clearly he is not the only one who feels this way. It is probably no coincidence that the capitalists chose this particular weekend in August to shut down the boulevard. It was the anniversary of the Chicano Moratorium. On August 29, 1970, police attacked the march of 25,000 against the Vietnam War and national oppression. The rebellion that erupted brought the front lines home, right on Whittier Blvd. Neither the capitalists nor the people have forgotten that day. On that day the streets belonged to the people.

Today, by shutting down Whittier Blvd. and the other cruising strips, the sheriffs are delivering a reminder from the ruling class to Chicanos: You may own an old Chevy or even an El Dorado, but the streets belong to us.

Rhodesia

Continued from page 13

the rigged constitutional deck to deal themselves a more favorable hand. By focusing the debate on the question of "safeguards" they hope to obscure the fact that even without "special privileges" for the 270,000 white settlers, they would still own and control over 50% of the richest and most fertile land (granted to them under the Land Tenure Act) while 51/2 million black Zimbabweans still scratch out a starvation existence, forced to slave in the capitalists' plantations and factories for wages 11 times below those of whites. With this vast economic power, the white minority would easily maintain their stranglehold on the armed power of the state. These are the real underpinnings of imperialist rule and of the national and class oppression of the Zimbabwean masses.

This latest maneuver by the imperialists is, of course, being embraced by Muzorewa, who told the British in London that he was willing to accept the proposed changes in Salisbury's constitution. Forced to expose himself for the pitiful lackey that he is, Muzorewa openly begged Rhodesian whites to have faith that, by accepting reduced "special privileges" for whites, he was not selling out their interests at the conference. In a special message broadcast in Zimbabwe, he pleaded that "All of our positive-thinking, far-seeing white people with the true spirit of good will must by now be convinced that given the correct black leadership they have nothing to fear. Very soon anyone doubting this will discover like the whites in Kenya did many years ago that their fear over a majority rule constitution and what they considered as safeguards were really not that important at all."

Indeed, the imperialists are by no means wedded to white "safeguards. This is evident from the experience of other African countries. It is certainly not coincidental that the conference is being held in London's Lancaster House, the same hall in which independence was "arranged" for a number of former British colonies in Africa.

Kenya is a prime example of this brand of "independence" the imperialists are peddling. Though nominally granted black "majority rule" by the British, Kenya's new rulers (headed by Jomo Kenyatta, a once militant leader of the independence struggle who capitulated to the British and was released from jail to be the country's first president) were quickly transformed into comprador stand-ins for the western imperialists. Kenya's government ministers became big landlords

and capitalist owners of shares in imperialist corporations like Nairobi's big GM plant, a suitable reward for ensuring that the Kenyan masses continue to slave away in the foreign-owned factories and coffee plantations. Particularly pleasing to the imperialists is the fact that this was accomplished without the necessity of "safeguards" or "constitutional guarantees" for whites.

But in spite of the imperialists' similarly conceived strategy for Zimbabwe, conference chairman Lord Carrington has his hands full attempting to maintain the delicate balance of the various parties to this affair and trying to smooth out the very real contradictions between them. White settler chieftain Ian Smith has already threatened to split the puppet delegation headed by Muzorewa over the issue of "safeguards." "The retention of safeguards for white people are absolutely vital," he said bluntly. "We have the blocking mechanism, and it works." But the U.S. and Britain may well tell Smith to take a hike if it appears they can accomplish their goals by striking a deal with the Patriotic Front and finding some suitable black front men to join Muzorewa's government, or take his place.

Though any of the parties might decide to bolt the conference, Britain has a number of options to fall back on. Officials in Whitehall are prepared for the very real possibility that the Patriotic Front will bring the conference to a deadlock over demands for independence they cannot possibly meet. British officials have indicated that they would then be prepared to settle with the Muzorewa-Smith government alone, while painting the Front as unwilling to negotiate.

Whatever the scenario, the key to the conference lies in the attitude of the leaders of the Patriotic Front, Robert Mugabe of ZANU and Joshua Nkomo of ZAPU. Henry Kissinger admirably characterized the imperialists' strategy last July when he said that the Carter administration's approach "operates on the assumption that we can win over the Third World radicals by co-opting their program." Unfortunately, the Patriotic Front leaders have given the imperialists hope that this may be possible.

Joshua Nkomo of ZAPU, in his opening speech to the conference, emphasized his willingness to "work together with Britain" and referred several times to the need for ending the guerrilla war. Furthermore, both Mugabe and Nkomo have called for U.N.-sponsored elections. While it is not wrong in principle to ever participate in elections, under current conditions this could only mean surrendering the political and military initiative



Ian Smith

of the liberation forces to the imperialists and Smith-Muzorewa regime. This would be a grave setback to the liberation struggle.

Clearly, the future of the Zimbabwean people's struggle will be strongly affected by the stand the guerrilla leaders take. The masses will be watching closely to see whether the

Patriotic Front will be lured onto the imperialists' well-travelled path of pursuing "independence" through constitutional changes or whether they will continue the armed struggle. The Zimbabwean people will never accept imperialist domination of their country and the misery it causes, whatever mask it wears. ■

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Chile

Continued from page 5

use the UP government as a wedge to force the pro-U.S. Christian Democrats who had been replaced by the Allende regime to come to some sort of an agreement with the CP to create a government that the U.S. would have to accept.

This in essence, is the same strategy being carried out today by the revisionist parties in France, Italy, Spain and elsewhere. This is what gave Chile so much importance to both superpowers. Just as the U.S. had used Chile as a "guinea pig" for its Alliance for Progress strategy for hanging on to Latin America after Cuba, so now the Soviets were using it to test out (and open the door) to their "historic compromise" strategy for contending with the U.S. within the U.S.'s own bloc. And in turn, this is what made the U.S. imperialists so determined to put a stop to it.

The ugly fact is that for the Soviets and the Chilean CP, the Allende government was expendable. That's why they put so much emphasis on deliberately disarming, demobilizing and demoralizing the masses—so that when the U.S. made its move it would all be over quickly and the CP could soon return to "business as usual" in what they thought would be some kind of position of power along with the Christian Democrats. But at the same time, that's also why the U.S. was forced to go for such a bloody *coup*, such an open act of aggression and naked terror—in order to thoroughly smash the CP and its pro-Soviet plans, as well as to wipe out the mass movement which in many ways was breaking out of the bounds that the Allende government tried to put on it. The USSR had nothing to lose—and the U.S. had an empire to protect.

Palacios concludes his book like this. "Our intention in this book was none other than to analyze and expose the role played by the falsifiers of Marxism and by falsified socialism in the tragedy that the Chilean people are experiencing. They are not for the time being the main enemy of our people; but to fight the main enemy and advance toward genuine socialism, it is essential to unmask them, to break with their reactionary orientation and to help the people get rid of their influence."

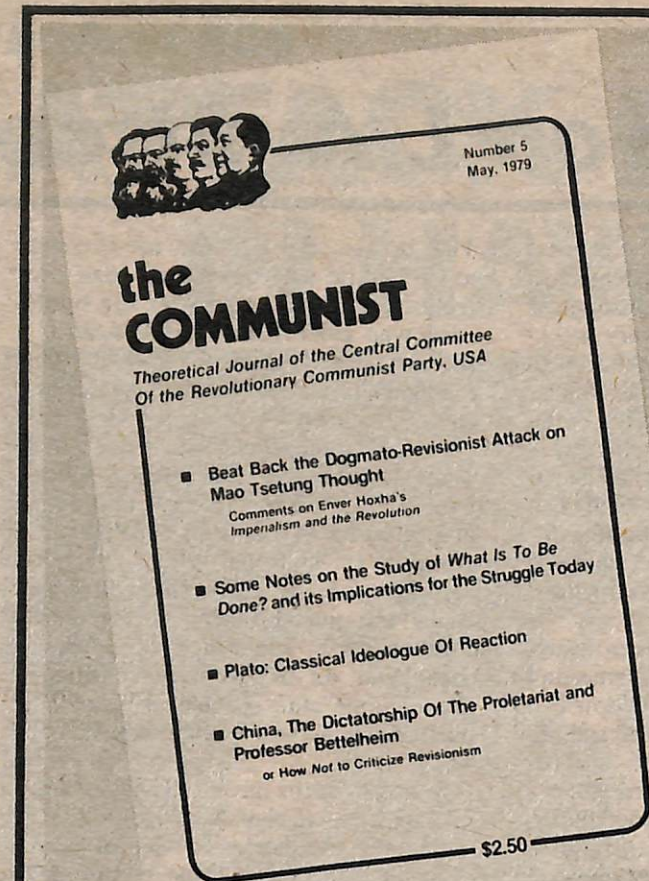
For us in the U.S., while conditions are quite different, certainly revisionism is no less a danger—and the question of Chile has been one of the revisionists' favorite nesting places. This gives Palacios' book a special importance here.

Afghanistan

Continued from page 11

become a crime punishable by death for an Afghani to refuse to turn in his weapon after such campaigns. Many have left their villages and gone into the surrounding countryside to join the revolution, bringing their rifles with them.

Further complications for the Soviets lie in the fact that the U.S. is clearly attempting to fish in troubled waters and influence the struggle in Afghanistan through its subordinates in the government of Pakistan. Pakistan has been aiding right-wing Moslem feudal elements, landlords who wish to throw out the Soviets in order to regain their land holdings which they were stripped of by the regime, while, as in Iran, pro-



The latest issue of *The Communist* contains a number of articles which represent a valuable contribution to the class struggle on the theoretical front:

- Full reply to Hoxha's wretched attack on Mao Tse-tung Thought. When revisionism triumphed, for the moment, in China after Mao's death, many revolutionaries looked to Albania with hope. But now this article shows how Enver Hoxha's new book is really a stab in the back and betrayal of Marxism and revolution.

- Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* and its role today. This book of Lenin's played a crucial role, not only in preparing the way for the Russian Revolution, but in other times and places. What Lenin says here has been the subject of debate among revolutionaries throughout the 1970s.

To coincide with the publication of the U.S. edition of this book, Jorge Palacios will be making a coast-to-coast speaking tour during the month of October, sponsored by Frente Del Pueblo, a mass organization of the Chilean resistance abroad as well as within Chile. The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is actively building support for this tour, along with many others who see these programs on Chile not as occasions for weeping and lying to the people, but for drawing deeply upon lessons paid for in blood.

gressive Moslem clergy have taken the side of the people in the struggle. The West is backing the most backward sections, whose interests lie not in fighting against imperialism but in uniting solidly with one imperialist power against another. One such group is the Moslem Brotherhood, a notorious CIA-financed organization. Some of these rightist forces based in Pakistan are getting aid from U.S.-backed Saudi Arabia as well as revisionist China.

But the Soviets' main worry in Afghanistan today is not U.S. meddling; their chief concern is smashing a mass revolutionary movement which threatens their puppet regime. If Amin proves to be skillful to this end, he will certainly earn the praises of the Soviet Union. If he doesn't... well, there can always be another "election."

and on what the workers should settle for. All have gone hogwild over the "save Chrysler" crusade. Some have come up with almost comical schemes to keep Chrysler in business. Strange "communists" these, that go around promoting the idea that capitalism can be made to work—in fact must be made to work! Such militant fighters who talk about fighting big battles against GM one moment and "save poor Chrysler" the next.

One interesting and revealing note is how many of these opportunists lined right up behind Fraser's oil postcard mail-in. Of course they all had a number of criticisms but they were from the standpoint that Fraser didn't go far enough! The Revolutionary

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- Plato was an ancient Greek reactionary. But the bourgeoisie still finds him relevant and likes to push him. The proletariat has an interest in discovering the real roots of Plato's thought.

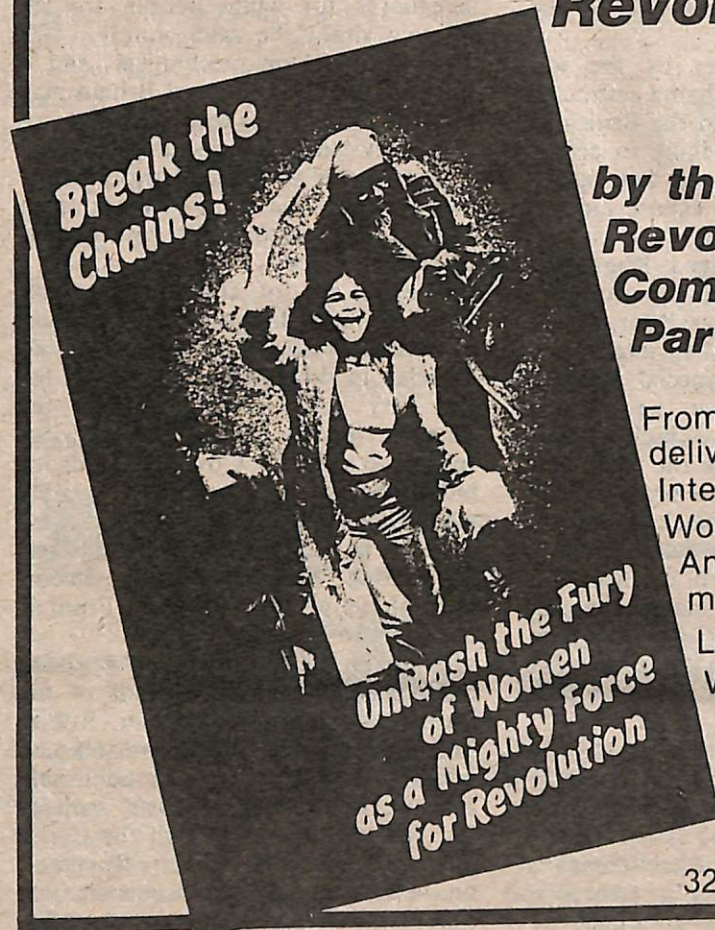
- Charles Bettelheim was the President of the France-China Friendship Association, but quit in protest against the revisionist takeover in China. Now he has written an analysis of the counter-revolution in China. But is his criticism really based on revolutionary Marxism, or not?

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Auto

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ple to stay in the quicksand, but to flail about wildly in it—a guaranteed plan for sinking deeper still. These types make a very nice loyal opposition to Fraser. For all their seeming opposition to the UAW International they actually put forward the exact same line with a little militant coating. Many like the CPML and the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (also known as the Mensheviks who split from the RCP a while back) openly propagated the lie that a decent contract can actually be won if the auto workers fight hard enough. They only disagreed with the UAW leadership on what it would take to win

Workers Headquarters for example called it "the biggest political job action in years. The right combination of rank-and-file agitation and some guts by union leaders produced some effective actions." Of course they had some criticism for the anti-OPEC stuff and for the UAW leadership for keeping "the initiative out of the hands of the rank-and-file." Perhaps the rank-and-file should take the "initiative" and form "America First" clubs and get into some real political struggle. Naturally the politics all these swamp dwellers are concerned with are those of Fraser and the capitalists.

In response to Fraser's treachery and the pitiful parroting of his trash by a host of opportunists part of the NUWO leaflet to the auto workers is very appropriate:

"Why waste our time chasing after bullshit illusions, piecemeal reforms that are snatched back as soon as they are gained. Our interests lie in challenging, defying the very system of wage-slavery itself. And these interests will not be satisfied, except by eliminating this capitalist system, and wiping out the social and economic basis for twisting human labor into someone's private gain."