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Superpowers Sweat over Polish Workers' Strike

As we go to press there is word of heavy escalation and spreading of the eight week old strike wave of the Polish workers. Radio reports indicate massive walkouts in Warsaw as well as in the key coal mining areas of southern

Silesia. The Polish minister of defense is reported to have taken to the airwaves, sternly warning Poland's working class of dire and catastrophic consequences if the spread of the strike is not ended.

These reports follow less than 24 hours a statement made on the morning of August 28 by Lech Walesa, chairman of the Gdansk strike committee calling on workers throughout the rest of Poland to hold off on the spread of the



The Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk, Poland.

strike. Although Walesa's plea was supposedly in response to concessions made to the strikers by government negotiators, by the end of the day the negotiations had once again broken down over the question of the workers' demands for independent trade unions. Walesa's earlier call was forgotten in

the wind.

The powerful force that has been unleashed in this upheaval of the Polish working class is having far reaching consequences. The revisionist rulers of the other Eastern European countries are clearly concerned. There have been

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CHICANO MORATORIUM:

August 29 marks the ten-year anniversary of the Chicano Moratorium when 25,000 Chicanos marched and fought the police in the streets of East Los Angeles in a powerful demonstration against national oppression and against the war in Vietnam. 10 years later the Chicano Moratorium stands as a powerful example of internationalism and of the revolutionary force which lies in the struggle of the oppressed nationalities against U.S. imperialism.

The call for the march grew out of the 2nd National Chicano Youth Conference held in Denver, Colorado in March of 1970 where several thousand young Chicano activists met. They had grown increasingly outraged as they saw the Chicano youth torn up in the

meatgrinder of the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam. Thousands of Chicanos had already been slaughtered; 20% of the war dead were Chicanos—while Chicanos made up about 6% of the population at that time. There was an increasing awareness that U.S. imperialism was the common enemy of the oppressed people throughout the world. The Moratorium was organized under the slogan "Raza si, Guerra no!"; but the class-conscious forces among the demonstrators raised a more advanced understanding—that wars of national liberation are just wars and must be supported, while wars of imperialist plunder are unjust and must be opposed. The advanced forces raised the slogans "FNL Vencera!" (Victory to

TEN YEARS LATER

the NLF!) and "Raza Si, Guerra Aqui!" (Chicanos, Yes, Our War is Here!), linking the struggle against national oppression with the overall fight against imperialism and calling for a revolutionary struggle in opposition to reformism and narrow nationalism.

August 29, 1970 was a hot summer day, and there was a festive mood as people marched through the heart of the barrio; people lined the streets cheering, and by the time the march had reached its destination, thousands more had joined. Suddenly the police attack-

ed, charging the crowd as the march was coming into the park. That year alone, there had been 11 deaths in custody at the 3rd St. sheriff's substation. As one demonstrator put it, "All the years of being abused and discriminated against and mistreated and kicked around and treated like dogs began to come out." Chairs and bottles began to fly. Greatly outnumbered, the police fired tear gas.

One of the demonstrators told how: "One old man, he was a bony old man, Continued on page 18

Hundreds Lay Siege to Philly Police Dept.

A state of seige existed in North Philadelphia the night of August 25, a state of seige for the cops inside the 22nd Precinct that is. Outside, over 500 people, mostly youth, were laying waste to the building, busting nearly every window in the place. The battle raged for over two hours before the 40 pigs could regain the streets surrounding their sty. Before the night was over six people had been arrested and a dozen cops injured. A few squad cars also ended up destroyed. For the next three nights, north Philly would be a battleground.

The spark that touched off the powderkeg was the police murder of 17-year-old William "Wee" Green—nicknamed "Wee" because he was 5'3" tall. "Wee" Green was chased by the cops after he ran a red light. During the chase, Green's car crashed into a tree. As he stepped from the wreck, dazed and staggering, Philly cop Zeigler pounced on "Wee" and began to pistol whip him. According to this pig, while he was brutally beating "Wee" Green with his revolver, it "accidentally" went off, the bullet going through "Wee's" shoulder and his stomach. By

then the crowd on the street had grown to nearly 100 people, witnesses to the cold-blooded murder of another Black youth that has become standard operating procedure for these guardians of the ghettos. This was the third in the area in the past two years. As the scene became increasingly tense, the six cops who were now on the spot decided that they'd better get the hell out of the area. They tossed "Wee" Green's body in the back of a paddywagon and drove off. William "Wee" Green died at the hospital later that night.

The next day, the Monday morning papers reported that Officer Zeigler had been reassigned to desk duty (no doubt to keep his ass off the streets and away from the masses of angry Blacks in north Philly), pending "investigation".

The papers also reported that "Wee" Green's skull had been fractured in two places from the pistol whipping he had received. But what the story mainly did was to indicate just how the authorities were planning to conduct their "investigation." First they put out the usual "dangerous criminal" line—that the car "Wee" was driving was stolen; something they discovered after



Philadelphia's northside goes up in open rebellion, sparked by the police murder of a 17-year-old Black youth.

"Wee's" death! And a statement from the coroner, that the position of the gunshot wounds could very well corroborate the police story about the whole thing being "accidental," also appeared in the press. Another white-wash was being engineered even before "Wee" Green's body was cold. But for the masses of people in north Philadelphia, the fact that "Wee" had died at the hands of a cop was "investigation" enough. Outraged, they laid siege to the 22nd Precinct.

North Philadelphia is the worst ghetto in the city and one of the worst in the nation. The situation there, with bombed-out, falling down housing, butcher shops called hospitals and marauding pigs, earned Philly a place on the list of the top ten "hot spots" in the country this year—areas most likely to experience "social disorder." Housing has been the focal point of the struggle against national oppression faced by Blacks. It is so sub-standard and decrepit, and so hard to find, that people are forced to squat in the abandoned, condemned buildings. Often whole families live in hovels, with no utilities, no plumbing, and no walls or windows. It was this issue in particular

and the brutal beating of members of the MOVE organization on national television, when Philly cops evicted them from a house they were occupying, that set the stage for the removal of Philly's mayor, Frank Rizzo—in favor of other politicians who could get the same job done with fewer ruffled feathers up in the rafters of government.

North Philly was also the site of powerful outbreaks during the upsurge of the Black Liberation struggle in the 1960s. And it is in this same neighborhood that Frank Rizzo, when he was still Chief of Police, personally led a raid on the headquarters of the Black Panther Party. After beating the men inside, he paraded them naked, through the streets in an attempt to humiliate and discredit them in the eyes of the community. North Philadelphia is supposed to be an area, where since the '60s, Blacks have been beaten and cowed into submission. Not so.

Particularly important in efforts to cool things out over the Green murder has been the so-called "community leaders", especially State Representative Milton Street. Street, who has

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Capitulation to Imperialism Highlighted in Mugabe Visit

On August 23, Robert Mugabe, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, arrived in the U.S. Hailed as the "sensible and finally triumphant" hero, Mugabe was rushed from press conferences to rallies and appeared on TV programs. He lunched with Muskie, met with Carter, and at each stop, espoused his mission and his cause. It wasn't too long ago, in fact just a few years back, that Mugabe had come to the U.S. At that time, he had addressed the UN as the leader of ZANU, the principal organization carrying on the armed struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. This time, he addressed the UN as the "honorable" Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of "free" Zimbabwe. Clearly a changed man leading a changing Zimbabwe. But what, in fact, has changed in Zimbabwe?

Six months ago, in the aftermath of Mugabe's election, many progressive and revolutionary-minded people, although troubled by various aspects of Mugabe's program, adopted a wait-and-see attitude based on their respect for ZANU (Zimbabwean African National Union) and their support for the righteous struggle of the Zimbabwean people. Unfortunately, some still cling to the notion that Mugabe's election signaled the beginning of revolutionary change in Zimbabwe. But such change means a fundamental break with imperialism, and that no such break is in the cards is a fact that Mugabe & Co. have made abundantly clear. His trip to the U.S. only highlighted the fact that, far from smashing and dismantling the economic structure which bound Rhodesia by a thousand links to the imperialists of Western Europe and the U.S. (as well as to South Africa), Zimbabwe's new leaders have sworn to essentially strengthen and expand this structure.

Of course, some cosmetic changes have been—and had to be—made. After years of living under the barbaric oppression of the Smith regime and, more, after more than seven years of waging an armed struggle for their liberation, the Zimbabwean people demand change. The minimum wage for workers was raised—although even Mugabe admits that this doesn't meet the people's needs but says he can't let wages go any higher for fear of discouraging foreign investors. And although Mugabe has instituted various "worker participation committees" in some factories and on some farms, he has been very careful not to step on the toes of the white settler bourgeoisie and the imperialist investors.

In fact, the new budget proposed by Mugabe's finance minister, Enos Nkala, on July 24 of this year, goes a long way toward showing where Mugabe is headed. Cynically proposed as a "people's budget," the entire thing amounts to a scheme for aiding the imperialist plunderers in Zimbabwe. Not one item (except the proposed elimination of sales tax on essential goods) is even disguised as being for the good of the people. Instead, the plan calls for the creation of a "climate favorable for investment." It states that "you have to expand industry, the state cannot do it. It hasn't got the know-how anyway, and it hasn't got the push. You have to have people with the push, and this is where we feel free enterprise has got to be given quite some opportunity and a lease of life." With this budget, Mugabe has proceeded to order that capital be given a free rein in Zimbabwe. The budget lays out such liberal terms for the repatriation of capital investment and profits that it was soundly applauded by Ian Smith and friends when they heard it in the parliament. Official transcripts of the budget hearings in Zimbabwe's parliament record that members of Smith's party happily greeted finance minister Nkala as "You capitalist, you."

The budget even has the audacity to criticize the old economic set-up for "discriminating against investors from

America, Britain and Canada," since supposedly they weren't as free from restrictions in claiming their profits as other "foreign investors" were. Nkala promptly assured these "generous powers" that the situation would be remedied with this new budget plan. Of course, Mugabe is careful not to be too obvious, and included a plan to beg the "foreign investors" to re-invest some of their profits in Zimbabwe.

As far as agriculture is concerned, the budget makes almost no mention of land redistribution except to call for purchasing abandoned estates to be used to resettle refugees. On the other hand, it does talk about increasing agricultural production, mainly by offering subsidies and incentives to the farmers—the 6000 settler and foreign big farmowners who dominate Zimbabwe's food production. Essentially nothing is being done to break down the old arrangement whereby Zimbabwe has been divided up between Africans and colonialists, 45 million acres to nearly 200,000 white colonialists and 45 million acres of the least arable land to the 7 million Africans. Even at this, the African land belongs to the tribal trusts, a system whereby tribal chiefs have total authority over land use and allocation (a system which Mugabe has sworn not to disrupt).

Not a word about imperialism and its legacy of plunder is mentioned in the new budget. In fact, the budget opens up with praise for the generosity of the U.S. and Britain although it adds that more "aid" is expected than has been given. (That the imperialists could be a little more "generous" is no doubt true, and that they have held out somewhat is no fault of Mugabe's. The imperialists

are merely holding out the prospect of more aid as a lever and as a continuing incentive for the Mugabe government to go along with their program for restoring "stability" in Zimbabwe.) A little further on in the statement, the Mugabe government allocates money for foreign debts—stating a felt "moral obligation," to assume most of the pre-1965 Rhodesian debts. As a final touch, Nkala brags about just how easily Zimbabwe has slid into the web of Western imperialism, stating proudly how they've joined the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the African Development Bank, the International Development Association, the International Finance Corporation, and others.

Other policies implemented by the Mugabe clique are equally revealing. While Mugabe boasts of ending discrimination and racial oppression, his government has promised to continue financial support to what are euphemistically called "private" and "community" schools. These are segregated schools set up about a year ago to prevent the "sudden influx" of blacks into previously all-white schools. As an added gem, in the beginning of July, Mugabe held a meeting with over 200 chiefs and elders of the Matebele tribe, promising to uphold the system of tribal chieftains in return for the chiefs' support of his government.

One of Mugabe's main selling points to the U.S. has been his promised ability to restore "peace and stability" in Zimbabwe. However, the temporary nature of this "stability" cannot be overemphasized. Already reports are spreading about rebellions among the

former liberation fighters. In addition to this, out of the first liberation fighters Mugabe tried to integrate into the Rhodesian army, over 400 had to be arrested for insubordination for refusing to obey the orders of white Rhodesian officers. (Mugabe is currently trying to avoid a repeat of this by begging the British to send over more "military trainers.") Among the Zimbabwean masses as a whole, the turmoil is also beginning to spread. Recent demonstrations have been reported demanding the deportation of Ian Smith (who remains a member of parliament and owner of a 6500-acre cattle ranch), as well as demonstrations in support of the recently arrested Edgar Tekere. There was also a spontaneous demonstration of Zimbabweans when the statue of Cecil Rhodes was taken down in Salisbury. As the statue was being loaded onto a truck to be taken to a museum, a group of Zimbabwean people gathered around it and started to beat it with metal cables. When a group of whites tried to stop them, they were jeered and pushed away.

None of this has escaped the attention of Mugabe & Co. Government officials have recently complained that things are getting out of hand since "everyone thinks that just because there's a black government now, they can come and see the ministers any time they want." And as Mugabe travels around Zimbabwe, his speeches are constantly laced with talk of "political dissidents," "subversive elements," and "banditry" that is destabilizing the country.

From the day of his arrival in the U.S., Mugabe has gotten a hero's welcome. Mugabe has seized on every opportunity to praise the U.S. for its role in Zimbabwe. On "Meet the Press," he noted that no one should take his previous "Marxist rhetoric" too seriously, as it was simply wartime propaganda. Later, upon his arrival in Washington, D.C., Mugabe swore to the U.S. imperialists that as far as his government was concerned, "Your dividends and stocks will be safe from expropriation" in Zimbabwe. He endorsed Carter, noting, "The race he is running is unfortunately in the United States. If he was running in our territory, he would be assured of victory." Mugabe also expressed his desire to "enhance the friendship and solidarity between two true allies (U.S. and Zimbabwe)."

The U.S. certainly views this "friendship and solidarity" as a major asset. Zimbabwe is, of course, rich in gold and chromium, and the U.S. and its bloc certainly have economic interests there. But far more important is the international political significance the U.S. attaches to "solidarity" with Zimbabwe—especially a Zimbabwe ruled by forces like Mugabe and friends. Mugabe is clearly in the U.S. corner, and this is an extremely significant counterweight to the advances made by the Soviet Union in Africa over the last few years. The U.S. especially hopes to use Mugabe as a wedge to pry away Angola from the Soviet orbit and draw Mozambique even farther away from the Russians.

And predictably, Mugabe has been more than willing to aid the U.S. in its contention with the Soviet Union. Since assuming power, he has refused to allow the Soviet Union or its allies to open up embassies in Zimbabwe. At the same time, Mugabe has recently made moves to isolate and attack the Soviets' front man in Zimbabwe, Joshua Nkomo. In addition to open attacks on Nkomo as a "political burden," Mugabe has also made some political forays into Nkomo's home base of Matebeleland, including the above-mentioned meeting with the Matebele chiefs in which Mugabe attacked Nkomo for waging a "concerted campaign of subversion." For their part, neither Nkomo nor his Soviet backers

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Armed white settlers at the polls in Zimbabwe last February. In spite of a few cosmetic changes, since that time the Rhodesian bourgeoisie's economic and political interests—and even more so, those of the Western imperialist countries—have been left essentially untouched by the new Mugabe government.

The campaign against "Autumn Forge 1980," NATO's massive war maneuvers, which start in September, is stepping up and reaching out as more forces gather to take up the fight against this "dress rehearsal for World War 3." In West Germany, a key part of the theater of operations through which hundreds of thousands of NATO troops will be moved, 150 people from 15 different West German cities met in Hannover Aug. 22-24 to plan mass demonstrations on the weekend of Sept. 20-21, in the Hildesheim area, center of the maneuvers, as the high point of a nationwide campaign that will include local and regional demonstrations, widespread agitation and other actions. In the U.S. the initiative is being taken to unite broad forces to form a U.S. division of this coalition to carry out support work in the U.S., including a demonstration to coincide with the actions in West Germany.

The Hannover meeting, initiated by a joint call by *Fight Back*, revolutionary newspaper of U.S. GI's in Europe, and the Internationalist Bookstore in Hannover, brought together a wide variety of people. There were a large number of people active in the anti-nuke and anti-militarism movements in West Germany as well as what is known as the "unorganized left" here generally; some people involved in the punk rock scene, including working class youth; some others from Bremen where the

Meeting in West Germany

Broad Forces Unite to Plan Opposition to "Autumn Forge 1980"

trashing of the 25th anniversary of W. Germany's entry into NATO took place last May; the Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany (ATIF); and many others. The three-day conference involved a lot of intense struggle around whether or not the Soviet Union is really imperialist and whether it is an inter-imperialist war that is on the horizon or no such war but exclusively more U.S.-led aggression against dominated countries like El Salvador and repression like that recently unleashed in West Germany.

Some pro-Soviet revisionist forces played a particularly reactionary role by trying to use honest questions and differences around these vital matters in order to sabotage the conference and prevent it from reaching unity around the September actions—a small taste of the fire that will be directed against this campaign from both superpowers in open and disguised form. But when all

was said and done, this conference showed not only the necessity for carrying out exposure of the inter-imperialist nature of the threatening war still more broadly, but also the possibility of uniting very broad forces including those who don't fully share this view and the line that flows from it, in a way that can make a powerful contribution. It showed how great a potential there is for this campaign among the growing numbers of people who do see the threat of war and want to take action against it.

The meeting resulted in an ad-hoc coalition being formed around the slogan "To Hell with Autumn Forge '80—Oppose Imperialist War Preparations." A number of participating groups will add to this by doing their own independent work to explicitly expose the imperialist character of both sides in the impending world war.

These "exercises" are clearly muscle-

flexing for the real thing. The NATO maneuvers, extending from the tip of Norway in the North to Turkey's southern borders, will include the airlifting of 14,000 active duty U.S. GI's and several thousand reservists as part of "RE-FORGER" ("REturn of FORces to GERmany"). At the same time, in a grim non-coincidence, 40,000 troops from the Soviet-bloc Warsaw Pact countries will be taking part in their own maneuvers, called "Brothers in Arms 1980."

Just as unprecedented as these maneuvers is the call for coordinated internationalist activities of the kind involved in this campaign. It will be no more of a game than are the war games themselves—it will be concrete internationalist training for the many who will be drawn into it one way or another, and have a tremendous impact, including among those who are to fight this coming war. These activities are of great importance to the proletariat and the revolution internationally. Active-duty GI's and reservists and spouses and families of people in the service will be drawn into political debate around the imperialists' war preparations, both here and in Europe—hopefully including within the Eastern bloc countries as well. The internationalist call to stand together with the people of the world against these war moves must become a dividing line question broadly among the troops and in society. □

U.S. MANEUVERS BEHIND ISRAELI RAIDS

"Let us negotiate, let us, as the past proves, reason together until we reach the agreement and pave the way for peace in this region..." With these pious words, written in a letter to Egypt's President Sadat, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin rushed to the front to personally command the August 12 assault on Palestinian positions in Lebanon. It was an inspiring example of how Israel conducts its peace efforts—by waging war. After heavy fighting the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) forces commanded by Yasir Arafat repulsed the attack, which was centered on Beaufort Castle which sits on a ridge overlooking southern Lebanon and settlements in northern Israel. Since then, there have been continuing artillery duels in the area between the Palestinian forces and the Lebanese right-wing Christian militia allied with Israel who control the southern Lebanese border.

Another development on August 24 showed the continued intensification of the contradictions in the area. A Syrian Air Force MIG 21 was shot down in an aerial battle with Israeli warplanes patrolling over Lebanese territory, the first such clash between the two countries in over a year. Meanwhile, PLO officials warned that the Israelis are amassing forces for another attempt to overrun their fortifications around Beaufort Castle. Begin himself has been

very open about the Zionists' intention to send forces into southern Lebanon again.

Clearly, things are heating up in the Middle East and something is brewing beneath the surface of the stalled Israeli-Egyptian "peace talks." In recent weeks the Zionist government has come out with one hard-line position after another. First there was the formal annexation of East Jerusalem on July 30 and the Israeli declaration that henceforth all Jerusalem would be considered the undivided capital of the Zionist state and that Begin would move his office to East Jerusalem. This was followed by the Israeli commando raid into Lebanon, without even the usual pretense that it was a "response to PLO terrorism." Then last week the Israeli cabinet announced that it will build six new settlements on the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River—which is like rubbing salt in an open wound as far as the Palestinians and their Arab supporters are concerned.

It is hard to imagine that this flurry of aggressive moves were unilateral manifestations of Israeli "intransigence" or that they were made without the advance knowledge and tacit approval of the U.S., despite its feeble objections to the East Jerusalem declaration.

Such Israeli "intransigence" is

nothing new. It has always provided a convenient foil for the U.S. imperialists in their dual tactics employed to carry out its overall strategy of maintaining the state of Israel as its military and political "enforcer" in the Middle East. The main thrust has been to arm Israel to the teeth and encourage it to grab and hold whatever territory it can while

forcing the Arab countries and the Palestinians to negotiate on this basis. But at the same time, the U.S. must give the appearance of being "reasonable" and "flexible" on the question of the return of Israeli-occupied Arab lands, and on the issue of some sort of settlement of the "Palestinian question," as

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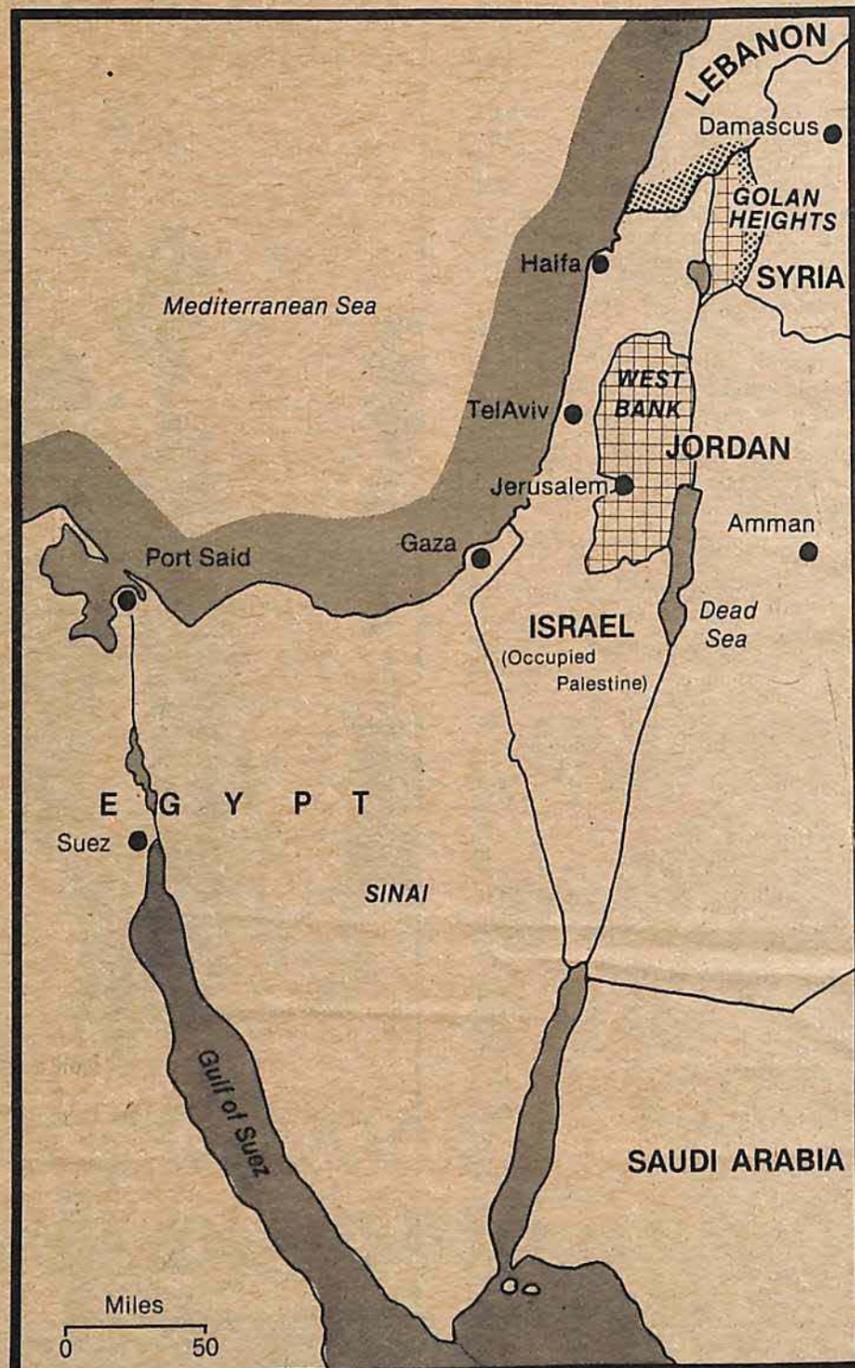
Statement by Ziad Abu Ein

August 21 marks one year that Ziad Abu Ein, a 20-year-old Palestinian, has been jailed in the Metropolitan Correctional Center in Chicago after being arrested by the FBI working in cahoots with the Israeli government. Ziad faces extradition to a kangaroo court in Israel for allegedly being involved in a bombing incident. The only evidence against him is the signing of a confession tortured from another man, written in a language the man does not speak. Along with stepped-up attacks by Israel on Palestinians, especially the annexation of east Jerusalem and last week's invasion of Lebanon, the very fact of Ziad's year-long imprisonment is proof of U.S. imperialism's growing need to tighten the lid on the Palestinian liberation movement.

Ziad, while maintaining his innocence, has stood firm for the liberation of Palestine in the face of threats and intimidation. On August 23, Ziad secretly made a Palestinian flag and flew it from atop the MCC to a rally of supporters outside. The *RW* received the following statement from Ziad.

This case is not my case. It concerns every honest person fighting for justice, dignity and freedom for people all over the world. There are so many comrades dying under torture in jails and in occupied "Israel." Meantime in here, my struggle against the same imperialist system which is helping the Israelis torture and kill my people, this struggle I believe is inseparable part of my people's war to liberate my country from the imperialist influences.

As a worker, I see in my case a perfect example of the continuous harassment which the authorities practice upon us, trying to affect our resistance to repression and injustice.



Occupied by Israel in 1967.

U.N. zone.

CWP: The Not-So-Great Imposter of Marxism

Extreme Times Require Extreme Measures to Save the Country.

Communist Workers Party, U.S.A. Position Paper For the People's Convention

The 1980's election is a sham. It has nothing to do with democracy for the U.S. people. It is a bourgeois showpiece to pick our executives for another 4 more years. Detroit workers have already told these crooked politicians the only thing they desire is dirt and garbage. That's why they struck right before the Republican Convention. New York public workers, even the garbage throwers, do the same thing during the Democratic Convention. The message is clear: the Democratic and Republican Parties are not our parties. Those politicians do not represent our interests. We are going to serve notice to them when they gather in New York for All of us who are disgusted with the manner and crooked politicians should join the Communist Workers Party in New York on August 11-14.

"I hate America!" a kid of 11 said as he walked into the reporter's make a like building. His children hope to see at the convention. That was in Detroit. In New York, you can't trust the government anymore. We need to take the law into our own hands. Another American, "All I wanted was to be a housewife all my life. I couldn't even do that." In a N.Y. subway car, a disabled, unemployed, middle-aged man beat an 85-year-old man until he was unconscious. And then he is not alone. Every day, things like this happen. We are driven to desperation by the economic crisis—the deepest since the 30's depression, and we haven't seen the worst yet.

The 80's Economic Crisis Will Make the 30's Depression Look Like a Picnic For those old enough to remember, the 30's were bad enough. Millions were unemployed. Soup lines everywhere. But for those who still had some money or a job, at least the prices were low. Then later on, people got Social Security and welfare to partially relieve the depression and starvation. The economy was rejuvenated by the government printing money to lower its military production for war which created some jobs. This re-stored consumer's buying power. The war ended with U.S. imperialism coming out as the number 1 top dog of the world. But like a patient with terminal cancer, whose life is prolonged through tranquilizers, pain killers, etc., the U.S. economy today is paying for this medication, and has reached a stage where no cure is possible. This is caused by several new factors internationally and domestically, directly affecting the U.S. economy.

Economic crisis is a crisis of overproduction. This means the workers that produce the goods move and more cannot buy back all that they produce. At the same time, the capitalists are constantly competing for the profits by driving workers to produce more. Since the majority in society are workers and none can buy up with out buyers, in the 30's, when that happened, goods to third world countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and force them to buy them at high prices whether they liked it or not. U.S. imperialism could do that then because the U.S. was a colonial power subjecting other countries. Today, they can't do that anymore. Third world countries are gaining independence one after another, and have formed OPEC, as well as an organization of coffee and sugar exporting countries, to demand a fair exchange for their resources. They can then use that money to develop their independent economies. The rise of the third world is a major factor for the industry of the

As mentioned in last week's *RW*, the Democratic Convention provided a forum for the latest developments of the antics of a group called the Communist Workers Party (CWP). Under the slogan "Serve notice to the politicians, crash the garden party," the CWP boasts that it "stormed the Democratic Convention." The leaflet put out for the occasion featured the headline: "Extreme Times Require Extreme Measures to Save the Country" and "The Republicans and Democrats Must Be Stopped From Driving This Country Into the Ground." Without these crypto-fascist or at least Barry Goldwater-like headlines, though, some may be hoodwinked by the Marxist revolutionary-sounding words and antics of the CWP—after all, the words of revolution, war and crisis are there...with much sound and fury. But indeed they signify nothing...or rather nothing revolutionary.

Quite a mixed-up melange—militance coupled with some blatant off-the-wall patriotic garbage, along with a pseudo-Marxist analysis—but typical of the CWP. This organization has been able to attract and mislead a number of people through putting up a show of revolutionary militance, together with a facade of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. But in fact there is nothing either revolutionary or Marxist about the CWP. Actually they are, as we shall see, profoundly anti-Marxist. Indeed, both their theory and practice resemble the parody painted by the bourgeoisie of communist revolutionaries in general—and, as we've pointed out in the past, of the Revolutionary Communist Party in particular. Of course there is no similarity at all in content—just for starters our newspaper sold at the convention featured a major centerfold article entitled "You Can't Beat Your Enemy While Raising His Flag." Quite a contrast to the CWP leaflet.

In fact, the four-page leaflet mentioned above is a good focus for the analysis of the latest phase in the development of the line of the CWP. A prominent theme in the leaflet is one which expresses the same American patriotism as in the above-mentioned headlines, in a somewhat more unmasked and muted form—namely the theme that the bourgeoisie and its parties are not doing their job: "The Republicans and Democrats—the parties of corruption, murder and crisis—fiddle as America burns," as the leaflet puts it. CWP continues:

"And in the deepest economic crisis ever both Republicans and Democrats blow a lot of hot air. When we need truth, they lie. When we need action, they talk. When we need extreme measures, they stall and half-step." As if the problem was that the bourgeoisie is too passive, too do-nothing, all talk and no action! In fact, as much of a surprise as it may be for the CWP, these imperialists have quite a bit of action planned for the not-too-distant future—like all-out world war with their social-imperialist rivals in the USSR. Will that be extreme enough for the CWP? Or will they still complain that the bourgeoisie talks too much and needs to assert itself more vigorously—or perhaps that it is not providing good enough leadership in the fight to save the nation from the Russians?

It's not that the CWP doesn't mention war. They do. But for them the essential war preparation of the bourgeoisie is the attempt to impose fascism:

"The only way for them out of the crisis is World War III. Before they can go to war with the Soviet Union, they must succeed in attacking the American people first. They need a U.S. Hitler."

Their line is that the American people have such a high degree of consciousness that they cannot be led into war within the context of bourgeois democracy; therefore, in order to overcome

the resistance of the masses, the imperialists must first impose fascism before they can go to war.

CWP's "Anti-Fascism"

There are many points that could be made in relation to this superficial and wrong analysis; it overestimates the degree of consciousness of the masses at this time and it shows no understanding of the process of genesis of fascism, for instance. But the main point for present purposes is that it pushes the danger of war rather far into the future; the immediate question becomes the prevention of fascism. The CWP's idea is that if they can build a force strong enough to prevent fascism, they can then go over into the socialist revolution. This is not a new idea. It was the official line of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International (the Comintern), which proclaimed the prevention of fascism through "popular" or "people's" fronts to be the immediate task. This was officially seen as a first, defensive, step on the road to proletarian revolution, but in practice this general unity of all who could be united against fascism—including the "anti-fascist sector" of the bourgeoisie—became everything, and this whole strategy became nothing but a means by which each national proletariat was united with "its own" bourgeoisie in preparation for the inter-imperialist war which erupted with the beginning of World War 2. To say, as the CWP does, that "the bourgeoisie is trying to impose fascism now" (*Workers Viewpoint*, 4/12, 4/26, 5/12, 8/11-17/80) is ridiculous; to follow the line that fighting fascism is the main immediate task goes right along with the attempt to pose as the "best defenders of the national interest."

Now one might well ask, how can the ruling class be trying to impose fascism now, with plans for world war right behind, and still be "fiddling as America burns," full of "hot air," and stalling and half-stepping "when we need extreme measures"? This relates to another characteristic of the CWP to which we shall return below—namely its constant portrayal of the imperialists and their state apparatus as fumbling and bumbling, easily out-manuevered by any street-wise revolutionary. But it is also related to their picture of the U.S. in relation to the world. Their view of U.S. imperialism is close to that once expressed by Richard Nixon—it has become nothing but a "pitiful, helpless giant." The U.S. "can't get its allies together"—rather than a tightening of the U.S. bloc, CWP sees a growing trend of independence in the European/Japanese "second world." And then there's the "third world," whose struggles have weakened the superpowers and given the "second world" its breathing space. Here again, for the CWP, increasing independence is the rule:

"Third world countries are gaining independence one after another, and they have formed OPEC.... They can use that money to develop their independent economies."

This is nothing but a fantasy. The countries under the domination of imperialism have not been steadily gaining their independence. The OPEC members are a perfect example of how countries cannot simply "use that money to develop their independent economies" unless they first break free from the domination of imperialism—for the oil revenues of the OPEC countries have been used to buy goods and services from the West, deposited in U.S.-bloc banks, or invested in countries in the same bloc. This has had the effect of more deeply integrating these countries into the U.S. imperialist system, even while it has the dialectically related effect of giving their comprador rulers slightly more maneuvering room within this relation. (Iran under the Shah is a good example, or Saudi Arabia today.)



CWP's Democratic Convention leaflet.

Need it be said that there is nothing revolutionary about this analysis in terms of the "three worlds" theory—in fact just the reverse? This is, of course, exactly the theory which is pushed to the hilt by the present revisionist rulers of China, and which they use to justify support for every reactionary U.S. puppet and comprador around the globe—including the Shah up to the very moment of his overthrow. Countries cannot gradually and painlessly free themselves from the grip of imperialism, as this theory pretends; it requires political revolution—and the political leadership of the proletariat, not the ruling bourgeoisies of these countries.

This analysis is linked with the fact that the CWP, on the surface at least, sees only weakness in the present position of U.S. imperialism, rather than seeing how the necessity of moving toward war, while it represents and arises out of strategic weakness, nevertheless means at present, tactically, the necessity for the U.S. to increase imperialist control and tighten its war bloc. Reversing Mao's famous slogan, the CWP despises the imperialists tactically, but respects them strategically. A good example is their recent article entitled "U.S. Military—Colossus With Feet of Clay." Here they repeat every line of the current campaign by the U.S. bourgeoisie on the total unpreparedness and shoddiness of the U.S. war machine, from the lack of equipment and ammunition to the dearth of trained manpower, only throwing in their own "Marxist" gloss that "the U.S. economy, stagnating and dying because of the inherent contradictions of capitalism, simply cannot rearm quickly." * (*Workers Viewpoint*, 8/18-24/80, p. 12.) But given some time, one gathers, the U.S. could be quite formidable.

*This article also asserts: "Besides cutting off raw materials (sic), third world countries are kicking the superpowers and their military bases out. The U.S. has already lost its bases in Vietnam and Iran." Of course one might observe that the bases in Vietnam have not exactly been lost to imperialism in general (the Soviets now have them), and the U.S. is now taking over former Soviet bases in Somalia, while in the strategically located northeastern desert town of Al-Batin, Saudi Arabia is building King Khaled Military City under U.S. direction, which

Bourgeoisie Not Doing Its Job—CWP Will

But for the CWP the U.S. imperialists are weak and pitiful. The ruling class is simply no longer capable of doing its job—of ruling and leading. There's a "leadership vacuum" and the stage is set for some new leaders to take over:

"The 80's presents a rare opportunity for the American people...The main thing that holds us back is the fact that the American people are without leadership. We need our own political party, one that really stands for the interests of the American people, one that has the vision to lead and the organization to fight.

"Our leadership is here—The Communist Workers Party." And that's about all a revolution amounts to, in this group's banal and impoverished vision—a change in leadership. Then the new leadership can institute reforms. Summing up a week's work in a recent issue of their newspaper, they say:

"The CWP that week gave people a taste of what the future holds and inspired them with a vision. It means death to killer cops, and food on the table. The CWP is beginning to speak for all the American people." (*Workers Viewpoint*, 8/25-31/80, p. 14.) Revenge and a full belly. Their vision of socialism is summed up in the all-print poster they've been putting up this summer—jobs and equality for all; no crime or drugs; every family to have its own home; and plenty of free recreation, medical care and transportation. There is no vision of the revolutionization of all aspects of life, of their increasing socialization, of storms of mass class struggle. Instead it is a quiet, peaceful and prosperous life for all, the American dream fulfilled, the pursuits

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will be home for some 70,000 people including armed forces, dependents and operations and maintenance staff. While not directly a U.S. base, this is in line with present U.S. policy of maintaining a low military profile in the "third world" and procuring bases which will be under U.S. command and control, even though not filled with U.S. troops. This is already in effect at other bases in Saudi Arabia and other countries, and similar arrangements are reported to have been made by the Soviet Union in Iraq.

**INVASION
PLAN LEAKED**

**THE MANY UGLY FACES
OF U.S. PLOTS VS. IRAN**

Columnist Jack Anderson recently revealed that there are active plans under way for the U.S. military to invade and hold portions of Iran in mid-October. According to Anderson, "the primary invasion target is Iran's Kharg Island in the Persian Gulf (Kharg Island has the oil terminal through which 90% of Iran's crude oil is pumped into tankers for export)—and, possibly, some of the southern Iranian oil fields. . . . The ostensible purpose is to rescue the hostages, but the operation would exact military retribution."

Anderson claimed that his associates have seen "documents so secret that the code word used to classify them is itself classified." As part of his evidence, Anderson pointed to a number of recent U.S. military moves in the area, including shifting a spy satellite to cover the area, the transfer of a squadron of F-4 aircraft and 500 Air Force personnel to Egyptian staging airfields, the continuing presence of two U.S. carrier task forces in the Indian Ocean, and finally, the training of troops for the mission in South Carolina and the Southwest.

Anderson's sources told him that Carter would need "some pretext for the invasion, such as the trial or execution of a hostage," and that "a justification could be easily publicized beforehand." And according to Anderson, he only obtained this information because "the people working on the plans concluded they wouldn't work and they were politically motivated."

Finally, Anderson pointed out that "the risk, of course, is war. . . . a Soviet-U.S. clash over Iran could become the opening skirmish of World War 3." President Carter is "not unaware of the danger," Anderson wrote in his column, and "he has directed the intelligence community to produce a secret estimate of how the Kremlin will react to a limited invasion of Iran."

The response from the White House was as predictable as it was swift, labeling Anderson's story "absolutely false" and "totally irresponsible." But at the same time as it was charging that the

idea that "this or any other administration would start a war for political benefit is grotesque," the White House statement hastened to point out that "with respect to the Persian Gulf, the President has said that we consider that region an area of vital interest. Therefore, while it is necessary to have plans for dealing with any external threat to countries of the region, we have no intention of initiating any conflict ourselves."

This official statement is itself quite revealing. Hardly an effort is made to deny that the U.S. is getting ready to take military action against Iran—though this is all phrased in the standard imperialist terms of "countering external threats" or someone else "starting it." The denial is only around Carter seeking election advantage. To anyone remotely familiar with the operations of the U.S. government, it is no surprise that this plan for a "limited invasion" of Iran, as well as many other plans, have been developed and are being considered for use. There are whole sections in the Pentagon, State Department and CIA which deal with such imperialist "contingency planning," and you can be sure that a number of special "task forces" have been drawing up and continuously refining such plans for U.S. intervention in Iran since late 1978, when the Shah was about to be toppled. After the miserable failure of the Tabas raid this April, a whole new battery of plans for U.S. political and military intervention in Iran have undoubtedly been commissioned (some of which are already being implemented). As the White House continued to loudly deny it was up to anything in the days following the leakage of this plan to invade Iran, even Jack Anderson pointed out in his own defense that "the White House press office issued similar denials before the April attempt to rescue the hostages."

And while the U.S. commander-in-chief is most definitely preparing new aggression against Iran, Carter is not doing this for "political benefit." Far more is at stake for the imperialist



"Defense" Secretary Brown, on being asked about Jack Anderson's column revealing a new U.S. plan to invade Iran, ABC's "Issues and Answers," August 17.

I WILL NOT CONFIRM OR DENY THIS REPORT. THAT'S NOT THE KIND OF THING I WANT TO TALK ABOUT.

rulers of the U.S. than getting re-elected, or elected, in November. The U.S. bourgeoisie knows full well that it will be at the front lines of World War 3, and as they head towards a global showdown with their imperialist rivals in the USSR, they cannot afford to have their "leadership" seriously threatened, especially in such a strategic part of the world as the oil-rich Persian Gulf. The Iranian revolution could not have come at a worse time for the U.S. imperialists, undercutting their efforts to keep their imperialist allies in Europe and Japan firmly in line, and serving as a powerful inspiration to hundreds of millions of oppressed people around the world that there is another path to take—that of rising up in revolution—in the face of the imperialists' criminal war plans.

Since the fall of the Shah, the U.S. bourgeoisie has been faced with the necessity of attempting to crush the revolution and bring Iran back under its complete domination. The seizure of the U.S. embassy and the continuing "hostage crisis" only put them in more of a bind; the U.S. government is supposed to be "Number 1 in the world," yet it can't even get back its CIA agents and other so-called diplomats in Iran. It is to be expected that any new military action against Iran will be presented as a last resort to "rescue the hostages" after 300 days of "patience and restraint." But as we have pointed out in the past, the hostages are nothing but expendable pawns to the U.S. ruling class; this was underlined once again by the administration's announcement last week that it was proposing legislation to exempt the hostages' salaries from income tax for two years "if they die in captivity" and to provide training funds for their spouses "if they want to enter the job market." So don't expect the next "humanitarian rescue mission" to bring back anybody alive!

Not only are the same powerful reasons that drove the imperialists to gamble on staging the raid in April still here, they are pressing in on them with greater force. More than ever, the bourgeoisie has got to put an end to the "hostage crisis" in order to lay to rest its post-Vietnam image of a superpower that is not able to flex its muscles, and to stoke up the patriotic war cries of "it's time to stop letting these foreigners push us around" on the domestic front. Beyond this, if they go into Iran militarily, it will very likely be in conjunction with attempts to launch a reactionary internal military coup. The aim of this would be nothing less than crushing the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people and bringing Iran back under the stranglehold of the U.S. once again.

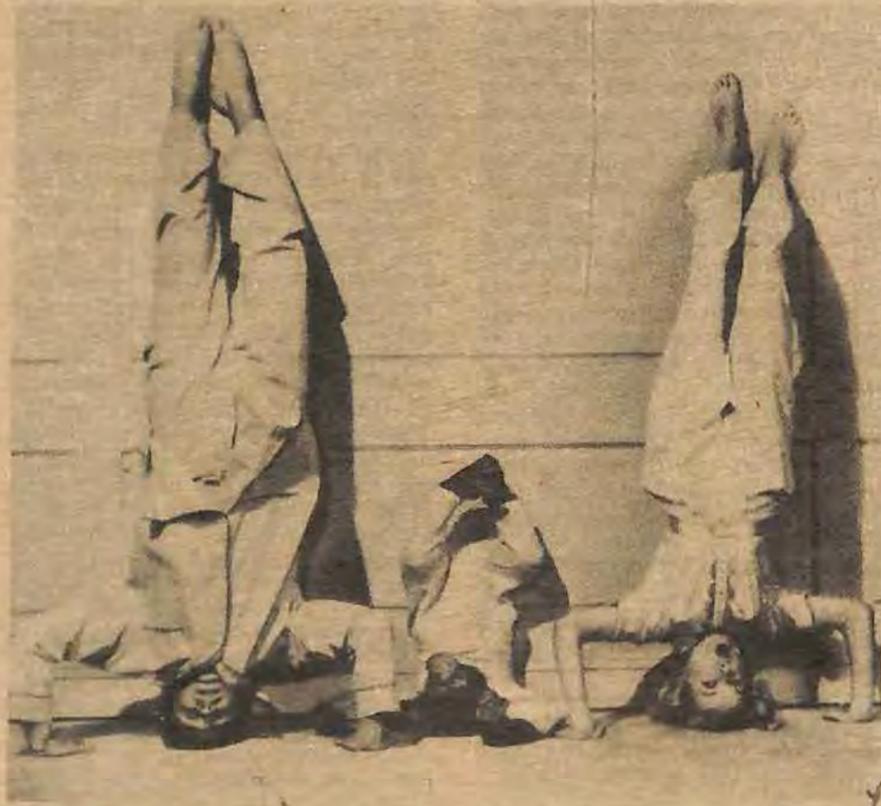
With all of this staked on the U.S.'s next move in Iran, the *Washington Post*, as well as dozens of other papers nationwide, publicly refused to print Anderson's column, claiming his information was "unsubstantiated by reliable sources." Those newspapers

that did run it only did so with various kinds of disclaimers. The *Washington Post*, some may remember, was the first paper to print the "Pentagon Papers" in 1972, at a time when the bourgeoisie was sharply divided over the Vietnam War and a powerful section wanted to create public opinion for bringing the war to an end as quickly as possible so as to protect their interests elsewhere in the world. The *Post*'s action and the general downplaying of Anderson's column in the press demonstrates that the bourgeoisie realizes that the stakes are higher now than even around Vietnam and that they do not want to touch off a full-scale public debate around Iran that could develop wider opposition to the moves they're plotting out.

Still, these "leaks" from inside the government do represent disagreements, which get very sharp at times, within the ruling class over how to best prepare for war with the Soviets and how Iran fits into that. It is very likely that Anderson's information came from forces in the State Department who got cold feet around the Tabas raid, arguing that such military action might fail and in any case would only undermine the position of the pro-U.S. forces inside Iran and give the Soviets new openings to exploit in the region. But it is also possible that these leaks are coming from pro-Reagan forces, who are taking aim at Carter for his "vacillating, no-win policies" internationally. While generally calling for "getting tough" around Iran, at last week's American Legion convention in Boston, Reagan warned the administration against taking any "reckless actions" that the U.S. is not prepared to back up militarily and, if necessary, go down with the Soviets. Thus, the bourgeoisie is not debating whether it should prepare to attack Iran, but how to wage the "most effective" aggression against Iran—that is, those actions that will strengthen them for the ultimate fight—World War 3—that they are preparing to throw everything into in the years ahead.

U.S. military action in Iran could take a number of different forms, including a second raid (though on a far bigger scale than Tabas) or a "limited invasion" as described in Anderson's column. And this time, it will very likely be part of an overall plan to stage a pro-U.S. coup in Iran. The destruction and chaos it would cause would (they hope) give their internal buddies some help. For the last couple of months, this coup plotting has been the main topic of discussion inside Iran, and there have already been one major and several minor coup attempts originating from within the Iranian military (whose officer corps was trained and directed by U.S. advisers for more than three decades). The U.S. is especially hoping to bring together its allies in the Iranian military with sections of the reactionary Islamic Republic Party (IRP) in order to give their forces a more nationalist

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NEWS ITEM:

Presidential candidate Ronald Reagan announced recently that he was "not convinced by the theory of evolution." Shown here in his early film "Bedtime for Bonzo," Reagan demonstrates his qualitatively superior intelligence vis à vis one of his co-stars, a chimpanzee. Said the candidate, "There's no apes in my family."

Ted Kennedy:

Knight in Dented Armor Readied for Nuclear Crusade

"It was an unprecedented moment in American politics: the spectacle of a failed candidate galvanizing his party's national convention and overshadowing a President who was about to be re-nominated," gushed *Newsweek* magazine speaking of Ted Kennedy's stage-managed upstaging of Jimmy Carter at the Democratic Party convention a few weeks ago. From virtually every quarter of the media machine Kennedy's performance was hailed and the great possibilities for his political career expounded on. "Bravo! Bravo!" was the cry. He made the cover of *Newsweek* (shaking the hand of a grateful Carter, of course) and had his picture and the complete text of his speech splashed over every major newspaper in the country. But under all the pretenses that this outpouring of adulation was the result of a massive emotional tide in the wake of his "the dream shall never die" tearjerker on the convention podium lies the real truth—Kennedy is being systematically groomed by the ruling class to play a vital and necessary role for them now and possibly even more in the future. As useful as the open exponents of jingoism and "nuke-'em first" like Ronald Reagan are in mobilizing the more backward sections of society, slicker politicians

like Kennedy are key in trying to reach other sections for the reactionary goal.

Newsweek put it this way, "Kennedy may have lost the nomination, but as chief Kennedy delegate-hunter Rick Stearns put it, that was 'the only thing he lost.' ... Kennedy transformed what was supposed to have been a tearful last hurrah into a triumphant call to arms, and he emerged a more potent political figure. ... His failed campaign now seemed to some to have been a shakedown cruise." The key phrases here are "call to arms" and "shakedown cruise," for here is revealed exactly what the bourgeoisie is up to with its promotion of Kennedy and exactly what they are trying to keep hidden in order to make this little con game work. While Kennedy hardly even directly mentioned war in his speech, he and his brand of populism are precisely being used in an effort to galvanize people behind the U.S. in the world war which looms ever closer. And clearly the bourgeoisie has viewed Kennedy's campaign this time around as a sort of "shakedown cruise" that may be excellent preparation for the future with the masses of people being the ones to be shaken down.

Kennedy's appearance before the convention was extraordinary. In fact,

he was the first Democratic candidate to address a convention on the platform since William Jennings Bryan delivered his "cross of gold" speech in 1896. Like the populist Bryan, who swore that he would never see "mankind crucified upon a cross of gold," Kennedy's speech was likewise loaded with demagoguery and was addressed to the broadest reaches of the working masses. Summoning up all the time-worn Kennedy and Franklin D. Roosevelt rhetoric his speech writers could muster, like a rotting side of beef tempting the suspicious tiger to step once again into the trap of the bourgeois elections, Kennedy assured the people over and over that the Democrats do in fact speak for them, and if they should "have faith," a pot of gold awaits at the end of the American rainbow—where in fact lies nuclear war and imperialist slaughter.

But of this there was scarcely a word in his speech which was ostensibly a speech on the economic planks of the Democratic party platform. Not a word about war and U.S. foreign policy in a week in which the U.S. had just leaked the story of retargeting its nuclear weapons toward military targets in the Soviet Union, a major step toward actual nuclear warfare, and on the same day that Carter had sent a personal note to the Democratic Party delegates signed "the Commander-in-Chief" demanding support for the MX missile program. This deliberate avoidance of such questions was part of the whole game plan. There will be time enough to address these questions in the future. For now the main thing was to try to rope those who reject the more open warmongering of Reagan and Carter, those who have more progressive leanings, those who are fed up especially among the working class and forces like those in the anti-nuke movement. It only strengthens Kennedy's future role for the bourgeoisie that he is *not* seen as a bellicose militarist, but one whose first concern is for the welfare of the people.

"It is the glory and the greatness of our tradition to speak for those who have no voice," Kennedy intoned, "to remember those who are forgotten, to respond to the frustration and fulfill the aspirations of all Americans seeking a better life in a better land."

"For all those whose cares have been our concern, the work goes on, the cause endures, the hope still lives and the dream shall never die."

It was the same old "follow me and I'll set you free" of the condescending savior (and pompous windbag at that) which characterized Kennedy's speech. Even the crumbs which he held out for the masses were qualified by "hope for" or expressed as a pious wish for social equality in a system based on exploitation and oppression:

"Let us pledge that there will be security for all those who are now at work. And let us pledge that there will be jobs for all who are out of work."

"... Let us resolve that the state of a family's health shall never depend upon the size of the family's wealth."

"We must not permit the neighborhoods of America to be permanently shadowed by the fear of another Three Mile Island."

"Hope," as it turned out, was the only commodity Kennedy could offer an unlimited supply of. "We are the party of the New Freedom, the New Deal and the New Frontier. We have always been the party of hope. So this year, let us offer new hope..." Of Kennedy's speech we might say, he has nothing to promise but promises themselves.

It was a real tearjerker and ushers handed out hankies in the aisles as Teddy recalled all "the little people" who had helped him in his campaign. "I have listened to Kenny Du Bois, a glass

blower in Charleston, West Virginia, who has ten children to support but has lost his job of 35 years, just three years short of qualifying for his pension." (There his speech writers seemed to have made a boo-boo since Mr. Du Bois is now situated as the director of the Safety and Boiler Division of the W. Virginia Department of Labor and is in fact drawing his \$135 a month pension, but this is not important).

"What golden friends I have," cried Kennedy.

True. And Kennedy's "golden friends" saw to it that every minute of his performance was on prime time TV followed by a 35 minute organized floor demonstration (convention officials had given the Kennedy people 1,300 special passes to bring the demonstrators in).

Kennedy's speech was as vacuous of substance as it was gaudy of style, which made it precisely the stuff bourgeois politics is made of. For under the rule of the capitalist class, the primary task of elections is that of molding and shaping public opinion, defining what the issues will be and what they won't be, and in mobilizing the masses behind lying politicians who will promise them pie-in-the-sky with a scoop of ice cream, and then lead them into another round of imperialist war and plunder.

And while Kennedy's speech did not mention one word concerning war, near the end of his speech he did speak in guarded terms of the theme toward which he is moving and the role for which the ruling class is so carefully developing his image:

"There will be setbacks and sacrifices in the years ahead. But I am convinced that we as a people are ready to give something back to our country in return for all it has given to us. Let this—let this be our commitment: whatever sacrifices must be made will be shared—and shared fairly. And let this be our confidence at the end of our journey and always before us shines that ideal of liberty and justice for all."

Compare these words with those of another infamous capitalist politician spoken just before the first world war:

"We are in for rough weather; we may even be in for a winter of storms which will rock the forest, break many a withered branch, and leave many a rotten tree torn up by the roots. But when the weather clears, you may depend upon it there will be something brought within the reach of the people that will bring warmth and glow to their gray lives, something that will help to dispel the hunger, the despair, the oppression and the wrong which now chills so many of their hearts."

These were the words of David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain, leader of the Liberal Party and champion of "the little man." Lloyd George was famous for his stinging attacks on "the landlord class" and the aristocracy. It was Lloyd George who introduced national health insurance and unemployment insurance into Britain. And in 1909 when Britain was locked in a desperate naval arms race with Germany, it was Lloyd George who raised the money for the battleships with his "people's budget," combining calls for new taxes on the rich with appeals to defend the welfare program.

The ability of Mr. Lloyd George to combine his vision for a better tomorrow with the defense of British imperialism is shown by another statement made about the same time as the one above, during a crisis of relations between England and Germany—and it was not much later when Mr. Lloyd George was delivering rabid war calls (in the name of peace of course).

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PLEDGE OF INTERNATIONALISM

—To the People of the World—

We will not shoot down the people of other lands in the service of those who rule the United States today. This we proudly and loudly pledge to the world's people at a time when the war preparations of the U.S. and Soviet imperialists are moving into high gear. We see clearly that World War 3 is exactly what's on the agenda for these two superpowers, and that this is why draft registration is here and why the draft and bootcamp assignments won't be far behind.

We will never become star-struck American patriots—we are INTERNATIONALISTS!

We have no country, we just live here. We do not own the giant companies, the banks, the land in the U.S.—these all belong to the tiny class of U.S. imperialists who exercise their dictatorship of corporate empire over the vast majority of people living within the borders of the U.S.

We are one with the masses of people worldwide in battle against imperialism, headquartered today in the U.S. and USSR. We support all struggles against imperialism as our own because they are our own. We are not interested in the "treats" the U.S. imperialists offer us, their "own people," which come directly from their bloody domination of foreign markets and peoples.

We have no desire to "Keep America Number 1." We welcome each and every defeat the U.S. suffers. We laugh straight in the face of decrepit American Legionnaires who wheeze and pant as American choppers eat desert sand in Iran. "You must restore America to her rightful place in the world." We will never submit to plans for "National Unity," especially in times of trouble. We will strike hardest precisely at these times.

We will not answer their hideous calls to attack the people, here or around the world. We will not be used to further their modern-day piracy by dropping their human-incinerator nukes from 60,000 feet, by occupying other lands so that "God's chosen rulers," the rulers of the U.S., can maintain and expand their power and control over vast sections of the world, by raping and robbing "the enemy" to help spread the American way of life, while the Wall Street bankers and Houston oil kings sit locked in velvet-lined bomb shelters, "so there will be somebody left to run things."

Their frantic war cries echo hollow in our ears: this

is the third time this century when imperialist powers have sought to rally their slaves behind national flags to sell other slaves of the "wrong flags." Our flag is red; it is the flag of the international working class, and of revolution. Those who raise the red flag are part of another army, the army made up of every nationality on every continent whose message is: the working people of the world have everything in common with each other, and nothing in common with the imperialists.

We will be inside and outside the imperialist military machine, men and women of all nationalities, hidden and yet everywhere. We, the prisoners of capitalist society, will seize the ever growing opportunities presented to us—because the imperialists will be stretched to the limits internationally—to influence and arouse millions to put an end to this periodic global genocide the only way possible: end the problem by ending the source.

War lays bare the essence of this system. All the ugly features of imperialism that lie hidden in "peaceful times," become blatantly clear in war. We pledge to use their war preparations and the war itself to help people wake up, to jolt people out of meek obedience or at least keeping on keeping on.

We will be told to go off and fight Russian soldiers no different than ourselves, except that they have been bombarded with the poison of patriotism in Russian instead of English, and called on to carry out the crimes of their own ruling class. We will be told to put down rebellions of people fighting to be free in this country, like the one recently in Miami. We will be told to clamp down on anyone who does not go along with the program, "USA All The Way." But, we will not shoot our brothers and sisters! When the overlords of industry put guns in soldiers' hands, we will teach the soldiers which way to aim these guns and when.

We don't agree that "All generations have to go to war for The Nation sooner or later," and that now it's our turn. We've got other plans in mind because our war is here at home.

We will shoulder the great responsibilities that we have in this country to deliver the final blows to U.S. imperialism, and by doing so lift a gigantic weight off the backs of oppressed people here and in every corner of the globe.

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Denouncing the Klan at a Detroit City Council meeting

Detroit

White Sheets and M-16's

On August 7, seven white men were arrested in Detroit by the FBI three days after they fired two shotgun blasts at a Black man outside a bar in an integrated, mostly white working class area of Brightmoor. Having missed, the gunmen went to the man's home an hour later and sprayed 24 rounds from an M-16 automatic rifle into his house, which is located in the same area. The intended victim, his girlfriend, and her two and a half year-old daughter escaped injury, although they were all home at the time. The FBI said it confiscated 50 handguns, shotguns and rifles along with several thousand rounds of ammo, and a supply of KKK literature from the houses of those they arrested. The attackers were charged with conspiracy to violate the civil rights of the man they tried to murder.

The government has used this charge in cases like this before where they needed to make a show of "apprehending" their henchmen and sometimes even giving them a pretend slap on the wrist.

And in the wake of the Miami rebellion this year which exploded over the acquittal of four cops on charges of murdering Black businessman Arthur McDuffie, now the federal government has charged another Miami cop with "violating the civil rights" of the dead man. Another very suspicious item in what little information the FBI released on this raid was the disclosure that a

"confidential informant" had told them that the M-16s had been brought up from Texas courtesy of the KKK. To top it off, after a quick arraignment in federal court, the would-be assassins were released on personal bond.

This attack was part of a whole offensive that the Klan and Nazis, hand-in-hand with the bourgeoisie, have been waging in the Detroit area. Their opening salvo had come on June 5, a little more than one month after the historic revolutionary International Workers Day demonstration on May First.

The Klan and Nazis directly applied for a permit from the city council to hold a march and rally in downtown Detroit, stating: "If groups like the RCP can come out and vandalize (*sic*) the city, why can't we march? We tried to demonstrate as white people in support of the white race." In late June, a city council meeting on the permit question was held. Hundreds of people turned out. As the Nazi speaker approached the microphone, the whole place erupted in chants of "death to the Klan!" and he and his fellow maggots from the Klan had to be hustled out of council chambers protected by dozens of cops. Soon after that, a series of terror attacks on Blacks began. In the last two months, several Black families in Brightmoor and another nearby multi-national neighborhood have been harassed, with at least one house fire-bombed by a gang of white youth and

another painted with KKK slogans.

George Stewart, the target of the shooting attack, has lived in Brightmoor for three and one-half years. He rides and socializes with a group of white motorcyclists. Though not in an organized club, they hang together tight. Recently, he has been threatened by some people who don't like the fact that a Black man would dare to be close friends with many whites, share a house with a white woman, and hang out with his white buddies in a bar whose customers have been mainly white. What's more, these reactionaries were really rubbed the wrong way because his white friends think this is a natural and acceptable thing too. The threatening phone calls to George and his friends began in earnest after a recent incident in a Brightmoor park.

After some white youth there yelled a racial slur at George, eight motorcyclists—George and his seven white buddies, rode into the park and parked their bikes in front of a car displaying KKK literature and a sign reading "Niggers beware." Nobody said a word to the Klan. Instead, people were balling up and throwing away papers with the headline "White people wake up!" Says George, "I'm a threat to all they preach. I'm a classic example that they're full of shit. I contradict everything they say about Black people. I'm not a one man crusade—I'm just living my life the way I want to live. But

it looks like a crusade to these guys. Everybody else sees I'm no different than them. It's changing a lot of people's way of thinking."

While the whole series of attacks in Brightmoor was aimed at intimidating people and stirring up racial hatred, it's clear that some people, like George and his friends, were not going to fall prey. So they too became targets for attack. Yet this attempted murder has done just the opposite of what it was supposed to do. Minutes after the house got riddled with bullets, a dozen people were on George's porch, all of them ready to give the nightriders a righteous dose of their own medicine if they had returned. "It backfired," says George. "If they were trying to split people up, it's made the bond even stronger."

It's a bold move for the Klan and Nazis to be operating so openly and with such intensity in Detroit, a city that is half Black. There is definitely a method to their madness. With 65% of Black youth unemployed, 20% of the whole city out of work, and a history of sharp struggle against the oppression of Blacks, the ruling class knows that conditions and forces exist that could contribute to eruptions against their system. There is also the basis for strong Black and white unity in the conditions of the large concentrations of industrial workers in Detroit. The bourgeoisie is trying to turn all this to their

Continued on page 9

READER EXPOSES POLICE MURDERS

Recently we received a letter and newspaper clippings about two young Chicano men who were gunned down in the streets of Longmont, Colorado, by marauding police. The letter expressed outrage over the murders, routine in the lives of minority peoples in America.

On Thursday night, August 14, Juan Louis Garcia and Jeff Cordova, both Chicano and both age 21, were shot to death by Longmont cops on Main Street. Juan was shot in the chest and Jeff was shot in the back, apparently running from the scene, according to witnesses. But other than those facts, the whole incident is being shrouded in mystery, with tight-lipped officials playing it close to the vest.

Jeff and Juan were returning from a wedding with three other friends. The police contend that a fight began after the youths' car was pulled over and that the scuffle developed after another cop

showed up. Why was the car stopped in the first place? Except for a snide, double-talk comment by the Boulder County Chief Deputy District Attorney, Peter Hofstrom, no one will say. "The car was stopped because the observation of one of the officers involved led him to believe they were doing something he thought warranted him to stop the car."

But the Chicano population in Longmont are intimately familiar with the harassment and brutality of the local pigs. In fact, Juan Garcia's brother Frank had called the U.S. Justice Department just two weeks before the shooting, hoping to find a way to prosecute Longmont police for their repressive actions directed at Chicanos. "I've got a whole book of people who are ready to go to court with me," Frank Garcia told reporters the night of the murders. Main Street has been the

focal point of much of this harassment, especially aimed at the youth who cruise there. "Main Street is not a social center," blustered Longmont Mayor, Bob Askey, in a memo he called a "statement of support"—no doubt for the cops who were only "doing their jobs." The memo was written the day after the shootings to show "that we are unified on this matter...to contribute to a more peaceful Main Street," Askey said. The method by which such peace would be brought about had been seen one day earlier. And now even the standard harassment would be escalated. "...there has been undisciplined behavior on the part of certain motorists up and down Main Street... Certain reckless behavior necessitates a hard crackdown on frivolous behavior on Main Street."

The Grand Jury investigation convenes on September 3, but already the

skids are being greased for that time-worn verdict that has become so familiar in the "investigations" of police murders concerning minorities—"justifiable homicide." The idea of claiming "self-defense" has already been floated in the press. After all, one of the nightsticks was supposedly taken from one of the cops. And according to the *Longmont Times-Call*, "what appeared to be a knife sheath" was lying next to the body of Jeff Cordova. Never mind that it was Jeff that was shot in the back while running away from the scene!

Two more brothers are dead, this time in a small Colorado town. The reader who told us this story was on target in the conclusion of his letter: "Maybe bringing to light this crime can help the struggle to sentence and execute this system of capitalist oppression and plunder." □

V.I. LENIN

ON CONFOUNDING POLITICS WITH PEDAGOGICS

The following is a short excerpt from Lenin's article, "On Confounding Politics With Pedagogics" (Vol. 8, pp. 452-55). In this article, Lenin points to the danger of limiting communist (Social-Democratic) political work only to the basic education (pedagogics) for the broadest masses. He points out the importance of not neglecting the more advanced educational and political work needed by the more advanced sections of the workers.

... It is our duty always to intensify and broaden our work and influence among the masses. A Social-Democrat (Communist—RW) who does not do this is no Social-Democrat. No branch, group, or circle can be considered a Social-Democratic organization if it does not work to this end steadily and regularly. To a great extent, the purpose of our strict separation as a distinct and independent party of the proletariat consists in the fact that we always and undeviatingly conduct this Marxist work of raising the whole working class, as far as possible, to the level of Social-Democratic consciousness, allowing no political gales, still less political changes of scenery, to turn us away from this urgent task. Without this work, political activity would inevitably degenerate into a game, because this activity acquires real importance for the proletariat only when and insofar as it arouses the mass of a definite class, wins its interest, and mobilises it to take an active, foremost part in events. This work, as we have said, is always necessary. After every reverse we should bring this to mind again, and emphasise it, for weakness in this work is always one of the causes of the proletariat's defeat. Similarly, we should always call attention to it and emphasise its importance after every victory, otherwise the victory will be only a seeming one, its fruits will not be assured, its real significance in the great struggle for our ultimate goal will be negligible and may even prove adverse (particularly if a partial victory should

slacken our vigilance, lull our distrust of unreliable allies, and cause us to forgo the right moment for a renewed and more vigorous attack on the enemy.)

But for the very reason that the work of intensifying and broadening our influence on the masses is always necessary, after each victory as after each defeat, in times of political quiescence as in the stormiest periods of revolution, we should not turn the emphasis upon this work into a special slogan or build upon it any special trend if we do not wish to court the risk of descending to demagoguery and degrading the aims of the advanced and only truly revolutionary class. There is and always will be an element of pedagogics in the political activity of the Social-Democratic Party. We must educate the whole class of wage-workers to the role of fighters for the emancipation of mankind from all oppression. We must constantly teach more and more sections of this class; we must learn to approach the most backward, the most undeveloped members of this class, those who are least influenced by our science and the science of life, so as to be able to speak to them, to draw closer to them, to raise them steadily and patiently to the level of Social-Democratic consciousness, without making a dry dogma out of our doctrine—to teach them not only from books, but through participation in the daily struggle for existence of these backward and undeveloped strata of the proletariat. There is, we repeat, a certain element of pedagogics in this everyday activity. The Social-Democrat who lost sight of this activity would cease to be a Social-Democrat. That is true. But some of us often forget, these days, that a Social-Democrat who would reduce the tasks of politics to pedagogics would also, though for a different reason, cease to be a Social-Democrat. Whosoever might think of turning this "pedagogics" into a special slogan, of *contraposing* it to "politics", of building a special trend upon it, and of appealing to the masses under this



slogan against the "politicians" of Social-Democracy, would instantly and unavoidably descend to demagoguery.

That comparisons are odious is an old axiom. In every comparison a likeness is drawn in regard to only one aspect or several aspects of the objects or notions compared, while the other aspects are tentatively and with reservation abstracted. Let us remind the reader of this commonly known but frequently ignored axiom and proceed to compare the Social-Democratic Party to a large school which is at once elementary, secondary, and collegiate. The teaching of the ABC, instruction in the rudiments of knowledge and in independent thinking, will never, under any circumstances, be neglected in this big school. But if anyone sought to invoke the need for teaching the ABC as a pretext for dismissing questions of higher learning, if anyone attempted to offset the impermanent, dubious, and "narrow" results of this higher learning (accessible to a much smaller circle of people than those learning the ABC) to

the durable, profound, extensive, and solid results of the elementary school, he would betray incredible shortsightedness. He might even help to pervert the whole purpose of the big school, since by ignoring higher education he would simply be making it easier for charlatans, demagogues, and reactionaries to mislead the people who had only learned the ABC. Or again, let us compare the Party to an army. Neither in peace-time nor in war-time dare we neglect the training of recruits, dare we neglect rifle drill, or the dissemination of the rudiments of military science as intensively and extensively as possible among the masses. But if those directing the manoeuvres or actual battles...

Written in June 1905

First published in 1926 in *Lenin Miscellany V*

Published according to the manuscript

*Here the manuscript breaks off.—Ed.

White Sheets and M-16's

Continued from page 8

advantage with one thousand and one desperate game plans.

They are using the dual tactics of trying to unleash reactionaries to join up with the KKK and attack Blacks and instigating terror to try to beat people into a submissive posture, while at the same time promoting the lie that the government can and will represent the true interests of all the people in order to disarm people and have them sit by while this shit goes down. This is becoming an "all too familiar pattern around the country these days in regard to promoting the KKK and the Nazis.

In Detroit the authorities tried to turn mass outrage over the proposed Klan/Nazi march into an absurd debate over their "civil liberties" (their constitutional right to propagate their filth) while the thugs went about doing their dirty work. Council members, newspaper editors, TV broadcasters, and the police all preached their sermon of "don't do anything, stay home behind locked doors, let the extremists march and the authorities will handle everything.

This whole charade enabled the Klan/Nazi scum to break new ground here. Working on several fronts, they portrayed themselves as underdogs just seeking their rights, while they also carried out violent terror to help them at-

tract new reactionary recruits. Meanwhile, the ruling class propped up its tarnished banner of being the even-handed mediating force that stands above political prejudice. They also lost no time in creating public opinion against revolutionaries and the RCP in particular, by trying to equate the May Day march with the Nazi/Klan rally, and by claiming that since they had been so "democratic" as to give a permit to the May Day demonstration, they also had to approve the fascists' march. But not all on the city council were for issuing a permit to the Klan. One city councilman, Jack Kelley, said that he'd vote against the permit because "I'd be afraid that some of the Ku Klux Klan members would get killed." He had voted for the May Day permit, saying, "I hope you march straight into the Detroit river."

It's no accident that both the Klan and more "respectable" spokespeople for the bourgeoisie focused much of their venom on May Day and the RCP, trying to run their con game of "extremists of the left" and "extremists of the right," two "rabid dogs" who have to be kept apart with the iron hand of bourgeois rule. At the city council meeting mentioned earlier, the cops dragged off and arrested four RCP supporters who spoke out to expose this

line. A month later, the city council voted to grant the Nazis a permit, but with the condition that they display no swastikas or white robes and that it be moved a few blocks away from the downtown square they had requested. They also guaranteed police protection. A few days later, a Nazi leader said he couldn't accept those restrictions on their civil liberties and that the Klan and Nazis would petition the council again on their original requests. The day after that, he changed his story to one that more closely aided the bourgeoisie's interests, telling reporters the march had been canceled because of fear that they would get "stoned by the commies."

There are many people in Detroit and in the Brightmoor neighborhood who have few illusions about the "democratic" role of the Detroit police (the Nazis opened a bookstore in Brightmoor two years ago that was shut down by demonstrations in which the cops arrested many community people for trying to trash the place), and as this case further unfolds, the more the government's bloody role in the KKK/Nazi drive will become clear.

With the FBI's disclosure of their "confidential informant" among the KKK, they obviously knew about and helped plan and instigate everything that happened. It fits the same *modus operandi* as the Nazi/Klan murders of five people in Greensboro, North Carolina last year. The shooting up of

George Stewart's home and the whole KKK/Nazi campaign in Detroit is a prime example of how the government is actively promoting the Klan and Nazis wherever and whenever it serves its interests as part of a worked-out plan to whip up reaction across the country. □



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U.S. Prosecutor Slanders UN 2 as Tour Begins

With the appeal of the case of the UN2, Steve Yip and Glenn Gan, scheduled to begin soon, the government hasn't missed a chance to keep its legal railroad on the track. At a routine court hearing held on August 27 in New York City, to get the approval of the now infamous Judge Robert Ward for the UN2 to leave New York to go on a month-long speaking tour, U.S. prosecutor Jim Rather took the opportunity to slander the two revolutionaries and paint them as terrorists while repeatedly and vehemently objecting to the two being allowed to make the tour. The purpose of this courtroom scene was clear, to add to the government's case in the appeal trial and even lay the basis for the possible rejailling of the two under the pretense that they violated the conditions of their bail along lines suggested by Rather in his arguments.

Rather, the number two prosecutor during the trial of the UN2 expressed the government's distress at the proposed nationwide tour, consisting of a month-long tour through major cities which will coincide with much of the fanfare of the presidential elections. "If they (the government) had known about this (the tour) at the time of the sentencing, they would have requested more bail or that the prisoners be remanded," Rather protested. And he went on to make the direct insinuation that the UN2 constitute a physical threat to presidential candidates saying

to the effect that the two have assaulted people whose ideas they disagree with, and adding that with the elections and politicians travelling around the country the UN2 might "do something as well."

The purpose of this not-too-subtle insinuation is quite clear, to paint a picture of the UN2 as terrorists capable of anything that the government may see fit to frame them with in the future. But the real threat that the UN2 pose and that Rather and the government fear is a political one, issuing the call of the international proletariat's revolutionary opposition to world war, especially at a time when the bourgeoisie and its presidential candidates will be trumpeting their patriotic chorus for war. It is this threat that has the government resorting to the most insidious and preposterous slander they can dream up.

The permission for the tour was granted by the court after this courtroom episode and the tour will begin right away. The potential for it to be very powerful can already be seen. Below is the schedule for the tour.

For further information and to obtain exact times and dates for speaking engagements, contact the Committee to Free the UN2, c/o Revolution Books, 16 E. 18th St., New York City, N.Y., 10003. Letters of support and financial contributions can also be sent to this address.

1st Tour (Steve Yip)
West Virginia: Sept. 1-4
Cleveland: Sept. 4-6
Detroit: Sept. 6-11
Chicago: Sept. 11-16
St. Louis: Sept. 16-18
Dayton: Sept. 18-22
Greensboro: Sept. 22-24
Boston: Sept. 25-27
Washington, D.C.: Sept. 27-Oct. 1

2nd Tour (Glenn Gan)
Los Angeles: Aug. 30-Sept. 7
Hawaii: Sept. 7-10
Seattle: Sept. 10-14
Portland: Sept. 14-16
San Francisco: Sept. 16-20
Houston: Sept. 21-24
Atlanta: Sept. 24-27
Washington, D.C.: Sept. 27-Oct. 1

Statement from Flo Kennedy

Flo Kennedy, feminist and civil rights lawyer, made the following statement to the press about the UN 2 right before leaving for Copenhagen and the UN women's conference:

"The conviction of these two (the UN 2) shows 'American justice.' That they are facing eight years when the murderer of San Francisco's mayor is sentenced to six. Judge Ward's mask slipped when he resorted to the 'up yours' street gesture, when he abandoned his judiciary garb, to show his vulgarity to the UN 2."

Statement from Dr. Jim Ryan

Dr. Jim Ryan is a Boston physician and sponsor of the UN 2 tour

"1980: the U.S. and Soviet imperialists are desperately maneuvering to line up their forces for the coming showdown. Military moves in Iran, Afghanistan, El Salvador, Cambodia... two-faced diplomatic posturing in the United Nations... both superpowers telling the nations and people of the world to get ready for World War 3, to sign up to defend their empire against their bloodthirsty rival.

"On April 30, two representatives of the international working class joined the solemn deliberations at the UN. In brilliant red, they painted a very different picture of our future than what the imperialists have in mind. Blood-red paint dripped from the mouths of both the U.S. and Soviet ambassadors, exposing the fangs of these 20th-century vampires. Steve Yip and Glenn Gan raised high the red flag of revolution. They denounced both superpowers' war preparations and pointed to the bright future represented by May Day, the day when workers in hundreds of countries, including the U.S. for the first time in decades, proclaimed their determination not to kill their fellow workers to preserve oppression and exploitation but... to seize on the imperialists' weaknesses to make revolution.

"Yip and Gan pointed out a very different future than that proposed by the imperialists, the bright future of working-class revolution, the only future worth fighting and dying for. The imperialists were shaken by this exposure of their weakness, and have railroaded these revolutionaries and sentenced them to prison. All who look to the bright future they proclaim must rise to their defense, denounce the imperialists' attempt to intimidate all who would stand against their war preparations, and demand the immediate and unconditional release of the UN 2.

"Free the UN 2! Long Live the First of May!"

Statement from Karen Lindsey

The following statement is from Karen Lindsey, a feminist, poet and journalist and a sponsor of the UN 2 tour, made in Boston, Mass., August 22, 1980:

"In the mid-1960s, the Joffrey Ballet revived a 1932 ballet by Kurt Jooss called 'The Green Table.' The ballet begins with a bunch of masked, buffoon-like figures in elegant suits gathered around a green table—diplomats, negotiating. Their obvious arrogance and self-importance as they alternate between hostility and appeasement is almost amusing; then, suddenly, one of their quarrels ends with the sound of a gun shot; the stage darkens and then lightens on the eerie figure of death. The diplomats have declared war. The rest of the ballet is about the horrors of war and its effects on the diplomats' victims—the foolish, vain young soldiers and the women and girls whose lives are destroyed. In the end, the diplomats, alone, unscathed by the war they have created, are once again around the green table, negotiating a peace that they quickly turn into a new war. I am reminded of 'The Green Table' by the case of the UN 2. The picture of the U.S. and Soviet diplomats, elegantly dressed and oh-so-civilized as they calmly conduct the 'peace talks' that will determine the fate of thousands of people around the world, vividly reflects the masked diplomats of the Jooss ballet. They are untouched by the realities of the people whose lives they control and whose fates they will not share. In their world, war has nothing to do with death and poverty, and so they can afford to make war.

"So these two young men throw paint on them, and for a moment make them look like the clowns that they are. For this the young men are convicted of felonies and accused by the judge at their trial of 'terrorism'—this, in spite of the fact that they were never accused of using weapons, or even of attempting to hit the diplomats. What they were doing, like Kurt Jooss was doing 50 years ago, was attempting to dramatize the terrible evil that these elegant buffoons are perpetrating. Jooss was given 1st prize at the International Congress of the Dance for his efforts; Glenn Gan and Steven Yip have been given a felony conviction entailing at least a year in prison for theirs. We can't allow their conviction to go unchallenged. The real terrorists are the diplomats, with their pretty suits and their nice manners and their immunity from the consequences of the wars they force on us. And it's because they reminded us of that that Glenn Gan and Steven Yip have been convicted of felonies. They deserve the support of all of us."

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Serious Political Charges Levelled in Atlanta

The crucial battle to meet the goal of a sustained weekly circulation of 100,000 copies of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper has met with a fierce engagement with the bourgeoisie in Atlanta, Georgia. On Sunday, August 24, two people were arrested for posting the "Create Public Opinion... Seize Power" poster, an important tool in popularizing the newspaper broadly across the country. Within 48 hours after their arrest, charges of "advocating the overthrow of the government" were levelled at them. Particularly the quote on the bottom of the poster by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, has been singled out as the specific evidence to back up these charges. This attack shows how seriously the ruling class takes the expansion of the *RW*. Far from being mere "paper work" to the authorities, they recognize the threat posed to them by every bit of exposure of their criminal rule and every scrap of class-consciousness that is gained from the pages of the *RW*.

At the same time as this is an obvious attack on the *RW* campaign, these charges no doubt signify the continued gathering of "evidence" in the government's attempts to jail Bob Avakian. Not only does the poster have a direct quote from him, but one of the people arrested for posting is a well-known

activist and one of the Mao Tsetung Defendants, who along with Comrade Avakian and 15 others, is still facing 241 years in prison in the yet unresolved case now under appeal in Washington, D.C.

Initially the charges read like the usual city misdemeanors—"posting without a permit," "illegal posting," "littering," "obstructing an officer"—but they were held on astronomical bail. Both were held for \$7,000 ransom. The bail on one was raised by an additional \$43,000 for the "obstructing" charge when he, get this, replied to a cop's question of, "Do you have a car?", with "No"! The outrageous bail was but the first indicator that there was something other than the usual harassment of revolutionaries going on here.

On Sunday night, only hours after the bust and the setting of bail the people that went to bail these people out were turned away with the flimsy excuse that a Georgia State Driver's License was not good enough identification to take custody of those arrested. As a debate ensued the cop on duty blurted out the real reason behind this stalling; "the FBI is investigating the case right now so it doesn't matter anyway!" Ob-

viously the feds were holding on to these two men in an effort to do a little digging and figure out just how this attack was going to be orchestrated. The two remained in jail that night.

The next day, Monday at 4 o'clock, they were both convicted on the misdemeanor charges in a "trial" that went so fast that anyone in the courtroom who blinked missed it. Their sentence, also delivered on the spot, was a fine of \$100 and 90 days in jail each. But the shocker of the day was when new charges were hurled at them—charges of "advocating the overthrow of the government"—criminal felony charges that carry penalties of up to a \$20,000 fine and 20 years in prison! "Criminal trespass" was thrown in for good measure and they were immediately bound over to Georgia State authorities and are now held on a total bail of \$10,500.

This law, part of the Georgia State Criminal Code, was enacted in 1968, right in the middle of the tremendous revolutionary storms that were battering the U.S. imperialists around the world and right here in the heartland. It states: "A person is guilty of advocating the overthrow of the government if he...advocates, abets, advises, or

teaches the necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying the government of this state or any political division thereof by force or violence..."—"or," as in the case of the specific charges that the two revolutionaries face, "prints, publishes, edits, issues, circulates, sells, distributes, exhibits or displays any written or printed matter advocating any of the above." The statute goes on to cover all the "membership of," "support for," "conspiracy to commit," bases. This whole attack is an overt display of the real political dictatorship that lurks behind the veil of "democracy." There is little doubt that the authorities have made a calculated move with these charges.

This past Thursday, at a restricted bail reduction hearing where only the defense lawyer met with the judge, bail remained the same, at \$5,000 each. As word of this latest attack gets out, there is growing outrage at the very existence of these laws. Several lawyers have offered to work on the case. One man, a city councilman who's active in the anti-draft and anti-nuke movements, has volunteered to pay the legal fees for the defendants. The highly serious and highly political nature of the charges sharply reveals the ruling class's increasing desperation and necessity to lash out at the RCP and its press. □

Houston: Trial of Co-Conspirators Yields New Co-conspirators

The *Revolutionary Worker* has been the object of stepped-up attacks, especially since the announcement in the paper of the campaign to increase distribution of the *RW* to 100,000 per week. The conspiracy continues to spread in different ways, and the enemy has met this development with alarm and retaliation in many cities. What follows is a report from Houston, Texas.

Houston. After a week and a half of testimony a guilty verdict was delivered on August 22 in the trial of 4 revolutionaries arrested while selling the *Revolutionary Worker* and the *Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY)*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade) outside a Houston nightclub during draft registration week. Sentence: Four months in jail each and a total fine of \$3,000. The official charge was "obstructing a passageway"—but there were no doubts about the true nature of the "crime." In his closing arguments, the District Attorney held up a copy of the *Revolutionary Worker* and, stomping around in front of the jury box, declared: "If you don't think this is a struggle for power, you're extremely naive. These people think they are invincible when they go out with this newspaper. This is going to reoccur and reoccur unless we put a stop to it!"

Five days earlier, just before jury selection began, the people's verdict on this political railroad was heard outside the courthouse at a lively picket line. Several statements of outrage were read that had been sent to the judge. One from a Salvadoran worker said, "The bourgeoisie needs to be destroyed because they exploit the working class. It is important to raise the consciousness and develop the maturity of the working class. It is a just thing that they are doing. It is a good thing." Another message said, "Before the ar-

read it myself. I would now risk going to jail myself to distribute this newspaper. I am surprised that an 'accidental' shooting did not take place by the Houston police. As they are going through their trial and if they are jailed, I will be out telling people about the Revolutionary Communist Party and their newspaper. I can thank the American justice system and the Houston police department."

Shouts of "free the revolutionaries, drop the charges now!" and "Seize the day, Seize the hour! Create public opinion, seize power!" rang out, while many who had to be in court that day snatched up copies of the *Revolutionary Worker*. One of the defendants told how the day before, the cops had swooped in on a team of *RW* distributors in Irvington Courts (a mostly Chicano housing project next to Moody Park, scene of the 1978 rebellion). They had grabbed her and taken her to the police car. "Don't you know you're supposed to be in court tomorrow?" they snickered. Dozens of people had come out of their houses surrounded the cop car and forced them to release her. One of the oinkers had said, "If these people want that shit here they can have it!" before he and his buddies had run for cover, no doubt with frightful images of Miami and the Moody Park Rebellion hurrying them along.

Court convened, and obviously, escalating *RW* sales was the crime to be stopped. Travis Morales (one of the Moody Park 3 and now a defendant in this case) took the stand and the prosecutor threw a fit, "Isn't it true that we are actually your slaves? Isn't it your intention to tie up the Houston police department in this court for as long as possible?" When Travis reminded him that it was the HPD and D.A.'s office who had arrested the four, thrown them in jail for 9 days, set bail at \$6,000 and was now railroading the case to a "speedy trial,"

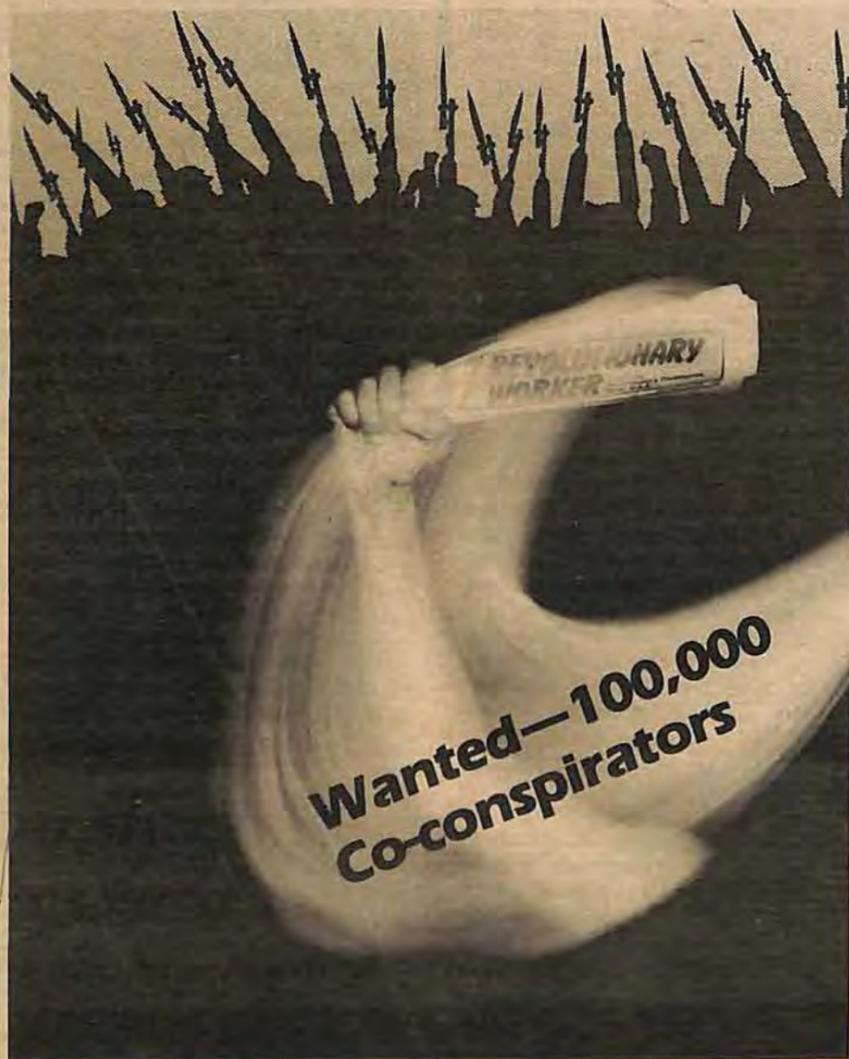
cops were issued subpoenas. Judge Jack Treadway pulled himself out of his usual drunken stupor long enough to quash the subpoenas for the chief and the undercover cops on the grounds that they had not been arresting officers in any cases involving RCP members or supporters. But quashing all the subpoenas would have been too blatant, so some of the arresting officers were forced to take the stand and explain their participation in many of the 81 busts of people distributing the *RW* in Houston since the beginning of this year.

One cop testified that he had filed a complaint against two people for "selling communistic-type literature without a permit." Another claimed that, "It was not my intention to threaten

anyone" by pointing a rifle at an *RW* distributor and charging her with making an illegal right turn. Many times the D.A. had to "clear up" the cops' testimony on cross examination by pointing out that no one was actually charged with selling the *Revolutionary Worker*. He had a harder time trying to explain why 80 of the 81 complaints (for everything from littering to loud noise to impeding traffic to suspicion of theft) were filed by police officers.

With each day of the trial, the D.A. and the judge became more frantic. Inside the courthouse, all eyes were turned on this "minor misdemeanor case" as the word spread about what kind of battle was being waged inside Court No. 4. Prisoners in the hallways called out when they recognized revolutionaries who had been jailed with them. Other prosecutors and defense lawyers spent their spare time watching the proceedings. In the face of a big

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"The bourgeoisie needs to be destroyed because they exploit the working class. It is important to raise the consciousness and develop the maturity of the working class. It is a just thing that they are doing. It is a good thing."

rest of members of the Revolutionary Communist Party I have not heard of the Party or read their newspaper, but after reading about it in the *Houston Chronicle*, I found a newspaper and

and not the other way around, the D.A. had "no further questions."

Forty-six members of the Houston Police Department, including Chief B.K. Johnson and several undercover

Polish Workers Strike

Continued from page 1

persistent reports of strikes of between 2000 and 3000 workers at an industrial complex in Tirgoviste, Rumania, about 80 kilometers outside of Bucharest. According to these reports, the workers went out protesting "the persistent scarcity of meat." The shops in Tirgoviste were abundantly stocked with meat by the next afternoon. Yugoslavia's ruling presidium has warned the population of the dangers of outbreaks of civil unrest. The East German government cancelled a long planned and important visit from West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in the wake of the Polish crisis.

For their part, the Soviet imperialists have tried to take a very low profile to date, despite the fact that 35,000 Soviet troops and 650 tanks are permanently garrisoned in Poland as part of the Warsaw pact—which will be moving additional troops through the country for maneuvers in Northern East Germany next month. The Soviet Foreign Ministry has called the events taking place in Poland a "purely internal affair" of that country. Earlier the Soviet news agency Tass had accused Western countries of a "slandorous propaganda campaign" over Poland and charged that it was an attempt to "crudely and unpardonably interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign socialist state." Beyond that the Soviets have restricted themselves to a few statements of support for Polish Party boss Edward Gierek and his earlier warnings to the striking workers.

In the U.S. the response has been two-fold, and overall the bourgeoisie has worked diligently to turn this rebellion to its own purposes. The objective has been to tap into the anti-government and anti-Soviet sentiments that exist among the Polish working class in order to weaken the Soviet grip and increase U.S. leverage. Ever since the strike began, the public position of the U.S. government has been low key, with official government spokesmen, like their Soviet counterparts, refusing comment, except to say that it was an internal matter of Poland, to be worked out between the Polish government and the Polish people. At the same time, for domestic consumption and propaganda, "unofficial" spokesmen for the U.S. government and ruling class, like AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland and ILA president Teddy Gleason have been unleashed to whip up anti-Soviet sentiments under the guise of support for the strikers. And the U.S. media has had a field day poking at the failures of what they call "socialism" in the countries of Eastern Europe and generally trying to create public opinion for any future U.S. military moves to "liberate" the people of Eastern Europe.

The Catholic Church has also been working hard to identify closely with the aims of the strikers. In the Vatican the Polish pope, although himself initially without public comment on events in Poland, eventually broke his silence in mid-August to announce that, "We in Rome are united with our fellow countrymen in Poland." Inside Poland, the bishop of Gdansk, site of the Lenin Shipyards and center of the strike movement, declared that the Church understood and supported the workers "who are striving to improve their lot, both in material terms as well as others, such as respect for human rights."

Yet behind all this surface reaction and in the case of the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the blatant hypocrisy was the definite fear among all these imperialists that this strike might just be getting out of hand, that it could be going beyond the bounds not only for the Soviets but also for the U.S. and what it hopes to gain from the rebellion of the Polish workers.

This reaction is clearly the case with the Polish Catholic Church. Not only

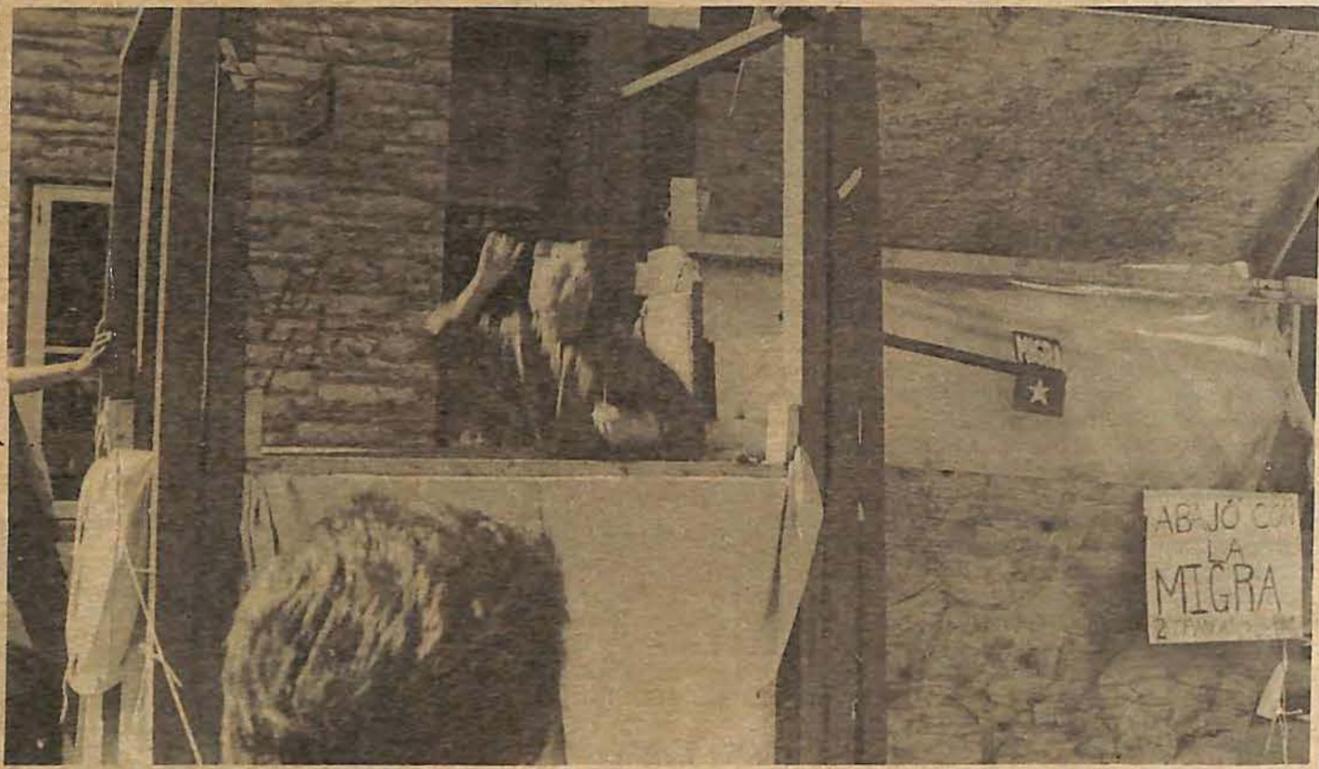


DOWN WITH "LA MIGRA"!

The most popular booth at a recent street fair in Pilsen, a Mexican community in Chicago: Dunk "La Migra" (immigration pig)



Revolutionary Worker



has the Church been restrained in its public statements on the strike, Church officials came out this week with what amounted to back to work orders to the strikers, despite their long standing effort to put the Church in the position of the rallying point for opposition to the regime and the Soviets. In a speech at midweek the Archbishop of Gdansk cautioned the strikers that "prolonged stoppages, possible disturbances and fraternal bloodshedding are against the good of the society." And Cardinal Wyszynski, the leader of the Polish Church was put on television by the government to appeal to the workers for peace and calm, reminding the Poles of the bitter experiences of the past when the nation was "wiped off the map." "We must think about our duties as well as about our rights," he said, and went on to tell the strikers that they should not hope to win all their demands at once.

Interestingly, the Catholic Church in Poland is in a very similar position, and have a very similar outlook on the workers' struggles, as the French Communist Party. The difference is that they are agents of opposing superpowers: the French CP of the Soviets, the Catholic Church of the U.S. The similarity lies in that they are both fighting to win all they can within the current conditions, and under those conditions form a *Loyal opposition* to the government, trying to keep down any social unrest or upheaval that is not totally under their control, and at the same time using their influence among the masses to enhance their own interests. Cardinal Wyszynski and the rest of the Polish hierarchy know that they are in a much better position to increase their own influence and power in the country under current conditions than they would be if the Soviets moved in. Sources both here and within the

Polish Catholic Church have commented with optimism on the fact that last week's reshuffling of the Polish Politburo and government leadership got rid of some of the so-called "hardliners" who were not so inclined to deal with the Church and the intellectual opposition, much less the workers, and brought back several Party leaders, especially Stefan Olszowski, who was dismissed from the Politburo in February. The hope among the Church officials and U.S. experts is that Mr. Olszowski may soon replace Party leader Gierek. It is reported for example, that Olszowski and some of the "reformers" around him have drawn up a plan for extensive economic and political changes. According to one report, among the authors of their plan were party members close to Olszowski and prominent Roman Catholics close to Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski.

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U.S. "Support" for Polish Workers

With Friends Like These . . .

The kind of vile nonsense that the people of the U.S. have been subjected to around the upheaval of the working class in Poland is preposterous, almost unbelievable.

When was the last time anybody saw U.S. newspapers running pictures and stories hailing hundreds of thousands of hard-faced, determined strikers and proclaiming the justice of their cause? When was the last time anybody heard American politicians supporting the occupation of factories by striking workers? Never, that's when! What you have heard out of them are screeches and screams about "lawbreakers," "people who don't give a damn about the common good," "We want an injunction against this strike," "Send in the National Guard," and in their more blatant days, shrill warnings against "the rabble in the street." Check out the kind of hysteria that the U.S. ruling class tried to whip up against coal miners a couple of years ago. Remember how quick they were to try to grab a Taft-Hartley injunction to force the miners back to work? Remember how, in strike after strike, the scab-herding cops are used to beat and bust workers, and how the newspapers either don't report it at all or report how the poor police, trying to maintain law and order, were provoked by the "violence of the strikers"?

When dogs like AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland or International Longshoremen's Association president Teddy Gleason spew out swill about support for "brother workers" in Poland, when they "demand" the right of the Polish workers to get out from under the grip of the government-controlled trade union councils and have their own freely elected trade unions, remember that these are the guys, along with the rest of the hacks at the top of the unions, who play exactly the same role for the U.S. capitalist class as the government-controlled trade union councils play for the Polish capitalists and their Soviet masters.

Spokesmen and mouthpieces for the U.S. ruling class, like Illinois Governor Thompson at a rally last weekend in Chicago called by the reactionary Polish American Congress, puff them-

selves up and proclaim with great self-righteousness that the workers of Poland are fighting against enslavement, fighting for their freedom. What disgusting hypocrisy. When did these bastards say anything in support of the workers and masses of people in El Salvador or Guatemala who are struggling to break the chains of enslavement? You don't remember them getting too hot in support of the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people, do you? Old Teddy Gleason and his ilk were not only silent about their "brother workers" in Iran, they were on the firing line right alongside the U.S. bourgeoisie, taking shots.

Let's cut the bullshit. It's just fine if the working class in countries controlled by the U.S. imperialists is enslaved and impoverished. It's terrible if the workers in these countries rebel. That's the way the capitalists in the U.S. see it. But as they stomp around and bluster about the threat of the Soviets sending troops into Poland—all the while you know that the U.S. rulers would send troops anywhere to protect their interests if they thought it necessary and thought they could get away with it. Remember Vietnam? How about the Dominican Republic in 1965? What did they do in Chile in 1973? The CIA worked with a gang of two-bit fascists to overthrow the government and set up a brutal dictatorship to suppress the Chilean masses, and the U.S. has kept that fascist junta afloat economically and militarily for the last seven years.

So don't give us any of your crap about concern for the enslavement of the Polish workers, Mr. U.S. Imperialist. Sure, they love to see the other slavemaster's slaves rebelling—they will give all the encouragement they can, so long as they can grab up these slaves for themselves. What they don't like at all is the idea of any slaves rebelling against slavery.

These U.S. imperialists really think we are fools, that we will swallow anything they dish out. "Well, after all," they say, "the economic chaos and shortages in Poland prove that the economic system of the Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe is all screwed up, can't possibly work." The British rag,

The Economist, pontificates that "Economic crisis is stalking not just Poland but the whole communist world. For the Soviet Union it could be terminal." Obviously, the U.S. (or British) system is working much better. Of course we are supposed to ignore the economic crisis that is stalking the U.S. and the rest of the Western capitalist countries. We are supposed to ignore the millions of unemployed, the 40% and up unemployment that exists in the ghettos of this country. We are not supposed to hear about the whispered cries of anguish coming from the major Western bankers, scared shitless about the potential of major bank collapses. We are supposed to be blind to the economic plight of the U.S. neocolonies in Latin America: the wretched barrios of Brazil and the landless peasants of Mexico. We are not supposed to believe the reality of the miserable shanty towns of Tehran and the economic ruin of Iran brought about by the U.S.-Shah's "economic miracle."

The fact of the matter is that the average condition for workers in Poland is probably not a hell of a lot different from that for millions of workers in the U.S. Why do you think a lot of Poles who have immigrated to the U.S. eventually move back to Poland to retire? Simple, their buck will go a bit further. To the extent that conditions are better for some sections of the U.S. working class than they are in Poland, it is due to the fact that unlike Poland, the U.S. is an imperialist country that has conquered and dominated a large chunk of the world; the U.S. working class has benefited for a time from some of the crumbs of this imperialist domination.

Let's set a couple of things straight. It is not a question of "which is the better system": that of the Soviet Union and its satellites in Eastern Europe or that of the U.S. and the so-called free world. It is the same system in the U.S., the Soviet Union, Poland, Brazil, etc.—capitalism. Sure, the Soviet Union was socialist at one time, it had set out on the road to communist society. But that was before capitalism was restored. How could Poland or the Soviet Union be socialist today? It's not

just a matter of what they call themselves. Socialism means that society is run by the working class, which exercises its rule over all those who would exploit it, and which works towards the abolition of all class distinctions. A socialist economy is one that moves constantly to restrict the laws of profit. Just the opposite exists in the Soviet Union and the so-called socialist countries of Eastern Europe. The law of profit is in command, the exploitation of the working class is the order of the day—just like in the U.S. And the rulers of these countries are not much less flagrant than the capitalists in the U.S. in flaunting the fruits of their class privileges and position. Sure, there are some differences: what exists in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is essentially state capitalism, and the ruling class, the bourgeoisie in those countries is to be found in the Party and state apparatus. But fundamentally there is no difference.

"If Marx were alive to see it, he would not believe his eyes"—so crowed *Time* magazine over the Polish workers' strike. "Indeed, the father of modern Communism would have been astounded by the spectacle: a socialist country whose ports, factories and mills were crippled by an industrial revolt of its own angry workers." And their editorial smirked that "Marx's irresistible force, the working class, has run into Lenin's immovable object, the Party."

Such great interpreters of Marxism-Leninism they are. If Marx or Lenin were alive today what they would find incredible and astounding is that anyone would call the state capitalism that exists in the Soviet Union and Poland socialism. And far from being bewildered by the sight of the rebelling workers, they would have been providing the political guidance and leadership for that struggle, fighting to prevent it from remaining a narrow battle for some reforms, and fighting to turn it into a revolutionary struggle to throw off the oppressors. And they would have been urging the working class and revolutionaries in the United States and every country to support and take great hope from the struggle being waged by their Polish comrades. □

Polish Workers Strike

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Fundamentally, the Church's line around this growing strike does not conflict with that of the U.S. imperialists, whose interest it has offered such invaluable assistance, part of a considerable worldwide contribution that it is making to U.S. imperialism. The heart of U.S. strategy has not been to instigate a mass rebellion in Poland or in any of the Eastern European countries that would openly challenge Soviet control at this time and invite a Soviet military response. The Soviets obviously have no intention of letting Poland or any of the Eastern European satellites slip out from their grip and into the U.S. bloc. To try, or even to seem to be trying to precipitate such a dramatic change at this point could lead to an escalation of superpower war moves that does not now jibe with U.S. strategy in Eastern Europe. In the view of the U.S. strategists, the nationalism and nationalist sentiments of the people of Eastern Europe, as well as inside the Soviet Union itself, is Moscow's Achilles Heel. Their goal has been to exacerbate that nationalism, which largely takes the form of anti-Sovietism—since it is the Soviets who occupy and control these countries. A rebellion in Poland at this point that would put the government up against the wall and challenge Soviet domination, would force the Soviet's to take action. And despite the U.S. efforts at stimulating anti-Sovietism, it would be

extremely unlikely that the U.S. would see it in its strategic interests to respond directly with military action to a Soviet invasion of Poland. (Although they would certainly shout and scream a lot and Carter or his successor would look around for new things to boycott.)

Right now the U.S. imperialists see themselves accomplishing quite a bit inside Poland without more bristling pronouncements, or more overt intervention. Western economic penetration of Poland, including the \$20 billion Polish indebtedness to the West has given the U.S. considerable leverage in the country. If Poland were to default in these loans, or fail to meet its repayment schedules—before the U.S. is ready to move decisively against the Soviets, i.e. before war—it would have disastrous effects on the banks that have extended credit to Poland.

It is certainly true that some of the petty bourgeois opposition groups that have identified themselves with the striking workers, like the much quoted Committee for Social Self-Defense, are to one degree or another influenced directly by U.S. agencies. And on the whole these groups tend to be much more consciously pro-West than the striking workers. It is to the benefit of the U.S. for these groups to be able to operate openly and extend their influence among the Polish masses, which they would certainly not be able to do under a Soviet military intervention. What the U.S. imperialists are mainly focusing on in Poland is the creation of a situation where the reliability of the Polish army and masses for the Soviet war machine is seriously jeopardized. For example, a situation where Polish troops would bolt from the Warsaw Pact as the war broke out, or where the Soviets had to put Poland under

military occupation or martial law in order to march its divisions through into Western Europe.

Unlikely as direct Soviet intervention may be at this moment, everyone is aware that the struggle that is being waged by the Polish workers has far greater significance and implications than the

workers' own particular demands against the government. What both the U.S. and the Soviets, and their respective blocs, fear is that the Polish workers will not be guided and limited by these larger implications: i.e. that they won't conform their struggle to the interests of one or the other—or either—superpower. □

This System Is Doomed Let's Finish It Off!

Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party at May Day rally, May 5, 1979 in Washington D.C. Includes historic call for revolutionary May Day demonstrations on May 1st 1980.

Workers' Responses

"I've heard them all—I've even heard Malcolm X—but I've never heard anything like this!"

"He takes all the turmoil and hatred you have in your guts, raises it up and crystallizes it so you can see it, then he focuses your sight on the cause of the pain, frustration and anger and makes you know there's a way to put an end to it—revolution!"



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Chicago, IL 60654

Not Welcome at Afro-American Freedom Festival

Navy Recruiting Ship Scuttled

Under the cover of a dark, overcast sky, the Navy destroyer U.S.S. *R.A. Owens* moved up the Detroit River late in July. The gray ship, bristling with antennae and rocket launchers, slipped quietly into dockside at the downtown Hart Plaza. Its mission would begin the next day, as tens of thousands gathered at the annual Afro-American Freedom Festival.

For two days, Black officers in crisp white uniforms worked the crowds, smiling, shaking hands, and making an exhibition of their presence. Hundreds of people lined up on the dock to take a tour of the warship, as officers passed out a pamphlet praising the past exploits of the *R.A. Owens* in the Gulf of Tonkin in the Vietnam war, and during NATO maneuvers in the Mediterranean in the early '70s. The pamphlet ended with a call to sign up for the glorious adventures awaiting you in the Navy. Officers were overheard telling youth, "Hey, you're going to get drafted anyway, so why not join up now and get a head start?" The *Owens*, commissioned in 1947 and now an ancient tub full of dents that can't be disguised by its brand new coat of paint, had served U.S. imperialism faithfully throughout the period of its domination of the world's seas. No longer battle-worthy, it was now carrying out a new duty. The Navy had assigned it to cruise the Great Lakes, to attract recruits from the hard-hit industrial cities of the region. But its task was even broader than just enticing ghetto youth into swabbing the decks. It was carrying out a vital mission for U.S. imperialism in its decline—creat-

ing favorable public opinion for war preparations as the U.S. gears up for global confrontation with its rivals ruling the Soviet Union.

But late in the afternoon in the third day of the festival, this Navy mission was torpedoed in a surprise attack. Two members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade had broken off from the tour, climbed up ladders to the highest deck, and unfurled a red banner reading "Screw the Draft! Register for Revolution! Down With U.S.-Soviet War Moves!" This act of revolutionary piracy pulled the pants down on the Navy's scam in a very sharp way. The brother from the Brigade began to agitate. "What this ship represents is nothing but a showpiece for them getting ready for World War 3! Why are they here at the Afro-American Freedom Festival—with over 65% of Black youth unemployed—this is the 'freedom' they're talking about us having to fight for!" He called to the people below and read from the "Pledge of Internationalism" that appeared in the *Revolutionary Communist Youth* and the *Revolutionary Worker*.

His voice boomed over the water, bouncing off the ship's hull to the huge throng on the shore. Within seconds, the crowd's buzzing stopped. People turned around, left the booths where they had been trying to win teddy bears and trinkets in games of chance, and came racing down the hill onto the dock. Hundreds stood alongside the boat, clapping, fists in the air and jubilant smiles on their faces. One group of youth chanted "Fuck the

Draft!"

The ship itself was electrified. Sailors dressed in blue-gray overalls who had previously been busy with "chores" like hosing the decks and carrying garbage, stationed themselves on the deck beneath the banner and listened with interest to the agitation. The officers scurried around on deck, trying to figure out what to do. *Several times*, they approached groups of sailors, and pointing to the upper deck, ordered them to go up to get the revolutionaries down. Each time, the sailors stared back at the officers and shrugged their shoulders. Minutes ticked by; faced with a crew which showed no enthusiasm for being part of dragging away the two Brigade members, and with visions of themselves peeling potatoes if word got back to the Pentagon, the two senior officers nervously climbed up and ordered the two revolutionaries to leave the ship.

Still holding their banner, the youths eluded a line of cops waiting below by veering onto the ramp where people were lined up to get on board, and with the help of some youths from the crowd who stepped in the cops' way, disappeared among the people on the shore. A short while later, they returned to set up the banner on the dock right in front of the ship. Youths whose futures are being made ready in Pentagon war rooms, and who hate the lives they are now forced to live out in decaying city streets, stepped forward to debate and struggle.

One backward woman called out, "Go back to Russia! What do you

mean you don't have any interest in defending this country? You should join the army and get your teeth fixed up!" Someone shot back, "Yeah, get your teeth fixed and your ass blown off!" People standing nearby ridiculed the woman into shamefully shutting up. Another woman standing nearby challenged her, "Why don't you shuffle your ass onto that ship? These people are right!" Many *RW's* changed hands as questions of imperialist war, armed revolution, and the role that could be played by those in the armed forces were discussed. And all this did not go unnoticed by the sailors, who sat in groups on the deck and listened to the discussions raging around them.

The events that day created an embarrassing situation for the Navy brass and for the whole bourgeoisie. Their plans to prey on the Black youth attending the festival, easy pickings, they had thought, were turned around on them, and the real weakness of U.S. imperialism was revealed—it cannot confidently rely on the patriotic fervor of the masses, especially the youth, or the robot obedience of the sailors and soldiers under its command.

The *R.A. Owens* left Detroit the next day. We don't know if it continued its cruise as planned, but there were undoubtedly many aboard and ashore who were left with the fresh and stimulating taste of defiance of U.S. imperialism in their mouth—a foreshadowing of the resistance to imperialist war that is sure to grow both inside and outside the military. □

1980 ELECTION BALLOT

Send one of these ballots to the Revolutionary Communist Party and we will find something dramatic to do with all of them together at election time. Keep the other one and think of something creative to do with it yourself on election day.

BALLOT



- DEMOCRATIC PARTY
- REPUBLICAN PARTY
- INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES & OTHER ASSORTED SAVIORS



THIS WHOLE SYSTEM IS PUTRID, I DON'T BELIEVE IN ANY OF ITS CANDIDATES!

CITY _____ DATE _____

OCCUPATION _____

MAIL THIS COPY OF THE 1980 ELECTION BALLOT TO THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, P.O. BOX 3486 MERCHANDISE MART, CHICAGO, IL. 60654

BALLOT



- DEMOCRATIC PARTY
- REPUBLICAN PARTY
- INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES & OTHER ASSORTED SAVIORS



THIS WHOLE SYSTEM IS PUTRID, I DON'T BELIEVE IN ANY OF ITS CANDIDATES!

KEEP THIS ONE AND DO SOMETHING CREATIVE WITH IT YOURSELF ON ELECTION DAY.

Bombing, Immigration Threats

New Wave of Anti-Iranian Attacks

Berkeley, Ca.—On Wednesday, August 20, first one, then another pipe bomb went off at Berkeley High School's west campus. The immediate target of the bombs was several hundred Iranians and Americans gathered for a national conference of the Confederation of Iranian Students (CIS). One Iranian at the conference was injured by metal fragments from the first explosion. Shortly before the bombs went off, someone claiming to represent the "Iranian Liberation Army" (a CIA-supported Iranian exile group based in Iraq and headed by one of the Shah's ex-generals) called the Berkeley Police Department warning that the bombs had been planted.

This bombing was an open call to reactionaries, a reminder to all the would-be John Waynes in the U.S. that it's still open season on progressive Iranians. More than this, it represented an attempt to intimidate anyone who sees the need to support the Iranian revolution and fight U.S. imperialism tooth and nail. This was underscored by a message supposedly phoned in to the *Iran Tribune*, a reactionary Farsi-language newspaper based in San Jose. The *Iran Tribune* told the Bay Area press that this "unknown caller" had said, "This time they called the police, next time it happens, people will be in-

jured or die."

These pipe bombs were a political message, aimed at a particular target—the thousands of progressive Iranians in the U.S. who support the revolution in their country and represent a force that can make things very hot here in the U.S. if the imperialists carry through an invasion and/or a reactionary coup in Iran. The bourgeoisie has not forgotten the tremendous role played by Iranian students in this country, exposing the Shah's bloody regime to millions here in the U.S. and building bonds of revolutionary solidarity between the Iranian and American people.

Of the more than 50,000 Iranians living in the U.S. now, many of them came here during or after the 1978-79 revolutionary upsurge. Some of them are hard-core Shah supporters who brought millions of dollars sweated out of the labor of the Iranian masses with them. Many others are anti-imperialist fighters and have continued to brave police attacks and reactionary flag-waving mobs to demonstrate against the U.S. imperialists' attacks on Iran. But the vast majority of them are political unknowns to the government. Many have various differences with the Islamic government but would still strongly oppose a right-wing coup or

U.S. military actions against Iran.

Even the Iranian group that was bombed was revealing in this respect. The CIS is far from the most threatening (to the U.S. bourgeoisie) group of Iranians in the U.S. today. Politically, they follow the line of Teng Hsiao-ping and the Chinese revisionists, and like them, blatantly capitulate to U.S. imperialism. They are notorious for holding a position that the Shah had a "progressive" side because he "defended" Iran against the Soviets; at present they denounce the Kurdish struggle and other revolutionary struggles of the Iranian people as counter-revolutionary opposition to the Islamic government. Not surprisingly, their heroes in Iran are people such as President Bani-Sadr and other bourgeois forces who are roughly the Iranian counterpart of the new Chinese rulers. The very fact that such an opportunist group would be the target of a terrorist bombing is a measure of how bold the pro-imperialist Iranian exile forces have become in recent months—and it indicates the extent to which the U.S. government has given them the green light to carry out their dirty work.

Besides actions such as this, the bourgeoisie is utilizing even more direct government methods of controlling Iranians in the U.S., especially through

the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The INS is currently denying Iranians the standard temporary permits to stay in the U.S., telling them if you want to stay here, you must ask for "political asylum." In effect, if Iranians want to stay in the U.S., they are being forced to denounce not only the current government in Iran, but the revolution as a whole. This plan would help create a reactionary Iranian exile community at the same time as it enabled the government to identify revolutionary and progressive Iranians.

One Iranian described the INS methods: "They have done this to students, to businessmen, to everyone. This is their policy. They have actually polarized the Iranian community, since everyone knows that if you ask for asylum that you have taken a stand against the Iranian revolution. Through this process, the INS is trying to polarize and transform the Iranians in the U.S., and at the same time they are finding out just who is who, and what kind of stand they take politically."

And as all signs point to the new and more extensive acts of aggression that the U.S. government is preparing to commit in Iran in the near future, it is crystal clear why they want to know "who is who." □

THE MANY UGLY FACES OF U.S. PLOTS VS. IRAN

Continued from page 6 and Islamic cover.

A final element in this coup plotting is the U.S.'s continued support for former Prime Minister Shapour Bakhtiar and for Gen. Oveissie, the former commander of the Shah's ground forces who is assembling an exile army in Iran. Oveissie seems to be a rising star, having visited the U.S. several times in recent months, once to undergo plastic surgery and another time to meet with White House aides. His radio station, Radio Free Iran, which the CIA has admitted it is financing, beams out of Egypt and is the most powerful station in Iran today. Along with U.S. forces based in the Indian Ocean and Egypt, Oveissie's "Iran Liberation Army" is being readied in Iraq to link up with pro-imperialist forces inside Iran's army and government to launch a coordinated assault to bring down the current government and drown the revolution in a sea of blood.

Still, the imperialists are not putting their eggs in just one basket; they will use whatever tactics are most readily available and have the greatest chance of success. An invasion might give pro-U.S. Iranian forces an opportunity to act. Even as the imperialists attempt to bolster the openly pro-U.S. forces inside and outside Iran, they are also closely watching developments within the IRP and how successfully it has been at consolidating power, now that it has named its own Prime Minister and has largely pushed President Bani-Sadr and his allies aside. While the IRP is still not the reliable reactionary force the U.S. needs to put in power in Iran, they are certainly in close contact with pro-imperialist elements within the IRP such as Dr. Ayat and others, whose reactionary history goes back to their support for the U.S./Shah coup in 1953. The next few weeks will be crucial, as the IRP chooses a cabinet and moves towards taking up the hostage question.

There are other indications that the U.S. is building up towards intervening directly in Iran. Since the arrest of nearly 200 Iranian students in Washington, D.C. a month ago, the bourgeoisie has continued to unleash an orgy of patriotism and anti-Iranian chauvinism. Newspaper stories have cropped up all over about the existence of an Iranian "death squad" operating in the U.S. with a hit list of 90 reactionary Iranian exiles, and about the supposed transfer of \$5 million from the Iranian

government to pro-Khomeini students in the U.S. to finance demonstrations. Idiotic chauvinist songs such as "Bomb Iran" (to the tune of the Beach Boys' 1960s record, "Barbara Ann," by some previously unheard-of turkey group from Texas named Vince Vance and the Valiants) have gotten hundreds of hours of airplay on radio stations nationwide.

But even here, the bourgeoisie is increasingly making a point of distinguishing the "good" Iranians—who loved the Shah and brought lots of (looted) money with them to the U.S.—from the "bad" Iranians—who keep demonstrating against the U.S.

government and its attacks on their people. While police regularly attack progressive Iranian students in the streets, plenty of support has been provided to the reactionary Iranian organizations, newspapers and radio stations that have recently sprung up in a number of cities. The U.S. government has big plans for this reactionary Iranian exile community in the weeks and months ahead to influence the American people and to act as a loyal cheering section for the imperialists as they launch new attacks on the revolution in Iran.

These developments underscore the fact that the stakes in Iran for the U.S. imperialists are increasing with every passing day. There is much more to be gained by a second raid and/or coup backed up by U.S. military action, but at the same time there is much more to be

lost if these fail. This points to the overall problem the imperialists have got. At a point in history when they must attempt to line up the imperialist and reactionary countries in their bloc in order to square off with the Soviet bloc to fight for the position of "the world's No. 1 exploiter and oppressor," they are getting burnt by the flames of revolutionary struggle in Iran and many other countries they claim as areas of "vital interest."

The battle lines are forming. Just as the imperialists are attempting to rally every reactionary and decadent force they can muster against the Iranian revolution, so it is the responsibility of the class-conscious workers and revolutionary forces in the U.S. to stand in firm solidarity with the Iranian people and to expose and battle our imperialist rulers as they prepare to strike again. □

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RCP New Programme & Constitution Drafts

EXPAND DISTRIBUTION & DEBATE

The following report was submitted to the RW by some comrades with responsibility for distribution of the Programme and Constitution drafts and the RW in one locality.

In Chairman Avakian's statement on the road forward from May 1st ("Stepping Up the Fight on History's Stage" he said, "It can be more and more clearly seen that the period ahead will be one of tremendous upheaval; and already mass protest and the eruption of mass rebellion is on the upsurge. But what must come to increasingly mark this period is the broadening and deepening of the role and influence of the Party—most especially through the *Revolutionary Worker*, and also through discussion and struggle over the Party's new Programme and Constitution drafts and in other ways...."

Well over 1,000 Programmes have been sold in this area since May First, over 120 of those to workers in one industry, Muni. Many small discussion groups have been held around the drafts, mainly among radical movement forces but also including a small number among the working class. In all cases people have taken these discussions very seriously, often coming with their questions already sharply focused in their minds. But can we say this is the limit? Have we exhausted our use of these drafts; has the debate around them really been unleashed either internally or broadly among those whose hopes for the future have been fueled by May Day and the Party's work? Hardly.

It is correct to be taking these drafts with us whenever we sell the RW, and many have been sold that way, but the battle over the drafts in their own right has been largely liquidated, or left up to just a few people... We haven't really taken out the drafts in their own right broadly except for a few instances, nor have we strained the limit as far as their impact among movements around the draft, nukes, national liberation struggles, etc.

It's time to uncork this campaign around the new draft Programme and Constitution. Along with the RW, the battle around the drafts should be the

heart of our work now. We are in the midst of hammering out a battle plan for actually seizing state power, establishing and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and transforming all of society in one of the world's arch criminal empires. What could be more crucial right now than taking this struggle out far and wide, drawing tens of thousands awakened by May Day and the accelerating events in the world into the debate over what road to the future we are going to be fighting for? Showing how this vision of the future is no idle dream but is based on our understanding that the seeds of the future are here in the present—seeds that the advanced, class-conscious forces must nurture, develop, spread and deepen. Showing that the near future may provide opportunities for revolution and everything we do has to be based on that possibility and preparing for it. Only through this process is the battle plan going to be in the hands of and grasped by every possible person—only through this process as well is the content of the Programme going to reflect the deepest understanding of the way forward, deepened through struggle and debate. In fact, this is an important part of pushing the whole class struggle forward. We not only have to uncork this campaign, we have to *strain the limit*.

To do it we've got to hit at the lines opposing this campaign. There are the stubborn remnants of economism—"this isn't where things are at, not where workers are at, not where the mass movement is at, so how can it be that central to our work." What about the advanced, the class-conscious workers, those who were awakened and moved by May Day? That's who our Party has to represent, speak to, raise the consciousness of and give leadership to; and on that basis work to divert the mass movement. The "Muni" centerfold RW article (No. 62) hit at this point, and it continues to be true since May Day. We've got to deepen the grasp the advanced have of the Party's line if they're going to be able to come forward and continue to play an advanced role now. Not doing that in the name of "where things are at" is not

just tailing but dragging them back. These are the workers who put a lot on the line for May Day, who are soon going to be leading millions to overthrow this motherfucker; they've got to tear this Programme apart, understand it, and go out and fight for it to be taken up by the broadest number of workers. They must and can be levers moving the broader masses—but only as they begin to see the profound significance of these documents. (The fact is, many see it better than we think!)

To do this we'll have to hit at this "good idea" B.S.—this utopian socialist view. The Programme doesn't spend the bulk of its time on "The Transformation of Society" just to "give people something to fight for." This is a concrete guideline for how this nightmare of capitalism can and will be transformed by the masses led by the Party. It can be so concrete because we are at the threshold. That's what's on the agenda, that's what we're building for, and everything we do had better be guided by that. Or do we think we'll make revolution first—then figure out who to go unite with to push it forward. First we'll overthrow the old, then we'll think about what to build on the ashes. Nonsense. Our sights have to be on the farthest horizons or there's no way we can give leadership now—and no way we can make revolution. The RW article "How Marx Could Envision Communism" makes the point, "Not only does the present contain seeds of the future, but in fact the present can only be understood correctly in terms of the future (as well as the past)". The line we take on this Programme has a lot to do with whether we really grasp and unite with the fact that we are on the threshold of this revolutionary future and in fact are forging it through this work. This campaign is a very important part of preparing.

There's plenty of evidence that we've just scratched the surface in this campaign. At Muni, over 120 Programmes have now been sold, and workers are beginning to write statements and criticisms and post them on the board at work! The recent mass debate launched around the UN 2 at 5th & Market on the day of sentencing gives a glimpse of the

potential for going broadly with this revolutionary battle plan. And in the trial in Oakland both the defense and the DA read from the Programme and in fact the Programme was admitted as "exhibit Y." We shouldn't be shocked, but should learn and quit aiming our sights so low. At noon, 6 Programmes were sold in 45 minutes at 14th & Broadway off of the questions raised about the Programme in the trial.

Overall we should stop holding the programme so close to our chest. So far, only the most advanced have been brought into these discussion groups. Why should this be? We have to proceed with this battle on two fronts: broadly creating public opinion around the Programme and encouraging broad debate around it; and deepening the struggle and discussion among those who are awakening and stepping forward and being drawn into the debate. The process should be one of continuing to cast out the nets while drawing in the people who are challenged to struggle over this battle plan.

There should be draft Programme days, targeting key industries, areas... Not just one day coming and going, but concentrating over a period of time, encouraging open debate, popularizing sections of the Programme and the controversy around it (the nukes question, internationalism, the solid core, the role the middle strata will play under socialism and why...), exposing opportunist forces. At the same time, this is related to the kind of struggle and discussion going on in our own ranks and among those coming forward—how have we been using the articles in the RW with the advanced? Internally? What do we know about how the advanced look at them? There's no way we can push forward as the campaign develops without us digging into the drafts ourselves. We should be writing and encouraging the masses to write statements, criticisms and send them to the RW. Remember, this is a national (international?! effort! If there's revolution in the next period it will fall on the shoulders of this Party; this programme is our battle plan. How can we not know it forwards and backwards and fight over what's in it?... □

Mao Tsetung Defendants Prosecutor "Observes"

Acquittal in Recruiter Trashing Trial

Jerry Biegle, a veteran who traveled with a Revolutionary May Day Brigade building for May First this year, was recently acquitted in a Washington, D.C. court of charges of destruction of federal property, a felony carrying a possible sentence of 10 years in jail or \$10,000 fine.

The May Day Brigade had been in D.C. at the same time of the huge March 22 demonstration against the draft. One day earlier, as thousands arrived in D.C. for this demonstration, the Marine recruiters' office in downtown D.C. had been decorated with red paint—an exposure of the war moves of the U.S. and Soviet imperialists. Two revolutionaries escaped down the street.

The Brigade had planned a picket line at the same location soon after. Jerry Biegle arrived a little early and began selling the RW outside the recruiters' office. Eight Marines came charging out, dragged him inside, poured red paint on him, and beat him unconscious. Half an hour later they dragged another member of the May Day Brigade off the picket line "I think that's one of the ones who did it," said one Marine. Later, they turned the two over to D.C. police. Biegle did not fully recover consciousness for 24 hours. Naturally, no charges were ever filed against the Marines.

A "case" was constructed against Biegle who was identified as one of the "vandals" through a ridiculous photo identification process. The trial commenced. All the prosecution's witnesses denied they, or anyone else, had beaten

Biegle, despite plenty of evidence including doctors' reports to the contrary. But the lies did not stop there. Every witness had to wiggle and squirm as each tried to hide the fact that they would not be able to describe the two who had thrown the paint but were merely fingering Biegle because he was the one they had brutalized and held for the police. Stories began to change, testimony began to contradict that of other prosecution witnesses, and the real odor of the prosecution's case began to stink up the courtroom.

Ultimately, the jury returned a not guilty verdict on Jerry, itself a significant incident. But what was also significant was the presence of a couple well-known characters at key parts of the trial. The U.S. government had taken a keen interest in this trial and sent none other than Mary Ellen Abrecht to observe. Abrecht is a U.S. government prosecutor who prosecuted the first round in the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants last year. Joining her at Jerry's trial was Charles Ruft, head U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia.

For those who are uninformed, last year the U.S. government indicted Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, and 16 others on felony charges which stemmed from a police attack on a demonstration protesting the U.S. visit of Chinese revisionist chieftain Teng Hsiao-ping in January 1979. The case is now hovering in D.C. appeals court—the government waiting for the proper time to bring down the ax. Clearly, the appearance of

Abrecht and her boss at Jerry's trial shows that far from forgetting about Bob Avakian and the RCP, the government is keeping close tabs on things—

possibly gathering fuel for the railroad they know has yet to reach its destination. □

Joint Declaration of Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America

Communist Party of Columbia (Marxist-Leninist)
Communist Party Marxist-Leninist of Ecuador
Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile
Red Flag Party of Venezuela

Adopted at a meeting of the delegations of the leadership of the above Parties in Latin America, September 29-30, 1978.

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA believes that the Joint Declaration of Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America represents an important development in the international communist movement. It contains much that can be united with and much that should be seriously studied by revolutionaries in the U.S.

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(Also available in Spanish)

ISRAEL

Continued from page 4

they call it. This conciliatory stance is necessary if the U.S. is going to get the Arab governments allied with its bloc to swallow U.S.-Israeli imposed terms for a Middle East peace settlement in full view of the masses of the Arab people.

But there are swiftly changing conditions in the region and the world that are forcing the U.S. and its frontman Israel to drop some of the mask of "peaceful negotiators" that was cultivated as an image for Israel after the period of orchestrated hoopla over Camp David. A couple of years ago there had been two pillars of U.S. domination of the region: Iran and Israel. The first collapsed upon the ruins of the Pahlavi dynasty, brought down by the revolutionary upheaval of the Iranian people. Despite some indications that the U.S. has made some inroads in edging Iraq from flirtation with the Soviet bloc and into the U.S. bloc, it still cannot be firmly counted on. Soviet influence in Syria remains strong. The corrupt and parasitic monarchy of Saudi Arabia sits uneasily upon its throne, looking nervously at the fate of the Shah. Meanwhile the Soviets have strengthened their positions around the periphery of the region, in South Yemen, Ethiopia and Afghanistan. And Soviet influence among the Palestinians seems to be growing.

The U.S. has never had any intention of allowing the establishment of a Palestinian state that had any viability or independence. It has been clear from the start, and constantly exposed by the Palestinians, that the "autonomy" being negotiated in the Egypt-Israel talks is a complete sham. But under the pressure of their rapidly escalating global contention with the Soviets and developments in the Middle East, a vital arena of this contention, the U.S. feels compelled to consolidate its position while the balance of power is favorable to them. They are in a great hurry to ram through their "peace agreement" and dispense with the "Palestinian question" before the Soviets make any further inroads.

This does not mean that they have dropped the idea of forging such a settlement around an Israeli-Egyptian agreement. Both the U.S. and Begin have made it clear they would like to have talks resume as soon as possible. But the recent aggressive attacks of the Zionists are confirmation of the fact that the U.S. is determined to move ahead quickly and engineer a settlement in which Arab leaders like Sadat are either forced to jettison the sham of Palestinian autonomy completely, or at least try to compel the Palestinians to submit to the Israeli version: which means Israeli control of the land and water, authority vested in an Israeli military government, Israeli control of the TV and radio, as well as the right to Israel to veto any Palestinian candidates for local election—in other words the continuation of the occupation of Palestine and the suppression of the Palestinian people by the U.S.-backed Zionist state. To do this they intend to get Israel into the strongest bargaining position possible, and convince Sadat that postponing the talks further will only weaken the Arab negotiating stance.

All this, however, involves some rather delicate tactical considerations in light of the fact that Sadat can only belly-crawl so far without losing credibility completely in the Arab world. For one thing the Israelis' formal annexation of East Jerusalem forced him into a position of firing off a letter to Begin complaining that he had no choice but to temporarily suspend the talks on Palestinian autonomy. And since then Sadat has come under increasing pressure from other Arab countries to abandon the Camp David "peace process" completely. Saudi prince Fahd even went so far as to call for all Arab countries to unite in a jihad (holy war) to liberate all Israeli-occupied Arab territories and establish a Palestinian state and along with other Arab oil producers threatened to cut off supplies to any nation maintaining an



Israel's raids on Lebanon are only part of intensified Zionist terror against the Palestinian people. Above: Using a tactic learned from the Vietnam War, Israeli "security forces" (under orders from Israel's Dept. of Agriculture) have launched repeated chemical attacks on Palestinian farmlands in the occupied West Bank this year—spraying highly toxic defoliants to destroy wheat, barley and olive fields, the basic crops the people need to survive.

This chemical warfare has been accompanied by widespread arrests and deportations, the closing of Palestinian universities, and armed attacks by Israeli police and armed forces on Palestinian homes (left).

embassy in Jerusalem. (This is a "safe" threat for Fahd since the U.S. imperialists' embassy is in Tel Aviv.) He also suggested that U.S. jets scheduled for delivery would give the Saudis the capability of striking Israeli territory.

But while the U.S. realizes that the Saudi rulers may be obliged to take some action like a cut in oil production in order to maintain their credibility with the Arab masses, they also realize that they are not in any position to launch a holy war nor are any U.S.-supplied Saudi jets about to begin bombing and strafing Israeli territory. And while the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem was not so well timed tactically as far as putting Sadat on the spot, on the other hand there were certain advantages. As Avraham Sharir, the chairman of Begin's ruling Likud coalition, pointed out, the move will give the Israelis a de facto bargaining edge on the Jerusalem issue when the autonomy negotiations eventually resume. Obviously the U.S. is confident that Sadat can be wooed back to the peace talks without much trouble—what else can be expected of a man who in his same letter to Begin complaining of recent Israeli moves, praised him for being "firm in your resolution to follow up the noble cause of peace without regard for the huge efforts required for such a venerable task"!

In the meantime, the U.S. has been careful to issue the appropriate "condemnation" of Israel in order to take out some of the sting and make it easier for Sadat to continue the farce of "peace negotiations" in the face of increasingly blatant and aggressive Israeli actions. As the *New York Times* pointed out, the State Department instructed Muskie to abstain on the UN resolution censuring Israel for its takeover of Jerusalem because an American veto "would have made it impossible for Mr. Sadat to agree to renewed negotiations." Such "condemnation," of course, is intended to have no effect whatsoever on Israeli aggression and was clearly secondary to Muskie's blustering that continued resolutions censuring Israel have made the UN "the focus of attempts not to advance the cause of peace, but to restrain it." The State Department also cynically announced that the U.S. ambassador in Beirut had erred in condemning the Israeli raid without prior consultation with Washington. And in Washington, the depth of U.S. "con-

cern" that Israel had indeed used American supplied weapons in the recent raid was revealed as last week the White House routinely received Israel's requests for \$2.9 billion in military and economic aid for fiscal year 1982 from Israeli Ambassador Ephraim Evron!

Meanwhile the Soviets, for their part, are not about to give up on the footholds they have in this oil-rich area and would like to see the Israeli-Egyptian peace talks fall apart while they step up their attempts to gain more influence within those Middle Eastern countries allied with the U.S. by posing as the "champions" of the Palestinian people. The scrambling of Syrian MIG 21s against Israeli Phantom jets for the first time in 14 months was clearly more than a "Syrian response"—and in fact a signal from the Soviets of their determination to resist U.S. attempts to put the seal on their hegemony in the area.

Obviously, in this situation, the U.S. cannot afford to allow any opening for the establishment of any real autonomy for the Palestinians, let alone an actual Palestinian state, as long as the PLO continues to remain under the wing of their Soviet rivals. In an interview in July, Yasser Arafat reaffirmed the PLO's Soviet connection while denying reports of a strain in relations: "Such reports are stupid. We regard the Soviet Union as a friend and strong ally of the Palestinian people. Our relations are solid." The U.S. has been frying since the PLO tried to use its influence in the UN Security Council to torpedo the resolution censuring Israel for its action in Jerusalem (which had been carefully designed by European and Moslem diplomats to draw only an American abstention) by insisting on stronger language which would have forced the U.S. to veto it and thereby made it more difficult for Sadat to crawl back to the peace talks. The *New York Times* screamed that "...its (the PLO's) latest maneuvers suggest to some that in a conflict of interests, Moscow's interests may be paramount."

In this light, the recent Israeli raids and other aggressive moves are a way of delivering a none-too-subtle message to the PLO that unless they get off their association with the Soviets and face the fact that the only role they have in the Middle East is the one the U.S. and Israel give them, they can expect that everything possible will be done militarily to wipe them out. On the other hand, the implication of the U.S. "condemnation" of some of the latest Israeli moves is that if the PLO were to show signs of capitulating something could possibly be worked out that would be more favorable to the PLO than their current bargaining position will get them.

Of course all this is not fundamentally different from what the U.S. and Israel have been trying to accomplish for years. The terrorist raids, the hard-line position, the posturing, and open war against the Arab states, through all of this they have failed to crush the struggle of the Palestinians to regain their homeland. In fact, whereas only a few years ago the U.S. and Israel did not even admit publicly that the Palestinians even existed—there was only a "refugee problem"—now they have to make the pretense of finding a settlement with these so called "Palestinian autonomy talks." If it was just a simple matter of getting the heads of the Arab states to go along, the U.S. would have wrapped up its position in the Middle East a long time ago—but it's not. They can pretend that they are only dealing with the powerful leaders of governments, but as the example of Iran teaches, it is the masses of people who will eventually determine the outcome. The current course of the U.S. and the Israelis can only lead them to the necessity for even greater military escalation in the Middle East, a course that will only concentrate and strengthen the opposition of the masses of Palestinians and Arabs and intensify the contradictions within the U.S. bloc that have already emerged. □



**REVOLUTIONARY
WORKER**
Voice of the
Revolutionary Communist
Party, U.S.A.

Knight in Dented Armor

Continued from page 7

"I believe it is essential in the highest interests not merely of this country but of the world, that Britain should at all hazards maintain her place and her prestige among the great powers of the world. . . . I would make great sacrifices to preserve peace. . . . but if a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace could only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement, by allowing Britain to be treated where her interests are vitally affected as if she were of no account in the cabinet of nations, then I say emphatically that peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure."

Pointing out the political role of populist imperialists like Lloyd George and the role of bourgeois elections in general Lenin wrote a few years later:

"Nothing in our times can be done without elections; nothing can be done without the masses. And in this era of printing and parliamentarianism it is impossible to gain the following of the masses without a widely ramified, systematically managed, well-equipped system of flattery, lies, fraud, juggling with fashionable and popular catchwords, and promising all manner of reforms and blessings to the workers right and left—as long as they renounce the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. I would call

this system Lloyd-Georgism, after the English minister Lloyd-George one of the foremost and most dextrous representatives of this system in the classic land of the 'bourgeois labor party.' A first class bourgeois manipulator, and astute politician, a popular orator who will deliver any speeches you like, even r-r-revolutionary ones, to a labor audience, and a man who is capable of obtaining sizeable sops for docile workers in the shape of social reforms (insurance, etc.), Lloyd-George serves the bourgeoisie splendidly, and serves it precisely among the workers, brings his influence precisely to the proletariat, to where the bourgeoisie needs it most and where it finds it most difficult to subject the masses morally."

Here Lenin draws special attention to the role of the reformist politicians and their particular ability to influence the working class and oppressed masses. It is precisely the basic working masses, the oppressed nationalities, the unemployed and the youth that politicians like Kennedy are trying to influence. And Teddy (tattered as he is) is one of the main political figures they have at this time to appeal to those who have been most brutally exploited by the society to defend the very chains of their oppression. His role will be to go before the masses and say, "You know me. I've always fought for your interests. I oppose all the cutbacks. But now I'm asking you to do this for your

country. . . ."

This is why Kennedy and others like him are needed (desperately in fact) by the ruling class not only now but even more as the world situation sharpens up. In their shower of praise upon Kennedy after his speech, the press was quick to point out Kennedy's potential for the future and that he would have to continue to change his pitch to meet the future needs of the ruling class.

The *Washington Post* observed that Kennedy's performance at the convention "severely limits the meaning of the word defeat in connection with his campaign." *Newsweek* wrote, "To some critics, the effort (Kennedy's—*RW*) was an empty, if stirring, exercise in liberal nostalgia that had already been rejected by the voters. But Kennedy and his people insisted they were not harking back to the liberal past. As Rick Stearns put it, they were seeking 'a definition for liberalism that suits the 1980's'. 'Our intent,' said a senior Kennedy aide after the speech, 'was to take the first step toward a new ideology, to restate the old themes for the 80's!' And as Rick Stearns later put it 'Kennedy has to define a political vocabulary for the 1980's. He has to become a leader in adapting the old notions of liberalism to a new time.'"

And while Kennedy has shied away from saying too much about foreign policy and war preparations since his statements against the Shah of Iran which were quickly cooled down, there is no doubt where he stands. He has not only supported every increase in

military preparedness and supported proposals for beefing up the military (with a slight half-step calling for a go-slow approach to the MX), but he has even criticized Carter for such things as not taking a strong enough stand against the Soviets in Afghanistan. Clearly words such as "a strong national defense" and "we must wage war to protect freedom, democracy, and peace around the world," will be part of Teddy's "new political vocabulary for the 1980's."

Having said all of this, one more point must be made. Though Ted Kennedy has mounted his white horse for a new charge, Camelot the third time around is wearing a little thin. The bourgeoisie's hopes for him and what they are actually able to pull off are two different things. Those who are politically conscious must take advantage of the current mistrust among the masses of people for Teddy that does exist to further expose him and others like him and their role, otherwise their strength is sure to gain even in this election. For those who don't go for any of the candidates running Kennedy will be dangled out there as a hope for the future, maybe not perfect but at least a "lesser of evils", "someone who at least will do something for the common people." For their part the ruling class can be counted on to continue to promote Kennedy along with their other political henchmen. As *Newsweek* expressed the ruling class's hopes, "He may be a knight in dented armor, but he may be ready to lead another crusade." □



1970 Chicano Moratorium.

MORATORIUM:

Continued from page 1

he wasn't very impressive physically, opened the gate and told a group of us to come into his yard, that we'd be safe there. When the sheriff with a shotgun tried to get after us, that old man stood and put his chest against the sheriff and told him he'd have to kill him before he'd let him into his yard. That was his yard and he'd defend it with his life, and the people that were there were his guests, and the sheriff had just better leave. And when the sheriff saw the look on the faces of the people that were there, he decided it would probably be a lot better for him if he left. So he did."

Waves of police poured into the area. People started having meetings on the streets, spontaneously organizing into small groups; they busted up cement bus benches, got 2 x 4's from nearby construction sites, anything they could get their hands on, as hand-to-hand fighting with the police erupted in alleyways and streets of the barrio. The whole community was drawn into battle. People from the neighborhood were taking the injured into their homes; many stood on their front porches with shotguns. Small shop owners brought out crates of empty bottles for the people to use against the cops, while the finance companies and businesses notorious for ripping off the people went up in flames. The illusions about the invincibility of the police were being shattered.

By nightfall, East L.A. was an occupied territory with 1200 shotgun-toting sheriffs patrolling the area. Broken glass covered the pavement and smoke from still smoldering buildings filled the air. The police killed three men that day. Angel Gilberto Diaz was murdered in a hail of gunfire as he

drove through a roadblock. They killed Lynn Ward with an exploding tear gas cannister that threw him through a plate glass window. And they killed journalist Ruben Salazar in cold blood as he sat in a cafe.

Salazar, who had been a writer for the *L.A. Times* and later a news director, was working on a book exposing police brutality. Three weeks before the Moratorium, the L.A. Sheriff's Department threatened his life if he dared to publish the book. He continued to work on it. So, as Salazar was sitting in the Silver Dollar Cafe, four sheriff's deputies surrounded it and without warning one of the deputies fired a 10-inch armor-piercing tear gas shell into Salazar's head, killing him instantly.

In the wake of the Moratorium, Police Chief Davis foamed at the mouth, blaming subversives and outside agitators for the rebellion. The media pinned it on hot weather and too much wine, and some of the Moratorium leaders whined about a defeat. But for tens of thousands who participated in it and millions more throughout the country who were inspired by it, the Moratorium was a battle they will never forget.

Now, in 1980, the same questions faced and so righteously answered ten years ago at that Moratorium are still posing themselves—only on a higher and even more intense level. This is especially so not only because national oppression has continued and intensified, but even more because war is once again on the agenda—only this time world war between the imperialists headed by the U.S. on one side and the Soviet Union on the other. The question being posed more sharply every day for the masses of Chicano people, along with the people of every nationality in this country, is whether to

Co-conspirators

"Before the arrest of members of the Revolutionary Communist Party I had not heard of the Party or read their newspaper, but after reading about it in the *Houston Chronicle*, I found a newspaper and read it myself. I would now risk going to jail myself to distribute this newspaper. I am surprised that an 'accidental' shooting did not take place by the Houston police. As they are going through their trial and if they are jailed, I will be out telling people about the Revolutionary Communist Party and their newspaper. I can thank the American justice system and the Houston police department."

Continued from page 11

show of force by the police (more than 13 arresting officers for 4 *RW* sellers) and thinly veiled threats in the press, six eyewitnesses had taken the stand to testify for the defense, while the only witnesses the state could come up with were an HPD security guard and the manager of the nightclub.

On the day of the conviction, the D.A. heard an argument out in the streets below. He rushed to the window and upon seeing one *RW* seller out on the sidewalk shouted, "Your honor, these people are having another demonstration!" Youth from a housing project, responding to a call from the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, had marched through the projects carrying 3 large story boards about the *Revolutionary Worker* which the youth had made on the spot, and called on people to go to the trial the next day.

Inside the courtroom Travis Morales took the stand again. The prosecutor finally pinpointed the real object of all his fears—"There's a lot of people in this city who hate the police, the government, and all the abuses you're always talking about, people who side with you, aren't there? Isn't that why

stick with the rulers of this country (and maybe fight for a few crumbs) or whether to persist in and raise to a new level the stand pointed to by that first Moratorium—the stand of internationalism and revolution. Whether, in the final analysis, to be a pitiful satisfied slave, fighting and dying for his master's cause, or to welcome the defeats of all the imperialists, especially our own rulers, and become a conscious detachment of the international proletarian revolution.

For those who would take the first road of sticking by the master—maybe with some militant rhetoric thrown in as bargaining power for a "bigger piece of

you go out and sell your paper?" Unwittingly the D.A. had let the truth out.

The last day of the trial was the "punishment" phase. The D.A. questioned a defendant about whether or not she deserved probation. "I don't deserve any punishment," she said. "What you have tried to cover up in this whole trial is who the real criminals are—the imperialists of the United States and the Soviet Union who are plunging headlong into world war 3 to redivide the world and see who can reap the greatest profit. They're the greatest criminals in history! We are being convicted for selling the *Revolutionary Worker*, for exposing their war preparations and preparing the masses of people to make revolution to prevent world war and bury the system of imperialism that causes them." There was absolute silence in the courtroom. The revolutionaries were sentenced. The defendants are now free pending appeal. The authorities have emerged more exposed, their attacks on the *RW* revealed to many—so much so in fact that they have maneuvered to delay the next *RW* trial (which was supposed to have begun immediately after this one ended) for two months, praying that things would cool out. □

the American pie"—the last ten years have been a bitter and constant teacher. For the majority of Chicano people, things are worse. The divisions and segregation enforced by the imperialists are sharper. In El Paso, a "citizens' committee" fights to bar a Chicano housing project from a "better" neighborhood. In Houston and other cities, drinking regulations are passed for certain parks as a weapon to aid police in driving out Chicano youth. Whittier Boulevard in L.A. is cleared several times to push these youth out. Now nearly every gathering of three or more

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Alleged FALN Members Get Maximum Sentences

Government Threatens Sedition Charges

"From the day of our capture, we have known that we would be found guilty by the same government that perpetuates Colonialism in our homeland, Puerto Rico. The United States government accuses us of 'unlawful use of weapons.' We accuse them of maintaining in Puerto Rico the biggest arsenal of weapons and atomic bombs in the Atlantic.

"We accuse them of the illegal bombardment of our Island—Vieques—without regard to the lives of innocent Puerto Ricans.

"The U.S. government accuses us of 'conspiracy to commit armed robbery.' We accuse them of stealing our land, of stealing our natural resources, of stealing the wealth gained through our labor, of stealing the lives of our youth through forced military induction to fight U.S. wars."

So read the statement issued by the eight remaining alleged members of the FALN, the night before the sentencing. The next day, August 26, each of the defendants was given 8 years—five for "weapons" charge and three for a "conspiracy" charge. It was the "legal" maximum that the judge, Francis J. Mahon, could issue, and he told the press that he wished he could put them away for a longer time. His vengeful words were only a verbal confirmation of the venomous policy that the U.S. bourgeoisie has launched most recently in three trials of alleged FALN members in hopes of crushing and intimidating the Puerto Rican independence struggle.

But one of the most revealing things to come out of the trial was the state-

ment made by Cook County Prosecutor, Michael Ficaró, concerning plans by the Department of Justice to seek additional federal indictments against the alleged FALN members—against all the 11 who were recently arrested. One of the crimes under consideration by the feds is the charge of sedition—treasonous activity, advocating the overthrow of the government. The announcement that such charges are being considered not only underscores the imperialists' desperate intentions to stamp out the movement for Puerto Rican independence, but also indicates the government's weighing the possibility for an even wider use of anti-sedition laws against revolutionaries and others who oppose imperialism. With the growing moves towards war, and the extensive national mobilization that's going to be required, any resistance to their plans will likely come under the heading, "seditious." Organized, conscious revolutionary struggle opposing the rule of the capitalists will certainly be a particular target.

Since April 4, when the 11 alleged members of the FALN were arrested in Evanston, Illinois, this whole series of trials has been on a diesel driven railroad. First, Haydee Beltran Torres was convicted on charges in New York City stemming from a bombing of a Mobil Oil building. She was sentenced to life imprisonment on May 22. On July 9, in Chicago, Alicia Rodriguez and Luis Rosa were convicted on charges of "armed robbery," "armed violence," "possession of a stolen vehicle," and "conspiracy to steal a vehicle." They

both received sentences of 30 years in prison each. And now, again in Chicago, the remaining eight tasted imperial justice.

Even in the clutches of the bourgeoisie's jailers, and facing their judicial pimps, the defendants courageously refused to recognize the legitimacy of the court, stating instead that they were prisoners of war. Haydee Torres spoke for 15 minutes at her trial, exposing the rape and plunder of Puerto Rico by U.S. corporations and banking interests. Not a pre-trial hearing went by without the defendants and their supporters turning the courtroom upside down—chanting, raising fists, and jumping to their feet to demand independence for Puerto Rico. In New York, over 150 supporters packed Haydee's trial.

The bourgeoisie never even tried to hide the fact that these were political trials. In fact, they tried to create an atmosphere of reaction and fear by using every opportunity to cry "terrorists!" whenever they could. In this latest trial, Prosecutor Ficaró described the defendants and the FALN as, "the most clear and present danger to the welfare of the county, state, and country." And after the rulers summed up how damaging were those 15 minutes that Haydee used to pull the U.S. jackal out into the light for millions to see, the trials took on a new face.

Once the trials got underway, the defendants were held in cells where all the court proceedings were piped inside. The pigs harassed supporters all through the proceedings, detaining many for hours at a time. And during

the Rosa/Rodriguez trial one man was given 30 days in jail and held on \$10,000 bail, for shouting "Long Live Puerto Rico!" The judges in each of the cases ruled with the iron hand of bourgeois dictatorship. In this latest trial of the eight defendants, Judge Mahon issued a decree that could only be interpreted as a leap forward in upholding the right to a speedy trial. "Whoever," he intoned, "makes, at any time, any manifestation in the courtroom will be given six months in jail without a hearing." So the trials proceeded, with only glossy photographs of the defendants up on easels in the courtroom. The judges and prosecutors went hog wild trying to pound into the heads of the jurors that these people were terrorists and their crimes were crimes against the very fabric of American society.

But what the viciousness and vindictiveness of the bourgeoisie in these cases points to is that they are desperate to protect their rule and will go to any extremes against all who would challenge and oppose them. It reveals to even broader sections of the people, the truth that under the fine velvet glove of "democracy" lies a mailed fist poised to strike out in full force at the masses of people. A fist that will be increasingly used to try to stop the people from rising up and making revolution, but will at the same time only expose the real face of the imperialists, impelling new forces to dedicate their lives to rid the world of the imperialists once and for all. □

The following correspondence was received by the RW from a revolutionary artist in Chicago.

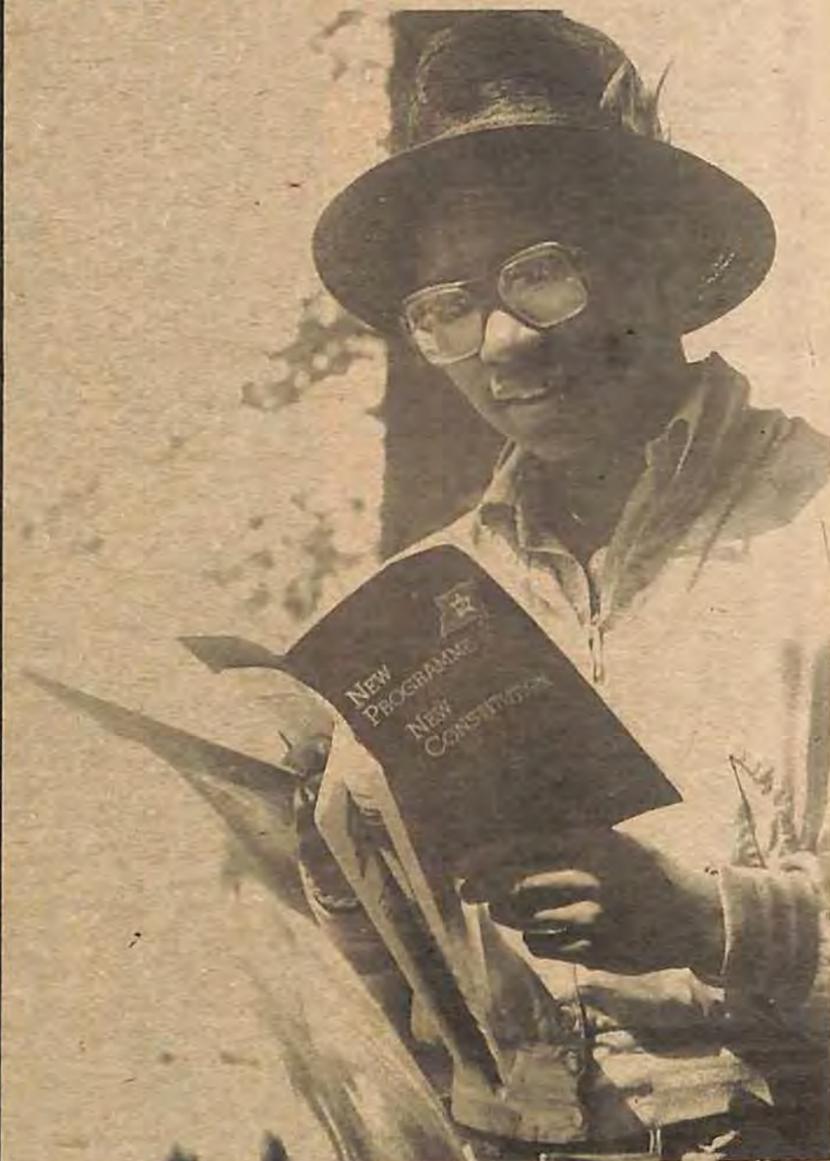
Kid in tow I got off the el train and followed the crowd up the stairs into the light of day. I had decided to take in some culture at what I had been told would be one of the biggest art fairs in the Midwest and indeed the streets were crammed with art and spectators for 9 blocks down Rush Street and cross streets in Chicago's "Gold Coast"—the glittering Gold Coast—wall-to-wall night clubs, disco glamour, the alleyways providing shadows for dope dealing and other forms of "night life." Today the Gold Coast was offering another kind of culture from our civilization of civilizations—"fine art"—presumably Chicago's most prestigious professional artists displaying their works. My hopes were high—here's a chance to see what's going on in the established art world—what are the trends, new developments in technique, etc. But as we wandered from display to display, my hopes for seeing anything new dwindled. The art was done skillfully enough but it was the same old shit—crafty thrown pottery, carved wooden owls and antique cars made out of nuts and bolts, paintings of nudes and sail boats. But why, I wondered, did it seem like 3 out of 10 of the artists displayed realistic renderings of quaint and rustic, falling-down old red-barns? A spectator's comments answered my questions. "Oh, it's so peaceful and serene." This choice little bit of Americana offered an escape from the real world. Thoroughly disgusted, we moved on.

In the middle of an intersection, a large crowd had gathered. From the front of a record store, loud disco music blared—"Oh yuk!—more boogie your brains out escape." But my kid, who had been up to now bored with the whole scene, dragged me up to the very front edge of the crowd where three young Black guys were dancing,

dressed all in black and white. One guy had on white leggings and a white tuxedo jacket and what looked like a white army officer's hat. They went smoothly through their carefully synchronized and choreographed dance. The disco beat blasted out, punctuated with sharp hand clapping sounds "Ooh! got the fever! uh! gov'ment fever!" The dance was almost a pantomime, as they moved together they looked like they were marching—then the guy with gators, white tux and officer's hat stepped forward and motioned to the other two, who laid face down in front of him kissing the ground. He ordered them up on their hands and knees. He walked around with them on either side like a man walking his dogs. He then instructed them to roll over and play dead. The crowd stood in rapt attention. They marched around again, smoothly to the beat, and then stopped. With the blank expressions of mindless robots they made like they were shooting pistols. I was struck as if by a thunder bolt—these young guys had taken the disco form and had made it into a powerful statement against mounting war preparations, threats of a renewed draft and what class interest is served by the army. It cut through the whole scene that day like a knife.

I rushed forward at the end of their performance to talk to these guys. They quickly became engrossed in showing me how they developed their disco marching step, and in discussing the effect of this show on the crowd. They had just come back from New Orleans and were planning to keep touring around the country on donations they raised. I had some RW's with me and they were eager to buy them—one of them had seen the paper before. While the Gold Coast Art Fair hadn't yielded anything particularly new and exciting in the way of painting and sculpture, I had certainly learned that there is nothing inherently reactionary and escapist in a 4/4 beat!

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

Excerpts from Piece Rates in Hungary

Soviet Bloc Capitalism

In a thousand cartoons and snide remarks, the press in this country has tried to make it seem as though what's going on in Poland is conclusive proof that "communism doesn't work" and that anyone who dreams of some other way of life besides what we face daily under capitalism is a fool. But what has happened in Poland—both the workers' rebellion and the conditions that lie behind it—instead are proof that capitalism doesn't work, even when carried out under the phony "socialist" mask of the revisionist countries like Poland and the Soviet Union.

The following is the first part of a two-part series of selections from a book by Miklos Haraszti, *Piece Rates in Hungary* (published by Penguin Books under the title *A Worker in a Worker's State*), which clearly exposes the continued existence of capitalist relations of production and the ugly features of capitalism in Hungary today—and which is very useful in understanding conditions in Poland today, which are no different. This book was written as a "sociological investigation" (which explains its title) in order to get past the censors. This is why it confines itself to only one aspect of the all around oppression of capitalism and its state: exploitation in the workplace, its effect on individual workers, the spontaneous development of divisions among them, their separation from any control over their own lives and even their thoughts, and the operation of objective laws that loom above the conscious actions of any of the participants in the process of production. The petty details of factory life which Haraszti portrays are achingly—and humorously—familiar to any worker in any capitalist society, including the U.S. They add up to a vivid denunciation of wage slavery. Exactly why Haraszti refrained from calling it that or from generalizing from these details in this book which he attempted to have legally published is made clear by what happened when he was put on trial for having written it: every generalization in the book, including the fact that the particular factory is not named (implying a "general criticism" of Hungarian factories), was used against him as evidence of his "criminal intent" to carry out "grave incitement."

Haraszti's biography and the circumstances under which this book was written themselves add up to a denunciation of the real, capitalist character of phony "communism" in the revisionist Eastern European countries. He was expelled from the University of Budapest in 1966 for organizing a student committee in support of the Vietnamese revolution. The committee was supposed to have drawn inspiration from the Chinese polemic against the Soviet revisionists. In 1968, he was accused of being a sympathizer of a group of what the authorities called "Maoists," whose leader was jailed. As a result, Haraszti was forbidden by the police to have anything to do with university buildings and publishing houses. In 1970, he was arrested and accused of having said, in a public meeting, that there were no soviets in the Soviet Union, and of having organized a meeting on the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth to read selections from Lenin without accompanying comments—an interesting exposure of the revisionist betrayal of Lenin. After a series of harassments, temporary jailings, countered by hunger strikes and petition campaigns, he was again placed under police restrictions. This is how he came to work in factories. When he attempted to publish, in 1973, the results of his "sociological investigations," he was again arrested, receiving a suspend-

ed jail sentence and a very stiff fine.

By presenting a clear picture of one aspect of the class relations which govern Eastern Europe and the USSR, this book has made a contribution to the inevitable development of a new socialist revolution led by the class-conscious workers of these countries and their newly created, genuine communist party. It also has a special significance for workers in the U.S.-led imperialist bloc—contributing to the development of the understanding that the workers in all countries are part of one single international class with a common historical mission—the elimination of all exploitation and oppression throughout the world through proletarian revolution.

In the galvanizing section of a factory where I used to work previously, and which was even bigger than this one, we

spent the whole day plunging heavy pieces of metal into tubs of cyanide, chrome, hydrochloric acid, caustic soda, and other lethal poisons. We were paid, exactly as we are here, according to output. The safety test, no more searching than here, lasted five minutes. It did not make much sense anyway: apart from a feeble ventilation system, which made unendurable noises and draughts—we always unplugged it after a few seconds—there was nothing to protect our health. In spite of the rules, we handled chemical substances without using either goggles or the safety devices intended to stop the bottles from turning over. Who had the time to look for them? Our rubber gloves would always rip open just in the middle of an electrolysis and, to prevent this treacherous anointment from eating our skin, we used to wash our hands in hydrochloric acid after work.

One man used to say that we were each entitled to half a litre of milk a day, to help avoid toxication. But he wasn't sure about that.

Before the test, they showed us a short documentary. 'The actors are great artists; it's really most instructive,' the safety officer told us, to whip up our enthusiasm.

And indeed, one after the other, the favourites of Budapest cabaret appeared on the screen. Ervin Kibédi played the part of the arrogant, disorganized, work-shirking malcontent, riddled with faults and quite unconcerned about the safety regulations. In his typical upper-class Jewish accent, he told what were supposed to be workers' jokes, rather in the way that he parodies car-owners' complaints in publicity films. Lázló Keleti was the furious foreman, solely preoccupied with productivity. At first, he complete-



THEY, THEM, THEIRS: I don't believe that anyone who has ever worked in a factory, or even had a relatively superficial discussion with workers, can be in any doubt what these words mean. Although we mainly talk about factory matters, *them* transcends the walls of the factory, and encompasses—quite unemotionally—everything which is above, far away, outside the power of whoever is speaking.

Realism— From the Inside

ly ignored the safety regulations, but later on—this was a bizarre touch—he fell on his face, hurting himself so that he had to go about squinting. In the end, he was converted. He put forward an angel-faced young worker as an example for everyone. This youth had charming manners, measured gestures, and demonstrated for all the world to see that even from the point of view of productivity it was best to obey the safety regulations. Our young hero argued with the foreman, 'Think how many hours of work are lost each month through accidents!' He was so sure of himself, our good youthful worker, that he made an ally of the manager himself, whom the film carefully avoided embellishing with any comic touches. In the beginning, and also at the end, the manager trusted the foreman. But the day when he discovered that things were going badly, he joined forces with angel-face to put everything right. It was even made to appear that the manager knew the individual workers better than the foreman—even though he was overburdened with work. He was carrying out research towards an important breakthrough, and this sort of incident disrupted his studies—but only for a few hours, we hoped.

The film went down very well with the apprentices. At each accident, presented as a joke and without any sign of real blood, they muttered all sorts of comments and remarks. They anticipated every *faux pas*, and laughed in advance. 'What a load of bullshit,' they said when it was over.

The fate of the twelve points in our factory was much the same as that of all 'twelve points' generally.* The first two are possibly exceptions, as no time is lost by observing them. If it wasn't for the fact that they are laid down as rules and regulations even the young workers might well apply them, for they are just a matter of common sense. However, every section has its undisciplined, long-haired rebels.

But all the other points are our enemies, and a burden to the bosses, whose bragging about work safety increases in proportion to their distance from the machines.

The fourth point is the most important. Under the piece-rate system, and any other form of payment by results, its breach is both inevitable and tolerated. A piece-rate worker does not earn money just by working, but rather because he works without observing the regulations.

My work-mates have long since given up the idea of their labour producing useful goods of high quality. They find it quite natural to be bound by special rules governing elementary matters of common sense, and equally natural to resist these rules, even when the price they pay is their own health.

But who batters his own head against a wall unless someone else is forcing him to do so? What immense force is capable of killing in the worker—who creates everything—the instinct for good work? You can, like the newspapers, believe that there is a point to a worker's life. But why should one be shocked by the indifference with which even workers who make a good living turn the page without hesitation when a

newspaper article purports to give his life some other meaning than this simple desire to live well? 'You have to alleviate the cancer, but not cut it out.' Even the most well-intentioned say some such thing when they talk about the improvement of workers' pay or the relations which surround their work—they say nothing about the pitiless inhuman absurdity of paid labour itself.

When we work on a machine—whose output is basic to the calculation of our pay—and when we run it faster than the prescribed rate, then, officially, that is not called self-destruction (an inconceivable self-destruction which calls into question our whole universe) but 'cheating the norm'.

A strange kind of cheating which does so much harm to the cheater! If a fraud is perpetrated, then someone has to be defrauded. In this case possibly the employers, since increased production does not result, as they might wish, solely from the extreme tension of our nerves and muscles, but also from speeding up the machines.

If we received a satisfactory wage for one hundred per cent performance then, all right, it would be cheating pure and simple. Because we would produce no more than the one hundred per cent, but would do so with less effort, and the quality would be worse. But this isn't it. What would spur us on constantly to increase output if one hundred per cent performance was really feasible, and its corresponding pay satisfactory?

And so, when the jobs come out of the machine quicker than the norms lay down, it could well be called a sort of cheating, but for us, this only means—and that's what they intend—that we finish more jobs than are officially reckoned to represent an output of one hundred per cent. It's not a matter of working less. Exactly the opposite in fact: we work more to produce more in order to earn an acceptable wage, and this is possible only by cheating.

One might well ask: who is being done? Certainly not the bosses who in the final count can only be satisfied, because we produce more. The machines perhaps? They can take the pace. It is the norm which is swindled, only the norm and the piece-rate system itself. And suddenly, this norm begins to take on a concrete existence: it assumes the appearance of a boss, any boss, whom one then imagines one is cheating.

The workers call cheating the norm 'looting'. Millions of piece-rate workers use this word quite naturally, without the least trace of guilt. No doubt the god of piece-rate workers receives millions of prayers every day, which beg him to provide their daily loot. This meaning of the word is not to be found in any dictionary. Entries under 'cheating the norm' do not describe what the workers actually do, but mention bribery, fiddling the accounts, and so on, things which are unknown in the factories.

But management knows all about looting. After all, it is not just the workers who practise it, and live off it, but the bosses as well. If they fix my pay for a hundred per cent performance at around 8 forints an hour, then, quite literally, they force me to loot. Just how could their production plan be implemented if this compulsion was not built into it in the first place?

There is no need for them to go through all those calculations which I made to work out my wage per minute. All they have to do is to set the time for a job low enough, so that it compels me to loot.

Every boss banks on his piece-rate workers looting. If he sometimes reprimands them about this, it's invariably in a cautious, low-keyed, impersonal way, often with humour. This usually happens only when looting too obviously affects the quality of work, perhaps when there are many more defective pieces than are allowed for in the calculated reject rate.

No boss would ever openly encourage us to loaf. 'You can take money home by the sackfull,' says the head foreman. 'It's entirely up to you.' Of course, he doesn't add that the hourly wage is a farce and the prescribed speeds can't be taken seriously.

M gave me my first lesson in looting. He said he couldn't stand to see the way my machine crawled along. 'You're not giving them any sleepless nights. If you don't work out how to make your money yourself, they won't slip the missing hundred forint bills into your pocket. Well now, what do you do when the setter has finished?'

I was going to tell him that I knew all about my machine, but he stopped me with a wave of his hand. 'This is what you do: you set it all over again. And if you begin without the setter, then forget about the technical instructions. He sticks to the blueprint. That's what he's paid for. But you've got a head of your own, haven't you? Well then, step up the cutting speed and feed the job through faster. Just make sure you don't blow yourself up. If you want to make a living here you can't let things run along smoothly.'

It's not easy. As soon as I start, the accelerated pace brings on an extreme state of nerves. My eyes are transfixed by the hail of sparks; my whole body strains towards the lever; sometimes I can't bear the tension any longer and pull too soon. The machine trembles and shrieks. The excessive stress on the material induces ominous knockings and vibrations. Their crescendo induces in me cramps and waves of guilt and fear. My torpid concentration collapses.

I concentrate on one machine. The other, timed for a different run, comes to the end of its operation; the milling disc hits against harder material and breaks, making an infernal din. The broken milling teeth shoot past my head like bullets. I stop both machines. My inner trembling gets the better of my hands. When this happens to experienced workers, they set about sweeping up shavings to master their impulse to run away. The unmistakable sound and the sudden quiet that follows makes the others look up from their own noisy machines. Their looks don't condemn and their remarks help me through a difficult moment. Slowly and unobtrusively, my neighbour strolls over and examines the shattered head. 'There are plenty of these in the stores,' he says. 'It's a disposable tool.' (At every production meeting, the foreman tables the same motion: 'The level of consumption of disposable tool parts is too high throughout the section.')

Despite their frequency, such incidents are treated as an event—and the news spreads quickly, like the word of a feat of arms among soldiers at the front. During the morning break after I

broke the disc, a borer came over to me from the other end of the factory. 'I have heard the iron cry,' he said, with a broad grin. It turned out that this was the stock quotation on such occasions. He did not know its origin.

Looting has its own excitement and rituals. Young workers, and those who are friends, spur each other on. The tense faces, the eyes half-closed through fear of flying fragments, smile for a moment. 'Go it, Pista, like you would the wife at home.' 'Go on! Give it one!' 'Is she turning red? What are you waiting for?' 'You've already shot your lot, Fonce, I didn't know you were such a weakling!' 'Hi, Laczi, where are you? You're hopelessly behind!'

But this does not save us from acute nerves, a condition which has nothing to do with personal irritability, whether chronic or occasional. Apart from the constant threat of accidents, the main cause of nerves is that not all work or every situation allows looting. We have to hunt out loot, catch it and hold it, plan ahead and get into position, throw angry rages on its behalf. Every day we have to fight for loot: small but in the long run vital battles, amongst each other, one against all.

All knowledge, skill, and application, everything needed for a good job, are put to the service of looting and so turned inside out. It is no longer a question of producing a good job of work, but rather the reverse. To discover every chance for looting, and take advantage of them you have to know all the jobs your machine can possibly do, compare the piece-rate for new operations with the technical instructions, find out how to mount more pieces than the regulations lay down, learn how to step up the speed, and, in the case of multiple operations, find a way of getting right to the end of the series with a single setting of the table, and a single milling head.

All this has to be done in secret and entirely on your own, because the foreman, the quality inspector, the rate-fixer and the engineer are all there to see that the rules are observed. They turn a blind eye only so long as you do not force your looting to their attention. The word 'looting' is not considered polite. But you can talk about 'good jobs' and 'bad jobs', which mean by silent convention nothing more than whether or not looting is possible. With the foreman you can speak quite openly about good or bad work. To him the rise in productivity through looting is an advantage: increased bonuses, and more prestige. Accidents and damage come under another heading. Our exhaustion, tension, and 'nerves' are not his concern.

M, for example, has a good look round before work begins and again during the morning break. He stops in front of my machines and scrutinizes the 'money' for my new jobs. Now he's no longer helpful. His eyes narrow as he observes me work: only if he is sure that my work is not 'better' than his, or that his jobs are just as 'good', will he spare me a few friendly words. After he's done his rounds he goes to the foreman and complains that he has had nothing but 'bad' jobs for days. 'You know the way things are,' comes the formal reply; 'bad jobs bring good ones.' The foreman means that if you want to get your hands on to jobs where looting is possible you've got to accept those that don't bring much money. The 'good'

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*Both the revolution of 1848-9 in Hungary and the uprising in 1956 began with a declaration of 'twelve points'.

SOVIET BLOC

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job is a gift, a bonus. The point of M's ritual complaints is not so much to solicit short-term favours as to make sure that the foreman knows what's going on. As they say round here, there are too many Eskimos and not enough seals. The foreman has a tendency to forget those who don't go along to see him regularly.

He also knows that, for piece-workers, 'good' work is not a bonus, but the only way to make a decent wage. A day without a 'good' job is a day lost.

'Nerves' get most acute when work is 'bad'—when there is just no way of getting the actual time for a job below the official time. At such moments, the more sensitive workers are unapproachable; they explode at a single word. The condition of the machines, the general muddle, things they never even notice when work is 'good', send them into a frenzy. The foreman keeps well away from them. M, for example, lets out a stream of oaths, takes it out on his machine, pounds the levers when they are stiff and lashes out at everything.

K is a peaceful man with a cool temperament. Once, he had to work for three whole days on the same interminable run of little turds: complicated jobs, impossible to speed up, set to a very short time norm. It did not give him any margin. Real bad, cheap work. He was sure the foreman would follow this with 'good' work. Instead, he got a batch which was every bit as bad, and also took a long time to set up. After he started, the inspector began interfering and made him reset the machine, once, twice, three times. Then, the moment the foreman walked past him, K, with a twist of his hands detached the milling head—a special tool which weighed at least a hundredweight—raised it in the air like Toldi* brandishing his milling stone, and hurled it on to the concrete floor, teeth first. Still not content, he turned over the milling head and started to smash the teeth with a six-pound hammer, sending out a shower of razor sharp splinters. 'You can't work with this fucking shit! If anyone says he can, I challenge him to come and show me!' When he had a 'good' job, he used such a milling head without complaint. The foreman had the fragments of the precious tool carried away—it took two men to do the job—but it didn't occur to him for one moment to give K a dressing-down, or to make him pay for the damage.

'Nerves' brought about by the necessity of looting cannot be calmed by anything except loot itself. We have to stake all our inventiveness, knowledge, imagination, initiative and courage on getting it. And when this comes off, it brings a certain feeling of triumph. This is why workers on piece-rates often feel that they have beaten the system, as if they'd got the better of someone. But looting does not make the work any easier; it intensifies the physical and mental effort demanded. The time won is used to make even more pieces. If we stopped, carried away by the sheer joy of success, we should lose all the advantages we had gained. Despite this we talk among ourselves about our looting with an air of conspiracy, as if it was a decisive blow in the unending, daily battles.

M is decidedly proud of his reputation. Even the turners speak with respect about his looting, although they have a traditional contempt for the millers' dirty trade. He really does get up to some fantastic tricks. One of his favourites is to lay the huge, heaviest pieces on the milling table, without fastening them down, and to lean against them with the whole weight of his body while the table moves to and fro, and the cutters screech. Just to watch him sends cold shivers down your spine. A grain of impurity in the material, or a fault in the casting, and the insane speed of the head will rip the

piece from between his hands. But if he doesn't do it that way, he will lose the two minutes to be gained from every ten.

L, who is coming up to retirement has been given the chance of doing exactly the same work every day. He mills the gaps in between the teeth on cog wheels. Each piece has to be worked on three sides. This is how he grabs his loot: when he has finished on one of the three sides he uses one hand to loosen the clamps (which are anyway fewer than the number laid down in the regulations) as the table comes back at full speed and the spindle continues to rev. When the table gets back to its initial position, he can immediately pivot the piece around without stopping the milling head, so that he can then let the machine carry on with its cycle while he tightens the clamp on to the new position. Is it safe to work with so few clamps? Does he have time to check that they are fastened tightly enough or that the piece isn't going to smash the revolving head? He never asks questions like this. If he worked to the rules, in one fell swoop his job would be metamorphosed into 'bad' work, and he would have lost his 'living'.

Around Christmas time, we were made tragically aware of the way L worked. In the adjacent section there was an accident involving another miller who put L's pieces through their next operation. This worker also took advantage of the chance to pivot the pieces around. The milling head tore off the fingers from his right hand. The stretcher on which they carried him out passed right in front of old L's machine.

The foreman sent for the millers and gave us a little talk in his office. 'On the occasion of this most regrettable incident, I would like to take the opportunity of emphasizing to you that in our section we can boast about the fact that we have had very few accidents indeed. It is in all our interests'—this was his favourite phrase—'to keep things this way. This scramble at the end of the year isn't very pleasant for anyone, but it involves all of us, because the final outcome will affect us all. It would therefore be a good thing if we kept our safety record to its present level, and finished the year without an accident. We must learn from what has just happened. You are grown men, I know, but you shouldn't be ashamed to learn. Has anyone got any questions? Now, please sign the minutes of this *ad hoc* meeting.' On the sheet of paper, you could read that the foreman had drawn our attention to the importance of keeping to the technical regulations, and the workers had registered their agreement. We went back to the section, and everyone continued exactly as before: including old L.

THEY, THEM, THEIRS: I don't believe that anyone who has ever worked in a factory, or even had a relatively superficial discussion with workers, can be in any doubt about what these words mean. In every place of work, without any definitions or specification, without any gestures, special tones of voice, winks of the eye or a pointing of the finger, *them* means the same thing: the management, those who give the orders and make the decisions, employ labour and pay wages, the men and their agents who are in charge—who remain inaccessible even when they cross our field of vision. The word lumps together those whom one knows and those whom one does not know, those whom one likes and those whom one hates, the foreman with whom one is on friendly terms, the design engineer whom one addresses formally, the manager whom one approaches with obsequious respect, the secretaries, the time-keepers, the inspectors, the factory journal and the guards. Although we mainly talk about factory matters, *them* transcends the walls of the factory, and encompasses—quite unemotionally—everything which is above, far away, outside the power of whoever is speaking. *Them* are all those upon whom he depends in an elusive and in-

definable way: those from whom he receives this or that; by whom he is ordered about; or those who are simply strangers—officials from organizations, politicians, television producers, doctors, policemen, or officials at the football ground.

This *them* is both simple and complex, but there is never any doubt about what is meant by it. In conversation it does not give rise to confusion or ambiguity. The most disturbing thing is the complete confidence and naturalness with which the expression is used, without the least emphasis, exactly as one might say, 'my wife', 'my job', or 'let's go round to my place'.

I have also worked in offices in which, just like here, they had directors and subordinates, some of whom were privileged and others on low salaries, big fat vegetables and busy little squirrels. But nowhere, except among factory workers have I heard this absolute *them*, peremptory, exact, and crystal clear. This usage not only differentiates industrial workers from others; even within the factory it traces a subtle demarcation line between the majority and those whose posts or qualifications are such that they lose sight of the distance which divides the common destiny: dropping *them* is the first sign that someone really wants to start climbing the ladder.

It is an astonishing enigma, worthy of the pen of a linguist or a philosopher, that in contrast to this *them*, through which the workers define themselves by exclusion, workers never use, either by chance, or in jest, or by slip of the tongue, or in error, and probably not even in their dreams, the *us* which forms the counter-balance to it.

The factory journal, and the management from top to bottom, do it all the time. They are always using *us*, *we*, *ours* and *with us*. Maybe this *us* is the first word which a freshly promoted boss has to learn; and learn in its full meaning too, because its sense is in no way identical to the spoken word of common language.

In the factory, *we* is used in a way curiously at odds with its dictionary meaning. This little word, which brings to mind the idea of community and togetherness, acquires in the bosses' mouths shades of warning and a mark of distinction which separates them from the rest. Perhaps just because we know who is talking? Because it's not the first time that we've seen him? He says *we*. 'We have made it our aim...our objective is', or '...we decided...we achieved...' You can feel in his words that he wants you to know his part in fixing the aim, as much as the aim itself; that he speaks of *our* objective not only to stir up enthusiasm, but also as a warning: he will be making the reckonings. The word implies unity, in making decisions and implementing them, but when he uses it, it does not mean that this unity really exists, but rather that it is deposited in him alone.

This use of *we* has its own force and direction; which comes from above and radiates outwards from a single point. As soon as that direction is reversed it shrivels away.

'We absolutely must finish the component replacement assignment in this coming month. It is urgent,' one of the directors of technical services states during a production meeting. 'That can't be done,' says a worker, and he begins to explain why. 'We will look into the problem,' replies the director, as unaware as anyone else that his *we* does not mean the same thing in his two statements. The difference would only strike someone who didn't know how our work is planned. People here don't bother about the difference, because they know without thinking about it that the first of these two *we's* divides itself, every moment of the day.

To protect this *we*, television, radio and press return time and again to debate the question: 'who really is a worker?' No sooner do they take it up than they drop it again. Obviously the purpose of such discussions is to expand the meaning of the word; ideologically they must link hegemony to the workers. The most interesting aspect of these debates is the way in which all the participants never stop reassuring each other they are all workers. Such a magical metamorphosis

has some strange effects in certain intellectual circles, for example in schools and colleges, which know of workers only from television and which have convinced themselves that in reality workers do not exist.

Once I saw a lone, real worker taking part in one of these televised debates. Everything he said was desperately clumsy. He came back again and again to the same question. How could someone who is not a worker possibly be a worker? Obviously, he did not have sufficient grasp on the deeper meaning of the discussion... His haughty adversaries were in no position to reveal their hidden purpose, so they did nothing but torment him: he must prove it, argue to the point, define what he meant! But the worker didn't have any definitions. His opponents constantly referred to novel peculiarities in productive processes, and developed complex political theories. The worker did not contradict any of this, but he clung to his standpoint and kept asking obstinately: how could someone be a worker when they weren't a worker?

He was not in a position to say what he really felt and maybe he would not have known how to say it anyway, even though he knew the novel peculiarities of the productive processes at first hand. Anyway, he would have had to name hard facts which are unspeakable in polite society, now that hegemony has been attached to the working class.

No arguments of this sort take place in the factory. There, everything is straightforward: each is what he is. Such criteria as: What was he before? What was his father? How far does he play a part in production as a worker? are not posed, nor does the question 'Who is what?' arise. The management says *we*, but that doesn't create any ambiguities for anyone, even for management themselves. They are perfectly well aware that this *we* does not mean *us workers*.

There is an ever-increasing number of people in factories who are neither workers nor bosses. But even they do not create any ambiguity, whether you look at them from below or from above. In our day-to-day relations with them, personal impressions are a great deal more reliable than any scientific definitions.

'All, or nearly all those who are not workers...' Pay attention to this: they are non-workers. All or nearly all those who in one way or another give orders; implement rules; fix the conditions of work; caution; control and share in the power of the bosses, even if the individuals concerned have no power in their own right. They constitute the company, not us, and the company is a power over us. They concern themselves with us, while we ourselves are concerned with materials, machines—and above all, with our pay. We work only in the Factory; they work for the Company. They themselves do not decide what their function is, but it amounts to this: registering us, organizing us, protecting us, classifying us, insuring us, keeping us together, keeping us apart, managing us, measuring us, paying us, hiring us, rubber-stamping us, instructing us, sanctioning us, blaming us, decorating us, immortalizing us, silencing us, deputizing for us, observing us, examining us, surveilling us, searching us.

Even if all of this is not clear to him, every worker is familiar with the tone of voice in which the content of power relates to real power in the way that temporary immunity from a weak vaccination compares to perfect health.

The clerk who works in the foreman's office doesn't earn a lot of money, because she is a clerk, and because she is a woman. But she can send for me, pass on orders from the chief, do me favours, or discriminate against me. It is unthinkable that a wages clerk should ever ask me what time would be suitable for me to come along and sort out a problem in calculating my pay. He or she tells me when I must come, and sends me away again if it turns out to be a bad moment for him or her. The records clerk, that rat swathed in red tape, can bang his window down on my nose; the security guard can order me with a glance to stand on one side; the factory journalist

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*Hero of a well-known nineteenth-century poem by János Arany. Toldi fought mightily against feudal coercion.

CWP: The Not-So-Great Imposter of Marxism

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of private life without the contradictions of a society organized around pursuit of private gain. It is, as they put, "a truly democratic America." It is a quite impossible—but quite commonplace—petty bourgeois dream of bourgeois society without the bourgeoisie.

And then there's revenge. The CWP has taken to seeing many of its actions (such as those at the Democratic National Convention) under the heading of "payback." They explain:

"For the U.S. people, they know we speak of their interest. Why? When we throw an egg at Anderson, * we mean we are going to turn the enemy out for creating a society where our kids can't afford to go to college... The payback is people's revenge for the crimes of the real criminal, the bourgeoisie. And the final payback is the victory of workers' rule, when we take society into our own hands and boot out the capitalist criminals forever." (*Workers Viewpoint*, 8/25-31, p. 15.)

Not revolution leading to the elimination of all oppression and ultimately, the elimination of all classes. Not internationalism—just revenge. Revenge against oppressors by those who have been victimized is not only quite understandable but has a place in a revolutionary upheaval. But as a main motive and guiding line for making revolution, it just won't cut it. Making revolution for the sake of revenge doesn't lead to creating society on a new basis—just the old one in a new, but soon-to-be-tattered suit of clothes; but then, for this very reason, it's perfectly suited to the CWP's conception of revolution.

Bad Mimics

From all that we've said so far, it might seem that the CWP is just another rightist pseudo-communist group; but their particularity, of course, has not been their rightism (which they share with a myriad of other groups) but their militant "revolutionary" posturing. Having shown some of the thoroughly bourgeois reality behind their facade, let us turn to their particularity (and peculiarity). One point that we have mentioned in the past is their rather peculiar (and rather suspect) habit of not only trying to ape the general revolutionary line and practice of the RCP, which represents the application of Marxism to today's concrete conditions, but of mimicking specific bits of analysis, campaigns, even slogans of the RCP. (See "What the CWP Is Copying and What It Is Not," *RW* No. 62.) The point is not at all that the RCP objects to the copying of a revolutionary line—an exact replica could only be welcomed. But when the CWP tears bits and pieces of Marxist analysis and practice out of context, then twists them and brandishes the resulting parody, what was revolutionary turns very much into its opposite, and one is led to wonder what exactly they are trying to do.

Another striking and perhaps not unrelated peculiarity of the CWP's analysis is their apocalyptic vision of the present situation:

"The economic crisis today is a permanent economic crisis... Losing your job these days means that you'll never have a chance to work again until the whole capitalist system is overthrown... The depth of the capitalist economic crisis today has devastated all our lives... Unable to deal with the crisis, workers take out their frustration on those nearest them... Individual violent and petty crimes are increasing at unheard of speed... These things were there in the '30s but never on this glaring scale. The reality of the '80s has outstripped even Alfred Hitchcock's imagination."

This may be true of the CWP in the 1980s—although just whose imagination the CWP's line and actions repre-

sent is as yet unclear. At any rate their supposedly Marxist understanding of economic crisis is definitely out of Hitchcock. "If you lose your job you'll never work again"—the CWP sees the crisis as a straight line down; it does not see the twists and turns, the remaining reserves of U.S. imperialism, the ebb and flow of inter-imperialist rivalry, the cycles within an overall movement. And then they don't differentiate among different classes and strata of the masses; it's not true that "all our lives" are devastated today. Different sectors of the people are affected differently by the economic developments of the past few years—or of the past year—and the great majority are still getting by, not devastated. There are laws operating underneath all this—determining the situation today and the deep trouble facing the imperialists. But this science matters not at all to the CWP. For them everything is desperate right now, and in the face of it all the response of the masses, in CWP's picture of things, is simply to freak out:

"I hate America! a laid-off steel worker announced into the reporter's mike while holding his children hostage at gunpoint. That was in Detroit... In a N.Y. subway car, a divorced, middle-aged man beat an 89-year-old man until he was unconscious just because the old man's newspaper touched him accidentally. And they are not alone. Every day, things like this happen. We are driven to desperation by the economic crisis—the deepest since the 30's depression, and we haven't seen the worst yet." *

CWP and the "Dazed Masses"

This beating of the 89-year-old man, by the way, is one of the CWP's favorite examples. Another favorite is the case of the woman who, in connection with occultism, burned her 20-month-old baby to death in the oven. The CWP has run a picture of the agonized face of the woman's husband several times—most recently in a follow-up story on how this husband had later attacked the couple's 8-year-old son with a baseball bat and spear gun. (*Workers Viewpoint*, 6/6/80—the same article also recounts the subway incident again.) And these are supposed to typify the reaction of the masses.

Thus the CWP not only believes that "80's Crisis Freaking Out Bourgeoisie" as one of their headlines reads (*Workers Viewpoint*, 6/9/80), but they think that to a much greater extent it is totally freaking out the masses, whom they characterize as "disoriented, confused and frustrated" (*Workers Viewpoint* 6/30/80). In this condition, the masses might just do anything—some will turn to fascism, but in their disoriented and freaked-out condition, the CWP reasons, many may even turn to communism—if the CWP can just beat the fascists to the punch! While the bourgeoisie paints a picture of communist revolutionaries being akin to a Jim Jones cult—the CWP obliges by "theorizing" just such a relation between leaders and dazed masses.

Lest anyone think we exaggerate, this line of reasoning is quite explicit. The CWP is fond of summing up the "lessons" of the rise of fascism in pre-war Germany:

"In 1929 in Germany, the masses deserted the existing system, the Weimar Republic, and went either left or right—either with the German Communist Workers Party (*sic*) or with the Nazi Party. Hitler spent all his time on

*One little side-light on the thirties and why things are worse now: "Millions were unemployed. Soup lines everywhere. But for those who still had some money or a job, at least the prices were low. Then later on, people got Social Security and welfare to partially relieve their destitution and starvation." Ah—the good old days of the Great Depression when, as it says elsewhere in the leaflet, "prices went down until people could afford to buy again."

two things—a daily newspaper and getting money to finance the newspaper, and was thus able to overtake the much deeper rooted communists and impose fascism on the German people." (*Workers Viewpoint*, 2/23/80.)

And more recently:
"The Nazis filled the void in leadership with their fascist propaganda through postering and their newspaper, and were able to win the hearts and minds of many confused Germans. The Communists were unable to assume leadership and were unable to meet the challenges the economic crisis presented." (*Workers Viewpoint*, 6/23/80.)

In what may be said to be the CWP's parody of our Party's central task "create public opinion... seize power," then, the lessons are clear: imitate the Nazis, and scoop up these confused and disoriented masses before the fascists do. After all, remember, the bourgeoisie is unable to provide leadership anymore, and only rules by default, and in this situation, as one headline reads, "if communists don't fill leadership void, fascists will."

There is more to this than just an unrealistic assessment of the present situation. It's not just that the CWP sees things as worse than they are, that it sees the economic crisis as further advanced than it is, or that they see the masses as more desperate for a change than they are. There is something much more basically wrong with this. What does it say about CWP that they see the "seeds of the future" in those who irrationally attack children or old men? That they see the masses as typically confused and freaked out, waiting to be gathered in by fascists or communists, whoever gets there first with the slickest posters and newspapers?

Role of Consciousness Denied

What it comes down to is that they see communism, Marxism, as a basically irrational set of norms and incantations—not all that different from fascism except for a greater nobility of purpose. The CWP is quite anti-Marxist—just because it does *not* see Marxism as a science through which the world, history and society can be understood and, on the basis of that scientific understanding, changed. They have no understanding—or rather they deny—of the role of human consciousness in grasping the laws of the world. And they likewise have no understanding of the role of the consciousness of the masses, of how ideas can seize the masses and thereby become a material force. Their leaflet includes the following paragraph:

"To endlessly carry on education of the American people and demand they understand perfectly about socialism before you understand it—this strategy forgets one thing. Namely, that the working class and oppressed people don't make revolution based on an intellectual understanding of this idea or that idea. They make revolution out of necessity, out of desperation. They make revolution because they know the only other alternative is more suffering under a fascist USA."

Now of course it's true that revolution doesn't happen after everyone or even most people "understand perfectly about socialism." But the basic thrust of this paragraph is against educating and raising the consciousness of the people in preparation for revolution. What of the key task today of raising the class-consciousness of the masses—and, in particular, the decisive question of the understanding—along with the actions of the *advanced* section of the workers? The CWP line is anti-scientific and anti-Marxist. It's true that people come into motion out of necessity. But the direction of motion, the way they come into motion, when and how they act, are guided by ideas. And whether they are guided by ideas and a consciousness which really grasps the dynamic of the situation and the underlying laws can determine success or failure, or momentary vs. long-term success. This is why agitation and propaganda are the crucial link in the pre-revolutionary period.

The CWP neither wants nor plans to do anything like this, however. Their idea is to get to the (disoriented and

confused) masses and, rather than arm them with a scientific understanding and orientation, simply impress them with the CWP's militance and tactical skill, upon which the masses will follow these heroes. As the CWP puts it, describing an incident of some youth joining a demonstration:

"They jumped into the demonstration, yelling with joy and screaming 'Yay!' There was no 'us and them.' Their message was, 'If you are willing to lead and sacrifice, we will follow you!'" (*Workers Viewpoint*, 8/25-31/80.) This is all the CWP expects—or wants—from the masses, and from its own cadre as well, in fact.

What is supposed to impress people is the CWP's supposed tactical skill in carrying out actions, a theme which they constantly emphasize. As they sum up their action at the convention:

"Our message to the ruling class is clear. The Party's ability to skillfully combine all forms of class warfare freaks them out, seeing that the U.S. people know that the Communist Workers Party is invincible." (*Workers Viewpoint*, 8/25-31/80.)

This boast of invincibility is the sheerest trash; its only effect is to set people up, to hype them into needlessly provocative and dangerous actions. But it is a boast that in one form or another CWP repeats often, and sometimes in ways that raise some serious questions:

"Our supporters penetrated the Garden arena at will. Using the highest security-clearance passes obtained by our supporters in high places, we breezed past the security." (*Workers Viewpoint*, 8/26-31/80.)

All this, too, is closely related to their idiotic and truly provocative statements (an example from the leaflet is "We must stop this election"), statements which are picked up on and popularized by the press, and often lumped together or confused with the RCP in order to cast a cloud of craziness over genuine revolutionaries. Even in the way they boast about their actions, the CWP seems to present a view of revolutionaries that closely parallels the image that the ruling class is right now painting of genuine revolutionaries as they move to attack them. From an analysis of various aspects of their line, this seems to be an overall political characteristic of the CWP.

Despite its revolutionary parodies, the CWP is quite the opposite of revolutionary. One can imagine one of the supposedly confused and disoriented masses getting one of the CWP leaflets outside the Democratic Convention, with "Extreme Times Require Extreme Measures to Save the Country" on the front and "The Republicans and Democrats Must Be Stopped From Driving This Country Into the Ground" on the back, and all the garbage we've been looking at in between. He reads it, then runs unknowingly into a CWP agitator expounding on the dangers of the advance of fascism. He responds, "Yeah, I know what you mean, man. Those fascists are all over the place. You should have seen this leaflet I got a little while ago!" □

Mugabe

Continued from page 3

are twiddling their thumbs, as is indicated by Nkomo's recent visit to Libya in early July "to thank and talk with those people I worked with in the past."

While numerous formal reasons have been floated out for Mugabe's visit to the U.S., from addressing the UN to "thanking Carter" and begging for aid, a brief look at events in the last six months reveals the real reason for his visit. Mugabe has clearly come to the U.S. to tie the bow on the imperialists' prize—Zimbabwe. Mugabe's policy of "conciliation" is clearly spelled "capitulation," and it's a policy that, far from freeing Zimbabwe, has only served to sell it deeper into the clutches of the Western imperialists. With his visit, Mugabe delivered the package he promised the U.S. when they backed up his election. But for the U.S., it just may turn out to be quite a surprise package, one that explodes in their faces as they prepare to devour it. □

*One of the CWP's favorite forms of "payback" is throwing eggs at prominent politicians—a practice they call "aggravating" the politicians.

SOVIET BLOC

Continued from page 22

may interview me, with my foreman's agreement, and it is the foreman who tells me what I must say.

The official type may be a busy-body, he may be devious, cold, double-dealing, provocative but his behaviour leaves no doubt that his ridiculous little position is part of the power of the factory, of its power over me. Beyond a certain limit his friendly moods and good humour fade away, simply because he must make his position felt. In the factory, everyone who is not a worker has the institutionalized possibility and opportunity to humiliate the workers—if only with his tone of voice. The opposite is not true.

'We know better than you. Leave it to us, OK?' 'Well now. What's the problem?' 'What a lot of trouble you are!' These trousers won't do? How long will you go on fussing?' 'Say, that's a pretty work-sheet for you!' 'Can't you learn to fill in a form? Make an effort, use your head.'

A share in the power of the factory sometimes means little more than having this chance to humiliate others, and so it is used at every opportunity. It is cushioned a bit only by the hierarchy of the shop floor. The farther one descends, from experienced skilled workers (provided they are not too old) and those with key positions, down towards the unskilled apprentice, the more these miserable shadows of power approach their true ideal: the sergeant major. Labourers at the bottom of the ladder put up with a pressure which is sometimes unbearable.

One day a young, gypsy labourer, said to be a bit crazy, and in a way the section's jester, was suddenly rumoured, to everybody's astonishment, to have applied for Party membership. Mocked about this in the morning break, he retorted: 'I'm going to become a comrade, and that bitch can lick my arse.' (He was referring to the nice dispatch girl, who, when it came to him, gave free rein to her tyrannical inclinations.) His listeners found this argument completely logical, the coarse formula contained an everyday truth. Only one man made a sarcastic comment: 'Just tell them that at the Party meeting...'

Workers realize that petty officials are also subordinates. (After all, they stress it enough themselves when they are looking for an excuse to carry out some particularly unpleasant task.) They, too, live in an atmosphere of dependence and humiliation. Workers don't have to be great psychologists to realize that the attitude of these functionaries towards them reflects what they endure from their superiors. 'It makes him feel better if he can kick me in the arse,' said one after a typical scene when work clothes were distributed. None of this leads to any feeling of solidarity: the piece-rate worker cannot pass insults on to any one else, and suffers enormously when he is kicked around, by those who are not, in principle at any rate, his superiors.

Besides, any hope of solidarity is excluded by the simple, daily experience that white-collar workers do lighter work and accomplish less. Their work is easier and less intense, they don't clock in at the crack of dawn; they don't eat during working hours; and the coffee machines that simmer in their offices symbolize their stake in power, limited though it is.

The fatigue and nervous tension that come from working on machines under the pressure of the norms make workers constantly aware of the difference between what is demanded of them, and what is asked of clerks. An image of the ideal worker, 'disciplined, conscientious, dedicated to work throughout his service,' is disseminated by television, radio, and the newspapers as a contrast to their caricature of a loafer. It leaves real workers cold. Nonetheless, when a television programme purported to 'expose' the workers of the capital by showing that at around quarter to two (that is, quarter of an hour before the end of the first eight-hour shift) the consumption of industrial electricity

dropped dramatically, while the demand for hot water rose suddenly, they all got very agitated, as if they had been personally insulted, and they made pointed comments about clerical workers.

The factory journal devotes reams of moralizing statistics to the way in which workers squander their time. Who in turn asks how time is used in the offices where such figures are cooked up, and such articles written? A clerk who never thinks twice about making a piece-rate worker wait, although the latter is engaged in an incessant battle against time, can make what explanations he likes. He will not be believed. For a worker on production, with his relentless time-table, the office clerk is the personification of a parasite.

How directors use their time, and the intensity of their work, is never raised—there are no criteria appropriate to this world of representatives and conferences. The unaccountable character of such activities makes notions like 'loafing' or 'keenness' pointless: if they were not meant to be bosses, then they would not be where they are. The work of subordinates can be measured and assessed. Bosses, however, have the independence of judges: the good boss has his staff firmly in hand, and drives them as hard as they will go. Of course, the harsher subordinates are treated, the more they reproduce this severity.

Philly

Continued from page 2

achieved quite a reputation as a "militant" fighter in the struggle for housing, even getting himself arrested to add to his credibility, has been getting a lot of play in the Philly press. His role as the "voice of reason" has been lauded to the skies. But the press has also gone to equal lengths as not to damage his image as a fighter for the people. The police even "accused" him of trying to incite people to riot on the second night of the rebellion, when he "led" people from a community meeting into the streets. What was not reported in the press however, was that Street actually saved the asses of the "community leaders" who were almost pulled from the stage when the angry people there got fed up with the bickering over who was going to be in charge of the meeting. Once outside, even Street couldn't keep the lid on, as people marched again toward the 22nd Precinct for a second night of demonstrations.

Before this night was over, 20 people were arrested by marauding pigs on horseback. Simultaneously a wave of repression was launched in the northside, but the cops have not dared to show up on the scene when there's been

never missing the slightest opportunity to make us feel their tiny part in the responsibility and power of the factory. So all the greater is our satisfaction when a boss upbraids a subordinate, for we want to see our work become freer and easier. But this hope is doomed, given the way things are: we piece-rate workers, we are the ones who are severe on ourselves.

The only satisfaction the piece-rate worker has is the belief that ultimately he is going to squeeze good money out of the company. He must believe this, as some compensation for everything else. When office staff, who may not even earn as much as he does, come and tell him off in front of others, he soon loses his sense of balance. He has to take these rebukes personally, and when he gets home, irritable and exhausted, he finds a way of scoring off these injuries in his imagination. Even so, he has enough experience to know that ultimately it's not the staff but he himself who is asking for trouble.

Those who have regular contact with the administration hate exaggerated good manners as much as dry, neutral and coldly impersonal behaviour. Maybe workers are wounded when it becomes manifest that they are *pieces*, just as the job they handle is a *piece* in their hands. Politeness coming from an administrator is identical to my own complete lack of feeling when faced with a job I am about to mill; it is just part of his technical know-how. The most tolerable petty administrator is one who is jocular, mildly collusive,

almost paternalist, even if you have heard his hackneyed patter a thousand times before. The workers expect him to put on a bit of a show as he does his duty to the company.

When the clerk is a woman, we expect her to pretend to flirt with us, as if the matter was incidental; when he is a man, we expect him to exchange a few words about some trivia not connected with the factory—male complicity is better than nothing. We don't mind if the same phrases are trotted out from one end of the year to the other.

Tension is a lot more frequent in dealings with powerless subordinates than with the real directors. Few things that come from them cause any offence: our relations with them are utterly without ambiguity, our dependence on them is overt and self-explanatory. The bosses don't need humiliation to enforce submission—they have that in advance.

One rarely hears the director's right to exist or his function and necessity called into question. The reverse is true in relation to office staff and inspectors. Workers have no idea about the world of the bosses, much as the fish of the sea depths know only those predatory species which sometimes penetrate among them, while the surfaces of the oceans, fresh air, land, and mountains are no more than fiction and myths. They apply the notion of the superfluous—a shadowy notion anyway, which can take on weird forms—only to that bit of the world they experience. □

any sizeable gathering of people. Instead they have struck back late at night, beating and arresting people as they have sat on stoops or stood on street corners in the hot summer evenings; even dragging people out of their homes.

National press coverage of the events in north Philly has typically spewed forward one lie after another, including one notable twist to the standard gamut. The Associated Press (AP) fabricated a photo and a caption that claimed the RCYB had been attacked by angry people. The "story"—an absolute and utter lie—appeared in major newspapers including the *Chicago Sun Times* and *New York Daily News*.

The third night, Wednesday, was the night of "Wee" Green's funeral. Over 500 people came from different parts of the city. By the time the services had ended the people were once again heading for the police station, and others heading in small groups to engage the cops on patrol. Even the "community patrols" that had been organized to keep things cool could not turn the people back to their homes. And when Milton Street tried once again to derail the uprising, by telling people that he was going home and they should too—the people's response—

"You go right ahead home, mother-fucker!"

In an effort to clear the streets the authorities issued a statement in the press that Officer Zeigler would be brought up on charges the next day, Thursday, August 28. But when the time came around, all Zeigler got was suspended from his desk job, pending further investigation. This of course was coupled with the pious and threatening words of the Mayor. "We will insure fairness... justice will be done... but lawlessness on either side won't be tolerated."

As we go to press the rebellion seems to be subsiding in north Philly. But it is an intense calm that blankets the area. For many, like William's father Rone Williford, the illusions of any justice under this system are disintegrating fast. "I know deep in my heart when a police officer shoots a black kid, nothing ever happens to the officer. It's just another nigger shot to them and the rest of the city officials. But it's got to stop here." And many more are refusing to be fooled by the lies and subterfuges; anger is far from dissipating. As one postal worker said in a voice of quiet determination, "They've taken from us all our lives. They're just not going to take anymore." □

Correction

In the article "Russell Means' Attack on Revolutionary Marxism" (RW No. 68), on page 14, the first full sentence in Column 4 should read: "The rule of the bourgeoisie poses tremendous obstacles to the discovery of this process. The bourgeoisie, aside from its overall metaphysical and idealist viewpoint, also has the particular necessity of justifying its continuing national oppression of Native Americans." Also, the last sentence of the second full paragraph in the fourth column should read: "(And here, where this society was able to create a—momentary—surplus above subsistence needs, it couldn't be used and most of the meat had to be left to rot.)"

MORATORIUM:

Continued from page 18

Chicano youths on a street corner in East L.A. is broken up by the pigs while their agents instigate and direct wars between different youth gangs. These are the very Chicano youth whom they plan to draft—and certainly once again in higher percentages—to fight in our rulers' army.

Today, too, the Migra continues its filthy work—a weapon of terror against the Mexican and Chicano people. Recently, a man in Austin, stabbed and trying to enter a hospital, found himself deported on the spot, deep into Mexico, and bled to death on the way. Cases like this are not isolated, but documented all the time. This is the "better life," the bitter and poisonous lie offered by

U.S. imperialism.

But in times like these, times of "national crisis" and looming war, even as the U.S. ruling class steps up this national oppression, they also step up their propaganda to tell people that all this does not really matter when compared to your "patriotic duty." This propaganda comes wrapped in various packages, including some reformist "militant" stuff as well as the open reactionary variety, but its ultimate message is the same. One case in point is the scheduled TV show now being filmed in Texas, claiming to be the true story of a Mexican family that fought to defend the Alamo against Mexico for the American slave traders and colonists. And various bourgeois spokes-

men, such as East L.A. city councilman Art Snyder, have been seen parading around loudly trumpeting the supposed patriotism of the Chicano people, and offering as proof the disgusting fact of national oppression that Chicano cannonfodder has always had a higher war mortality rate than its percentage of the overall population. It was the great virtue of the first Chicano Moratorium that it put rhetoric like this on the run, where it belongs.

Ten years ago on August 29, the Chicano people stood up proudly, dealt the oppressor some righteous blows and linked their cause with that of the people of the world. Today, with the stakes still higher, the need and possibility to raise up the revolutionary and internationalist banner is greater still. □

Flash: Late Friday afternoon, August 29, authorities in Philadelphia announced formal charges would be brought against Officer Zeigler under the "general charge of murder." The specific charges include: "involuntary manslaughter," "aggravated assault," "recklessly endangering the life of another," and "official oppression." Obviously deeply shaken by the 3 days of open rebellion, the bourgeoisie hopes this new move will cool things out once and for all. We will be keeping abreast of just how this case develops.