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As Superpowers Move Towards War

POLISH STRIKERS JOLTED WORLD

The largest strike wave to hit Eastern Europe in more than a decade has finally subsided. The nearly half a million Polish workers who had gone out in the past two months have, for the most part, now returned to their jobs. But the uprising of the Polish workers has left turbulent waters in its wake and will not soon be forgotten.

The strike began to wind down on Saturday, August 30 when, after repeatedly labeling the strikers' demands as "preposterous," and after several un-

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Despite a government ordered news blackout, the strike spread from workplace to workplace, city to city—eventually reaching into the Silesian coal mines. Above, strikers from the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk march across the waterfront to the docks to support the walkout there.

Four Years Since Mao Tsetung's Death

Greatest Revolutionary of Our Time

September 9 marks the fourth anniversary of the death of Mao Tsetung, the greatest revolutionary of our time—and in fact since the time of Lenin. Today the question of Mao's contributions to the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism has become a crucial dividing line question internationally. Mao Tsetung has the particular revolutionary virtue, even in his death, of being hated by the enemy. And, as Mao himself put it, "to be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing" for it shows we are doing our work right. Today Mao is under attack, not only from the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists, but even within China from the small batch of capitalist roaders who seized power after Mao's death. But all this has led to the greater responsibility, and necessity, for revolutionary communists

internationally to uphold Mao's great contributions, and on that basis learn from history to serve the present and the future. This task is one that our Party and others internationally are today taking up with even greater vigor, and taking it up against those in the international movement who would cast all these achievements into the dust, and with them the revolutionary science of the working class and its ability to forge a road ahead.

On this occasion, we are reprinting a section of a book by Bob Avakian, the Chairman of our Party's Central Committee, Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions. This book, published on May First 1979, examines and sums up Mao's contributions in many fields: revolution in colonial countries, revolutionary war, political economy, philosophy, culture and, most

importantly, continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This chapter, the conclusion, originally published in January 1979 in our Party's magazine Revolution, is an important contribution to the international struggle to forge ahead on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

Mao: A Great Helmsman in Uncharted Waters

That Mao led the struggle in China which finally resulted in the founding of the People's Republic, and that this radically altered China and the whole world, are facts which are widely known and which few would (dare) deny. It is also a fact that throughout the course of that protracted struggle, through its different stages

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Garwood Trial: Showcase Inquisition Begins

Robert Garwood was one of the first U.S. Marines to be captured in Vietnam. That was in 1965. Garwood was also the last to return to the United States, in March, 1979. His trial, scheduled to begin any day now at Camp LeJune, North Carolina, promises to be the most publicized military trial since Lt. William Calley's in 1971. In fact, this trial promises to be even more widely covered and publicized by the bourgeois media, because the last 14 years of Garwood's life and activities behind "enemy" lines will be going on trial at this Marine base.

Garwood faces charges of "desertion," "collaboration with the enemy," "soliciting others to refuse to fight," and "mistreating other prisoners of war (POW's)"—in effect, switching sides to join with the Vietnamese in a war of liberation from U.S. imperialism, and urging others to do so also. He faces a sentence of up to life imprisonment if he is convicted. And the bourgeoisie's necessity to convict grows with every new beat of the drums of war that are being heard to beat increasingly loud these days.

Garwood's line of defense is that he only cooperated with the Vietnamese to the extent necessary to save his own skin. But Garwood's current thinking is really beside the point. Because this trial is a message for the future—and the not too distant future at that. Whether Garwood likes it or not, to the authorities he represents the frightening vision of U.S. soldiers in the coming interimperialist war deserting the cause of U.S. imperialism, and more, turning the guns around against their own rulers. The trial of Robert Garwood is an attempt by the bourgeoisie to prevent this vision from ever materializing.

The words of one sergeant at Camp LeJune crystallized the fears of the imperialists: "If they drop the charges, let him go, how could you teach these young marines about the Code of Conduct, the rules governing POW conduct!" But there is a lot more at stake here than the Code of Conduct for POW's. As one rifleman with the Army's America! Division, who was captured in 1968, put it: "There's no doubt that he crossed over, but I wouldn't use

the word 'traitor' like some people are doing. I think people have a misconception of what it was like on the other side, because a lot of people collaborated with the enemy. Bobby just went further than the rest of us."

But it's that little bit of difference that makes a conviction of Garwood so urgent for the bourgeoisie. As the Marines' prosecutor put it, "This case is different. Garwood didn't just make statements against the U.S., he took up arms against his fellow countrymen." The judge in Garwood's pre-trial hearing recommended that he be officially court-martialed and be tried under the death penalty, stating that Garwood should be "placed at the same risk (facing death at the hands of his captors—RW) as those from whom he so freely dissociated himself." But it is a well documented fact that during the war in Vietnam there were many POW's who opposed the war, who made statements calling on GI's to do the same, who spoke at anti-war rallies upon their release from prison, and some who even formed "peace committees" inside the POW camps! One ex-POW, George Smith, wrote a book called *POW* explaining why he had come to support the cause of the National Liberation Front (NLF). It will be interesting to find out the depth and breadth of anti-war activity among POW's if the government publishes some of the anti-American statements made by POW's, statements that Garwood's lawyers have won access to and plan to put into evidence. But what is different about Garwood's trial than all the rest of the others, even the POW's that initially faced similar charges of "collaboration," is that they were all dropped. And now, five years after the U.S. got its ass whipped in Vietnam, Garwood is facing life imprisonment—clearly he is being singled out for special attention.

Another case, occurring simultaneously at Camp Pendleton in California (another Marine base), also underscores the type of war the bourgeoisie is preparing for and the fact that they sense the potential of resistance even before they fire the first shots. Ten years ago, in December, 1969, when

GI's were going AWOL at a rate of one every two minutes and deserting one every six minutes, Private Michael J.J. DuCross joined their ranks. He too now bears the "distinction" of being a "first"—the first of an estimated 550,000 deserters during the Vietnam era to actually stand trial!

The trial, in which DuCross, if convicted, will face up to 3-10 years in the stockade, stands out very starkly as a military vendetta and a warning to all who would even think about splitting from the imperialists' armed forces. As a Canadian-born Caughnawaga Indian, DuCross was entitled to a discharge upon request—which the Marines OK'd three weeks after DuCross bolted! The Marines never attempted to contact DuCross or his family. And in 1976, DuCross sent them a letter offering to surrender and indicating his return address—a letter the Marines acknowledged without ever mentioning the desertion charges. His coming trial has already made big headlines around San Diego, an area with a high concentration of military personnel.

Both these trials, occurring as they are in the midst of escalating war preparations by the imperialists, are clearly meant for public consumption—

especially all those who are in the service now and all those nice warm bodies that just registered, and will register. And it is Garwood's case, occurring as it did in the midst of actual combat, that the bourgeoisie will prosecute with a vengeance. Why? Because there is some partial truth in the words spoken by one patriotic ex-POW as he tried to set the tone for this trial: "The big thing is taking up arms like he did. Those other things, making statements, that's no big deal, nobody's going to deny that. But walking around with weapons—that's something else. When you see your guys dying all over the place, and he's carrying a weapon for the other team, you remember. You don't forget that."

No. You certainly don't forget that. And who will ever forget that there were thousands of GI's in Vietnam who used their weapons against "their team" when they shot down, or fraged, officers. It is lessons like these that will be carried forward into this next war by revolutionary, class-conscious veterans and GI's—lessons of fraternization with the "enemy" and plans for consciously turning the guns around in open political revolt—lessons that they will proudly plead "guilty" to spreading! □



We have some work to do to transform the world: we have to prepare for revolution. And today, the most concrete, practical and immediate task in this preparation is to carry out the bold plan which the Revolutionary Communist Party is calling for—a campaign to make a leap in the distribution of the Revolutionary Worker to a sustained weekly distribution of 100,000 issues by the end of September.

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TRANSLATE THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKER INTO MANY LANGUAGES FOREIGN BORN WORKERS, A GREAT STRENGTH FOR REVOLUTION

 **REVOLUTIONARY
 WORKER**

 **OBRERO
 REVOLUCIONARIO**

 **革命工人报**

 **ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΤΙΚΟΣ
 ΕΡΓΑΤΗΣ**

 **L'OUVRIER
 REVOLUTIONNAIRE**

 **العامل الثوري**

The following call is going out across this country as a poster in Arabic, Greek, French and other languages. It is addressed to the foreign born workers here—a call to assist in making the Revolutionary Worker newspaper appear in more languages. These plans, once carried out, will mean a great stride has been taken in bringing the strength and consciousness of workers of every nationality in this country into the revolutionary struggle here, as an important part of the international proletarian revolutionary struggle.

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is calling on you, the foreign born, to translate, write for, produce and distribute the Revolutionary Worker in more languages. There is a conspiracy growing. It's taking place right here in the heart of the imperialist United States as part of and in unison with the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat. Its aim is revolution in the U.S.; an act that will be greeted by an outpouring of great joy by hundreds of millions in every corner of the earth. It's a conspiracy around the Revolutionary Worker newspaper, the main weapon that the working class has today to prepare to carry out this task. Right now it reaches out to many tens of thousands of people, creating broad public opinion for revolution, sinking deep political roots among the oppressed, roots that will powerfully resist being pulled up by the attacks of the bourgeoisie. Each week, as major events in the world explode, as revolutionary possibilities heighten, its pages are read, discussed, debated and acted upon. Sometimes being debated by hundreds in the streets—other times being discussed in whispers on assembly lines, apartments and in storefronts.

Ask yourself where are things heading? Events are moving quickly—not only to deepening crisis and world war between the two top imperialist gangsters—the U.S. and Soviet Union—but also along with it to momentous opportunities for revolution in the world, including the real possibility of a revolutionary situation here. The growing restlessness and turmoil and millions seeking a way out of this madness... the powerful outbreaks of rebellions like Miami... thousands of proletarians marching down the streets of the U.S.

on the First of May, 1980, International Workers Day... does this indicate a contented and slavish future for the proletariat here? The possibility for revolution is real, but when the situation becomes ripe, when all of society is thrown up for grabs there must already be a class-conscious force capable of leading revolution to victory. And the work and struggle we carry out now will play a crucial part in determining the outcome of the struggle for power when it does finally become the order of the day. Without this newspaper there can be no way to build the organization capable of raising the consciousness of the masses who, together with the ripening situation will be able to seize power from the capitalists. As the great revolutionary Mao Tsetung put it: "First and foremost, create public opinion and seize power."

Today this paper reaches those who read English, Spanish and Chinese. But this is far behind what today's situation demands. In each of these languages it needs further contributions—in correspondence and in distribution. And it must appear in more languages. You, the foreign born, have an important role to play in transforming the world. You have rich experience fighting imperialism, driven here by the criminal acts of imperialism in countries all over the world. Yet the capitalists point to you as examples of those "who yearn for

the liberty and freedom of the U.S." It is time—long past time—that this be turned into its opposite; that the victims of capitalism use their knowledge and experience and the fact that they have been driven here to become a force for imperialism's destruction, right here, in its belly. And a newspaper in many languages will link this force with others. You who understand the murderous and criminal nature of U.S. imperialism, must act on that understanding and join with others in this country in arousing and shaking awake the broader numbers who still have illusions about this system and who have been kept ignorant of imperialism's role. Dare to take History into your hands!

THE RCP HAS CALLED FOR A BOLD AND DETERMINED STEP. TO MAKE A LEAP IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RW TO 100,000 COPIES WEEKLY BY THE END OF SEPTEMBER. BEYOND THAT, WE ARE CALLING ON YOU TO STEP FORWARD NOW AND BECOME A CO-CONSPIRATOR BY TRANSLATING, WRITING AND DISTRIBUTING THE RW IN MORE LANGUAGES, TO BRING TOGETHER OTHERS WHO KNOW THE LANGUAGE OF REVOLUTION, NOT JUST TO REACH THEM, BUT ALSO TO ASSIST THEM IN INFLUENCING BROAD MASSES OF NATIVE BORN WORKERS, AS PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL ARMY OF THE WORKING CLASS. BECOME A CO-CONSPIRATOR.

Former Panther Speaks Out on Marxism and the RW

The following is taken from an interview done by the RW in one area with a Black worker and former member of the Black Panther Party. The comrade interviewed recently attended several Party propaganda sessions.

RW: Can you tell us about the propaganda sessions and especially what was discussed concerning the role of the *Revolutionary Worker*?

A: One of the big questions holding me back was how can we go from being small to leading millions of people. It came out that that paper is the main thing that we have to educate the masses of people. We can't do it no other way.

People are constantly buying the *Times*, listening to the TV and radio. We don't have no access to all that. We're out there every day bringing the news to the people—but yet, we're not out there as great as the bourgeoisie is. How can we do this? That was the question that was kicked around. But really I didn't see why the newspaper is so important

until I read *What Is To Be Done?* (chapters of Lenin's book excerpted in the *RW*).

...Once I got into really knowing what *What Is To Be Done?* is all about—then I could really see that the paper is the main instrument in bringing class consciousness to the people...

The way it is now is something like a mystery. Here's this great big empire. And people are constantly talking about how can we go up against this empire. But by learning Marxism—Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought we know that it is not as strong as some people see it... Learning in class about being able to look beneath things. That was the class on dialectical materialism. Being able to see that the water is calm up here but if you look beneath it then you can see that a volcano is rising up. Then taking different events that happened and looking beneath them—like Iran, the draft registration. Studying and learning—we can see beneath it that these people are getting drafted for war. See-

ing all these things like in Iran, Korea, El Salvador and being able to analyze them. That's one thing I hated to see end so quickly (the class on the pamphlet "Science of Revolution"). It was really enlightening. That's where I learned how to analyze things, think in a Marxist way. Talking about educating the masses—I was getting educated myself. That's why right now I can listen to the radio—it used to be puzzling to me—this shit doesn't even sound like nothing now. I could not picture Carter getting on that radio and making that speech. He sounded like a 5-year-old boy. I was so disgusted with that man.

RW: Could you comment on the Draft Programme of the RCP (taken up in the sessions)?

A: The Programme is really essential. It enlightened us as to how change can be brought about and what's possible after we win the revolution—how the whole system will be set up. It's hard after all this bullshit about what communism is about, the bourgeoisie's definition of

communism—"you can't do this, you can't do that". The only thing we really had to understand what communism was was what the bourgeoisie was saying. But once you get into the Programme and study the line of it, then you see that it is different than they say, that that's not what communism is. That unleashes people. Once they come to the knowledge as to what the true meaning of communism is...

People are tired of being ripped off, but they don't see no other road forward. They don't know what this other road is all about. It's something new to them. And the bourgeoisie has them so freaked out about what's up ahead they're really scared to approach this. Every time you be talking to somebody the first thing they are going to talk about is "man you can't do this under communism." They make you think under communism you're in a slave state. You're trying to go backward into a slave state. But once you learn what it is about—that's why I'm working for the revolution—being able to move things forward.

RW: Are there any parts about the Draft Programme that stand out to you?

A: Yes, the part about how prejudice is going to be eliminated. Just like it says about if we were working in a plant and

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Gov't. Call to Doctors

"Scrub Up For War Machine"

An article in the August 14 issue of *The New England Journal of Medicine* demonstrates that the U.S. government is already reaching into every sphere of society to prepare for war with the Soviet Union. The *Journal*, probably the most prestigious medical publication in the U.S. and read by over 200,000 doctors, features an article—a "Special Report"—which is a review of the problems confronting the bourgeoisie in fielding enough doctors for the coming conflict. But more, it is a direct call to arms to the entire medical profession in the service of U.S. imperialism.

The report was written by John H. Moxley, III, M.D. He is the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Health Affairs, and since his appointment in October, 1979, he has moved quickly to try to close the gap between what "medical readiness" (as he terms it) exists in the military now and what levels it must rise to for war. Moxley has recently created the Office of Medical Readiness (OMR), to coordinate the medical efforts of the armed forces "should mobilization occur." Of course the principal method for achieving this "readiness" when the time comes will be the same for doctors as infantry troops—the draft. And Moxley is undoubtedly aware that practicing medicine for the government during World War 3 won't be any martini-sipping stint. Consequently, he avoids the subject of a future draft and limits the scope of his report to the "objective" problems facing the government on this front and possible "solutions" to it. He provides some revealing information in the process.

The report, divided into three parts (an overview of the problems, some lip service to the medical needs of military dependents during peacetime, and the concrete plans in preparing the medical sectors during war), does not mince any words. The introduction states: "The purpose of the Defense Department's medical effort is to provide medical support to combat troops (our 'readiness mission')." And further, that the purpose of the report is, "to open a dialogue with the readership of the *Journal* (over half the doctors in the country—*RW*) by touching briefly on a series of issues that we in the Department of Defense are facing. I believe that military medicine will benefit from open discussion of these issues." In other words, the military is going to come up with some nice warm bodies to wear those red crosses, one way or another. (It is already taking practical measures to do so, incidentally. Over this past Memorial Day a medical recruiter for the Navy tried to awe some doctors into joining up. He sent out special invitations to Boston area physi-

cians for an exclusive guided tour of the nuclear aircraft carrier, the *JFK*. But his plan turned instantly sour when he was asked why, on a ship of 5,000 people, the sick bay only has 15 beds. His reply—because in all-out nuclear war the *JFK* has a life expectancy of 15 minutes.)

Moxley complains that right now there are only 2800 physicians spanning all the branches of the armed forces, with critical shortages in the surgical subspecialties—orthopedics, otolaryngology, ophthalmology and neurosurgery—the doctors who put people back together again! Significant understaffing of all types of medical personnel has occurred in the military. Low morale, low pay, and the general shafting the military excels in, has produced a widespread disgust with "the system" and a "revolving door" process, whereby the doctors that do get sucked into the army get the hell out as fast as they can. A big problem confronts the military—how are they going to lure these physicians away from offers in some medical specialty or private practice?

"The fact is we will not retain physicians in the military unless conditions are provided that will allow them to carry out their work in a reasonable manner. We must provide a setting that at least approximates that of a civilian community," the *Journal* article says, dangling the sugary promises. A new pay structure is being developed for physicians that will be in the form of a congressional bill. There is also the Armed Forces Health Professions Scholarship Program which provides scholarships for tuitions in private medical schools (which now average around \$10,000 per year). This, the military projects, will be its largest supplier of physicians. Then there is the open recruitment of physicians. The military medical services have each set goals of an additional 250 doctors a year—in hopes of closing the gaps to a minimum by 1984. You can almost visualize the recruitment posters that will be springing up in medical schools and hospital scrub rooms: "Tired of the same old cutting and stitching? We can offer you tuition, your own medical equipment and support staff, travel and an assortment of colorful uniforms to go with that plain white one. Enlist now, Uncle Hippocrates wants you!"

One further point that is mentioned in the "overview" section, and expresses the precarious position of the U.S. imperialists, (their empire being stretched out and on the front lines in the upcoming war) is the fact that the medical services of the armed forces are also very taut around the globe. Moxley says that problems exist wherever U.S. troops are stationed overseas, with the

Pacific the worst. "The general shortage of resources and the vast distances lead to serious problems in procuring, delivering, and maintaining medical equipment," he laments.

But before the drums and bugles become too audible to the doctors and medical students who might be reading it, the report clumsily tries to shift gears to the military's "peacetime mission"—providing some sort of health care to the enlisted man's/woman's beneficiaries.

Here, the report tries to profess an air of concern for the dependents of active duty and retired military personnel. The first sentence of this section reveals a great deal about what the role of doctors in the military will be. "Unfortunately, this mission (peacetime—*RW*) is not as sharply defined as we would like; this is due primarily to the fact that the phrase 'on a space-available basis for all but active duty personnel' appears on all legislation affecting that part of our job." In other words, this is not a mission of mercy but a task to keep the GI's, the ones who will do the fighting, in good shape to do the fighting. Preparation for war is the "peacetime mission," and aiding dependents takes a distant "space-available" second to that!

Another point which backs up the fact that it is the duty of military physicians to keep the cannonfodder in good shape is their responsibility "for programs related to alcohol and drug abuse... detection, deterrence, education and rehabilitation. Drug abuse became an important issue during the Vietnam war; more recently it has become a major problem for our troops in other parts of the world, particularly Europe." No wonder. That's where the bulk of U.S. and Soviet tanks, missiles, and men are squared off. And that's where some doctors are needed to keep (or try to keep) those boys alert and reliable.

But just in case anyone got lulled by the fantasyland ideas that by joining the U.S. armed forces they could actually put their medical skills to use for the good of mankind, Assistant Defense Secretary Dr. Moxley turns again to the business at hand in the final section of his report. It seems that Moxley's review of recent war games and his personal tours into the bowels of the military medical facilities, has revealed three major weaknesses in U.S. "medical readiness." He says there's clearly a need to develop new, and specialized forms of medical care systems for the recently created Rapid Deployment Force and the recently restructured Marine Amphibious Force—units designed for action preceding all-out world war. Moxley obviously has his finger on the pulse (so to speak) of the

military's necessity *right now*.

Another problem facing the military is that they will have to depend for much of their medical resources, especially in the initial stages of the war, on the Reserves. Unfortunately, Moxley says, the Reserve units are frighteningly low—70% of the medical billets are empty! The proposed answer is once again the sugar-coated bullet of monetary inducements for doctors to join the Reserves. The campaign to fill the ranks of the Reserves has already begun in the city of Boston. In the August 31 issue of the *Boston Globe*, in the classified ads section, there appeared a large advertisement calling on, "medical workers, join the Army Reserve medical team. Benefit yourself and your country."

The final problem that Moxley points out is one that can only be described as, "what the hell do we do with all the mangled and nuked, but still living, bodies?" The military is preparing for the overload of wounded. First they are updating an agreement with the Veterans Administration (VA) to provide medical care very quickly and serve as their principal back-up. The scenario is for the wounded to be flown stateside from wherever this war erupts and spreads to. The Defense Department has even developed a Civilian Military Contingency Hospital System (CMCHS), "which will involve voluntary—but specific—relations between community hospitals and the Defense Department and will be implemented only in time of national mobilization not involving direct attack on the continental United States." To this end, planning has been in conjunction with the boards of trustees from the American Hospital Association (AHA) and the American Medical Association (AMA). An executive of the AHA has been added to the Office of Medical Readiness "to develop the necessary specific agreements with civilian hospitals." In other words, as long as the meat grinder of the coming imperialist war chews the soldiers up, they will be hospitalized stateside—and with the overcrowding of facilities now, that means someone gets thrown out. Moxley reports that, "Specific arrangements for the prompt utilization of a minimum of 30,000 to 50,000 civilian hospital beds, should they be needed, are being developed." Of course, all this is "only in time of national mobilization not involving a direct attack on the continental United States." Dr. Moxley doesn't broach the subject of the tasks of military medicine under different conditions—when the super-powers start going for each other's home base. □

Huyser to Haig, January 1979

Secret Cable Exposes U.S. Coup Plots in Iran

This "Top Secret" cable from General Robert Huyser to his boss in Washington, D.C., General Alexander Haig, was released at the International Conference on U.S. Intervention in Iran held in Tehran this June. It is a striking exposure of the U.S. imperialists' coup plans and plotting against the Iranian revolution. This cable deserves study, especially in light of the recent revelation of U.S. plans to militarily attack Iran this fall (see last week's RW) and the usual official denials of any such plans. From January 1979 when this cable was written, right up to the present, the U.S. government has steadfastly denied "interference in Iran's internal affairs"—all the more proof that the U.S. bourgeoisie has been lying through its teeth around Iran all along.

This message was cabled in late January 1979 (the details in the cable indicate that it was written between January 23 and 26 in reply to Haig's cable of 22 Jan 1979). This was a time when the Iranian revolution was surging forward: the Shah had just been driven out of the country; the Bakhtiar government, installed by the U.S. as a last-gasp measure to derail the revolu-

tion, was in shambles; millions were taking to the streets in an increasingly insurrectionary mood—storming police stations, attacking troops, taking control of factories, offices and even sections of cities; and Ayatollah Khomeini was preparing to return to Iran to form a new government. This was a crucial period. The struggle to overthrow the Shah's hated regime was on the verge of victory, but the counterrevolution was still menacing.

Air Force General Huyser, the No. 2 U.S. general in Europe (Haig was his immediate superior), was sent on a mission to Iran in early January. While the U.S. press reported that he visited Iran "for several days" in order to demonstrate U.S. support for the new Bakhtiar government, he stayed in Iran for a full month, directing the day-to-day operations of the Shah's general staff as they desperately attempted to beat down the people's struggle. According to an article published in the *Washington Quarterly* several months ago, "Huyser met with the generals—usually seven in all—virtually every day between January 4 and February 3, and while the meetings were not long, con-

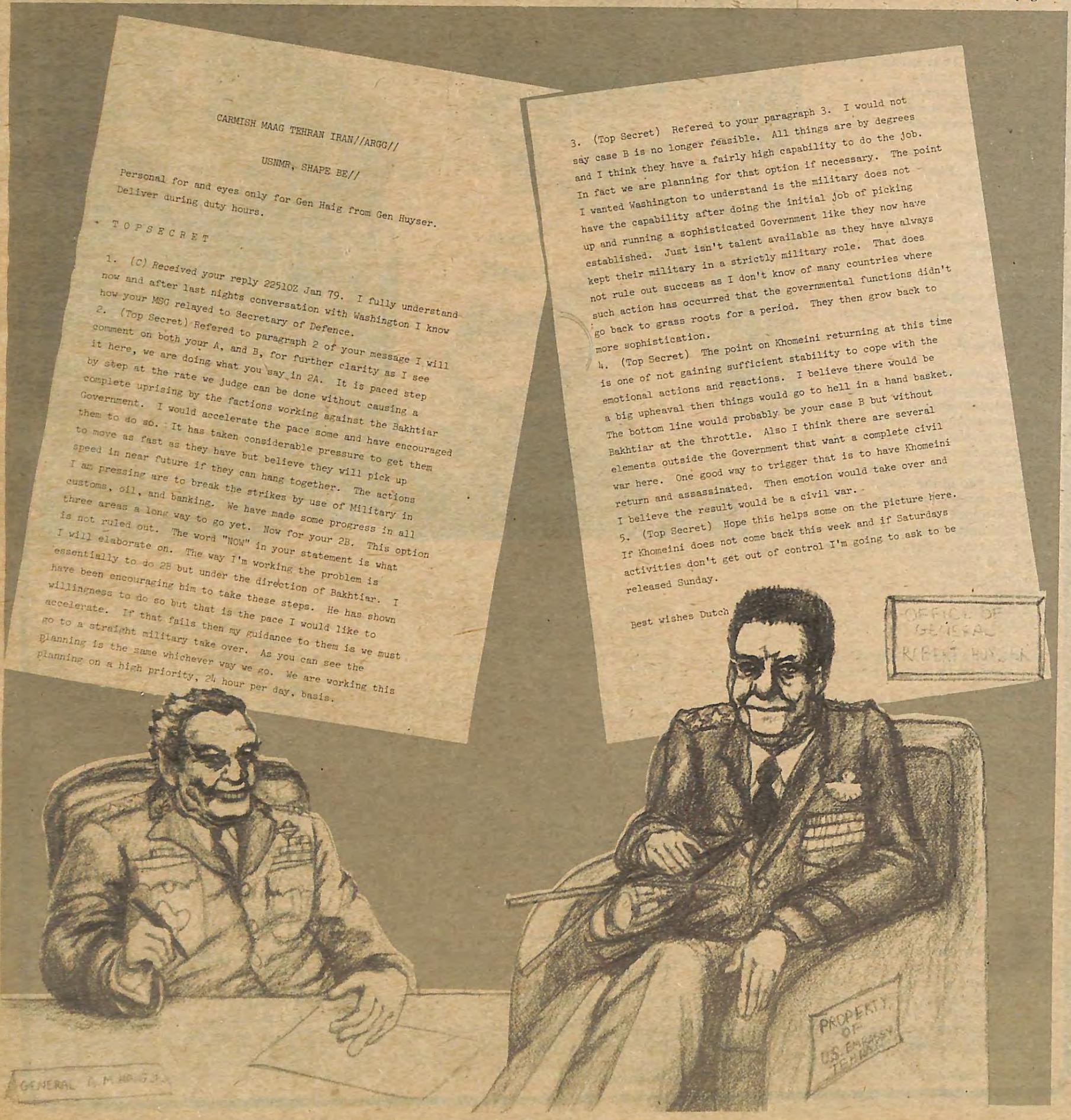
tact was virtually constant. Huyser worked primarily out of two offices: one was in the embassy (the U.S. embassy in Tehran—RW), the other in the military assistance advisory group (MAAG) headquartered in the Iranian General Staff Headquarters..." Through the whole period, Huyser was under orders from the White House to develop plans for a military coup if the Bakhtiar government fell apart.

This cable was intended "only for the eyes" of certain imperialist generals and politicians—for good reason, since it refers again and again to Huyser's "guidance" ("orders" is more like it) to "them"—the Iranian military. As the cable reveals, Huyser and Haig had been discussing two basic plans, 2A and 2B. 2A refers to the strategy of trying to keep Bakhtiar's government afloat for cosmetic purposes, while trying to hold the military together and unleash it on the people. As Huyser explains, "The actions I am pressing are to break the strikes by use of Military in customs, oil, and banking." (Note: The striking Iranian customs workers had discovered that U.S. arms, ammunition and tear gas were being shipped to Iran in

crates labeled "food and medicine.") Throughout Huyser's "visit," the U.S. trained and supplied army was shooting down demonstrators in the streets of dozens of cities. In an unsuccessful attempt to take the offensive against the people's struggle, right-wing demonstrations (mainly composed of off-duty army men and SAVAK agents) were being organized under the banner of "defending the Constitution," and the Shah's elite units were openly parading in the streets of Tehran in full combat gear and bristling with weapons. At the same time, the U.S. was shipping 200,000 barrels of fuel oil a day to Iran (because the powerful oil workers' strike had cut off supplies for the Iranian military), and a number of U.S. warships and a squadron of fighter planes had been sent to the Persian Gulf.

Plan 2B in the cable calls for dumping Bakhtiar if he can't handle things, and going to "a straight military takeover." Then Huyser proceeds to point out that "as you can see, the planning is the same whichever way we go," making it clear as a bell that the bottom line

Continued on page 12



attica

This poem was submitted to the RW by a reader. September 9 marks the ninth anniversary of the Attica prison rebellion.

Cold grey walls
 Men in cages
 Animals guard the cells
 Until the day came
 The day you waited for
 The day you knew would come
 When the waters boil and the pressure builds
 When the walls can no longer contain the anger
 And the dam is shattered and
 The mighty river pours out to
 Reassert its dignity
 Attica
 Thousand arms fly in the air
 Thousand fists clenched
 Black to white to brown
 One another
 The many merge into
 A single living defiant
 Rebel
 Hold the hopes!
 Reach for the sky!
 Scale the peaks!
 Taste the future!
 In a moment
 Fleeting
 In a moment
 Precious

"Vicious beasts"
 "Innocent lives"
 "Stinking criminals"
 The mummified beautiful people
 Belching and farting
 The free and democratic press
 Spew the trash and lies
 But whose hands are
 Bloody?
 Whose hands
 Won't come clean?
 We have eyes
 We can see!

Pride
 Admiration
 Love
 Pale and too few words to
 give expression
 To the feeling one has between
 Slaves
 The feeling of
 Attica
 Laughing/shouting
 Eyes tearing/mouths grinning
 Skins slapping/hands gripping tight
 Backs straighten up
 While others stand even taller
 Expressions
 Passing from one to the next
 Different yet all the same
 Burning an age old image
 Into our minds
 Pain and despair lay broken at their feet
 While together we stand atop the mountain
 Taste the future
 In a moment
 Fleeting
 In a moment
 Precious

Snakes and vermin, finely attired vultures
 Atop their perch issuing edicts
 Droppings
 Perfumed for display in the white marble
 Halls of history
 Drool trickles down their jaws
 In anticipation
 Chuckles of glee
 Hollow empty noise
 Not loud enough to cover
 The quaking
 Of their stone hearts
 The shaking
 Of their red stained Pucci slippers
 Chalk white blank expressions
 Of those who saw their fate waiting
 In D Yard
 Of those who saw their fate waiting
 In the burning cities of Amerikkka
 Of those who saw their fate waiting
 In the jungles of man
 Of those who see their fate waiting
 Behind the embassy walls in Tehran
 In the icy stare of the tortured
 In the laughing of the slave who knows
 Of those who'll see their fate
 One day
 No longer waiting



The phone call comes
 A long distance killer
 Johnny D's vile offspring
 Would have made his grandad proud
 With the
 Actions of cowards
 Tin star stormtroopers of the state
 Press forward
 A gas mask resembling a
 Grotesque goalie
 Guarding the sanctity of
 Human bondage
 Their shotguns spraying death in the yard
 From atop the walls
 A torrent of pain descends
 Ripping the flesh from the body
 Tearing life from the living
 "X" marks the spot
 For the ones that they missed
 Taken round back
 To be sure
 A carnage of law and order
 A brilliant display of justice for all
 Make the survivors drink mud
 In your false bravado
 Wash away your fear in a
 River of blood
 Trembling hands attempt to snuff out
 The eternal flame of rebellion
 Teach a lesson that you'll
 Never learn

Can you trap the wind in a bottle
 Can you fence a dancin' wave
 Cut the flowers
 Rip the petals
 But the seeds spread farther
 And the roots grow
 Deeper
 While you pat your backs
 And heave a sigh
 A cry echoes in the yard
 Among the bodies of the heroes
 The cry rings in our ears and
 Haunts your dreams
 The cry screams from our lungs
 It strengthens our will and saps yours
 The cry echoes
 (attica)
 Grows
 Attica
 Explodes
 !!ATTICA!!

The flame burns stronger
 A moment
 Precious
 A moment
 Not so fleeting
 A taste of the future

The RW has recently obtained sections of the transcript from the trial of the UN2. What follows are excerpts taken from an exchange in the courtroom immediately after the jury delivered its guilty verdict. At issue here was bail for the UN2 pending appeal.

The Court: The bail must clearly be increased in view of the fact that the defendants have been convicted and face an aggregate of eight years in prison and aggregate fines of \$15,000.

I will hear whatever applications counsel wish to make with respect to the matter of bail.

At the present time, if my recollection is correct, the defendant Yip is at liberty on a \$3,000 personal recognizance bond—I mean \$3,000 cash security on a \$50,000 personal recognizance bond.

The defendant Gan is at liberty, I reduced his bail, and he is on \$5,000 cash security on a \$100,000 personal recognizance bond.

I think all that is required is that we increase the cash security in each case.

I will hear counsel.

Mr. Gordon: I would oppose that strenuously. Your Honor's statement, because they have now been convicted, bail must be increased.

The Court: Yes, I suggest that is the case.

The Court: I think that some things have to be straightened out here by these two young men and I personally think that it is up to them and their adherence (sic) to clean up the areas surrounding this courthouse before I consider what I am going to do with them.

These vandals—

Mr. Gordon (defense attorney): Mr. Yip did not—

The Court: Sir, listen to me for a change. I have listened to you long enough.

These vandals have defaced this courthouse with red paint. Perhaps the U.N. was more patient with cleaning it up. It is my responsibility as chairman of this House and Space Committee here to keep this place clean.

I will consider the matter of bail when the mess that was made outside is cleaned up by the defendants and/or their adherents.

I didn't make that mess—

Mr. Gordon: Neither did Mr. Yip, to my knowledge.

The Court: As far as I know, it is his adherents that did and they did it in his behalf. I will be happy to let him out when the same adherents, who messed up this courthouse, clean it up.

I will free these two young men when the red paint which was placed on the porticos of this building by person or persons unknown, is removed.

Accordingly, both defendants are remanded until that occurs.

Then I will promptly deal with the matter of freeing them. That is the court's determination.

Both defendants are remanded. As soon as the mess that has been made on the sides of this building is removed, and that could be this afternoon if some people get to work—they will be freed by me pending appeal.

And I will tell you what I will do, I will do it on the same bail as they have been out on.

Accordingly, bail is revoked, the defendants are remanded.

As soon as it is reported to me that all the red paint which appears on this building has been removed, you may appear before me, make an application, and I will admit the defendants to bail. That is it.

Mr. Gordon: Your Honor, may I be heard?

The Court: No, there is nothing that you can say that is going to change matters. If you wish to make an application to the Court of Appeals, you may do so. Bail is revoked, the defendants are remanded. If their adherents get out there with the same type of effort, with scrubbing brushes and paint remover, that they showed when they put the stuff up there, then I will hear you. Not only hear you, I will hear you affirmatively. But I will not hear you until the mess that appears on the side of the courthouse is removed.

Excerpts from UN 2 Trial Transcript

If that is not removed, then I will not hear you and then you will have to go to the Court of Appeals.

It can be done very quickly. It was undoubtedly put on very quickly. So let's get our act together, everybody. You have all shown solidarity and I am all for solidarity.

Now, go and clean up the place and your friends will get out, and if there is one word said by any of you, then it will change matters and the thought that I have of letting the defendants out very promptly may suddenly evaporate.

I have been patient throughout. I have let people sit here with shirts on, with banners, and I didn't say a word at any point in the proceedings.

You have had a fair trial. As far as I am concerned, you face eight years. You might as well know that, eight years. You can get out, you have the right to bail, if I say so, but that's it.

The court is adjourned. I will be available as soon as counsel can report that the mess that was made on the courthouse has been removed and then I would be prepared to affirmatively act on admitting the defendants to bail, pending appeal.

Court is adjourned.

Marshalls, remove the defendants. (Supporters of the UN2 raise fists—RW).

That is your salute, this is my salute.

(The following took place at a later session—RW.)

The Court: I should like the record to reflect that spectators who were numerous have now left the courtroom and we are here together with counsel and the defendants.

I would ask if counsel wish to make any further statements to the court? I will listen and see where we go from there.

Mr. Gordon: Your Honor, on behalf of Mr. Yip, it is my understanding that Mr. Yip did not do it.

The Court: I didn't say he did... You think the other side put the paint on? ... It isn't only on the courthouse, on highways leading to the courthouse. This city is enough of a mess with the graffiti that we have on the subways, and on walls.

This is a historic landmark, this place, it has been here a long time. It is supposed to mean something.

Whoever decided to put graffiti on the courthouse walls showed his or her respect for the judicial process, a process which has permitted both defendants remain at liberty up to this moment and to travel freely up to this moment.

I don't think it is a question of my attempting to ascribe who did it. If I thought that these young men had done it themselves, I would in the first instance have directed them to clean it up.

That is why with the courtroom full of their adherents, it must have been 50, there must have been one among them who would be able to render some assistance in removing the graffiti...

Mr. Gordon: I would hope that whoever did it would remove it, but I don't think it is proper to hold Mr. Yip responsible for what somebody else did.

The Court: Let me hear from Mr. Scheck.

Mr. Scheck (defense attorney): Judge, I join with Mr. Gordon. Mr. Gan didn't do this, he didn't authorize it.

The Court: Does he know who did it?

Mr. Scheck: No.

The Court: Mr. Yip doesn't know either?

Mr. Gordon: No.

Mr. Scheck: The problem, Judge is that these two young men are being put in a very difficult position... The Court: What is more difficult, cleaning it up like a decent citizen of the world? Even in revolutionary countries they keep the streets clean. In fact, they

do it better in some countries than in others. I understand you see very little in the way of dirty streets in China and didn't when Chairman Mao was alive either.

Here we are faced with this. I don't think you see too much graffiti in some other parts of the world.

Why can't these young men, who are 29 and 30 years old respectively, realize that they have reached a point in time where they should act responsibly?

I don't care what they do and I am perfectly willing, gentlemen, to have you go out and make whatever speeches you want to make anywhere between now and sentencing. It is not going to make things worse for you if you make speeches. I wouldn't throw any more paint or do anything like that.

But I think in simple terms it is a modest price to pay and I think it is reasonable.

Mr. Scheck: But Judge, I understand your point of view and why you see it to be reasonable. But what I would like you to understand is that now we are in a situation that from the point of view of these two young men, it is a political situation.

The Court: In my point of view it is an environmental situation, all right?

Are they for a clean environment? They talked about being anti-nuclear.

Mr. Scheck: They are for a clean environment.

The Court: Isn't there a place to start?

Mr. Scheck: Yes, sir, but unfortunately—

The Court: Therefore, somebody else ought to clean it up, is that it?...

... I put it right out front. My principle is a simple one. I am charged with keeping this building looking properly. We work, if I may suggest it, with a limited budget. We have had to cut back because these are not the easiest of times. What has happened, someone has come along and makes more work for us. If he wishes to speak, he may. I am not going to load it onto him if he wants to say something.

Defendant Gan: I want to say first of all that I didn't do it.

The Court: I accept that.

Defendant Gan: Secondly, what I think the judge is finding offensive is a political slogan no: the fact that it is graffiti.

Certainly, I think it indicates the political nature of the proceedings that have gone on before, the political vindictiveness of this court and our whole prosecution.

The Court: Would you prefer then that I sentence you right now today or do you think a presentence report would be helpful? I could sentence you right now, you know. Would you prefer that?

Defendant Gan: I am sure there are a lot of things the judge can do.

The Court: That is right and these crimes are serious. Your attorneys asked for a presentence report and I am disposed to get one.

If you have anything else to say, you go ahead and say it. You ought to think back about your trial, it was a fair one.

You were allowed to say things over the Government's objection that no other judge, I dare say, would have let you say.

But you know how it looks as far as you fellows are concerned? You are 29 and 30 years old. The best you could do

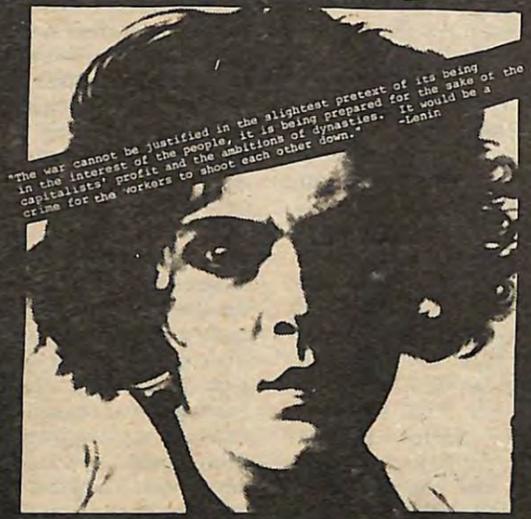
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Gov't. Makes Startling New Medical Discovery—Too Many Doctors?!?

"But when society (the ruling power of society) places hundreds of proletarians in such a position that they inevitably meet too early and an unnatural death, one which is quite as much a death by violence as that by the sword or bullet; when it deprives thousands of the necessities of life, places them under conditions in which they cannot live: . . . knows that these thousands of victims must perish, and yet permits these conditions to remain, its deed is murder just as surely as the deed of the single individual; disguised, malicious murder, murder against which none can defend himself, which does not seem that it is, because no man sees the murderer, because the death of the victim seems a natural one, since the offense is more one of omission than of commission. But murder it remains." (Engels, *The condition of the Working Class in England*, p. 134)

This statement made by Engels in the 19th century describes vividly the action of a government panel of medical advisors today that has declared there is now a "glut" of doctors in the U.S., and that there will be 59,000 "too many" by 1990. In an effort to alleviate high competition among doctors over those patients capable of footing the exorbitant cost of medical care, they will doom thousands more to suffering and death. "Too many doctors?" a director of a ghetto clinic in Roxbury, Massachusetts said. "There are only too many we can't afford."

This learned panel, which is apparently well-studied in capitalism's laws, has come up with 100 recommendations for curing this disease of medicine. They include a 10% cut in medical school admissions right away (and if you want to picture what this will mean for oppressed nationalities, just remember the Bakke decision); discouraging construction of medical schools; a halt to increased training of paramedics; and cutting way back in the number of foreign doctors and American graduates of foreign medical schools who enter the U.S. every year.

This last recommendation will, of course, not mean any improvement in medical care in U.S. imperialist-dominated countries. Here all the distortions of imperialist medicine—from doctor shortages to incredible inequality in the distribution of doctors from countryside to city—all this occurs in a far greater way than in the imperialist home country.

Medical care, like everything governed by capitalism's laws, is a commodity. As the draft *Programme* of the RCP, USA says, it is "dominated by the dictates of capital and profit and is beyond the reach of many of the masses to begin with." Even in the early 1800s workers were only treated when epidemics threatened to wipe out whole communities of laborers and to spread among the ruling class itself. To this day, associations such as the AMA (American Medical Association) have fought programs for paraprofessionals, have limited medical school enrollments, etc. to protect their medical "market" and maintain high fees. Doctors are one part of a multi-billion dollar business including insurance companies, drug companies, major hospitals and medical supply companies.

Boston is the medical center of the world. There are, on paper, more doctors within this city than necessary for its population, even including the patients from around the country treated here because of the special facilities available in the training center. But these are only figures on paper. At the same time, in the biggest teaching hospitals at Harvard and Boston University, head doctors are at best "9 to 5'ers"—they have numerous interns to take care of "their" patients for them. While in the last 10 to 15 years medical schools have had double the number of graduates, at the same time community health centers have been set up because the basic masses can't afford health

care at these hospitals. But even at these centers decent care is a battle. Patients wait hours to see a doctor. An RN complains that too often these patients are unable to receive regular medical check-ups and so end up getting care, if they're lucky, when their ailment has reached a critical point.

Even within the teaching hospital complexes, care for those who have little or no money and insurance is criminal. Boston City Hospital is the only hospital out of over 50 or 60 in Boston alone that will take patients regardless of their ability to pay. A 32-year-old Black woman was given a hysterectomy here when she came in to have her tubes tied. The doctor in charge (later fired because he said what is supposed to be left unsaid) explained the reason for doing the operation this way: "Well, her age and again—we'd have to do a hysterectomy, it's more of a challenge—you know, a well-trained chimpanzee can do a tubal ligation—and it's a good experience for the junior residents, good training." On the other hand, in the same hospital, because of understaffing of nurses and nurses' aides in a maternity ward, a Black woman lost her baby in labor because no one was present to read a fetal monitor and see that the baby was being strangled by the umbilical cord. These are the conditions of "glut" that exist today—before the proposed cutbacks.

While claiming there are "too many physicians," this panel said "the central health manpower problem is the maldistribution of physicians by specialty and location." But even their recommendations reflect that they are basically powerless to do anything about this problem—once again because capitalism's laws reign.

The drive for profits has led to a high degree of technology in medicine, though, of course, even within this some drugs, for instance, are developed regardless of the side effects, and preventive health care is now almost ignored. But the technological developments have enabled doctors to specialize and develop particular skills. However, capitalist competition is ruled by anarchy. These specialties are not based on the needs of the masses but what most often is the most profitable field. Where doctors used to be required to do three years' internship of general practice before specializing, today virtually their only alternative is to go directly into a specialized field. For example, in the state of Massachusetts, there are only 2 teaching hospitals with programs for family practice—*none* at any of the hospitals in Boston! The myth of the Marcus Welby family doctor has been dead for years. Specialized doctors are almost roped and bound to the large medical centers because only there can they find a large market of patients who require their particular skills and only there can they find the expensive equipment they need. Rural areas and city ghettos continue to have a shortage of doctors. And, since these facilities attract little investment, the doctors who are there find it difficult to administer good care. A temporary nurse in Boston who is responsible for four patients at a major teaching hospital with a doctor checking on patients every 15 minutes was temporarily transferred to a hospital only 20 minutes from Boston. There she found herself solely responsible for 150 patients with no doctors in the hospital—only some on call.

"Too many doctors." Those more and more unable to properly feed and provide for their families, victims of increasing chemical dumps like Love Canal, alcoholism, drug addiction and nuclear radiation be damned! And, of course, forget it entirely when it comes to the injured in nuclear war. The U.S. government isn't even thinking about care for the injured, even while they begin to talk openly of "thinking the unthinkable." Ah yes, the healthful progress of imperialism.

This brings up another "maldistribu-

tion problem," one which the imperialists *do* hope to solve. The plan calls for incentives to encourage doctors to go into fields where there are shortages. A clear example of what they have in mind is made in a recent issue of the *New England Journal of Medicine*.

It spells out that the Army is desperately short of doctors. They are offering a tuition-free program that pays students \$500 a month to patch up their cannonfodder and become general physicians and surgeons. □

No Picnic for Walter in Cleveland

Cleveland. It was the usual backslapping and political chicanery at the annual Wood Hill Labor Day Picnic, sponsored by Congressman Ruth Stokes of the 21st Congressional District. Everything was going along fine—that is until Stokes, beaming with pride after heaping lavish praise on a campaigning Walter Mondale, made the fatal error of asking the crowd in pep rally fashion: "So what do you think of our Vice-President?"

A large section of the crowd booed loudly. The hisses and catcalls equalled (and nearly overcame) the applause. But it was more than just a case of red faces in high places. You could see by the expression on the faces of Mondale and his entourage of local political hacks and Secret Service bodyguards an uncomfortable and downright nervous look. Their expressions stated clearly that the last place on earth they wanted to be was in a park in Cleveland's Black community in 90-degree weather among hundreds of unemployed angry and fed up Black people.

"Don't tell us all this shit, we need

jobs!" yelled one youth.

"I've always stood for social justice," blubbered Mondale.

"But what have you done," shouted one man over and over again, until he was hoarse.

About 5 minutes into Mondale's speech an RCP member got on a bullhorn 20 feet away from the Vice President. The comrade exposed the elections as a farce and as a trap. A crowd of youth gathered around him to better hear and be in on any action that might jump off. Mondale was forced to cut his speech short and made a fast getaway without so much as one handshake or one baby kiss.

While the comrade was on the bullhorn two Secret Service men were overheard talking, "Shall we take him?" said one. After a long stare into the crowd his partner replied nervously, "No, maybe we better let the uniformed boys handle it." But no one did "handle it" and the Vice President was forced to flee in search of greener pastures and a friendlier constituency.

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This major analysis originally appeared in the *Revolutionary Worker*, issue no. 49, under the title of "Is Revolution Really Possible this Decade and What does May First Have to Do with It?"

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V.I. Lenin

V.I. Lenin An Urgent Question

This is an excerpt from Lenin's article "An Urgent Question" (Collected Works, Vol. 4, p. 220), written at the end of 1899. A small part of this article, relating to the importance of correspondence with the newspaper, was reprinted two weeks ago in the RW under the title "Lenin on Picking Up the Pen." This section, and the article as a whole, deals mainly with the questions of distribution of the newspaper.

The Russian socialists and the Russian working class... have shown their heroic qualities and, in general, it would be a sin to complain of a shortage of people. There is to be observed among the working youth an impassioned, uncontrollable enthusiasm for the ideas of democracy and socialism, and helpers for the workers still continue to arrive from among the intellectuals, despite the fact that the prisons and places of exile are overcrowded. If the idea of the necessity for a stricter organisation is made widely known among all these recruits to the revolutionary cause, the plan for the organisation of a regularly published and delivered Party newspaper will cease to be a dream.

Let us take one of the conditions for the success of this plan—that the newspaper be assured a regular supply of correspondence and other material from everywhere. Has not history shown that at all times when there has been a resurgence of our revolutionary movement such a purpose has proved possible of achievement even in respect of papers published abroad? If Social-Democrats [communists] working in various localities come to regard the Party newspaper as *their own* and consider the maintenance of regular contact with it, the discussion of their problems and the reflection of the whole movement in it to be their main task, it will be quite possible to ensure the supply to the paper of full information about the movement, provided methods of maintaining secrecy, not very complicated ones, are observed.

The other aspect of the question, that of delivering the newspaper regularly to all parts of Russia, is much more difficult, more difficult than the similar task under previous forms of revolutionary movement in Russia when newspapers were not, to such an extent, intended for the masses of the people.

The purpose of Social-Democratic newspapers, however, facilitates their distribution. The chief places to which the newspaper must be delivered regularly and in large numbers are the industrial centres, factory villages and towns, the factory districts of big cities, etc. In such centres the population is almost entirely working class; in actual fact the worker in such places is master of the situation and has hundreds of ways of outwitting the police; relations with neighbouring factory centres are distinguished by their extraordinary activity. At the time of the Exceptional Law against the Socialists (1878-90) the German political police did not function worse, but probably better, than the Russian police; nevertheless, the German workers, thanks to their organisation and discipline, were able to ensure the regular transport across the frontiers of a weekly illegal newspaper and to deliver it to the houses of all subscribers, so that even the ministers could not refrain from admiring the Social-Democratic post ("the red mail"). We do not, of course, dream of such successes, but we can, if we bend our efforts towards it, ensure that our Party newspaper appears no less than twelve times a year and is regularly delivered in all the main centres of the movement to all groups of workers that can be reached by socialism.

To return to the question of specialisation, we must also point out that its insufficiency is due partially to the dominance of "amateur" work and partially to the fact that our Social-Democratic newspapers usually devote far too little attention to questions of organisation.

Only the establishment of a common Party organ can give the "worker in a given field" of revolutionary activity the consciousness that he is marching with the "rank and file," the consciousness that his work is directly essential to the Party, that he is one of the links in the chain that will form a noose to strangle the most evil enemy of the Russian proletariat and of the whole Russian people—the Russian autocratic government. Only strict adherence to this type of specialisation can economise our forces; not only will every aspect of revolutionary work be carried out by a smaller number of people, but there will

be an opportunity to make a number of aspects of present-day activities *legal* affairs. This *legalisation* of activity, its conduct within the framework of the law, has long been advised for Russian socialists by *Vorwärts* (*Forward*), the chief organ of the German Social-Democrats. At first sight one is astonished at such advice, but in actual fact it merits careful attention. Almost everyone who has worked in a local study circle in some city will easily remember that among the numerous and diverse affairs in which the circle engaged some were, in themselves, legal (e.g. the gathering of information on the workers' conditions; the study of legal literature on many questions; consultation and reviewing of certain types of foreign literature; maintenance of certain kinds of relations; aid to workers in obtaining a general education, in studying factory laws, etc.). Making affairs of this sort the specific function of a special contingent of people would reduce the strength of the revolutionary army "in the firing line" (without any reduction of its "fighting potential") and increase the strength of the reserve, those who replace the "killed and wounded." This will be possible only when both the active members and the reserve see their activities reflected in the common organ of the Party and sense their connection with it. Local meetings of workers and local groups will, of course, always be necessary, no matter to what extent we carry out our specialisation; but, on the one hand, the number of mass revolutionary meetings (particularly dangerous from the standpoint of police action and often having results far from commensurate with the danger involved) will become considerably less and, on the other hand, the selection of various aspects of revolutionary work as special functions will provide greater opportunities to screen such meetings behind legal forms of assembly: entertainments, meetings of societies sanctioned by law, etc. Were not the French workers under Napoleon III and the German workers at the time of the Exceptional Law against the Socialists able to devise all possible ways to cover up their political and socialist meetings? Russian workers will be able to do likewise.

Further: only by better organisation and the establishment of a common Party organ will it be possible to extend and deepen the very content of Social-Democratic propaganda and agitation. We stand in great need of this. Local work must almost inevitably lead to the exag-

geration of local particularities, to... * this is impossible without a central organ which will, at the same time, be an advanced democratic organ. Only then will our *urge* to convert Social-Democracy into a leading fighter for democracy become *reality*. Only then, too, shall we be able to work out definite political tactics. Social-Democracy has renounced the fallacious theory of the "one reactionary mass." It regards utilisation of the support of the progressive classes against the reactionary classes to be one of the most important political tasks. As long as the organisations and publications are local in character, this task can hardly be carried out at all: matters do not go farther than relations with individual "liberals" and the extraction of various "services" from them. Only a common Party organ, consistently implementing the principles of political struggle and holding high the banner of democracy will be able to win over to its side all militant democratic elements and use all Russia's progressive forces in the struggle for political freedom. Only then shall we be able to convert the workers' smouldering hatred of the police and the authorities into conscious hatred of the autocratic government and into determination to conduct a desperate struggle for the rights of the working class and of the entire Russian people! In modern Russia, a strictly organised revolutionary party built up on this foundation will prove the greatest political force!

* Part of the manuscript is not extant.—Ed. In original.

1. *The Exceptional Law Against the Socialists* was promulgated in Germany in 1878. The law suppressed all organizations of the Social-Democratic Party, mass working-class organizations, and the labor press; socialist literature was confiscated and the banishing of socialists began. The law was annulled in 1890 under pressure of the mass working-class movement.
2. *Vorwärts* (*Forward*)—the central organ of German Social-Democracy; it was first published in 1876 and was edited by Wilhelm Liebknecht and others. Engels made use of its columns for the struggle against all manifestations of opportunism. From the middle nineties, however, after the death of Engels, *Vorwärts* began regularly to print articles of the opportunists, who predominated in German Social-Democracy and in the Second International.

V. I. LENIN
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POLISH STRIKERS

Continued from page 1

successful attempts to lure the strikers back with wage hikes, the Polish government finally yielded to the Interfactory Strike Committee in Gdansk on most of their 21 demands, including the right to strike, independent trade unions, reinstatement of workers dismissed during the strikes in 1970 and 1976; and relaxation of restrictions on access to the media. The shaken chieftains of the Polish United Workers Party quickly ratified the agreement. However, their hopes of restricting the terms of the agreement to the Baltic industrial region were dashed when strikes involving close to 200,000 coal miners which began the day the Gdansk strikers started back to work, forced the extension of the agreement to include the Silesian coal-mining region as well.

The power of the working class shown in Poland was clearly a force to reckon with. The near shutdown of the entire country rocked Poland's capitalist rulers. Groups and organizations among Poland's petty bourgeoisie intellectuals, many of them strongly inclined towards and influenced by the West, saw this movement of the working class as a chance to break open more opportunities for their own activities. Indeed, several of these groups had been active in support of many of the demands of the workers since the 1976 strikes and had considerable influence on the formulation of the strike demands and on the course of the strikes themselves. And the Catholic Church in Poland, which has long had its claws into the workers' backs, moved into very calculated positions, designed to ride this upheaval to a further strengthening of its own role and influence in the country.

In the U.S. and other countries of its bloc, the treachery of the so-called labor leaders was once again excelled only by their opportunism. The militant strike of the Polish workers jolted these slack-jawed lackeys of U.S. imperialism, and the likes of Lane Kirkland (president of the AFL-CIO) and the UAW's Doug Fraser suddenly discovered "international solidarity" with their brother workers in Poland. These are the same "internationalists" and "defenders of free trade unions" who have promoted the most disgusting chauvinism in "hate-Arab" campaigns in the unions, the same men who have overseen the use of AFL-CIA money to aid agents of U.S. imperialism in the "free trade unions" of Latin America, which are in reality nothing more than tools to sabotage the struggles of the toiling masses and tie them to a life of misery under the boot of puppets of U.S. imperialism like Pinochet in Chile, Garcia in Brazil, and the former dictator Somoza in Nicaragua.

But while the Polish workers' strikes riveted the attention of the world, sent scum of all varieties scrambling to try to turn things to their own advantage, and above all gave a glimpse of the potential of the working class, the significance of this struggle was not due to the goals and leadership of the strikes themselves but to the context in which they took place and the effect they had on millions worldwide. This fact was underscored by the somewhat shadowed events that were taking place at the same time. For as the strikes were developing, the Warsaw Pact armies prepared to send troops across parts of Poland and into East Germany for special war maneuvers called "Operation Brothers in Arms." And at the same time, U.S. bloc armies were moving into West Germany for their counter-maneuvers called "Autumn Forge." Western columnists were quick to recall that it was across Poland's broad plains that the tanks rumbled in the opening salvos of both World Wars I and II.

And so it was that under the banner of reform, the Polish workers marched into the arena of superpower war preparations and maneuvers.

Both superpowers recognized the potential volatility of the situation in Poland, and both were determined that the actions of the Polish workers would



The Polish workers' strikes had international significance far beyond the workplaces that were shut down. Above, people gathered at the Lenin

Shipyards in Gdansk eagerly grab up leaflets containing news of strike developments that were tossed over the gates by strikers.

not force them into premature reactions, i.e., both were determined that the struggle of the workers would not get out of bounds deemed "acceptable" at this stage of moves towards war. Since it was the Soviets' ox that was being gored, their aim was to minimize the damage they suffered due to the uprising. The Soviets limited themselves to attacks in their press on "anti-socialist elements" and "subversives tied to Western intelligence agencies" who, *Tass* claimed, were manipulating the strikers. But although the Western media did much to raise the spectre of a Soviet invasion, and the memory of Hungary and Czechoslovakia was surely never far from the minds of many in Poland, the threat of a Soviet invasion to quell the strikes was never much of a likelihood, certainly as long as the upheaval did not threaten Soviet domination of the country or its membership in the Warsaw Pact. Even the rumored further purges of top leadership of the Polish party seemed improbable for the moment, as the Soviets announced a large hard-currency loan to the Polish government to help it cover the cost of the settlement of the strikes.

The U.S. imperialists, as Carter put it, were "inspired and gratified" by the outcome of the strikes. For, beneath the heavy armor of their superpower rival, a vulnerable spot, the nationalism and discontent spawned by the heavy yoke of Soviet imperialism, was exposed, and could be exploited by the U.S. While anti-Soviet sentiment was not publicly inscribed on the banners of the strikers, it was obviously unleashed as a powerful force. There was no mistaking, for instance, the relish with which the workers welded Moscow-bound trains to the tracks when it was discovered that they contained large shipments of scarce meat and sugar.

The U.S. imperialists obviously consider that they have made considerable progress in the course of the strikes towards their goal of undermining Soviet control of Poland and driving the wedge of U.S. influence in a bit deeper. In large measure this was accomplished through the enhanced role and influence of the Roman Catholic Church, the principal promoter of U.S. interests inside Poland. Through this strike the Catholic Church seems to have forced what one Western journal-

ist described as an "historic compromise Polish style." For the Soviets, from Europe to Chile the "historic compromise" has been seen in the past as a tactic for gaining a foothold in countries clearly within the U.S. sphere of influence. The analogy does not seem that far off. While the Church was far from impotent prior to the strike, the wedge has been driven in a little deeper, as noted. All this also shows what a master stroke the U.S. imperialists must consider the elevation of a Pole to head the Church in Rome.

While the Church has been a tremendous aid to U.S. penetration of Poland, overall the main form that U.S. penetration of Eastern Europe has taken in recent years is financial, and this is true in Poland also. In the aftermath of the strike, the U.S. imperialists are stepping up their loans and aid to Poland, which already has a debt in Western currencies of some \$20 billion, the result of the Polish government's efforts to buy modernization and technological advancement from the West in the last decade. The shambles of the Polish economy, not unrelated to the fact that it has become closely tied to the economic chaos afflicting the U.S. bloc—as well as its domination by the Soviets—has put great pressure on the Polish government to impose austerity measures like those being taken by capitalist governments all over the world as the economic crisis grows more severe. But in the last two months the aims of the Polish government to tighten down the screws on the Polish working class were confronted head-on by the striking workers.

It was a particularly sharp blow to Gierek & Co. when, just as the shipyard workers went back to work, the coal miners walked out. Coal, which accounts for over 30% of Poland's hard currency earnings, had been the centerpiece of the government's plans to arrest the deepening crisis. In an effort to ensure labor stability and increase output, exceptional treatment was given the coal miners, including the highest wages of any workers in Poland, supermarkets so well stocked that people drove hundreds of miles across to Poland to shop there, and—the strictest labor discipline in Poland. Mining is so critical to the revisionists' plans that it is the only occupation which qualifies a youth for exemption from the draft.

So when 30,000 coal miners walked out on Monday, Sept. 1, Gierek considered it close to treason. And when nightfall brought news of the deaths of eight miners in an accident at the Halemba mines in Ruda Slaska, provoking another 150,000 miners to walk, Gierek immediately responded with a televised plea, complete with an emotional recounting of how his own father and grandfather had been killed in the mines. But the coal miners did not budge until the government extended the Gdansk settlement to the coal-mining area of Silesia and ended the round-the-clock rotating shifts that the revisionists had considered so necessary to achieve higher output.

The strike has undoubtedly accentuated the economic problems of Poland's rulers. Already they have accepted one loan from the USSR and are upping their requests for agricultural credits from the U.S. to almost \$700 million. It is in this context that Carter sent his secret note to West Germany's Schmidt, Frances d'Estaing, and Britain's Thatcher, urging them to do whatever possible so that the Western bloc could meet expected requests from Poland for future loans.

The Soviet Union, while wary of this financial penetration, has been quite willing to accept Western loans and aid itself, and to see the same in Eastern Europe. Obviously they seek to turn the U.S. bloc efforts at financial penetration to their own advantage. The credits from the West are used to purchase more advanced technology and to expand production. In other words, the Soviets use the aid to strengthen their bloc in preparation for the showdown with the West. As for the problem of mounting debt to the West and the repayment schedules, the Soviet preference for long-term trade compensation agreements is an indication that they calculate that just who will be in debt to whom is a question that can be postponed and ultimately settled by World War III. The U.S. seems quite willing to gamble that its current strategy towards Eastern Europe will strengthen its chances of dictating the settlement of these debts and a lot more.

It is important to understand just what these two imperialist vultures are up to and to see through the blanket of bullshit each spreads in its efforts to

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Excerpts from Piece Rates in Hungary

Soviet Bloc Capitalism— From the Inside

The following is the second 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 is an only slightly disguised exposé of "the brutal manifestation of the famous relations of production," as the author says—the capitalist relations of production, which produce the torments with which every worker in the U.S. is all too familiar and which reign today in the revisionist, capitalist countries in a phony "socialist" guise of the Soviet Union and its bloc, including not only Hungary, but of course Poland as well. This book helps make it clear that workers in both the U.S. and Soviet bloc are certainly brothers of exploitation, with common dreams of escaping this misery and a common, internationalist revolutionary mission.

There is a collective agreement; almost everyone knows that, but nobody knows what is in it. 'That sort of nonsense has nothing to do with me' is the general opinion. To start with, very few know what is meant by this term 'collective'—that is, the joint elaboration by the factory union and the management of 'mutual rights and obligations'. Those who do know put it rather differently. 'It states everything we have to put up with, except for what it doesn't state', I was informed.

How long is it since the collective agreement was drawn up for this factory? Opinions differ; 'it has always been there', 'it's been around for several years', 'the full details were published for the first time last year', 'last year, they drew up a new one'.

Some could remember that the 'collective' was read out during a production meeting last year. 'But that was only a draft for comment', someone else explained. 'Was there a vote?' They looked at me in amazement. The only one who replied to my naive question said, 'Well, they answered objections—but you can't really object to this sort of thing; then the "collective" was completed, and it was deposited in the office. As for what has been changed since then... I just couldn't tell you. I don't pay much attention in production meetings.' During the big rush at the end of the year, I asked for one day's leave. 'I'm not giving days off to anyone; not even unpaid,' said the chief with a shake of his head. I tried to argue with him, but he cut me short. 'Take a look in the "collective", if you don't believe me.' And he left me standing there.

I crossed over to the office and asked the administrative clerk to let me consult the collective agreement. She is in effect secretary to the head foreman. She went to see him, returned and drew out of her desk a thick, photocopied volume. 'If I asked for it you would not give it to me without the chief's consent?' I asked. 'That's the rule,' she replied icily, adding, 'Consult it here. You don't have the right to take it away.'

Within a couple of minutes I regretted not having taken the head foreman at his word. It was simply impossible to find the appropriate clause. There were a dozen entries in the index under the word 'leave', each with long sub-titles, but not one of them seemed to apply to my case. I asked for help, and the clerk in-

dicated an appropriate heading. I turned to the page and found something like this: 'In accordance with 1972/XIX Min. Tvr. 26@ (4)-(6), and further in accordance with M. Trvk. 47@ (5)...' (I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the numbers, nor of the abbreviations.)

Once more, I went to the head foreman, and he gave me the following explanation: 'I don't speak hot air. Everything is set out in the regulations. In the "collective", it states clearly that I am not obliged to give you leave.' 'But you could do so if you wished?' 'I could, yes, but it's left to my judgement.' I accepted the inevitable, and since my stubbornness had already lost me twenty minutes I allowed myself another look at this collective agreement.

It consists of some 150 pages, largely covered with tongue-twisting abbreviations, incomprehensible clauses and paragraphs, numbered in a way that's impossible to follow. Even when text emerges out of this jungle, it consists only of a framework of regulations, reiterated in unimaginable bureaucratic-legalistic jargon, as off-putting as possible. Areas of responsibility are very vaguely indicated; lines are drawn sharply only when the interests of the company demand it. Within these limits, it is always left to the relevant chief to decide. A sound principle, because if they had to work according to the agreement they would not be able to take a single step. They know from instinct and experience what the interests of the factory really are, and so never need to enter this maze of regulations. The legal advice columns in the daily papers have an easy job: 'The collective convention of your factory will certainly contain an indication as to the legitimacy or otherwise of the decision against which you are protesting.' That's what they always say in answer to readers who write in with complaints.

My neighbours got wind of my little dispute, and my friend the turner mocked me once again. 'Now you've really shown them, haven't you? Did you expect to find anything in the "collective" which they don't want to have there?' I took a risk and asked him, 'But who are they?' 'The union, the company, the whole damn lot.'

M summed up the incident in his own inimitable way: 'Take it easy. They are not going to kick themselves in the arse. Perhaps they are wrong once in a thousand cases—and even then, it's just by chance. The "collective" is for them, and not for you.'

* * * * *

Even at work, when I have found the rhythm and become one with the machine, thoughts and feelings do not disappear: they change. What disappears is the direct relationship which unites them with me, the identity between me and them. This is very difficult to communicate. The best way I can put it is like this: I cease to exist. When the huge side-doors of the workshop are opened and the transporters rattle in loaded with material, I know—without having a thought as such, I simply know—that I am in a freezing draught, but I do not feel that I am cold. My back aches, there is cramp in my fingers, the piece-rate is ridiculous: I don't feel or think any of this. I only know that someone who is

me feels them and thinks about them, I don't even feel or think about my work itself; I don't organize it; I only register that I am working. I know that it is I who has stopped the machine at the right time, that it is I who bends down to pick up the next piece, who hurries from one machine to the other, who avoids the crack in the platform. There is no more thought or feeling, or, at least, I'm not bothered by them any more: they have become objects of independent contemplation. In the end exertion itself ceases to exist: there is only a consciousness (or is it a memory?) of my exhaustion. I am aware of how great my tiredness is; I know that when I have finished this run I am going to feel exhaustion right in the marrow of my bones, and I know in advance that it will be hard for me to get the next batch going, and to drop back again into this same state. I am the rhythm of the machine, and this perhaps is why, of all else from the world outside work, it is sex—of the same inert, impersonal character—which finds a place in my consciousness. To make love without loving: the rhythm drives me on; I know what I feel and what I will feel, but I do not feel it.

When a thought materializes, against all odds, it cannot break loose. It is snapped up by the rhythm, and turns round, like a caged squirrel in a tread-

mill. The most immediate, the latest, the most elementary rage or insult or aggravation is transformed into these pseudo-thoughts; feelings of happiness, never. They weave into the rhythm and, while the work is going relatively easily, they abate; when it becomes harder, they regain their strength, making me grit my teeth, as my muscles tighten. They throb like questions or exclamations which cannot be answered. Sometimes it is impossible to contain them from coming out in a loud shout. They streak out like a curse that only someone who always works close to you, or a friend, can understand. 'Why is it always me who gives way?', or 'If I hand in my notice, he'll screw up his eyes like in a horror film'. Obsessive thoughts burst out when stopped in their tracks by the completion of a piece; like savage music they accompany the movement which hurls the piece into the box. So long as there is another piece to start on, you cannot follow up these thoughts, and there is always another piece to start on.

When they introduced the two-machine system, the factory did not in the first place aim to double production. Before all else, they endeavoured to economize on wages. It isn't out of zeal that the rate-fixers mark on every possible job 'for two machines'. They

Continued on page 14

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BEAT BACK THE DOGMATO-REVISIONIST ATTACK
 ON MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT
 Comments on Enver Hoxha's
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Comrades,

I recently had the opportunity to read the New Programme put out by the RCP. I was very impressed with what the programme had to say about farmworkers.

First of all I would like to say that my background is that of a farmworker and that I have witnessed US imperialism first hand. As a youth I participated in the struggle for the farmworkers, because I like many others was seeking better working conditions, housing, etc. for the farmworker. I was an active participant in UFW marches, strikes, etc. I supported Cesar Chavez and believed that through his leadership the suffering by the farmworker would be eliminated. While I supported the fact that through the movement of Cesar Chavez the struggle of the farmworker rose, but where did it end?

Thousands of us who marched and rallied the flag of the UFW are living the same with the exception that our wages were boosted to a certain extent.

Just recently I visited with my parents who are seasonal farmworkers. At that particular time there was a garlic strike and they like the hundred like them were without work for weeks. Since I had left the UFW struggle I thought it would be interesting to see what demands were being made and what progress the UFW had made in particular.

I was shocked and most disgusted in the UFW and Cesar Chavez. Here the price of a bushel of garlic had been cut in half, people were barely eating, living in the worst of housing, shacks to be more exact. No proper medical facilities, and the demand of the UFW is a better wage for the labor of the farmworker. Here I thought was the perfect example of Reform vs. Revolution. In the face of all of this the farmworker is told to forget the

California Youth Writes on New Draft Programme

prospect of World War III, forget about the way in which you are subjected to living, so what if you live in a shack and "the boss" lives right next door, in a mansion built there to intimidate you, forget all the world's events, none of these concern you, you should only be concerned that the price on a bushel of garlic be raised, and to do this, to simply demand better wages, don't get too out of hand. We wouldn't want another Miami fiasco of violence, God forbid Chatanooga! Leave it all to us, we'll take care of it.

"Within the working class two camps, representing two roads, will be increasingly shaping up and facing off: those, a privileged aristocratic minority, who cling to the bribes imperialism affords them and fight to keep U.S. imperialism supreme in order to ensure the bloodsoaked spoils; and those representing the great majority, who lead the masses in fighting for their real interests—to forge a revolutionary way forward out of this outmoded and barbarous system." I think the Programme speaks to the UFW righteously in this sentence. They couldn't have said it any more clear.

I'm sure that it is not just myself who is seeking answers to this madness. There are many others and the Programme I feel gets into how after revolution once we've entered socialism the conditions of the farmworker will be changed, and not only that, he will be immediately "relied on, together with the other

farmworkers, as the main force in consolidating the political role of the proletariat in the rural areas and carrying forward its policies for the socialist transforming of agriculture."

I mean here all this time I'm sure a lot of farmworkers with leadership like the UFW have felt that the only role they have to play in life is that of just working for a better life. Here in the midst of all these lies a new Draft Programme is put out. Here is a real chance for some real purpose in life. I feel everyone, not just farmworkers but youth, students, etc. should be picking up the Programme and seeing that we don't have to live the way we do.

Why should our struggle be limited to that of getting just a few more pennies? I remember vividly one day, we were picking garlic, my entire family and at least 100 other people. For hours we had been slaving under the hot sun as we did day in and day out. All of a sudden from nowhere, it was as if the walls were closing in on us. The Migra was coming full speed ahead from all sides. Suddenly people realized what was going on and those so-called "illegal aliens" were running in every other direction. An airplane which had been hovering up above came down and was one foot from hitting a man who was running like a scared rabbit. Women who were pregnant were hauled away, old women, boys, it was definitely a raid. It was tragic. I had never witnessed anything like it.

All of a sudden I asked myself where is Cesar Chavez? What is he doing for us? What about the "illegal aliens"? Aren't they farmworkers too? Don't they have rights? How can he let this go on? Doesn't he know that they'll at least kill one of them and beat the shit out of the others? Shouldn't this be a big part of the farmworkers' struggle?

Cesar Chavez have you read what the Party Programme has to say about "illegal aliens"? And further, what kind of steps will be taken to improve the conditions of the farmworkers? "Along with providing employment for the agricultural population as a whole, an immediate step of the proletariat, upon seizing power, will be to abolish the miserable conditions in which farmworkers are forced to live and labor under capitalism. Special priority will be given to constructing decent housing and other facilities for farmworkers and to providing them with the basic necessities, including health care. This will include so-called 'illegals' many of whom are employed in agriculture. They will be immediately granted citizenship in the new proletarian state and not only provided employment but fully involved in every aspect of ruling and remaking society."

Ruling and remaking society! That's the goal of the proletarian struggle!

Long Live the RCP.

A youth from the Bay Area

Plots in Iran

Continued from page 5

for 2A, 2B and the rest of the U.S.'s maneuvers at this time was direct support for the Iranian military and for their efforts to drown the revolution in a sea of blood. In fact, Bakhtiar was really only a figurehead for what was already a U.S.-directed military government.

This cable provides added proof that it was the U.S. imperialists—not the so-called "Iranian government"—who were calling the shots, from the next military offensive against the people to the decision to send the Shah abroad for "medical treatment" in the hopes of cooling out the struggle. In his soon-to-be-published memoirs, the Shah is quoted as saying of Huyser: "I saw Huyser on a single occasion during his visit; the one thing that was on the minds of both of them (Huyser and Ambassador Sullivan—RW) was to know on what day and at what time I should be leaving."

While all this was going on, the U.S. imperialists were covering up their bloody crimes with a thick blanket of rhetoric about "non-interference" and "peace and stability." During the same week this cable was sent, Carter claimed that "We have no intention of interfering in Iran's internal affairs," adding that the shipment of fuel oil didn't constitute "interference." Government spokesmen explained that Huyser was in Iran to make arrangements to protect the U.S.'s sophisticated weaponry in Iran. He was also withdrawn from Iran on February 3, only a week before the insurrection in Tehran, in an attempt to cover up the hand of the U.S. in the event a military coup could be set in motion.

Although not spelled out in the text of the cable, it is well known that the U.S. imperialists utilized various kinds of political duplicity and maneuvering to defuse the revolutionary movement at the same time as they ordered new mas-

sacres in the streets. These are the same kind of counterrevolutionary dual tactics they have attempted to put into practice recently in such countries as El Salvador and South Korea.

For the few short weeks that he was prime minister, Bakhtiar demagogically "agreed" to meet the people's demands on just about everything, and furious negotiations were taking place between the Khomeini forces and the U.S. through a number of "dissident" generals in order to avert the revolutionary explosion that was building up. (It was in this last week of January that former Attorney General Ramsey Clark saw Khomeini in Paris and visited Iran.)

While the U.S. government pursued every avenue it could, Huyser's job of holding the Iranian military together was the key element in all their counterrevolutionary calculations. Though Huyser's cable speaks of making "progress" and even of hoping to complete his mission by Sunday, January 28 (when intense street fighting breaks out in Tehran and other cities after massive demonstrations—"Saturday's activities"—are held demanding that Khomeini be allowed to return under the slogan of "Khomeini or Guns"), he correctly senses that this is a very dangerous situation. He predicts that if Khomeini returned to Iran, "there would be a big upheaval, then things would go to hell in a handbasket." Huyser and his superiors knew that if an insurrection or civil war started, the masses could move very rapidly from their allegiance to Khomeini and the vacillating forces around him to the revolutionary Left—which the imperialists feared much more. And rightly so, for the Left had consistently advocated armed struggle as the only road to liberating the Iranian people from the grip of the Shah's fascist regime and from imperialist domination altogether.

Still, Huyser—like the rest of his moribund class who are blind to their historical fate—cannot see what is happening right before his eyes. Throughout January, he continues to cable

Washington that a military coup could be staged at any time. And up until the final moment, these puffed-up, arrogant imperialists refused to believe that their "island of stability" in the Middle East was being swept away by a tidal wave of revolution. On the night of February 10, as the final assault by the revolutionary forces in Tehran had already begun and the Shah's elite army units were collapsing in the face of the insurrection, U.S. Ambassador Sullivan received a call from the situation room in the White House. Sullivan was asked "if it was still possible to launch a coup." According to a report in the *New York Times*, he replied that it was not, "followed by several expletives."

Throughout Huyser's month-long stay in Iran, the people had rained blow upon powerful blow on the reactionary army, intensifying splits that were already appearing and causing widespread mutinies as thousands of soldiers and airmen tore off their uniforms

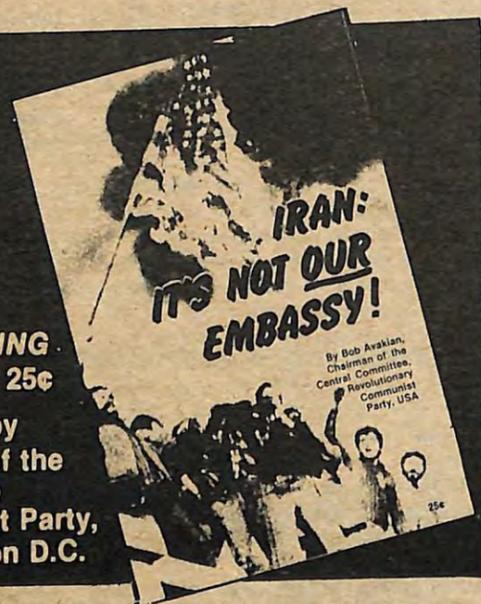
and joined the popular forces. Down to the final dying moments of the Shah's regime, the U.S. hoped to order a military coup; the only reason it couldn't do so was that there was no longer an army to launch it—the Iranian masses were taking care of that!

This cable reveals the desperation behind the imperialists' repeated attempts to quell this revolution that has shaken their grip on the whole oil-rich Middle East, that has spread the flames of revolution to millions of other oppressed peoples worldwide, and has thrown a big monkey wrench into their preparations for war against their imperialist rivals in the USSR. Their efforts to crush the Iranian revolution under their boot through updated versions of plans "A" and "B"—and this time quite possibly with the direct involvement of U.S. military forces commanded by a General Huyser or a Colonel Beckwith—can only intensify greatly in the months ahead. □

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November 18, Washington D.C.**



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Cowboy Myth Rides Again for Imperialism

"Bang the drums slowly/play the fife lowly/sing the death march/as you carry me by/take me to the prairie/there lay the sod o'er me/for I'm a young cowboy/I know I must die."—Streets of Laredo.

"For I'm a young cowboy/I know I must die." The haunting refrain from this classic cowboy ballad is worth recalling today; in an odd way, it says a lot about the current concerted effort by the entertainment fashion industries to sell the cowboy image as the first mass culture craze of the 1980s. The lyrics to the "Streets of Laredo" were a puzzle to the early folklorists and musicologists who roamed the west in the early 1900s collecting songs and cowboy tales—because there was no trace of fife and drums "death marches" on the plains of West Texas. Finally, some enterprising scholar traced the roots of the song back to an Irish army funeral march of the 17th century. This is a small piece of historical irony. For when we analyze the contemporary cowboy revival, being spearheaded by the film "Urban Cowboy," it becomes clear that the promotion of this trend is directly related to promoting national chauvinism and preparing mass public opinion for the coming war.

The relationship between the revival of the cowboy symbol and the war preparations of the imperialists finds its open and obvious expressions: Charlie Daniels' reactionary "pro-America" country single which beats the drums for an army of cowboys and hippies and rebels and yanks to stomp out the country's enemies is one such obvious example. While cowboy style clothes, western shirts, etc. have been generally popular among broad masses in various parts of the country especially the Southwest, and the point is not that everyone who wears cowboy clothes is a reactionary or that everyone should throw out their western style shirts, the fact is that the cowboy as symbol is being revived and promoted especially among the white youth as a means to instill in them a patriotic identity. Looking into the history of the cowboy and the myth of the cowboy provides some valuable insight into why this image is so politically useful to the U.S. imperialists today, nearly a century after

the last of the great cattledrives and the end of the frontier era.

The term "cowboy" itself did not come into general usage in its present sense until the 1870s. During the American Revolutionary War, the "cowboy" was a derogatory expression for Tories and cattle thieves. The term first appeared in Texas around 1835, applied to soldiers in the Texas army who were detailed to rustle Mexican cattle to support the reactionary, pro-slavery American revolt led by Sam Houston and Stephen Austin. Texan territory at that time belonged to Mexico, which had overthrown Spanish rule in 1821 and had instituted a series of democratic reforms, including the prohibition of slavery throughout its provinces. The proclamation of the Texas republic and the revolt against Mexican rule which led to the battle of the Alamo was carried out by a coalition of American cattlemen, landowners and pro-slavery interests in collaboration with the U.S. government to abet the twin aims of promoting slavery and furthering U.S. expansionism in general. So here is the lofty origins of the myth of the American cowboy—cattle thieves in the service of jingoistic slavetraders.

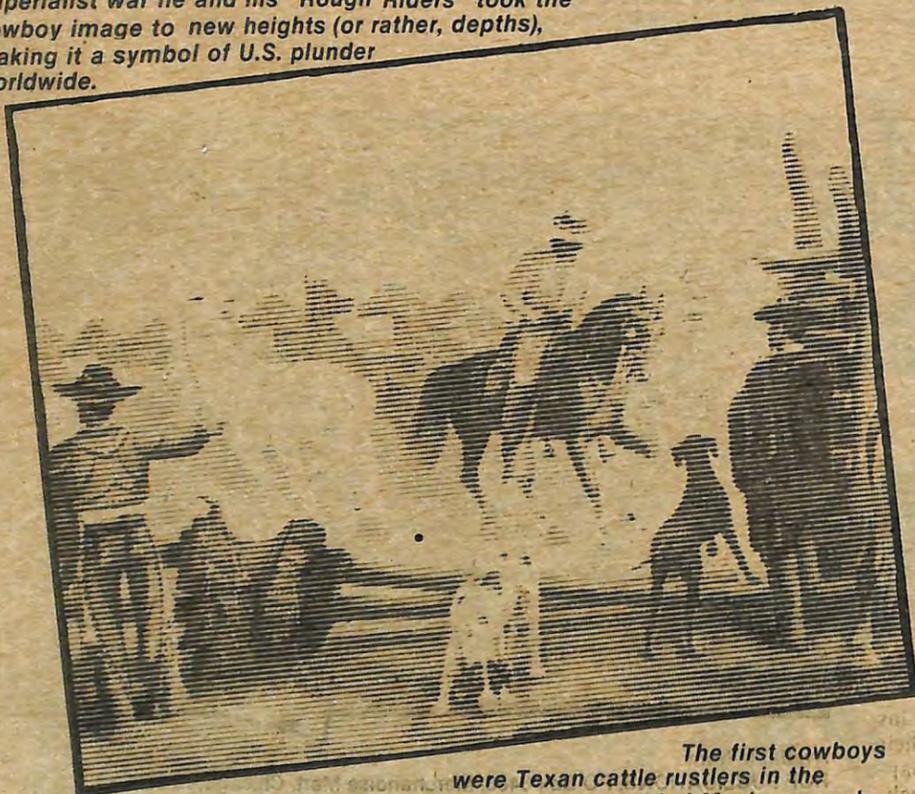
Those who actually tended and drove cattle on the open range in the first half of the 19th century in the southwest were known as *vaqueros*—the Spanish term reflecting the existence of a thriving cattle industry in the southwest for hundreds of years before the U.S. began to establish colonies there in the early 1800s. Following the Mexican Revolution, Mexico opened the doors wide to U.S. immigration in the mistaken belief that its "democratic" neighbor would be a source of friendly support. And it was the native *vaqueros* who trained the newcomers in the cattle trade:

"...the newcomers had neither experience nor lariats; they knew nothing of the roping art. Moreover, the English-style saddles they brought with them from the East were practically worthless for such work. Had it not been for the Mexican *vaquero* and his knowledge of range life, the rise of the American cattleman would most likely have been a slower, and certainly a rougher, story. As it was, the budding

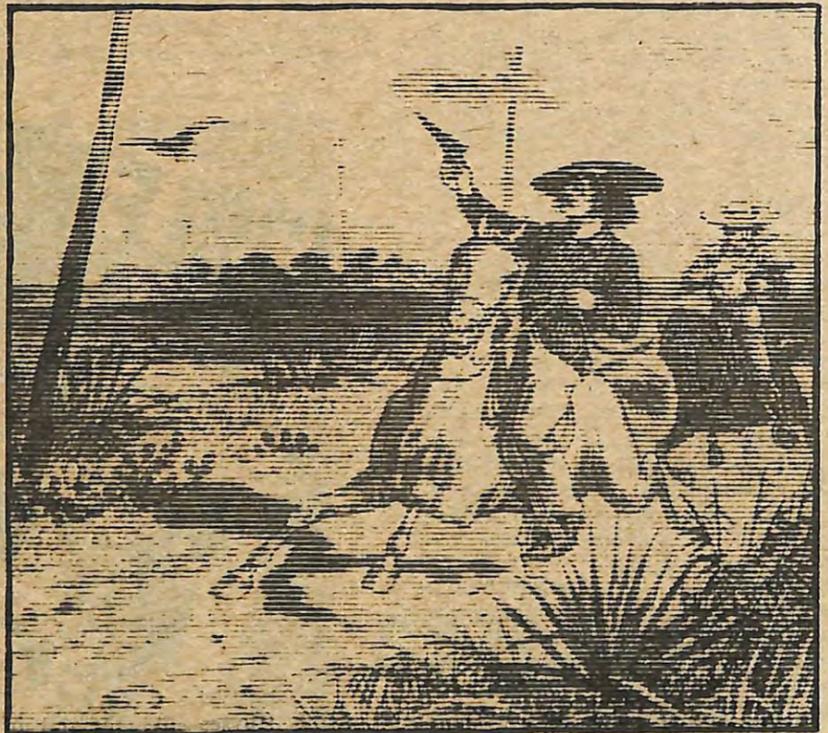
Continued on page 16



A well-known cowboy—Teddy Roosevelt. During America's first imperialist war he and his "Rough Riders" took the cowboy image to new heights (or rather, depths), making it a symbol of U.S. plunder worldwide.



The first cowboys were Texan cattle rustlers in the 1830s. Among other things, they raided Mexican ranches, driving off the *vaqueros* and capturing their cattle.



The "*Vaqueros*"—Mexican cattlemen who developed the techniques of riding, roping, trailing and branding that became part of the cowboy mystique. The term was Americanized as "buckaroo."

SOVIET BLOC

Continued from page 11

know full well that a 'perfect' combination, which allows us to double production is very rare. They count on the fact that we will not be able to carry out in parallel most of the work they have so marked. But that's in their interest too. Working on a typical, average combination, we produce little more than if we had worked straight through on one machine, but our wage doesn't reach what we would have earned on one machine alone.

Obviously, we have no standard for comparison, as the two-machine system has now become a self-evident part of our conditions of work. Everyone could make calculations on a scrap of paper, as I have done, or simply think about the disadvantages of working two machines, and then evaluate the difference in wages compared to a long-abandoned way of working. But he would only be wasting his time, because too many other factors come into play. The two-machine norm is also a norm; perhaps a piece-rate for one machine only exists so that, from time to time, they can overpay us?

The two-machine system can appear so commonplace that one's perception of what is 'paid' or 'unpaid' becomes relative. It's not only the two-machine system, but also wage-labour in general as well as piece-rates themselves, which are based upon the fact that the worker is prepared to maintain such relativity. In the final analysis, the intermingling of 'paid' and 'unpaid' work stems from the identity of piece-rates and forced labour. In our section, there's a worker who gets very obstinate from time to time. He is then quite capable of going as far as the works director to express his indignation about not being given a supplementary wage. 'I suppose they think I'm going to work for nothing!' He gets into one of these states so rarely that the foreman usually gives in. The same worker has toiled for years and years on two machines, for half pay, without a word of complaint.

We are like natives who, in the early days of colonialism, handed over everything, their treasures, their land, and themselves, for worthless trinkets and who became aware that they had been robbed only when they failed to get the usual junk in return.

We have no perception of this relationship, and yet we suffer from it. However well we are paid we still remain completely dissatisfied; the proof is that we are always ready to produce more for a little more pay, ready in fact to produce all that they tell us to. One might think that the two-machine system itself is so outrageous that it would shatter the illusion that we are really being paid, and with it the illusion of paid work in general. But the truth is that it enhances the power of the illusion. When it emerges that the two-machine system does not improve our pay in comparison with the old system, or with hourly wages, this does not appear to us as a brutal manifestation of the famous relations of production, we feel fucked: well and truly fucked.

[NOTE: I myself can only write about wage-labour, piece-rates, norms, supplementary wages, and the two-machine system as outrages. But, in putting the emphasis on their specific characteristics, I feel that I am guilty of maintaining the illusion that these are contingent forms which can be reformed. It seems to me that, right up to the blank page in front of me, money proves the omnipotence that it has already demonstrated in the factory. It does not only have the capacity to guarantee or to threaten my existence, but also that of censoring my tongue. When I come to speak of it, I am incapable of finding words which would allow me to express anything which seems in any way adequate. Money exercises an absolute power over the terrain of objectivity: here, as in the factory, it has the power to exile into the realms of poems those who dream of abolishing it or, which comes to the same thing, to cut out their tongues. I was able to establish that my

colleagues were capable of finding words for everything, except for one thing, which indisputably exists: this dream which expresses itself, in a stammering way, in those moments when all objectivity is lost.]

* * * * *

The management we know only from the factory journal, when photographs show them presiding over some solemn assembly or other, a top gathering of the Party or trade union. Their sphere of activity is hazy (the list of official positions is too long to grasp and changes very often; their announcements in the journal seem much of a muchness). The role of the managing director is the clearest of all: there's no one above him. But apart from him there are several other directors: we don't know exactly how many. Our factory is large; the journal often calls it 'one big family'; in such a big family, you're bound to have a lot of daddies.

The managing director's name is known by about half the workers; those of his helpers by only a handful. Very few know the names of the heads of departments and their assistants, just as the senior Party and trade-union functionaries are also little known—usually only by Party members. Not that the Party members have met them, but sometimes, during Party gatherings, they get hold of extra information, even if it's not very precise. It's thanks to them that we occasionally pick up something, other than what the foremen want us to know.

We see the senior executives in flesh and blood when they've got visitors—especially if they're foreigners. Then they all stroll through the huge hall of the factory. I wish that we could bring along students of drama to study the behaviour of those taking part in these rapid encounters. I would like them to see how *everyone* tries to appear *other* than he is. The most nervous workers suddenly begin to imitate the most poised characters, assiduous, detached and indifferent. The visitors put on masks of passionate interest, and intense curiosity, restrained—alas—only by the brevity of their tour. As for the masters of the place, well, they exhibit a demiurgic pride in this animated, well-oiled spectacle.

Such observers would also have to note how hints of reality shoot through from behind the façades. Our work rhythm has relaxed. That comes from something more complex than the simple attempt to disguise passing curiosity behind half glances, carefully calculated movements, and the pretense of tidying up this and that. It's also the result of our confusion, itself provoked by contradictory feelings. We know that we are being shown to the visitors and, instantly, we see ourselves through their eyes. The insane rhythm of looting, celebrated up until the second of the visitor's arrival as the triumph of our

own will, appears to us, suddenly, and with intolerable force, as the product of a zeal which is shameful, compelled, and circumscribed. Before we realize it we have already slowed down. We become, there and then, model workers with confident movements and calm demeanours, preoccupied with the work itself, without regard to the pay. The visitors also betray themselves, through unmistakable signs. Their flustered and distracted gaze as they go hither and thither, and the set smile on their faces, witness their insoluble dilemma. They have not come to see round the factory on our account but only to convince themselves, as they round off their negotiations, that the factory exists, the machines are working, and that production is trouble-free. However, while they are actually in the workshop, they must show some interest in us. Their pained awareness of our presence elicits an exaggerated friendliness and benevolent curiosity, which does not extend to a single one of us individually.

When they have finished trekking around, the daily rhythm slowly starts to re-establish itself. As an epilogue to our previous confusion we exchange cynical comments which make fun of our visitors—their dress, their clumsiness and their embarrassment. But our laughter does not ring true.

We try to guess who was who. But they pass too quickly, and there are too many of them, even though we have been forewarned of their names and rank by the foreman, who rushes round beforehand; not in order to tell us who they are, but to get us to tidy things up a bit. He hustles the unskilled labourers, gets them to stop loading trolleys with new materials and to take up brooms instead. The narrow lanes between machines are cleared of pieces and, after that, the boxes are pushed out of the way. Finally, the head foreman makes a last quick check, an inspection of the course, and perhaps orders that a battered old hat be taken off the top of a milling machine, where to our amusement for the last three days it has danced on the spindle. The youngest unskilled labourers are packed off to some far corner, as far out of sight as possible: it is better that the visitors don't see them, even if the louts don't fool around.

When the visit is over, the foreman makes another round through the section: this time to accelerate the process of getting us back to our normal rhythm.

We have hardly any other contact with senior executives. Most of us arrive at the factory through a back entrance—the nearest to the tramway station—but those who go in through the main one can see them just before the afternoon shift. Usually they are getting ready to leave. Someone once saw a whole caravan of them. 'That was something. If only you had seen it. The whole gang came out, their cars lined up waiting for them, two Mercedes in front, and the Volgas behind. They slammed the doors one after the other, like a volley of machine-gun fire. The whole lot were rushing off somewhere.'

Once, at an *ad hoc* meeting, the

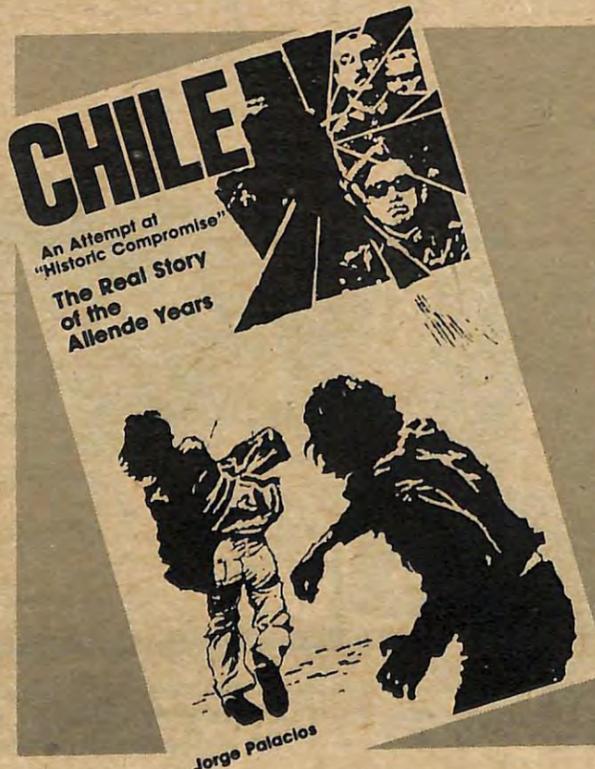
foreman read out a personal appeal from the managing director, calling on us to make collective sacrifices. He, the foreman, interpreted this to mean that we would have to put in more overtime in order to get the profit-sharing bonus at the end of the year. But, at the end of that year, no such bonuses were distributed. The factory journal gave an astonishing explanation: 'In spite of production reaching the planned schedules, the money allocated for bonuses has already been spent in paying for overtime.'

If nobody had got dividends, then the workers would have done rather well: the loss of the few hundred forints which since the introduction of the economic reforms we'd got as our part of profit-sharing would be nothing in comparison with the loss that the workers' zeal for overtime would have caused the bosses, above all the senior executives. But, as the annual profit-dividends for directors (10,000 forints for middle-rank executives, and hundreds of thousands for senior executives) have, over the past few years, been built into their monthly salaries, it is impossible to verify the rumours that this year as well, in one way and another, the bosses have done very well.

'Speaking for myself, I wouldn't mind a swop: they could have my little nothing, and I'd take theirs,' my neighbour said when he heard that there would be no profit-sharing at the end of the year.

The full-time union official who is responsible for the millers' section often takes part in production conferences: he was elected on the recommendation of the heads of the factory union by the section secretaries, but he wasn't one of them. He always intervenes, but what he says has only remote connections with reality; he returns time and time again to his pet themes. In particular, he loves repeating how several of the directors started out as workers.

In fact, the year before last there was still a grinder, since retired, who twenty-seven years ago worked with one of the bosses. When he started in the factory, the director-to-be was already there. Since then, a lot has happened: they went their separate ways. 'We often taunted the old chap, telling him to go and see his former colleague to chat him up and see if he couldn't fix up for him to become a deputy director. The old fellow himself always said, "A boss, what does it mean? In America, shoe-shine boys become millionaires. When he gets to be a millionaire—in dollars—then I'll go up and see him"'. The worker who recalled all this concluded: 'In my opinion, the old fellow wasn't all there. I would have gone straight up and seen the bloke.'



CHILE: AN ATTEMPT AT "HISTORIC COMPROMISE"

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by Jorge Palacios

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"What are they so afraid of you learning? Why are they so desperate to keep you from studying Marxism that they have just cancelled Nina Schiller's course for the second time?" The voice of the agitator rang out on the campus of Northern Kentucky University as students rushing to class stopped to listen. "What's wrong with this country?" someone yelled to the agitator. "OK, things stink," shouted another, "but what can we do about it?" "At least you're free to stand here and criticize things," several people muttered. But some of people's illusions quickly ran up against reality as, in the midst of the intense debate, the Dean of Student Activities walked up to the agitator, reached over and turned off the speaker system. "Why don't you explain to all the students why they can't hear and participate in this discussion?" asked Schiller as the Dean kept his hand planted firmly on the on-off switch. "I'm just talking to you," said the Dean, "and I'm telling you that according to a recent court decision a university administration can limit your right to speak when it interferes with the normal educative process." For the students watching, it was an instructive lesson on what is meant by the "right of free speech" in the good old U.S. of A. The head of security rushed up and grabbed the speaker system, which was still being held by the agitator, and dragged both of them off toward the administration building.

Over a year ago the university had hired Nina Schiller to teach a course on Marxism. But for the last nine months, they had been doing everything possible to prevent her from teaching it. "Here is an ideology studied all around the world, and our students don't know a thing about it"—that's what Dean Miller of the experimental program had said of the course that was supposed to educate students on the thinking of Marx and Mao. But no sooner had Schiller submitted a course description entitled "An Introduction to Marxism—Studying the World in Order to Change It"—than she was promptly called before a university committee. Evidently, what concerned them was the title and description of the course. While they noted that "universities have to teach everything—even Marxism," they also demanded to know if Schiller was able to teach this course "objectively." The committee ultimately approved the course, but changed the

"Free Thinkers" Expel Marx from Kentucky Campus

title and rewrote the description.

All that was in the spring of 1979. But in the months that followed, the administration "came to their senses," so to speak. With the U.S. government rattling its war sabres over the revolutionary upsurge in Iran and with broad political struggle and debate developing as a result of this and other events, Schiller's course—and Schiller herself—became the objects of increasing attack. And also alarming for the campus big shots was the fact that Schiller, an RCP supporter, was a Mao Tsetung Defendant.

By late November, a month and a half before Schiller's course was supposed to start, the front-page headlines of the *Kentucky Post* were suddenly screaming, "NKU Hires Communist to Teach Marx and Mao" and "Folks See Red on NKU." At first some of the university administrators feigned reluctance to fire Schiller. The Fraternal Order of Police ranting and raving about the "commies" didn't frighten them, they insisted. At a university, they said, everyone was free to study and say anything they wanted. That was until Schiller went out on the campus with people from the RCP, sold the *Revolutionary Worker* and handed out leaflets describing her course. To the horror of NKU administrators, within an hour, many students said they wanted to take the course.

The next day, Schiller was called into the Dean's office. "Dare to think, dare to learn," he said, reading from the leaflet. "It's clear that you cannot teach this course objectively." Then, he added that she was fired—though of course it had *nothing whatsoever* to do with

her political beliefs. She was being fired, he said, because she had "huckstered" her course by going out with a leaflet that urged students to take it. This was "unprofessional behavior and against University regulations." Then suddenly he burst out with the real deal, his voice shaking—"How can you wear that Death to the Shah button?" Of course, there *are no* university regulations against recruiting students for a class. In fact, it is standard operating procedure for faculty at NKU, as at other universities, to advertise their courses and increase their "body count" of students registered in various ways. At NKU the most blatant "huckstering" around is the hyped-up annual fanfare to con students into taking ROTC, to be "educated" as submissive cannonfodder for the U.S. imperialist war machine. What was so "unprofessional" about Schiller's behavior was that she refused to be a professional apologist for the capitalist educational system, which is never meant to be anything more than education in capitalism.

All this came out in June during a week-long trial in which, with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Schiller sued the university over the firing. But it was clear just *who* was really being put on trial, as the judge said straight out to the lawyers for both sides, "The central issue here is the politics of Dr. Schiller and the Revolutionary Communist Party, and I will expect you to bring these politics out to me." The judge proceeded to take over the questioning himself: "Would you tell students to hijack a plane? Would you tell students to burn

down the administration building? Are you sitting here today and calling for the violent overthrow of the government of the United States? Would you teach this to the students?"

But the judge had to decide whether more would be lost by having Schiller and the course on the campus for a semester or by denying Schiller her job, which would obviously be a rather embarrassing exposure of these revered institutions of "higher education." After two weeks of deliberation the judge ruled that "The universities must tolerate a greater degree of freedom of speech from one of the faculty than is required in a government bureau or fire department." He therefore ruled: Dr. Schiller must be allowed to teach the course on Marxism and Maoism *if* there was sufficient registration for the course.

Obviously, however, there was no intention of ever actually letting this course be taught, as the NKU administration picked up on the "out" provided for them by the judge's reference to "sufficient registration." The university threatened that if Schiller went out and in any manner recruited for or publicized her course, they would appeal the judge's decision, which meant the course would be put on ice indefinitely while the issue was hung up in appeals court. Then they made sure that no one knew that the course was to be given in the fall. Since the regular schedule of courses had been printed months before, there was conveniently no mention of the class on Marxism in the routine schedules of course changes, and no flyers were posted. When one student told his adviser that he had found out about the course and wanted to take it, they were both given the royal run-around before the student could register.

When Schiller and others leafleted at the end of the registration period, more students decided to add the course during late registration. After assuring her lawyers that the students would be able to register, the university then canceled the course for good before late registration began. But this was accomplished only at the cost of revealing what their "normal educative process" is all about, and by leaving a lot of people with a lot of questions. Questions like what are they so afraid of that they would go to so much trouble, tell so many lies and fight for so many months just to keep one little course in Marxism off the NKU campus? □

POLISH STRIKERS

Continued from page 10

take advantage of the rival's weaknesses. Despite the desire of the U.S. imperialists to subjugate Poland to a new slavemaster—i.e., themselves—and despite the fact that the U.S. bloc already has a significant hand in the worsening conditions of the Polish masses, it is not at all surprising that the overwhelming hatred and resistance of the Polish people is directed at the imperialists who dominate and most directly exploit and oppress them, the Soviet Union. Nor is it surprising that the U.S. would try to exploit this situation, to use those who come forward as leaders of the resistance to Soviet domination as their own spear bearers. The same thing is true in reverse: for example, in Central America, where the hatred of the masses is focused on the bloody plunder of U.S. imperialism and the puppet dictators it has installed and kept in power for decades. Here the shoe is on the other foot. The Soviets try to exploit this resistance to U.S. imperialism for their own advantage, particularly through the use of Cuba and Fidel Castro.

In this light, it is important to recognize the role of those like Leach Walesa, for example. Walesa is the strike leader in Gdansk who received so much publicity in the U.S. He may not be as conscious an agent of U.S. imperialism as Castro is of Soviet imperialism—at least not yet. But objectively, the role that he and others like him have played has had the effect of obscuring the real issues at stake. Like many Poles, Walesa himself may not be deeply religious, but in his first act in office—hanging up a large crucifix in

the strike headquarters and then proceeding to the signing of the agreement on nationwide TV using the foot-long pen that was an easily recognized and well known souvenir from the visit of Pope John Paul—old Leach essentially pledged his allegiance to the U.S. and its Catholic Church.

The demands of the Polish working class for an independent role and a voice in society were an exposure of the capitalist nature of the Polish regime. But more, they indicate the underlying contradictions within capitalist societies that are bound to emerge, in fact explode, and all the more so as the worldwide crisis of imperialism intensifies and world war approaches. The capitalists of neither the Soviet nor the U.S. bloc can feel comfortable with the curse of many Polish strikers that labeled government and party leaders as "the red bourgeoisie."

For whatever colors they attempt to cloak themselves in, capitalists will reveal their true nature through the crimes they commit. And as these imperialists rush headlong to the perpetration of a crime of unparalleled barbarism, nuclear war, the Polish working class has demonstrated that these criminals are not the only actors on the stage, not the only forces capable of determining the course of events. They have, in a very powerful way, made known once again the presence of the working class on the stage of history and its potential to counter and defeat these new imperialist barbarians of both the East and the West. □

CORRECTION

In RW No. 68, August 22, 1980, the caption on page 19 incorrectly states that Soviet troops intervened in Poland during the widespread strikes of 1970.

Although Soviet troops were stationed in Poland at the time, they were not directly involved in the Polish government's efforts to suppress the strikes.



Excerpts from UN 2 Trial Transcript

Continued from page 7

was act as if you were five or six, I have to tell you that.

You have acted like children and that is wrong. You are acting like children now. You have made a mess, your followers have made a mess. You have it within your power to walk out of here in a couple of hours or stay here quite awhile...

...How can they go out and go around the country and make speeches about their movement, and I am sure about how they were improperly convicted, if they spend the next several years inside a federal prison starting with today, which is a very distinct possibility...

Mr. Sudler (prosecutor): May I interject at this time, your Honor? I have been silent throughout this.

The Court: You have been more than charitable. In fact they would have been long gone on their way if I had gone along with your original generous request.

Mr. Sudler: I understand that, your Honor. I don't think there is anything so charitable when they see the Government's sentencing memorandum, because we don't think that this is a political statement and we don't think that is wrongheadedness and we don't think this is kid stuff. We think this is a serious federal felony and we are going to ask for a substantial period of incarceration for these two defendants.

We don't do that in many cases, but we shall do it in this case. We don't think they are going to change or their adherents are going to change or anything is going to change. There is not going to be any kind of rehabilitation, so we think at this point the only thing we should be concerned with and the only thing the Government is con-

cerned with is getting some deterrent and we want to do that through a jail sentence which we think is appropriate in this case.

Accordingly, I am going to ask your Honor to set a sentencing date and the Government has a memorandum of law reflecting why we think that the convictions in this case are so serious and why they merit what we think should be a substantial period of incarceration.

Quite frankly, your Honor, we don't think the court by its sentence is going to change them and we don't think they can be reasoned with or their followers and they certainly proved that throughout the trial, so we are not going to attempt to do that, that is not our mission.

Our mission has now been completed. They have been convicted and sentence is in the court's hands. The Government may make its recommendation in proper circumstances and I don't think that anything the court says is going to change anything about these defendants, from everything I observed.

I would ask the court to set a sentencing date at this time and proceed to that matter.

Mr. Gordon: May I be heard?

The Court: Yes.

Mr. Gordon: Your Honor, I hope Mr. Sudler would reconsider. It is my understanding it is his office policy not to recommend a sentence to the court in most cases and it would seem inappropriate in this case for the Government to recommend a sentence. I think your Honor has heard what the case is about and—

The Court: Would you like me to sentence today?

Mr. Gordon: No, your Honor.

The Court: Because I could.

Mr. Gordon: I understand that, your Honor.

The Court: I offered that to the codefendant and he didn't say anything, I think wisely.

Mr. Gordon: No, I don't want you to sentence today...

The Court: They can, with a little elbow grease, make amends for what others did, perhaps mistakenly, on their behalf. They decided not to. That is all right, that doesn't bother me...

...I said if they wanted to volunteer they could. The people I asked to do it were seated in the back of the courtroom. You remember that? And I made sure I did that, on the other side of the rail.

That group could have cleaned this place off in 15 minutes. They could come back now and say, Judge, send one of the marshalls out and take a look, and these two fellows could walk out of here...

...That would solve the matter of their principles...

...It also would indicate how loyal their friends were. If the friends felt for their purposes they should remain in jail as "martyrs" then they would leave the thing just the way it is. You know that.

If their friends are true friends and want them to get out so they can make their speeches...

...I tell you now they will get credit for every day they spend in for time served, and I mention that now and I will mention it at the time I impose the sentence. So they are not going to be punished for that.

They are going to do time, you know that and I know that. The only question is how much. So the days they spend in at this juncture pending appeal will be days for which they will receive credit...

...That doesn't mean it is the final word, because there is a Court of Ap-

peals on the 17th floor. They may think the judge just doesn't know what he is doing by suggesting that they will be remanded until some action is taken to clean up the mess that was made here at the courthouse. They have their principles, I have mine.

Mr. Gordon: What I am trying to do is persuade you that your principle on this issue is wrong and the principle on this issue is that the defendants—their bail status should be changed because of what other people did.

That, I think, is an improper principle. That is all.

The Court: They can so simply cure the matter. I am not saying they have to be held hostage while other people decide what to do or not do.

You know, the whole idea of presenting a positive view is to do the right thing. I don't know if you fellows realize that. If you do the right thing, you won't regret it. Your view of the right thing is to leave the mess which was put up. I disagree.

Therefore, I will stand on what I said, bail is revoked. I will entertain an application to reinstate bail at such time as I learn whoever it is—they could come in the night with brushes and clean up the place. I don't want to know who it is. Maybe it will be friends of the Department of Sanitation, I don't know.

Mr. Sudler: The Government would like to know.

The Court: I wouldn't ask anybody who came with a brush and scouring, whatever materials and took it off. I don't want to identify those people. They are friends of the earth.

I guess we have reached a point which will require me to indicate the situation is as I have set it and we will proceed to a sentencing date and I have some suggestions on that...

...As I have indicated, the defendants are remanded. □

Cowboy

Continued from page 13

Texas saw the value of emulating his Spanish neighbors and decided to grow up with the country... The lore of his new *vaquero* acquaintances was all that was available, so he set aside his farm and plantation experience to seek instruction from this knowledgeable source."

But the American outposts in Texas were from the beginning established with expansionist aims in mind. "The pattern of conquests eventually added all the far West to the United States as perfected in Texas," wrote one prominent western historian. The American revolt which led to the establishing of the Texas Republic in 1836 was just one link in this "pattern of conquests." In the 1840s, the cry of a god-given "manifest destiny" for the U.S. to occupy the entire continent—including, even Canada—was not only hysterically bellowed in the press, but was elevated to official U.S. foreign policy in the administration of James Knox Polk, who came to power in 1845. The following racist diatribe, which appeared in the *New York Herald* in 1845, is only one example, but it will suffice:

"The patriotic impulses of the United States have been awakened to fresh and greatly augmented vigor and enthusiasm of action... The minds of men have been awakened to clearer conviction of the destiny of this great nation of freemen. No longer bounded by those limits which nature had in the eye of those of little faith in the last generation... the pioneers of anglo-saxon civilization and anglo-saxon free institutions, now seek distant territories, stretching even to the shores of the Pacific; and the arms of the republic, it is clear to all men of sober discernment, must soon embrace the whole hemisphere, from the icy wilderness of the north to the most prolific regions of the smiling and prolific south."

Thus, amidst the cry of conquering "all Mexico" the United States annexed Texas, fabricated stories of Mexican atrocities and declared war, aiming to seize the entire southwest all the way to

California. Along with the ravings of a manifest destiny guided by divine providence, U.S. propaganda strove to portray the war as a "war of liberation" of the "oppressed Mexicans":

"... To liberate and ennoble—not to enslave and debase is our mission. We may the Mexican nation, whose great masses have never yet tasted liberty, prattle over their lost phantom of nationality... if they have not—in the profound darkness of their vacillating existence—the intelligence and manhood to accept the ranks and rights of free men at our hands, we must bear with their ignorance..."

Following U.S. victory in the war, its territorial conquests stretched from coast to coast; the expulsion of the British colonies in the Pacific northwest completed the territorial expansion. The last shots had not yet been fired in the Mexican war before the debate over how to dispose of the land—and the "liberated" Mexicans and Indians on it—was in full swing. The terms of this debate provide a hideous glimpse of the "enlightened" convictions of these "democrats."

In the 1840s, the contradiction between the rapid development of the forces of capitalism in the North and the moribund slave system in the South was already intensified; but at the same time, both North and South were committed to the policy of territorial conquest, and there was considerable unity and interpenetration between Northern capital and the Southern slavocracy as well. The very fact that Polk—a southerner who was sympathetic to the slave interests—occupied the presidency and carried out the program of manifest destiny with the enthusiastic support of the Northeastern capitalists, illustrates this. The differences between the pro- and anti-slavery forces on the question of the occupied territories centered around whether or not the slave system should be allowed to expand beyond Texas throughout the Southwest. As for the fate of the native inhabitants of these territories, however, there was general unanimity, both in the "enlightened" North and the slave South. From the *New York Evening-Post*—a liberal anti-slavery paper:

"...The Mexicans are Indians—aboriginal Indians... the aboriginals of this country have not at-

tempted, and cannot attempt to exist independently alongside of us. Providence has so ordained it, and it is folly not to recognize the fact. The Mexicans are aboriginal Indians, and they must share the destiny of their race."

And from a speech in the Senate by southern Senator Calhoun:

"I know further, sir, that we have never dreamt of incorporating into our union any but the caucasian race—the free white race. To incorporate Mexico, would be the very first instance of the kind, of incorporating an Indian race... I protest against such a union as that! Ours, sir, is the government of a white race."

This, then, was the democratic climate in which the Southwest joined the Union, amidst the slaughter of Mexicans and the extermination of Indian tribes, through a policy of naked conquest and plunder that exhibited all the features which Marx described as typical of the era of rising capitalism: "...The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black skins, signaled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production."

The Inheritors of the Frontier

One of the greatest lies of the official American history, shoved down our throats in the school room and forced in countless cow sagas of the cinema, is that the "Great Frontier" which resulted from the seizure of the west by the United States—however regrettable its effect on the conquered peoples—gave every American the right to free land and the opportunity for genuine independence "out west." This fiction was spun out, most notably by a Harvard historian named Frederick Jackson Turner who in 1890 published an essay, "The Frontier in American History," which was to have a major influence as a sort of a semi-official ruling class explanation of "the American character." "Up to our own day," Turner wrote, "American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the great west. The extension of an area of free land, its continuous reception and the advance of

American settlement westward, explain American development." Turner's thesis, briefly, was that the American experience out of which "the national essence" was forged was the drama of the endless thrust westward, the constant struggle of the "pioneers" to conquer new vistas of untamed territory, matching brain and brawn with raw nature and bloodthirsty savages, and most important, the seemingly infinite supply of cheap land and opportunity awaiting the enterprising settlers. Turner portrayed the availability of "free land" as a condition giving rise to frontier democracy, in which every man with guts and courage could carve out a new life and become an independent landowner thus realizing the American birthright. Further, Turner claimed that the frontier served as a "safety valve" which dained the congested cities of the East of surplus labor, prevented the sharpening of class antagonisms and the polarization of U.S. society into a small handful of rich aristocrats on the one hand, and a vast, poverty-stricken mass on the other. It was in this period, especially during its height from 1850-1890, that the cowboys and the cattledrives were a prominent part of the American scene—and it is this period that the cowboy image has been popularly associated with, as an all-embracing symbol of frontier virtue, courage, independence and freedom in all its varied aspects.

The availability of land and the expanding frontier drew millions west in search of the American dream. This had many profound effects: it created very favorable conditions for the rapid growth of capitalism by providing a vast market for industrial goods, and in the years after the Civil War spurred the development of the railroads, an important prerequisite for a modern capitalist nation. Further it created a large petty bourgeoisie and resulted in a significant slowing down of the development of the class-consciousness of the workers by offering some workers the chance to escape wage-slavery and become small farmers and by holding out the *illusion* to millions. This dream and the myth of the cowboy as the quintessence of the wide-open spaces of "free land" persisted even though the reality for the majority of the masses in the west prov-

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Atlanta Poster War

TWO FACE 20 YEARS ON
"OVERTHROW" CHARGES

"Hey, is that the paper those people were arrested for? Let me see it!" "How can I get a copy of the poster?" "Are you really revolutionaries?" More and more people are asking sellers of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper these kinds of questions on the streets of Atlanta. The case of the two revolutionaries, busted for posting the "Create Public Opinion... Seize Power" poster, charged with "advocating the overthrow of the government," and facing a possible \$20,000 fine and 20 years behind bars, is becoming widely known in the area. Many people are following the developments of this case very closely, recognizing it as a serious political attack that must be met. Others have stepped forward to take it up as their own fight.

One person, a regular *RW* distributor, was so outraged by this attack that he smashed a chair. Once he calmed down, he reorganized his whole day to sell the paper, taking twice his usual consignment. A Black Vietnam veteran donated \$75 to the bail fund and decided that he would become an *RW* distributor. A professor wrote a statement of support and is struggling in a political organization that he is affiliated with for them to take united action around this case. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) called an emergency meeting to decide how they would respond, and several other

organizations in Atlanta are debating the same question.

In the wake of the growing public opinion against this outrage, State Court Judge Alveron was forced to lower the bond on the felony charge from \$5,000 to \$500 each, or face further political exposure. This now brings the total amount of bail down to \$1500, since the defendants are still appealing their convictions on criminal trespass charges in city court. (Since our article last week we have learned that the fines on these convictions are \$100 and 90 days in jail for each charge—they actually face fines of \$200 and 180 days in jail apiece—*RW*.) Outside the courthouse, during the bond reduction hearing, *RW*'s, Draft Party Programmes, and the "infamous" poster were being sold. Debate raged over just why the government is coming down with this attack to try to halt the campaign of the 100,000 *RW*'s, and why it is crucial to respond by stepping up the efforts to spread the "conspiracy" of the *RW* many times over. One amazed businessman commented that since the arrest, "people are still putting up those posters all over the freeways."

Meanwhile, the media has thrown a few new jabs in reportage of the case. Early last week the press tried a stab at some "objective" reporting. First, the whole episode was painted as meaningless and no threat to the government

at all. The media even matter-of-factly quoting the first paragraph at the bottom of the poster, the part that introduces a quote by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), and commented on the fact that the poster was part of a drive to increase the distribution of the *RW*.

By Tuesday, the media hit from another angle. Channel 11 television, in its news spot, showed a picture of the poster, concentrating on the top half where silhouettes of a proletarian army armed with bayonets marches just above a fist holding a rolled up copy of the *RW*. The newscaster commented on the guns while reading the news of the bail reduction. And the local papers ran a quote from the District Attorney lamenting that, "successful prosecution would be more likely if the defendants had actually committed some violent acts." And a local commentator on the most popular radio station in Atlanta spread the false rumor that the two defendants had been let out of jail and that he was "outraged that revolutionary communists are walking the streets." He even challenged one defendant (who is also a Mao Tsetung Defendant) by name, to call him up on the air to debate.

The fact remains that the two defendants are still in jail and no moves whatsoever have been made to drop the

charges. At the same time, the open cries in the media that the RCP and its supporters are "terrorists" or "violence prone crazies" (a tack the government has been using against the Party nationwide) are designed to unleash reactionary sentiments in support of prosecution. And the bourgeoisie is consciously stepping up their harassment of the defendants by holding them hostage. When one man went to jail, with the full amount of cash in hand, to bail out one of the defendants he got told, "she's not here, she's already been bailed out." The first time he believed them. But when he found out different he returned. He got the same story again as the pigs refused to turn over their prisoner—even with the bail right in front of their faces.

The authorities' lamenting about "problems" in the prosecution, and "doubts" about whether they can move on a case where the charges of "advocating the overthrow" seem to violate the right to "freedom of the press," is only padding in case they have to fall back in the face of public outrage, opposition and exposure. What this whole thing reveals is just how serious the bourgeoisie takes the achievement of the sustained distribution of 100,000 *RW*'s every week across this country, and what lengths they will go to try and stop the spread of this conspiracy. □

Former Panther Speaks
Out

Continued from page 4

a stud makes a prejudicial remark. So we stop right there and struggle over this. The people take this up and struggle that "Hey, that's what we're working to eliminate." I feel once they eliminate this prejudice and classes that everyone can just move forward, we can really put out our real potential...

(The Programme) tells us how to eliminate these things by eliminating classes. We have to see that in order to advance we have to move society forward. Imperialism had its day. We cannot just stagnate. We have to be able to move things ahead. By moving things ahead we're talking about going into socialism. Then we still got to move ahead—move into a society that will completely obliterate class struggle because there won't be no classes. And I imagine after we move into there we'll still have to move forward into something else. But we can't stagnate, we have to be able to see that we have to move forward.

Going to war only means helping to uphold the system of today. That doesn't mean moving forward, that means just wanting to keep this here. And we don't want what's here today. So I don't see no sense going to war to uphold this shit.

RW: Can you talk a little more on the importance of the *Revolutionary Worker*.

A: To me this empire seemed so big that I couldn't see how the working class could overthrow this great big motherfucker. But as I started studying and reading the paper and began to see the weakness of this system—then I could see where there is a possibility of creating violent revolution. The *RW* kept me aware of not only what was happening here but all around the world. Like the things that I read about Iran, Korea. Everything I read in the rest of these papers never talked about things like this.

If we could get 100,000 papers out, I think it would wake up 1/2 million, it would be just that strong. Just like it woke me up, it would wake them up too. They would come to see the need to quit upholding this red, white and blue shitrag and pick up the red flag of the proletariat and try to put an end to this shit. The paper unleashes you. It wakes

you up. It teaches you so much. Like that article about the Democratic Party. They go around and say "Hey man the Democratic Party is the best party for the poor people." What the paper said about the Democratic Party, you don't have any ties to it. The paper tells the truth, and they say that truth will make you free. I have never read a paper like this... time after time getting hit with the truth, you being able to see it. I can't wait until I get the paper. This is the best paper I've ever seen in my whole life. You read in this paper about what's going on in Iran or Korea, what's going on in the world and how things hook up. And after reading it for a while you can start seeing things, putting things together, seeing how this system is not as powerful as they say it is, and you begin to see its weaknesses. It's a bunch of idiots running this. Like Ted Kennedy. They made a big deal out of him and he stuck out like a goddam fool. This paper is international and it's showing you what our class is doing. Just studying Vietnam, do you know they kicked this motherfucker's ass? And they were bombing Vietnam every day for 10 years with all that modern weaponry and then getting run out of there. If that didn't wake somebody's eyes up his eyes must be glued together. Take Korea. They ran this motherfucker out of there. He had to get back across that 38th parallel and start talking about peace. Take Iran. Here's that cat the Shah, backed up by one of the most powerful countries in the world, the United States, and they ran his ass out of there. They made these motherfuckers turn their backs on him. He died somewhere over in Egypt talking about how he ain't got no country. That shit was funny. So that's letting us know right there what the people can do, once they put their mind to it and understand what they're all about. The only way they can understand this is by reading this paper.

It made me more aware that we can overthrow (this) system and it made me want to go out and tell the people about the things that I've learned. I've got a job now but I miss being out there so much that I'm going to see about getting on night shift, otherwise I'm going to quit. The more I've learned, the more I want to tell people about it. And they need to know about it. □

Cuba: The Evaporation of a Myth

Cuba, home of the first successful revolution against Yankee imperialism in Latin America, a country which as a result became a symbol for revolution for a great many people opposing imperialism around the world.

Cuba, which despite all this has become a pawn of Soviet social-imperialism, a breeding farm for cannon fodder for the expansionist ambitions of the revisionist superpower.

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Cowboy

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ed it was more illusion than opportunity.

The fabled Homestead Act of 1862, for example, which was supposed to provide free land for the asking to any able-bodied man, was a farce and a hustle for wealthy monopolists and speculators. The mass of poor rural tenants or urban day laborers in the East could not even afford to get to the west to stake a claim; could not afford to buy even the most basic agricultural implements; either had no agricultural experience at all, or none suited to the sharply different farming conditions of the plains or the far West. One reliable economic historian writes that "...An astonishing number of homesteaders were merely the hired pawns of land monopolists who took over the land as soon as the final patents were received..." Incredibly vast tracks of land were granted to railroad corporations and other financial interests.

Meanwhile, the growth of agricultural immigration to the west was far exceeded by the main phenomenon of the latter half of the 19th century: The flood of ruined farmers and immigrants into the cities. "Undoubtedly more immigrant families were enticed to America in the expectation of free farms than the number of homesteads patented to native and the foreign-born combined. The surplus of land-seeking aliens, together with a far greater number who were originally looking for industrial occupations, furnished many applicants for each job vacated by any city worker proved up on a homestead. It is a fair estimate that for every industrial who made good on the land there were 20 farmers' sons who moved hopefully and a few successfully, into the cities..."¹⁰ By 1900, at the close of the so-called "free land era", 43% of the agricultural population were wage laborers, and 35% were tenant farmers; the total agricultural population increased by only 9 million, while the urban population leapt from 12 million to 48 million. By 1885, when the Indians were robbed of their last sizeable holdings in the Oklahoma land rush, U.S. agriculture was already tightly in the grip of financial monopolies and the rapidly growing class of wage slaves had already fought a series of desperate and bloody strikes—some of the bloodiest out west.

The era of expansion in the 19th century was not the expansion of a democratic and pastoral commonwealth—it was the era of the expansion of capitalism, and the passing over of capitalism into imperialism. As one progressive historian has pointed out,

"The free lands of the west were not important...because they made possible the creation of a 'unique American spirit'—that indefinable something that was to set the U.S. apart from European experience through all time—but because their quick settlement and utilization for the extensive cultivation of foodstuffs furnished exactly those commodities with which the U.S., a debtor nation, could balance its international payments and borrow European capital in order to develop a native industrial enterprise."¹¹

From the end of the Civil War to the end of the century, American history is the history of the growth of huge, stinking urban slums in the East, the Jim Crow system in the South, chaotic and violent economic panics, brutal degradation and exploitation in the factories—and the extremely rapid concentration of production and capital in the hands of a small circle of financiers, the demise of the primitive early phase of competitive capitalism, and the emergence of the United States as a major imperialist power. Lenin comments in his study of imperialism that "In the United States of America, the growth of the concentration of production is still greater...In 1904...almost half the total production of all the enterprises of the country was carried on by one-hundredth part of these enterprises! These 3000 giant enterprises embrace 298 branches of industry. From

this it can be seen that, a certain stage of its development, concentration itself, as it were, leads right up to monopoly; a score or so of giant enterprises can easily arrive at an agreement, while on the other hand, the hindrance to competition, the tendency toward monopoly, arises from the very dimensions of the enterprises. This transformation of competition into monopoly is one of the most important—if not the most important—phenomena of modern capitalist economy..."¹²

In 1898, the Spanish-American War, an imperialist war for the conquest of the Philippines, clearly marked the beginnings of U.S. imperialist contention with the other powers for domination of the world. And Teddy Roosevelt, who according to legend led his Rough Riders in the charge up San Juan Hill in the war against Spain, very consciously adopted the role of the cowboy president as he led the U.S. in the era of gunboat diplomacy and preparation for realizing the principles of manifest destiny on a world scale. And, against this background (so the legend goes), far from all the fuss and bother, plucking a guitar, and sleeping under a blanket of stars out on the peaceful prairie—the cowboy reigned supreme.

The Facts and the Legend

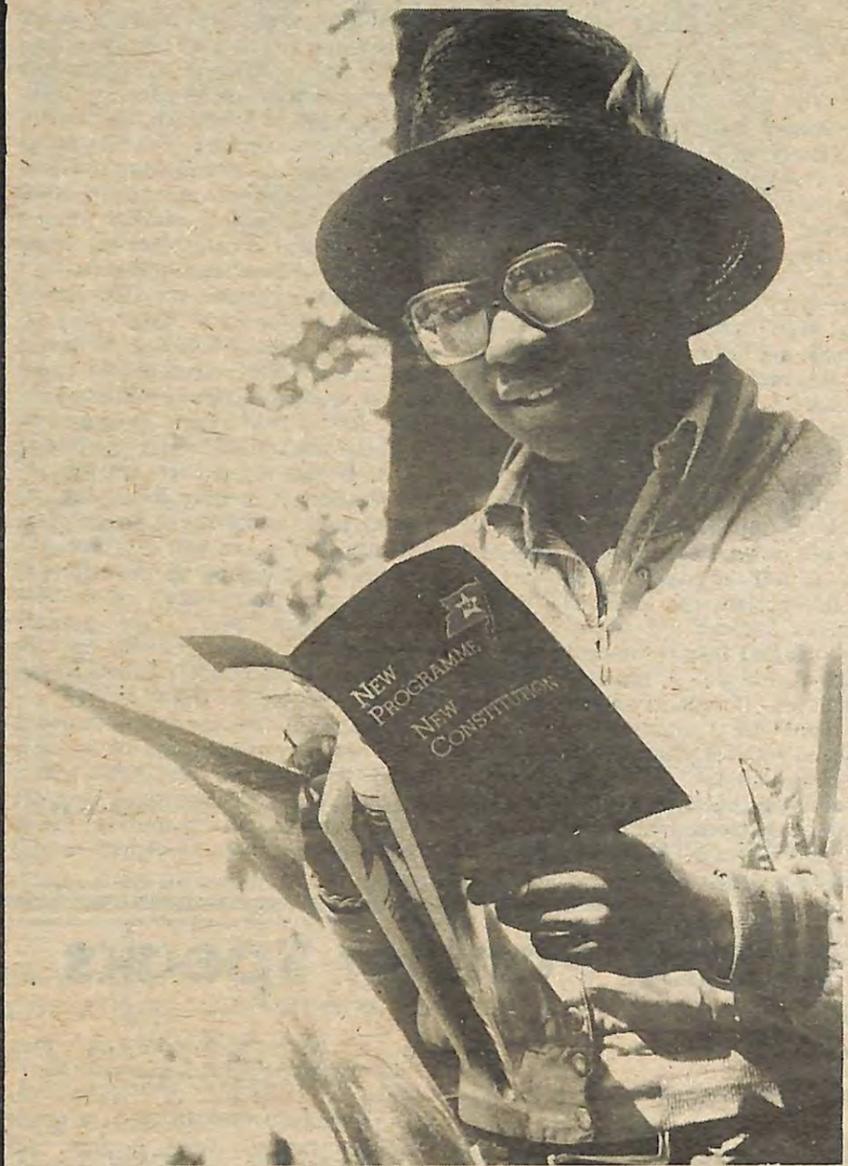
"If the facts conflict with the legend, print the legend,"¹³ advised the small-town editor in John Ford's western, "The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance." Ford, the reactionary director of many a western film, freely admitted that this was his own philosophy. And the cowboy legend is of great importance to the rulers of this country today, as it has been for decades, especially, because, to quote an 1853 observer whose comments remain appropos, "The name 'cowboy' was even then—and still more emphatically later—one name for many crimes..."¹⁴ In other words, the cowboy legend, as the single, overpowering, surviving cultural symbol of the whole epoch of rising capitalism, carries along with it and symbolizes every myth and lie that has been spun around the frontier, pioneer pluck and courage, and the so-called drama of the "winning of the west." The cowboy image called up the whole national heritage of conquests, extermination of "inferior races," and the "manifest destiny" of imperial grandeur for America.

A brief look at the facts betrays immediately a very sharp conflict indeed with the legend. The situation on the cattle ranges in the period of hectic development of the cattle industry following the Civil War was in no way isolated or apart from the economic development of the nation as a whole. "Cattle culture," spreading from Texas north through Kansas and Montana and west through Mexico to California, was by the 1870s already firmly in the grip of a handful of powerful cattle barons who themselves were in the grip of large corporate combines and speculative associations. "...Many of the cattle owners would have recoiled from a western cow pony,"¹⁵ one writer has observed. Although the herds did their grazing on land that in most cases didn't belong to the owners of the herds—though not a cent of rent was ever paid—new entrepreneurs were forced off the range, often violently, by the Cattlemen's Associations.

Future speculation and the promise of large profits attracted a huge flood of bank and corporate investment, including from Europe; "following 1873, the individual operator was largely eclipsed by new corporations."¹⁶ The period of the open range and the long cattle drives were to last only a few decades, until a massive financial collapse in the 1880s that was largely a result of wild speculation. When the cattle industry reorganized after 1890, reorganization largely took the form of vertical monopoly with meatpacking companies, banks and landowners (often railroad companies) combining to control the industry from range to market.

Those who remember the long running "Bonanza" tv series were treated to the classic whitewash job on the cattleman—rich and paternalistic but

DARE TO GRAPPLE WITH THE BATTLE PLAN FOR REVOLUTION



In a situation which is developing as rapidly as today's, the actions taken by the advanced section of the proletariat are of decisive importance. They will in no small part determine how far along we are and whether we are able to break through all the way when the conditions fully ripen and the opportunity for revolution is there to seize. These moments, particularly in a country such as this, are rare in history and their outcome has a profound influence on history for years, even decades, to come. Those who do understand what is going on and choose not to act are contributing to the prolonging of this destructive and decadent rule of imperialism. This programme is a declaration of war, and at the same time a call to action and a battle plan for

destroying the old and creating the new. It must be taken up.

Today the words of Mao Tsetung ring out with full force:

**"Seize the Day,
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every inch a cowboy, ready to bust a bronco or rustle a steer with the roughest hombre on the ranch. In fact, even those historians who are generally subservient to the cowboy myth admit that (to give an example) "there was no more romance about the cattlemen, the owners, the tycoons, the 'cattle kings', than about the mineowner and entrepreneurs who waxed the rich out of the mining boom. Collis T. Huntington was about as romantic as a bullfrog..."¹⁷ But, the same author goes on to insist, "It is the hired hands, from the trail boss or foremen down to the rangler...who have become the heroes of high romance, as imperishable as the knights of the roundtable and the Palladins of roncesvalles..." and it is for the most part, the "hired hand", or the individual western loner vaguely associated in some way or another with cattle or with the "cowtowns" that sprang up along the trail—who dominates western fiction and film.

The reality of life for the vast majority of semi-proletarian hired hands was a stark contrast to the myth of the romantic individuals. Their conditions of

life were barren, and their labor was menial and backbreaking at low wages; this, of course they shared in common with the vast majority of their co-inhabitants of America's 19th century utopia. There were a relatively small number of Black cowboys, and a significant number of Mexicans and Indians as well; but the dominant source of the "hired hands" was confederate war veterans—a clear link to the roots of the industry in Texas and the pro-slave sentiments of the cattle barons of the southwest. These confederate veterans, not only dominated numerically, but spread their "culture" and their reactionary influence throughout the cattle country:

"One thing this...did was to inject a way of life, hitherto southern...into the northern plains of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana and even into Canada's prairie provinces."¹⁸ The first major "western" novel, published in 1902, reflects this demographic fact: its title was "The Virginian," and it concerned a confederate veteran cowboying in Wyoming.

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The Men Behind the Moonies

Red Squad Exposed in LA RCYB Trial

On February 28, 1979, a busload of Moonies pulled up to the California State University, Los Angeles (CSLA) campus. Their orders were to stop a noontime rally of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB)—a rally supporting the Iranian revolution and exposing and opposing U.S. military moves against Iran. Hundreds of students were involved in a debate and discussion that day over these questions. And hundreds also witnessed an orchestrated attack by the Moonies and campus police that resulted in 5 RCYB members facing serious charges of assaulting an officer. Recently the real face of the conductor leading this ragged band began to surface. In fact, just as the role of the Public Disorders Intelligence Division (PDID) of the Los Angeles Police Department started to get exposed, the judge dismissed all the charges.

The PDID is a highly secretive police unit (even the members of the city council are uninformed of its budget). It's clearly connected with the highest reaches of the U.S. "intelligence" agencies. The PDID was directly involved in the attacks on the May Day Brigade in L.A. and on the May Day demonstration itself. More recently it has initiated a series of arrests attempting to keep the RW out of Watts.

After an incredible 1 1/2 years of pre-

trial hearings in the case of the five RCYB members, when the name of Detective Slagle of PDID was discovered in an otherwise innocuous report of "the incident" of February 28th, Slagle was called in to testify. As soon as PDID was brought into the case, so too came two high-powered additions to the prosecutors' team. The whole atmosphere in the courtroom changed as the prosecutors objected to virtually every defense question (with the judge sustaining about 90% of the objections). And while Slagle evaded most of the questions defense attorneys managed to get beyond the prosecutors' objections, a few of his responses were very revealing. It turns out that Slagle had "an ongoing relationship" with the CSLA cops' chief investigating officer (who was directly involved in the busts on the 28th), that the two of them "talked about the RCYB" and that he had met with chief cop Patrick Connally a number of times. All this directly contradicted the testimony of a whole string of campus cops. Slagle also admitted that he had made a number of reports on "the incident." The fact that only one report had been turned over to the defense (and that they had no intention of turning over the others), was in blatant contradiction to a previous court order and resulted in the dismissal of all the charges.

But much more was at stake than "non-compliance with discovery" (which they get away with all the time). What really counted was that this information could put together the pieces of the "puzzle" that showed that the PDID, CSLA cops and administration and the Moonies were working together to get the RCYB, and that the PDID was at the center of the attacks on the RCYB in the area. So there was no way they were going to open up their files.

Two weeks earlier, the campus cops' chief investigating officer admitted she was originally hired to do "covert intelligence of student political activities." Much earlier, she had admitted prior knowledge that the Moonies would be on campus on the 28th; and chief cop Connally admitted knowing of previous Moonie/RCYB clashes (and other RCYB activities) on other campuses. With Slagle's admissions, it was obvious where they got that information.

As for the willing role of the Moonies, anyone who has read issues of their student paper, *World Student Times*, can readily see that their main objective on the campuses is to stop any progressive political activity, especially communists, and that the RCP and RCYB are two of their main targets. In the month following the busts on the 28th, the CSLA administration revoked

official recognition of the RCYB while, with great fanfare, they gave it to the Moonies, even making public statements supporting the contributions the Moonies could make to the campus.

The CSLA administration maintained all along that they had made no special plans to deal with the RCYB rally ahead of time. But one of their lower-level oinkers inadvertently admitted knowing of at least two meetings involving top campus administrators and Chief Connally that took place on the two days prior to the 28th, where they discussed "plans for the rally" and arranged to have extra cops on duty that day.

The charges were dismissed before the content of those meetings was revealed. But it's really no mystery. CSLA's top administrators and cops obviously got together and worked out tactics to deal with the RCYB rally based on information and probable direction from the PDID. In dismissing the charges, the judge's speech was filled with pious statements about "government by law" and how the "court stands between the two adversaries, the prosecution and the defense." But this horseshit aside, what derailed this attack—for the present at least—was nothing but the deepening exposure of the hand of the authorities behind it. □

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Greatest Revolutionary of Our Time

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and many twists and turns, Mao had to wage a fierce battle against opportunists within the Chinese Communist Party who, from the right and the "left," opposed and attacked the correct line of advance which he led in forging. But beyond that, and as a decisive part of forging the correct line and providing that leadership, Mao also had to challenge and break with the force of convention within the international communist movement. Specifically, he had to fight against the mechanical approach which insisted that the revolution in China must proceed in exactly the same way as that in Russia—that the bourgeoisie must be treated as an enemy rather than as a possible ally, that the cities must be seized first, not the countryside, etc. Had Mao not done so, and instead gone along with those who demanded that the Chinese revolution be a clone of the Soviet revolution, and who invoked the Soviet experience and the Soviet Union itself as a holy icon and treated their association with it as capital, then it can be safely said that there would have been no Chinese revolution and no People's Republic of China.

It can be further said that it is even a law of revolution, and especially of proletarian revolution, that in order for it to succeed in any particular country, the struggle in that country and those leading it will have to depart from and even oppose certain particular conceptions or previous practices which have come to be invested with the stature of "established norms" in the revolutionary movement. This is an expression of materialist dialectics, because every revolution arises out of the concrete conditions (contradictions) in the country (and the world) at the time it is occurring, and every new revolution inevitably involves new questions, new contradictions to be resolved. It is the basic principles and the method of Marxism-Leninism that must be applied as a universal guide for revolution—but these, too, are constantly being developed and enriched, just because scientific knowledge is constantly being deepened, including the Marxist-Leninist comprehension of reality in the fullest sense, and because reality is constantly undergoing change, which requires and calls forth the continuous deepening of this knowledge.

Stalin spoke to this question, specifically in reference to the Russian revolution and Lenin's leadership of it. He pointed out that prior to the experience of the Russian revolution, Marxists generally held the view that a parliamentary democratic republic would be the form in which the working class would rule—a view strengthened by Engels' statements to that effect. Further, Stalin noted, Engels and Marx had concluded that socialism could not be built in one country—and this too was the accepted rule and had acquired the force of dogma among many Marxists. What would have happened, Stalin asks, if Lenin had been bound by the letter of Marxism at that time rather than basing himself on the spirit, applying the method, of Marxism? The Soviets would not have been developed as the form through which the working class actually exercised its rule in that country—in fact there would have been no Soviet Union and no socialism built in that country. It goes without saying what a loss that would have been to the international proletariat.

And so it was in China. Mao consistently argued that the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism must be applied and that the basic lessons of the October Revolution in Russia must be upheld—especially the need for the seizure of power through the armed struggle of the masses and for the leadership of the revolutionary party of the proletariat—but that these had to find different application in China's concrete conditions than they had in Russia. It was on this basis that, as a part of leading the struggle for the seizure of nationwide political power in China, Mao made some of his important contributions which enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism—especially in the formulation of the strategy of new-democratic revolution leading to socialism, in military line and thought, and in laying the basic groundwork of his development of Marxist philosophy.

If it was true that Mao could not have led the Chinese revolution in its first stage to victory, to the founding of the People's Republic, without challenging and breaking with powerful conventions in the international communist movement, this was still more the case with regard to leading the continuing advance in the socialist stage, after the People's Republic was founded. This was so in such fields as political economy and culture and it was most definitely the case with the greatest of Mao's immortal contributions—the basic line and theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Most of all, is it conceivable that there would have been a Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, an unprecedented event in the whole history of the communist movement and the socialist countries, if Mao had been unwilling to "go against the tide" (to use his own phrase)—not only to fly into the face of bitter opposition within the Chinese Communist Party itself, most especially from powerful (and, among many, popular) leaders of the Party, but also to depart from, even "violate," certain "norms" which some have come to regard as sacred, in such basic areas as

the functioning of the Party and its relation to the masses? Of course, this is inconceivable. And it is also inconceivable that without such "violations"—that is to say, developments—of Marxism-Leninism, the Chinese revolution would have scaled the heights it did, not only making new breakthroughs on the path to communism but inspiring, teaching and impelling revolutionaries all over the world toward the same goal.

Cultural Revolution: A Burst of Light Through the Clouds

After the treachery of Khrushchev & Co. in the Soviet Union and the terrible loss for the proletariat there, it was above all revolutionary China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung that ever mote brilliantly shone as a beacon light for revolutionary people on every continent. This was a time when, reaching its high point in the '60's and early '70's, there was a tremendous storm of revolutionary struggle in nearly every country in the world, and most especially in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. But, with the reversal in the Soviet Union and Khrushchev's blatant repudiation of revolution and revision of Marxism-Leninism, there was also a great deal of confusion and even demoralization, including within the ranks of revolutionaries. Piercing through the clouds that Khrushchev's betrayal had cast, the experience in China and the Thought of Mao Tsetung not only gave heart to millions of revolutionaries outside China but also kindled their determination to take up and wield the science of Marxism-Leninism.

Was this only or mainly because the Chinese Communist Party defended the revolutionary experience and the achievements of the Soviet people in building socialism before Khrushchev & Co.'s coup? Because they defended Stalin and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union against the completely unprincipled slanders and denunciations of the Soviet revisionists? Because they insisted that the basic lessons of the October Revolution and the banner of its leader, Lenin, were still valid and must be upheld? No, all of these are very important and part of the reason, but they were not the main thing. Mainly it was because Mao led the revolutionaries in China in summing up the positive experience and the shortcomings and mistakes of the building of socialism in the Soviet Union and the leadership of Stalin, as well as the positive and negative experience of China and other socialist countries in general, and on that basis made a further leap in carrying forward the struggle for communism. This found theoretical expression in the basic line of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. But most of all, it was the concrete practice of hundreds of millions of Chinese people under the guidance of this theory, particularly in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which once again (to use a phrase of Mao's) spread the salvos of Marxism-Leninism and the basic truth that it is right to rebel against reaction and that the future of communism will be brought about by the proletariat and masses of people, spread this to every corner of the world.

But, with the revisionist coup in China itself in October 1976, Mao's greatest contributions and his overall leadership in the Chinese revolution have come under new attacks. First of all, the revisionists in power in China now are intensifying their offensive against Mao's line, concentrating their fire especially on the Cultural Revolution and its achievements, which represent not just the greatest advance of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle but also the highest pinnacle yet reached by the international proletariat. While these renegades and impostors still must make some pretense to uphold Mao—at least as a national symbol—they are more and more openly trampling on the basic things he stood for and fought for—and indeed they must do so in order to carry out their suppression of the revolutionary masses and the restoration of capitalism.

Reversal in China and New Attacks on Mao

At the same time others, on the basis of the triumph of the counter-revolution in China, have launched assaults on Mao and Mao Tsetung Thought. Some of these even include attacks on Mao's line and leadership in the new-democratic revolution, as well as in the socialist revolution.

But, again, the most concentrated offensive has been against Mao's basic line on classes and class struggle under socialism and the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat—the most important of his immortal contributions. All this has led to a great deal of turmoil in the international communist movement. Some out of opportunism, and others out of ignorance, have taken the position that since there has been a reversal in China, since the revisionists have after all seized power and are rapidly taking China down the capitalist road, then Mao's basic line on classes and class struggle under socialism and the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as the practice of the Chinese people under the

guidance of that basic line and theory, especially in the Cultural Revolution, must have been wrong. Or else, it is said, Mao and the other revolutionary leaders in China must have made serious mistakes, even if their overall line was correct.

As for the first point, what was said in an earlier chapter of this book (4, on philosophy) speaks directly to that:

This kind of thinking is nothing but empiricism and relativism. The correctness of this theory does not depend on the immediate results in any particular situation; it has been verified in practice, in the mass struggle of hundreds of millions of Chinese people, and will be further verified in the future in the revolutionary struggle not only in China but in every country. (See p. 187.)

And as for the question of mistakes by the revolutionaries, certainly they must have made some—one can avoid that—but that is not the main thing to focus on in analyzing the setback in China. While it is correct to investigate and sum up what errors they may have made, an all-sided analysis of the reversal, applying the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism, makes clear that any such mistakes were not the cause of this setback.



Mao Tsetung

In this regard, as a general and basic point, it is important to really grasp that the class struggle under socialism is exactly that—and that the bourgeoisie in a socialist country may, especially at certain times, have a more favorable situation than the proletariat, owing to the development of the internal contradictions in that country at that point as well as the international situation and the interrelationship between these two at the time. Here a statement by Mao himself is most relevant:

In social struggle, the forces representing the advanced class sometimes suffer defeat not because their ideas are incorrect but because, in the balance of forces engaged in struggle, they are not as powerful for the time being as the forces of reaction; they are therefore temporarily defeated, but they are bound to triumph sooner or later.¹

The point here is not to analyze the struggle in China leading up to the revisionist coup of October 1976 and the causes and lessons of this reversal (as suggested in this chapter's introduction, a beginning and basic analysis of that has been made elsewhere, while there remains the task of building on and deepening that analysis—by applying *Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought*). Rather, what is involved here is the

analysis—and criticism—of the approach which says that, since the revolution was reversed, then the revolutionaries must be at fault—or must at least have made serious errors. As indicated earlier, this method is pragmatic—and therefore opposed to Marxism. But, beyond that, such an approach also fails to understand the actual process of the Chinese revolution and the development of the contradictions which characterized it, especially after the founding of the People's Republic, and therefore fails to correctly evaluate the tremendous achievements of the Chinese revolution as well as the tremendous obstacles it was up against as it advanced into the socialist stage.

Magnificent Achievements of the Chinese Revolution, Contributions of Mao Tsetung

As pointed out many times in this book, the Chinese revolution first proceeded—and could not but proceed—through the stage of new democracy before it was possible to advance to socialism. In this respect it was in some important ways not that much different from many other anti-imperialist liberation movements that have swept the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America since World War 2. And the

experience of such struggles has clearly demonstrated that, while it is an arduous task to win victory in the struggle to end colonial (including neo-colonial) domination, it is far more difficult to carry forward the struggle to establish socialism and then continue to advance in the socialist stage—and this has proven true even where the struggle has been led by a communist party. The greatest number of these movements, even where led by organizations declaring themselves Marxist-Leninist, have not gone forward to socialism and therefore have, in fact, failed to even win complete liberation from imperialism, falling instead under the sway of one or another imperialist power—generally one or the other superpower in this period.

Viewed in this light, it was indeed a tremendous achievement of the Chinese revolution even to make the initial transition from new democracy to socialism. And this was not accomplished without monumental struggle—including within the Chinese Communist Party.

Many in the Party, including a number of top leaders, did not really want to carry forward the revolution, after the country had been liberated. As Mao said many times, they were keen on overthrowing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism but not so keen on carrying out the struggle against the bourgeoisie to bring about the victory of socialism over capitalism and the continued advance toward communism. And the further the revolution progressed in the socialist stage, the more that many of these leading people came into opposition to it—not all of them, but not only a few either. What is involved here is the phenomenon of bourgeois-democrats turning into capitalist-roaders in the socialist stage, which has been dealt with several times in this book.

To really grasp this it is necessary to understand that in a country like old China only the proletariat and the Communist Party could lead the democratic, anti-imperialist struggle in a thoroughgoing way, and therefore many, many people joined the Communist Party—and even became leaders of it—who genuinely desired to carry out the democratic anti-imperialist struggle but were not yet communists in their outlook. Is it not a widespread phenomenon in many countries today which have not yet been liberated from imperialism, and have not completed the democratic revolution, that there are many people who claim to be socialists, even communists, who are in fact nothing of the kind and are (at most) bourgeois revolutionaries? And such was also a widespread phenomenon in old China, including within the Chinese Communist Party, which proved to be the only force capable of leading the struggle to victory, even in its first stage. Now many of these people did keep pace with the advance of the revolution and did develop ideologically into communists. But many did not. As noted, the deeper the revolution went in the socialist stage, the more that these latter types came into opposition to it and the more desperate they became in their attempts to turn it around. And for those who became high officials this pull was even greater.

The article in the Revolutionary Communist Party's central organ *Revolution* (December 1978) on Chou En-lai, who may be considered the premier model of such people, explained this phenomenon:

For these bourgeois democrats, the goal of the revolution was to overcome China's backwardness and the near total strangulation of China by the imperialist powers. Therefore they turned to "socialism"—public ownership—as the most efficient and rapid means of turning China into a highly industrialized, modern country. As the socialist revolution advanced, they fought for this development to take place along increasingly bourgeois lines—which under China's conditions would not only restore capitalism but would also lead to bringing China back under the domination of one imperialist power or another.⁴

Further, as also noted several times in this book, such people and the revisionists in general had a social base which, under certain conditions, could be mobilized as a powerful force for the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship—as indeed happened in 1976.

Again, in light of all this, it can be seen what a remarkable accomplishment it was of the Chinese masses and their revolutionary leadership, headed by Mao Tsetung, that they not only forged their way forward through tremendous struggle to take China on the socialist road, not only broke new ground in building socialism, as for example in the Great Leap Forward, but continued the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, carried out an unprecedented mass revolutionary movement under socialism, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and through it beat back attempts at capitalist restoration for a whole decade—advancing the struggle of the international proletariat to new heights! All this is not to say that the reversal in China was inevitable, that the proletariat in China was bound to lose power or any other such metaphysical and fatalistic nonsense. But it does provide the correct framework for understanding the actual struggle—the continuing class struggle—that went on in China and both the unprecedented achievements of the Chinese revolution as well as the causes and lessons of its setback. And it provides the correct framework for appreciating the magnificent contributions of Mao Tsetung.

Mao's Role, the Role of Leaders

In discussing, and defending, the contributions of

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Mao Tsetung and the role of people like Mao, and Lenin, in the revolutionary movement, the point is not to say that great leaders never make mistakes or that history is made by heroes and not by the masses. The greatest revolutionary leaders put on their shoes one at a time like the rest of us, and they eat and empty their bowels in the same way as us.

And it is indeed the masses who make history. In a fundamental way it is the masses who "make" great revolutionary leaders. It is the revolutionary struggle of the masses which brings forward its leaders. Leaders do, in turn, play a very significant role in the revolutionary struggle of the masses. But they can only play a positive role, and in the final analysis can only be of any real significance, if they continue to stand with, and in a fundamental sense in the midst of, the struggle of the masses and on that basis lead it forward. In this era, in the most thoroughgoing and radical revolution in history, the proletarian revolution, that means they play their role by applying the science of Marxism-Leninism to both learn from and guide the struggle. In this way they can and do exert a tremendous influence on the movement of the masses and can actually accelerate the inevitable revolutionary process (just as they can retard it through errors and deviations from Marxism-Leninism).

Further, just as great leaders carry on the normal functions of life in the same way as the rest of us, they also carry out their role as revolutionary leaders in the same basic way as all class conscious fighters make their contributions to the revolutionary movement. That is, they do it precisely by mastering and applying, in a living way, the science of Marxism-Leninism in light of the concrete conditions in their country and the whole world. The point, then, in focusing on the role and great contributions of such leaders is precisely to learn from them and to strengthen the resolve, and ability, of all in the revolutionary movement to master and apply the science of Marxism-Leninism and to make in this way their greatest contribution to the historic mission of the proletariat.

As part of this, it must be understood that no one, no matter how great his or her contribution, can be free of mistakes. This, of course, applies to great leaders as well, including Mao. And, while upholding and learning from their tremendous contributions, and defending these, as well as the overall role of such leaders, from attacks, it is also necessary to understand and learn from their errors.

Specifically with regard to Mao, there seems to have been a tendency to project too much of the experience of the Chinese revolution onto a world scale. In particular, this took the form of giving a national character or aspect to the struggle in (at least some) capitalist, even imperialist, countries in the conditions where such could not play a progressive role. This is an extremely complicated question, and no thorough analysis of it can be made, or even seriously attempted, here. Rather, a few points will be very briefly touched on in relation to this.

All this is closely linked to the question of how to handle the contradiction between defending a socialist country on the one hand and on the other hand carrying forward the revolutionary struggle in other countries, where the proletariat is not yet in power, especially capitalist and imperialist countries which do not pose the main danger to the socialist country at a particular time (or are not part of the bloc of countries headed by that imperialist state which does then pose such a danger). This becomes especially complex and acute in the situation where war between imperialist states is approaching and the likelihood of an attack on a socialist state, particularly by one imperialist bloc, is seriously increasing.

Specifically, in the last few years of Mao's life it became clear that the Soviet Union posed the main danger to China and, especially in the context of sharpening developments toward inter-imperialist war with the U.S., the Soviet Union was very likely to launch a large-scale attack, perhaps even an all-out invasion, against China. In these circumstances, it was quite correct for China to make certain diplomatic and other moves to keep the Soviet Union off balance and to make use of contradictions between the imperialist blocs to put China in the strongest position to deal with a Soviet attack on it. But this has to be done in a way which, overall, contributes to the development of the revolutionary struggle worldwide and does not call on revolutionaries in the countries of the U.S. bloc to give up the struggle for revolution, or reduce "revolution" to the struggle against the Soviet Union.

On the whole, Mao and the proletarian headquarters he led in the Chinese Communist Party (with the so-called "gang of four" its active leading core) dealt with this contradiction in a revolutionary way. They fought for the line of supporting genuine revolutionary struggles in other countries, including those in the U.S. bloc, while at the same time warning the revolutionaries not to allow the Soviet Union to infiltrate and use these struggles and convert them into their own appendage in the name of "support." Further, they fought vigorously against the line of depending on—in fact capitulating to—U.S. imperialism and selling out the revolution in China itself in the name of "modernizing" the country and "strengthen-

ing its defense" against the Soviet Union. But, on the other hand, they did adopt the analysis that the Soviet Union was the most dangerous source of war, on a basis similar to that on which Stalin declared the fascist imperialist states the main enemy in the late 1930s. And this included, at least to some degree, the promotion of the line of "national struggle" against the Soviet Union in the capitalist and imperialist states that, together with the U.S., make up its imperialist bloc (just as Stalin had similarly done, even in the 1930s, with regard to those countries opposed to the fascist imperialist bloc). As our Party stated at its 1978 memorial meetings for Mao Tsetung:

This error to a certain extent strengthened the revisionists in China, who were—and are—arguing that the Soviet danger to China justifies and requires writing off revolution at home and abroad. This sort of error by revolutionaries has, as pointed out, existed in the international communist movement, going back to the 1930s, and there is a real need to more thoroughly sum it up and criticize it in order to avoid it in the future.

At the same time our Party has consistently, and correctly, drawn a clear line of demarcation between the line and policies of Mao and his revolutionary comrades on the one hand and on the other hand those revisionist traitors who have usurped power through smashing the proletarian headquarters in the Chinese Communist Party after Mao's death and are rapidly restoring capitalism and capitulating to imperialism. And it should be pointed out that Mao and his comrades in China learned from and corrected some of the mistakes of Stalin in regard to the contradiction between defending a socialist country and carrying forward the world struggle. They did not take the stand of subordinating everything to the defense of China. Most especially, they recognized the importance of leading the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in China and continuing the revolution under socialism, and the dialectical relationship of this to a correct line for defending China. But, more than that, they also continued, as stated, to fight for support for genuine revolutionary struggles in other countries, even those within the U.S. bloc.

Thus, despite certain disagreements our Party has with Mao and his comrades over some questions relating to the international situation, the character of the revolutionary struggle in various imperialist countries and the relation of this to the defense of China, overall we recognize their fundamentally revolutionary role in this regard and the need to learn from both their contributions to internationalism and certain errors they made in this sphere. Most fundamental, however, as stated, is the need to more thoroughly sum up not merely the line and actions of Mao and the other revolutionaries in China, but the history of the international communist movement around this question, its positive and negative lessons, going back 40 years and more. This is especially crucial in light of the present international situation, which is marked not only by the reversal in China and a great deal of turmoil in the international communist movement, but by the deepening crisis of imperialism and the growing developments toward both world war and revolution.

Learn from Mao Tsetung, Carry Forward the Cause of Communism

Throughout this book, as well as in this concluding chapter in particular, an analysis has been made of some of Mao Tsetung's most important contributions, including the greatest of these—the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. These contributions not only tower over any mistakes Mao made, they also mark him as the greatest revolutionary of our time. But the point has further been made that the purpose in examining the contributions of a great revolutionary leader like Mao is precisely to learn from them and carry forward more powerfully the revolutionary cause for which such people have provided such tremendous inspiration and guidance.

Looking, then, at Mao's role and contributions overall and in a sweeping way, what stands out most, what in fact underlies all of these contributions, what is most basic to learn from, is the thoroughness with which Mao applied the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism, and in particular his application of dialectics in opposition to metaphysics. The ceaseless emergence and resolution of contradictions, as against all notions of absoluteness and stagnation—this Mao grasped as the driving force in the development of all things, in nature, society and thought, and this understanding runs like a crimson path through Mao's writings and actions. Can anyone even conceive of Mao as a stodgy bureaucrat or "comfortable veteran" resting on his laurels!

More specifically, Mao's application of dialectics in understanding and explaining the relationship between matter and consciousness, and the constant transformation of the one into the other, led him to correctly place tremendous emphasis on the role of the superstructure, on politics and consciousness, in guiding revolutionary practice to transform the world, including the people. This is a fundamental point which has great importance both in preparing for and carrying out the seizure of power and in continuing the revolution after political power has been gained. It is a point which Lenin also gave great emphasis to in leading the revolutionary movement, as expressed in his monumental work, *What Is To Be Done?* as well as

elsewhere. But it is also a point which, in a real sense, Mao revived and further developed in leading the Chinese people and the international proletariat to their highest ascent yet. Whether in class struggle, including warfare, in production or scientific experiment, Mao stressed reliance on the conscious activism of the masses, not on technology and technique; on people, not on things.

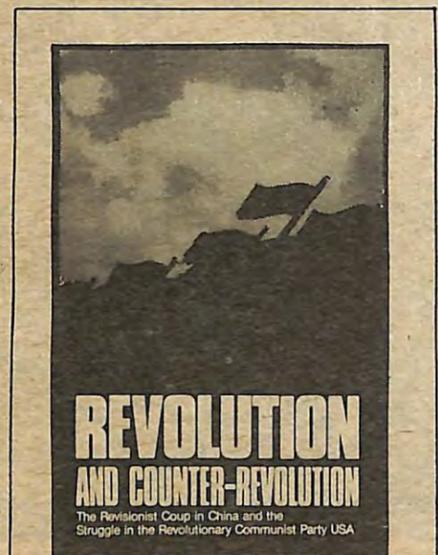
For this, of course, the bourgeoisie, the revisionists and opportunists of all stripes, inside and outside China, have labelled Mao an "idealist." But Mao was a thoroughgoing materialist. He based himself on the real world, in its process of constant motion and change, from the lower to the higher, on the inevitable supersession of the old by the new. Because of this he never lost sight of but continually grasped the link between the present and the future, the existence of elements of the future within the present, and the fact that the struggle of the proletariat world-wide against the bourgeoisie and all reaction would eventually and inexorably, despite twists and turns and temporary reversals and setbacks, advance mankind to the historic goal of communism, which itself would be propelled forward by contradiction and struggle.

It is this which infuses all of Mao's work and his truly immortal contributions. And it is this, most of all, which all those who are determined to make revolution and aspire to the lofty goal of communism can and must learn from Mao Tsetung.

Footnotes

Chapter 7

1. For Stalin's discussion of this see "Conclusion," *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, especially pp. 356-359.
2. For more on this see *Revolution and Counter-Revolution: The Revisionist Coup in China and the Struggle in the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung*, both published by RCP Publications, Chicago, 1978.
3. Mao Tsetung, "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From," *Selected Readings*, p. 503.
4. "Reactionary Mantle of Chou En-lai," *Revolution*, organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, December, 1978, p. 16.
5. Bob Avakian, *The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung*, p. 114.
6. For more on this see, in addition to the material cited above, "Three Worlds' Strategy; Apology for Capitulation," *Revolution*, November 1978, p. 3.



This book, more than anything else now available, provides the theoretical basis for understanding how, 20 years after the revolution was betrayed in the Soviet Union, revisionists were able to seize power in China. The book was born in the throes of bitter struggle in the RCP against those who sought to drag the Party down the road to hell in the footsteps of the traitors Teng and Hua in China.

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Cowboy

Continued from page 18

Related to the social origins of many cowboys was the semi-mercenary character of their work for the cattle bosses. While there doubtless were cowboys who just did a days work digging postholes or branding steers, got paid and minded their own business, like anybody who was forced to work to survive, a lot of the "hired hands" were peons and thugs who performed such services for the boss as killing Indians, stringing up rustlers, terrorizing and driving out prospective rivals, and even intimidating or burning out "sodbusters"—traditional farmers who the cattleman feared would encroach upon their grazing land and "close off the range." One writer observes, taking a western film as an example, "The attitude of the cowboy to the sodbuster is articulately expressed by one of the characters in *Riders West*. 'I never had any use for a nester, missis far as I'm concerned, you ain't even people.' And a barn is fired. A sign is left: 'Notice to all nesters: Leave the valley by daylight of the 14th of this month. No exceptions and no excuses.'" By the 1880s, various cattle barons had their own private armies, and full-scale range wars were being waged against each other and against encroaching sheepherders; the cowboy here played a role about as romantic as a Pinkerton guard or a company goon.

One aspect of the traditional view of the cowboy—the mob of drunken cowpokes descending on a cattletown for a wild night on the town, six guns blazing and horses rearing and naying—has considerable foundation in fact. Towns such as Abilene and Dodge City were pretty much the pits of gambling, prostitution, and drunken violence that legend holds them to have been. A contemporary account: "Cowboy spends his money recklessly... he will make a way with the wages of a half year in a few weeks, then go back to his herds for another 6 months." It's understandable that the cowboys would "blow it all" after 6 months on the trail; but making the rounds of the bars and the whorehouses is only "romantic" in the degraded terms of the mercenary traditions; it is the "three-day pass" syndrome commonly associated with military life.

There's quite a bit about the actual life of a cowboy that is not known; how many stuck it out for more than one or two drives before getting a job in a mine or somewhere else is open to wide con-

jecture. To look narrowly at the life of the cowboy—the mean and grubby nature of the life and of many of the men who led it—one would be led to wonder at how he was transformed into the handsome, heroic, jet job knight of the western plains in a cultural myth that has grown and extended itself for over 80 years. To understand this, such superficial explanations as have been advanced by bourgeois sociologists such as "Pas de cheval, Pas de cowboy" (no horse, no cowboy—the contention that riding on horseback set the cowboy apart from the farmer or the city dweller and lent him heroic stature) will not suffice. The cowboy as a reactionary modern symbol does not represent only—or even mainly—himself. His image is clouded with accretions from the whole broader bourgeois interpretation of American history during the "golden age" of rising capitalism. "the name 'cowboy'... is one name for many crimes." This is the key to understanding the place of the cowboy in 20th century American popular culture and specifically the current orchestrated attempt at renewal of "Cowboy Fever"—a subject we will take up in next week's article. □

Footnotes

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